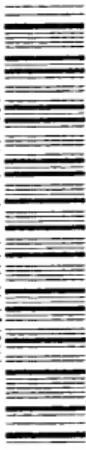


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LIVY

VII

XXVI—XXVII

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LIBY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION
IN THIRTEEN VOLUMES

VII

BOOKS XXVI—XXVII

TRANSLATED BY

FRANK GARDNER MOORE
PROFESSOR EMERITUS IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY



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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

VOLUME VII, containing Books XXVI and XXVII, covers the years 211 to 207 b.c., thus including as its principal moments Hannibal at the gates of Rome, the fall of Capua, the successes of Scipio in Spain, Fabius' recovery of Tarentum, Marcellus' inglorious end in an ambuscade, Hasdrubal's descent into Italy, his defeat and death at the Metaurus.

Again, as in Vol. VI, the editor is under unlimited obligations to the Oxford text of Conway and Johnson, Vol. IV, 1934, but indebted in varying degrees to many earlier editors—a goodly company. All citations of the Puteanus in the critical notes have been verified in the well-known facsimile. Beginning with Book XXVI our textual resources are largely increased by the store of recorded readings of another famous MS. which no longer survives, and these are often to be preferred to those of the Puteanus. Particular care has been taken to indicate passages where a gap in *P*—whose scribe yawned all too frequently—is filled from the lost Spirensis; also where it was the latter who nodded, while *P* shows no omission. The capital importance of this double tradition for books XXVI–XXX has led the editor, with Conway and Johnson, to stress the readings of Aldus and Froben, as having had access to MS. material no longer directly available. In view of our limited space citation of recent editors has been necessarily restricted.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

To the publishers of the *Cambridge Ancient History* we are grateful for permission to use with alterations five maps from its Vols. VIII and IX. The map of Latium and Campania follows in the main that of Heinrich Kiepert in Vol. X, part 2, of the *C.I.L.* That of New Carthage is drawn in part from an Admiralty chart, in part from H. H. Scullard's *Scipio Africanus in the Second Punic War*, p. 290, Cambridge, 1930. The latter's map was based chiefly on that of Canovas in *Estudios geograficos-historicos de Cartagena*, 1905, a local work which could not be found in this country. Used by Scullard, and to be consulted by the reader, is also the map of J. L. Strachan-Davidson in his *Selections from Polybius*, Oxford, 1888. The map of Tarentum in Vol. VI has been revised to show the Appian Way in its latest extension, also the large area occupied by tombs, but inside the walls. Adding to the space covered by the necropolis that occupied by villas and gardens, we find hardly one-third left for the city proper. Thus Tarentum resembled Syracuse in having fortified a much larger area than that required by the city itself (cf. Vol. VI, p. 505).

THE MANUSCRIPTS

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

From this are descended the following:

C = Colbertinus, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 5731,
10th century.

R = Romanus, Vatican Library, 9th century.

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

B = Bambergensis, Bamberg, 11th century.

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

A = Agennensis, British Museum, 13th century.

N = Laurentianus Notatus, Florence, 13th century.

Arabic numbers in parentheses indicate the agree-
ment of MSS. derived from *P*. Thus (1) =
CRMBDA, and (3) = three or more of the same list.

A different text tradition was represented by a
codex Spirensis, 11th century, now lost with the
exception of one leaf. This codex was copied from
a MS. of which some leaves were loose and separated
from their context. It is known to us from the
single extant leaf and from many citations of its
readings. Thus, beginning with book XXVI, we have
in addition to deal with another tradition of the text:

S = Spirensis, 11th century; now only a single
folium at Munich, covering XXVIII. xxxix.
16 to xli. 12.

THE MANUSCRIPTS

Sp = readings of *S* cited by Rhenanus in Froben's
2nd edition, 1535 (*Sp*: if not expressly cited).

Ta = fragments no longer extant of a Turin palimpsest, 5th century; a copy of a MS. from which *S* was descended. The fragments were from XXVII and XXIX only.

Some of the MSS. derived from *P* were altered or supplemented by scribes who had compared another MS. descended from *S*. Hence *A^s* and *N^s* will indicate changes thus made (14th and 13th century respectively).

Corrections thought to be by the original scribe are marked *e.g.* : *P¹*, those by later hands *P²*, *P³*, etc.; corrections which cannot be thus distinguished : *P^x* (chiefly deletions); and so for other MSS.

Of MSS. partly derived from *P* and partly from *S* two are cited, both of the 15th century and in the British Museum :

J = Burneianus 198, and *K* = Harleianus 2781.

Further to be noted :

x = an inferior MS., or inferior MSS., 15th century, or rarely 14th. But for the meaning of *P^x*, *A^x*, etc., see above.

y = late correction or addition in a MS., *e.g.* *A^y*.

z = early editor or commentator. Aldus and Froben are usually cited expressly, Froben (*sic*) standing for the agreement of his two editions.

For details see the Oxford text of Conway and Johnson, Vol. IV.

L I V Y

FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE CITY

BOOK XXVI

A.U.C.
543

T. LIVI AB URBE CONDITA

LIBER XXVI

I. Cn. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS P. Sulpicius Galba
consules cum idibus Martiis magistratum inissent,
senatu in Capitolium vocato, de re publica, de ad-
ministratione belli, de provinciis exercitibusque patres
2 consuluerunt. Q. Fulvio Ap. Claudio, prioris anni
consulibus, prorogatum imperium est atque exercitus
quos habebant decreti, adiectumque ne a Capua,
quam obsidebant, abscederent prius quam expugnas-
3 sent.¹ Ea tum cura maxime intentos habebat
Romanos, non ab ira tantum, quae in nullam umquam
civitatem iustior fuit, quam quod urbs tam nobilis
4 ac potens, sicut defectione sua traxerat aliquot popu-
los, ita recepta inclinatura rursus animos videbatur
5 ad veteris imperii respectum. Et praetoribus prioris

¹ expugnassent *z Aldus*: oppugnassent *P(1)JK*.

¹ The first session of the senate was then regularly held on the Capitol in the Temple of Jupiter; XXIII. xxxi. 1;

LIVY
FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE CITY
BOOK XXVI

I. GNAEUS FULVIUS CENTUMALUS and Publius Sul- B.C. 211
picius Galba, the consuls, having entered upon office
on the Ides of March, summoned the senate to the
Capitol¹ and consulted the fathers in regard to the
state, the conduct of the war, and the provinces and
armies. The military authority of Quintus Fulvius
and Appius Claudius, consuls of the previous year,
was continued, and the armies which they had were
assigned to them, with orders in addition that they
were not to withdraw from Capua, which they were
besieging, until they had taken the city. That affair
claimed the closest attention of the Romans at
the time, not so much because of anger, which has
never been more justified against any state, as
because a city so important and powerful, which by
its revolt had drawn with it a number of communities,
in like manner, if recovered, might turn the scale
to respect, so it seemed, for the old authority.
And for the praetors of the previous year, Marcus

XXIV. x. 1; and the new year began on the Ides of March;
xxvi. 5; XXVII. vii. 7.

anni, M. Iunio in Etruria, P. Sempronio in Gallia, cum binis legionibus quas habuerant prorogatum est imperium. Prorogatum et M. Marcello, ut pro consule in Sicilia reliqua belli perficeret eo exercitu quem haberet; si supplemento opus esset, suppleret de legionibus quibus P. Cornelius propraetore in Sicilia praeesset, dum ne quem militem legeret ex eo numero quibus senatus missionem redditumque in patriam negasset ante belli finem. C. Sulpicio, cui Sicilia evenerat, duae legiones quas P. Cornelius habuisset deeretae et supplementum de exercitu Cn. Fulvii, qui priore anno in Apulia foede caesus fuga-
tusque erat. Huic generi militum senatus eundem quem Cannensibus finem statuerat militiae. Additum etiam utrorumque ignominiae est ne in oppidis hibernarent neve hiberna propius ullam urbem decem milibus passuum aedificarent. L. Cornelio in Sardinia duae legiones datae quibus Q. Mucius praefuerat; supplementum, si opus esset, consules scribere iussi.
T. Otacilio et M. Valerio Siciliae Graeciaeque orae¹ cum legionibus classibusque quibus praeerant de-cretae; quinquaginta Graecia cum legione una, centum Sicilia cum duabus legionibus habebat² 13 naves. Tribus et viginti legionibus Romanis eo anno bellum terra marique est gestum.

II. Principio eius anni cum de litteris L. Marcii referretur, res gestae magnifieae senatui visae:

¹ orae *Walters*: ora *P(1)JK Aldus, Froben.*

² habebat *Walters*: habebant *P(1)JK.*

¹ Cf. XXIV. xviii. 9; XXV. vii. 4.

² Not including the army in Spain; cf. XXIV. xi. 2.

³ Cf. XXV. xxxvii. ff.

B.C. 211

Iunius in Etruria, Publius Sempronius in Gaul, their command was continued, with the two legions which each had had. The command of Marcus Marcellus also was continued, that as proconsul in Sicily he might finish the remainder of the war with the army which he had. If he should need reinforcements, he should provide them from the legions which Publius Cornelius, the propraetor, commanded in Sicily, provided he did not enlist any soldier from the number of those to whom the senate had refused a discharge and a return to their home towns before the end of the war. To Gaius Sulpicius, to whom Sicily had fallen, were assigned the two legions which Publius Cornelius had had, and reinforcements from Gnaeus Fulvius' army, which in the previous year had been terribly cut to pieces and put to flight in Apulia. For soldiers of this sort the senate had established the same term of service as for the men who were at Cannae.¹ It was added to the disgrace of both alike that they were not to winter in towns, nor to construct their winter quarters within ten miles of any city. To Lucius Cornelius in Sardinia were given the two legions which Quintus Mucius had commanded. Reinforcements, if necessary, the consuls were bidden to enroll. To Titus Otacilius and Marcus Valerius were assigned the coasts of Sicily and Greece, together with the legions and fleets which they commanded. Greece had fifty ships and one legion, Sicily a hundred ships and two legions. Twenty-three Roman legions² carried on the war that year on land and sea.

II. At the beginning of that year, when the letter of Lucius Marcius³ was brought before the senate,

titulus honoris, quod imperio non populi iussu, non ex auctoritate patrum dato “propraetor senatui” scripserat, magnam partem hominum offendebat: 2 rem mali exempli esse imperatores legi ab exercitibus et sollemne auspicandorum¹ comitiorum in castra et provincias, procul ab legibus magistratibusque, 3 ad militarem temeritatem transferri. Et cum quidam referendum ad senatum censerent, melius visum differri eam consultationem donec proficiiscerentur equites qui ab Marcio litteras attulerant. 4 Rescribi de frumento et vestimentis exercitus placuit eam utramque rem curae fore senatui; adscribi autem “propraetori L. Marcio” non placuit, ne id ipsum quod consultationi reliquerant pro praediudicato ferret. Dimissis equitibus, de nulla re prius consules rettulerunt, omniumque in unum sententiae congruebant, agendum cum tribunis plebis esse, primo quoque tempore ad plebem ferrent quem cum imperio mitti placeret in Hispaniam ad eum exercitum cui Cn. Scipio imperator praefuisset. Ea res cum tribunis acta promulgataque est; sed aliud certamen occupaverat animos.

7 C. Sempronius Blaesus die dicta Cn. Fulvium ob exercitum in Apulia amissum in contionibus vexabat, multos imperatores temeritate atque inscitia exer-

¹ auspicandorum *Madvig*: -ciatorum *P(3)*: -eatorum *AJK Aldus*.

¹ A tribune of the plebs; cf. iii. 8. For the defeat in question cf. note on XXVII. i. 15.

his achievement was thought magnificent; but many were offended by the official title used, since he had written "The Propraetor to the Senate," although his command had not been given him by order of the people, nor by authority of the senate. It was a bad precedent, they said, for generals to be chosen by armies, and for the sanctity of elections with the required auspices to be removed instead to camps and the provinces, far from laws and magistrates, at the bidding of reckless soldiers. And when some moved that the matter be laid before the senate, it seemed better to postpone deliberation on that point until the knights who had brought the letter from Marcius should depart. In regard to grain and clothing for the army, it was voted to reply that both matters would receive the attention of the senate, but not to address it "To the Propraetor Lucius Marcius," for fear he should get, as though already decided, the very thing which they had left to be considered. When the knights had been sent away, the consuls brought up that matter first of all, and there was complete unanimity that the tribunes of the plebs should be persuaded to bring before the plebs at the earliest possible moment the question as to whom they preferred to send with full authority to Spain and the army of which Gnaeus Scipio had been the commander-in-chief. The matter was arranged with the tribunes and due notice given; but a different dispute had claimed men's attention.

Gaius Sempronius Blaesus,¹ having named a day for the trial, was inveighing against Gnaeus Fulvius in harangues, because of the loss of his army in Apulia, insisting that many generals out of recklessness and lack of experience had led their

citum in locum praecipitem perduxisse¹ dictitans,
 8 neminem praeter Cn. Fulvium ante conrupisse omnibus
 vitiis legiones suas quam proderet. Itaque vere
 dici posse prius eos perisse quam viderent hostem,
 nec ab Hannibale, sed ab imperatore suo victos esse.
 9 Neminem, cum suffragium ineat, satis cernere cui
 imperium, cui exercitum permittat. Quid interfuisse
 inter Ti. Sempronium et Cn. Fulvium? Ti. Sem-
 10 pronium,² cum ei servorum exercitus datus esset,
 brevi effecisse disciplina atque imperio ut nemo
 eorum generis ac sanguinis sui memor in acie esset,³
 praesidio sociis. hostibus terrori essent; Cumas,
 Beneventum aliasque urbes eos velut e faucibus
 11 Hannibal's ereptas populo Romano restituisse: Cn.
 Fulvium Quiritium Romanorum exercitum, honeste
 genitos, liberaliter educatos servilibus vitiis imbuisse.
 Ergo effecisse ut feroce et inquieti inter socios,
 ignavi et inbelles inter hostes essent, nec impetum
 modo Poenorum, sed ne clamorem quidem sustinere
 12 possent. Nec hercule mirum esse cessisse⁴ milites
 in acie, cum primus omnium imperator fugeret:
 13 magis mirari se aliquos stantis cecidisse, et non
 omnes comites Cn. Fulvi fuisse pavoris ac fugae.
 C. Flaminium, L. Paulum, L. Postumium, Cn. ac
 P. Scipiones cadere in acie maluisse quam deserere
 14 circumventos exercitus: Cn. Fulvium prope unum

¹ perdixisse *M²*? *Aldus*, *Luchs*: *prae-* *P(3)*: *pro-* *B²*:
duxisse conj. *Luchs* (*earlier*).

² et Cn. Fulvium? *Ti. Sempronium Madvig*: *om.* *P(1)JK*.

³ esset *P(1)JK*: esset sed *Conway*.

⁴ cessisse *Alschefski*: *om.* *P(1)J*.

¹ For the battle at Beneventum see XXIV. xv. f.

² Here called *Quirites* (rare of soldiers) to heighten the contrast with slaves.

armies into a dangerous place; but that no one B.C. 211 except Gnaeus Fulvius had ruined his legions with every vice before he betrayed them. And so it could be truly said that they were lost before they saw the enemy, and that they were defeated, not by Hannibal, but by their own commander. No one, in casting his vote, he said, clearly saw to what sort of man he was entrusting a command and an army. What had been the difference between Tiberius Sempronius and Gnaeus Fulvius? Tiberius Sempronius, though he had been given an army of slaves, by his training and authority had soon brought it about that no one of them in battle remembered his class and origin, and that they were a defence to allies, a terror to enemies. They had rescued Cumae, Beneventum¹ and other cities out of the jaws of Hannibal, as it were, and restored them to the Roman people. But Gnaeus Fulvius, having an army of Roman citizens,² men well born and brought up as free men, had steeped them in the vices of slaves. Consequently he had accomplished this, that they were overbearing and turbulent in their dealings with allies, cowardly and unwarlike towards the enemy, and unable to withstand even the battle-cry of the Carthaginians, to say nothing of their attack. And surely it was no wonder that the soldiers had given way in battle, when their commander was the first of all to flee. He wondered more, he said, that some had fallen where they stood, and that not all had shared the consternation and flight of Gnaeus Fulvius. Gaius Flaminius, Lucius Paulus, Lucius Postumius, Gnaeus and Publius Scipio had preferred to fall in battle-line rather than to desert their entrapped armies. But Gnaeus Fulvius, almost

nuntium deleti exercitus Romam redisse. Facinus indignum esse Cannensem exercitum, quod ex acie fugerit, in Siciliam deportatum, ne prius inde dimitatur quam hostis ex Italia decesserit, et hoc idem
 15 in Cn. Fulvi legionibus nuper decretum, Cn. Fulvio fugam ex proelio ipsius temeritate commisso impunitam esse, et eum in ganea lustrisque, ubi iuventam
 16 egerit, senectutem acturum, milites qui nihil aliud peccaverint quam quod imperatoris similes fuerint, relegatos prope in exsilium ignominiosam pati militiam. Adeo imparem libertatem Romae diti ac pauperi, honorato atque inhonorato esse.

III. Reus ab se culpam in milites transferebat: eos ferociter pugnam poscentis, productos in aciem non eo quo voluerint, quia serum diei fuerit, sed postero die, et tempore et loco aequo instructos, seu
 2 famam seu vim hostium non sustinuisse. Cum effuse omnes fugerent, se quoque turba ablatum, ut Varronem Cannensi pugna, ut multos alios imperatores.
 3 Qui¹ autem solum se restantem prodesse rei publicae, nisi si mors sua remedio publicis cladibus futura
 4 esset, potuisse?² Non se inopia commeatus in loca iniqua incaute deductum, non agmine inexplorato euntem insidiis circumventum: vi aperta, armis, acie

¹ Qui *P(3)*: quid *M³BDAJK Aldus.*

² esset, potuisse *Gronovius*: esse potuisset *P(1)JK.*

the only man to report the destruction of his army, ^{B.C. 211} had returned to Rome. It was a shameful thing that the army of Cannae, for having escaped from the battle-line, had been deported to Sicily, not to be relieved of service there until the enemy withdrew from Italy, and that the same action had been taken recently in the case of Gnaeus Fulvius' legions; that the flight of Gnaeus Fulvius from a battle begun by his own recklessness should have gone unpunished, and he should be expecting to spend his old age in cook-shops and brothels in which he passed his youth, whereas the soldiers, whose only fault was that they were like their commander, had been all but exiled and were enduring military service in disgrace. So different was freedom at Rome for the rich and the poor, for the man who had held and the man who had not held public office!

III. The defendant shifted the blame from himself to the soldiers. They had been fiercely clamouring for battle, he said, when they were led out into line, not on the day they wished, since it was too late, but on the following day, and although drawn up at a favourable time and place, they failed to withstand the reputed or the real strength of the enemy. When they were all fleeing in disorder, he too was carried away by the crowd, as Varro in the battle of Cannae, as many other generals. How, he said, could he have been of service to the state by resisting all alone, unless his death was to be a remedy for national disasters? It was not that for lack of supplies he had been imprudently led into an unfavourable position; it was not that while advancing in column without reconnoitring he had been surprised and surrounded; it was by an open attack, by arms, by a

victum. Nec suorum animos nec hostium in potestate habuisse: suum cuique ingenium audaciam aut
 5 pavorem facere. Bis est accusatus pecuniaque anquisitum; tertio testibus datis, cum, praeterquam quod omnibus probris onerabatur, iurati permulti dicerent fugae favorisque initium a praetore ortum,
 6 ab eo desertos milites, cum haud vanum timorem ducis crederent, terga dedisse, tanta ira accensa est
 7 ut ¹ capite anquirendum contio sueclamaret. De eo quoque novum certamen ortum; nam cum bis pecunia anquisisset, tertio capit is se anquirere disceret, tribuni plebis appellati conlegae negarunt se in mora esse quo minus, quod ei more maiorum permissum esset, seu legibus seu moribus mallet, anquireret quoad vel capit is vel pecuniae iudicasset
 9 privato. Tum Sempronius perduellionis se iudicare Cn. Fulvio dixit, diemque comitiis ab C. Calpurnio
 10 praetore urbano petit. Inde alia spes ab reo temptata est, si adesse in iudicio Q. Fulvius frater posset, florens tum et fama rerum gestarum et propinqua spe
 11 Capuae potiundae. Id cum per litteras miserabiliter pro fratris capite scriptas petisset Fulvius, negas-
 sentque patres e re publica esse abscedi a Capua,

¹ ut *P(1) Aldus*: ut id *AJKz.*

¹ At the first and again at the second hearing the accuser (Blaesus) stated the charge and the penalty demanded in case of conviction.

² Namely, the right to demand a severer punishment, after having twice announced that it would be a fine.

³ *I.e.* by Fulvius.

⁴ For a similar procedure cf. XXV. iii. 13 ff.

⁵ The *comitia centuriata*, for the fourth hearing and a final verdict by popular vote. Cicero enumerates the formalities required, including the *quarta accusatio*; *de Domo* 45.

battle-line that he had been defeated. Neither the spirit of his own men nor that of the enemy had been under his control: every man's own temperament, he said, produces boldness or consternation. Twice he was accused and a fine required;¹ at the third hearing witnesses were furnished, and he was not only loaded with every kind of reproach, but also many swore that the beginning of flight and panic was made by the praetor; that the soldiers, deserted by him, in the belief that the general's fear was not unfounded, had retreated. Thereupon such anger was kindled that the assembly shouted that the magistrate must demand a capital penalty. On that point² also a fresh dispute began. For when the accuser, having twice demanded a fine, said at the third hearing that he demanded capital punishment, the tribunes were appealed to.³ And they said that they would not stand in their colleague's way, to prevent him from doing what was permitted him by ancestral custom, that is, from making his demand either according to the laws or according to custom, as he preferred, until he should condemn the defendant either to capital punishment or to pay a fine.⁴ Upon that Sempronius said he judged Gnaeus Fulvius guilty of treason and asked of Gaius Calpurnius, the city praetor, a day for the assembly.⁵ Then the defendant had recourse to another hope, in case his brother Quintus Fulvius might be able to attend at the trial, as he was then influential both from the fame of his successes and from the hope, now almost fulfilled, of taking Capua. After Fulvius had written a pitiful letter in that sense on behalf of his brother's life, and the senators had declared that leaving Capua was not to the interest of the state,

A.U.C. 513 12 postquam dies comitiorum aderat, Cn. Fulvius exsulatum Tarquinios abiit. Id ei iustum exsilium esse scivit plebs.

IV. Inter haec vis omnis belli versa in Capuam erat; obsidebatur tamen acrius quam oppugnabatur, nec aut famem tolerare servitia ac plebs poterant aut mittere nuntios ad Hannibalem per custodias tam artas. Inventus est Numida qui acceptis litteris evasurum se professus praestaret promissum. Per media Romana castra nocte egressus spem accedit Campanis, dum aliquid virium superesset, ab omni parte eruptionem temptandi. Ceterum in multis certaminibus equestria proelia ferme prospera faciebant, pedite¹ superabantur. Sed nequaquam tam laetum vincere quam triste vinci ulla parte erat ab obpresso et prope expugnato hoste. Initia tandem ratio est ut quod viribus deerat arte aquaretur. Ex omnibus legionibus electi sunt iuvenes maxime vigore ac levitate corporum velocies; eis parmae breviores quam equestris et septena iacula quaternos longa pedes data, praefixa ferro quale hastis velitaribus inest. Eos singulos in equos suos accipientes equites adsuefecerunt et vehi post sese et desilire perniciter, ubi datum signum esset. Postquam² adsuetudine cotidiana satis intrepide fieri visum est, in campum qui medius inter castra murumque erat adversus

¹ pedite *Gronorius*: pedites *P(1)JK*.

² Postquam *P(1)JK*: postquam id *Koch*: id postquam *M. Müller*.

¹ Cf. the similar plebiscite XXV. iv. 9.

² *I.e.* to the Romans.

³ Such had been mentioned in XXI. iv. 11, at the Trebia. But they were not combined with the cavalry.

when the day for the assembly was at hand Gnaeus B.C. 211 Fulvius went into exile at Tarquinii. The plebs voted that his exile was legal.¹

IV. Meanwhile the whole effort of the war had been directed against Capua. But it was rather an intensive blockade than a series of assaults, and the slaves and commoners were unable either to endure hunger or to send messengers to Hannibal through guards so near to each other. A Numidian was discovered who took a letter, declared that he would make his way out, and kept his promise. Going out right through the Roman camp at night he inspired in the Capuans the hope that, while they still had some strength left, they might attempt a sally in all directions. But in the many engagements they were as a rule successful in cavalry battles, while in infantry they were worsted. To be victorious, however, was by no means so cheering² as it was depressing to be vanquished at any point by a beleaguered and almost captured enemy. At length a method was devised, so that what was lacking to their strength might be compensated by skilful tactics. Out of all the legions were picked young men who by reason of strength and lightness of build were the swiftest. These were furnished with round shields of smaller size than those used by cavalry, and seven javelins apiece four feet long and having iron heads such as are on the spears of the light-armed troops.³ The horsemen would each of them take one of these men on to their own horses, and they trained them both to ride behind and to leap down nimbly when the signal was given. When thanks to daily practice they seemed to do this with sufficient daring, they advanced into the plain which lay half-way between the camp and

7 instructos Campanorum equites processerunt, et, ubi ad coniectum teli ventum est, signo dato velites desiliunt. Pedestris inde acies ex equitatu repente in hostium equites incurrit, iaculaque cum impetu alia super alia emittunt. Quibus plurimis in equos virosque passim coniectis permultos volneraverunt; pavoris tamen plus ex re nova atque inopinata inieictum est, et in percussum hostem equites invecti fugam stragemque eorum usque ad portas fecerunt. 9 Inde equitatu quoque superior Romana res fuit; 10 institutum¹ ut velites in legionibus essent. Auctorem peditum equiti inmiserendorum centurionem Q. Navium ferunt,² honorique id ei apud imperatorem fuisse.

V. Cum in hoc statu ad Capuam res essent, Hannibalem diversum³ Tarentinae arcis potiundae Capuaeque retinendae trahebant curae. Vicit tamen respectus Capuae, inquam omnium sociorum hostiumque conversos videbat animos, documento futurae, qualeumenque eventum defectio ab Romanis habuisset. 3 Igitur magna parte impedimentorum reicta in Bruttii et omni graviore armatu,⁴ cum delectis peditum equitumque quam poterat aptissimus⁵ ad maturandum iter in Campaniam contendit. Secuti tamen tam raptim euntem tres et triginta elephanti. 4 In valle occulta post Tifata, montem imminentem

¹ institutum *P(1)JK*: et institutum *Ussing*.

² ferunt *P(3)M¹Aldus*: tradunt *A'JKz*: fuerunt *R.M.*

³ diversum *P(1)JK*: in diversum *C¹M¹x Aldus*.

the city-wall in the face of the Capuan cavalry in B.C. 211 battle-line. And when they had come within range, at a given signal the light-armed leaped to the ground. Thereupon an infantry line suddenly dashes out from the cavalry at the enemy's horsemen, and while attacking they hurl one javelin after another. By throwing a great number of these against horses and men in all directions, they wounded very many. But more consternation was created by the strange and the unexpected, and the cavalry charging into the frightened enemy caused them to flee with slaughter all the way to the gates. Thereafter the Roman side was superior in cavalry also; it was made the practice to have light-armed in the legions. The originator of combining infantry with cavalry they say was Quintus Navius, a centurion, and that for so doing honour was paid him by the general.

V. While matters stood thus at Capua, Hannibal was drawn in opposite directions by the desire to take the citadel of Tarentum and to hold Capua. However, regard for Capua prevailed, a city on which he saw that the attention of all his allies and enemies was concentrated, and one destined to be a striking example, whatever might be the result of its revolt from the Romans. Accordingly, leaving in the land of the Brutii a large part of his baggage and all the heavy-armed, with picked infantry and cavalry he hastened into Campania in the best possible condition for a rapid march. In spite of his swift movement thirty-three elephants managed to follow him. He encamped in a closed valley behind Tifata, a moun-

⁴ armatu P(1) Gronovius: armatura C²M¹A⁴JKz.

⁵ aptissimus P(3)B¹J : -is M¹A⁴Kx Aldus.

Capuae, consedit. Adveniens cum castellum Galatiam praesidio vi pulso cepisset, in circumsedentis
 5 Capuam se vertit. praemissisque nuntiis Capuam, quo tempore castra Romana adgressurus esset, ut eodem et illi ad eruptionem parati portis omnibus
 6 sese effunderent, ingentem praebuit terrorem. Nam alia parte ipse abortus est, alia Campani omnes, equites peditesque, et cum iis Punicum praesidium, cui Bostar et Hanno praecerant, erupit.
 7 Romani ut in re trepida, ne ad unam concurrendo partem aliquid indefensi relinquenter, ita inter sese
 8 copias partiti sunt: Ap. Claudius Campanis, Fulvius Hannibali est oppositus: C. Nero propraetor cum equitibus sex legionum via quae Suessulam fert, C. Fulvius Flaccus legatus cum sociali equitatu
 9 constitit e regione Volturni amnis. Proelium non solito modo clamore ac tumultu est coeptum, sed ad alium virorum, equorum arinorumque sonum disposita in muris Campanorum inbellis multitudo tantum cum aeris crepitum, qualis in defectu lunaे silenti nocte cieri solet, edidit clamorem ut averteret ¹
 10 etiam pugnantium animos. Campanos facile a vallo Appius areebat: maior vis ab altera parte Fulvium
 11 Hannibal et Poeni urgebant. Legio ibi sexta loco cessit, qua pulsa cohors Hispanorum cum tribus elephantis usque ad vallum pervasit, ruperatque

¹ averteret *P(1)JK*: adverteret *x Muretus.*

¹ Unknown; not to be confused with Calatia, a city which had revolted in 216 B.C. (XXII. lxi. 11), and was not recovered by the Romans until later in this year, 211 B.C. (xvi. 5).

² Cf. Tacitus *Annals* I. xxviii: Plutarch *Aemilius* xvii. 4; Pliny *N.H.* II. 54.

tain commanding Capua. As he approached, he ^{B.C. 211} first captured the stronghold of Galatia,¹ overpowering its garrison, and then directed his march against the besiegers of Capua. And sending word in advance to Capua, stating at what time he proposed to attack the Roman camp, so that they also, making ready for a sally, might at the same time burst out of all the gates, he inspired great alarm. For on one side he himself attacked, on the other all the Capuans, cavalry and infantry, sallied out, and with them the Carthaginian garrison, commanded by Bostar and Hanno.

The Romans in their alarm, so as not to leave one point undefended by rushing in the same direction, divided their forces among them as follows: Appius Claudius was placed facing the Capuans, Fulvius facing Hannibal: Gaius Nero, the propraetor, with the cavalry of six legions took his place along the road leading to Suessula, Gaius Fulvius Flaccus, the lieutenant, with the cavalry of the allies in the direction of the river Voltumnus. The battle began not only with the usual shouting and uproar, but, in addition to the noise of men and horses and arms, the non-combatant populace of Capua disposed along the walls produced so much shouting, together with the clashing of bronze,² such as is usually kept up in the still night of a lunar eclipse, as to divert the attention even of the combatants. Appius was easily keeping the Capuans away from the earth-work of the camp; on the other side a larger force, Hannibal and the Carthaginians, were pressing Fulvius. There the sixth legion gave way, and after it had been forced back, a cohort of Spaniards with three elephants managed even to reach the earth-

median aciem Romanorum et in ancipi^t spe ac
 periculo erat utrum in castra perrumperet an interclu-
 12 deretur a suis. Quem pavorem legionis periculumque
 castrorum Fulvius ubi vidit, Q. Navium primoresque
 alios centurionum hortatur ut cohortem hostium sub
 13 vallo pugnantem invadant: in summo discrimine
 rem verti; aut viam dandam iis esse—et minore
 conatu quam condensam aciem rupissent¹ in castra
 14 inrupturos—aut conficiendos sub vallo esse. Nec mag-
 ni certaminis rem fore; paucos esse et ab suis inter-
 clusos, et quae. dum paveat Romanus, interrupta acies
 videatur, eam, si se utrimque² in hostem vertat,
 15 ancipi^t pugna medios circumventuram. Navius ubi
 haec imperatoris dicta accepit, secundi hastati
 signum ademptum signifero in hostis infert, iacturum
 in medios eos minitans, ni se propere sequantur
 16 milites et partem capessant pugnae. Ingens corpus
 erat et arma honestabant; et sublatum alte signum
 17 converterat ad spectaculum cives hostesque. Ce-
 terum postquam iam ad signa pervenerat Hispanorum,
 tum undique in eum tragulae coniectae et prope tota
 in unum acies versa; sed neque multitudo hostium
 neque telorum vis arcere impetum eius viri potuerunt.³

VI. Et M. Atilius legatus primi principis ex eadem

¹ rupissent *Crévier*: inrupissent *P(3) A^zJK Aldus.*

² utrimque *PCM^{1z}*: utrumque *RMBDAJK.*

³ potuerunt *P(3) Aldus*: potuit *AJKz.*

work, and had broken through the Roman centre, B.C. 211 and wavered between the hope of breaking through into the camp and the danger of being cut off from their own troops. Fulvius, on seeing the alarm of the legion and the danger to the camp, bade Quintus Navius and other first centurions to attack the cohort of the enemy fighting beneath the earth-work. He said that it was a very critical moment; that either they must be allowed to pass—and it would be less of an effort for them to burst into the camp than it had been to break through the solid line—or else they must be disposed of beneath the earthwork. Also that it would not involve much fighting; they were few and cut off from their own men; and if the battle-line, which in the panic of the Romans seemed to have been broken through, should face against the enemy from both sides, it would enclose them between two fronts. Navius, on hearing these words of the commander, snatched a standard of the second maniple of the *hastati* from the standard-bearer and carried it towards the enemy, threatening that he would throw it into their midst if the soldiers did not quickly follow him and take a hand in the battle. A huge frame he had, and his arms added distinction; and the standard held aloft had attracted citizens and enemies to the sight. But when he had pushed through to the standards of the Spaniards, spears were then hurled at him from every side, and almost the entire line turned against him alone. But neither the numbers of the enemy nor the mass of weapons could beat off the attack of such a man.

VI. And Marcus Atilius, the lieutenant, started to carry the standard of the first maniple of the *prin-*

legione signum inferre in cohortem Hispanorum coepit; et qui castris praerant, L. Porcius Lichenus et T. Popilius legati, pro vallo acriter propugnant elephatosque transgredientes in ipso vallo conficiunt.

2 Quorum corporibus cum oppleta fossa esset, velut aggere aut ponte iniesto transitum hostibus dedit. Ibi per¹ stragem iacentium elephantorum atrox 3 edita caedes. Altera in parte castrorum iam impulsi erant Campani Punicumque praesidium et sub ipsa porta Capuae quae Voltturnum fert pugnabatur;

4 neque tam armati inrumpentibus Romanis resistebant, quam porta ballistis scorpionibusque instructa missi- 5 libus procul hostis arcebat. Et suppressit impetum Romanorum volnus imperatoris Ap. Claudi, cui suos ante prima signa adhortanti sub laevo umero sum- 6 mum pectus gaeso ictum est. Magna vis tamen hostium ante portam est caesa, ceteri trepidi in urbem conpulsi. Et Hannibal, postquam cohortis Hispanorum stragem vidit summaque vi castra hostium defendi, omissa oppugnatione recipere signa et convertere agmen peditum obiecto ab tergo 7 equitatu, ne hostis instaret, coepit. Legionum ardor ingens ad hostem insequendum fuit: Flaccus receptui cani iussit, satis ad utrumque profectum

¹ per P(1)JK: super Ussing.

¹ In the second line, advancing to aid the *hastati*.

² A stronghold recently fortified at the mouth of the river Voltumnus, later a city; cf. XXV. xx. 2.

*cipes*¹ of the same legion towards the cohort of B.C. 211 Spaniards, and at the same time Lueius Poreius Licinus and Titus Popilius, the lieutenants in command of the camp, fought with spirit on the earthwork and slew the elephants directly on the wall, as they were trying to cross. When the trench was filled with their bodies, it furnished the enemy with a passage, just as if an embankment or a bridge had been thrown over it. There, all over the heap of fallen elephants, a terrible slaughter ensued. On the other side of the camp the Capuans and the Carthaginian garrison had already been repulsed, and fighting was going on just outside the gate of Capua leading toward Volturnum.² And it was not so much the armed men that were resisting the Romans trying to burst in, as that the gate, armed with larger and smaller artillery, kept the enemy back by missiles hurled from a distance. The attack of the Romans was further checked by the wounding of Appius Claudius, the general encouraging his men at the front, when the upper part of his chest was struck by a javelin below the left shoulder. Nevertheless a great number of the enemy were slain before the gate, and the rest driven in disorder into the city. Hannibal likewise, seeing the slaughter of the Spanish cohort, and that the enemy's camp was being defended with the utmost vigour, gave up the attack upon it and began to recall his standards and to make his infantry beat a retreat, while interposing his cavalry in the rear, to prevent the enemy from pursuing. The legions showed great eagerness to pursue the enemy; but Flaccus ordered the recall to be sounded, thinking that enough had been accom-

ratus, ut et Campani quam haud multum in Hannibale
 8 praesidii esset, et ipse Hannibal sentiret. Caesa eo
 die quidam¹, qui huius pugnae auctores sunt, octo
 milia hominum de Hannibalis exercitu, tria ex
 Campanis tradunt, signaque Carthaginiensibus quin-
 decim adempta, duodeviginti Campanis.

9 Apud alios nequaquam tantam molem pugnae
 inveni² plusque pavoris quam certaminis fuisse,
 cum inopinato in castra Romana Numidae Hispanique
 10 cum elephantis inrupissent, elephanti per media
 castra vadentes stragem tabernaculorum ingenti
 sonitu ac fugam abrumpentium vincula iumentorum
 11 facerent; fraudem quoque super tumultum adiectam,
 inmissis ab Hannibale qui habitu Italico gnari
 Latinae linguae iuberent consulum verbis, quoniam
 amissa castra essent, pro se quemque militum in
 12 proximos montes fugere; sed eam celeriter cognitam
 fraudem oppressamque magna caede hostium;
 13 elephantos igni e castris exactos. Hoc ultimum,
 utcumque initum finitumque est, ante ditionem
 Capuae proelium fuit.

Medix tuticus, qui summus magistratus apud
 Campanos est, eo anno Seppius Loesius erat, loco
 14 obscuro tenuique fortuna ortus. Matrem eius
 quondam pro pupillo eo procurantem familiare
 ostentum, cum respondisset haruspex summum quod
 esset imperium Capuae per venturum ad eum
 puerum, nihil ad eam spem adgnoscentem dixisse

¹ quidam *Luchs*: *om. P(1)JK Conway*.

² inveni *P*: *inveniri P^{2?}(1)*: *invenio A¹JKz.*

¹ No doubt chiefly Valerius Antias; Vol. VI., p. 492, n. 2;
 below, xlix. 3, 5.

² Meaning proconsuls.

³ Cf. XXIII. xxxv. 13; XXIV. xix. 2.

plished for both purposes—that the Campanians B.C. 211 should appreciate how little defence they had in Hannibal, and that Hannibal himself should be aware of it. Some of the authorities¹ on this battle relate that eight thousand men were slain in Hannibal's army, three thousand in the Campanian, and that fifteen standards were taken from the Carthaginians and eighteen from the Campanians.

In other writers I have found that the battle was by no means on such a scale, but that there was more panie than fighting, when Numidians and Spaniards with elephants had burst into the Roman camp unexpectedly, and while the elephants, on their way straight through the camp, were causing wreckage of tents in the midst of a terrible din, and making the beasts of burden break their halters and flee; that, in addition to the uproar, there was also a ruse; for Hannibal sent in men in Italian dress and acquainted with the Latin language, to bid the soldiers, in the name of the consuls,² each for himself to flee to the neighbouring mountains, since the camp had been taken; but that the ruse was quickly recognized and frustrated with great loss to the enemy; that the elephants were driven out of the camp by the use of fire. In whatever way it began and ended, this was the last battle before the surrender of Capua.

As *medix tuticus*,³ which is the highest office among the Campanians, Seppius Loesius was serving that year, though born in a humble station and having slender means. They say that his mother on his behalf as a minor was once expiating a household portent, and when the soothsayer had given his answer that the very highest authority at Capua would come to that boy, she, finding nothing to

A.U.C. 15 ferunt: "Ne tu perditas res Campanorum narras,
 542 ubi summus honos ad filium meum perveniet."

16 Ea ludificatio veri et ipsa in verum vertit; nam
 cum fame ferroque urgerentur nec spes ulla superesset
 sisti posse,¹ iis qui nati² in spem honorum erant

17 honores detrectantibus, Loesius querendo desertam
 ac proditam a primoribus Capuam, summum ma-
 gistratum ultimus omnium Campanorum cepit.

VII. Ceterum Hannibal, ut nec hostis elici amplius
 ad pugnam vidi neque per castra eorum perrumpi ad
 2 Capuam posse, ne suos quoque commeatus interclu-
 derent novi consules, abscedere ~~inrito~~-~~incepto~~ et
 3 movere a Capua statuit castra. Multa secum
 quonam³ inde ire pergeret volventi subiit animum
 impetus caput ipsum bellum Romam petendi, cuius rei
 semper *cupitae* praetermissam occasionem post
 Cannensem pugnam et alii volgo⁴ fremeabant et ipse
 4 non dissimulabat: nec opinato pavore ac tumultu
 non esse desperandum aliquam partem urbis occu-
 5 pari posse; et si Roma in discrimine esset, Capuam
 extemplo omissuros aut ambo imperatores Romanos
 aut alterum ex iis, et si divisissent copias, utrumque
 infirmiorem factum aut sibi aut Campanis bene
 6 gerendae rei fortunam datus esse. Una ea cura
 angebat ne, ubi abscessisset, extemplo dederentur
 Campani. Numidam promptum ad omnia audenda
 agendaque⁵ donis perlicit ut litteris acceptis specie

¹ posse *Alschefski*: *om. P(1)JK*.

² iis qui nati *z Alschefski*: *om. P(1)JK*.

³ quonam *A JK Aldus*: quo iam *P(1)Ayz*.

⁴ volgo *P*: *om. Madrig, Hertz, Conway, without giving reason or citing MSS.*

⁵ agendaque *Wesenberg*: que *P(3)*: *om. M¹?DAJK Conway*.

justify that hope, said “ Surely you mean the ruin B.C. 211 of the Campanians, when the highest office shall come to my son.” That mockery of a true prediction also came true. For when they were hard pressed by starvation and the sword, and there remained no hope that they could hold out, while those who were born to the expectation of public offices were refusing them, Loesius, who complained that Capua had been abandoned and betrayed by its leading men, was the last of all the Campanians to receive their highest magistracy.

VII. But Hannibal, seeing that it was impossible either to tempt the enemy into battle again, or to break a way through their camp to Capua, for fear the new consuls should cut off his supplies also, resolved to retire without accomplishing his undertaking and to move his camp away from Capua. While carefully considering whither he should remove, the impulse came to him to proceed to Rome, the very centre of the war. It was something which he had always desired to do, but after the battle of Cannae he had let the opportunity pass, as others commonly complained, and as he himself frequently admitted. In unexpected alarm and confusion it need not be beyond his hopes that some part of the city could be seized. And if Rome should be in danger, he thought that either both of the Roman commanders or one of them would at once abandon Capua: and that if they should divide their forces, each being weakened would give either himself or the Capuans the chance of success. Only one concern tormented him, the fear that as soon as he had withdrawn, the Capuans might at once be surrendered. A Numidian who was ready to dare and do anything was induced

transfugae castra Romana ingressus, altera parte
 7 clam Capuam pervadat. Litterae autem erant
 adhortatione plenae: profectionem suam, quae
 salutaris illis foret, abstracturam ad defendendam
 Romam ab oppugnanda Capua duces atque exercitus
 8 Romanos. Ne desponderent animos; tolerando
 9 paucos dies totam soluturos obsidionem. Inde navis
 in flumine Volturno comprehensas subigi ad id quod
 iam ante praesidii causa fecerat castellum iussit.
 10 Quarum ubi tantam copiam esse ut una nocte traici
 posset exercitus allatum est, cibariis decem dierum
 praeparatis deductas nocte ad fluvium legiones ante
 lucem traiecit.

VIII. Id priusquam fieret, ita futurum conpertum
 ex transfugis Fulvius Flaccus senatui Romam cum
 scripsisset, varie animi hominum¹ pro cuiusque
 2 ingenio affecti sunt. Ut in re tam trepida senatu
 extemplo vocato, P. Cornelius cui Asinae cognomen
 erat omnes duces exercitusque ex tota Italia, neque
 Capuae neque ullius alterius rei memor, ad urbis
 3 praesidium revocabat. Fabius Maximus abscedi a
 Capua terrorique et circumagi ad nutus commina-
 4 tionesque Hannibal's flagitosum ducebat:² qui ad
 Cannas vitor ire tamen ad urbem ausus non esset,
 eum a Capua repulsum spem potiundae urbis Romae

¹ animi hominum *P(3)*: hominum animi *AJK Aldus*.

² ducebat *P(1)*: dicebat *JK*.

¹ To protect his passage; not the same *castellum* as in vi. 3.

² He had been consul before this war, in 221 b.c.; cf. XXII. xxxiv. 1.

by Hannibal's gifts to take a letter, enter the Roman camp under the guise of a deserter, and then from the other side of the camp make his way in secret to Capua. And the letter was filled with encouragements. His departure, Hannibal said, which would be of advantage to them, would draw off the Roman generals and armies from the siege of Capua to the defence of Rome. They should not be downcast; by holding out for a few days they would cause the entire blockade to be raised. He then ordered that boats on the Volturnus should be seized and rowed up to the fort which he had previously built for a defence.¹ And when word came that the number of these was such that his army could be ferried across in a single night, he had food prepared for ten days, led his legions down to the river by night, and transported them across before daylight.

VIII. Before this happened Fulvius Flaccus had learned from deserters that it was to be done, and had so written to the senate at Rome; whereupon men's feelings were differently stirred according to their several natures. As was natural in so alarming a situation, the senate was at once summoned, and Publius Cornelius, surnamed Asina,² with no thought of Capua or of anything else, was for recalling all the generals and armies from the whole of Italy for the defence of the city. But Fabius Maximus thought it a shameful thing to withdraw from Capua, to be frightened and led about at the beck of Hannibal and in response to his threats. To think, he said, that the man who, though victor at Cannae, had not ventured to go to the city, on being beaten back from Capua should have conceived the hope of capturing the city of

5 cepisse! Non ad Romam obsidendarum, sed ad Capuae liberandam obsidionem ire. Romam cum eo exercitu qui ad urbem esset Iovem foederum ruptorum ab Hannibale testem deosque alios defensuros esse.
 6 Has diversas sententias media sententia P. Valerii Flacci vicit, qui utriusque rei memor imperatoribus qui ad Capuam essent scribendum censuit quid ad urbem praesidii esset; quantas autem Hannibal copias duceret aut quanto exercitu ad Capuam
 7 obsidendarum opus esset, ipsos scire. Si ita¹ Romam e dueibus alter et exercitus pars mitti posset, ut ab reliquo et duce et exercitu Capua recte obsideretur,
 8 inter se compararent Claudius Fulviusque utri obsidenda Capua, utri ad prohibendarum obsidione patriam
 9 Romam veniendum esset. Hoc senatus consulto Capuam perlato Q. Fulvius proconsul, cui, collega ex volnere aegro, redeundum² Romam erat, e tribus exercitibus milite electo, ad quindecim milia
 10 peditum, mille equites Voltturnum traducit. Inde cum Hannibalem Latina via iturum satis comperisset, ipse per Appiae municipia quaeque propter eam viam
 11 sunt. Setiam. Coram, Lavinium praemisit, ut commeatus paratos et in urbibus haberent et ex agris deviis in viam proferrent, praesidiaque in urbes contraherent, ut sua cuique res publica in manu esset.

IX. Hannibal quo die Voltturnum est transgressus,

¹ Si ita *Alschefski*: sieta *PCR*: si et *C²R¹?MBDAJK Aldus*.

² aegro, redeundum *Walters*: aegro eundum *C²*: aegrediuendum *PR*; egrediundum *CR²MBDAJKz* (-endum *JK*).

¹ Consul 227 B.C.; ambassador to Hannibal at Saguntum, and to Carthage 218 B.C.; XXI. vi. 8.

Rome! It was not to besiege Rome that he was on the march, but to raise the siege of Capua. As for Rome, Jupiter, witness of the treaties broken by Hannibal, and the other gods would defend her with the aid of the army stationed at the city. These conflicting motions were defeated by the compromise of Publius Valerius Flaccus,¹ who, mindful of both situations, proposed that they write to the generals at Capua, informing them what forces there were to defend the city; on the other hand, what forces Hannibal was taking with him or how large an army was needed for the siege of Capua they themselves knew. If one of the two generals and a part of the army could be sent to Rome, provided Capua should be duly besieged by the general and army remaining, then let Claudius and Fulvius arrange between them which of the two must besiege Capua, and which must come to Rome to prevent a siege of their native city. When this decree of the senate was brought to Capua, Quintus Fulvius, the proconsul, who, since his colleague was disabled by a wound, was obliged to return to Rome, after picking soldiers from three armies, led about fifteen thousand infantry and a thousand horsemen across the Volturnus. Thence, on learning definitely that Hannibal would march along the Latin Way, he himself sent word in advance to the towns along the Appian Way and such as are near that road, Setia, Cora, Lavinium, that they should have supplies on hand in the cities and also bring them down from farms at a distance to the road, and bring garrisons into the cities, so that each might have the defence of its public interests in hand.

IX. Hannibal on the day that he crossed the Vol-

2 haud procul a flumine castra posuit; postero die
 praeter Cales in agrum Sidicinum pervenit. Ibi
 diem unum populando moratus per Suessanum
 Allifanumque et Casinatem agrum via Latina ducit.
 Sub Casino¹ biduo stativa habita et passim popula-
 3 tiones factae. Inde praeter Interamnam Aquinum-
 que in Fregellanum agrum ad Lirim fluvium ventum,
 ubi intercisum pontem a Fregellinis morandi itineris
 4 causa invenit. Et Fulvium Voltumnus tenuerat amnis,
 navibus ab Hannibale incensis. rates ad traiciendum
 exercitum in magna inopia materiae aegre compa-
 5 rantem. Traecto ratibus exercitu, relicum Fulvio
 expeditum iter, non per urbes modo sed circa viam
 expositis benigne commeatisbus, erat; alacresque
 milites alius alium ut adderet gradum, memor ad
 6 defendendam iri² patriam, hortabantur. Romam
 Fregellanus nuntius, diem noctemque itinere conti-
 nuato, ingentem attulit terrorem. Tumultuosius
 quam allatum erat volgatum periculum discursu³
 hominum adfingentium vana auditis totam urbem
 7 concitat. Ploratus mulierum non ex privatis solum
 domibus exaudiebatur, sed undique matronae in
 publicum effusae circa deum delubra discurrunt,
 erinibus passis aras verrentes, nixae genibus, supinas
 8 manus ad caelum ac deos tendentes orantesque ut
 urbēm Romanam e manibus hostium eriperent

¹ Casino *Ussing*: Casinum *P(1)JK*.

² iri *PCR*: ire *R²MDAJK Aldus*: irae *B*.

³ volgatum periculum dis- *Conicay*: propagatum dis-
Madrig: om. *P(1)JK*, a lost line, these having simply cursu or
 other cases of the same word.

¹ Near Fregellae the Via Latina crossed the Liris, after steadily approaching it most of the way from Casinum.

turnus pitched camp not far from the river; on the next day he made his way past Cales into the region of the Sidicini. There he lingered one day devastating the country, and then led along the Latin Way through the territory of Suessa, Allifae and Casinum. Before Casinum he remained encamped two days, and ravaged the country in all directions. Then passing Interamna and Aquinum he came into the region of Fregellae as far as the river Liris,¹ where he found the bridge broken down by the men of Fregellae, to delay his march. Fulvius too had been detained by the river Voltumnus, as the boats had been burned by Hannibal, and he had difficulty in getting together rafts for the transporting of his army, owing to the great scarcity of timber. After the army had been carried across on rafts, the rest of Fulvius' march was unhampered, as supplies had been generously set out for them not only in the cities, but also by the roadside. And the eager soldiers kept encouraging one another to quicken their pace, remembering that they were marching to defend their native city. To Rome a messenger from Fregellae, riding on for a day and a night, brought great alarm. Still greater confusion than at its first reception was occasioned by news of the danger spread by men who ran about, adding unfounded reports to what they had heard, and it stirred the entire city. The wailings of women were heard not only from private houses, but from every direction matrons pour into the streets and run about among the shrines of the gods, sweeping the altars with their dishevelled hair, kneeling, holding up their palms to heaven and the gods, and praying them to rescue the city of Rome from the hands of the enemy and to

matresque Romanas et liberos parvos inviolatos servarent. Senatus magistratibus in foro praesto est, si quid consulere¹ velint. Alii accipiunt imperia disceduntque ad suas quisque officiorum partes, alii offerunt se, si quo usus operaे sit. Praesidia in arce, in Capitolio, in muris, circa urbem, in monte etiam Albano atque arce Aefulana ponuntur. Inter hunc tumultum Q. Fulvium proconsulem profectum cum exercitu Capua adfertur; cui ne minueretur imperium, si in urbem venisset, decernit senatus ut Q. Fulvio par cum consulibus imperium esset. Hannibal, infestius perpopulato agro Fregellano propter intercisos pontis, per Frusinatem Ferentinatemque et Anagninum agrum in Labicanum venit. Inde Algido Tusculum petiit, nec receptus moenibus infra Tusulum dextrorsus Gabios descendit. Inde in Pupiniam exercitu demisso octo milia passuum ab Roma posuit castra. Quo propius hostis accedebat, eo maior caedes fiebat fugientium praecedentibus Numidis, pluresque omnium generum atque aetatum capiebantur.

X. In hoc tumultu Fulvius Flaccus porta Capena cum exercitu Romam ingressus, media urbe per Carinas Esquilias contendit; inde egressus inter Esquilinam Collinamque portam posuit castra.

Aediles plebis commeatum eo conportarunt; con-

¹ consulere C⁴A¹JK : consule PCR : consules R²MDBA.

¹ Aefula, not far from Tibur, disappeared early, but gave its name to the Mons Aeflanus, which in Domitian's time (A.D. 88) was pierced by a long tunnel for the Aqua Claudia.

² According to Livy it had been a colony since 418 B.C.; IV. xlvi. 6; xlix 6.

³ Between Rome and Tusculum. From it came the name of the tribus Pupinia; Festus p. 264 L.

keep Roman mothers and little children unharmed. B.C. 211
 The senate is ready in the Forum for the magistrates, in case they wish its advice about anything. Some receive commands and depart each to the duty assigned him; others volunteer, if there be any need of their services. Garrisons are posted on the Citadel, on the Capitol, on the walls, around the city, also on the Alban Mount and on the citadel of Aefula.¹ In the midst of this turmoil word comes that Quintus Fulvius, the proconsul, has set out from Capua with an army. And that his military power may not be annulled if he should come into the city, the senate decrees that Quintus Fulvius shall have equal authority with the consuls. Hannibal, after laying waste the territory of Fregellae more ruthlessly on account of the breaking down of the bridges, came through the districts of Frusino and Ferentinum and Anagnia into that of Labici.² Then over Mount Algidus he went to Tusculum, and not being admitted to the city, he descended toward the right below Tusculum to Gabii. Thence he led his army down into the Pupinian district³ and pitched camp eight miles distant from Rome. The nearer the enemy approached the greater was the slaughter of fugitives, as the Numidians were in the lead, and the greater was the number of the captured of every class and age.

X. In this confusion Fulvius Flaccus entered Rome with his army by the Porta Capena,⁴ and hastened through the centre of the city by way of the Carinae to the Esquiline. Then going out he pitched his camp between Porta Esquilina and Porta Collina. The plebeian aediles brought supplies thither: the

⁴ Cf. XXV. xl. 3.

sules senatusque in castra venerunt; ibi de summa
re publica consultatum. Placuit consules circa
portas Collinam Esquilineamque ponere castra; C.
Calpurnium praetorem urbanum Capitolio atque
arci praeesse, et senatum frequentem in foro conti-
neri, si quid in tam subitis rebus consulto opus esset.
3 Inter haec Hannibal ad Anienem fluvium tria milia
passuum ab urbe castra admovit. Ibi stativis positis
ipse cum duobus milibus equitum ad portam Collinam
usque ad Herculis templum est progressus atque,
unde proxime poterat, moenia situmque urbis
4 obequitanus contemplabatur. Id eum tam licenter
atque otiose facere Flacco indignum visum est;
itaque immisit equites summoverique atque in castra
5 redigi hostium equitatum iussit. Cum commissum
proelium esset, consules transfugas Numidarum,
qui tum in Aventino ad mille et ducenti erant, media
6 urbe transire Esquiliis iusserunt, nullos aptiores
inter convallis tectaque hortorum et sepulcra et
cavas¹ undique vias ad pugnandum futuros rati.
Quos cum ex arce Capitolioque clivo Publicio in
equis decurrentis quidam vidissent, captum Aventi-
7 num conclamaverunt. Ea res tantum tumultum
ac fugam praebuit ut, nisi castra Punica extra urbem
fuissent, effusura se omnis pavida multitudo fuerit;
tunc in domos atque in tecta refugiebant, vagosque

¹ cavas *P(3)A^y Aldus*: vacuas *B²AJKz.*

¹ Thus there would be three camps eastward of the Agger of Servius Tullius so-called, where Hannibal's attack might be anticipated.

² Site unknown.

³ This street led from the northwest end of the Circus Maximus up on to the Aventine, and southward across that hill; cf. XXVII. xxxvii. 15; XXX. xxvi. 5.

consuls and the senate came to the camp ; there they deliberated on the most important matters of state. It was decided that the consuls should pitch their camps near the gates, Collina and Esquilina ;¹ that Gaius Calpurnius, the city praetor, should be in command of the Capitol and the Citadel, and that the senate in full numbers should be kept in the Forum, in case there might be need of deliberation in such an emergency. Meanwhile Hannibal moved his camp to the river Anio, three miles from the city. There he established a permanent camp and himself with two thousand horsemen advanced toward Porta Collina as far as the Temple of Hercules,² and riding up surveyed the walls and situation of the city from the nearest possible point. That he should do so with such freedom and so at his leisure seemed to Flaccus a shame. Accordingly he sent his horsemen against him and ordered that the cavalry of the enemy be driven away and back into their own camp. After the engagement had begun, the consuls ordered the Numidian deserters, of whom there were at that time on the Aventine about twelve hundred, to pass through the centre of the city across the Esquiline, thinking that none were better suited to do battle in the valleys and around buildings in gardens, among tombs and along roads hemmed in on every side. When some men on the Citadel and the Capitol saw them riding down the Clivus Publicius,³ they shouted that the Aventine had been captured. That caused so much confusion and flight that, if there had not been a Carthaginian camp outside the city, the whole panic-stricken multitude would have poured out. As it was they fled to their homes and into buildings, and as their own people

in viis suos pro¹ hostibus lapidibus telisque incessabant. Nec comprimi tumultus aperirique error poterat refertis itineribus agrestium turba pecorumque quae repentinus pavor in urbem compulerat. 9 Equestre proelium secundum fuit summotique hostes sunt. Et quia multis locis comprimendi tumultus erant qui temere oriebantur, placuit omnes qui dictatores, consules censoresve fuissent cum imperio 10 esse, donec recessisset a muris hostis. Et diei quod reliquum fuit et nocte insequenti multi temere excitati tumultus sunt compressique.

XI. Postero die transgressus Anienem Hannibal in aciem omnis copias eduxit; nec Flaccus consu²lesque certamen detrectavere. Instructis utrimque exercitibus in eius pugnae easum in qua urbs Roma victori praemium esset, imber ingens grandine mixtus ita utramque aciem turbavit ut vix armis retentis in castra sese receperint, nullius rei minore 3 quam hostium metu. Et postero die eodem loco acies instructas eadem tempestas diremit; ubi receperissent se in castra, mira serenitas cum tranquillitate 4 oriebatur. In religionem ea res apud Poenos versa est, auditaque vox Hannibalis fertur, potiundae sibi urbis Romae modo mentem non dari, modo fortunam. 5 Minuere etiam spem eius duae² aliae, parva magna que, res, magna illa quod, cum ipse ad moenia urbis Romae armatus sederet, milites sub vexillis in supple-

¹ pro *A^yJK Aldus*: *om. P(1)x.*

² duae (*i.e.* ii) *Madvig*: et *P(1)JK*.

roamed the streets, they would hurl stones and ^{B.C. 211} javelins at them, as though they were enemies. Nor could the uproar be checked and their mistake revealed, since the roads were clogged by the crowd of rustics and the cattle that sudden alarm had driven into the city. The cavalry battle was successful and the enemy driven away. And because in many places disturbances which arose without reason had to be checked, it was decreed that all who had been dictators, consuls or censors should have full military power until the enemy should have retired from the walls. And in fact during the rest of the day and the following night many disturbances were provoked without reason and were checked.

XI. On the next day Hannibal crossed the Anio and led all his forces out into line, and Flaccus and the consuls did not refuse battle. After the armies had been drawn up on both sides for the issue of a battle in which the city of Rome was to be the prize for the victor, a great downpour mingled with hail so confused both battle-lines that, holding on to their arms with difficulty, they returned to camp, fearing everything more than the enemy. And the following day, when the lines were drawn up on the same spot, the same bad weather parted them. On both days, when they had retired to their camps, to their astonishment there came a clear sky and a calm. For the Carthaginians it became a solemn warning, and it is reported that Hannibal was heard to say that at one time the purpose to take Rome, at another the chance, was denied him. Two other things, small and great, further diminished his hope. The important thing was that he heard that, although he was sitting armed before the walls of the city of Rome, soldiers

mentum Hispaniae profectos audiit, parva autem
 6 quod per¹ eos dies eum forte agrum in quo ipse
 castra haberet venisse nihil ob id deminuto pretio
 7 cognitum ex quodam captivo est. Id vero adeo
 superbum atque indignum visum, eius soli quod ipse
 bello captum possideret haberetque inventum Romae
 emptorem, ut extemplo vocato praecone tabernas
 argentarias quae circa forum Romanum essent
 iusserit venire.

8 His motus ad Tutiam fluvium castra rettulit, sex
 milia passuum ab urbe. Inde ad lucum Feroniae
 pergit ire, templum ea tempestate inclutum divitiis.
 9 Capenates aliquique qui² accolae eius erant primitias
 frugum eo donaque alia pro copia portantes multo
 auro argentoque id exornatum habebant. Iis
 omnibus donis tum spoliatum templum; aeris
 acervi, cum rudera milites religione inducti iacerent,
 10 post profectionem Hannibal magni inventi. Huius
 populatio templi haud dubia inter scriptores est.
 Coelius Romam euntem ab Ereto devertisse eo
 Hannibalem tradit, iterque eius ab Reate Cutilisque
 11 et ab Amiterno orditur: ex Campania in Samnum,
 inde in Paelignos pervenisse, praeterque oppidum
 Sulmonem in Marrucinos transisse, inde Albensi
 agro in Marsos, hinc Amiternum Forulosque vicum

¹ per Kz: om. P(1)J.

² qui x Gronovius: om. P(1): B²JK seem to have reduced
 aliquique qui to aliqui.

¹ *I.e.* small banners hanging from a cross-bar. The *vexillum*
 was used by detachments, here by recruits, as also by cavalry;
 cf. XXV. xiv. 4.

² In southern Etruria, at the foot of Mt. Soracte; XXVII.
 iv. 14 f.; XXXIII. xxvi. 8.

had set out under their banners¹ to reinforce Spain. B.C. 211
 And the unimportant circumstance was that he learned from a prisoner that about that time the land on which he had his camp chanced to have been sold, with no reduction in price on that account. But it seemed to him so arrogant and such an indignity that a purchaser should have been found at Rome for the ground which he had seized in war and was himself its occupier and owner, that he forthwith summoned a herald and ordered the bankers' shops which were round the Roman Forum to be sold.

Influenced by these circumstances he moved his camp back to the river Tutilia, six miles from the city. Thence he proceeded to the grove of Feronia,² a shrine which at that time was noted for its wealth. The people of Capena and others who lived near it used to carry thither first-fruits and gifts in addition according to their means, and had kept it richly adorned with gold and silver. Of all those gifts the temple was at that time despoiled. Great heaps of bronze were found after the departure of Hannibal, since the soldiers inspired by religious fear deposited crude lumps. As to the spoiling of this temple there is no uncertainty among the historians. Coelius relates that on his way to Rome Hannibal turned aside to it from Eretum, and traces his march from Reate and Cutiliae and Amiternum. He says that from Campania he came into Samnium, thence into the land of the Paenitians, and passing the town of Sulmo, over into the country of the Marrucini; thence through the territory of Alba³ into that of the Marsians, and then to Amiternum and the village of

¹ Alba Fucens, northwest of the Lacus Fucinus; XXX. xvii. 2.

A.U.C. 543 12 venisse. Neque ibi error est quod tanti ducis
tantique¹ exercitus vestigia intra tam brevis aevi
memoriam potuerint confundi—isse enim ea con-
13 stat—; tantum id interest, veneritne eo itinere ad
urbem an ab urbe in Campaniam redierit.

XII. Ceterum non quantum Romanis pertinaciae
ad premendam obsidione Capuam fuit, tantum ad
2 defendendam Hannibali. Namque per Samnium
Apuliamque² et Lucanos in Bruttium agrum ad
fretum ac Regium eo cursu contendit ut prope re-
3 pentino adventu ineautos oppresserit. Capua etsi
nihilo segnius obsessa per eos dies fuerat, tamen
adventum Flacci sensit, et admiratio orta est non
4 simul regressum Hannibalem. Inde per conloquia
intellexerunt relictos se desertosque et spem Capuae
5 retinendae deploratam apud Poenos esse. Accessit
edictum proconsulum³ ex senatus consulto propo-
situs volgatumque apud hostis, ut qui civis Campanus
6 ante certam diem transisset sine fraude esset. Nec
ulla facta est transitio, metu magis eos quam fide
continente, quia maiora in defectione deliquerant
7 quam quibus ignosci posset. Ceterum quem ad
modum nemo privato consilio ad hostem transibat,
8 ita nihil salutare in medium consulebatur. Nobilitas
rem publicam deseruerant⁴ neque in senatum cogi
poterant; in magistratu erat qui non sibi honorem
adieciisset, sed indignitate sua vim ac ius magistratui

¹ ducis tanti. *Weissenborn*: *om. P(1)JK*.

² per Samnium Apuliamque *Luchs*: *om. P(1)JK, a lost line*.

³ proconsulum *x*: -lis *A^yK Aldus*: *abbreviated in P(1)J*.

⁴ deseruerant *P(3)*: -rat *M¹?AJK Aldus*.

¹ Actually he avoided Campania and went on to the southernmost part of Italy: xii. 2.

² *I.e.* the people of Regium.

Foruli. And the uncertainty is not because the B.C. 211 traces of so great a commander and so large an army could within the memory of so short a period have become confused, for it is agreed that he passed that way. The only difference is whether he came to the city by that route, or returned by it from the city into Campania.¹

XII. But the Romans' persistence in pressing the siege of Capua was not matched by that of Hannibal in defending it. For through Samnium and Apulia and Lucania he hastened into the Bruttian region, to the strait and Regium, at such a pace as almost to overwhelm them² unawares by arriving suddenly. Capua, although during that time it had been besieged with no less spirit, nevertheless was aware of the coming of Flaccus, and began to wonder that Hannibal had not returned at the same time. Then by conversing with the enemy they learned that they had been deserted and abandoned, and that the hope of retaining Capua had been given up by the Carthaginians. There was also an edict of the proconsuls, posted and published among the enemy in accordance with a decree of the senate, that any Capuan citizen who changed sides before a certain date should suffer no penalty. And yet there was no changing of sides, for fear restrained them more than honour, because in their revolt they had committed offences too serious to be pardoned. But just as no one of his own motion went over to the enemy, so they made no promising plans for the common interest. The nobility had deserted the state and could not be brought together in the senate. In the office of magistrate was a man who had not gained additional honour for himself, but by his own unworthiness had

9 quem gerebat dempsisset. Iam ne in foro quidem
 aut publico loco principum quisquam apparebat;
 domibus inclusi patriae occasum cum suo exitio in
 dies exspectabant.

10 Summa curae omnis in Bostarem Hannonemque,
 praefectos praesidii Punici, versa erat, suo non
 11 sociorum periculo sollicitos. Ii conscriptis ad
 Hannibalem litteris non libere modo, sed etiam
 aspere, quibus non Capuam solam¹ traditam in
 manum hostibus, sed se quoque et² praesidium
 12 in omnis cruciatus proditos incusabant: abisse eum
 in Bruttios velut avertentem sese, ne Capua in
 oculis eius caperetur. At hercule Romanos ne
 oppugnatione quidem urbis Romanae abstrahi a
 13 Capua obsidenda potuisse; tanto constantiorem
 inimicum Romanum quam amicum Poenum esse.
 Si redeat Capuam bellumque omne eo vertat, et se
 14 et Campanos paratos eruptioni fore. Non cum
 Reginis neque Tarentinis bellum gesturos transisse
 Alpis: ubi Romanae legiones sint, ibi et Cartha-
 giniensium exercitus debere esse. Sic ad Cannas,
 sic ad Trasumennum rem bene gestam, coeundo
 conferundoque cum hoste castra, fortunam temptando.

5 In hanc sententiam litterae conscriptae Numidis,
 proposita mercede eam³ professis operam, dantur.
 Ii specie transfugarum cum ad Flaceum in castra

¹ solam *P(1)*: solum *JK Aldus*.

² et *AJK Aldus*: *om. P(1)*.

³ eam *Duker*: iam *P(1)JK*.

¹ Cf. vi. 13 ff.

taken away power and authority from the office which he was holding.¹ No longer did any one of the foremost citizens show himself even in the forum or any public place. Shut up in their houses they were awaiting from day to day the fall of their native city and their own destruction.

The chief responsibility had fallen wholly to Bostar and Hanno, commanders of the Carthaginian garrison, and they were concerned only for their own danger, not that of their allies. They wrote a letter to Hannibal in terms not only outspoken, but also bitter, in which they charged that it was not Capua alone that had been delivered into the hands of the enemy, but that they themselves also and the garrison had been abandoned to every kind of torture; that he had gone away to the land of the Bruttii, as though turning his back so that Capua should not be captured before his eyes. But assuredly, they said, the Romans could not be drawn away from besieging Capua even by an assault upon the city of Rome; so much more steadfast was the Roman as an enemy than the Carthaginian as a friend. If he should return to Capua and there concentrate the whole war, they and the Capuans likewise would be ready for a sally. It was not to wage war with the people of Regium and Tarentum that they had crossed the Alps. Where the Roman legions were, there ought the Carthaginian armies also to be. Thus at Cannae, thus at Trasumennus, by coming to grips and pitching camp near the enemy, by trying their luck they had met with success. A letter to this effect was given to Numidians who with a reward set before them promised to perform that service. Posing as deserters they had come before Flaccus in his camp, with the

venissent, ut inde tempore capto abirent, famesque,
 quae tam¹ diu Capuae erat, nulli non probabilem
 16 causam transitionis faceret, mulier repente Campana
 in castra venit, seortum transfugarum unius, indicat-
 que imperatori Romano Numidas fraude composita
 17 transisse litterasque ad Hannibalem ferre: id unum
 ex iis qui sibi rem aperuisset arguere sese paratam
 esse. Productus primo satis constanter ignorare se
 mulierem simulabat; paulatim dein convictus veris,
 18 eum tormenta posei et parari videret, fassus² id ita
 19 esse, litteraeque prolatae. Additum³ etiam indicio
 quod celabatur, et alios specie transfugarum Nu-
 midas vagari in castris Romanis. Ii supra septua-
 ginta comprensi et cum transfugis novis muleati
 virgis manibusque praecisis Capuam rediguntur.

XIII. Conspectum tam triste supplicium fregit
 animos Campanorum. Concursus ad euriam populi
 factus coegit Loesium senatum vocare; et primori-
 bus, qui iam diu publicis consiliis aberant, propalam
 minabantur, nisi venirent in senatum, circa domos
 eorum ituros se et in publicum omnis vi extracturos
 esse. Is timor frequentem senatum magistratui
 2 praebuit. Ibi cum ceteri de legatis mittendis ad
 imperatores Romanos agerent. Vibius Virrius, qui

¹ tam *P(1)JK Aldus*: iam *Sigonius*.

² fassus *P(3)B²JK*: fassus est *Madrig*.

³ Additum *Duker*, *Madrig*: et additum *P(1)JK*.

¹ The usual punishment for spies: XXII. xxxiii. 1.

² Cf. XXIII. vi.

intention of choosing the right moment and then departing—and the famine which had lasted so long at Capua gave every man a plausible reason for deserting—when suddenly a Campanian woman, mistress of one of the deserters, came into the camp and informed the Roman general that the Numidians by agreement had pretended to change sides and were bearing a letter to Hannibal: that she was prepared to prove that charge against one of their number who had revealed the matter to her. On being produced, he at first quite firmly pretended that he did not know the woman. Then by degrees he was overpowered by the facts, and seeing that they were demanding and preparing torture, he admitted that it was true, and the letter was produced. She added to her information what they were trying to conceal, namely, that other Numidians also were abroad in the Roman camp playing the part of deserters. Over seventy of them were arrested, and together with the new deserters they were scourged with rods, and after their hands had been cut off¹ they were sent back to Capua.

XIII. The sight of so merciless a punishment broke the spirit of the Capuans. A gathering of the people before the Senate House compelled Loesius to summon the senate. And they openly threatened the leading citizens, who for a long time had been absent from public deliberations, that if they did not come into the senate, they would make the rounds of their homes and forcibly bring them all out into the streets. The fear of that gave the magistrate a full session of the senate. There, while all the rest were speaking of sending legates to the Roman generals, Vibius Virrius,² who had proposed rebellion from

defectionis auctor ab Romanis fuerat, interrogatus
 3 sententiam negat eos qui de legatis et de pace ac
 deditione loquantur meminisse nec quid facturi
 fuerint, si Romanos in potestate habuissent, nec quid
 4 ipsis patiendum sit. "Quid? vos" inquit "eam
 deditonem fore censemus qua quondam, ut adversus
 Samnites auxilium impetraremus, nos nostraque
 5 omnia Romanis dedidimus:¹ Iam e memoria ex-
 cessit quo tempore et in qua fortuna a populo Romano
 defecerimus: iam, quem ad modum in defectione
 praesidium, quod poterat emitti, per cruciatum et
 6 ad contumeliam necarimus: quotiens in obsidentis
 quam inimice eruperimus, castra oppugnarimus,
 Hannibalem vocaverimus ad opprimendos eos:
 hoc, quod recentissimum est. ad oppugnandam
 7 Romam hinc eum miserimus: Age contra, quae illi
 infeste in nos fecerint, repetite, ut ex eo quid speretis
 habeatis. Cum hostis alienigena in Italia esset, et
 Hannibal hostis, et cuncta bello arderent, omissis
 omnibus, omisso ipso Hannibale, ambo consules et
 duo consulares exercitus ad Capuam oppugnandam
 8 miserunt. Alterum annum circumvallatos inclusosque
 nos fame macerant, et ipsi nobiscum ultima pericula
 et² gravissimos labores perpessi, circa vallum ac
 fossas saepe trucidati ac prope ad extremum castris
 9 exuti. Sed omitto haec: vetus atque usitata res est

¹ dedidimus *Modius*: dedimus *P(1)JK Aldus.*

² et *C*: e *P*: om. *RMBDAJK Aldus.*

¹ Cf. VII. xxxi.

² Somewhat differently told in XXIII. vii. 3.

Rome, on being asked for his opinion, said that the men who were speaking of embassies and of peace and surrender did not recall either what they would have done, if they had had the Romans in their power, or what they themselves must suffer. "Tell me," he said, "do you suppose it will be the same kind of surrender as that under which we once gave up ourselves and all our possessions to the Romans, that we might obtain their aid against the Samnites?"¹ Have you already forgotten in what a critical moment and in what a situation for the Roman people we have revolted from them? Have you already forgotten how at the time of our revolt we with torture and as an insult put to death a garrison which we might have let go?² or how often and with what bitterness we have made a sally against the besiegers, have beset their camps, have called in Hannibal to overpower them? or how—this the most recent occurrence—we have sent him away to lay siege to Rome? And now for the other side, recall what have been their acts of hostility towards us, that by so doing you may know what you have to expect. When a foreign enemy was in Italy, and that enemy Hannibal, and when everywhere were the flames of war, neglecting everything, neglecting even Hannibal, they sent both consuls and two consular armies to besiege Capua. Now for the second year they are wasting us away by starvation, shut up inside their contravallation, while they too like ourselves have endured the utmost dangers and most serious hardships, have been slain, many of them, about their earthworks and trenches, and have at last had their camp almost taken. But I pass over these things; to suffer hardships and dangers in besieging a city of

in oppugnanda hostium urbe labores ac pericula pati.
 Illud irae atque odii exsecrabilis¹ indicium est:
 10 Hannibal ingentibus copiis peditum equitumque
 castra oppugnavit et ex parte cepit: tanto periculo
 nihil moti sunt ab obsidione. Profectus trans
 Voltumnus perussit Calenum agrum: nihil tanta
 11 sociorum clade avocati sunt. Ad ipsam urbem
 Romam infesta signa ferri iussit: eam quoque
 tempestatem imminentem spreverunt. Transgressus
 Anienem² tria milia passuum ab urbe castra posuit,
 postremo ad moenia ipsa et ad portas accessit:
 Romam se adempturum eis, nisi omitterent Capuam,
 12 ostendit: non omiserunt. Feras bestias caeco
 impetu ac rabie concitatas, si ad cubilia et catulos
 earum ire pergas, ad opem suis ferendam avertas:
 13 Romanos Roma circumcessa, coniuges, liberi, quorum
 ploratus hinc prope exaudiebantur, arae, foci, deum
 delubra, sepulera maiorum temerata ac violata a
 Capua non averterunt: tanta aviditas supplicii
 expetendi, tanta sanguinis nostri hauriendi est
 14 sitis. Nec iniuria forsitan; nos quoque idem
 fecissemus, si data fortuna esset. Itaque quoniam
 aliter dis immortalibus est visum, cum mortem ne
 recusare quidem debeam, cruciatus contumeliasque
 quas parat hostis, dum liber, dum mei potens sum,
 effugere morte praeterquam honesta, etiam leni
 15 possum. Non video Ap. Claudium et Q. Fulvium
 victoria insolenti subnixos, neque vinetus per urbem

¹ exsecrabilis *C²M¹JK Aldus*: *P(1)* add -que: inexpia-
 bilis exsecrabilisque *Alschefski, Conway*.

² Anienem *D Aldus*: *P(3)* add amnem (*before the name JK*).

¹ His first camp had been on the right bank of the Anio;
 x. 3; xi. 1: Polybius IX. v. 9.

the enemy is an old and familiar story. I proceed to B.C. 211 proof of anger and hatred that are unspeakable. Hannibal with immense forces of infantry and cavalry besieged and partly captured their camp: by such danger they were not moved at all to give up the siege. Setting out across the Volturnus he ravaged the territory of Cales with fire: by such a disaster to allies they were in no wise called away. He ordered his hostile standards to be carried to the city of Rome itself: that impending storm also they scorned. Crossing the Anio¹ he pitched camp three miles from the city, finally came close to the very walls and gates, showed that unless they should leave Capua he would take Rome away from them: they did not leave Capua. Wild beasts, though excited by blind impulse and fury, can be diverted to bring help to their young, if one goes towards their lairs and their whelps. As for the Romans, the siege of Rome, their wives and children, whose wailing could almost be heard from here, their altars and hearths, the shrines of their gods, the desecrated and profaned tombs of their ancestors did not divert them from Capua. Such is their ardour in demanding punishment, such their thirst to drink our blood. And perhaps not without reason; we too should have done the same, had the chance been given us. Therefore since the immortal gods have made a contrary decision, inasmuch as I ought under no circumstances to refuse death, I, while free and my own master, can escape tortures and insults which the enemy is preparing, by a death which is not only honourable, but also gentle. I shall not see Appius Claudius and Quintus Fulvius, emboldened by their insolent victory, nor shall I be dragged in chains

Romanam triumphi spectaculum trahar, ut deinde in carcerem¹ conditus exspirem² aut ad³ palum deligatus, lacerato virgis tergo, cervicem securi Romanae subiciam⁴; nec dirui incendique patriam videbo, nec rapi ad stuprum matres Campanas virginesque et
 16 ingenuos pueros. Albam, unde ipsi oriundi erant, a fundamentis proruerunt, ne stirpis,⁴ ne memoria originum suarum extaret: nedum eos Capuae parsuros credam, cui infestiores quam Carthagini
 17 sunt. Itaque quibus vestrum ante fato cedere quam haec tot tam acerba videant in animo est iis apud
 18 me hodie epulae instructae parataeque sunt Satiatis vino ciboque poculum idem quod mihi datum fuerit circumferetur; ea potio corpus a cruciatu, animum a contumeliis, oculos, auris a videndis audiendisque omnibus acerbis indignisque quae manent victos vindicabit. Parati erunt qui magno rogo in propatulo aedium accenso corpora exanima iniciant.
 19 Haec una via et honesta et libera ad mortem. Et ipsi virtutem mirabuntur hostes, et Hannibal fortis socios sciet ab se desertos ac proditos esse."

XIV. Hanc orationem Virri plures cum adsensu audierunt quam forti animo id quod probabant
 2 exsequi potuerunt. Maior pars senatus, multis saepe bellis expertam populi Romani clementiam

¹ carcerem (*or -carem*) *P(1)JK Aldus*: carcere *A^x Froben* 2, *Madrig* (*who omits aut.*).

² conditus exspirem *W. Heraeus*: *om.* *P(1)*: expirem *M. Müller* (*with in carcere*).

³ ad *A^xJK Aldus*: *om.* *P(1)*.

⁴ stirpis *P(1)Jz*: stirps *Kz*.

¹ Cf. I. xxix.

through the city of Rome as a spectacle in a triumph, b.c. 211 so that I may then breathe my last in the prison, or else, bound to a stake, with my back mangled by rods, may submit my neck to the Roman axe. Nor shall I see my native city destroyed and burned, nor Capuan matrons and maidens and free-born boys carried off to be dishonoured. Alba, from which they had themselves sprung, they levelled with its foundations,¹ that their stock, that the memory of their origin, might not survive; much less am I to believe that they will spare Capua, to which they are more hostile than to Carthage. Accordingly, as many of you as are minded to yield to fate before they see all these sights that are so bitter, for such in my house a feast is spread and in readiness today. When we have had our fill of wine and food, the same cup which has been served to me shall be carried round. That draught will defend the body from torture, the mind from insults, eyes and ears from seeing and hearing all the bitter and unseemly things which await the vanquished. Men will be ready to light a great pyre in the court² of the house and throw our lifeless bodies upon it. This is the one way, at once honourable and independent, that leads to death. Even our enemies will admire our courage, and Hannibal will also know that they were brave allies whom he has abandoned and betrayed."

XIV. This speech of Virrius more men heard with approval than had the courage to carry out what they commended. The majority of the senate, not doubting that the clemency of the Roman people.

² Here evidently the peristyle, not the atrium (as in XXIV. xvi. 17 and XXV. xii. 15). A forecourt (*vestibulum*) would have been too public.

haud diffidentes sibi quoque placabilem fore, legatos ad dedendam Romanis Capuam decreverunt mise-
 3 runque. Vibium Virrium septem et viginti ferme senatores domum secuti sunt, epulatique cum eo et, quantum facere potuerant alienatis mentibus vino ab imminentis sensu mali, venenum omnes sumpserunt;
 4 inde misso convivio dextris inter se datis ultimoque complexu conlacerimantes suum patriaeque casum, alii, ut eodem rogo cremarentur, manserunt, alii
 5 domos digressi sunt. Inpletae cibis vinoque venae minus efficacem in maturanda morte vim veneni fecerunt; itaque noctem totam plerique eorum et diei insequentis partem cum animam egissent, omnes tamen prius quam aperirentur hostibus portae exspirarunt.

6 Postero die porta Iovis, quae adversus castra Romana erat, iussu proconsulum¹ aperta est. Ea intromissa
 7 legio una et duae alae cum C. Fulvio legato. Is cum omnium primum arma telaque quae Capuae erant ad se conferenda curasset, custodiis ad omnes portas dispositis, ne quis exire aut emitte posset, praesidium Punicum comprehendit, senatum Campanum ire in
 8 castra ad imperatores Romanos iussit. Quo cum venissent, extemplo iis omnibus catenae innectae, iussique ad quaestores deferre quod auri atque argenti haberent. Auri pondo duo milia² septuaginta fuit, argenti triginta milia pondo et mille³

¹ proconsulum *K Ruperti, Madrig*: -lis *B²J*: abbreviated *P(3)*.

² duo milia (*i.e.* $\infty \infty$) *PC*: other MSS. omit.

³ mille (*i.e.* ∞) *PC*: similar omission in others.

¹ Towards Tifata and its temple of Jupiter. By this gate the Via Appia seems to have left the city on its way to Beneventum.

known to them frequently in many wars, would be ^{B.C. 211} forgiving to them also, voted and sent legates to surrender Capua to the Romans. About twenty-seven senators followed Vibius Virrius home; and after they had feasted with him, and so far as possible had deadened their minds with wine to the sense of impending misfortune, they all took the poison. Then at the end of the feast they gave each other the right hand and a last embrace, and weeping for their own fate and that of their native city, some remained, that they might be cremated on the same pyre, others left for their several homes. Filled with food and wine, their veins made the poison less effectual in hastening death. And so, although most of them were in the throes through the whole of the night and part of the following day, all of them, however, died before the gates were opened to the enemy.

On the next day the Jupiter Gate,¹ which faced the Roman camp, was opened by order of the pro-consuls. By that gate one legion was admitted and two *alae*² with Gaius Fulvius, the lieutenant. He first of all saw to it that the arms and weapons that were in Capua should be brought to him; then posting sentinels at all the gates, that no one might be able to go out or be sent out, he seized the Carthaginian garrison, and ordered the Capuan senate to go to the Roman generals in the camp. Arrived there, they were all put in chains and bidden to bring to the quaestors what gold and silver they had. The amount of gold was two thousand and seventy pounds, of silver thirty-one thousand two hundred

² *I.e.* cavalry units of the allies, say 500 men each.

9 ducenta. Senatores quinque et viginti Cales in custodiam, duodetriginta Teanum missi,¹ quorum de sententia maxime descitum ab Romanis constabat.

XV. De suppicio Campani senatus haudquaquam inter Fulvium Claudiumque conveniebat: facilis impetrandae veniae Claudius, Fulvii² durior sententia erat. Itaque Appius Romam ad senatum arbitrium eius rei totum reiciebat: percunctandi etiam aequum esse potestatem fieri patribus, num communicassent consilia cum aliquis³ sociorum Latini nominis,⁴ et num ope eorum in bello forent adiuti. Id vero minime committendum esse Fulvius dicere ut sollicitarentur criminibus dubiis sociorum fidelium animi, et subicerentur indicibus quis neque quid dicerent⁵ neque quid facerent quiequam umquam pensi fuisset; itaque se eam quaestionem oppressurum extincteturumque. Ab hoc sermone cum digressi essent, et Appius quamvis ferociter loquentem collegam non dubitaret tamen litteras super tanta re ab Roma exspectaturum, Fulvius, ne id ipsum impedimentum incepto foret, dimittens praetorium tribunis militum ac praefectis socium imperavit ut duobus milibus equitum delectis denuntiarent ut ad tertiam bucinam praesto essent.

Cum hoc equitatu nocte Teanum profectus, prima luce portam intravit atque in forum perrexit; concursuque ad primum equitum ingressum facto

¹ missi *M²?AJK Aldus*: misit *P(3)*.

² Fulvi(i) *AJK Aldus*: fulvio *P(3)* *Gronovius*.

³ aliquis *P(1)x*: aliquibus *A⁴JK Aldus*.

⁴ nominis *P(1)JK Aldus*, adding municiporum, a gloss, and repeating it (*except P¹C²?A⁴K*) after forent.

pounds. Of the senators known to have especially promoted revolt from the Romans twenty-five were sent to Cales to be imprisoned, twenty-eight to Teanum. B.C. 211

XV. On the punishment of the Capuan senators there was no kind of agreement between Fulvius and Claudius. Ready to hear a plea for pardon was Claudius; Fulvius' opinion was more inflexible. Accordingly Appius was inclined to refer the entire decision of the case to the senate at Rome. Furthermore he thought it right that the fathers should be given authority to enquire of these men whether they had shared their plans with some of the Latin allies, and whether they had been helped by them in the war. But Fulvius said that they must on no account run the risk of troubling the feelings of faithful allies by unsubstantiated charges and of exposing them to informers, who never had had any scruple as to what they were saying or what they were doing; hence he would quash and suppress that investigation. When they had separated directly after this speech, Appius had no doubt that his colleague, in spite of his fierce words, would wait, however, for a letter from Rome on a matter of such importance. But Fulvius for fear that very thing might hinder his project, dismissed the council, and ordered the tribunes of the soldiers and the prefects of allies to instruct two thousand picked cavalry to be ready at the bugle-call of the third watch.

Setting out by night for Teanum with this cavalry, he entered the gate at dawn and proceeded to the forum. At the first entry of the horsemen a crowd

⁵ neque quid dicerent *Alscheski*: *om. P(1)JK.*

magistratum Sidicinum citari iussit imperavitque ut produceret Campanos quos in custodia haberet.

8 Producti omnes virgisque caesi ac securi percussi. Inde citato equo Cales percurrit; ubi cum in tribunali consedisset productique Campani diligarentur ad palum, eques citus ab Roma venit litterasque a C. Calpurnio praetore Fulvio et senatus consultum 9 tradit. Murmur ab tribunali totam contionem pervasit differri rem integrum ad patres de Campanis. Et Fulvius, id ita esse ratus acceptas litteras neque resolutas cum in gremio reposuisset, praeconi imperavit ut lictorem lege agere iuberet. Ita de iis quoque qui Calibus erant sumptum supplicium.

10 Tum litterae lectae senatusque consultum, serum ad impediendam rem actam quae summa ope adproperata 11 erat, ne impediri posset. Consurgentem iam Fulvium Taurea Vibellius Campanus, per mediam vadens turbam, nomine inclamavit et, cum mirabundus 12 quidnam sese vellet resedisset Flaccus, "Me quoque" inquit "iube occidi, ut gloriari possis multo fortiorum 13 quam ipse es virum abs te occisum esse." Cum Flaccus negaret profecto satis compotem mentis esse,¹ modo prohiberi etiam se, si id vellet, senatus consulto 14 diceret, tum Vibellius "Quando quidem" inquit "capta patria, propinquis amicisque amissis, cum ipse manu mea coniugem liberosque interfecerim,

¹ mentis esse *P(3)B² Aldus, Priscian*: esse mentis *AJKz.*

¹ *I.e.* no doubt the *medix tuticus* of the region in which Teanum lay.

² Not as prisoners of war, but as Roman citizens whose lives were forfeited because of dealing with the enemy: so ordained in the XII Tables; cf. *Digest* XLVIII. iv. 3.

gathered, and he bade that the Sidicinian magistrate¹ be summoned, and ordered him to bring out the Capuans whom he had under arrest. All were brought out, scourged with rods and beheaded.² Thence he hastened at full speed to Cales. There, after he had taken his seat on the tribunal and the Capuans were brought out and were being bound to stakes, came a horseman post haste from Rome and handed to Fulvius a letter from Gaius Calpurnius, the praetor, and a decree of the senate. Beginning at the tribunal a rumour spread through the whole assembly that the case of the Capuans was reserved for decision by the senators. Fulvius also thought that was the case, took the letter, but without breaking the seal, and having placed it in his bosom, commanded a herald to order the lictor to carry out the legal punishment. Thus was punishment visited upon those also who were at Cales. Then the letter was read and the decree of the senate, too late to prevent an action which had been hastened by every means, that prevention might be impossible. Just as Fulvius was rising from his seat, Taurea Vibellius the Capuan, striding through the middle of the crowd, called him by name, and when Flaccus, wondering what he wished of him, had sat down again, Vibellius said "Order me also to be slain, that you may be able to boast that a much braver man than you are yourself has been slain by you." When Flaccus said that the man was doubtless of unsound mind, and then added that, if he wished to do so, he was forbidden by the decree of the senate, thereupon Vibellius said "Since indeed, although my native city has been taken, my relatives and friends lost, and with my own hand I have killed my wife and

ne quid indigni paterentur, mihi ne mortis quidem copia eadem est quae his civibus meis, petatur a 15 virtute invisae huius vitae vindicta." Atque ita gladio quem veste texerat per adversum pectus transfixus, ante pedes imperatoris moribundus proculbuit.

XVI. Quia et quod ad supplicium attinet Campanorum et pleraque alia de Flacci unius sententia acta erant, mortuum Ap. Claudium sub ditionem 2 Capuae quidam tradunt. Hunc quoque ipsum Tauream neque sua sponte venisse Cales neque sua manu interfectum, sed dum¹ inter ceteros ad palum deligatur,² quia parum inter strepitus exaudiri possent quae vociferaretur,³ silentium fieri Flaceum 3 iussisse; tum Tauream illa quae ante memorata sunt dixisse, virum se fortissimum ab nequaquam pari ad virtutem occidi; sub haec dicta iusu proconsulis praeconem ita pronuntiasse: "Lictor, viro forti 4 adde virgas et in eum primum lege age." Lectum quoque senatus consultum, priusquam securi feriret, quidam auctores sunt, sed quia adscriptum in senatus consulto fuerit, si ei videretur, integrum rem ad senatum reiceret, interpretatum esse quid magis e re publica duceret aestimationem sibi permissam. 5 Capuam a Calibus redditum est, Atellaque et Calatia in ditionem acceptae. Ibi quoque in eos qui

¹ dum *Froben* 2, *Conway*: cum *P(1)JK Aldus*.

² deligatur *Froben* 2, *Conway*: -atus *P(1)JK Aldus*, *Weissenborn* (adding quiritaret).

³ vociferaretur *Harant*, *Conway*: -feratur *P(3)A¹?* : -ferantur *BDA* : -ferabatur *C⁴M³A⁴J¹K Aldus*.

¹ So Zonaras IX. vi. Livy at xxxiii. 4 says *post captam (Capuam)*, following another authority. Appius died of his wound.

children, that they might suffer no indignity, for ^{B.C. 211} myself there is not the same possibility even to die that these my fellow-citizens have had, let courage give me a release from this odious life." And so with a sword which he had concealed under his clothing he ran himself directly through the breast and fell dying at the feet of the general.

XVI. Because all that had to do with the punishment of the Capuans and many other things were done by the decision of Flaccus alone, some relate that Appius Claudius died just before the surrender of Capua.¹ Further, they say that Taurea himself did not voluntarily come to Cales, and was not slain by his own hand, but that while he was being bound along with the rest to a stake, because what he was shouting could not be heard clearly for the noise, Flaccus ordered silence; that then Taurea, as has been stated above, said that he, the bravest of men, was being killed by one who was in no way his equal in courage; that after these words the herald by order of the proconsul proclaimed "Lictor, give the brave man a beating; on him first the legal penalty!" Some authorities say that the decree of the senate also was read before he beheaded them; but that, because in the decree of the senate it was added that, if he saw fit,² he should refer the decision to the verdict of the senate, he interpreted it that they allowed him to decide which course he thought more to the interest of the state.

From Cales they returned to Capua, and the surrender of Atella and Calatia was received. There also punishment was inflicted on the responsible

² Merely a polite formula, which Flaccus pretends to take seriously.

6 capita rerum erant animadversum. Ita ad septuaginta principes senatus interfici, trecenti ferme nobiles Campani in carcere conditi, alii per sociorum Latini nominis urbes in custodias dati, variis casibus interierunt: multitudo alia civium Campanorum
 7 venum data. De urbe agroque reliqua consultatio fuit, quibusdam delendam censemibus urbem praevalidam, propinquam, inimicam. Ceterum praesens utilitas vicit; nam propter agrum, quem omni fertilitate terrae satis constabat primum in Italia esse, urbs servata est, ut esset aliqua aratorum
 8 sedes. Urbi frequentandae multitudo incolarum libertinorumque et institorum opificumque retenta: ager omnis et tecta publica populi Romani facta.
 9 Ceterum habitari tantum tamquam urbem Capuam frequentarique placuit, corpus nullum civitatis nec senatum¹ nec plebis concilium nec magistratus esse:
 10 sine consilio publico, sine imperio multitudinem, nullius rei inter se sociam, ad consensum inhabilem fore; praefectum ad iura reddenda ab Roma quo-
 11 tannis missuros. Ita ad Capuam res compositae consilio ab omni parte laudabili. Severe et celeriter in maxime noxios animadversum; multitudo civium
 12 dissipata in nullam spem redditus; non saevitum incendiis ruinisque in tecta innoxia murosque, et

¹ senatum JKxz Duker: senatus P(1) Aldus.

¹ Including the fifty-three executed at Teanum and Cales. For a more detailed statement of the terms meted out to Capua see below, xxxiv. 2 ff.

² I.e. at Rome, in the senate.

³ A *praefectus iure dicundo*, elected by popular vote. The treatment of Capua in contrast with Corinth and Carthage is enlarged upon by Cicero, *de Leg. Agr.* II. 84 and 88 f. Among

leaders. Thus about seventy prominent senators
B.C. 211
 were put to death;¹ some three hundred noble
 Campanians who were put in prison, and others who
 were distributed among cities of Latin allies to be
 guarded, met death in different ways. The remaining
 mass of Campanian citizens were sold. In regard
 to the city and its territory discussion continued,²
 inasmuch as some thought a city very powerful,
 near, and unfriendly should be destroyed. But
 immediate advantage prevailed. For on account of
 the territory, which was well known to be foremost in
 Italy in all that the fertile soil produced, the city was
 preserved, that the tillers of the land might have
 some abode. To people the city the multitude of
 resident aliens and freedmen and petty tradesmen
 and artisans was retained. The whole territory and
 the buildings became public property of the Roman
 people. But it was decided that Capua, as a nominal
 city, should merely be a dwelling-place and a centre
 of population, but should have no political body nor
 senate nor council of the plebs nor magistrates.
 They thought that the multitude, without a public
 council, without military authority, having nothing in
 common amongst them, would be incapable of agree-
 ment; the Romans would send out every year a
 prefect to administer justice.³ Thus matters con-
 cerning Capua were settled according to a plan that
 was in every respect praiseworthy. Stern and
 prompt was the punishment of the most guilty; the
 mass of citizens were scattered with no hope of a
 return: no rage was vented upon innocent buildings
 and city-walls by burning and demolition. And
 the prefectures Festus lists Capua, Casilinum, Voltturnum
 (p. 262 L).

cum emolumento quae sita etiam apud socios lenitatis species incolumitate urbis nobilissimae opulentissimaeque, cuius ruinis omnis Campania, omnes qui Campaniam circa accolunt populi ingemuisserint;

13 confessio expressa hosti quanta vis in Romanis ad expetendas poenas ab infidelibus sociis et quam nihil in Hannibale auxili ad receptos in fidem tuendos esset.

XVII. Romani patres perfuncti quod ad Capuam attinebat cura, C. Neroni ex iis duabus legionibus quas ad Capuam habuerat sex milia peditum et trecentos equites quos ipse legisset et socium Latini nominis peditum numerum parem et octingentos 2 equites decernunt. Eum exercitum Puteolis in naves inpositum Nero in Hispaniam transportavit. Cum Tarragonem navibus venisset, expositisque ibi copiis et navibus subductis, socios quoque navalis multi-
3 tudinis augendae causa armasset, profectus ad Hiberum flumen exercitum ab Ti. Fonteio et L.
4 Marcio accepit. Inde pergit ad hostis ire. Hasdrubal Hamilcaris ad Lapides Atros castra habebat; in Ausetanis¹ is locus est inter oppida Iliturgim et Mentissam. Huius saltus fauces Nero occupavit.
5 Hasdrubal, ne² in arto res esset, caduceatorem misit qui promitteret, si inde emissus³ foret, se omnem exercitum ex Hispania deportaturum.
6 Quam rem cum laeto animo Romanus accepisset, diem posterum Hasdrubal conloquio petivit ut

¹ Ausetanis *P(1)JK*: Oretanis *Glareanus*.

² occupavit. Hasdrubal, ne *A⁵N⁵JK Froben*: *om. P(3)*, a lost line.

³ emissus *Madrig*: missus *P(1)JK*.

along with profit they sought a reputation among the allies as well for clemency, by saving a very important and very rich city, over whose ruins all Campania, all the neighbouring peoples on every side of Campania, would have mourned. The enemy were forced to acknowledge what power the Romans possessed to exact punishment from faithless allies, and how helpless Hannibal was to defend those whom he had taken under his protection.

XVII. At Rome the senate, having discharged its responsibilities so far as concerned Capua, voted to assign to Gaius Nero six thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry of his own choosing, from the two legions which he had had before Capua, and from the Latin allies the same number of infantry and eight hundred cavalry. This army Nero embarked at Puteoli and transported to Spain. Arrived at Tarraco by sea, he there disembarked his troops, beached the ships, and armed even the crews, to increase his numbers. Then setting out for the river Ebro, he took over the army from Tiberius Fonteius and Lucius Marcius.¹ He thereupon proceeded against the enemy. Hasdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, was encamped at the Black Rocks. The place is in the country of the Ausetani, between the towns of Iliturgis² and Mentissa. Nero occupied the entrance to this pass. Hasdrubal, to avoid being entrapped, sent a herald to promise that if he should be allowed to get away, he would transport his entire army out of Spain. The Roman accepted the proposal with joy, and Hasdrubal asked for the next day for a conference, that in person they might draw up

¹ Cf. XXV. xxxvii. 2 ff.; XXVI. ii. 1 ff.

² Cf. XXIII. xlvi. 5 and 12; XXIV. xli. 8 and 11.

coram¹ leges conscriberentur de tradendis arcibus
 urbium dieque statuenda ad quam praesidia deducerentur suaque omnia sine fraude Poeni deportarent.

7 Quod ubi impetravit, extemplo primis tenebris atque inde tota nocte quod gravissimum exercitus erat Hasdrubal quacumque posset evadere e saltu² iussit. Data sedulo opera est ne multi ea nocte exirent, ut ipsa paucitas cum ad hostem silentio fallendum aptior, tum ad evadendum per artas semitas ac difficilis esset. Ventum insequenti die ad conloquium est; sed loquendo plura scribendoque dedita opera quae in rem non essent die consumpto,

10 in posterum dilatum est. Addita insequens nox spatium dedit et alios emittendi; nec postero die res finem invenit. Ita aliquot dies disceptando palam de legibus noctesque emissis clam e castris Carthaginiensibus absumptae. Et postquam pars maior emissis exercitus erat, iam ne iis quidem quae

12 ultro dicta erant stabatur; minusque ac minus, cum timore simul fide decrescente, conveniebat. Iam ferme pedestres omnes copiae evaserant e saltu, cum prima luce densa nebula saltum omnem campisque circa intexit. Quod ubi sensit Hasdrubal, mittit ad Neronem qui in posterum diem conloquium differret: illum diem religiosum Carthaginiensibus

13 ad agendum quicquam rei seriae³ esse. Ne tum

¹ coram *Madrig*: romam *P(1)J*: romani (*with conscriberent*) *M²A^yK Aldus*.

² e saltu *BDAJK Aldus*: saltu *M¹*: salu *P(3)*.

³ seriae *C²?* *Gronovius*: seria *P(3)*: feria *D*: feriam *M²?* feriatum *Aldus* (*and A, which omits esse*).

BOOK XXVI. xvii. 6-13

the terms for the surrender of the citadels of cities ^{B.C. 211} and fix a date before which the garrisons were to be evacuated, and the Carthaginians might remove all their property without molestation. Having gained that request, Hasdrubal at once gave orders that at dusk and then all through the night the heaviest troops should escape from the pass by any possible way. Great pains were taken not to have many leave that night, that even their small numbers might be better suited both to escaping the enemy's notice by silence and to making their way out by narrow and difficult paths. Next day they came to the conference;¹ but by speaking at unnecessary length and by purposely writing what was not to the point the day was spent, and postponement taken to the next day. The addition of the following night gave them time to send out others as well; and on the following day the business did not reach an end. Thus several days were spent in arguing openly about terms, and several nights in secretly sending Carthaginians away from the camp. And after the larger part of the army had been sent away, they ceased any longer to stand by even what they had been the first to propose. And there was less and less agreement, as honesty declined along with fear. By this time nearly all the infantry forces had escaped from the pass, when at daybreak a dense fog covered the whole pass and the meadows around. Hasdrubal on noticing that, sends a messenger to Nero, to postpone the conference until the next day: that day was banned among the Carthaginians, he said, for the doing of anything serious. As even then fraud was

¹ Frontinus gives a brief account of Hasdrubal's ruse; *Strat.* I. v. 19.

- quidem suspecta fraus cum esset, data venia eius diei,
 extemploque Hasdrubal cum equitatu elephantisque
 castris egressus sine ullo tumultu in tutum evasit.
- 14 Hora ferme quarta dispulsa sole nebula aperuit
 diem, vacuaque hostium castra conspexerunt Romani.
- 15 Tum demum Claudius Punicam fraudem adgnoscebat,
 ut se dolo captum sensit, proficiscentem instituit
 sequi paratus configere acie; sed hostis detrectabat
- 16 pugnam; levia tamen proelia inter extremum Puni-
 cum agmen praecursoresque Romanorum fiebant.

XVIII. Inter haec Hispaniae populi nec qui post
 cladem acceptam defecerant redibant ad Romanos,
 2 nec ulli novi deficiebant. Et Romae senatui populo-
 que post receptam Capuam non Italiae iam maior
 quam Hispaniae cura erat. Et exercitum augeri et
 3 imperatorem mitti placebat; nec tam¹ quem
 mitterent satis constabat quam illud, ubi duo summi
 imperatores intra dies triginta cecidissent, qui in
 locum duorum succederet extraordinaria cura de-
 4 ligendum esse. Cum alii alium nominarent, postremum
 eo decursum est ut proconsuli creando in Hispaniam
 comitia haberentur;² diemque comitiis consules

¹ tam *Cronorius*: tamen *P(1)JK Aldus*.

² haberentur *Madrig*: haberet (*with* *populus before* pro-
 consuli) *P(1)JK Aldus, Weissenborn*.

¹ *I.e.* to the Romans.

² Nero as propraetor held a command of lower grade. He
 was succeeded by Silanus; xx. 4. Livy follows authorities
 who placed Scipio's election to the chief command and his
 departure for Spain in 211 B.C. and the capture of New
 Carthage in 210. In XXVII. vii. 5 f., however, he mentions
 the opposing view, which would give 210 and 209 respectively
 for these dates, the now accepted chronology. Cf. note *l.c.*

not suspected, excuse for that day was granted, and ^{B.C. 211} forthwith Hasdrubal with his cavalry and elephants left camp, and without any noise escaped to a place of safety. At about the fourth hour the burning away of the fog by the sun cleared the air, and the Romans caught sight of the empty camp of the enemy. When Claudius, who until then did not recognize the Punic deception, perceived that he had been tricked, he pressed the pursuit of a departing enemy, he being all ready to engage in pitched battle. But the enemy refused battle. And yet there were slight engagements between the rear of the Carthaginian column and the advance guard of the Romans.

XVIII. Meanwhile of the peoples of Spain none who had revolted after the disaster occurred were returning to the Romans, and at the same time no new nations were revolting.¹ And at Rome, after the recovery of Capua, senate and people were no longer more concerned about Italy than about Spain. They favoured an increase of the army and the sending of a commander-in-chief:² nor were they so well agreed whom to send. as they were on this point, that, where two great commanders had fallen within thirty days, there a successor to both must be chosen with unusual care. While some were naming one man, others another, finally they had recourse to the holding of an election to name a proconsul³ for Spain; and the consuls announced a date for the

¹ To be so styled there was no requirement that a man should have been consul or even praetor: cf. XXIX. xiii. 7. Scipio's father and uncle had been consuls before they went out to Spain. For their fate cf. XXV. xxxiv. 11 ff.; xxxvi. 13 f.

5 edixerunt. Primo exspectaverant ut qui se tanto imperio dignos crederent nomina profiterentur. Quae ut destituta exspectatio est, redintegratus luctus acceptae cladis desideriumque imperatorum amissorum.

6 Maesta itaque civitas, prope inops consilii, comitiorum die tamen in campum descendit; atque in magistratus versi circumspectant ora principum aliorum alios intuentium fremuntque adeo perditas res desperatumque de re publica esse ut nemo
 7 audeat in Hispaniam imperium accipere, cum subito P. Cornelius, Publi Cornelii eius¹ qui in Hispania ceciderat filius, quattuor et viginti ferme annos natus, professus se petere, in superiore unde conspici
 8 posset loco constituit. In quem postquam omnium ora conversa sunt, clamore ac favore ominati exemplo
 9 sunt felix faustumque imperium. Iussi deinde inire suffragium ad unum omnes non centuriae modo, sed etiam homines P. Scipioni imperium esse in Hispania
 10 iusserunt. Ceterum post rem actam, ut iam resederat impetus animorum ardorque, silentium subito ortum et tacita cogitatio quidnam egissent. Nonne²
 11 favor plus valuisse quam ratio? Aetatis maxime paenitebat; quidam fortunani etiam domus horrebant nomenque ex funestis duabus familiis in eas provincias

¹ Publi Cornelii eius *Jac. Gronovius*: *om. P(1)*: P Cornelii *M²*: illius *ANJK Aldus*: Publi filius eius *Conway* (*omitting filius below*).

² Nonne *Madrig*: novi *P(1)J¹K*: noni *J*.

¹ He had distinguished himself at seventeen in the battle of the Ticinus; XXI. xlvi. 7 ff.; Polybius X. iii, 4 ff., who with a later date for his command in Spain makes him twenty-

election. At first people had waited for those who thought themselves deserving of so important a command to hand in their names. When that hope was disappointed, grief for the disaster they had suffered was renewed, and regret for the lost generals.

And so the citizens mourned, being almost devoid of any plan; nevertheless on the election day they went down into the Campus. And turning towards the magistrates they scanned the faces of the leading men, who were looking at one and another of their number, and there were complaints that the situation was so desperate and hope for the state so given up that no man ventured to accept the command for Spain, when suddenly Publius Cornelius, son of that Publius Cornelius who had fallen in Spain, being about twenty-four years of age,¹ declared that he was a candidate, and took his place on higher ground from which he could be seen. Towards him all faces were turned, and then by their shouts of approval they at once predicted a fortunate and auspicious command. Then, bidden to cast their votes, not only all the centuries, but also every single man voted that Publius Scipio should have the command in Spain. But after the thing was done, now that impulsiveness and enthusiasm had subsided, there came a sudden silence and they thought to themselves, What had they done? Had not partiality outweighed reasoning? It was his youth that they especially regretted. Some also shrank from the destiny of the house, and from the name of one who was setting out from two afflicted families² for pro-

seven at this time (*l.c.* vi. 10). Cf. XXVII. vii. 5 and note. Of course this Scipio had had no normal advancement.

² But at least a year has elapsed.

ubi inter sepulera patris patruique res gerendae
essent proficiscentis.

XIX. Quam¹ ubi ab re tanto impetu acta sollicitudinem curamque hominum animadvertisit, advocata contione ita de aetate sua imperioque mandato et bello quod gerendum esset magno elatoque animo 2 disseruit, ut ardorem eum qui resederat excitaret rursus novaretque et² impleret homines certioris spei quam quantum fides promissi humani aut ratio 3 ex fiducia rerum subicere solet. Fuit enim Scipio non veris tantum virtutibus mirabilis, sed arte quoque quadam ab iuventa in ostentationem earum 4 compositus, pleraque apud multitudinem aut ut³ per nocturnas visa⁴ species aut velut divinitus mente monita agens, sive et ipse capti quadam superstitione animi, sive ut imperia consiliaque velut sorte oraculi 5 missa sine cunetatione exsequerentur. Ad hoc iam inde ab initio praeparans animos, ex quo togam virilem sumpsit, nullo die prius ullam publicam privatamque rem egit quam in Capitolium iret ingressusque aedem consideret et plerumque solus 6 in secreto ibi tempus tereret. Hic mos, quem⁵ per omnem vitam servabat,⁶ seu consulto seu temere volgatae opinioni fidem apud quosdam fecit stirpis 7 eum divinae virum esse, rettulitque famam in Alexandro Magno prius volgatam, et vanitate et

¹ Quam *M?A^y Aldus*: qua vi *PC?R¹*: qua *P²C²RM*: quod *AJKz*.

² et *AJK Aldus*: *om. P(3)*.

³ ut *Duker, Weissenborn*: *om. P(1)JK*.

⁴ visa *P(1)JK Eds., Conway*: visas *Fabri, Weissenborn, Luchs, Riemann*.

⁵ quem *Weissenborn*: qui *Aldas*: *om. P(1)JK, Conway*.

⁶ servabat *PCR*: servabatur *MBDAJKz Aldus*: servatus *C²x Gronovius, Conway*.

vinces where his campaign must be about the tombs B.C. 211 of his father and his uncle.

XIX. When he noticed this anxiety and concern, following an action taken with such impulsiveness, Scipio called an assembly, and discoursed with such elevation of spirit on his age and the command entrusted to him and the war to be waged, that he again awakened and revived the ardour which had cooled, and filled men with a more assured hope than belief in a man's promise or reasoning based upon confidence of his success usually inspires. For Scipio was remarkable not only for his real abilities, but thanks to a certain skill also had from his youth adapted himself to their display, doing most of his actions before the public either as if they were prompted by visions in the night or inspired by the gods, whether because he also was possessed by a certain superstition, or in order that men might carry out without hesitation his commands and advice, as though emanating from an oracular response. More than that, preparing men's minds from the very beginning, from the time when he put on the manly gown, there was not a day on which he did any business public or private without going first to the Capitol, and after he had entered the temple, sitting down and usually passing the time there alone in seclusion.¹ This custom, which he maintained throughout his lifetime, confirmed in some men the belief, whether deliberately circulated or by chance, that he was a man of divine race. And it revived the tale previously told of Alexander the Great² and rivalling it as unfounded gossip, that his conception

¹ Before daylight according to Gellius VI (VII). i. 6.

² Plutarch *Alexander* ii. 4.

fabula parem, anguis immanis concubitu conceptum,
et in cubiculo matris eius visam persaepe prodigii
eius speciem interventuque hominum evolutam
8 repente atque ex oculis elapsam. His miraculis num-
quam ab ipso elusa fides est; quin potius aucta
arte quadam nec abnuendi tale quicquam nec palam
9 adfirmandi. Multa alia eiusdem generis, alia vera,
alia adsimulata, admirationis humanae in eo iuvene
excesserant modum; quibus freta tunc civitas aetati
haudquaquam maturae tantam rerum molem tan-
tumque imperium permisit.

- 10 Ad eas copias quas ex vetere exercitu Hispania
habebat quaeque a Puteolis cum C. Nerone triaectae
erant, decem milia militum et mille¹ equites adduntur;
et M. Iunius Silanus propraetor adiutor ad res
11 gerendas datus est. Ita cum triginta navium
classe—omnes autem quinqueremes erant—ostiis²
Tiberinis profectus praeter oram Tusci maris, Alpes-
que . . . et³ Gallicum sinum et deinde Pyrenaei
circumvectus promunturium, Emporiis, urbe Graeca
—oriundi et ipsi a Phocaea sunt—copiae exposuit.
12 Inde sequi navibus iussis Tarragonem pedibus
profectus conventum omnium sociorum—etenim
legationes ad famam eius ex omni se provincia
13 effuderant—habuit. Naves ibi subduci iussit, re-
missis quattuor triremibus Massiliensium quae

¹ mille A⁴JK Aldus: om. P(3), space being left in P for
numeral (∞).

² ostiis PRM: hostiis CBAJK: ab ostiis Wesenberg.

³ -que et A⁴JK: neque P(3): -que C^xM^{1?}: atque Aldus.
Here a gap in the text is suspected (Crérier) on account of et
ipsi § 11 and triremibus Massiliensium § 13.

¹ Gellius *l.c.* 3. To the Roman mind the serpent would be
the Genius of the house.

was due to an immense serpent, and that the form of ^{B.C. 211} the strange creature had very often been seen in his mother's chamber, and that, when persons came in, it had suddenly glided away and disappeared from sight.¹ He himself never made light of men's belief in these marvels; on the contrary it was rather promoted by a certain studied practice of neither denying such a thing nor openly asserting it. Many other things of the same sort, some true, some pretended, had passed the limits of admiration for a mere man in the case of this youth. Such were the things on which the citizens relied when at that time they entrusted to an age far from mature so great a responsibility and so important a command.

To the forces which Spain had from the old army, and those which had been transported under Gaius Nero from Puteoli, were added ten thousand infantry and a thousand cavalry. And Marcus Iunius Silanus, the propraetor, was assigned to aid in the conduct of the war. So with a fleet of thirty ships (and they were all five-bankers) Scipio set out from the mouth of the Tiber, sailed along the coast of the Tuscan Sea and past the Alps . . . and the Gallic Gulf, and then rounding the promontory of the Pyrenees, landed his troops at Emporiae, a Greek city, for they also² are sprung from Phocaea. Then ordering the ships to follow, and proceeding by land to Tarraco, he held an assembly of all the allies; for on hearing of his coming embassies had poured out from the entire province. There he ordered the ships to be beached, while he sent back four triremes of the Massilians

² As well as the Massilians, whose city must have been mentioned in the lacuna.

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14 officii causa ab domo prosecutae fuerant. Responsa
inde legationibus suspensis varietate tot casuum
dare coepit, ita elato ab ingenti virtutum suarum
fiducia animo ut nullum ferox verbum excideret,
ingensque omnibus quae diceret cum maiestas
inesset tum fides.

XX. Profectus ab Tarracone et civitates sociorum
et hiberna exercitus adiit, conlaudavitque milites
quod duabus tantis deinceps cladibus icti provinciam
2 obtinuissent, nec fructum secundarum rerum sentire
hostis passi omni cis Hiberum agro eos arcuissent,
3 sociosque cum fide tutati essent. Marcium secum
habebat cum tanto honore ut facile appareret nihil
minus vereri quam ne quis obstaret gloriae suae.
4 Successit inde Neroni Silanus, et in hiberna milites
novi deducti. Scipio omnibus quae adeunda agenda-
que erant mature aditis peractisque Tarraconem
5 concessit. Nihilo minor fama apud hostis Scipionis
erat quam apud civis sociosque, et divinatio quaedam
futuri, quo minus ratio timoris reddi poterat oborti
6 temere, maiorem inferens metum. In hiberna
diversi concesserant, Hasdrubal Gisgonis usque ad
Oceanum et Gadis, Mago in mediterranea maxime
supra Castulonensem saltum: Hasdrubal Hamilcaris
filius proximus Hibero circa Saguntum hibernavit.

¹ It is already the end of the season; cf. § 6.

² In Carthaginian hands since 219 B.C. Polybius places the three Carthaginian armies somewhat differently (X. vii. 5).

which out of courtesy had escorted him from their home. Then he began to give answers to the embassies which were in suspense owing to the repeated changes of fortune, and that with high spirit indeed, due to his great faith in his own abilities, yet so that no over-confident word slipped from his lips, and that in all he said there was not only great dignity but also great sincerity.

XX. Setting out from Tarraco he visited cities of the allies and also winter quarters of the army,¹ and warmly praised the soldiers because, after suffering two such disasters in succession, they had held the province, and not allowing the enemy to feel any benefit from their successes, had kept them out of the whole region this side of the Ebro, and had loyally protected the allies. Marcius he kept by him in so much honour as to make it clear that he had not the least fear that anyone would stand in the way of his own fame. Then Silanus succeeded Nero, and the new soldiers were led into winter quarters. Scipio, having promptly visited all the necessary places and having done all that was to be done, retired to Tarraco. Not a whit less was Scipio's fame among the enemy than among citizens and allies, and there was a certain presentiment of the future, inspiring the greater fear in proportion as they were the less able to account for their unreasoned apprehension. They had withdrawn in different directions into winter quarters, Hasdrubal, the son of Gisgo, as far as the Ocean and Gades, Mago into the interior, especially beyond the Forest of Castulo. Hasdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, was the nearest to the Ebro in his winter quarters near Saguntum.²

7 Aestatis eius extremo qua capta est Capua et
 Scipio in Hispaniam venit Punica classis ex Sicilia
 Tarentum accita ad arcendos commeatus praesidii
 s Romani quod in arce Tarentina erat, clausera
 quidem omnis ad arcem a mari aditus, sed adsidendo
 diutius artiorem annonam sociis quam hosti¹ facie
 bat. Non enim tantum subvehi oppidanis per
 pacata litora apertosque portus praesidio navium
 Punicarum poterat quantum frumenti classis ipsa
 turba navalii mixta ex omni genere hominum absu
 10 mebat, ut arcis praesidium etiam sine invento, quia
 pauci erant, ex ante praeparato sustentari posset,
 Tarentinis classique ne inventum quidem sufficeret.
 11 Tandem maiore gratia quam venerat classis dimissa
 est; annona haud multum laxaverat,² quia remoto
 maritimo praesidio subvehi frumentum non poterat.

XXI. Eiusdem aestatis exitu M. Marcellus ex
 Sicilia provincia cum ad urbem venisset, a C. Cal
 purnio praetore senatus ei ad aedem Bellonae datus
 2 est. Ibi cum de rebus ab se gestis disseruisset,
 questus leniter non suam magis quam militum
 vicem quod provincia confecta exercitum deportare
 non licuisset, postulavit ut triumphanti urbem inire
 3 liceret. Id non impetravit. Cum multis verbis
 actum esset utrum minus conveniret, cuius nomine

¹ hosti *M¹AJK Aldus*: hostis *P(3)*: hostibus *Alschesfski*.

² laxaverat *P(1)JK*: laxata est *conj. Luchs*.

¹ Bomilcar, the admiral, was entreated by the Tarentines to sail away; Polybius IX. ix. 11.

At the end of the summer in which Capua was taken and Scipio came to Spain a Carthaginian fleet was summoned from Sicily to Tarentum to cut off the supplies of the Roman garrison which was in the citadel of Tarentum, and it had indeed closed every approach to the citadel from the sea, but by lying there for a long time it was making the grain supply more limited for their allies than for the enemy. For it was impossible for such a quantity of grain to be brought to the townspeople by way of the peaceful shores and open harbours, under the protection of the Carthaginian ships, as the fleet itself was consuming, with its swarming crews, including men of every race. The result was that, while the garrison of the citadel, as being few in number, could be supported from previous stores without importation, for the Tarentines and the fleet even the imported grain was insufficient. In the end the departure of the fleet was more welcome than had been its coming.¹ The scarcity had not been much relieved, because, with the removal of naval protection, grain could not be brought in.

XXI. At the end of the same summer, upon the arrival of Marcus Marcellus at the city from his province of Sicily, a session of the senate in the Temple of Bellona was granted him by Gaius Calpurnius, the praetor. There after speaking of his achievements he complained gently, not more on his own account than that of the soldiers, because even after completing his task in the province, he had not been permitted to bring away his army, and he demanded that he be permitted to enter the city in triumph. That request was not granted. There was first a wordy discussion whether it was more illogical

absentis ob res prospere ductu eius gestas supplicatio
decreta foret et dis immortalibus habitus honos, ei
4 praesenti negare triumphum, an quem tradere
exercitum successori iussissent—quod nisi manente
in provincia bello non¹ decerneretur—eum quasi
debellato triumphare, cum exerceitus testis meriti
atque immeriti triumphi abesset, medium visum ut
5 ovans urbem iniret. Tribuni plebis ex auctoritate
senatus ad populum tulerunt ut M. Marcello quo
6 die urbem ovans iniret imperium esset. Pridie
quam urbem iniret in monte Albano triumphavit;
inde ovans multam prae se praedam in urbem
7 intulit. Cum simulacro captarum Syracusarum cata-
pultae ballistaeque et alia omnia instrumenta belli
lata et pacis diuturnae regiaeque opulentiae orna-
8 menta, argenti aerisque fabrefacti vis. alia supellex
pretiosaque vestis et multa nobilia signa, quibus
inter primas Graeciae urbes Syracusae ornatae
9 fuerant. Punicae quoque victoriae signum octo
duci elephanti; et non minimum fuere² spectaculum
cum coronis aureis praecedentes Sosis Syracusanus
10 et Moericus Hispanus, quorum altero duce³ nocturno

¹ non A⁶ Aldus: num P: om. P²(1)JKz: numquam
conj. Weissenborn.

² fuere P(3)A^y Aldus: fuit AJKz.

³ duce C^xA^s?JK Aldus: ducere PCR: ducente R²MBDA.

¹ On horseback, or even on foot, not in the triumphal chariot. For the ovation cf. e.g. XXXIX. xxix. 5; Plutarch *Marcellus* xxii. 2; Cassius Dio LIV. viii.; Dionysius V. xlviij.; Gellius V. vi. 27.

² Cf. XXXIII. xxiii. 8; XLV. xxxviii. 4. This inferior form of triumph was often connected with the *oratio*.

³ Such representations of captured cities and towns were frequent features of triumphal processions. At the triumph of Lucius Scipio there were 134 *oppidorum simulacra*; XXXVII. lix. 3.

that he in whose name, though absent, a thanksgiving for successes gained under his command had been decreed and honour rendered to the gods, should be denied a triumph when present, or on the other hand that he whom they had ordered to turn over his army to a successor—a vote which was not taken except when a war still remained in the province—should triumph just as though the war were finished, and in spite of the absence of the army to witness his triumph as deserved or undeserved. And then they adopted a compromise, that he should enter the city in an ovation.¹ The tribunes of the plebs on the authority of the senate brought before the people the proposal that Marcus Marcellus should have full military power on the day on which he entered the city in an ovation. On the day before his entry into the city he triumphed on the Alban Mount.² Then in his ovation he caused a great amount of booty to be carried before him into the city. Together with a representation of captured Syracuse³ were carried catapults and *ballistae* and all the other engines of war, and the adornments of a long peace and of royal wealth, a quantity of silverware and bronzeware, other furnishings and costly fabrics, and many notable statues, with which Syracuse had been adorned more highly than most cities of Greece. As a sign of triumph over Carthaginians as well, eight elephants were in the procession. And not the least spectacle, in advance of the general and wearing golden wreaths, were Sosis⁴ of Syracuse and Moericus⁵ the Spaniard.

¹ Cf. xxx. 6; xxxi. 4. Probably not the same Sosis as in XXIV. and XXV.

² Cf. XXV. xxx.

13 Syracusas introitum erat, alter Nasum quodque ibi
 11 praesidii erat prodiderat. His ambobus civitas data
 et quingenia iugera agri. Sosidi in agro Syracusano,
 qui aut regius aut hostium populi Romani fuisse, et
 12 aedes Syracusis cuius vellet eorum in quos belli iure
 animadversum esset; Moerico Hispanisque qui cum
 eo transierant urbs agerque in Sicilia ex iis qui a
 13 populo Romano defecissent, iussa dari. Id M.
 Cornelio mandatum ut, ubi ei videretur, urbem
 agrumque eis adsignaret. In eodem agro Belligeni,
 per quem inlectus ad transitionem Moericus erat,
 quadringenta iugera agri decreta.

14 Post profactionem ex Sicilia Marcelli Punica classis
 octo milia peditum, tria Numidarum equitum exposuit.
 Ad eos Murgentia et Ergetium urbes defecere.¹
 Secutae defectionem earum Hybla et Macella sunt
 15 et² ignobiliores quaedam aliae. Et Numidae prae-
 fecto Muttine vagi per totam Siciliam sociorum
 16 populi Romani agros urebant. Super haec exercitus
 Romanus iratus, partim quod cum imperatore non
 devectus ex provincia esset, partim quod in oppidis
 hibernare vetiti erant, segni fungebantur militia,
 magisque eis auctor ad seditionem quam animus
 17 deerat. Inter has difficultates M. Cornelius praetor
 et militum animos nunc consolando nunc castigando

¹ -tia et Ergetium urbes defecere Weissborn: -tiaeterre
P, a line lost after er: -i(a)eterr(a)e (1)JK.

² sunt et *z Aldus*: st *PCRM*: sunt *AJK*: et Weissborn:
om. M³BC².

¹ Cethagus, who succeeded Marcellus in Sicily.

² Cf. XXV. xxx. 2, where no name is given.

³ To share in the triumph of Marcellus. The remainder of
 the sentence refers to the legions in disgrace; i. 10; ii. 14.

With one of them as guide at night Syracuse had ^{B.C. 211} been entered: the other had betrayed Nasus and the garrison there. To both of these citizenship was granted and five hundred *iugera* of land; to Sosis, in the territory of Syracuse, land which had either belonged to the king or to enemies of the Roman people, and a house at Syracuse, to be chosen by him from those owned by men whom they had punished by the law of war. To Moericus and the Spaniards who had changed sides with him a city and land in Sicily were ordered to be given, chosen from among those who had revolted from the Roman people. Instructions were given to Marcus Cornelius¹ to assign them a city and land wherever he saw fit. In the same region four hundred *iugera* of land were voted to Belligenes,² by whom Moericus had been induced to change sides.

After Marcellus' departure from Sicily a Carthaginian fleet landed eight thousand infantry and three thousand Numidian cavalry. To them the cities of Murgentia and Ergetium revolted. Their rebellion was followed by that of Hybla and Macella and some others of less importance. And the Numidians, roaming everywhere in Sicily under their prefect Muttines, burned over lands of allies of the Roman people. In addition the Roman army, being indignant, partly because it had not been transported out of the province along with its commander,³ and partly because they had been forbidden to winter in towns, was serving without spirit. And what they lacked for a mutiny was a leader rather than the inclination. In the midst of these difficulties Marcus Cornelius, the praetor, quieted the soldiers' excitement, now by consoling, now by censuring them;

sedavit, et civitates omnis quae defecerant in dicionem redegit; atque ex iis Murgentiam Hispanis quibus urbs agerque debebatur ex senatus consulto attribuit.

XXII. Consules cum ambo Apuliam provinciam haberent, minusque iam terroris a Poenis et Hannibale esset, sortiri iussi Apuliam Macedoniamque provincias. Sulpicio Macedonia evenit isque Laevino successit.
 2 Fulvius Romam comitiorum causa arcessitus cum comitia consulibus rogandis haberet, praerogativa Voturia iuniorum T. Manlium Torquatum et T.
 3 Otacilium absentem consules dixit.¹ Cum ad Manlium,² qui praesens erat, gratulandi causa turba coiret, nec dubius esset consensus populi, magna
 4 circumfusus turba ad tribunal consulis venit, petitque ut pauca sua verba audiret centuriamque quae
 5 tulisset suffragium revocari iuberet. Erectis omnibus exspectatione quidnam postulaturus esset, oculorum
 6 valetudinem excusavit: impudentem et gubernatorem et imperatorem esse qui, cum alienis oculis ei omnia agenda sint. postulet sibi³ aliorum capita
 7 ac fortunas committi. Proinde, si videretur ei, redire in suffragium Voturiā iuniorum iuberet et meminisse in consulibus creandis belli quod in Italia
 8 sit temporumque rei publicae. Vixdum requiesce auris a strepitu et tumultu hostili, quo paucos

¹ absentem consules dixit *Fabri*: *om. P(1)JK* in a lacuna of probably two lines.

² Cum ad Manlium *Weissenborn*: *om. P(1)JK*.

³ sibi *K*: sibi post *P(1)J*: sibi potius *Gronovius*.

¹ *I.e.* by lot. Cf. the similar case in 215 B.C.; XXIV. vii. 12; ix. 3.

likewise he reduced to subjection all the city-states which had revolted. And of these he assigned Murgentia to the Spaniards to whom a city with its territory was due in conformity with a decree of the senate.

XXII. Since both consuls had Apulia as their province, and there was now less alarm from the Carthaginians and Hannibal, they were ordered to cast lots for Apulia and Macedonia as their provinces. Macedonia fell to Sulpicius, and he succeeded Laevinus. Fulvius was summoned to Rome for the election, and while he was conducting the election for the choice of consuls, the century of the younger men of the Voturia tribe, having the right to vote first,¹ declared in favour of Titus Manlius Torquatus and Titus Otacilius as consuls, the latter being absent. When a crowd gathered before Manlius, who was present, in order to congratulate him, and the approval of the people was unquestioned, surrounded by a great crowd he came to the tribunal of the consul, begged him to hear a few words from him, and bade him recall the century which had cast its vote. While all were in suspense, waiting to know what he was going to demand, he gave the condition of his eyes as an excuse. Shameless, he said, was a pilot and a general too, who, though he must use other men's eyes for everything he did, demanded that the lives and fortunes of others be entrusted to him. Therefore, if Fulvius approved, let him order the Voturia century of the younger men to vote again, and in electing consuls to remember the war that was in Italy and the critical times for the state. Their ears had hardly yet had a respite from the noise and uproar of the enemy when

ante menses arserint¹ prope moenia Romana. Post haec cum centuria frequens suclamasset nihil se mutare sententiae eosdemque consules dicturos esse, tum Torquatus “Neque ego vestros” inquit “mores consul ferre potero neque vos imperium meum. Redite in suffragium et cogitate bellum Punicum in Italia et hostium ducem Hannibalem esse.” Tum centuria et auctoritate mota viri et admirantium circa fremitu, petiit a consule ut Voturiam seniorum citaret: velle sese cum maioribus natu conloqui et ex auctoritate eorum consules dicere. Citatis Voturiae senioribus, datum secreto in Ovili cum iis conloquendi tempus. Seniores de tribus consulendum dixerunt esse, duobus plenis iam honorum, Q. Fabio et M. Mareollo, et si utique novum aliquem adversus Poenos consulem creari vellent, M. Valerio Laevino: egregie adversus Philippum regem terra marique rem gessisse. Ita de tribus consultatione data, senioribus dimissis iuniores suffragium ineunt. M.² Claudium, fulgentem tum Sicilia domita, et M. Valerium absentis consules dixerunt. Auctoritatem praerogativae omnes centuriae secutae sunt. Eludant nunc antiqua mirantis: non equidem, si qua sit sapientium civitas, quam

¹ arserint *Alschefski*: asserint *P(1)*: cesserint *M⁷ Madvig, Conway*.

² M., here *P(1)J Aldus* insert *Marellus or -um*: *K* has normal order of the three names.

¹ The corresponding century of the same first class.

² A large enclosed area in the Campus Martius for election purposes. Ovile, its older name, gave way in general use to that of Saepta. Agrippa erected there a huge building, the Saepta Iulia, completed in 26 B.C.; Cassius Dio LIII. xxiii.

the city of Rome had been all but ablaze a few B.C. 211 months before. After these words the century *en masse* cried out they would not make any change in their opinion and would vote for the same men as consuls. Thereupon Torquatus said: "Neither shall I as consul be able to put up with your manners, nor will you with my authority. Vote again, and reflect that a Punic war is in Italy and the commander of the enemy Hannibal." Then the century, moved by the prestige of the man and the expressions of admiration on all sides, begged the consul to summon the Voturia century of the older men.¹ They wished, they said, to confer with their elders and on their authority to name consuls. When the older men of the Voturia had been summoned, time for a secret conference with them was granted in the Sheepfold.² The elders said that they must deliberate in regard to three men, two of them already full of honours, Quintus Fabius and Marcus Marcellus, and if they were quite decided to elect some new man as consul to face the Carthaginians, Marcus Valerius Laevinus; that he had carried on the war brilliantly against King Philip on land and sea. So after deliberation in regard to the three men had been allowed, the elders were sent away, and the younger men cast their vote. They voted for Marcus Claudius, at that time resplendent in the light of his conquest of Sicily, and Marcus Valerius as consuls, both being absent. The authority of the leading century was followed by all the rest. Let men now make sport of those who admire what is old.³ For my part, if there should be a city-state of sages, such as philosophers imagine rather than

¹ Cf. VI. xli. 8.

43

docti fingunt magis quam norunt, aut principes
graviores temperantioresque¹ a cupidine imperii
aut multitudinem melius moratam censem fieri
15 posse. Centuriam vero iuniorum seniores consu-
lere voluisse quibus imperium suffragio mandaret,
vix ut veri simile sit parentium quoque hoc saeculo
vilis levisque apud liberos auctoritas fecit.

XXIII. Praetoria inde comitia habita. P. Manlius
Volso² et L. Manlius Acidinus et C. Laetorius et L.
2 Cincius Alimentus creati sunt. Forte ita incidit
ut comitiis perfectis nuntiaretur T. Otacilium, quem
T. Manlio, nisi interpellatus ordo comitiorum esset,
conlegam absentem datus fuisse videbatur populus,
3 mortuum in Sicilia esse. Ludi Apollinares et priore
anno fuerant et eo anno ut fierent referente Calpurnio
praetore, senatus decrevit ut in perpetuum voveren-
4 tur. Eodem anno prodigia aliquot visa nuntiataque
sunt. In aede Concordiae Victoria quae in culmine
erat fulmine icta decussaque ad Victorias quae in
5 antefixis erant haesit neque inde procidit. Et
Anagniae³ et Fregellis nuntiatum est murum
portasque de caelo tactas,⁴ et in foro Subertano
sanguinis rivos per diem totum fluxisse, et Ereti
lapidibus pluvisse, et Reate mulam peperisse.

¹ temperantioresque *B²J Sigonius*: -atoresque *P(1)K*.

² Volso *Aldus*: Vulso *Sigonius*: valens *P(1)JKz*.

³ Anagniae *C Aldus*: angnia *P*: anagnia *P¹(3)*.

⁴ tactas *P²(1)JK(-tus D) Aldus*: taeta *P*.

¹ The annalist; XXI. xxxviii. 3.

² At the upper end of the Forum, built after 367 b.c.
Another temple in the citadel had been dedicated in 216 b.c.;
XXIII. xxi. 7.

actually know, I am inclined to think that neither ^{B.C. 211} could leading men possibly be of more solid worth and more self-controlled as regards the lust for power, nor could the populace show a higher character. But that a century of the younger men wished to confer with their elders as to men whom they should vote to entrust with a command should seem to us scarcely credible—this is due to the cheapened and diminished authority even of parents over their children in our day.

XIII. Then an election for the praetorships was held. Elected were Publius Manlius Volso and Lucius Manlius Acidinus and Gaius Laetorius and Lucius Cincius Alimentus.¹ It was after the election, as it happened, that news came of the death in Sicily of Titus Otacilius, whom the people in his absence would, it seemed, have given as a colleague to Titus Manlius, if the course of the election had not been interrupted. The festival of Apollo had been observed in the previous year, and in order that it might be observed in this year also, the senate, on motion of Calpurnius, the praetor, decreed that it be vowed as a permanency. In the same year a number of prodigies were seen and reported. At the Temple of Concord² a Victory which stood on the pediment was struck by lightning, and being dislodged, it caught upon the Victories which were among the antefixes and did not fall farther. And at Anagnia and at Fregellae the wall and gates were reported to have been struck from heaven; and that at Forum Subertanum there had been streams of blood for a whole day: and that at Eretum there was a shower of stones: and that at Reate a mule had foaled. These prodigies were

6 Ea prodigia hostiis maioribus sunt procurata, et obsecratio in unum diem populo indicta et novemdiale sacrum. Sacerdotes publici aliquot eo anno de-
 7 mortui sunt novique suffecti: in locum M'. Aemili Numidae decemviri sacrorum M. Aemilius Lepidus, in locum M. Pomponi Mathonis pontificis C. Livius,
 8 in locum Sp. Carvili Maximi auguris M. Servilius. T. Otacilius Crassus pontifex quia exacto anno mortuus erat, ideo nominatio in locum eius non est facta. C. Claudius flamen Dialis, quod exta perperam dederat, flamonio abiit.

XXIV. Per idem tempus M. Valerius Laevinus, temptatis prius per secreta conloquia principum animis, ad indictum ante ad id ipsum concilium 2 Aetolorum classe expedita venit. Ubi cum Syracusas Capuamque captam¹ in fidem in Italia Sicilia-
 3 que² rerum secundarum ostentasset, adiecissetque iam inde a maioribus traditum morem Romanis colendi socios, ex quibus alios in civitatem atque aequum secum ius accepissent, alios in ea fortuna 4 haberent ut socii esse quam cives mallent; Aetolos eo in maiore futuros honore quod gentium trans-
 5 marinarum in amicitiam primi venissent; Philippum eis et Macedonas gravis accolas esse, quorum se vim ac spiritus et iam fregisse et eo redacturum

¹ captam *P(1)*: capitam *N*: captas *AJK Aldus, Froben*: itas *N*.

² Italia Siciliaque *Alschesfski*: italiaque *P(3)JK Aldus*: Sicilia Italiaque *Ay Gronovius*.

¹ The regular method of expiation when a shower of stones had been reported: XXI. lxii. 6; XXIII. xxxi. 15; XXV. vii. 9; XXVII. xxxvii. 4.

atoned for with full-grown victims, and a single day B.C. 211 of prayer was proclaimed to the people and nine days of ceremonies.¹ A number of public priests died that year, and new priests were appointed; in place of Manius Aemilius Numida, a decemvir in charge of rites, Marcus Aemilius Lepidus was appointed, in place of Marcus Pomponius Matho, a pontifex. Gaius Livius, in place of Spurius Carvilius Maximus, the augur, Marcus Servilius. Since Titus Otacilius Crassus, a pontifex, had died at the end of the year, no one was named to take his place. Gaius Claudius, flamen of Jupiter, abdicated his office because of an error in his placing the entrails.

XXIV. About the same time Marcus Valerius Laevinus, who had previously sounded the leading men in secret conferences, came on a swift sailing fleet to a council of the Aetolians already appointed for that very purpose. There he first set before them the capture of Syracuse and Capua, to convince them of success in Italy and Sicily, and in addition referred to the customary good treatment of allies as handed down to the Romans by their ancestors. Some of the allies, he said, they had admitted to citizenship and to the same rights as themselves, others they kept in so favoured a situation that they preferred to be allies rather than citizens: that the Aetolians would be held in all the higher honour because they would have been the first of the peoples across the sea to enter their friendship;² that Philip and the Macedonians were their oppressive neighbours, whose might and over-confidence he had

¹ Ptolemy Philadelphus sent an embassy to Rome about 273 B.C., but friendly relations were not followed by any formal alliance, as stated in *Periocha* 14.

esse ut non iis modo urbibus quas per vim ademissent¹ Aetolis excedant, sed ipsam Macedoniam infestam habeant; et Acarnanas, quos aegre ferrent Aetoli a corpore suo diremptos, restituturum se in antiquam formulam iurisque ac dicionis eorum;— haec dicta promissaque a Romano imperatore Scopas, qui tum praetor gentis erat, et Dorimachus, princeps Aetolorum, adfirmaverunt auctoritate sua, minore cum verecundia et maiore cum fide vim maiestatemque populi Romani extollentes. Maxime tamen spes potiundae movebat Acarnaniae. Igitur conscriptae condiciones quibus in amicitiam societatemque populi Romani venirent; additumque ut, si placeret vellentque, eodem iure amicitiae Elei Lacedaemoniique et Attalus et Pleuratus et Scerdilaedus essent, Asiae Attalus, hi Thracum et Illyriorum reges; bellum ut exemplo Aetoli cum Philippo terra gererent; navibus ne minus viginti quinque quinque remibus adiuvaret Romanus; urbium Corcyrae tenus ab Aetolia incipienti solum tectaque et muri cum agris Aetolorum, alia omnis praeda populi Romani esset, darentque operam Romani ut Acarnaniam Aetoli haberent; si Aetoli pacem cum Philippo facerent, foederi adscriberent ita ratam fore²

¹ ademissent *Aldus*: ademisset *P(1)JKz Conway*.

² fore *Muretus (x?)*: eorum *P(1)JK Aldus*.

¹ *I.e. στρατηγός.*

² Meaning the cities in Acarnania and a large part of Epirus.

already broken and would further reduce to such a pass that they would not only retire from the cities which they had forcibly taken from the Aetolians, but also would find Macedonia itself continually endangered. And as for the Acarnanians, whose forcible separation from their federation the Aetolians resented, he said he would restore them to the old written basis, establishing both the rights and the supremacy of the Aetolians. These statements and promises by the Roman general were confirmed by the authority of Seopas, then magistrate¹ of the tribe, and of Dorimachus, a leading man of the Aetolians, while they extolled the might and majesty of the Roman people, using less restraint and bringing more conviction. But most effective was the hope of getting possession of Acarnania. Accordingly the terms were written down under which they should enter friendship and alliance with the Roman people; furthermore that, if so disposed and willing, the Eleans and Lacedaemonians and Attalus and Pleuratus and Scerdilaedus should have the same rights of friendship, Attalus being king of Asia and the last mentioned kings of the Thracians and Illyrians; that the Aetolians should at once wage war against Philip by land; that the Roman should assist with not less than twenty-five ships with five banks of oars; that, of the cities between the Aetolian border and Coreyra² the soil and buildings and city-walls, together with their territory, should belong to the Aetolians, all the rest of the booty to the Roman people; and that the Romans were to see to it that the Aetolians should have Acarnania. If the Aetolians should make peace with Philip they were to append to the treaty that the peace would be

pacem si Philippus arma ab Romanis sociisque
⁴³ 13 quique eorum dicionis essent abstinuisse; item si
 populus Romanus foedere iungeretur regi, ut caveret
 ne ius ei belli inferendi Aetolis sociisque eorum
 14 esset. Haec convenerunt, conscriptaque biennio
 post Olympiae ab Aetolis, in Capitolio ab Romanis,
 ut testata sacratis monumentis essent, sunt posita.
 15 Morae causa fuerant retenti Romae diutius legati
 Aetolorum; nec tamen impedimento id rebus ge-
 rendis fuit. Et Aetoli extemplo moverunt adversus
 Philippum bellum, et Laevinus Zacynthum—parva
 insula est propinqua Aetoliae; urbem unam eodem
 quo ipsa est nomine habet; eam praeter arcem vi
 cepit—and Oeniadas Nasumque Acarnanum captas
 16 Aetolis contribuit; Philippum quoque¹ satis impli-
 catum bello finitimo ratus, ne Italiam Poenosque et
 pacta cum Hannibale posset respicere, Corcyram ipse
 se recepit.

XXV. Philippo Aetolorum defectio Pellae hiber-
 nanti adlata est. Itaque quia primo vere moturus
 2 exercitum in Graeciam erat, ut² Illyrios finitumasque
 eis urbes ab tergo metu quietas³ Macedonia haberet,
 expeditionem subitam in Oricinorum atque Apollonia-
 tium fines fecit, egressosque Apolloniatas cum magno
 3 terrore ac pavore compulit intra muros. Vastatis

¹ quoque *P(1)JK*: -que *Weissenborn*.

² ut *Alschefski*: *om. P(1)*.

³ quietas *P(3) Alschefski*: quietas ut *ANJK Aldus, Froben*.

¹ Set up in temples, as was usual among Greeks and Romans.

² Breaking a treaty made with him six years before.

³ Cf. XXIV. xl.

valid only in case Philip should refrain from war ^{B.C. 211} with the Romans and their allies and those who were subject to the latter. In like manner, if the Roman people should make a treaty with the king, they should take care that he have no right to invade the land of the Aetolians and their allies. These terms were agreed upon, and not until two years later were the texts set up, at Olympia by the Aetolians, on the Capitol by the Romans, that they might be attested by consecrated records.¹ The reason for the delay had been the retention of the Aetolian envoys for a long time at Rome. And yet that did not hinder active measures. On the one hand the Aetolians at once began the war against Philip, on the other Laevinus captured Zaeinthus. This is a small island, near Aetolia, and has one city of the same name as the island itself; that city he took by storm, except for its citadel. And after capturing Oeniadae and Nasus, belonging to the Acarnanians, he annexed them to Aetolia. Thinking that Philip also was sufficiently involved in a war with neighbours to prevent him from having any possible thought of Italy and the Carthaginians and treaties with Hannibal, he himself retired to Coreyra.

XXV. As Philip was wintering at Pella, the estrangement of the Aetolians² was reported to him. Accordingly because he intended at the beginning of spring to move his army into Greece, in order that Macedonia should keep the Illyrians in her rear and the cities near them intimidated, he made a sudden incursion into the territories of Oricum and Apollonia,³ and when the Apollonians came out of their city, he drove them inside their walls, causing great

proximis Illyrici in Pelagoniam eadem celeritate
 vertit iter: inde Dardanorum urbem Sintiam, in
 Macedoniam transitum Dardanis facturam, cepit.
 4 His raptim actis, memor Aetolici iunctique cum eo
 Romani belli per Pelagoniam et Lyncum et Bottiaeam
 5 in Thessaliam descendit—ad bellum secum adversus
 Aetolos capessendum incitari posse homines credebat
 —et relieto ad fauces Thessaliae Perseo cum quattuor
 6 milibus armatorum ad arcendos aditu Aetolos, ipse,
 priusquam maioribus occuparetur rebus, in Mace-
 doniam atque inde in Thraciam exercitum ac Maedos
 7 duxit. Incurrere ea gens in Macedoniam solita
 erat, ubi regem occupatum externo bello ac sine
 8 praesidio esse regnum sensisset. Ad frangendas
 igitur vires¹ gentis simul² vastare agros et urbem
 Iamphorynnam, caput arcemque Maedicae, op-
 9 pugnare coepit. Scopas ubi profectum in Thraciam
 regem occupatumque ibi bello audivit, armata omni
 iuventute Aetolorum bellum inferre Acarnaniae
 10 parat. Adversus quos Acarnanum gens, et viribus
 impar et iam Oeniadas Nasumque amissa³ cernens
 Romanaque insuper arma ingruere, ira magis instruit
 11 quam consilio bellum. Coniugibus liberisque et
 senioribus super sexaginta annos in propinquam
 Epirum missis, ab quindecim ad sexaginta annos

¹ vires C⁴ Madrig: om. P(1)JK Aldus, Froben.

² gentis simul Conway: om. P(1) etc.; one line has been lost.

³ amissa P Madrig, Conway (without remark): -sas Grono-
 vius, Weissenborn.

¹ A high mountain region between the upper Peneus and the Aoüs rivers.

² No doubt through the Vale of Tempe.

panic and alarm. After ravaging the nearest parts ^{B.C. 211} of Illyricum, he changed the direction of his march with the same speed into Pelagonia. Then he captured a city of the Dardanians, Sintia, as likely to afford a passage for the Dardanians into Macedonia. So much having been done in haste, mindful of the Aetolian war and the Roman war combined with it, he came down through Pelagonia and Lyneus¹ and Bottiaeae into Thessaly,² believing that men could be aroused to join him in undertaking a war against the Aetolians, and leaving Perseus at the pass into Thessaly³ with four thousand armed men, to prevent the Aetolians from entering, he led his army, before he should be engaged in more important matters, into Macedonia and thence into Thrace and against the Maedi. That tribe had been in the habit of making raids into Macedonia, whenever it knew that the king was engaged in a foreign war and the kingdom unprotected. Therefore to break its power he began at the same time to lay waste the country and to besiege the city of Iamphorynna, the capital and citadel of Maedica. Scopas, on learning that the king had gone into Thrace and was there occupied with a war, armed all the young men among the Aetolians and prepared to invade Acarnania. Against these the Acarnanian tribe, inferior in strength, and at the same time seeing Oeniadae and Nasus lost and a war with Rome impending in addition, prepared for war out of resentment rather than calculation. Sending away wives and children and the older men above sixty years to the nearest part of Epirus, from fifteen years of age up to sixty

³ *I.e.* from the south via Thermopylae: XXVIII. v. 8; XXXVI. xv. 6 ff.

LIVY

...c. 543 12 coniurant nisi victores se non redituros: qui victus
 acie excessisset, eum ne quis urbe, tecto, mensa, lare
 reciperet, diram execrationem in popularis, obtestationem
 quam sanctissimam potuerunt adversus
 13 hospites composuerunt; precatique simul Epirotas
 sunt ut, qui suorum in acie cecidissent, eos uno
 tumulo contegerent, adfigerentque¹ humatis titu-
 14 lum: "Hic siti sunt Acarnanes, qui adversus vim
 atque iniuriam Aetolorum pro patria pugnantes
 15 mortem oceubuerunt."² Per haec incitatis animis
 castra in extremis finibus suis obvia hosti posuerunt.
 Nuntiis ad Philippum missis, quanto res in discrimine
 esset, omittere Philippum id quod in manibus erat
 coegerunt bellum, Iamphorynna per ditionem
 16 recepta et prospero alio successu rerum. Aetolorum
 impetum tardaverat primo coniurationis fama Acarna-
 nicae; deinde auditus Philippi adventus regredi
 17 etiam in intimos coegit fines. Nec Philippus,
 quamquam, ne opprimerentur Acarnanes, itineribus
 magnis ierat, ultra Dium est progressus. Inde, cum
 audisset redditum Aetolorum ex Acarnania, et ipse
 Pellam rediit.

XXVI. Laevinus veris principio a Coreyra pro-
 fectus navibus superato Leucata promuntorio cum
 venisset Naupactum, Anticyram inde se petiturum
 edixit, ut praesto ibi Scopas Aetolique essent.

¹ adfigerentque *Madrig*: -liberentque *PRM*: -hiberentque
CM²?BLAJK Aldus: -icerentque *Weissenborn, Conway*.

² oceubuerunt *P(3) Aldus*: oppetierunt *AJKz.*

¹ *Viz.* the Epirotas.

² Dium, at the foot of Mt. Olympus, was a strong city,
 commanding both the coast road into Macedonia from

they took an oath that they would not return except as victors: should any man come out of the battle defeated, they drew up a dreadful curse upon their countrymen, a most solemn adjuration addressed to their hosts:¹ that no one should receive that man into the city, into his house, to his table, to his hearth. And at the same time they besought the Epirotes to cover under one mound all of their men who were to fall in battle, and to set up this inscription for those they had buried: "Here lie the Acarnanians who, fighting for their country against the violence and injustice of the Aetolians, have met their death." Having aroused their spirits by these means, they pitched camp facing the enemy at their very frontier. Sending messengers to Philip to inform him how great was the danger, they compelled him to give up the war which he had on hand, after the surrender of Iamphorynna and in spite of his other successes. The Aetolians' attack was delayed at first by the report of the oath of the Acarnanians, and then news of Philip's approach forced them to retire far back into the interior. And Philip, although he had been making forced marches to prevent the Acarnanians from being overpowered, did not advance beyond Dium.² Thence, on hearing that the Aetolians had returned from Acarnania, he too returned to Pella.

XXVI. Laevinus at the beginning of spring set out by ship from Coreyra, rounded the promontory of Leucata, and on reaching Naupactus, made it known by an edict that he would proceed to Anticyra, and that Scopas and the Aetolians should meet him there.

Thessaly and a road leading down from the pass northwest of the mountain.

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2 Sita Anticyra est in Locride¹ laeva parte sinum
 3 Corinthiacum intranti; breve terra iter eo, brevis
 navigatio ab Naupacto est. Tertio ferme post die
 utrimque oppugnari coepit. Gravior a mari
 oppugnatio erat, quia et tormenta machinaeque
 omnis generis in navibus erant, et Romani inde op-
 pugnabant. Itaque intra paucos dies recepta urbs per
 deditio[n]em Aetolis traditur, praeda ex pacto Romanis
 4 cessit. Litterae interea Laevino redditae consulem
 eum absentem declaratum, et successorem venire
 P. Sulpicium: ceterum diuturno ibi morbo implicitus
 serius spe omnium Romam venit.

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5 M. Marcellus cum idibus Martiis consulatum
 inisset, senatum eo die moris modo causa habuit,
 professus nihil se absente conlega neque de re publica
 6 neque de provinciis acturum. Scire se frequentis
 Siculos prope urbem in villis obtrectatorum suorum
 esse; quibus tantum abesse ut per se non liceat
 7 palam Romae crimina edita² ab inimicis volgare, ut,
 ni simularent aliquem sibi timorem absente conlega
 dicendi de consule esse, ipse eis extemplo datus
 senatum fuerit. Ubi quidem conlega venisset, non
 passurum quicquam prius agi quam Siculi in

¹ Locride *z*: locide *P*: *same or loci de (3)B²JKx*: Phocide *Cellarius*.

² edita *Madrig, Emend.*: edita ficta *P(3)A**: edicta ficta *BD*: edicta facta *AJKx*: edita fictaque *z Aldus*: ficta *Ussing*.

¹ The stronghold of Anticyra in Locris, only 20 miles east of the mouth of the Gulf of Corinth, is less well known than the city of the same name in Phocis, ca. 40 miles farther (by the

Anticyra is situated in Loeris, on the left as one enters the Gulf of Corinth.¹ It is a short journey by land, a short sail thither from Naupactus. About two days later the siege began from both sides. More serious was the attack from the sea, because the artillery and engines of all kinds were on the ships, also because it was the Romans who were besieging from that side. And so within a few days the city surrendered and was turned over to the Aetolians, while the booty fell to the Romans in accordance with the agreement. A letter was delivered meanwhile to Laevinus informing him that in his absence he had been declared consul, and that his successor, Publius Sulpicius, was on the way. But contracting a long illness there, he came to Rome later than anyone had anticipated.

Marcus Marcellus, having entered upon his consulship on the Ides of March, held a session of the senate on that day merely as a matter of custom, declaring that in the absence of his colleague he would do nothing concerning either the state or the provinces. He knew, he said, that a large number of Sicilians were near the city at the country-places of his detractors; that so far was it from being true that these men were not permitted by him to noise abroad openly at Rome the charges emanating from his personal foes, that he would himself immediately have given them a hearing in the senate but for their pretending no little fear to speak of the consul in the absence of his colleague. When indeed his colleague should arrive, he said, he would not allow any business to be taken up prior to the question of road) to the east. Cf. W. A. Oldfather in *Pauly-Wissowa, Lokris*, 1226.

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- 8 senatum introducantur. Dilectum prope a M. Cornelio per totam Siciliam habitum, ut quam plurimi questum de se Romam venirent; eundem litteris falsis urbem in plesse, bellum in Sicilia esse,
 9 ut suam laudem minuat. Moderati animi gloriam eo die adeptus consul senatum dimisit; ac prope iustum omnium rerum futurum videbatur donec alter consul ad urbem venisset.
- 10 Otium, ut solet, excitavit plebis rumores: belli diuturnitatem¹ et vastatos agros circa urbem, qua infesto agmine isset Hannibal, exhaustam dilectibus Italianam et prope² quotannis³ caesos exercitus quererantur, et consules bellicosos ambo viros acresque nimis et feroce creatos qui vel in pace tranquilla bellum excitare possent, nendum in bello respirare civitatem forent passuri.

XXVII. Interruptus hos sermones nocte quae pridie Quinquatrus fuit pluribus simul locis circa forum in-2 cendium ortum. Eodem tempore septem tabernae quae postea quinque, et argentariae quae nunc novae 3 appellantur, arsere; comprehensa postea privata aedificia—neque enim tum basilicae erant—, comprehensae lautumiae forumque piscatorium et atrium

¹ diuturnitatem *A'x*: -tate *P(1)JK Aldus.*

² prope *Gronovius*: pro re *P(1)Jz*: per te *K*: pro rep. *Aldus.*

³ quotannis *Gronovius*: quodannis *P*: quod kannis *P²(3)* (*cannensis AJKz*): kannis *Aldus.*

¹ Cf. xxi. 13, 17.

² Chief festival of Minerva, 19th to 23rd of March. Cf. Festus pp. 304, 306 L; Ovid *Fasti* III. 809 ff. and Frazer's note.

³ The rows of shops on opposite sides of the Forum were public property, but leased to tenants, chiefly bankers and money-changers. The New Shops were on the north side.

bringing the Sicilians before the senate. It was ^{B.C. 210} almost a levy that Marcus Cornelius¹ had conducted all over Sicily, in order that as many as possible might come to Rome to complain of himself. He added that Cornelius had also filled the city with letters falsely stating that there was a war in Sicily, in order to detract from the praise of the speaker. After winning a reputation for moderation on that day, the consul dismissed the senate. And it seemed that public business would be almost at a standstill until the other consul should come to the city.

Inaction, as usual, stirred up talk among the common people. They kept complaining of the duration of the war and of the devastation of farms around the city, wherever Hannibal had passed with his hostile army; of the draining of Italy by levies, and of armies cut to pieces almost every year; and of the election to both consulships of men of war, with an excess of spirit and confidence, who even in unruffled peace were capable of stirring up war, and were still less likely in time of war to allow the state a breathing-spell.

XXVII. Such utterances were interrupted on the night before the Quinquatrus² by a fire which broke out in several places at once about the Forum. At the same time the seven shops which later were five, and the bankers' offices, now called Tabernae Novae, caught fire;³ then private houses took fire—for there were no basilicas then,—the quarter of the Quarries⁴ took fire, and the Fish Market and the

⁴ The Lautumiae were near the Carcer, west of the Comitium.

4 regium. Aedis¹ Vestae vix defensa est tredecim
 maxime servorum opera, qui in publicum redempti
 5 ac manu missi sunt. Nocte ac die continuatum
 incendium fuit, nec ulli dubium erat humana id fraude
 factum esse, quod pluribus simul locis, et iis diversis,
 6 ignes coorti essent. Itaque consul ex auctoritate
 senatus pro contione edixit qui, quorum opera id
 conflatum² incendium, profiteretur, praemium fore
 7 libero pecuniam, servo libertatem. Eo praemio
 inductus Campanorum Calaviorum servus—Manus
 ei nomen erat—indicavit dominos et quinque praeterea
 iuvenes nobiles Campanos quorum parentes a
 Q. Fulvio securi percussi erant id incendium fecisse,
 8 volgoque facturos alia, ni comprehendantur.³ Compre
 hensi ipsi familiaeque eorum. Et primo eleva
 batur index indiciumque: pridie eum verberibus
 castigatum ab dominis discessisse; per iram ac
 9 levitatem ex re fortuita crimen commentum. Ce
 terum ut coram coarguebantur, et quaestio ex mini
 stris facinoris foro medio haberi coepit, fassi
 omnes, atque in dominos servosque consciens animad
 versum est; indici libertas data et viginti milia aeris.
 10 Consuli Laevino Capuam praetereunti circumfusa
 multitudo Campanorum est obsecrantium cum lacri
 mis ut sibi Romam ad senatum ire liceret oratum,
 si qua misericordia tandem fleti possent, ne se ad

¹ Aedis PC: -des RMBDAJK.

² conflatum, here perhaps esset has been omitted (inserted by Madvig after incendium).

³ -prendantur P²(3): -prehendantur BDAJK.

¹ For contracts to rebuild this House of the Vestals and the Macellum cf. XXVII. xi. 16.

² Under torture, as being slaves.

Atrium Regium.¹ The Temple of Vesta was saved B.C. 210 with difficulty chiefly by the aid of thirteen slaves, who were purchased by the state and manumitted. The fire held on night and day, and no one doubted that it was the work of incendiaries, since the flames had burst out in several places at once, and places not adjacent at that. Accordingly the consul on the authority of the senate declared before an assembly that any man who made known through whose action the fire had been kindled should have, if a freeman, money as his reward, if a slave, his freedom. Led by that reward a slave of the Capuan Calavii—his name was Manus—declared that his masters, and in addition five young men, Capuan nobles, whose fathers had been beheaded by Quintus Fulvius, had set that fire, and would set others everywhere if they were not arrested. They were arrested, themselves and their slaves. And at first they tried to discredit the informer and the information. It was said that, having been punished by scourging the day before, he had left his masters; that owing to anger and worthless character he had made up a charge out of a chance occurrence. But when they were accused in the presence of the informer, and an examination² of those who had served them in the crime began in the centre of the Forum, they all confessed, and punishment was visited upon the masters and their slave accomplices. The informer was given his liberty and twenty thousand *asses*.

As the consul Laevinus was passing Capua, a multitude of Capuans flocked about him, begging him with tears to be permitted to go to the senate at Rome, to plead with them, if they could at last be touched by any sense of pity, not to proceed utterly to destroy

ultimum perditum irent nomenque Campanorum a
 11 Q. Flacco deleri sinerent. Flaccus sibi privatam
 simultatem cum Campanis negare ullam esse:
 publicas inimicitias¹ et esse et futuras, quoad eo
 12 animo esse erga populum Romanum sciret. Nullam
 enim in terris gentem esse, nullum infestiorem
 populum nomini Romano. Ideo se moenibus inclu-
 sos tenere eos, quia,² si qui evassissent aliqua, velut
 feras bestias per agros vagari et laniare et trucidare
 13 quodcumque obvium detur. Alios ad Hannibalem
 transfugisse, alios ad Romam incendendam profectos.
 Inventurum in semusto foro consulem vestigia
 14 sceleris Campanorum. Vestae aedem petitam et
 aeternos ignes et conditum in penetrali fatale pignus
 imperi Romani. Se minime censere tutum esse
 Campanis potestatem intrandi Romana moenia
 15 fieri. Laevinus Campanos, iure iurando a Flacco
 adactos, quinto die quam ab senatu responsum
 accepissent Capuam reddituros, sequi se Romam
 16 iussit. Hac circumfusus multitudine, simul Siculis
 obviam egressis secutisque Romam, praebuit speciem
 dolentis duarum³ clarissimarum urbium excidio ac
 celeberrimis viris victos bello accusatores in urbem
 17 adducentis. De re publica tamen primum ac de
 provinciis ambo consules ad senatum rettulere.

¹ inimicitias, *P(3)* add hostilis.

² quia *P(1)J Weissenborn* (*rejected by Madrig*): quod *K*:
 quippe *Friedersdorff*.

³ speciem dolentis duarum *M. Müller*: om. *P(1)JK*, a lost
 line.

them, and not to allow Quintus Flaccus to wipe out ^{B.C. 210} the Capuan people. Flaceus said that he had no personal quarrel with the Capuans; his enmity was national, and would be as long as he knew they were so disposed toward the Roman people. For no nation, no people in the world was more hostile to the Roman people. He was keeping them shut up inside the walls for the reason that, if any escaped in some way, they roamed like wild beasts over the country and mangled and slew all that met them. Some had deserted, he said, to Hannibal, others had gone to set Rome on fire. In the half-burned Forum the consul would find traces of the crime of the Capuans. Vesta's temple had been the object of attack, and the eternal fires, and, hidden away in its holy place, the fateful pledge ¹ of Roman rule. He did not think it at all safe to give the Capuans permission to enter the walls of Rome. After Flaccus had required the Capuans to take an oath that they would return to Capua on the fifth day after they should receive the senate's answer, Laevinus bade them follow him to Rome. Surrounded by this multitude, while at the same time the Sicilians came out to meet him and followed him into Rome, he bore the appearance of a man grieving for the destruction of two very famous cities, and bringing into the city the vanquished in war to be the accusers of men of the greatest eminence. Nevertheless it was in regard to the state and the provinces that the two consuls first introduced business into the senate.

¹ The Palladium, the sacred image of Athena, said to have been brought from Troy.

XXVIII. Ibi Laevinus, quo statu Macedonia et
 Graecia, Aetoli, Acarnanes Loerique essent, quasque
 2 ibi res ipse egisset terra marique, exposuit: Philippum
 inferentem bellum Aetolis in Macedoniam retro ab
 se compulsum ad intuma penitus regni abisse, le-
 gionemque inde deduci posse; classem satis esse ad
 3 arcendum Italia regem. Haec de se deque provincia
 cui praefuerat consul: tum de provinciis communis
 relatio fuit. Decrevere patres ut alteri consulum
 Italia bellumque cum Hannibale provincia esset,
 alter classem cui T. Otacilius praefuisset Siciliamque
 provinciam cum L. Cincio praetore obtineret.
 4 Exercitus eis duo decreti qui in Etruria Galliaque
 essent; eae quattuor erant legiones; urbanae
 duae superioris anni in Etruriam, duae quibus Sulpicius
 consul praefuisset in Galliam mitterentur.
 5 Galliae et legionibus praeesset quem consul cuius
 6 Italia provincia esset praefecisset; in Etruriam
 C. Calpurnius post praeturam prorogato in annum
 imperio missus. Et Q. Fulvio Capua provincia
 7 decreta prorogatumque in annum imperium; exerci-
 tus civium sociorumque minui iussus, ut ex duabus
 legionibus una legio, quinque milia peditum et
 trecenti equites essent, dimissis qui plurima sti-
 8 pendia haberent, et sociorum septem milia peditum
 et trecenti¹ equites relinquerentur, eadem ratione

¹ trecenti (ccc) P(1)JK: cccc conj. Weissenborn.

¹ The Loerians are added on account of the capture of their Anticyra: xxvi. 1-3.

XXVIII. There Laevinus explained how matters stood with Macedonia and Greece, the Aetolians, Aearnanians and Loerians.¹ and what had been his own achievements there by land and sea: that when Philip was on the point of invading Aetolia, he had driven him back into Macedonia, retiring into the very heart of his kingdom: and that the legion could be withdrawn from that country; that the fleet was enough to keep the king away from Italy. So much did the consul report in regard to himself and the province, his late command. Then they both brought up the question of the provinces. The senate decreed that Italy and the war with Hannibal should be the province of one consul, that the other should have the fleet which Titus Otacilius had commanded and Sicily as his province, with Lucius Cincius, the praetor. To the consuls were assigned the two armies which were in Etruria and Gaul; these were four legions. The two city legions of the previous year were to be sent into Etruria; the two which Sulpicius had commanded as consul, into Gaul. Gaul and its legions were to be under the command of the man appointed by the consul whose province was Italy. Into Etruria Gaius Calpurnius was sent after his praetorship, with his command extended for a year. And to Quintus Fulvius Capua was assigned as his province, and his command was extended for a year. A reduction in the army of citizens and allies was ordered, so that out of two legions should be formed one, five thousand infantry and three hundred horsemen. while those who had the largest number of campaigns were discharged, and of the allies there should remain only seven thousand infantry and three hundred horsemen,

c. 4 stipendiorum habita¹ in veteribus militibus di-
 9 mittendis. Cn. Fulvio consuli superioris anni nec de
 provincia Apulia nec de exercitu quem habuerat
 quicquam mutatum; tantum in annum prorogatum
 imperium est. P. Sulpicius, conlega eius, omnem
 exercitum praeter socios navalis iussus dimittere est.
 10 Item ex Sicilia exercitus cui M. Cornelius praeesset,
 ubi consul in provinciam venisset, dimitti iussus.
 11 L. Cincio praetori ad obtainendam Siciliam Cannenses
 12 milites dati. duarum instar legionum. Totidem
 legiones in Sardiniam P. Manlio Volsoni praetori
 decretae, quibus L. Cornelius in eadem provincia
 13 priore anno praefuerat. Urbanas legiones ita scri-
 bere consules iussi ne quem militem facerent qui
 in exercitu M. Claudii, M. Valerii, Q. Fulvi fuisset,
 neve eo anno plures quam una et viginti Romanae
 legiones essent.

XXIX. His senatus consultis perfectis sortiti²
 provincias consules. Sicilia et classis Marcello,
 Italia cum bello adversus Hannibalem Laevino evenit.
 2 Quae sors, velut iterum captis Syracusis, ita exani-
 mavit Siculos, exspectatione sortis in consulum
 conspectu stantibus, ut comploratio eorum flebilesque
 voces et extemplo oculos hominum converterint et
 3 postmodo sermones praebuerint. Circumabant enim

¹ habita *P(1) Aldus*: inita *JK*.

² sortiti *DAJK Aldus*: sortirii *PR*: sortiri *CMB*: sortiri
iussi *conj. Weissenborn*.

¹ *I.e.* the army which Laevinus had had the year before in
Greece. But in the next year Sulpicius still kept one legion;
XXVII. vii. 15.

with the same reckoning of campaigns in discharging old soldiers. For Gnaeus Fulvius, consul in the previous year, no change was made either in regard to his province of Apulia, or as to the army he had had: his command was merely extended for a year. Publius Sulpicius, his colleague, was bidden to discharge his entire army,¹ except the marines. From Sicily in the same way the army which Marcus Cornelius commanded was ordered to be discharged as soon as the consul should reach the province. In order to hold Sicily the soldiers from Cannae, amounting to about two legions, were given to Lucius Cincius, the praetor. The same number were assigned for Sardinia to Publius Manlius Volso, the praetor—legions which Lucius Cornelius had commanded in the same province the preceding year. As for the city legions, the consuls were ordered to enrol them, with the restriction that they should not enlist any man who had been in the army of Marcus Claudius, Marcus Valerius, or Quintus Fulvius,² and that there should not be in that year more than twenty-one Roman legions.

XXIX. After these decrees of the senate were completed, the consuls cast lots for their provinces. Sicily and the fleet fell to Marcellus, Italy with the war against Hannibal to Laevinus. That allotment, just as if Syracuse had again been captured, so badly frightened the Sicilians, who were standing before the eyes of the consuls while awaiting the result, that their lamentation and tearful voices at once attracted the eyes of men and later occasioned remark. For

² *I.e.* there were to be no veterans who had been discharged from the armies mentioned above in §§ 6-10, partly under the names of later commanders.

senatorum domos¹ cum veste sordida, adfirmantes
 se non modo suam quosque² patriam, sed totam
 Siciliam relicturos, si eo Marcellus iterum cum
⁴ imperio redisset. Nullo suo merito eum ante
 in placabilem in se fuisse: quid iratum, quod Ro-
 manum de se questum venisse Siculos sciat, facturum?
 Obrui Aetnae ignibus aut mergi freto satius illi
⁵ insulae esse quam velut dedi noxae inimico. Hae
 Siculorum querellae domos primum nobilium cir-
 cumlatae celebrataeque sermonibus, quos partim
 misericordia Siculorum, partim invidia Marcelli exci-
⁶ tabat, in senatum etiam pervenerunt. Postulatum a
 consulibus est ut de permutandis provinciis senatum
 consulerent. Marcellus, si iam auditи ab senatu
 Siculi essent, aliam forsitan futuram fuisse sententiam
⁷ suam dicere: nunc, ne quis timore frenari eos dicere
 posset,³ quo minus de eo libere querantur in cuius
 potestate mox futuri sint, si conlegae nihil intersit,
⁸ mutare se provinciam paratum esse; deprecari
 senatus praeiudicium: nam cum extra sortem
 conlegae optionem dari provinciae inicum fuerit,
 quanto maiorem iniuriam, immo contumeliam esse,
 sortem suam ad eum transferri?

⁹ Ita senatus, cum quid placeret magis ostendisset
 quam decresset,⁴ dimittitur. Inter ipsos consules
 permutatio provinciarum, rapiente fato Marcellum

¹ domos *Weissenborn*: om. *P(1)*.

² quosque *Madvig*: quisque *P(1)JK Aldus*: quemque *A^y Valla, Gronovius*.

³ posset *P(1)NJK*: possit *J. H. Voss*.

⁴ decresset *P*: -crevisset *P¹(1) Conway*.

¹ Since a vote of the senate that an exchange of provinces
 be made would prejudice any subsequent action concerning
 Marcellus' administration in Sicily.

they went the rounds of the senators' houses in ^{B.C. 210} mourning garb, asserting that they would not only leave, each group of them, their native city, but all Sicily, if Marcellus should return again in command. For no fault of theirs he had before been merciless to them; what would he do when angry, knowing that Sicilians had come to Rome to complain about himself? It was better for that island to be overwhelmed by the fires of Aetna or sunk in the strait than to be handed over as it were to a personal foe for punishment. These complaints of the Sicilians, at first circulated in the homes of the nobles, and repeated in conversations inspired partly by pity for the Sicilians, partly by antagonism to Marcellus, even reached the senate. It was demanded of the consuls that they raise in the senate the question of an exchange of provinces. Marcellus said that, if the Sicilians had already been heard by the senate, his opinion would perhaps have been different. As it was, to prevent any one from saying that they were restrained by fear from freely complaining about the man in whose power they would presently be, he was ready, if it was of no consequence to his colleague, to exchange his province. He deprecated, he said, a verdict from the senate in advance;¹ for, granted that it would have been unfair for the choice of a province to be given to his colleague without casting lots, how much greater was the injustice, or rather the insult, if his own allotment should be transferred to that colleague?

Accordingly the senate adjourned, after showing what it favoured, but making no such decree. Between themselves the consuls made an exchange of provinces, for Fate was sweeping Marcellus in the

10 ad Hannibalem, facta est, ut ex quo primus post
 adversissimas haud adversae¹ pugnae gloriam ce-
 perat, in eius laudem postremus Romanorum impera-
 torum, prosperis tum maxime bellicis rebus, caderet.

XXX. Permutatis provinciis Siculi in senatum
 introducti multa de Hieronis regis fide perpetua erga
 populum Romanum verba fecerunt, in gratiam
² publicam avertentes: Hieronymum ac postea Hippo-
 craten atque Epicyden tyrannos cum ob alia, tum
 propter defectionem ab Romanis ad Hannibalem
 inimicos fuisse sibi. Ob eam causam et Hieronymum
 a principibus iuventutis prope² publico consilio
³ interfectum, et in Epicydis Hippocratisque caedem
 septuaginta nobilissimorum iuvenum coniurationem
 factam; quos Marcelli mora destitutos, quia ad
 praedictum tempus exercitum ad Syracusas non
 admovisset, indicio facto omnis ab tyrannis inter-
⁴ fectos. Eam quoque Hippocratis et Epicydis tyran-
 nidem Marcellum excitasse Leontinis crudeliter
⁵ direptis. Numquam deinde principes Syracusa-
 norum desisse ad Marcellum transire pollicerique se
 urbem, cum vellet, ei tradituros; sed eum primo vi
⁶ capere maluisse; dein cum id neque terra neque
 mari omnia expertus potuisset, auctores traditarum
 Syracusarum fabrum aerarium Sosim et Moericum

¹ adversissimas haud *Madrig*: *om. P(1)NJK*, a lost line,
variously supplied.

² prope *z Aldus*: pro *P(1)Nxxz*: *om. M⁷A²ZJK*.

¹ At Nola; XXIII. xvi.

² As Flaminius and Aemilius Paulus had fallen. The death of Marellus actually occurred two years later, in his 5th consulship; XXVII. xxvii.

³ About eighty in number in XXV. xxiii. 6.

⁴ Cf. *l.c.* § 7.

direction of Hannibal. The result was that he who, ^{B.C. 210} after the greatest reverses, had been the first to win from Hannibal the glory of a battle that was not a reverse,¹ added to his opponent's fame, being the last of the Roman commanders to fall,² at the very moment of success in the war.

XXX. After the exchange of provinces the Sicilians were introduced into the senate, and spoke at length on the invariable loyalty of King Hiero towards the Roman people, laying that to the credit of the state. As for Hieronymus, and later, Hippocrates and Epicydes, the tyrants, they said they had themselves hated them for other reasons and especially because of their desertion from the Romans to Hannibal. On that account Hieronymus had been slain by the foremost of the young men, almost as if by a verdict of the people. And also to bring about the death of Epicydes and Hippocrates a conspiracy of seventy young men of the highest rank had been formed.³ These men, they said, had been left in the lurch by the delay of Marcellus, in that he had not brought up his army to Syracuse at the time named in advance, and when an informer appeared, they had all been slain by the tyrants.⁴ That tyranny also of Hippocrates and Epicydes had been provoked by Marcellus' cruel plundering of Leontini. After that, they said, leading men among the Syracusans had never ceased going over to Marcellus and promising that, whenever he wished it, they would turn the city over to him; but that at first he had preferred to take it by force; then, when after all his efforts he had proved unable to do so either by land or by sea, he had preferred to have the copper-smith Sosis and the Spaniard Moericus advocating

Hispanum quam principes Syracusanorum habere,
 totiens id nequiquam ultro offerentis, praeoptasse, quo
 scilicet iustiore de causa vetustissimos socios populi
 7 Romani trucidaret ac diriperet. Si non Hieronymus
 ad Hannibalem defecisset, sed populus Syracusanus
 et senatus, si portas Marcello Syracusani publice et
 non oppressis Syracusanis tyranni eorum Hippocrates
 et Epicydes clausissent, si Carthaginiensium animis
 8 bellum cum populo Romano gessissent, quid ultra
 quam quod fecerit, nisi ut deleret Syracusas, facere
 9 hostiliter Marcellum potuisse? Certe praeter moe-
 nia et tecta exhausta urbis et refracta¹ ac spoliata
 deum delubra, dis ipsis ornamentisque eorum
 10 ablatis, nihil relictum Syracusis esse. Bona quoque
 multis adempta, ita ut ne nudo² quidem solo reli-
 quiis³ direptae fortunae⁴ alere sese ac suos possent.
 Orare se patres conscriptos ut, si nequeant omnia,
 saltem quae compareant cognoscique possint restitui
 11 dominis iubeant. Talia conquestos cum excedere
 ex templo, ut de postulatis eorum patres consuli
 12 possent. Laevinus iussisset, "Maneant immo"⁵
 inquit Marcellus "ut coram iis respondeam, quando
 ea condicione pro vobis. patres conscripti, bella

¹ et refracta Sp? Froben 2: ac refracta P: sacra fraeta
 P¹?(1)JK Aldus.

² nudo P(3)JK Froben: in nudo Madrig.

³ reliquiis P (in repeated lines) Froben 2: reliis Sp: reliquis
 P (before repetition) (1)JK.

⁴ fortunae P (in repeated lines) CSp Froben 2: nae P²(3)JK.

⁵ immo Sp: imo Froben 2: om. P(1)JK.

¹ It was now *ager publicus* (cf. xvi. 8), to be leased normally
 from the censors, by exception from a general; XXVII. iii. 1.

² The Curia had been duly inaugurated as a *templum*.

the surrender of Syracuse, rather than the leading ^{B.C. 210} Syracusans, although these volunteered again and again to do so, but to no purpose. His motive, of course, was to have the more reasonable excuse for slaughtering and plundering the oldest allies of the Roman people. If it had been not Hieronymus that went over to Hannibal, but the Syracusan people and senate, if it had been the Syracusans that by an act of the state closed the gates to Marcellus, and not rather their tyrants, Hippocrates and Epicydes, after overpowering the Syracusans, if with the animus of Carthaginians they had waged war against the Roman people, what hostile deed could Marcellus have done beyond what he did do, unless it be to destroy Syracuse? Certainly apart from the city-walls and the emptied houses and the sanctuaries of the gods, broken open and despoiled by removal of the statues of the gods themselves and their adornments, nothing had been left at Syracuse. Their landed property also had been taken away from many,¹ so that they could not support themselves and their families, even on the bare soil, with the help of what was left of their plundered possessions. They implored the conscript fathers, they said, if it was impossible for them to restore everything, to order that at least what was visible and could be identified be returned to the owners. After they had uttered such complaints and Laevinus had ordered them to leave the temple,² that the fathers might be able to deliberate in regard to their demands, "No, no," said Marcellus, "let them wait, that I may answer them to their faces, since such are the terms on which we wage war in your behalf, conscript fathers, that we have men vanquished by

gerimus ut victos armis accusatores habeamus, duae¹ captae hoc anno urbes, Capua Fulvium reum, Marcellum Syracusae habeant."

XXXI. Reductis in curiam legatis tum consul "Non adeo maiestatis" inquit "populi Romani imperiique huius oblitus sum, patres conscripti, ut, si de meo crimine ambigeretur, consul dicturus causam accusantibus Graecis fuerim. Sed non quid ego fecerim in disquisitionem venit—nam quidquid² in hostibus feci ius belli defendit—sed quid isti pati debuerint. Qui si non fuerunt hostes, nihil interest, nunc an vivo Hierone Syracusas violaverim. Sin autem desciverunt a populo Romano, si³ legatos nostros ferro atque armis petierunt, urbem ac moenia clauerunt, exercituque Carthaginiensium adversus nos tutati sunt, quis passos esse hostilia, cum fecerint, indignatur? Tradentis urbem principes Syracusanorum aversatus sum; Sosim et Moeicum Hispanum quibus tantam rem⁴ crederem potiores habui. Non estis extremi Syracusanorum, quippe qui aliis humilitatem obiciatis: quis est vestrum qui se mihi portas aperturum, qui armatos milites meos in urbem accepturum promiserit? Odistis et exsecramini eos qui fecerunt, et ne hic⁵

¹ duae *P(1)JK*: duaeque *Conway*: et duae *Ussing*.

² nam quidquid *P(1)*: quem quidquid *Sp Froben* 2; *the eight following words (in . . sed quid) are omitted in P(1), but preserved by Sp, with a single correction (Rhenanus) in defendit for -dendi.*

³ a populo Romano, si (*i.e.* a p. Ro. si) *Madrig*: a p. R. *Fabri*: portasi *P?*: portas *P^x(1)*: *om. A^xJK Aldus, Froben*.

⁴ tantam rem *x Aldus, Froben*: rem tantam *A^xJKx*: tantam *P(1)*: *Böttcher and Conway place rem after crederem*.

⁵ hic *Aldus, Froben*: his *P(1)K*: *hiis J,*

our arms as accusers, and of the two cities captured B.C. 210 this year Capua has Fulvius as its defendant, Syracuse has Marcellus."

XXXI. When the legates had been led back into the Senate House, the consul said: "Not so forgetful have I been of the majesty of the Roman people and of this authority of mine, conscript fathers, that if it were a question of a charge brought against me, I as consul would have pleaded my case with Greeks as my accusers. But it is not what I have done that is to be inquired into—for whatever I did in the case of enemies is defended by the law of war—but what they deserved to suffer. If they have not been enemies, it makes no difference whether it was recently or in the time of Hiero that I desolated Syracuse.¹ But if they rebelled against the Roman people, if they attacked our ambassadors with sword and arms,² closed their city and walls, defended them against us with an army of Carthaginians, who is indignant because they suffered hostile acts, when they have committed them? When leading men among the Syracusans tried to surrender the city, I rejected them; I preferred Sosis and Moericus the Spaniard as the men to whom I should entrust so important a matter. You are not Syracusans of the lowest rank, inasmuch as you reproach others with their humble station. Who is there among you who promised that he would open the gates to me, that he would admit my soldiers under arms into the city? You hate and curse those who did so, and even here

¹ An indirect way of saying, Why did they bring in Hiero?
Cf. xxx. 1.

² They escaped, though their ship was captured; XXIV. xxxiii. 2.

quidem contumeliis in eos dicendis parcitis; tantum
 abest ut et ipsi tale quicquam facturi fueritis. Ipsa
 humilitas eorum, patres conscripti, quam isti obiciunt,
 maximo argumento est me neminem qui navatam
 operam rei publicae nostrae vellet aversatum esse.
 7 Et antequam obsiderem Syracusas, nunc legatis
 mittendis, nunc ad conloquium eundo temptavi
 pacem; et posteaquam neque legatos violandi
 verecundia erat, nec mihi ipsi congresso ad portas
 cum principibus responsum dabatur, multis **terra**
 marique exhaustis laboribus tandem vi atque armis
 8 Syracusas cepi. Quae captis acciderint apud Hanni-
 balem et Carthaginienses victos iustius quam apud
 9 victoris populi senatum quererentur. Ego, patres
 conscripti, Syracusas spoliatas si negaturus essem,
 numquam spoliis earum urbem Romam exornarem.
 Quae autem singulis vitor aut ademi aut dedi,
 cum belli iure tum ex cuiusque merito satis scio me
 10 fecisse. Ea vos rata habeatis, patres conscripti,
 necne,¹ magis rei publicae interest quam mea.
 Quippe mea fides exsoluta est: ad rem publicam
 pertinet ne acta mea rescindendo alios in posterum
 11 segniores duces faciatis. Et quoniam coram et
 Siculorum et mea verba audistis, patres conscripti,
 simul templo excedemus, ut me absente liberius

¹ neene x Aldus, Froben : ne P(1)JK.

¹ Legates at the gates are mentioned in XXIV. xxxiii. 4 and XXV. xxiii. 10, but Marcellus is not named. Cf. Plutarch

you do not refrain from uttering insults against them. B.C. 210
So far is it from the truth that you also would have done anything of the sort. Their humble rank, conscript fathers, of which those men make a reproach, is itself the strongest proof that I did not turn my back upon any man who wished to serve our state. And before I laid siege to Syracuse, I endeavoured, now by sending embassies, now by going to a conference, to secure peace. And it was not until after they showed no shame in injuring ambassadors, and no answer was given even to myself, when I met with their leading men at the gates,¹ that, having endured many hardships on land and sea, I at last captured Syracuse by force of arms. Of what befell the captured it is more reasonable for them to complain in the presence of Hannibal and the defeated Carthaginians than in the senate of a victorious nation. For myself, conscript fathers, if I had been intending to deny the despoiling of Syracuse, I should never be using its spoils to adorn the city of Rome. But in what I as victor either took from individuals or gave to them, I am quite sure that I acted both according to the law of war and in accordance with each man's desert. Whether you confirm those acts, conscript fathers, or not, concerns the state more than myself. For my duty has been fully discharged: it is to the interest of the state that you do not make other commanders less energetic for the future by annulling my acts. And seeing that you have heard face to face the words of the Sicilians, and mine as well, conscript fathers, we shall leave the temple at the same time, so that in my

Marcellus xviii. 2, where he takes part in conferences near a certain tower.

LIVY

consuli senatus possit." Ita dimissi Siculi,¹ et ipse in Capitolium ad dilectum discessit.

XXXII. Consul alter de postulatis Siculorum ad patres rettulit. Ibi cum diu sententiis certatum esset, et magna pars senatus, principe eius sententiae ² T. Manlio Torquato, eum tyrannis bellum gerendum fuisse censerent, hostibus et Syracusanorum et populi Romani, et urbem recipi, non capi, et receptam legibus antiquis et libertate stabiliri, non fessam ³ miseranda servitute bello adfligi; inter tyrannorum et ducis Romani certamina praemium victoris in medio positam urbem pulcherrimam ac nobilissimam perisse, horreum atque aerarium quondam populi Romani, cuius munificentia ac donis multis tempestibus, hoc denique ipso Punico bello adiuta ornataque ⁴ res publica esset. Si ab inferis existat rex Hiero, fidissimus imperi Romani cultor, quo ore aut Syracusas aut Romam ei ostendi posse, cum, ubi semirutam ac spoliatam patriam respexerit, ingrediens Romam in vestibulo urbis, prope in porta, spolia patriae ⁵ suae visurus sit?—haec taliaque cum ad invidiam consulis miserationemque Siculorum dicerentur, mi- ⁶ tius tamen decreverunt patres: acta M.² Marcelli quae is gerens bellum victorque egisset rata habenda

¹ dimissi Siculi *C*: -sis siculi *PRM*: -sis -lis *M⁷BDAJK Aldus, Froben.*

² acta M. *Weissenborn*: etiam *P*: tam *P²(3)*: etiam *M causam A⁴JK*: causa *M⁶ Aldus, Froben.*

¹ As an ally, after its surrender.

² For Hiero's ample gifts see XXII. xxxvii; XXIII. xxi. 5 and xxxviii, 13.

³ The reference is to the two temples built by Marcellus outside the Porta Capena and adorned by him with spoils of Syracuse; XXVII. xxv. 7 ff. Cf. Vol. VI, p. 494 n. They were still unfinished; cf. xxxi. 9.

absence the senate can deliberate with greater freedom." So the Sicilians were dismissed, and he himself withdrew to the Capitol to conduct the levy.

XXXII. The other consul laid the matter of the Sicilians' demands before the fathers. Among them for a long time there was a conflict of opinions, and many senators, with Titus Manlius Torquatus as spokesman for that opinion, thought that they should have gone to war with the tyrants, enemies both of the Syracusans and of the Roman people, and that the city ought to have been taken over,¹ not captured, and once taken over, should have been confirmed in the possession of its former laws and its freedom, not crushed by war when already exhausted by a pitiful slavery. They said that in the conflicts between the tyrants and the Roman commander the most beautiful and famous of cities, set up in the midst as a prize for the victor, had been destroyed, the granary and treasury formerly of the Roman people, for by its generous gifts on many occasions, and last of all in this very Punic war,² the republic had been aided and enriched. If King Hiero, most faithful in his devotion to the Roman empire, should rise from the lower world, with what face could they show him either Syracuse or Rome, when after a backward look at his native city, half-ruined and despoiled, upon entering Rome he was to see in the forecourt of the city, almost at the gate, the spoils of his own city?³ Although these words and others to the same effect were spoken in order to arouse hatred against the consul and pity for the Sicilians, the senate nevertheless adopted a milder decree: that the acts of Marcus Marcellus, during his conduct of the war and as victor, were to be ratified; for the

esse; in relium curae senatui fore rem Syracusanam, mandaturosque consuli Laevino ut, quod¹ sine iactura rei publicae fieri posset, fortunis eius civitatis 7 consuleret. Missis duobus senatoribus in Capitolium ad consulem, uti rediret in curiam, et introductis 8 Siculis, senatus consultum recitatum est; legatique benigne appellati ac dimissi ad genua se Marcelli consulis proiecerunt obsecrantes² ut quae deplorandae ac levandae calamitatis causa dixissent veniam eis daret, et in fidem clientelamque se urbemque Syracusas acciperet. Pollicens hoc³ consul clementer appellatos eos dimisit.

XXXIII. Campanis deinde senatus datus est, quo-2 rum oratio miserabilior, causa durior erat. Neque enim meritas poenas negare poterant, nec tyranni erant in quos culpam conferrent;⁴ sed satis pensum poenarum tot veneno absumptis, tot securi percussis 3 senatoribus credebant: paucos nobilium superstites esse,⁵ quos nec sua conscientia ut quicquam de se gravius consulerent impulerit, nec victoris ira capitis damnaverit; eos libertatem sibi suisque et bonorum aliquam partem orare, cives Romanos, adfinitatibus

¹ ut, quod *Alschesfski*: vi quod *P*: quod *P²(1) Gronovius*: quoad z.

² obsecrantes *AJK Aldus, Froben*: et obsecrantes *P(3)*: orantes et obsecrantes *Weissenborn*.

³ Pollicens hoc *Böttcher*: potens oc (*for sōe or s.c?*) *P(3)*: potens senatus consulto *Walters*: potens sui *Alschesfski*: post haec *M⁸A⁴JK Aldus, Froben*.

⁴ conferrent *P(3) Aldus*: deferrent *BDANJKz.*

⁵ superstites esse *A⁴N⁸JK Aldus, Froben*: superior esse *P*: -iores esse *P²(1)A²N*: superesse *Alschesfski*.

future the Syracusan state would be cared for by the senate, and they would instruct the consul Laevinus to take measures for the property of its citizens, so far as could be done without loss to the republic. Two senators were sent to the consul on the Capitol, that he should return to the Senate House; and after the Sicilians had been brought in, the decree of the senate was read. And the legates, dismissed with kind words, threw themselves down before the knees of Marcellus, the consul, imploring him to pardon what they had said in lamenting and seeking to mitigate their misfortune, and that he would take them and the city of Syracuse under his protection and patronage. Making this promise the consul spoke to them gently and dismissed them.

XXXIII. The Campanians then had their hearing in the senate, and their speech was more pitiful, their case more difficult. For they could not deny that punishment had been deserved, nor were there tyrants on whom they could throw the blame. But they believed that a sufficient penalty had been paid, since so many senators had been carried off by poison, so many executed by beheading; that few of the nobles survived, whom neither their conscience had prompted to do violence to themselves, nor an angry victor had condemned to death. Those were the men who were begging, they said, for freedom for themselves and their families and for some part of their property, being Roman citizens,¹ linked to them in many cases through relations by marriage, and

¹ Cf. § 10. Roman citizenship had been conferred upon the Campanian knights in 339 b.c., and *civitas sine suffragio* upon all the Campanians soon after; cf. VIII. xi. 16; xiv. 10.

plerosque et propinquis iam¹ cognationibus ex conubio vetusto iunctos.

4 Summotis deinde a templo paulisper dubitatum an arecessendus a Capua Q. Fulvius esset—mortuus enim post captam Claudius consul erat—ut² coram imperatore qui res gessisset, sicut inter Marcellum 5 Sieulosque disceptatum fuerat, disceptaretur. Dein cum M. Atilium, C. Fulvium fratrem Flacci, legatos eius, et Q. Minucium et L. Veturiū Philonem, item Claudii legatos, qui omnibus gerendis rebus adfuerant, in senatu viderent nec Fulvium avocari a Capua nec 6 differri Campanos vellent, interrogatus sententiam M. Atilius Regulus, cuius ex iis qui ad Capuam 7 fuerant maxima auctoritas erat. “In consilio” inquit “arbitror me fuisse consulibus. Capua capta cum quaereretur eequi Campanorum bene meritus s de re publica nostra esset. Duas mulieres conpertum est. Vestiam Oppiam Atellanam Capuae habitantem et Paculam Cluviam, quae quondam quaestum corpore fecisset, illam cotidie sacrificeasse pro salute et victoria populi Romani, hanc eaptivis egentibus 9 alimenta clam suppeditasse; ceterorum omnium Campanorum eundem erga nos animum quem Carthaginiensium fuisse, securique percussos a Q. Fulvio fuisse³ magis quorum dignitas inter alios 10 quam quorum culpa eminebat. Per senatum agi de

¹ iam *Froben* 2: iamiam *P(1)NJK Aldus*: etiam *Madrig*: iam etiam *Gronovius*.

² ut *AJK Aldus*, *Froben*: om. *P(1)N*.

³ Fulvio fuisse *AJK Aldus*, *Froben*: fulvi esse *P*: fulvio vicisse *P²(3)*: Fulvio esse *Gronovius*.

¹ At this time proconsul. For his death cf. xvi. l.

² I.e. former *legati* before Capua.

now by close blood relations in consequence of their long-established right of intermarriage.

Then after they had been conducted out of the temple, there was for a short time hesitation whether Quintus Fulvius should be summoned from Capua—for Claudius, the consul,¹ had died after the capture of the city—in order that the discussion might go on in the presence of the general who had conducted the campaign, just as it had been carried on between Marcellus and the Sicilians. Then, when they saw Flaccus' lieutenants² in the senate, namely his brother Gaius Fulvius and Marcus Atilius, also Claudius' lieutenants, Quintus Minucius and Lucius Veturius Philo, men who had witnessed everything that was done, and they did not wish Fulvius to be recalled from Capua nor the Campanians to be put off, Marcus Atilius Regulus, who had the greatest influence of all the men who had been at Capua, was asked his opinion. "I testify," he said, "that I was one of the advisers to the consuls when, after the capture of Capua, the question was raised whether there was anyone of the Campanians who had deserved well of our republic. It was ascertained that there were two women only, Vestia Oppia, of Atella, domiciled at Capua, and Pacula Cluvia, who had formerly been a harlot; that the former had sacrificed every day for the safety and victory of the Roman people, and the latter had secretly supplied food to needy captives; that all the rest of the Campanians had had the same feelings towards us as had the Carthaginians; and those beheaded by Quintus Fulvius were the men whose rank rather than their guilt was conspicuous among the others. I do not see that it is possible for action to be taken

Campanis, qui cives Romani sunt, iniussu populi non video posse, idque et apud maiores nostros in Satricanis factum esse, cum defecissent, ut M. Antistius tribunus plebis prius rogationem ferret, scisceretque plebs uti senatui de Satricanis sententiae dicendae ius esset. Itaque censeo cum tribunis plebis agendum esse ut eorum unus pluresve rogationem ferant ad plebem qua nobis statuendi de Campanis ius fiat.¹ L. Atilius tribunus plebis ex auctoritate senatus plebem in haec verba rogavit: "Omnes Campani, Atellani, Calatini, Sabatini, qui se dediderunt in arbitrium dicionemque populi Romani Q. Fulvio proconsuli, quosque una secum dedidere,¹ quaeque una secum dedidere, agrum urbemque, divina humanaque, utensiliaque sive quid aliud dediderunt, de iis rebus quid fieri velitis vos rogo, Quirites." Plebes sic iussit: "Quod senatus iurat, maxima pars, censem, qui adsident,² id volumus iubemusque."

XXXIV. Ex hoc plebei scito senatus consultus Oppiae Cluviaeque primum bona ac libertatem restituit: si qua alia praemia petere ab senatu vellent, 2 venire eas Romam. Campanis in familias singulas decreta facta, quae non operae pretium est omnia

¹ quosque . . . dedidere *P*: rejected by Madrig (following *Ablus*), while *P¹* or *P²* wished to delete the quaeque clause, which (1)JK omit.

² adsident *Cobet*: adsidens *P(1) Aldus, Froben*: assidens *DJK*: adsidet *C⁴*.

¹ Satricum, near Antium and subject to it, revolted to the Samnites in 319 B.C. Livy's account at IX. xvi. 10 does not cover the procedure here mentioned, but tells only of the severity of Papirius Cursor.

² All non-citizens, including freedmen and the rest mentioned in xvi. 8.

by the senate in regard to the Campanians, who are ^{B.C. 210}
 Roman citizens, without the command of the people ;
 and I see that in the time of our ancestors also the
 procedure in the case of the Satricani, after their
 revolt, was that Marcus Antistius, tribune of the
 plebs, first introduced a bill, and the plebs voted
 that the senate should have the right to pronounce
 judgment upon the men of Satricum.¹ Accordingly
 I think that we must persuade the tribunes of the
 plebs that one or more of them should propose to the
 plebs a bill by which we should be given the right to
 decide in regard to the Campanians." Lucius
 Atilius, tribune of the plebs, by authority of the
 senate brought before the plebs a bill in these terms :
 " All the Capuans, Atellani, Calatini, Sabatini, who
 under Quintus Fulvius, the proconsul, surrendered
 themselves to the will and authority of the Roman
 people, and the men ² whom they have surrendered
 along with themselves, and the possessions which
 they have surrendered along with themselves, the
 land and the city, property of gods and property of
 men, and implements or anything else that they have
 surrendered—concerning those matters, Quirites,
 I ask you what you wish to be done." The plebs
 ordered as follows : " What the senate under oath, a
 majority of those present, shall decree, that is our
 wish and command."

XXXIV. In accordance with this plebiscite the
 senate, on being consulted, restored to Oppia and
 Cluvia first their property and their freedom : if they
 wished to request other compensations from the
 senate, it ordered them to come to Rome. For the
 Capuans, family by family,³ decrees were passed,

³ For he is speaking of the aristocracy.

3 enumerare: aliorum bona publicanda, ipsos liberosque eorum et coniuges vendendas, extra filias quae enupsissent priusquam in populi Romani potestatem
 4 venirent; alios in vincula condendos, ac de iis posterius consulendum; aliorum Campanorum sum-
 5 mam¹ etiam census distinxerunt publicanda necne
 6 bona essent. Pecua captiva praeter equos et mancipia praeter puberes virilis sexus² et omnia
 7 quae solo non continerentur restituenda censuerunt
 8 dominis. Campanos omnis, Atellanos, Calatinos,
 Sabatinos, extraquam qui eorum aut ipsi aut parentes
 9 eorum apud hostis essent, liberos esse iusserunt, ita
 ut nemo eorum civis Romanus aut Latini nominis
 esset. neve quis eorum qui Capuae fuisset, dum
 portae clausae essent, in urbe agrove Campano
 intra certam diem maneret; locus ubi habitarent
 trans Tiberim qui non contingere Tiberim daretur;
 10 qui nec Capuae nec in urbe Campana quae a populo
 Romano defecisset per bellum fuisse, eos cis Lirim
 amnem Romanum versus, qui ad Romanos transsissent,
 priusquam Capuam Hannibal veniret, cis Voltumnus
 emovendos censuerunt, ne quis eorum proprius mare
 quindecim milibus passuum agrum aedificiumve
 haberet. Qui eorum trans Tiberim emoti essent,
 ne ipsi posterive eorum uspiam pararent haberentve

¹ summam *P(1)JKM^{1?}*: summa *M? Duker.*

² virilis sexus *CM²AJK Aldus, Froben*: viriles sexus
P(3): virile secus *Jac. Gronovius.*

¹ This class of persons retained their freedom and part of their property.

² *I.e.* in the Carthaginian army.

³ In the interior of Etruria; § 10.

which it is not worth while to recount in full. The B.C. 219 property of some of them was to be confiscated, themselves and their children and wives sold, except the daughters who, before they became subject to the authority of the Roman people, had married into other communities. Others were to be put in chains and action concerning them considered later. In the case of other Capuans they graded their census rating also, to determine whether their property should be confiscated or not.¹ As for captured cattle, except horses, they decreed that they be restored to their owners, and slaves, except adult males, also everything which was not attached to the soil. All Capuans, Atellani, Calatini, Sabatini, except such of them as had been with the enemy,² either themselves or their fathers, were to be free men. It was ordered, with the reservation that no one of them should be a Roman citizen or reckoned a Latin, and that no one of them who had been at Capua while the gates were closed should remain in the city or in the territory of Capua beyond a certain date; that a region across the Tiber, but not touching the Tiber, be given them as a dwelling-place.³ As for those who during the war had not been in Capua nor in a Campanian city which had revolted from the Roman people, it was voted that these should be removed this side of the Liris river in the direction of Rome; and that those who had come over to the Romans before Hannibal came to Capua should be removed this side of the Volturnus, no one of them to have land or building nearer the sea than fifteen miles.⁴ Of those removed across the Tiber, neither the men themselves nor their descendants were to acquire or

¹ Thus they were to be cut off from maritime commerce.

nisi in Veiente,¹ Sutrino Nepesinove agro, dum ne
 cui maior quam quinquaginta iugerum agri modus
 11 esset. Senatorum omnium quique magistratus Ca-
 puae, Atellae, Calatiae gessissent bona venire Capuae
 iusserunt; libera corpora quae venum dari placuerat
 12 Romam mitti ac Romae venire. Signa, statuas
 aeneas quae capta de hostibus dicerentur, quae
 eorum sacra ac profana essent ad pontificum colle-
 13 gium reiecerunt. Ob haec decreta maestiores ali-
 quanto quam Romam venerant Campanos dimiserunt.
 Nec iam Q. Fulvii saevitiam in sese, sed iniquitatem
 deum atque exsecrabilem fortunam suam incusabant.

XXXV. Dimisis Siculis Campanisque dilectus
 habitus. Scripto deinde exercitu de remigum supple-
 2 mento agi coeptum: in quam rem cum neque ho-
 minum satis, nec ex qua pararentur stipendumque
 acciperent pecuniae quicquam ea tempestate in
 3 publico esset, edixerunt consules ut privati ² ex censu
 ordinibusque, sicut antea, remiges darent cum
 4 stipendio cibariisque dierum triginta. Ad id edictum
 tantus fremitus hominum. tanta indignatio fuit ut
 magis dux quam materia seditioni deesses: secundum
 Siculos Campanosque plebem Romanam perdendam
 5 lacerandamque sibi consules sumpsisse. Per tot
 annos tributo exhaustos nihil reliqui praeter terram

¹ Veiente. *A^rN²JK*; *Aldus, Froben add aut.*

² privati *Froben 1*: *privatum P(1)JK Aldus, Conway: privato z.*

¹ In 214 B.C.: XXIV. xi. 7 f.

B.C. 210

hold anywhere except in the districts of Veii, Sutrium or Nepete, with the provision that no one was to have a larger amount of land than fifty *iugera*. The property of all senators and of those who had held office at Capua, Atella, Calatia they ordered to be sold at Capua; that the free persons who, it had been voted, should be offered for sale be sent to Rome and sold at Rome. Images, statues of bronze, which were said to have been captured from the enemy, they referred to the college of pontiffs, to decided which of them were sacred and which profane. In view of these decrees the Campanians were much sadder when dismissed than when they had come to Rome. And no longer did they lay the blame upon the harshness of Quintus Fulvius towards them, but upon the partiality of the gods and their accursed fortune.

XXXV. The Sicilians and Campanians having been sent away, a levy was held. Then when an army had been enrolled, they began to take up the question of recruiting more oarsmen. For this purpose, inasmuch as there was neither a sufficient supply of men, nor any money at that time in the treasury out of which they might be procured and receive their pay, the consuls in an edict ordered that private citizens according to their census and classes, as before,¹ should furnish oarsmen, with pay and rations for thirty days. In response to that edict there was such protest among the people, such indignation, that what was lacking for an uprising was a leader rather than fuel. Next after the Sicilians and Campanians the consuls, they said, had taken upon themselves the task of ruining and mangling the Roman populace. Exhausted by tribute for so many years, they had nothing left

nudam ac vastam habere. Tecta hostis incendisse,
 servos agri cultores rem publicam abduxisse, nunc
 ad militiam parvo aere emendo, nunc remiges
 6 imperando; si quid cui argenti aerisve fuerit, sti-
 pendio remigum et tributis annuis ablatum. Se ut
 dent quod non habeant nulla vi, nullo imperio cogi
 posse. Bona sua venderent; in corpora quae reli-
 quia essent saevirent; ne unde redimantur quidem
 7 quicquam superesse. Haec non in occulto, sed
 propalam in foro atque oculis ipsorum consulm
 8 ingens turba circumfusi fremebant; nec eos sedare
 consules nunc castigando, nunc consolando poterant.
 Spatium deinde iis tridui se dare ad cogitandum
 dixerunt; quo ipsi ad rem inspiciendam et expe-
 9 diendam¹ usi sunt. Senatum postero die habuerunt
 de remigum supplemento; ubi cum multa disse-
 ruissent cur aequa plebis recusatio esset, verterunt
 orationem eo ut dicerent privatis id seu aequum seu
 10 iniquum onus iniungendum esse; nam unde, cum
 pecunia in aerario non esset, paratueros navalis
 socios? Quo modo autem sine classibus aut Siciliam
 obtineri aut Italia Philippum arceri posse aut tuta
 Italiae litora esse?

XXXVI. Cum in hac difficultate rerum consilium
 haereret, ac prope torpor quidam occupasset homi-
 2 num mentes, tum Laevinus consul: magistratus

¹ et expediendam *Alschefski*: -damque *K Aldus, Froben*:
 -dam *P(1)J.*

¹ For the emergency tax (*directi*) cf. XXIII. xxxi. 1 and
 xlvi. 8. Normally citizens were exempt from this *tributum*. It was regarded as a forced loan, to be repaid later, e.g. after a triumph in 187 B.C.; XXXIX. vii. 5.

but the land, bare and desolate. Their houses had ^{B.C. 210} been burned by the enemy, the slaves who tilled the soil had been taken away by the state, now by purchase at a low price for military service, now by impressing them as oarsmen. If a man had any money in silver or bronze, it had been taken away for the pay of oarsmen and the yearly taxes.¹ As for themselves, they could not be compelled by any force, by any authority, to give what they did not have. Let their property be sold, let their bodies—all that remained—be harshly treated; not even for the purposes of a ransom was anything left to them. Such were the complaints of a great multitude, not in secret, but openly in the Forum and even before the eyes of the consuls, as they flocked about them. And the consuls, now upbraiding, now consoling, were unable to quiet them. Thereupon they said that they gave the people three days for reflection, a time which they themselves employed in looking into the matter and seeking a solution. The following day they held a session of the senate on the recruiting of more oarsmen. There, after setting forth many reasons why refusal on the part of the populace was fair, they so far altered their language as to say that the burden, whether fair or unfair, must be laid upon private citizens. For from what source were they to get crews, when there was no money in the treasury? And without fleets how could either Sicily be held, or Philip kept away from Italy, or the coasts of Italy be safe?

XXXVI. When in this difficult situation wisdom faltered, and a kind of lethargy had almost taken possession of men's minds, Laevinus, the consul, said that, as magistrates are superior to the senate in

senatui et senatum populo, sicut honore praestent,¹
 ita ad omnia quae dura atque aspera essent subeunda
³ duces² debere esse. "Si, quod³ iniungere inferiori
 velis, id prius in te ac tuos⁴ ipse iuris statueris, facilius
 omnis oboedientis habeas. Nec impensa gravis est,
 cum ex ea⁵ plus quam pro virili parte sibi quemque
⁴ capere principum vident. Itaque classes si⁶ habere
 atque ornare volumus populum Romanum, privatos
 sine recusatione remiges dare, nobismet ipsis pri-
⁵ mum imperemus. Aurum, argentum, aes⁷ signa-
 tum omne senatores erastino die in publicum confe-
 ramus, ita ut anulos sibi quisque et coniugi et liberis,
 et filio bullam, et quibus uxor filiaeve sunt singulas
⁶ uncias pondo auri relinquant; argenti qui curuli
 sella sederunt equi ornamenta et libras pondo, ut
 salinum patellamque deorum causa habere possint;
⁷ ceteri senatores libram argenti tantum; aeris
 signati quina milia in singulos patres familiae re-
 linquamus: ceterum omne aurum, argentum, aes
 signatum ad triumviros mensarios extemplo de-
 feramus nullo ante senatus consulto facto, ut volun-
 taria conlatio et certamen adiuvandae rei publicae
 excitet ad aemulandum animos primum equestris
⁹ ordinis, dein reliquae plebis. Hanc unam viam

¹ praestent *P(3)*: praestet *A'JK Aldus, Froben, Conway*:
 praestitit *MBD*.

² duces *Crérier*: ducem *P(1)JK Aldus, Froben*.

³ quod *Madrig*: quid *P(3) R¹JK Aldus, Froben*.

⁴ tuos, here a second si is added in *A'JK Aldus, Froben*,
not in P(1) or Madrig.

⁵ ex ea z *Madrig*: ea *P(1)z*: eam *A'JK*.

⁶ classes si *Alschefski*: si classes *Modrig*: classes *P(1)JK*:
 ut classem *Aldus, Froben*.

⁷ aes z (cf. § 8): om. *P(1)JK*.

dignity, and as the senate is superior to the people. B.C. 210 so ought they to be leaders in shouldering all that was hard and drastic. "If there is a duty which you wish to lay upon an inferior, and you first set up the same obligation as against yourself and your family, you more readily find everyone submitting. And the outlay is not burdensome, when they see every prominent man taking upon himself more than his share in it. Accordingly, if we wish the Roman people to have fleets and equip them, and private citizens to furnish oarsmen without protest, let us first impose that upon ourselves. Gold, silver, coined bronze, let us senators bring it all into the treasury tomorrow, with the reservation that each is to leave a ring for himself and for his wife and his children, and a *bulla* for a son, and those who have a wife or daughters may leave for each an ounce of gold by weight. Of silver those who have occupied curule chairs may leave horse-trappings¹ and one pound each, so that they may keep a salt-cellar and a saucer for offerings to the gods. The rest of the senators may leave only a pound of silver. Of coined bronze let us leave five thousand *asses* to each pater-familias. All the rest of the gold, silver, coined bronze let us forthwith deposit with the bank commissioners,² without first making any decree of the senate, so that a voluntary contribution and competition in helping the republic may stir up to rivalry, first the spirit of the knightly order, and then of the plebeians as well. This is the one way we consuls

¹ I.e. *phalerae*, disks or medallions, a distinction here reserved for a small number of the senators; cf. XXII. lii. 5; XXX. xvii. 13.

² Cf. XXIV. xviii. 12; XXIII. xxi. 6.

multa inter nos conlocuti consules invenimus; ingredimini dis bene iuvantibus. Res publica incolmis et privatas res facile salvas praestat; publica prodendo tua neququam serves."

10 In haec tanto animo consensum est ut gratiae
 11 ultro consulibus agerentur. Senatu inde misso pro
 se quisque aurum et¹ argentum et aes in publicum
 conferunt, tanto certamine injecto ut prima aut²
 inter primos nomina sua vellent in publicis tabulis
 esse, ut nec triumviri accipiundo nec scribae refe-
 12 rundo sufficerent. Hunc consensum senatus equester
 ordo est secutus, equestris ordinis plebs. Ita sine
 edicto, sine coercitione magistratus nec remige in
 supplementum nec stipendio res publica eguit;
 paratisque omnibus ad bellum eonsules in provincias
 profecti sunt.

XXXVII. Neque aliud³ tempus belli fuit quo
 Carthaginienses Romanique pariter variis casibus
 immixti⁴ magis in ancipiti spe ac metu fuerint.
 2 Nam Romanis et in provinciis, hinc in Hispania
 adversae res, hinc prosperae in Sicilia luctum et
 3 laetitiam miscuerant; et in Italia cum Tarentum
 amissum damno et dolori, tum arx cum praesidio
 4 retenta praeter spem gaudio fuit; et terrorem su-
 bitum pavoremque urbis Romae obsessae et op-
 pugnatae Capua post dies paucos capta in laetitiam
 5 vertit. Transmarinae quoque res quadam vice

¹ et C: om. P(3)JK Aldus, Froben.

² aut Madrig: ut P: om. P²: 1)JK Aldus, Froben.

³ aliud Kz Perizonius: aliud magis P(1)J Aldus, Froben.

⁴ immixti MAzJKz Madrig: immixtis P(3)M¹ Aldus, Weissenborn.

¹ For the ultimate repayment of all these voluntary loans cf. XXIX. xvi. 1-3; XXXI. xiii. 2 ff.

have found, after conferring together at length; b.c. 210 enter upon it with the kind aid of the gods! The commonwealth, if preserved, easily assures the preservation of private wealth also. In betraying what belongs to the commonwealth one tries in vain to save one's own possessions."

To these words agreement was so spirited that they actually thanked the consuls. The senate then adjourned, and each man brought his own gold and silver and bronze into the treasury, while such rivalry was aroused to have their names the first or among the first men on the public records, that neither were the commissioners equal to the task of receiving nor the clerks to that of making the entries. The knightly order followed this unanimity of the senate, the populace that of the knights.¹ Thus without an edict, without constraint on the part of the magistrates, the state lacked neither oarsmen to fill the complement nor their pay. And every preparation for war being complete, the consuls set out for their provinces.

XXXVII. And there was no other time in the war when Carthaginians and Romans, equally involved in changing fortunes, were in a more uncertain state of hope and fear. That is, for the Romans, in the provinces, defeat in Spain on the one hand, success in Sicily on the other, had mingled sorrow and rejoicing; so also in Italy the capture of Tarentum brought loss and grief, while the retention of the citadel and garrison contrary to expectation brought joy. And the sudden alarm and panic when the city of Rome was beset and attacked was turned into gladness by the taking of Capua a few days later. Overseas also were events balanced with a certain alternation:

pensatae: Philippus hostis tempore haud satis opportuno factus. Aetoli novi adsciti socii Attalusque Asiae rex, iam velut¹ despondente fortuna Romanis 6 imperium orientis. Carthaginienses quoque Capuae amissae Tarentum captum aequabant, et ut ad moenia urbis Romanae nullo prohibente se pervenisse in gloria ponebant, ita pigebat inriti incepti, pudebat- 7 que adeo se spretos ut sedentibus ipsis ad Romana moenia alia porta exercitus Romanus in Hispaniam 8 duceretur. Ipsae quoque Hispaniae quo propius spem venerant tantis duobus ducibus exercitibusque caesis debellatum ibi ac pulsos inde Romanos esse, eo plus ab L. Marcio, tumultuario duce, ad vanum et inritum victoriam redactam esse indignationis 9 praebebant. Ita aequante fortuna suspensa omnia utrisque² erant, integra spe, integro metu, velut illo tempore primum bellum inciperent.

XXXVIII. Hannibalem ante omnia angebat quod Capua pertinacius oppugnata ab Romanis quam defensa ab se multorum Italiae populorum animos aver- 2 terat, quos neque omnis tenere praesidiis, nisi vellet in multas parvasque partis carpere exercitum, quod minime tum expediebat, poterat, nec deductis praesi- diis spei liberam vel obnoxiam timori sociorum relin- 3 quere fidem. Praeceps in avaritiam et crudelitatem

¹ velut AJK Froben 1: vel P(3) Aldus; om. M.

² utrisque M⁷: utriusque P(1): utrinque AJK Aldus, Froben.

¹ But this rhetorical balance does not do justice to Hannibal's sense of what he had lost in the fall of Capua. Cf. xxxviii. 1.

² I.e. that they might gain the favour of the winning side.

Philip's turning enemy at an inopportune moment, B.C. 210
 the addition of the Aetolians and Attalus, King of Asia, as new allies, just as if fortune were now pledging to the Romans rule over the East. The Carthaginians likewise balanced the capture of Tarentum against the loss of Capua:¹ and although they made it their boast that they had reached the walls of the city of Rome with no one preventing, yet they were annoyed at the failure of their undertaking and ashamed to find themselves so scorned that, while they were sitting before the walls of Rome, out of another gate marched a Roman army bound for Spain. As for their Spanish provinces, the nearer they had come to the hope that, after the slaughter of two great commanders and armies, the war there was over and the Romans driven out, the more indignation did those very provinces arouse that the victory had been rendered null and void by Lucius Mārcius, an emergency commander. Thus with Fortune maintaining the balance, there was general suspense for both sides, hope remaining unchanged, fear unchanged, as though they were then for the first time beginning the war.

XXXVIII. Hannibal was above all else distressed that Capua, besieged with more persistence by the Romans than it was defended by himself, had estranged from him many peoples in Italy, not all of whom could he hold by garrisons, unless he were willing to parcel out his army in many small detachments, which was not at all to his advantage at that time. Nor on the other hand could he by withdrawing his garrisons leave the loyalty of allies free to hope² or exposed to fear. Naturally inclined to greed and cruelty, his temperament favoured despoiling what

animus ad spolianda quae tueri nequibat, ut vastata
 4 hosti relinquenterunt, inclinavit. Id foedum consilium
 cum incepto, tum etiam exitu fuit. Neque enim
 indigna patientium modo abalienabantur animi, sed
 ceterorum etiam; quippe ad pluris exemplum quam
 5 perpessio malorum¹ pertinebat. Nec consul Ro-
 manus temptandis urbibus, sicunde spes aliqua se
 ostendisset, deerat.

6 Salapiae principes erant Dasius et Blattius;
 Dasius Hannibali amicus, Blattius quantum ex tuto
 poterat rem Romanam fovebat et per occultos
 nuntios spem prodictionis fecerat Marcello; sed sine
 7 adiutore Dasio res transigi non poterat. Multum ac
 diu cunetatus, et tum quoque magis inopia consilii
 potioris quam spe effectus, Dasium appellat;² at
 ille, cum ab re aversus, tum aemulo potentatus
 8 inimicus, rem Hannibali aperit. Arcessito utroque
 Hannibal cum pro tribunali quaedam ageret mox de
 Blattio cognitus, starentque summoto populo
 accusator et reus, Blattius de prodictione Dasium
 9 appellat.³ Enimvero ille, velut in manifesta re,
 exclamat sub oculis Hannibal's secum de prodictione
 agi. Hannibali atque eis qui aderant quo audacior
 10 res erat, minus similis veri visa est: aemulationem
 profecto atque odium esse, et id crimen adferri

¹ perpessio malorum *conj. Conway, a lost line: om. P(1), K omitting* quam also: calamitas Aldus, Froben, Madrig: pestis Harant: pernicies Weissenborn.

² appellat Madrig: -abat P(1)JK Aldus, Conway.

³ appellat Madrig, Emend., Conway: -abat P(1)JK Aldus, Madrig.

¹ Between Arpi and Cannae, on a lake close to the Adriatic. Hannibal had once wintered there; XXIV. xx. 15; xlvi. 9. Cf. XXVII. i. 1 and xxviii. 5 ff. Later Sal(a)pia was removed

he was unable to protect, in order to leave desolated lands to the enemy. That policy was shameful in the beginning, and especially so in the outcome. For not only were those who suffered undeserved treatment alienated, but all the rest as well; for the lesson reached larger numbers than did the suffering. Nor did the Roman consul fail to work upon the feelings of cities, if any hope had showed itself from any quarter.

At Salapia¹ Darius and Blattius were leading citizens. Darius was friendly to Hannibal, Blattius promoted the Roman cause so far as he safely could, and through secret messengers had roused in Marcellus a hope of betrayal. But without the aid of Darius the matter could not be carried out. After much hesitation for a long time, and even then rather owing to the lack of a better plan than with the hope of success, he addressed himself to Darius. But Darius, being not only averse to the project, but also unfriendly to one who was his rival for the highest position, disclosed the matter to Hannibal. When both had been summoned, and Hannibal on the tribune was occupied with certain business, intending presently to hear the case of Blattius, and accuser and defendant were standing there, while the crowd had been cleared away, Blattius addressed himself to Darius on the treason. Darius, to be sure, as though the evidence was clear, cried out that before Hannibal's eyes he was being urged to turn traitor. To Hannibal and his assessors the matter seemed less credible as being so bold. It was only their rivalry and hatred surely, they said, and the charge to a healthier situation and by cutting a canal became a seaport; Vitruvius I. iv. 12; Strabo VI. iii. 9.

quod, quia testem habere non posset,¹ liberius fingenti
 11 esset. Ita² inde dimissi sunt. Nec Blattius ante
 abstitit tam audaci incepto quam idem obtundendo,
 docendoque quam ea res ipsis patriaeque salutaris
 esset, pervicit ut praesidium Punicum—quingenti³
 autem Numidae erant—Salapiaque traderetur Mar-
 12 cello. Nec sine caede multa tradi potuit. Longe
 fortissimi equitum toto Punico exercitu erant.
 Itaque quamquam improvisa res fuit, nec usus
 equorum in urbe erat, tamen armis inter tumultum
 13 captis et eruptionem temptaverunt et, cum evadere
 nequirent, pugnantes ad ultimum occubuerunt, nec
 plus quinquaginta ex his⁴ in potestatem hostium
 14 vivi venerunt. Plusque aliquanto damni haec ala
 equitum amissa Hannibali quam Salapia fuit; nec
 deinde umquam Poenus, quo longe plurimum
 valuerat, equitatu superior fuit.

XXXIX. Per idem tempus cum in arce Tarentina
 vix inopia tolerabilis esset, spem omnem praesidium
 quod ibi erat Romanum praefectusque praesidii atque
 arcis M. Livius in commeatibus ab Sicilia missis habe-
 2 bant, qui ut tuto praetervehentur oram Italiae,
 3 classis viginti ferme navium Regii stabat. Praeerat
 classi commeatibusque D. Quinctius, obscuro genere
 ortus, ceterum multis fortibus factis militari gloria
 4 inlustris. Primo quinque naves, quarum maximaæ

¹ posset *P(1) JK Aldus*: possit *Madrig.*

² esset. Ita *A'JKx Conway*: sitia *P*: (-ti)s ita or (-ti) ita
P²(1).

³ quingenti (=D; *Sigonius from Valerius Max.* III. viii.
Ext. I: om. *P(1)*: hii *A'J*: hi *Aldus, Froben*: ii *K*.

⁴ his *P(1) Aldus, Froben*: hiis *J*: iis *K*.

¹ It had been his for six years.

brought was of a sort in which the fabricator had the B.C. 210 more freedom because it could not have a witness. So they were discharged. And Blattius did not desist from so bold an undertaking until by dinging the same story into his ears, and by showing how advantageous for themselves and their native city it was, he prevailed upon Dasius to have the Carthaginian garrison—now it consisted of five hundred Numidians—and Salapia surrendered to Marcellus. And it was not without much bloodshed that it could be surrendered. They were far the bravest horsemen in the entire Carthaginian army. Accordingly, although the attack was unexpected, and they had no use of their horses in the city, nevertheless catching up their arms in the midst of the uproar, they attempted a sally, and being unable to escape, they fell fighting to the last, and not more than fifty of them came alive into the hands of the enemy. The loss of this regiment of cavalry was considerably more serious for Hannibal than that of Salapia.¹ And at no later time was the Carthaginian superior in cavalry, in which had been easily his greatest strength.

XXXIX. About the same time, when in the citadel of Tarentum scarcity was barely endurable, the Roman garrison posted there and Marcus Livius, the commander of the garrison and citadel, had all their hopes in supplies sent from Sicily; and that these might safely pass along the coast of Italy, a fleet of about twenty ships lay at anchor at Regium. Commanding the fleet and in charge of supplies was Decimus Quinctius, a man of unknown family, but made famous as a soldier by many brave deeds. At first only five ships, of which the largest were two

duae triremes, a Marcello ei traditae erant; ¹ postea rem impigre saepe gerenti tres additae quinque-
 5 remes: postremo ipse a sociis Reginisque et a Velia et
 a Paestō debitas ex foedere exigendo, classem viginti
 6 navium, sicut ante dictum est, efficit. Huic ab
 Regio profectae classi Democrates cum pari navium
 Tarentinarum numero quindecim milia ferme ab
 7 urbe ad Sapriortem obvius fuit. Velis tum forte
 inprovidus futuri certaminis Romanus veniebat;
 sed circa Crotонem Sybarimque suppleverat remigio
 navis, instructamque et armatam egregie pro mag-
 s nitudine navium classem habebat. Et tum forte
 sub idem ² tempus et venti vis omnis cecidit et
 hostes in conspectu fuere, ut ad componenda arma-
 menta expediendumque remigem ac militem ad
 9 imminens certamen satis temporis esset. Raro
 alias tantis animis iustae concurrerunt classes, quippe
 cum in maioris diserimen rei quam ipsae erant pug-
 10 narent, Tarentini, ut recuperata urbe ab Romanis
 post centesimum prope annum, arecem etiam libera-
 rent, spe commeatus quoque hostibus, si navalii
 proelio possessionem maris ademissent, interclusuros,³
 11 Romani, ut retenta possessione arcis ostenderent
 non vi ac virtute, sed proditione ac furto Tarentum
 amissum.

12 Itaque ex utraque parte signo dato cum rostris

¹ erant P(1)JK Aldus, Froben, but all add habuit.

² idem, AJK Aldus, Froben add fere.

³ spe . . . interclusuros P(3): spem . . . interclusuri AJK Aldus, Froben.

¹ A Latin colony of 273 B.C., but a great part of its population were Greeks; still famous for its Doric temples.

² Its site has not been discovered.

³ I.e. Thurii. Only here does Livy use the older name.

triremes, had been assigned to him by Marcellus. ^{B.C. 210} Later, as he repeatedly showed energy, three quinqueremes were added. Finally by personally demanding from the allies and from Regium and Velia and Paestum¹ the ships due under the treaty, he formed a fleet of twenty ships, as has been said above. This fleet had sailed from Regium, when Democrates with an equal number of Tarentine ships met it off Sapriportis,² about fifteen miles from the city. At that time the Roman, as it happened, was approaching under sail, not foreseeing an impending battle. But in the neighbourhood of Croton and Sybaris³ he had fully manned the ships with oarsmen, and had a fleet remarkably equipped and armed considering the size of the ships. And it happened then that about the same time the wind dropped entirely and the enemy came in sight, with the result that time enough was left to take down the rigging⁴ and to get the oarsmen and soldiers ready for the battle that was imminent. Seldom have regular fleets ever clashed with such spirit, since they were fighting for a greater issue than themselves. The Tarentines, having regained their city from the Romans after almost a hundred years,⁵ fought to free the citadel as well, in the hope that they would cut off the enemy's supplies also, if by a naval battle they should deprive them of their command of the sea: the Romans, in order to show by keeping their hold upon the citadel that Tarentum had been lost, not by force and courage, but by treachery and a surprise.

Accordingly after the signal had been given on

⁴ Cf. XXI. xlix. 11.

⁵ In reality only 62 years since its capture by the Romans, 272 B.C.

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concurrissent neque retro navem inhiberent nec dirimi ab se hostem paterentur, quam quis indeptus navem erat ferrea iniecta manu, ita conserebant ex propinquo pugnare ut non missilibus tantum, sed gladiis etiam prope conlato pede gereretur res.

13 Prorae inter se iunctae haerebant, puppes alieno remigio circumagebantur. Ita in arto stipatae erant naves ut vix ullum telum in mari¹ vanum intercideret; frontibus velut pedestris² acies urgebant, perviaeque naves pugnantibus erant. Insignis tamen inter ceteras pugna fuit duarum quae primae agminum concurrerant inter se. In Romana nave ipse Quinetius erat, in Tarentina Nico, cui Perconi fuit cognomen, non publico modo sed privato etiam odio invitus atque infestus Romanis, quod eius factionis erat quae Tarentum Hannibali prodiderat.

14 Hic Quinetium simul pugnantem hortantemque suos incautum hasta transfigit. Ille ut³ praeceps cum

15 armis procidit ante proram, victor Tarentinus in turbatam duce amissso navem impigre transgressus cum summovisset hostis, et prora iam Tarentinorum esset, puppim male congregati tuerentur Romani, repente et alia a puppe triremis hostium apparuit;

16 ita in medio circumventa Romana navis capitur.

¹ mari P(1) Aldus, Froben: mare JK Forchhammer.

² pedestris P(1) JK Aldus, Conway: pedestres Fabri, Madrig.

³ Ille ut A'JK Conway: ille atque P(1) Aldus, Froben: atque ille Ruperti, Madrig.

¹ The grappling-hook was attached to a stout chain. Cf. the *harpagones* (poles, each carrying an iron hook) similarly used in XXX. x. 16. Cf. XXVI. xliv. 8; Frontinus *Strat.* II. iii. 24; Caesar *B.C.* I. lvii. 2; Pliny *N.H.* VII. 209.

both sides, and they had encountered each other ^{B.C. 210} with their beaks and did not reverse their motion with oars nor allow the enemy to cast loose from them, a commander closing in on a ship would throw grappling-irons¹ on it, and they engaged in a battle at such close quarters that they fought not only with missiles, but also with swords, almost man to man. The bows in contact could not detach themselves, the sterns were swung about by the efforts of the enemy's oarsmen. So closely massed together were the ships that hardly a missile fell without effect between them into the sea. Forming each a front, like a battle-line on land, they tried to push each other back, and the ships were a highway for the combatants. Conspicuous, however, among all the rest was the battle between the two ships which had encountered each other at the head of the columns. On the Roman ship was Quinctius himself, on the Tarentine was Nico, surnamed Perco, who hated the Romans and was hated by them with a hatred that was not only national but also personal, because he was of the party which had betrayed Tarentum to Hannibal. As Quinctius was fighting and at the same time encouraging his men, Nico ran him through with a spear while off his guard. When Quinctius with his weapons fell forward over the bow, the victorious Tarentine boldly crossed over on to the ship thrown into confusion by the loss of its commander; and when he had driven the enemy back, and the bow was now in the hands of the Tarentines, while the Romans, massed together, were vainly defending the stern, suddenly another trireme of the enemy also appeared astern. Thus the Roman ship was caught between them and captured. Con-

Hinc ceteris terror iniectus, ubi¹ praetoriam navem captam videre; fugientesque passim aliae in alto mersae, aliae in terram remis abreptae mox praedae
 19 fuere Thurinis Metapontinisque. Ex onerariis, quae cum commeatu sequebantur, per paucae in potestatem hostium venere; aliae ad incertos ventos hinc atque illine obliqua transferentes vela in altum enectae sunt.
 20 Nequaquam pari fortuna per eos dies Tarenti res gesta. Nam ad quattuor milia hominum frumenta-
 21 tum egressa cum in agris passim vagarentur, Livius, qui arcii praesidioque Romano praeerat, intentus in omnis occasiones gerendae rei, C. Persium, inpi-
 grum virum, cum duobus milibus et quingentis²
 22 armatorum ex arce emisit, qui vage effusos per agros palatosque adortus cum diu passim cecidisset, paucos ex multis, trepida fuga incidentis semiapertis portarum foribus, in urbem compulit, neque multum
 23 afuit quin³ urbs eodem impetu caperetur. Ita aequatae res ad Tarentum, Romanis victoribus terra, Tarentinis⁴ mari. Frumenti spes, quae in oculis fuerat, utrosque frustrata pariter.

XL. Per idem tempus Laevinus consul, iam magna parte anni circumacta, in Siciliam veteribus novisque sociis exspectatus cum venisset, primum ac potissimum omnium ratus Syracusis nova pace inconditas

¹ ubi Wölfflin: uti M² Conway: utin P(3): ut C²BDAJK Aldus, Froben.

² et quingentis (=D) Alschefski: et P(3): om. BDAJK Aldus, Froben.

³ neque multum afuit quin (after Alschefski) Madvig, a lost line: ne P(3)JK Aldus, Froben.

⁴ terra, Tarentinis z: terra x: om. P(1)J, a lost line: cartaginensibus K: terra, Carthaginienibus Conway.

¹ Cf. § 7 and note.

² I.e. for the Tarentines.

sequently alarm was inspired on the rest of the ships ^{B.C. 210} when they saw the flagship captured. And as they fled in all directions, some were sunk in open water, others were quickly rowed to the shore and presently fell a prey to the men of Thurii¹ and Metapontum. Of the transports, which were following with the supplies, very few fell into the power of the enemy. The rest shifted their sails obliquely, now this way, now that, according to the variable winds, and put out to sea.

By no means so successful² was the fighting at Tarentum during those days. For while about four thousand men who had gone out to get grain were roaming about the country, Livius, who was in command of the citadel and the Roman garrison, was alert for every opportunity of an engagement. He sent out from the citadel Gaius Persius, an active man, with two thousand five hundred armed men. After Persius, attacking men widely dispersed over the farms and wandering about, had for a long time been slaying them everywhere, he drove the few survivors into the city, as in their excited flight they dashed into the half-opened gates. And by that same onslaught the city was all but taken. Thus were issues balanced near Tarentum, the Romans being victors on land, the Tarentines on the sea. The hope of grain—a hope which had been very real—was equally illusory for both sides.

XL. About the same time Laevinus, the consul, when a large part of the year had already gone by, arrived in Sicily awaited by the old and the new allies. Accordingly he thought it of the very first importance to settle affairs at Syracuse, that were in disorder owing to the short time since the peace.

- 2 componere res, Agrigentum inde, quod belli reliquum
 erat tenebaturque a Carthaginiensium valido praesi-
 dio, duxit legiones. Et adfuit fortuna incepto.
 3 Hanno erat imperator Carthaginiensium, sed omnem
 in Muttine Numidisque spem repositam habebant.
 4 Per totam Siciliam vagus praedas agebat ex sociis
 Romanorum neque intercludi ab Agrigento vi aut
 arte ulla nec quin erumperet, ubi vellet, prohiberi
 5 poterat. Haec eius gloria quia iam imperatoris
 quoque famae officiebat, postremo in invidiam vertit,
 ut ne bene gestae quidem res iam Hannoni propter
 6 auctorem satis laetae essent. Postremo¹ pree-
 fecturam eius filio suo dedit, ratus cum imperio
 auctoritatem quoque ei inter Numidas erepturum.
 7 Quod longe aliter evenit; nam veterem favorem
 eius sua insuper invidia auxit; neque ille indigni-
 tatem iniuriae tulit confestimque ad Laevinum
 occultos nuntios misit de tradendo Agrigento.
 8 Per quos ut est facta fides compositusque rei gerendae
 modus, portam ad mare ferentem Numidae cum
 occupassent pulsis inde custodibus aut caesis,
 Romanos ad id² ipsum missos in urbem acceperunt.
 9 Et cum agmine iam in media urbis ac forum magno
 tumultu iretur, ratus Hanno non aliud quam tumul-
 tum ac secessionem. id quod et ante acciderat,
 Numidarum esse, ad comprimendam seditionem
 10 processit. Atque ille, cum ei multitudo maior

¹ Postremo *C²M²?B*, also (with propter prefixed) *P(3)B²* and so (with propterea) *A⁴*: propterea *JK*: propter quae *Aldus, Froben.*

² id *C⁴ Aldus, Froben* : om. *P(1)JK*.

¹ Below the colossal unfinished Temple of Zeus, about two miles from the sea at the mouth of the Hypsas (no real harbour); Polybius IX. xxvii. 2.

Then he led his legions to Agrigentum, being the last remnant of the war and held by a strong garrison of Carthaginians. And in fact fortune favoured the undertaking. Hanno was the general of the Carthaginians, but all their hope continued to rest upon Muttines and the Numidians. Roaming all over Sicily, Muttines was carrying off booty from allies of the Romans, and he could neither be shut off from Agrigentum by force or by any ruse, nor be prevented from sallying out whenever he pleased. This distinction of the man, as already eclipsing the reputation of the general also, finally developed into hatred, so that not even successes any longer brought much joy to Hanno on account of the man who was responsible for them. Finally he gave Muttines' command of the cavalry to his own son, thinking that with the command he would take away his prestige also among the Numidians. But it turned out quite differently. For by his own unpopularity he even increased the old-time partiality for Muttines. And the latter did not put up with a shameful wrong, but at once sent secret messengers to Laevinus in regard to the betrayal of Agrigentum. These men having reassured the consul and arranged a plan of action, the Numidians seized the gate leading toward the sea,¹ driving away or slaying the guards: whereupon they admitted Romans sent for that very purpose into the city. And when now they were marching in column into the centre of the city and to the market-place with a great uproar, Hanno, thinking it was nothing more than an outbreak and mutiny of the Numidians, as had happened before also, went forth to quell the uprising. But when he caught sight of a crowd in the distance larger than the number of the

quam Numidarum procul visa, et clamor Romanus
 haudquaquam ignotus ad auris accidisset, priusquam
 11 ad ictum teli veniret, capessit fugam. Per aversam
 portam emissus adsumpto comite Epicyde cum paucis
 ad mare pervenit, nactique opportune parvum
 navigium, relicta hostibus Sicilia, de qua per tot
 12 annos certatum erat, in Africam traicerunt. Alia
 multitudo Poenorum Siculorumque ne temptato
 quidem certamine cum caeci in fugam ruerent
 clausique exitus essent, circa portas caesa.

13 Oppido recepto Laevinus qui capita rerum Agri-
 genti erant virgis caesos securi percussit, ceteros
 praedamque vendidit; omnem pecuniam Romam
 14 misit. Fama Agrigentinorum clades Siciliam cum
 pervasisset, omnia repente ad Romanos inclinaverunt.
 Prorita brevi sunt viginti oppida, sex vi capta;
 voluntaria ditione in fidem venerunt ad quadra-
 15 ginta. Quarum civitatium principibus cum pro
 cuiusque merito consul pretia¹ poenasque exsolvisset,
 coegissetque Siculos positis tandem armis ad agrum
 16 colendum animos convertere, ut esset non incolarum
 modo alimentis frugifera insula, sed urbis Romae
 atque Italiae, id quod multis saepe tempestatibus
 fecerat, annonam levaret. ab Agathyrna inconditam
 17 multitudinem secum in Italiam transvexit. Quatuor
 milia hominum erant, mixti ex omni conluvione,
 exsules, obaerati, capitalia ausi plerique, cum² in
 civitatibus suis ac sub legibus vixerant, et postquam

¹ pretia P(3): praemia AJK Aldus, Froben.

² cum Madrig: et cum P(1)JK Aldus, Froben.

¹ Probably that to the east of the lofty citadel (1080 ft.),
 and on the northeast side of the city.

² He himself returned to Sicily; XXVII. v. 15.

Numidians, and the shouts of the Romans, by no ^{B.C. 210} means unfamiliar, had reached his ears, he took to flight before coming within range of a missile. Escaping by the gate farthest from the enemy¹ and taking Epicydes as his companion, with a few men he made his way to the sea. And fortunately finding a small vessel and leaving to the enemy Sicily, for which the struggle had lasted so many years, they crossed over to Africa. While the rest of the Carthaginians and Sicilians in a body, without even attempting to fight, were blindly fleeing, and ways of escape had been closed, they were slain near the gates.

On gaining possession of the town, Laevinus scoured and beheaded the responsible men at Agrigentum, and sold the rest and the booty. All the money he sent to Rome. When the news of the disaster to the Agrigentines had been carried all over Sicily, suddenly there was a general trend towards the Romans. Betrayed soon after were twenty towns, six taken by assault; by voluntary surrender about forty came under Roman protection. After the consul had bestowed upon the leading men of these states the reward or the penalty that each deserved, and had compelled the Sicilians to lay down their arms at last and turn their attention to tilling the soil, so that the island might not only produce food enough for the inhabitants, but might relieve the grain market of the city of Rome and of Italy, as it had often done on many occasions, he took with him an unruly mob from Agathyrna over into Italy.² There were four thousand men, refuse of every kind, exiles, debtors, guilty, many of them, of capital offences, so long as they had lived in their own cities and under the laws; and they were dragging out an

U.C.
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eos ex variis causis fortuna similis congregaverat Agathyrnam, per latrocinia ac rapinam tolerantes
 18 vitam. Hos neque relinquere Laevinus in¹ insula tum primum nova pace coalescente velut materiam novandis rebus satis tutum ratus est, et Reginis usui futuri erant ad populandum Bruttium agrum adsuetam latrociniis quaerentibus manum. Et quod ad Siciliam attinet eo anno debellatum est.

XLI. In Hispania principio veris P. Scipio navibus deductis evocatisque edicto Tarraconem sociorum auxiliis classem onerariasque ostium inde Hiberi 2 fluminis petere iubet. Eodem legiones ex hibernis convenire cum iussisset, ipse cum quinque milibus sociorum ab Tarracone profectus ad exercitum est. Quo cum venisset, adloquendos maxime veteres milites qui tantis superfuerunt² cladibus ratus, 3 contione advocata ita disseruit: "Nemo ante me novus imperator militibus suis, priusquam opera eorum usus esset, gratias agere iure ac merito 4 potuit: me vobis, priusquam provinciam aut castra viderem, obligavit fortuna, primum quod ea pietate erga patrem patrumque meum vivos mortuosque 5 fuistis, deinde quod amissam tanta clade provinciae possessionem integrum et populo Romano et successori 6 mihi virtute vestra obtinuistis. Sed cum iam benignitate deum id paremus atque agamus, non ut ipsi maneamus in Hispania, sed ne Poeni maneant,

¹ in C⁴M²A⁴ Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)JK.

² superfuerunt P(1)Jx: -fuerant K Aldus, Froben.

¹ Livy has expanded the speech found in his sources, such as that which Polybius puts in the mouth of Scipio (X. vi. 2 ff.).

existence by highway robbery and plundering, after B.C. 210 their common misery, for one reason or another, had concentrated them at Agathyrna. These men Laevinus did not think it quite safe to leave on the island, then for the first time attaining unity under the recent peace, as being fuel for a revolution, and at the same time they would prove useful to the men of Regium, who were looking for a band accustomed to brigandage, in order to devastate the Bruttian territory. And so far as concerned Sicily the war was finished that year.

XLI. In Spain at the beginning of spring Publius Scipio launched his ships, and after summoning to Tarraco the allied auxiliaries by an edict, he ordered the fleet and the transports to sail thence to the mouth of the river Ebro. Having ordered the legions to leave their winter quarters and meet at the same point, he himself with five thousand allies set out from Tarraco to join the army. Arrived there, and thinking he must address particularly the old soldiers, survivors of defeats so serious, he summoned the men to an assembly and spoke as follows:¹ "No new general in command before me has been able with reason and deservedly to thank his soldiers before he had made use of their services. In my case, before I could see my province or camp, Fortune laid me under obligation to you. in the first place because you have showed such devotion towards my father and uncle, living and dead, and then because, when possession of the province had been lost by so great a disaster, you by your courage have held it intact both for me as their successor and for the Roman people. But now with the favour of the gods we are preparing and striving, not to remain in Spain our-

v.c.
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nec ut pro ripa Hiberi stantes arceamus transitu
 hostes, sed ut ultro transeamus transferamusque
 7 bellum, vereor ne cui vestrum maius id audaciusque
 consilium quam aut pro memoria clodium nuper
 s acceptarum aut pro aetate mea videatur. Adversae
 pugnae in Hispania nullius in animo quam meo
 minus obliterari possunt, quippe cui pater et
 patruus intra triginta dierum spatium, ut aliud super
 aliud cumularetur familiae nostrae funus, interfecti
 9 sunt; sed ut familiaris paene orbitas ac solitudo
 frangit animum, ita publica cum fortuna tum virtus
 desperare de summa rerum prohibet. Ea fato
 quodam data¹ nobis sors est ut magnis omnibus
 bellis victi vicerimus.

10 "Vetera omitto, Porsennam,² Gallos, Samnites: a
 Punicis bellis incipiām. Quot classes, quot duces,
 11 quot exercitus priore bello amissi sunt! Iam
 quid hoc bello memorem? Omnibus aut ipse adfui
 cladibus aut quibus afui, maxime unus omnium
 eas sensi. Trebia, Trasumennus, Cannae quid aliud
 sunt quam monumenta occisorum exercituum con-
 12 sulumque Romanorum? Adde defectionem Italiae,
 Siciliae maioris partis, Sardiniae; adde ultimum
 terrorem ac pavorem, castra Punica inter Anienem
 ac moenia Romana posita et visum prope in portis
 victorem Hannibalem. In hac ruina rerum stetit
 una integra atque immobilis virtus populi Romani;

¹ data *Gronorius*: nata *P(3)*: (quo) donata *JKx Aldus*,
Froben: innata *A⁵*.

² Porsennam *P²(3)C⁴Jx*: -sinam *P* (*probably*): -senam *Kx*.

selves, but to prevent the Carthaginians from remaining, and not to stand on the bank of the Ebro and keep the enemy from crossing, but taking the offensive to cross over and shift the scene of the war. Consequently I am afraid that that design may seem to some of you too great and too bold to be in keeping either with the memory of disasters recently incurred or with my years. As for the reverses in Spain, there is no man from whose mind it is less possible for them to be effaced than from mine, for my father and uncle fell within the space of thirty days, that for our family one fatality might be piled upon another. But although within the family it is crushing to be all but orphaned and left desolate, yet the destiny of the state and her courage forbid me to despair of her preservation. It is a lot assigned to us by some fate that in all the great wars we have been first defeated and then victorious.

" Ancient examples I pass over, Porsenna, the Gauls, the Samnites. I shall begin with the Punic Wars. How many fleets, how many generals, how many armies were lost in the former war! And now in the present war what shall I say has happened? In every disaster I was either present myself, or if absent, I above all others felt them. Trebia, Trasumennus, Cannae, what are they but memorials of Roman armies and consuls fallen? Add the revolt of Italy, of the greater part of Sicily, of Sardinia: add that extreme of alarm and panic, a Carthaginian camp pitched between the Anio and the walls of Rome, and the sight of a victorious Hannibal almost at the gates. In this general crash the one thing left standing, intact and immovable, was the courage of the Roman people. It was this that raised and

- A.U.C. 13 haec omnia strata humi erexit ac sustulit. Vos
 544 omnium primi, milites, post Cannensem cladem
 vadenti Hasdrubali ad Alpis Italiamque, qui si se
 cum fratre coniunxisset, nullum iam nomen esset
 populi Romani, ductu auspicioque patris mei obsti-
 tis; et hae secundae res illas adversas sustinuerunt.
 14 Nunc benignitate deum omnia secunda, prospera, in
 dies laetiora ac meliora in Italia Siciliaque geruntur.
 15 In Sicilia Syracusae, Agrigentum captum, pulsi tota
 insula hostes, receptaque provincia in dicionem¹
 populi Romani est: in Italia Arpi recepti, Capua
 16 capta. Iter omne ab urbe Roma trepida fuga
 emensus Hannibal, in extrellum angulum agri
 Bruttii conpulsus nihil iam maius precatur deos quam
 ut incolumi cedere atque abire ex hostium terra liceat.
 17 Quid igitur minus conveniat, milites, quam, cum
 aliae super alias clades cumularentur ac di prope
 ipsi cum Hannibale starent, vos hic cum parentibus
 meis—aquentur enim etiam honore nominis—
 sustinuisse labantem fortunam populi Romani, nunc
 eosdem, cum iam² illie omnia secunda laetaque
 18 sunt,³ animis deficere? Nuper quoque quae⁴ acci-
 derunt utinam tam sine meo luctu quam . . .⁵

¹ dicionem *Aldus, Luchs*: -ione P(1)JKxz *Madvig*.

² cum iam (eū iā) *Madvig*: quia P(1) *Aldus, Froben, Riemann, Conway*: cum z *J. H. Voss*.

³ sunt, for this JK and one x have sint.

⁴ quae A^xJKx *Aldus, Froben*: om. P(1).

⁵ Here begins in P(1)N the long lacuna extending to xlivi. 8. The missing text is almost completely preserved for us in A^xJKx *Aldus and Froben*, having been supplied from the *Spirensis*, in which the passage, misplaced in book XXVII, was found by *Rhenanus*.

set up all the scattered debris. When Hasdrubal ^{B.C. 210} after the rout at Cannae was on his way to the Alps and Italy—and if he had joined his brother even the name of the Roman people would be no more—you were the very first, soldiers, to stand in his path under the command and auspices of my father. And victory here has upheld defeats there. Now by the favour of the gods everything in Italy and Sicily is flourishing and successful, more cheering and better from day to day. In Sicily Syracuse and Agrigentum¹ have been captured, the enemy driven out of the entire island, and the recovered province is under the rule of the Roman people. In Italy Arpi has been recovered, Capua taken. The entire road from the city of Rome has been traversed in nervous flight by Hannibal, who, driven into the farthest corner of the Bruttian land, now prays the gods for nothing greater than that he may be allowed to retire in safety and leave the enemy's country. What therefore is less consistent, soldiers, than that, while disasters were being piled one upon another and the gods themselves, one might almost say, were on Hannibal's side, you here under my fathers—for let them be coupled in that honourable name also—upheld the wavering fortune of the Roman people, but that at present, when in Italy everything is now favourable and encouraging, you, the same men, should be faint-hearted? Recent occurrences also I could wish had been as free from sorrow for me as . . .²

¹ In reality the capture of Agrigentum occurred late in the summer (*xl init.*), while the speech is imagined to have been delivered in the spring.

² Lost is the end of this paragraph and the beginning of the next.

“ . . . Nunc dii immortales imperii Romani praesides, qui centuriis omnibus ut mihi imperium iubarent dari fuere auctores. iidem auguriis auspiciisque et per nocturnos etiam visus omnia laeta ac prospera
 19 portendunt. Animus quoque meus, maximus mihi ad hoc tempus vates, praesagit nostram Hispaniam esse, brevi extorre hinc omne Punicum nomen maria
 20 terrasque foeda fuga impleturum. Quod mens sua sponte divinat, idem subicit ratio haud fallax. Vexati ab iis socii nostram fidem per legatos implorant; tres duces discordantes, prope ut defecerint alii ab aliis. trifariam exercitum in diversissimas
 21 regiones distraxere. Eadem in illos ingruit fortuna quae nuper nos adflxit; nam et deseruntur ab sociis, ut prius ab Celtiberis nos, et diduxere exercitus,
 22 quae patri patruoque meo causa exitii fuit. Nec discordia intestina coire eos in unum sinet, neque singuli nobis resistere poterunt. Vos modo, milites, favete nomini Scipionum, suboli imperatorum vestrorum velut accisis crescenti stirpibus. Agite, veteres milites. novum exercitum novumque ducem traducite Hiberum, traducite in terras cum multis fortibus
 23 factis saepe a vobis peragratas. Brevi faciam ut, quem ad modum nunc noscitatis in me patris patruique similitudinem oris vultusque et lineamenta
 24 corporis, ita ingenii, fidei virtutisque effigiem¹ vobis reddam, ut revixisse aut renatum sibi quisque Scipionem imperatorem dicat.”

¹ effigiem *Hertz*: exemplum ef. *AJKx*: exemplum ac ef. *Aldus, Froben*.

¹ In Polybius' briefer speech Scipio stresses this point (X. vi. 5; vii. 3).

² Cf. XXV. xxxiii; Polybius *l.c.* vi. 2.

“ . . . Now the immortal gods, who are protectors of the Roman empire, who inspired all the centuries of the people to order that the command be bestowed upon me, by auguries and auspices and visions in the night are likewise forecasting only joy and success. My own mind as well, heretofore my greatest soothsayer, foresees that Spain is ours, that soon all the Carthaginians, banished from here, will cover seas and lands with their disgraceful flight. What the mind of itself divines undeluded reasoning also suggests. Harassed by them their allies through embassies are begging for our help. Three generals, unable to agree,¹ so that they have almost proved disloyal to each other, have dispersed their army in three parts in widely scattered regions. The same fortune which lately crushed us is assailing them. For they are being deserted by their allies, as formerly were we by the Celtiberians,² and also they have separated their armies, which was the cause of destruction for my father and uncle. Neither will internal strife permit them to unite, nor will they be able singly to resist us. Only do you, soldiers, look with favour upon the name of the Scipios, upon the scion of your generals, growing again, as it were, from stems that have been cut down. Come now, veterans, lead a new army and a new commander across the Ebro, lead them over into lands often traversed by you with many deeds of bravery. Just as now you note in me a resemblance to my father and uncle in face and countenance and recognize the lines of the figure, so I will soon take pains to reproduce for you an image of their minds, of their loyalty and courage, so that each man shall say that there has come back to life, or has been born again, his general Scipio.”

XLII. Hac oratione accensis militum animis, relicto
 ad praesidium regionis eius M. Silano cum tribus
 milibus peditum et trecentis equitibus, ceteras omnes
 copias—erant autem viginti quinque milia peditum,
 duo milia quingenti equites—Hiberum traiecit.
 2 Ibi quibusdam suadentibus ut, quoniam in tris tam
 diversas regiones discessissent Punici exercitus, proxim-
 um adgrederetur, periculum esse ratus ne eo facto
 in unum omnes contraheret, nec par esset unus tot
 exercitibus, Carthaginem Novam interim oppugnare
 3 statuit, urbem cum ipsam opulentam suis opibus, tum
 hostium omni bellico apparatu plenam—ibi arma,
 ibi pecunia, ibi totius Hispaniae obsides erant—,
 4 sitam praeterea cum opportune ad traiciendum
 in Africam, tum super portum satis amplum
 quantaevis classi et nescio an unum in Hispaniae
 5 ora qua nostro adiacet mari. Nemo omnium quo
 iretur sciebat praeter C. Laelium. Is classe cir-
 cummissus ita moderari cursum navium iussus
 erat ut eodem tempore Scipio ab terra exercitum
 6 ostenderet et classis portum intraret. Septimo die
 ab Hibero Carthaginem ventum est simul terra
 marique. Castra ab regione urbis qua in septem-
 trionem versa est posita; his ab tergo—nam frons
 7 natura tuta erat—vallum¹ obiectum. Etenim² sita

¹ vallum *Rhenanus*, *Froben* 2 : nullum *Sp* : nullum vallum
AJKx Aldus : duplex vallum *Schelius* from *Polybius* X. ix. 7,
Weissenborn.

² Etenim *Sp?A* *Froben* 2 : ceterum *JKx Aldus*.

¹ Five hundred in Polybius *l.c.* vi. 7.

² Polybius gives the same figures. ix. 6 f.

³ Six days for the march is incredible, since the distance is
 2600 stadia (325 miles) according to Polybius III. xxxix. 6,
 or 298 miles in the Antonine Itinerary.

XLII. Having fired the spirits of the soldiers by ^{B.C. 210} this speech, and leaving for the defence of the region Marcus Silanus with three thousand infantry and three hundred¹ horsemen, all the rest of the forces—and they were twenty-five thousand infantry and two thousand five hundred cavalry²—he led across the Ebro. There, although some tried to persuade him that, since the Carthaginian armies had withdrawn into three regions so widely scattered, he should attack the nearest of them, he thought there was danger that by doing so he might cause them all to concentrate and one army might not be a match for so many armies. Consequently he decided meanwhile to lay siege to New Carthage, a city both itself rich in its own resources and filled with the enemy's warlike equipment of every kind. There were his arms, there his money, there hostages from all Spain. Furthermore the city was not only situated favourably for the passage to Africa, but also on a harbour ample enough for the greatest fleet, and perhaps the only port on the coast of Spain where it faces our sea. Not a man except Gaius Laelius knew whither they were going. He was sent with the fleet round the headlands, under previous orders so to regulate the speed of his ships that Scipio might display his army on the landward side at the same time that the fleet was entering the harbour. On the seventh day from the Ebro they reached (New) Carthage by sea and land at the same time.³ Camp was pitched opposite the city where it faces the north.⁴ At the rear of the camp—for the front was protected by nature—an earthwork was thrown up. For the

⁴ Rather the eastern side.

Carthago sic est : sinus est maris media fere Hispaniae ora, maxime Africo vento oppositus, ad duo milia¹ et quingentos passus introrsus retractus, paulo² plus passuum mille et ducentos³ in latitudinem patens. 8 Huius in ostio sinus parva insula obiecta ab alto portum ab omnibus ventis praeterquam Africo tutum facit. Ab intimo sinu paeninsula excurrit, tumulus is ipse in quo condita urbs est, ab ortu solis et a meridie cincta mari; ab occasu stagnum claudit paulum etiam ad septemtrionem fusum, incertae altitudinis 9 uteumque exaestuat aut deficit⁴ mare. Continenti urbem iugum ducentos fere et quinquaginta passus patens coniungit. Unde cum tam parvi operis munitio esset, non obiecit vallum imperator Romanus, 10 seu fiduciam hosti superbe ostentans, sive ut subeunti saepe ad moenia urbis recursus pateret.

XLIII. Cetera quae munienda erant cum perfecisset, naves etiam in portu, velut maritimam quoque ostentans obsidionem, instruxit; circumvectusque classem cum monuisset praefectos navium ut vigilias nocturnas intenti⁵ servarent, omnia 2 ubique primo obsessum hostem conari, regressus in

¹ ad duo milia supplied by Siganus from Polybius X. x. 1.

² paulo A⁴JKx Aldus : paululo Sp² Froben 2.

³ mille et ducentos supplied by Madvig from Polybius l.c.

⁴ aut deficit Sp²A⁴ Froben 2 : om. JKx Aldus.

⁵ intenti Sp Froben 2 : interim A⁴JKx Aldus.

¹ Polybius, who had visited the place, gives a fuller description (X. x.), to which Livy is directly or indirectly indebted, reproducing the mistaken orientation of the city. Cf. H. H. Scullard, *Scipio Africanus*, pp. 289 ff. The city and its brilliant capture must have been fully treated in Plutarch's lost life of Scipio.

² Polybius' orientation of the bay was correct.

situation of (New) Carthage is as follows: ¹ there is B.C. 210 an arm of the sea about half-way down the coast of Spain, a bay that mainly faces the southwest wind ² and makes inland about two miles and a half, with a breadth of little more than a mile and one-fifth. At the mouth of this bay a small island facing the harbour on the seaward side makes it safe from all winds except the southwest. From the innermost part of the bay a peninsula runs out, the very hill on which the city was built, skirted by sea on the east ³ and the south. ⁴ On the west ⁴ a lagoon hems the city in, extending somewhat to the north ⁴ also; it is of varying depth according as the sea is coming in or going out. ⁵ With the mainland a ridge about two hundred and fifty paces wide connects the city. Although fortification on this side would have involved so little labour, the Roman commander did not throw up an earthwork, whether as proudly displaying his confidence to the enemy, or that, as he repeatedly approached the walls of the city, retirement might be open to him.

XLIII. Having completed such other works of fortification as were necessary, he drew up the ships also in the harbour, as though to display a blockade from the sea as well. And making the round of the fleet he reminded the commanders of the vessels to keep a close watch at night, saying that a blockaded enemy at first makes every attempt wherever pos-

³ Really south, since these points of the compass must be corrected clockwise almost 90 degrees.

⁴ Making the necessary corrections, S = W, W = N, N = E.

⁵ Explained as caused by winds, not as Polybius, Livy and Appian thought, by tides; for there is no tide on the east coast of Spain. Cf. Scullard, *op. cit.* pp. 78 f.

castra, ut consilii sui rationem, quod ab urbe potissimum oppugnanda bellum orsus esset, militibus ostenderet et spem potiundae cohortando faceret,
 3 contione advocata ita disseruit: "Ad urbem unam oppugnandam si quis vos adductos credit, is magis operis vestri quam emolumenti rationem exactam, milites, habet. Oppugnabis enim vere moenia unius urbis, sed in una urbe universam ceperitis
 4 Hispaniam. Hic sunt obsides omnium nobilium regum populorumque: qui simul in potestate vestra erunt, extemplo omnia quae nunc sub Carthaginiensibus sunt in dicionem tradent; hic pecunia omnis hostium, sine qua neque illi gerere bellum possunt, quippe qui mercennarios exercitus alant. et quae nobis¹ maximo usui ad conciliandos animos barbarorum erit; hic tormenta, arma, omnis apparatus belli est, qui simul et² vos instruet et hostis nudabit.
 7 Potiemur praeterea cum pulcherrima opulentissima urbe, tum opportunissima portu egregio unde terra marique quae belli usus poseunt suppeditentur. Quae cum magna ipsi habebimus, tum
 8 dempserimus hostibus multo maiora. Haec illis arx, hoc horreum, aerarium, armamentarium, hoc omnium rerum receptaculum est: hue rectus ex Africa cursus est; haec una inter Pyrenaeum et Gadis statio; hinc omni Hispaniae imminet Africa . . ." ³

¹ nobis Aldus, Froben: vobis A⁴JKx.

² et Sp²A⁴ Froben 2: om. by the rest.

³ Here ends the passage from the Spirensis, replacing two leaves lost out of P (or its archetype); cf. xli. 18. To fill the following gap other MSS. (Aldus also and Froben) have several lines of indifferent text, obviously not genuine. No further readings of Spirensis are known until xlvi. 2.

¹ Lost is the conclusion of Scipio's speech, probably including rewards promised for bravery, and stating that
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sible. He then returned to the camp to explain to the soldiers the reason for his plan, in having elected to begin the campaign with the siege of a city, and in order that by encouraging them he might inspire the hope of its capture, called an assembly, and spoke as follows: " If any man believes that you have been brought here to besiege a single city, he has justly reckoned your labour, soldiers, rather than the profit. For it is true that you are to attack the walls of a single city, but in that single city you will have taken the whole of Spain. Here are the hostages of all the important kings and peoples; and once they are in your power, they will immediately surrender all that is now subject to the Carthaginians. Here is all the money of the enemy, without which, inasmuch as they maintain mercenary armies, they are incapable of waging war, while it will be of the greatest service to us in winning the support of the barbarians. Here is their artillery, their arms, all their war material, which will equip you and at the same time will strip the enemy. Furthermore we shall gain possession of a city very beautiful and very rich, likewise most convenient in its remarkable harbour, from which by land and sea everything which the needs of war demand may be supplied. We shall not only have these great advantages ourselves, but shall deprive the enemy of things much more important. This is their citadel, this is their granary, their treasury, their arsenal, this their storehouse for everything. To this port lies the direct course from Africa; this is the one roadstead between the Pyrenees and Gades: from this Africa menaces the whole of Spain. . . ." ¹

Neptune had appeared to him in a dream and had pledged his aid at the right moment; Polybius X. xi. 6 f.

XLIV. . . . armaverat.¹ Cum terra marique instrui oppugnationem videret, et ipse copias ita disponit: oppidanorum duo milia ab ea parte qua castra Romana erant opponit; quingentis militibus arcem insidit, quingentos tumulo urbis in orientem verso inponit; multitudinem aliam quo clamor, quo subita vocasset res intentam ad omnia occurrere iubet. Patefacta deinde porta eos quos in via ferente ad castra hostium instruxerat emittit.² Romani duce ipso praecipiente parumper cessere, ut propiores subsidiis in certamine ipso summittendis essent.

4 Et primo haud impares stetere acies; subsidia deinde identidem summissa e castris non averterunt solum in fugam hostis, sed adeo effusis institerunt ut, nisi receptui cecinisset, permixti fugientibus inrupturi fuisse in urbem viderentur.

5 Trepidatio vero non in proelio maior quam tota urbe fuit. Multae stationes pavore atque fuga³ desertae sunt relictique muri, cum qua cuique 6 erat proximum desiluissent. Quod ubi⁴ egressus⁵ Scipio in tumulum quem Mercuri vocant anim-

¹ armaverat *P(1)*: deleted *A**: om. *JKz Aldus, Froben.*

² emittit *Weissenborn*: mittit *P(1)JK Aldus.*

³ fuga *Gronovius*: oga *P*: loga *P^{1?}R*: loca (3) and (with deserta) *AJKz*.

⁴ ubi *Aldus, Froben, Salmasius*: ob *P(1)*.

⁵ egressus *Salmasius*: veressus *P^{1?}R*: variously altered in (1): versus *Aldus, Froben*.

¹ Missing is the narrative also of the beginning of the assault (*i.e.* xii. 1 ff.). The subject of the broken sentence is to be supplied from xlvi. 8 f., *i.e.* Mago, commandant of the place. He had armed available civilians.

XLIV. . . . had provided them with arms.¹ When B.C. 210 he saw the preparations for a siege by land and sea, he also disposed his troops as follows: two thousand of the townsmen he stationed against the enemy on that side on which lay the Roman camp; the citadel² he garrisoned with five hundred soldiers; five hundred he posted on the hill in the city towards the east;³ the rest of the multitude he ordered to be on the alert in every direction and to confront the enemy wherever shouting or an emergency should call them. Then opening the gate he sent out the men he had drawn up on a street leading towards the camp of the enemy. The Romans, instructed by the general himself, drew back for a short time, that they might be nearer the reinforcements to be sent in the midst of the engagement. And at first the battle-lines stood fairly matched; then reinforcements sent again and again from the camp not only put the enemy to flight, but so pressed upon them in their disorder that, if Scipio had not sounded the recall, they would, it seemed, have mingled with the fugitives, and burst into the city.

But the alarm in the battle was no greater than that throughout the city. Many positions were deserted in panic and flight, and the walls were abandoned, when the men had leaped down, each taking the shortest way. When this was noticed by Scipio, who had climbed the hill which they call Mercury's Hill,⁴

² A height close to the wall on its northwest side, above the bridge and a gate leading to it.

³ *I.e.* facing south (correcting Polybius' orientation; *l.c.* x. 8). On it was a temple of Aesculapius.

⁴ On this hill, east of the isthmus, the Roman camp had been pitched.

advertisit¹ multis partibus nudata defensoribus moenia esse, omnis e castris excitos ire ad oppugnandam urbem et ferre scalas iubet. Ipse trium p[ro]ae se iuvenum validorum scutis oppositis—ingens enim iam vis omnis generis telorum e muris volabat—ad urbem succedit, hortatur, imperat quae in rem sunt, quodque plurimum ad accendendos militum animos intererat, testis spectatorque virtutis atque ignaviae cuiusque adest. Itaque in volnera ac tela ruunt, neque illos muri neque superstantes armati arcere queunt quin certatim descendant. Et ab navibus eodem tempore ea quae mari adluitur pars urbis oppugnari copta est. Ceterum tumultus inde maior quam vis adhiberi poterat. Dum adplicant, dum raptim² exponunt scalas militesque, dum qua cunque proximum est in terram evadere properant, ipsa festinatione et certamine alii alios impediunt.

XLV. Inter haec repleverat iam Poenus armatis muros, et vis magna ex ingenti³ copia congesta telorum suppeditabat. Sed neque viri nec tela nec quicquam aliud aequa quam moenia ipsa sese defendebant. Rarae enim scalae altitudini aequari poterant, et quo quaeque altiores, eo infirmiores erant. Itaque cum summus quisque evadere non posset, subirent tamen alii, onere ipso frangebantur. Quidam stantibus scalis, cum altitudo caliginem oculis offudisset, ad terram delati sunt. Et cum passim homines scalaeque ruerent, et ipso

¹ vocant animadvertisit C⁴ *Salmasius*: (-ium) cantanti advertit P(3)JK.

² raptim *Crévier*: partim P(1)JK *Aldus, Froben*.

³ ex ingenti *Gronovius*: et ingenti P(1): et ingens A⁶?JK *Aldus, Froben*.

namely, that at many points the walls were stripped ^{B.C. 210} of defenders, he gave orders to call all the men out of camp, to advance to the attack upon the city and to bring ladders. He himself, while three strong young men held their shields in front of him—for a great number of missiles of every kind were flying from the walls—comes up to the city, gives encouragement and pertinent orders, and, what was of most importance in firing the soldiers' spirits, is at hand as witness and spectator of every man's courage or cowardice. And so the men dash on in the face of wounds and missiles, and neither walls nor armed men standing on them can restrain them from vying with each other in the attempt to climb. And at the same time from the ships an attack began upon that part of the city which is washed by the sea. But from that side they were able to create an uproar rather than to launch an attack. In making fast, in hastily landing ladders and men, in their impatience to get ashore, each the shortest way, they hindered one another by their very haste and rivalry.

XLV. Meanwhile the Carthaginian had now fully manned the walls with armed men, and he had a great number of missiles ready at hand out of his immense reserves. But neither men nor missiles nor anything else defended the walls so much as the walls were their own defence. For few ladders could reach to their height, and the higher these were the weaker. And so since the highest man could not climb over, but nevertheless others kept coming up, the ladders were breaking by the mere weight. Some men, although the ladders stood, owing to the dizziness produced by the height fell to the ground. And while everywhere men and ladders were dropping,

A.U.O.
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successu audacia atque alacritas hostium cresceret,
5 signum receptui datum est: quod spem non praesentis
modo ab tanto certamine ac labore quietis obcessis,
sed etiam in posterum dedit. scalis et corona capi
urbem non posse: opera et difficilia esse et tempus
datura¹ ad ferendam opem imperatoribus suis.

6 Vix prior tumultus conticuerat cum Scipio ab
defessis iam vulneratisque recentis integrosque alios
accipere scalas iubet et² vi maiore adgredi urbem.
7 Ipse, ut ei nuntiatum est aestum decedere, quod
per piscaiores Tarragonenses. nunc levibus cumbis,
nunc, ubi eae siderent. vadis pervagatos stagnum,
compertum habebat facilem pedibus ad murum
transitum dari. eo secum³ armatos quingentos⁴
duxit. Medium ferme diei erat, et ad id, quod sua
sponte cedente in mare aestu trahebatur aqua, acer
etiam septemtrio ortus inclinatum stagnum eodem
quo aestus ferebat et adeo nudaverat vada ut alibi
umbilico tenus aqua esset. alibi genua vix superaret.
9 Hoc cura ac ratione compertum in prodigium ac
deos vertens Scipio, qui ad transitum Romanis mare
verterent et stagna auferrent viasque ante numquam
initas humano vestigio aperirent, Neptunum iubebat
ducem itineris sequi ac medio stagno evadere ad
moenia.

¹ datura Kz Froben 1 : -rum P(1) Jz Aldus.

² et JK Aldus, Froben : om. P(1).

³ eo secum Gronovius : eoseum P : eos P²(1) JK : eo M²x Aldus, Froben.

⁴ quingentos (= d) Weissenborn (cf. xlvi. 2) : om. P(1) JK Aldus.

¹ It was now late in the day; so Polybius X. xiii. 11.

² In the previous winter; Polybius l.c. viii. 7.

³ See above, p. 167, n. 5.

⁴ For Polybius' conflicting statement cf. note 1.

and the enemies' boldness and zest were increasing B.C. 210 just because of their success, the signal for the recall was given.¹ This gave the besieged not only the hope of present respite from such conflict and effort, but also confidence for the future that the city could not be taken by ladders and encirclement; that siege-works were difficult and would also give time for their generals to bring aid.

Hardly had the first uproar been stilled when Scipio orders the ladders to be taken from men now weary and wounded, by others who were fresh and uninjured, and that an attack in greater force should be made upon the city. As for himself, having been informed by fishermen of Tarraco² who had crossed the lagoon everywhere, now in light vessels, now, when these would go aground, through shallow water, that an easy crossing on foot up to the wall was possible, Scipio, when word was brought to him that the tide was ebbing,³ led five hundred armed men with him to the place. It was about the middle of the day,⁴ and in addition to the draining away of the water of itself as the tide ebbed seaward, a fierce north wind also had sprung up and was carrying the receding lagoon in the same direction as the tide, and had so laid bare the shoals that in one place the water was up to the navel only, in another scarcely reached beyond the knees. What he had ascertained by painstaking and calculation, Scipio represented as a miracle and an act of the gods, who for the passage of the Romans were diverting the sea, he said, and draining lakes and opening up ways never before trodden by man's foot. And he bade them to follow Neptune as their guide on the march, and to make their way straight across the lagoon to the walls.

XLVI. Ab terra ingens labor succedentibus erat; nec altitudine tantum moenium impediebantur, sed quod defensores adgredientis¹ ad ancipites utrumque ictus subiectos habebant Romanos, ut latera infestiora 2 subeuntibus quam adversa corpora essent. At parte in² alia quingentis et per stagnum facilis transitus et in murum ascensus inde fuit; nam neque opere emunitus erat, ut ubi ipsius loci ac stagni praesidio satis ereditum foret, nec ulla armatorum statio aut custodia opposita, intentis omnibus ad opem eo³ ferendam unde periculum ostendebatur.

3 Ubi urbem sine certamine intravere, pergunt inde quanto maximo cursu poterant ad eam portam circa 4 quam omne contractum certamen erat. In quod adeo intenti omnium non animi solum fuere, sed etiam oculi auresque pugnantium spectantiumque et⁴ 5 adhortantium pugnantis, ut nemo ante ab tergo senserit⁵ captam urbem quam tela in aversos inciderunt et⁶ utrumque ancipitem hostem habebant. 6 Tunc turbatis defensoribus metu et moenia capta, et porta intus forisque pariter refringi coepit; et mox caedendo confectis ac distractis, ne iter in- 7 pediretur, foribus armati impetum fecerunt. Magna multitudo et muros transcendebat, sed ii passim ad eadem oppidanorum versi; illa quae portam ingressa erat iusta acies cum ducibus, cum ordinibus

¹ defensores adgredientis *conj. Conway*: euntes (*or -is*) *P(1)* *JK Aldus, Froben*: coeuntis *N*: many conjectures.

² in, suspected by *Weissenborn, Conway*; defended by *Friedersdorff*.

³ eo *Sp? N² Froben 2*: of- *P(3)*: om. *MBANJK Aldus*.

⁴ et *A'JK Aldus, Froben*: om. *P(1)N*.

⁵ senserit *Sp? Froben 2*: sentiret *P(3)ANJK Aldus*, with different order.

⁶ et *Sp Froben 2*: om. *P(1)NJK Aldus*.

XLVI. On the landward side it was a very serious task for men approaching the walls; and they were hindered not only by the height of these, but also because the defenders had the attacking Romans doubly exposed to wounds on the right and on the left, so that as they approached their sides were in greater danger than the front of their bodies. But on the other side of the city the five hundred found both an easy passage across the lagoon and then an easy climb to the top of the wall. For it had not been built up to the full height, since they had sufficient confidence in the protection offered by the position itself and by the lagoon, and there was no post of armed men nor a guard to confront them, since all were intent upon bringing aid to any quarter from which danger was indicated.

Having entered the city without a struggle, they then proceeded with all possible speed to the gate round which the whole battle had been brought on. On that fighting so intent were not only the minds, but also the eyes and ears of all the fighters and spectators and of those who were encouraging the fighters, that no one was aware that the city had been captured in their rear until missiles fell upon their backs and they had the enemy on both front and rear. Then as the defenders were panic-stricken, the walls were captured and men began to batter down the gate at the same time from within and from without. And presently, when the gates had been chopped to pieces and dragged off, so as not to block the passage, the armed men charged. A great multitude climbed over the wall also, but they scattered in all directions to slay the townspeople. The regular formation which had entered the gate made its way with its

8 media urbe usque¹ in forum processit. Inde cum duobus itineribus fugientis videret hostis, alios ad tumulum in orientem versum, qui tenebatur quingentorum militum praesidio, alios in arcem, in quam et ipse Mago cum omnibus fere armatis qui muris pulsi fuerant refugerat, partim² copiarum ad tumulum expugnandum mittit, partim³ ipse ad arcem 9 ducit. Et tumulus primo impetu est captus, et Mago arcem conatus defendere, cum omnia hostium plena videret neque spem ullam esse, se arcemque et 10 praesidium dedidit. Quoad dedita arx est, caedes tota urbe passim factae, nec ulli puberum qui obvius fuit parcebatur; tum signo dato caedibus finis factus; ad praedam victores versi, quae ingens omnis generis fuit.

XLVII. Liberorum capitum virile secus ad decem milia capta. Inde qui cives Novae Carthaginis erant dimisit, urbemque et sua omnia quae reliqua eis 2 bellum fecerat restituit. Opifices ad duo milia hominum erant; eos publicos fore populi Romani edixit, eum spe propinqua libertatis, si ad ministeria 3 belli enixe operam navassent. Ceteram multitudinem incolarum iuvenum ac validorum servorum in classem ad supplementum remigum dedit; et 4 auxerat navibus octo⁴ captivis classem. Extra

¹ usque N: om. P(1)NJK Aldus, Froben.

² partim P(3)N: partem C⁴M²A²JK Aldus, Froben.

³ partim P(1): partem C⁴A² Aldus: om. SpJK Froben 2.

⁴ octo P(1)NJK Aldus, Froben: xviii Sigonius from Polybius X. xvii. 13.

¹ I.e. south: cf. p. 167, n. 3.

² Eighteen in Polybius *l.c.* xvii. 13: cf. below, xlix. 6. The preceding figures, however, show how closely Livy

officers and its ranks through the centre of the city even into the market-place. From that point Scipio saw the enemy fleeing down two streets, one party towards the hill facing the east¹ and held by a garrison of five hundred soldiers, the rest into the citadel, into which Mago also with nearly all the armed men who had been beaten back from the walls had fled for refuge. Accordingly he sent part of his forces to storm the hill, and himself led a part to the citadel. The hill was taken at the first assault, and Mago, who attempted to defend the citadel, seeing the whole city filled with the enemy and that there was no hope, surrendered himself and the citadel with its garrison. Until the surrender of the citadel there was slaughter everywhere throughout the city, and they did not spare any adult who met them. Then the signal was given and an end was made of slaughter. The victors turned to the spoils, which were immense and of every kind.

XLVII. Of male free men about ten thousand were captured. From that number Scipio released those who were citizens of New Carthage and restored to them their city and also all the property which the war had spared to them. The artisans numbered about two thousand men. These he announced would be public slaves of the Roman people, with the not distant hope of freedom if they should actively exert themselves in providing the equipment for war. The rest of the multitude, made up of young non-citizens and strong slaves, he turned over to the fleet to recruit the oarsmen; and he had enlarged the fleet by eight² captured ships. Apart followed him; not as in §§ 5 ff. drawing from a different source.

hanc multitudinem Hispanorum obsides erant,
 quorum perinde ac si sociorum liberi essent cura
 5 habita. Captus et apparatus ingens belli: cata-
 puluae maxima formae centum viginti, minores du-
 6 centae octoginta una; ballistae maiores viginti tres,
 minores quinquaginta duae, scorpionum maiorum
 minorumque et armorum telorumque ingens nu-
 7 merus; signa militaria septuaginta quattuor. Et
 auri argenteique¹ relata ad imperatorem magna
 vis: paterae aureae fuerunt ducentae septuaginta
 sex, librales² ferme omnes pondo; argenti infecti³
 signatique decem et octo milia et trecenta pondo,
 8 vasorum argenteorum magnus numerus; haec
 omnia C. Flaminio quaestori adpensa adnumerataque
 sunt; tritici quadringenta⁴ milia modium, hordei
 9 ducenta septuaginta. Naves onerariae sexaginta
 tres in portu expugnatae captaeque,⁵ quaedam
 cum suis oneribus, frumento, armis, aere praeterea
 ferroque et linteis et sparto et navali alia materia ad
 10 classem aedificandam, ut miniuum omnium inter
 tantas opes belli captas⁶ Carthago ipsa fuerit.

XLVIII. Eo die Scipio, C. Laelio cum sociis na-
 2 valibus urbem custodire iusso, ipse in castra legiones
 reduxit fessosque milites omnibus uno die belli
 operibus, quippe qui et acie dimicassent et capienda

¹ -que *M²ANJK Aldus, Froben: om. P(3) Conway.*

² librales *Sp²A⁶JK Froben 2. Conway: libras P(3) Gronovius: librae AN Aldus, Madvig.*

³ infecti *Gronovius: facti P(3)JK Aldus, Froben: facte AN.*

⁴ quadringenta *PRB²D: quadraginta (or xl) CMBANJK Aldus, Froben.*

⁵ captaeque *A⁸N⁸JK Aldus, Froben: que P(3).*

⁶ belli captas *Sp²N⁸ Froben 2: belli castas P: bellicas P²(1)N⁸JK Aldus.*

from this multitude were the Spanish hostages, who were cared for just as if they were the children of allies. Captured also was a vast amount of war material: a hundred and twenty catapults of the largest model, two hundred and eighty-one of the smaller; twenty-three larger *ballistae*, fifty-two smaller; larger and smaller scorpions and arms and missile weapons, a vast number: seventy-four military standards. Of gold also and silver a large quantity was brought to the general. There were two hundred and seventy-six gold *paterae*,¹ nearly all of them weighing a pound; of silver, the unwrought and coined, there were eighteen thousand three hundred pounds, of silver vessels a large number. All of these, after weighing and counting, were delivered to Gaius Flaminius, the quaestor. Of wheat there were four hundred thousand pecks; of barley two hundred and seventy thousand. Sixty-three merchantmen were attacked and captured in the harbour, some with their cargoes, grain, arms, also bronze and iron and linen and Spanish broom² and ship timber also for the building of a fleet, so that in the midst of these great resources for the war that were captured (New) Carthage itself was the smallest part of it all.

XLVIII. On that day Scipio, after ordering Gaius Laelius with the marines to guard the city, himself led the legions back into camp. And as the soldiers were exhausted by all the warlike operations combined in a single day—since they had fought in line of battle,

¹ Deep saucers used as drinking cups, but usually mentioned when a libation was poured.

² Esparto, of which much was grown near New Carthage for use in making ropes, etc., cf. XXII. xx. 6.

urbe tantum laboris periculique adissent et capta cum iis qui in arcem confugerant iniquo etiam loco pugnas-
 3 sent, curare corpora iussit. Postero die militibus navalibusque sociis convocatis primum dis immortalibus laudes gratesque egit, qui se non urbis solum opulentissimae omnium in Hispania uno die compotem fecissent, sed ante eo congesissent omnis Africæ atque Hispaniae opes, ut neque hostibus quicquam relinqueretur, et sibi ac suis omnia super-
 4 essent. Militum deinde virtutem conlaudavit quod eos non eruptio hostium, non altitudo moenium, non inexplorata stagni vada, non castellum in alto tumulo situm, non munitissima arx deterruisset quo minus transcenderent omnia perrumperentque.
 5 Itaque quamquam omnibus omnia deberet, praecipuum muralis coronae decus eius esse qui primus murum ascendisset; profiteretur qui se dignum eo duceret dono. Duo professi sunt, Q. Trebellius,¹ centurio legionis quartae, et Sex. Digitius, socius navalis. Nec ipsi tam inter se acriter contendebant quam studia excitaverant uterque sui corporis
 7 hominum. Sociis C. Laelius, praefectus² classis,
 8 legionariis M. Sempronius Tuditanus aderat. Ea contentio cum prope seditionem veniret, Scipio tris recuperatores cum se daturum pronuntiasset qui cognita causa testibusque auditis iudicarent uter

¹ Trebellius *Sp? A²JK Froben* 2 : tiberilius *P(1)N.*

² praefectus *N² marg. Rhenanus, Froben* 2 : que tectus *Sp :* q. or que *P(3)N :* om. *C²A²JK Aldus.*

¹ A rare example of an open competition for a military distinction to be awarded.

and in taking the city had been involved in such exertion and danger, and after the capture had contended, on unfavourable ground at that, with those who had sought refuge in the citadel—he ordered them to rest. On the following day he called together the soldiers and marines, and first praised and thanked the immortal gods, who had made him master in a single day, not only of the richest of all the cities in Spain, but had previously accumulated there all the resources of Africa and Spain, so that nothing was left to the enemy, while for himself and his men there was abundance of everything. He went on to praise warmly the courage of the soldiers because neither a sally of the enemy, nor the height of walls, nor the unsounded waters of the lagoon, nor the fortress on a lofty hill, nor the very strongly fortified citadel had deterred them from climbing over or bursting through every obstacle. Accordingly, although he owed everything to everybody, the special distinction of a mural crown belonged to the man who had been the first to climb the wall; let him who thought himself deserving of that gift declare himself.¹ Two came forward as claimants, Quintus Trebellius, a centurion of the fourth legion, and Sextus Digitius, a marine. And these men themselves were not so much hotly competing with one another, as already fanning the partisanship of the men of their respective arms of the service. The marines were supported by Gaius Laelius, admiral of the fleet, the legionaries by Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus. When the strife was verging on mutiny, Scipio announced that he would name three arbiters to hear the claims, and after taking testimony, to decide which of the two had been the first to climb

9 prior in oppidum transcendisset, C. Laelio et M. Sempronio, advocatis partis utriusque, P. Cornelium Caudinum de medio adiecit eosque tris recuperatores
 10 considere et causam cognoscere iussit. Cum res eo maiore ageretur certamine quod amoti tantae dignitatis non tam advocati quam moderatores studiorum fuerant, C. Laelius relieto consilio ad
 11 tribunal ad Scipionem accedit, eumque docet rem sine modo ac modestia agi, ac prope esse ut manus inter se conferant. Ceterum, etiam si vis absit, nihilo minus detestabili exemplo rem agi, quippe ubi
 12 fraude ac periurio decus petatur virtutis. Stare hinc legionarios milites, hinc classicos, per omnis deos paratos iurare magis quae velint quam quae sciant vera esse, et obstringere periurio non se solum suumque caput, sed signa militaria et aquilas sacra-
 13 mentique religionem. Haec se ¹ad eum de sententia P. Cornelii et M. Sempronii deferre. Scipio conlau-
 dato Laelio ad contionem advocavit pronuntiavitque se satis compertum habere Q. Trebellium ² et Sex. Digitum pariter in murum escendisse, seque eos ambos ³ virtutis causa coronis muralibus donare.
 14 Tum reliquos prout cuiusque meritum virtusque erat donavit; ante omnis C. Laelium praefectum

¹ Haec se A⁴N⁴JK Aldus, Froben: haec P(1)N Madvig.

² Trebellium: see p. 182, crit. n. 1.

³ ambos N⁴JK Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)N.

over the wall into the town. Then in addition to ^{B.C. 210} Gaius Laelius and Marcus Sempronius, who represented this faction and that, he named Publius Cornelius Caudinus, a neutral, and ordered the three arbiters to sit down and hear the case. This was argued with all the more heat because they were separated from men of such high rank, who had acted less as representatives than as a check upon party feelings. Whereupon Gaius Laelius left the council, went up to Scipio on his tribune, and informed him that the matter was being debated without limit or self-restraint, and that the soldiers were on the point of laying hands on each other. But he said that, even if there should be no violence, they were nevertheless setting an abominable precedent in seeking by deception and perjury to win a reward for courage. On one side the legionaries were standing, he said, on the other the marines, ready to swear by all the gods rather what they wished to have true than what they knew to be true, and ready to involve not only themselves and their own persons in the perjury, but also the military standards and eagles and the sanctity of the oath of allegiance; that he was making this report to him on the advice of Publius Cornelius and Marcus Sempronius. Scipio warmly praised Laelius, summoned the soldiers to an assembly and declared that he was reliably informed that Quintus Trebellius and Sextus Digitius had climbed to the top of the wall at the same moment, and that for their courage he bestowed mural crowns upon them both. Then he rewarded the rest, each according to his desert and his courage. Above all the others he placed Gaius Laelius, admiral of the fleet, on a level with himself in every kind

LIVY

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classis et omni genere laudis sibimet ipse¹ aequavit
et corona aurea ac triginta bubus donavit.

XLIX. Tum obsides civitatum Hispaniae vocari
iussit; quorum quantus numerus fuerit piget scri-
bere, quippe cum² alibi trecentos ferme, alibi tria
milia³ septingentos viginti quattuor fuisse inveniam.

2 Aequo et alia inter auctores discrepant. Praesidium
Punicum aliis decem, aliis septem, aliis haud plus
quam duum milium fuisse scribit. Capta alibi
decem milia capitum,⁴ alibi supra quinque et viginti
3 invenio.⁵ Scorpiones maiores minoresque ad sexa-
ginta captos scripserrim, si auctorem Graecum sequar
Silenum; si Valerium Antiatem, maiorum scorpionum
sex milia, minorum tredecim⁶ milia; adeo nullus
4 mentiendi modus est. Ne de ducibus quidem
convenit. Plerique Laelium praefuisse classi, sunt
5 qui M. Iunium Silanum dicant; Arinen praefuisse
Punicopraesidio deditumque Romanis Antias Valerius,
6 Magonem alii scriptores tradunt. Non de numero
navium captarum, non de pondere auri atque argenti
et redactae pecuniae⁷ convenit. Si aliquis adsentiri

¹ ipse *P(3)JK*: ipsi *AN Aldus, Froben, Madvig.*

² cum *A*JK Froben 2*: ubi *P(1) (A?)N Aldus.*

³ tria milia ($\infty \infty \infty$)*PC*: *om. by the rest.*

⁴ alibi decem milia capitum *A*N*JK Aldus, Froben*: *om. P(1)N, a lost line.*

⁵ invenio *A*N*JK Aldus, Froben*: *-ias P*: *-ias or -ies (1).*

⁶ tredecim *Gronorius*: decem tria *P(3)N*: decem et tria
AN²: *XIII DA*JK Aldus, Froben*: decem et tria *AN²*; cf.
crit. note on XXVII. xxix. 8.

⁷ redactae pecuniae *P(1) NJK Aldus*: *-ta -nia Sp*
Froben 2, Conway.

of commendation, and also presented him with a golden wreath and thirty oxen.

XLIX. Then he ordered the hostages of the states of Spain to be summoned. How great was their number I dislike to state, since in one source I find that they were about three hundred,¹ in another three thousand seven hundred and twenty-four. There is no less disagreement on other matters also between the authorities. One writes that the Carthaginian garrison consisted of ten thousand men, another of seven thousand, another of not more than two thousand.² As for the captives, in one writer³ I find ten thousand persons, in another above twenty-five thousand. I should set down about sixty larger and smaller scorpions as captured, if I were to follow a Greek authority, Silenus,⁴ if Valerius Antias, then six thousand of the larger scorpions, thirteen thousand of the smaller; so lacking is any limit to his mendacity. Even as to the generals there is no agreement. Most say that Laelius commanded the fleet, there are some who say it was Marcus Junius Silanus. Valerius Antias relates that Arines was in command of the Carthaginian garrison and surrendered to the Romans, other writers that it was Mago. There is no agreement as to the number of ships captured, none as to the weight of gold and silver and of money brought in. If one must agree

¹ Over 300, says Polybius X. xviii. 3.

² In Polybius 1000 only for the regular garrison, but an emergency force of 2000 was recruited; xii. 2 f.

³ *I.e.* Polybius xvii. 6.

⁴ Who was with Hannibal and wrote in Greek on his campaigns; Nepos *Hann.* xiii. 3. Coelius used him (Cicero *de Div.* I. 49). Known to Polybius, but not mentioned by him; only here in Livy. For Valerius cf. note on vi. 8.

7 necesse est, media simillima¹ veri² sunt. Ceterum
 vocatis obsidibus primum universos bonum animum
 8 habere iussit: venisse enim³ eos in populi Romani
 potestatem, qui beneficio quam metu obligare
 homines malit exterisque gentis fide ac societate
 9 iunctas habere quam tristi subiectas servitio. Deinde
 acceptis nominibus civitatum recensuit captivos,
 quot cuiusque populi essent, et nuntios domum misit
 10 ut ad suos quisque recipiendos veniret. Si quarum
 forte civitatum legati aderant, eis praesentibus suos
 restituit; ceterorum curam benigne tuendorum
 C. Flaminio quaestori attribuit.

11 Inter haec e media turba obsidum mulier magno
 natu, Mandonii uxor, qui frater Indibilis Ilergetum
 reguli erat, flens ad pedes imperatoris procubuit
 obtestarique coepit ut curam cultumque feminarum
 12 impensis custodibus commendaret. Cum Scipio
 nihil defuturum iis⁴ profecto diceret, tum rursus
 mulier "Haud magni ista facimus" inquit; "quid
 enim huic fortunae non satis est? Alia me cura
 aetatem harum intuentem—nam ipsa iam extra peri-
 13 culum iniuriae muliebris sum—stimulat." Et⁵ aetate
 et forma florentes circa eam Indibilis filiae erant
 aliaeque⁶ nobilitate pari, quae omnes eam pro
 14 parente colebant. Tum Scipio "Meae populique
 Romani disciplinae causa facerem" inquit "ne quid

¹ simillima *P(1)NJK Aldus*: similia *Sp Froben* 2.

² veri *M¹BSp Froben* 2: veris *DANJK Aldus*: veneris *P(3)*.

³ enim *A¹N¹JK*: *om. by the rest.*

⁴ iis *Sp*: his *N¹*: *om. P(3)NJK Aldus, Froben* 2.

⁵ stimulat. Et *PC*: stimulat *C¹(3)N¹JK*: simul *Sp Froben* 2 (*with angit inserted above after alia me*): animum stimulat *z Aldus*.

⁶ filiae erant aliaeque *Sp N¹* *Froben* 2: filiaeque *PC*: filii aequae (3)*N?*.

with some authorities, moderate figures are the most probable. To resume, calling the hostages, Scipio first bade them all to be of good cheer; for they had come into the power of the Roman people, which prefers to bind men by favour rather than by fear, and to keep foreign nations linked by loyalty and alliance, rather than reduced to a harsh slavery. Then on learning the names of the states, he made a list of the captives, showing how many belonged to each people, and sent messengers to their homes, bidding that each man come to recover his own children. If ambassadors of any states happened to be there, he restored their hostages to them directly.¹ The task of kindly protecting the rest he assigned to Gaius Flaminius, the quaestor.

Meanwhile out of the midst of the crowd of hostages came an elderly woman, the wife of Mandonius, who was the brother of Indibilis, prince of the Ilergetes, and weeping she fell at the feet of the general and began to implore him to charge the guards more strictly with the care and comfort of the women. When Scipio said that they would surely lack nothing, the woman then replied: "We do not greatly care," she said, "for such things: for in our condition what is not sufficient? It is another concern which impels me as I look at these maidens; for as for myself, I am beyond the danger of violence done to woman." And in the bloom of youth and beauty the daughters of Indibilis were standing about her, and others of no less rank, all of whom paid her the honour due a parent. Then Scipio said: "Thanks to my own training and that of the Roman

¹ In Polybius he takes the hostages with him on his way to Tarraco; *i.c.* xx. 8.

quod sanctum usquam esset apud nos violaretur;
 15 nunc ut id curem impensis vestra quoque virtus
 dignitasque facit, quae ne in malis quidem oblitate
 16 decoris matronalis estis." Spectatae deinde integ-
 ritatis viro tradidit eas, tuerique haud secus verecunde
 ac modeste quam hospitum coniuges ac matres iussit.

L. Captiva deinde a militibus adducitur ad eum
 adulta virgo, adeo eximia forma ut quacumque in-
 2 cedebat converteret omnium oculos. Scipio, per-
 cunctatus patriam parentesque, inter cetera accepit
 desponsam eam principi Celtiberorum; adulescenti
 3 Allucio nomen erat. Extemplo igitur parentibus
 sponsoque ab domo accitis, cum interim audiret
 deperire eum sponsae amore, ubi primum venit,
 accuratiore cum sermone quam parentis adloquitur:
 4 "Iuvenis" inquit "iuvenem appello, quo minor¹
 sit inter nos huius² sermonis verecundia. Ego, cum
 sponsa tua capta a militibus nostris ad me ducta³
 esset audiremque tibi eam cordi esse, et forma faceret
 5 fidem, quia ipse, si frui liceret ludo aetatis, praeser-
 tim in recto et legitimo⁴ amore, et non res publica
 animum nostrum occupasset, veniam mihi dari
 sponsam impensis amanti vellem, tuo, cuius possum,
 6 amori faveo. Fuit sponsa tua apud me eadem

¹ quo minor *N** *Gronovius*: quo minus *Sp Froben* 2:
minor P(1)NJK Aldus.

² huius *P(1)NJK Aldus*, *Froben*: before inter *Sp N**.

³ ducta *P(3)N*: deducta *AN¹JK Aldus*, *Froben*.

⁴ et legitimo *P(3)Sp?* *Froben* 2: legitimoque *ANJK Aldus*.

B.C. 210

people I would see to it that nothing which is anywhere sacred should suffer violence among us. But as it is, I am moved to an even stricter care in that respect by the courage and dignity of you women also, who even in misfortune have not forgotten what is seemly for a matron." He then handed them over to a man of proved uprightness, and ordered him to protect them with no less respect and modesty than the wives and mothers of guest-friends.

L. Then there was brought to him as a captive by the soldiers a grown maiden of a beauty so extraordinary that, wherever she went, she drew the eyes of everyone. Scipio, upon enquiring about her native city and her parents, learned among other things that she had been betrothed to a leading man of the Celtiberians. The young man's name was Allucius. Accordingly he at once summoned parents and fiancé from home, and as soon as he had arrived, Scipio, having heard meantime that he was desperately in love with his betrothed, addressed him in more studied language than he had used towards the parents. "As a young man," he said, "I speak to you as a young man—to lessen embarrassment between us in this conversation. It was to me that your betrothed was brought as a captive by our soldiers, and I learned of your love for her—and her beauty made that easy to believe. Therefore, since in my own case, if it were only permitted me to enjoy the pleasures of youth, especially in a proper and legitimate love, and had not the state pre-occupied my attention, I should wish to be pardoned for an ardent love of a bride, I favour what is in my power—*your* love. Your betrothed has been

qua apud soceros tuos parentisque suos verecundia;
 servata tibi est, ut inviolatum et dignum me teque
 7 dari tibi donum posset. Hanc mercedem unam pro
 eo munere pacis cor: amicus populo Romano sis et,
 si me virum bonum credis esse, qualis patrem pa-
 triumque meum iam ante hae gentes norant, scias
 8 multos nostri similes in civitate Romana esse, nec
 ullum in terris hodie populum dici posse quem minus
 tibi hostem tuisque esse velis aut amicum malis.”
 9 Cum¹ adulescens simul pudore et gaudio perfusus,²
 dextram Scipionis tenens, deos omnis invocaret ad
 gratiam illi pro se referendam, quoniam sibi nequa-
 quam satis facultatis pro suo animo atque illius erga
 se merito³ esset, parentes inde cognati que virginis
 10 appellati; qui, quoniam gratis sibi redderetur virgo,
 ad quam redimendam satis magnum attulissent
 11 auri pondus, orare Scipionem ut id ab se donum
 acciperet coeperunt, haud minorem eius rei apud se
 gratiam futuram esse adfirmantes quam redditae
 12 inviolatae foret virginis. Scipio, quando tanto
 opere peterent, accepturum se pollicitus poni ante
 pedes iussit vocatoque ad se Allucio “Super dotem”
 inquit “quam accepturus a socero es, haec tibi a
 me dotalia dona accedent,” aurumque tollere ac
 13 sibi habere iussit. His laetus donis honoribusque

¹ Cum *Sp Froben* 2: om. *P(1)NJK Aldus.*

² perfusus *Sp Froben* 2: perusus *P*: -cusus *P²R*: -cussus
R²MBDAN: -culsus *CA^y? Aldus.*

³ merito *SpN^sK Froben* 2: om. *P(1)NJ Aldus.*

in my camp with the same regard for modesty as B.C. 210
 in the house of your parents-in-law, her own
 parents. She has been kept for you, so that she
 could be given you as a gift, unharmed and worthy of
 you and of me. This is the only price that I stipulate
 in return for that gift: be a friend to the Roman
 people, and if you believe me to be a good man, such
 as these tribes formerly came to know in my father
 and uncle, be assured that in the Roman state there
 are many like us, and that no people in the world can
 be named to-day which you would be less desirous of
 having as an enemy to you and yours, or more de-
 sirous of having as a friend." The young man, over-
 come by embarrassment and at the same time by
 joy, holding Scipio's right hand, called upon all the
 gods to compensate him on his own behalf, since he
 was far from having sufficient means to do so in
 accordance with his own feeling and the other's
 services to himself. Whereupon the parents and
 blood-relations of the maiden were summoned.
 They began to entreat Scipio, because the maiden,
 for whose ransom they had brought, as they said, a
 considerable weight of gold, was being restored to
 them without price, to accept that gift from them,
 assuring him that they would feel no less gratitude
 for his acceptance than for the restoration of the
 maiden unharmed. Scipio, since they so earnestly
 besought, promised that he would accept it, ordered
 the gift to be laid before his feet, and calling Allucius
 to him, said: "In addition to the dowry which you
 are about to receive from your father-in-law, this will
 be added by me as a nuptial gift to you." And he
 ordered him to take up the gold and keep it. Delight-
 lighting in this gift and courteous treatment he was

dimissus domum, implevit popularis laudibus meritis
 Scipionis: venisse dis simillimum iuvenem, vincentem
 omnia cum armis tum benignitate ac beneficiis.
 14 Itaque dilectu clientium habito cum delectis mille
 et quadringentis equitibus intra paucos dies ad
 Scipionem revertit.

LI. Scipio retentum secum Laelium, dum captivos
 obsidesque et praedam ex consilio eius disponeret,
 2 satis¹ omnibus compositis, data quinqueremi et²
 captivis cum³ Magone et quindecim fere senatoribus
 qui simul cum eo capti erant in navem⁴ inpositis
 3 nuntium victoriae Romam mittit. Ipse paucos
 dies quibus morari Carthagine statuerat exercendis
 4 navalibus pedestribusque copiis absumpsit. Primo
 die legiones in armis quattuor milium spatio de-
 currerunt; secundo die arma curare et tergere ante
 tentoria iussi; tertio die rudibus⁵ inter se in modum
 iustae pugnae concurrerunt praepilatisque missilibus
 iaculati sunt; quarto die quies data; quinto iterum
 5 in armis decursum est. Hunc ordinem laboris
 quietisque, quoad Carthagine morati sunt, servarunt.
 6 Remigium classicique milites tranquillo in altum
 eveeti, agilitatem navium simulacris navalis pugnae
 7 experiebantur. Haec extra urbem terra marique
 corpora simul animosque ad bellum acuebant; urbs
 ipsa strepebat apparatu belli fabris omnium generum

¹ satis *P(3)NJK Aldus*: rebus *SpN^e Froben* 2 (*inserted after omnibus by Walters, who keeps satis*).

² et *Johnson*: e *Madrig*: *om. P(1)Sp, etc.*

³ cum *SpN^e Froben* 2: -que *PC*: atque *Madvig*: *om. (1)NJK Aldus*.

⁴ navem *JK Madrig* (*cf. Polybius X. xix. 8*): nave *C⁴M¹BDAN Aldus, Froben*: nave ut *P(3)*: naves **sex** (*i.e. VI*) *Conway*.

⁵ rudibus *P(1)N*: sudibus *M⁶JK Aldus, Froben*.

sent away to his home, and he filled his countrymen ^{B.C. 210} with the well-earned praises of Scipio, saying that there had come a most godlike youth, conquering everything by arms and especially by generosity and favours. And so, after conducting a levy among his clients, he returns within a few days to Scipio with fourteen hundred picked horsemen.

LI. Scipio kept Laelius by him until with his advice he should dispose of captives and hostages and the booty. Then when everything had been properly arranged, he furnished him with a five-banker,¹ put on shipboard the captives with Mago and about fifteen senators who had been captured with him, and sent Laelius to Rome to report the victory. He himself spent the few days during which he had decided to remain at (New) Carthage in drilling his naval and land forces. On the first day the legions would run under arms for four miles; on the second they were ordered to take care of their arms and clean them in front of their tents; on the third day with wooden foils they encountered each other after the manner of a regular battle and hurled missile weapons provided with a button at the end: on the fourth day they were given a rest; on the fifth they again ran quickly under arms. This disposition of work and rest they maintained so long as they remained at (New) Carthage. The oarsmen and marines, when the sea was calm, would sail out into open water and test the mobility of their ships in sham naval battles. Such training outside the city by land and sea steeled both bodies and minds for war. The city itself rang with preparations for war, since artisans

¹ Polybius also mentions the quinquereme only (xix. 8). But a small convoy is to be presumed; cf. XXVII. vii. 4.

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544

- 8 in publicam officinam¹ inclusis. Dux cuncta pari
 cura obibat: nunc in classe ac navalii erat, nunc cum
 legionibus decurrebat.² nunc operibus aspiciendis
 tempus dabat, quaeque in officinis quaeque in arma-
 mentario ac navalibus fabrorum multitudo pluruma
 9 in singulos dies certamine ingenti faciebat. His ita
 incohatis refectisque quae quassata erant muri,³
 dispositisque praesidiis ad custodiam urbis, Tarra-
 conem est profectus, a multis legationibus protinus
 10 in via aditus, quas partim dato responso ex itinere
 dimisit, partim distulit Tarragonem. quo omnibus
 novis veteribusque sociis edixerat conventum. Et
 cuneti fere qui eis Hiberum incolunt populi, multi
 etiam ulterioris provinciae convenerunt.
- 11 Carthaginiensium duces primo ex industria famam
 captae Carthaginis compresserunt; deinde, ut clarior
 res erat quam ut tegi ac dissimulari posset, eleva-
 12 bant verbis: necopinato adventu ac prope furto
 unius diei urbem unam Hispaniae interceptam,
 cuius⁴ rei tam parvae praemio elatum insolentem
 iuvenem inmodico gaudio speciem magnae victoriae
 13 imposuisse; at ubi adpropinquare tres duces, tres
 victores hostium exercitus audisset, occursuram ei
 14 extemplo domesticorum funerum memoriam. Haec
 in volgus iactabant, haudquaquam ipsi ignari
 quantum sibi ad omnia virium Carthagine amissa
 decessisset.

¹ -cam officinam *Sp* (*omitting a line from -li fabris to in
 publi-*) *Walters*: -ea officina *P(1)NJK Aldus, Froben.*

² nunc in classe . . . decurrebat *SpN⁴ Froben* 2: *om.
 P(1)NJK Aldus* (*three lines lost*).

³ quae quassata erant muri *SpN⁴, Froben* 2: *qua quassa-
 verant muris P: same omitting qua P¹(3), but with quos
 CA⁴ Aldus: qua quassati erant, muris Crévier.*

⁴ cuius *P(1)NJK Aldus, Froben*: eius *Sp.*

of all kinds were shut up in public workshops. The B.C. 210 general inspected everything with the same care; now he was on the fleet and the docks, now he was with the legions as they ran; now he was giving his time to viewing the work that was done from day to day in shops and arsenal and on the docks, with the utmost rivalry, by the great multitude of artisans. Having made such a beginning, and having repaired battered parts of the wall, and leaving forces posted to defend the city, he set out for Tarraco, being approached by many embassies in the course of his march. Some of these he answered and dismissed without stopping, some he postponed till he reached Tarraco, at which he had announced an assembly for all the allies new and old. And nearly all the peoples dwelling on this side of the Ebro came together, and many also from the farther province.

The Carthaginian commanders at first purposely suppressed the news of the capture of (New) Carthage. Then, when the matter was too well known to be concealed or masked, their language would minimize it, saying that by a sudden arrival and almost by stealth on a single day a single city of Spain had been seized; and carried away by success on so small a scale, an arrogant youth in an excess of joy had given it the appearance of a great victory; but when he heard that three generals, three victorious armies of the enemy were approaching, there would at once come to him the memory of the losses in his family. Such were their remarks in public, but in themselves they were by no means unaware what a mass of resources for every purpose had gone with the loss of (New) Carthage.

LIBRI XXVI PERIOCHA

Hannibal ad tertium lapidem ab urbe Roma super Aniem nem castra posuit. Ipse cum duobus milibus equitum usque ad ipsam Capenam portam, ut situm urbis exploraret, obequitavit. Et cum per triduum in aciem utrimque exercitus omnis descendisset, certamen tempestas diremit; nam cum in castra redisset, statim serenitas erat. Capua capta est a Q. Fulvio et Ap. Claudio consulibus. Principes Campanorum veneno sibi mortem conciverunt. Cum senatus Campanorum deligatus esset ad palos, ut securi feriretur, litteras a senatu missas Q. Fulvius consul, quibus iubebatur parcere, antequam legeret, in sinu posuit et lege agi iussit et supplicium peregit. Cum comitiis apud populum quaereretur cui mandaretur Hispaniarum imperium, nullo id volente suspicere, P. Scipio, P. filius eius qui in Hispania ceciderat, professus est se iturum, et suffragio populi consensuque omnium missus Novam Carthaginem expugnavit, cum haberet annos XXIV videreturque divina stirpe creatus, quia et ipse, postquam togam acceperat, cotidie in Capitolio erat, et in cubiculo matris eius anguis saepe videbatur. Res practerea gestas in Sicilia continet et amicitiam cum Aetolis iunctam bellumque gestum adversus Acarnanas et Philippum, Macedoniae regem.

SUMMARY OF BOOK XXVI

Hannibal pitched his camp on the bank of the Anio at the third milestone from the city of Rome. In person with two thousand horsemen he rode up even to the Porta Capena,¹ to examine the lie of the city. And when for three days the entire army on each side had gone out into battle-line, a storm broke off the combat; for when they had returned to camp, at once there was a clear sky. Capua was taken by Quintus Fulvius and Appius Claudius, the consuls. The leading men of the Capuans took their own lives by poison. When the senators of Capua had been bound to stakes, to be beheaded, Quintus Fulvius, the consul, on receiving a letter from the senate in which he was bidden to spare them, put the letter in his bosom before reading it and ordered that the law be complied with, and carried out the penalty. When at the comitia in the presence of the people the question was raised, to whom should the command of the Spanish provinces be entrusted, and no one was willing to undertake it, Publius Scipio, son of that Publius who had fallen in Spain, declared that he would go; and having been sent by vote of the people and by general agreement, he stormed New Carthage, being twenty-four years old and seeming to have sprung from a divine race, because he was himself daily on the Capitol, from the time he had assumed the toga, and because in his mother's chamber a serpent used often to be seen. In addition this book contains events in Sicily and the establishment of friendship with the Aetolians and the war waged against the Acarnanians and Philip, King of Macedonia.

¹ An error for Collina; cf. x. 3.

BOOK XXVII

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I. Hic status rerum in Hispania erat. In Italia
consul Marcellus Salapia per proditionem recepta
2 Marmoreas et Meles de Samnitibus vi cepit. Ad
tria milia militum ibi Hannibal, quae praesidii
causa relictā erant, oppressa: praeda—et aliquan-
tum eius fuit—militi concessa. Tritici quoque
ducenta quadraginta milia modium et centum
3 decem milia hordei inventa. Ceterum nequaquam
inde tantum gaudium fuit quanta clades intra paucos
4 dies accepta est haud procul Herdonea urbe. Castra
ibi Cn. Fulvius proconsul habebat spe recipiendae
Herdoneae, quae post Cannensem cladē ab Ro-
manis defecerat, nec loco satis tuto posita nec prae-
5 sidiis firmata. Neglegentiam insitam ingenio ducis
augebat spes ea, quod labare iis adversus Poenum
fidem senserat, postquam Salapia amissa excessisse
6 iis locis in Bruttios Hannibalem auditum est. Ea
omnia ab Herdonea per occultos nuntios delata
Hannibali simul curam sociae retinendae urbis et
spem fecere incautum hostem adgrediendi. Exercitu

¹ Two unknown towns where Hannibal had important supply bases. For Salapia, in Apulia, northwest of Cannae, cf. XXVI. xxxviii. 6 ff. and note. Its garrison consisted of 500 Numidians: *l.c.* § 11.

² In Apulia, 30 miles west of Cannae; XXV. xxi. 1; xxii. 14.

BOOK XXVII

I. SUCH was the state of affairs in Spain. In Italy the consul Marcellus, having regained possession of Salapia by betrayal, took Marmoreae and Meles¹ from the Samnites by force. About three thousand of Hannibal's soldiers, who had been left as a garrison, were overpowered there. The booty—and there was much of it—was turned over to the soldiers. In addition two hundred and forty thousand pecks of wheat and a hundred and ten thousand pecks of barley were found. But the rejoicing in consequence by no means balanced the great loss suffered within a few days not far from the city of Herdonea.² There Gnaeus Fulvius, the pro-consul, was encamped, in the hope of regaining Herdonea, which had deserted the Romans after the disaster at Cannae; but his camp was pitched in a position neither quite safe nor strongly held. Carelessness, ingrained in the character of the general, was increased by that hope, inasmuch as he had learned that their loyalty was weakening and turning against the Carthaginian, ever since they had heard that, after the loss of Salapia, Hannibal had withdrawn from that region into the land of the Bruttii. The report of all this to Hannibal from Herdonea by secret messengers made him concerned to retain an allied city and at the same time gave him the hope of attacking the enemy unawares. With an army unencumbered

expedito, ita ut famam prope praeveniret, magnis
 itineribus ad Herdoneam contendit et, quo plus
 terroris hosti obiceret, acie instructa accessit.
 7 Par audacia Romanus, consilio et viribus impar,
 8 copiis raptim eductis conflixit. Quinta legio et
 sinistra ala acriter pugnam inierunt; ceterum Han-
 nibal signo equitibus dato ut, cum pedestres acies
 occupassent praesenti certamine oculos animosque,
 circumvecti pars castra hostium, pars terga trepi-
 9 dantium¹ invaderent, ipse Cn. Fulvi similitudinem
 nominis, quia Cn. Fulvium praetorem biennio ante
 in isdem devicerat locis, increpans, similem eventum
 10 pugnae fore adfirmabat. Neque ea spes vana fuit;
 nam cum comminus acie et peditum certamine multi
 11 cecidissent Romanorum, starent tamen ordines
 signaque, equestris tumultus a tergo, simul a castris²
 clamor hostilis auditus sextam ante³ legionem,
 quae in secunda acie posita prior ab Numidis turbata
 est, quintam deinde atque eos qui ad prima signa
 12 erant avertit. Pars in fugam effusi, pars in medio
 caesi, ubi et ipse Cn. Fulvius cum undecim tribunis
 13 militum cecidit. Romanorum sociorumque quot
 caesa in eo proelio milia sint, quis pro certo adfirmet,
 cum tredecim milia alibi,⁴ alibi⁵ haud plus quam

¹ trepidantium *Gronovius*: oppidantium *P(3)*: oppug-
 nantium *AN Aldus*: pugnantium *JK Froben*: necopinant-
 ium *Sauppe*.

² a castris *A^sN^sJK*: acris *P(3)*.

³ ante *P(3)JK Froben* 2 (*after legionem AN Aldus*):
deleted by J. H. Voss, Conway.

⁴ alibi *P(3)AN Aldus, Froben* (*after cum JK C⁴*).

⁵ alibi *AN Aldus, Froben*: *om. PJK*.

¹ For this formation (legion and auxiliaries in the same line)
 see Vol. VI. p. 422, note; cf. ii. 6; xii. 14; xiv. 3; xlvi. 2.

by baggage he hastened by forced marches to Her-^{B.C. 210} donea, so that he almost outstripped reports of his coming; and to strike more alarm into the enemy, he approached the city in battle-array. The Roman, who was his equal in boldness but not in strategy and in forces, hastily led out his troops and engaged. The fifth legion and the left *ala*¹ went into battle with spirit. But Hannibal gave the order to his cavalry, that when the infantry lines should have concentrated the eyes and attention of the enemy upon the immediate conflict, they should turn the flanks and attack, some of them the enemy's camp, some the rear of the wavering troops. And he himself, scornfully alluding to the similarity in the name of Gnaeus Fulvius, since he had defeated a praetor Gnaeus Fulvius two years before in the same region, asserted that the outcome of the battle would be similar. Nor was that hope groundless. For when many of the Romans had fallen in the close contact of the lines during the infantry battle, while the ranks and standards nevertheless held their ground, the wild charge of the cavalry was heard in the rear, and at the same time the shouts of the enemy from the camp. This routed first the sixth legion, which was posted in the second line and was the first to be thrown into disorder by the Numidians; and then it routed the fifth legion and the men who were with the front-line standards. Some scattered in flight, some were slain in the centre of the battle, where Gnaeus Fulvius also fell together with eleven tribunes of the soldiers. How many thousand Romans and allies were slain in that battle who could state with certainty, inasmuch as in one source I find thirteen thousand, in another not more

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septem inveniam? Castris praedaque victor potitur.
 14 Herdoneam, quia et defecturam fuisse ad Romanos
 comperit nec mansuram in fide, si inde abscessisset,
 multitudine omni Metapontum ac Thurios traducta
 incendit; occidit principes qui cum Fulvio conloquia
 15 occulta habuisse comperti sunt. Romani qui ex
 tanta clade evaserant diversis itineribus semerpnes
 ad Marcellum consulem in Samnum perfugerunt.

II. Marcellus nihil admodum tanta clade territus
 litteras Romam ad senatum de duce atque exercitu ad
 2 Herdoneam amisso scribit: ceterum eundem se, qui
 post Cannensem pugnam ferocem victoria Hannibalem
 contudisset,¹ ire adversus eum, brevem illi laetitiam
 3 qua exsultet² facturum. Et Romae quidem cum
 luctus ingens ex praeterito, tum timor in futurum
 4 erat: consul ex Samnio in Lucanos transgressus ad
 Numistronem in conspectu Hannibalis loco plano,
 5 cum Poenus collem teneret, posuit castra. Addidit
 et aliam fidentis speciem, quod prior in aciem
 eduxit; nec detractavit Hannibal, ut signa portis
 efferri vidiit. Ita tamen aciem instruxerunt ut
 Poenus dextrum cornu in collem erigeret, Romani
 6 sinistrum ad oppidum adipicarent. Ab Romanis

¹ contudisset *P(1)N Aldus, Froben, Conway*: contuderit
JK Madrig.

² exsultet *P(1)N JK*: exsultaret *conj. Conway*.

¹ There is reason to believe that Livy's authorities had duplicated the defeat of a Fulvius (with identity of place and suspiciously similar circumstances), and that this is the real event, while that in XXV. xxi. is the doublet, due to confusion between Gnaeus Fulvius Centumalus, consul in 211 B.C., and Gnaeus Fulvius Flaccus, praetor in 212 B.C. But the praetor must have suffered a shameful defeat somewhere; for the detailed account of his trial in XXVI. ii. 7 ff. and iii. for cowardice and neglect of duty could hardly be invented. Cf.

than seven? The camp and booty fell to the victor. As for Herdonea, in view of his information that it would have revolted to the Romans and would not remain loyal to him if he should withdraw, he removed the whole population to Metapontum and Thurii and set fire to the city. He put to death the leading men who, he was informed, had had secret conversations with Fulvius. The Romans who had made their escape from so disastrous a battle, by different roads and half-armed sought refuge with the consul Marcellus in Samnium.¹

H. Marcellus, who was not particularly alarmed by so serious a defeat, wrote a letter to the senate at Rome in regard to the loss of general and army at Herdonea. He said that nevertheless, being the same man who had frustrated Hannibal, after the battle of Cannae elated by that victory, he was marching against him to cut short his joy and exultation. At Rome, to be sure, there was not only great sorrow owing to what had happened, but also great fear for the future. The consul, however, crossing over from Samnium into Lucania, pitched camp near Numistro,² in sight of Hannibal on level ground, while the Carthaginian held a hill. He added the further appearance of confidence in being the first to lead out into battle-line. And Hannibal did not refuse, when he saw the standards borne out of the gates. Nevertheless they drew up their lines so that the Carthaginian made his right wing reach up the hill, while the Romans rested their left wing on the town.

De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani* III. 2. 300, 459 f.; Cambridge *Ancient History* VIII. 81; Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* II³. 320 f.

² In the extreme north of Lucania, southwest of Venusia, at a distance of ca. 25 miles.

prima legio et dextra ala, ab Hannibale Hispani milites et funditores Baliares, elephanti quoque commisso iam certamine in proelium acti; diu 7 pugna neutro inclinata stetit. Ab hora tertia cum ad noctem pugnam extendissent, fessaeque pugnando primae acies essent,¹ primae legioni tertia, dextrae alae sinistra subiit, et apud hostis integri a fessis 8 pugnam accepere. Novum atque atrox proelium ex iam segni repente exarsit, recentibus animis corporibusque; sed² nox incerta victoria diremit 9 pugnantis. Postero die Romani ab sole orto in multum diei stetere in acie; ubi nemo hostium adversus prodiit, spolia per otium legere et congestos 10 in unum locum cremavere suos. Nocte insequenti Hannibal silentio movit castra et in Apuliam abiit. Marcellus, ubi lux fugam hostium aperuit, sauciis cum praesidio modico Numistrone relictis praepositoque iis L. Furio Purpurione tribuno militum, vestigiis institit sequi. Ad Venusiam adeptus eum 11 est. Ibi per dies aliquot, cum ab stationibus pro- cursaretur, mixta equitum peditumque tumultuosa magis proelia quam³ magna, et ferme omnia Romanis 12 secunda fuere. Inde per Apuliam ducti exercitus sine ullo memorando certamine, cum Hannibal nocte

¹ *The sentence Ab hora tertia . . . primae acies essent precedes Ab Romanis, § 6, in P(1)JK Aldus, Froben: transferred to this position by Heusinger, Conway. An early copyist seems at first to have overlooked the sentence Ab Romanis . . . stetit. Hence the confused order of time. If the MS. order is retained, one may begin a new sentence with Ut (supplied by Madvig before primae, § 7).*

² sed A⁴N⁴JK Aldus, Froben: ex P: et P²?(1)N.

³ quam, with this word begins a lacuna in P(1)N, extending to (not through) quia, iii. 7. Apparently P omitted a whole page of the copy before him; supplied for us by A⁴N⁴JKx.

On the Roman side the first legion and right *ala*, on b.c. 210 Hannibal's side the Spanish soldiers and Balearic slingers were engaged; and the elephants also were driven into battle after the conflict had begun. For a long time the battle hung in the balance, not inclining in either direction. After they had prolonged the battle from the third hour to nightfall and the front lines were exhausted by fighting, the third legion relieved the first, the left *ala* relieved the right, and among the enemy fresh troops took over the battle from the weary. A new battle and fierce suddenly flamed out of a conflict now grown spiritless, for the combatants were now fresh in spirit and in body. But night parted them with victory undecided. On the next day the Romans stood in line from sunrise until late in the day. When none of the enemy came out against them, they gathered spoils at their leisure, carried corpses of their men into one place and burned them. On the following night Hannibal broke camp silently and marched away into Apulia. Marcellus, when day disclosed the flight of the enemy, left the wounded at Numistro with a small garrison, placed Lucius Furius Purpurio, a tribune of the soldiers, in command of them, and made haste to follow on Hannibal's heels. Near Venusia¹ he overtook him. There for a number of days, while charges were made by outposts, there were mixed cavalry and infantry engagements, rather skirmishes than important battles, and nearly all of them favourable to the Romans. Thence the armies were led through Apulia without any notable conflict, since Hannibal

¹ In Apulia, near the borders of Samnium, to which it is sometimes assigned; cf. XXII. xlix. 14; liv. I ff.

signa moveret, locum insidiis quaerens, Marcellus nisi certa luce et explorato ante non sequeretur.

III. Capuae interim Flaccus dum bonis principum vendendis, agro qui publicatus erat locando—locavit autem omnem frumento—tempus terit, ne deesset materia in Campanos saeviendi, novum in occulto gliscens per indicium protractum est facinus. Milites aedificiis emotos, simul ut cum agro tecta urbis fruenda locarentur, simul metuens ne suum quoque exercitum sicut Hannibal's nimia urbis amoenitas emolliret, in portis murisque sibimet ipsos tecta mili-
tariter coegerat aedicare. Erant autem pleraque ex cratibus ac tabulis facta, alia harundine texta, stramento intecta omnia,¹ velut de industria ali-
mentis² ignis. Haec noctis una hora omnia ut³ incenderent, centum septuaginta Campani principibus Blossiis fratribus coniuraverant. Indicio eius rei ex familia Blossiorum facto, portis repente iussu proconsulis clausis, cum ad arma signo dato milites concurrisserint, comprehensi omnes qui in noxa erant, et quaestione acriter habita damnati necatique;

¹ omnia *Rhenanus*: omne *SpA*N*JKx Conway*: omnibus z *Aldus, Froben*.

² alimentis *Sp?N*JKx Aldus, Froben*: alimentum *A* Conway*.

³ ut *Madvig*: om. *A*N*JKx*.

¹ Lands and buildings belonging to the Capuans had been added to the *ager publicus* of the Roman people (XXVI. xvi. 8), and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, consul in 212 B.C., as conqueror is leasing lands and houses. His duties were later taken over by the censors, who normally had that task; cf. xi. 8.

would set his standards in motion by night, seeking ^{B.C. 210} positions for ambuscades, while Marcellus did not follow except in broad daylight and after reconnoitring.

III. At Capua meantime, while Flaccus was spending his time in selling the property of leading men, in leasing lands that had been confiscated¹—and he leased them all in return for grain—a fresh crime fomented in secret was brought to light by informers, that he might not lack occasion for harsh treatment of the Capuans. The soldiers had been removed from dwellings, in order that houses in the city might be leased together with the land, and because Flaccus at the same time feared that the great charms of the city might weaken his army also, as they had Hannibal's. Accordingly he had compelled them to build their own shelters soldier-fashion at the gates and along the walls. Furthermore most of these were made of wickerwork and planks, others of reeds interwoven, all of them thatched with straw, as though these materials were deliberately intended to feed the flames. A hundred and seventy Capuans,² under the lead of the brothers Blossii, had conspired to set fire to all of these huts at the same hour of the night. Information in regard to this was given by slaves of the Blossii, and the gates were suddenly closed by order of the proconsul. The soldiers having rushed to arms at a given signal, all who were involved in the crime were arrested, and after a rigorous inquiry were condemned and put to death. The informers received

² Evidently the rigorous measures against the Capuans (XXVI. xxxiv. 7) had not yet been carried out, for the Blossii were still in possession of their slaves; § 5.

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6 indicibus libertas et aeris dena milia data. Nucerinos
 et Acerranos, querentes ubi habitarent non esse,
 Acerris ex parte incensis. Nuceria deleta, Romam
 7 Fulvius ad senatum misit. Acerranis permissum
 ut aedificarent quae incensa erant: Nucerini Atellam,
 quia¹ id maluerant, Atellanis Calatiam migrare
 iussis, traducti.

8 Inter multas magnasque res, quae nunc secundae,
 nunc adversae occupabant cogitationes hominum, ne
 9 Tarentinae quidem arcis excidit memoria. M. Ogul-
 nius et P. Aquilius in Etruriam legati ad frumentum
 coemendum quod Tarentum portaretur profecti, et
 mille milites de exercitu urbano, par numerus Roma-
 norum sociorumque, eodem in praesidium cum fru-
 mento missi.

IV. Iam aestas in exitu erat, comitiorumque con-
 sularium instabat tempus; sed litterae Marcelli
 negantis e re publica esse vestigium abscedi ab
 Hannibale, cui cedenti certamenque abnuenti gravis
 2 ipse instaret, curam² iniecerant ne aut consulem
 tum maxime res agentem a bello avocarent, aut in
 3 annum consules deessent. Optimum visum est,
 quamquam extra Italiam esset, Valerium potius
 4 consulem ex Sicilia revocari. Ad eum litterae iussu

¹ quia, *here P(1)N resume*; cf. p. 208, note 3.

² curam *P(1)N Aldus, Froben*: patribus curam *AJK Conway*.

¹ For the destruction of these cities cf. XXIII. xv. 6 and xvii. 7.

² Atella and Calatia, nearest towns (south and southeast) to Capua, had revolted from the Romans after Cannae; XXII. lxi. 11. Recovered five years later; XXVI. xvi. 5.

their freedom and ten thousand *asses* each. As for the men of Nuceria and Acerrae, who complained that they had no dwelling-place, since Acerrae had been partly burned and Nuceria destroyed,¹ Fulvius sent them to the senate at Rome. The Accerrans were permitted to build what had been burned; the Nucerians, having so elected, were conducted to Atella, while the Atellans were ordered to migrate to Calatia.²

Among the many important events which were engaging men's attention, as being now favourable and now unfavourable, the citadel of Tarentum³ also was not forgotten. Marcus Ogulnius and Publius Aquilius set out for Etruria as commissioners to buy up grain to be shipped to Tarentum. And a thousand soldiers from the army at the city, equally divided between Romans and allies, were sent with the grain to the same place on garrison duty.

IV. Already the summer was at an end and the time for the consular election at hand. But a letter from Marcellus, stating that it was against the public interest for him to move a step away from Hannibal, since he was himself pressing him hard as he retired and refused an engagement, had inspired concern, for fear they must call the consul away from the war at the moment when he was actively engaged, or else should be without consuls for the next year. It seemed best instead to recall the consul Valerius from Sicily, even though he was outside of Italy. To Valerius under orders from the senate Lucius

¹ For two years Hannibal had been master of Tarentum, while the Roman garrison was still holding out in the citadel; XXV. ix-xi; xv. 4 f.

senatus ab L. Manlio praetore urbano missae cum litteris consulis M. Marcelli, ut ex iis nosceret quae causa patribus eum potius quam collegam revocandi ex provincia esset.

5 Eo fere tempore legati ab rege Syphace Romam venerunt, quae is¹ prospера proelia cum² Carthaginensis fecisset memorantes: regem nec inimiciorem ulli populo quam Carthaginiensi nec amiciorem quam Romano esse adfirmabant; misisse eum antea legatos in Hispaniam ad Cn. et P. Cornelios imperatores Romanos; nunc ab ipso velut fonte petere 7 Romanam amicitiam voluisse. Senatus non legatis modo benigne respondit, sed et ipse legatos cum donis ad regem misit, L. Genucium, P. Poetelium, 8 P. Popillium. Dona tulere togam et tunicam purpuream, sellam eburneam, pateram ex quinque 9 pondo auri³ factam. Protinus et alios Africæ regulos iussi adire. Iis quoque quae darentur portata, togæ praetextæ et terna pondo pateræ 10 aureæ. Et Alexandream ad Ptolomæum et Cleopatram reges M. Atilius et M'. Acilius legati, ad commemorandam renovandamque amicitiam missi, dona tulere, regi togam et tunicam purpuream cum sella eburnea, reginae pallam pietam cum amiculo purpureo.

11 Multa ea aestate qua haec facta sunt ex pro-

¹ quae is *SpN*JK Froben* 2: quaeque *P(1)N.*

² cum *ANJK*: rex cum *P(1) Aldus, Froben.*

³ auri *P(1)N Aldus*: om. *SpJK* (*these having auream after pateram*).

¹ Cf. XXIV. xlviij. 9.

² Like the *sella curulis*, with tusks for legs. As a present for kings cf. XXX. xv. 11; XXXI. xi. 12; XLII. xiv. 10. For the *patera* cf. XXVI. xlviij. 7 and note.

Manlius, the city praetor, sent a letter, together with B.C. 210 the letter of Marcus Marcellus, the consul, that from these letters Valerius might learn what reason the senators had for recalling him rather than his colleague from his province.

About the same time legates from King Syphax came to Rome, reporting what successes he had had in battle with the Carthaginians. They stated that the king was not more hostile to any people than to the Carthaginian, nor more friendly to any than to the Roman people; that previously he had sent legates to Spain to Gnaeus and Publius Cornelius,¹ the Roman generals; that now he was minded to seek Roman friendship, as it were at the very source. The senate not only replied graciously to the legates, but also sent its legates, Lucius Genucius, Publius Poetelius, Publius Popillius, to the king with gifts. They took with them as gifts a purple toga and tunic, an ivory chair,² a golden *patera* weighing five pounds. They were ordered to go on and visit other princes in Africa. For these also they took with them bordered togas and golden *paterae*, each of them three pounds in weight, to be presented to them. Also to Alexandria as ambassadors to the monarchs, Ptolemy and Cleopatra,³ were sent Marcus Atilius and Manius Acilius, to call to mind and revive friendship with them. As gifts they carried for the king a purple toga and tunic, with an ivory chair, for the queen an embroidered palla and a purple cloak.

During the summer in which these events occurred

¹ Arsinoë was her real name, daughter of Ptolemy III, sister and wife of Ptolemy IV.

pinquis urbibus agrisque nuntiata sunt prodigia:
 Tusculi agnum cum ubere lactenti natum, Iovis aedis
 culmen fulmine ictum ac prope omni tecto nudatum;
 12 isdem ferme diebus Anagniae terram ante portam
 ictam diem ac noctem sine ullo ignis alimento arsisse,
 et aves ad compitum Anagninum in luco Dianaee
 13 nidos in arboribus reliquisse; Tarracinae in mari haud
 procul portu angues magnitudinis mirae lascivientium
 14 piscium modo exsultasse; Tarquiniis porcum cum ore
 humano genitum, et in agro Capenate ad lucum
 Feroniae quattuor signa sanguine multo diem ac
 15 noctem sudasse. Haec prodigia hostiis maioribus
 procurata decreto pontificum; et supplicatio diem
 unum¹ Romae ad omnia pulvinaria, alterum in
 Capenati agro ad Feroniae lucum indicta.

V. M. Valerius consul litteris excitus, provincia
 exercitique mandato L. Cincio praetori, M. Valerio
 Messalla praefecto classis cum parte navium in
 Africam praedatum simul speculatumque quae
 populus Carthaginiensis ageret pararetque misso,
 2 ipse decem navibus Romam profectus cum prospere
 pervenisset, senatum extemplo habuit, ubi² de suis
 3 rebus gestis commemoravit: cum annos prope
 sexaginta in Sicilia terra marique magnis saepe

¹ unum A* N* JK Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)N.

² ubi P(1)N Aldus: ibi SpJK Froben 2.

¹ At the junction of the Via Latina and the Via Labicana,
 40 miles from Rome by the latter.

² Cf. XXVI. xi. 8.

³ Cf. XXIV. x. 13 and note; XXI. lxii. 9; XXII. i. 15;
 x. 9.

many portents were reported from neighbouring cities and from the country: that at Tusculum a lamb was born with an udder full of milk, and that the ridge of Jupiter's temple was struck by lightning and stripped of almost all its roofing; that at Anagnia about the same time ground struck by lightning outside the gate burned for a day and a night without any fuel; and that at the crossroads¹ near Anagnia, in the grove of Diana, birds deserted their nests in the trees; that at Tarracina, in the sea not far from the harbour, serpents of remarkable size leaped about after the manner of fish at play; that at Tarquinii a pig was born with a human face; and that in the territory of Capena, at the grove of Feronia,² four statues sweated blood profusely for a day and a night. These prodigies were atoned for with full-grown victims by decree of the pontiffs. And prayers were ordered for one day in Rome at all the *pulvinaria*,³ and for a second day at the grove of Feronia, in the territory of Capena.

V. Marcus Valerius, the consul, on being summoned by the letter, assigned his province and army to Lucius Cincius,⁴ a praetor, and sent Marcus Valerius Messalla, admiral of the fleet, with a part of his ships to Africa, to plunder and at the same time to find out what the Carthaginian state was doing and preparing to do. The consul himself set out for Rome with ten ships, and on his safe arrival he at once held a session of the senate, in which he set forth his own achievements: that for almost sixty years war had been carried on in Sicily by land and sea, often with great losses, but now he had completed

⁴ The annalist Cincius Alimentus; XXVI. xxiii. 1; repeatedly mentioned in XXVII.

cladibus bellatum esset, se eam provinciam confe-
cisse. Neminem Carthaginensem in Sicilia esse;
4 neminem Siculum non esse:¹ qui fugati metu inde
afuerint, omnis in urbes, in agros suos reductos arare,
5 serere;² desertam recoli terram, tandem³ frugiferam
ipsis cultoribus, populoque Romano pace ac bello
6 fidissimum annonae subsidium. Exim Muttine et si
quorum aliorum merita erga populum Romanum
erant in senatum introductis, honores omnibus ad ex-
7 solvendam fidem consulis⁴ habiti. Muttines etiam
civis Romanus factus, rogatione ab tribunis⁵ plebis
ex auctoritate patrum ad plebem lata.

8 Dum haec Romae geruntur, M. Valerius quinquaginta navibus cum ante lucem ad Africam accessisset,
inproviso in agrum Uticensem escensionem fecit:
9 eumque late depopulatus multis mortalibus cum alia
omnis generis praeda captis ad naves redit atque in⁶
Siciliam tramisit, tertio decumo die quam profectus
10 inde erat,⁷ Lilybaeum revectus. Ex captivis quaestione
habita haec comperta consulique Laevino
omnia ordine perscripta, ut sciret quo in statu
11 res Africæ⁸ essent: quinque milia Numidarum
cum Masinissa, Galae filio, acerrimo iuvene, Cartha-

¹ non esse, placed here by Madrig: after afuerint
P(1)NJKSp?

² serere *NJK Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)N.*

³ tandem, here *P(1)N Aldus: before terram JK Froben 2.*

⁴ consulis *SpJK Froben 2: a consule P(1)N Aldus: consulis a consule conj. Conway.*

⁵ tribunis *x Luchs: abbrev. P(1)NK: tribuno J Eds.*

⁶ atque in *JK Froben 2: et ad P(1)N Aldus.*

⁷ erat *NJK Froben 2: om. P(1)N.*

⁸ res Africæ *SpJK Froben 2: Africæ res P(1)N Aldus.*

the conquest of that province. He said that there was not a Carthaginian in Sicily; that not a Sicilian was absent; that those who had been absent, banished by their fears, had all been brought back to their cities, to their lands, and were ploughing and sowing; that a deserted land was again under cultivation, productive at last for the farmers themselves, and for the Roman people in peace and in war a most dependable source of the grain supply.¹ Then Muttines and any others who had done services to the Roman people were brought into the senate, and honours were bestowed upon them all, in fulfilment of the consul's promise.² Muttines was even made a Roman citizen, when in accordance with a decree of the senate a bill had been proposed to the plebs by its tribunes.

While these events were occurring at Rome, Marcus Valerius, having approached the coast of Africa with fifty ships before daybreak, made an unexpected landing on the territory of Utica. And this he ravaged far and wide, captured many persons together with other booty of every description, returned to his ships and crossed over to Sicily, sailing back to Lilybaeum on the 13th day after he had left that port. Upon inquiry made from the captives the following facts were ascertained and written down fully and in order for the consul Laevinus, that he might know what the condition of affairs in Africa was: that five thousand Numidians were at Carthage under Masinissa,³ son of Gala

¹ As in XXVI. xl. 16.

² Muttines' service was the betrayal of Agrigentum; XXVI. xl. 7 ff.

³ Cf. XXIV. xlix. 1 ff.; XXV. xxxiv. 1 ff.

gine esse, et alios per totam Africam milites mercede
 12 conduci qui in Hispaniam ad Hasdrubalem tra-
 cerentur, ut is quam maximo exercitu primo quoque
 tempore in Italiam transgressus iungeret se Hannibali;
 13 in eo positam victoriam credere Carthaginenses;
 14 classem praeterea ingentem apparari ad Siciliam
 repetendam, eamque se credere brevi traiecturam.
 15 Haec recitata a consule ita movere senatum ut non
 exspectanda comitia consuli censerent,¹ sed dictatore
 comitiorum habendorum causa dicto² extemplo in
 16 provinciam redeundum. Illa disceptatio tenebat,
 quod consul in Sicilia se M. Valerium Messallam, qui
 tum classi praezesset, dictatorem dicturum esse aie-
 bat, patres extra Romanum agrum—eum autem
 Italia³ terminari—negabant dictatorem dici posse.
 17 M. Lucretius tribunus plebis cum de ea re consuleret,
 ita decrevit senatus, ut consul. priusquam ab urbe
 discederet, populum rogaret quem dictatorem dici
 placeret, eumque quem populus iussisset diceret
 dictatorem: si consul noluissest, praetor populum
 rogaret; si ne is quidem vellet, tum tribuni ad plebem
 ferrent. Cum consul se populum rogaturum negasset
 quod suae potestatis esset, praetoremque vetuisset
 rogare, tribuni plebem⁴ rogarunt, plebesque scivit

¹ censerent P(1)N Aldus: censeret SpJK Froben 2.

² dictatore . . . dicto SpJK Froben 2: -rem . . . dici et P(1)N Aldus.

³ Italia A⁴JK Madrig: in Italia P(1)N Aldus, Froben.

⁴ plebem K Conway: pl or plebis P(1)NJ Aldus, Froben.

¹ For a tribune presiding in the senate cf. XXII. lxi. 7.

² I.e. the *comitia centuriata*.

³ Probably meaning the *comitia tributa* here, as directly contrasted with the *centuriata*. Livy uses the term *plebis concilium* in § 18 just below, but in such technicalities he is

and a most impetuous young man; and that other soldiers were being hired everywhere in Africa, to be sent over to Hasdrubal in Spain, so that he should cross over into Italy with the largest possible army as soon as he could and join Hannibal; that upon this the Carthaginians believed that victory depended; furthermore that a very large fleet was being made ready, for the purpose of recovering Sicily; and he believed that fleet would soon make the passage. These statements as read by the consul so swayed the senators that they decided that he must not wait for the elections, but that after appointing a dictator to conduct the elections, the consul must at once return to his province. Debate continued on one point—namely, the consul kept promising to appoint in Sicily Marcus Valerius Messalla, then in command of the fleet, as dictator, while the fathers maintained that a dictator could not be appointed outside of Roman territory, and that this was confined to Italy. When Marcus Lucretius, tribune of the plebs, sought to know its pleasure¹ in the matter, the senate decreed that, before leaving the city, the consul should ask the people² whom they preferred to have named dictator, and should name as dictator the man ordered by the people; that if the consul should refuse, the praetor should ask the people; in case of his refusal also, the tribunes should bring the matter before the commons.³ When the consul refused to submit to the people a question that belonged to his own authority, and forbade the praetor to do so, the tribunes asked the commons

very often vague, e.g. in XXV. iii. 13-iv. 9. In 217 B.C., after Trasumennus, the *populus* had made Fabius Maximus dictator; XXII. viii. 6.

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544 ut Q. Fulvius, qui tum ad Capuam erat, dictator
18 diceretur. Sed quo die id plebis concilium futurum
erat, consul clam nocte in Siciliam abiit; destitutique
patres litteras ad M. Claudiū mittendas censuerunt
ut desertae ab conlega rei publicae subveniret dice-
19 retque quem populus iussisset dictatorem. Ita a M.
Claudio consule Q. Fulvius dictator dictus, et ex
eodem plebis scito ab Q. Fulvio dictatore P. Licinius
Crassus pontifex maximus magister equitum dictus.

VI. Dictator postquam Romam venit, C. Semproniu-
m Blaesum legatum, quem ad Capuam habuerat,
in Etruriam provinciam ad exercitum misit in locum
C. Calpurni praetoris, quem, ut Capuae exercituique
2 suo praeesset, litteris excivit. Ipse comitia in
quem diem primum potuit edixit: quae certamine
inter¹ tribunos dictatoremque iniecto perfici non
3 potuerunt. Galeria iuniorum, quae sorte praerogati-
viva erat, Q. Fulvium et Q. Fabium consules
dixerat, eodemque iure vocatae inclinassent, ni se²
4 tribuni plebis C. et L. Arrenii interposuissent, qui
neque magistratum continuari satis civile esse
aiebant, et multo foedioris exempli eum ipsum
5 creari qui comitia haberet; itaque si suum nomen

¹ inter A*JK Aldus, Froben: in P(1)N.

² ni se Drakenborch: nisi P(1)N.

¹ Marcellus, still in Apulia, did not come to Rome; ii. 12;
iv. 1.

² For the *sors praerogativa* and *centuria praerogativa* cf.
XXIV. vii. 12; ix. 3; XXVI. xxii. 13.

and the commons ordained that Quintus Fulvius,^{B.C. 210} who was then at Capua, should be named dictator. But on the day on which that plebeian assembly was to be held the consul left for Sicily secretly by night. And the fathers, being deserted, voted to send a letter to Marcus Claudius, that he should come to the aid of the state abandoned by his colleague, and should name as dictator whomsoever the people might command. Thus Quintus Fulvius was named dictator by Marcus Claudius,¹ the consul, and in accordance with the same decree of the commons Publius Licinius Crassus, pontifex maximus, was named master of the horse by Quintus Fulvius as dictator.

VI. On coming to Rome the dictator sent Gaius Sempronius Blaesus, his lieutenant, whom he had had at Capua, into Etruria as his province, to be with the army, taking the place of the praetor Gaius Calpurnius, whom he had summoned by letter to take command of Capua and his own army. As for himself, he proclaimed the elections for the earliest possible date. But owing to the conflict which arose between the tribunes and the dictator the election could not be completed. The Galeria century of the younger men, which obtained by lot the right to vote first,² had voted for Quintus Fulvius and Quintus Fabius as consuls: and the centuries called in the legal order would have inclined in the same direction, if the tribunes of the plebs, Gaius and Lucius Arrinius, had not intervened. They repeated that to prolong a magistracy was not consistent with the common interest, and also that it was a much more dangerous precedent for the man who was conducting the election to be himself elected. Accord-

dictator acciperet, se comitiis intercessuros; si aliorum praeterquam ipsius ratio haberetur, comitiis 6 se moram non facere. Dictator causam comitiorum auctoritate senatus, plebis scito, exemplis tutabatur: namque Cn. Servilio consule, cum C. Flaminius alter consul ad Trasumennum cecidisset, ex auctoritate patrum ad plebem latum, plebemque scivisse¹ ut, quoad bellum in Italia esset, ex iis qui 7 consules fuissent quos et quotiens vellet reficiendi 8 consules populo ius esset; exemplaque² in eam rem se habere, vetus L. Postumi Megelli, qui interrex iis comitiis quae ipse habuisset consul cum C. Iunio Bubuleo creatus esset; recens Q. Fabii, qui sibi continuari consulatum, nisi id bono publico fieret, 9 profecto numquam sisset.³ His orationibus cum diu certatum esset, postremo ita inter dictatorem ac tribunos convenit ut eo quod censisset senatus 10 staretur. Patribus id tempus rei publicae visum est ut per veteres et expertos bellique peritos imperatores res publica gereretur; itaque moram fieri 11 comitiis non placere. Concedentibus tribunis comitia habita; declarati consules Q. Fabius Maximus 12 quintum, Q. Fulvius Flaccus quartum. Praetores inde⁴ creati L. Veturius Philo, T. Quinctius Crispinus,

¹ scivisse *P(1)N Aldus, Froben*: iussisse *SpA⁸N⁸JK*.

² exemplaque *SpJK Froben* 2: exemplumque (*or -quae*) *P(1)N Aldus*.

³ sisset *P(3)*: sivisset *CAN¹ Aldus, Froben*.

⁴ inde *A⁸JKx*: in *P: om.* *P²(1)N Aldus, Froben*.

¹ This important act was overlooked by Livy in Book XXII. A plebiscite of 330 B.C., requiring an interval of ten years, was repeatedly disregarded in this period. Cf. VII. xlvi; X. xiii. 8.

² For the third time, 291 B.C.

³ 215 B.C.; XXIV. ix. 3 and 9 ff.

ingly, they said, if the dictator admitted his own name, they would veto the election; if other men than himself were considered, they would not delay the election. The dictator defended the procedure in the election by the authority of the senate, by the decree of the commons, by precedents. For, he said, in the consulship of Gnaeus Servilius, when Gaius Flaminius, the other consul, had fallen at Trasumennus, by authority of the fathers it was proposed to the commons, and the commons had ordained that, so long as the war remained in Italy, the people should have the right to re-elect as consuls the men they pleased and as often as they pleased from the number of those who had been consuls.¹ He added that he had precedents for so doing: an old instance, that of Lucius Postumius Megellus, who as *interrex* had been elected consul² with Gaius Iunius Bubuleus at an election which he had himself conducted; and a recent case, that of Quintus Fabius,³ who surely would never have permitted his consulship to be prolonged unless it were done for the public welfare. After a contest long continued by such speeches, final agreement between the dictator and the tribunes was reached: that they would stand by whatever the senate should decide. To the fathers it seemed a time for the state to have its affairs in the hands of generals mature and experienced and skilled in war; and so they said they did not favour any delaying of the election. Since the tribunes gave way, the election was held. Quintus Fabius Maximus was declared consul for the fifth time, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus for the fourth. Then as praetors the following were elected: Lucius Veturius Philo, Titus Quinetius Crispinus, Gaius Hostilius

- C. Hostilius Tubulus, C. Aurunculeius. Magistratus
bus in annum creatis Q. Fulvius dictatura se abdicavit.
- 13 Extremo aestatis huius classis Punica navium
quadraginta cum praefecto Hamilcare in Sardiniam
14 traiecta, Olbiensem primo, dein,¹ postquam ibi P.
Manlius Volso praetor cum exercitu apparuit,
circumacta inde ad alterum insulae latus, Caralitanum
agrum vastavit, et cum praeda omnis generis in
Africam redit.²
- 15 Sacerdotes Romani eo anno mortui aliquot suffecti-
que: C. Servilius pontifex factus in locum T. Otacilii
Crassi; Ti. Sempronius Ti. f. Longus augur factus
16 in locum T. Otacilii Crassi;³ decemvir item sacris
faciundis in locum Ti. Semproni C. f. Longi Ti.
Sempronius Ti. f. Longus suffectus. M. Marcius
rex sacerorum mortuus est et M. Aemilius Papus
maximus curio; neque in eorum locum sacerdotes eo
anno suffecti.
- 17 Et censores hic annus habuit L. Veturium Philo-
nem et P. Licinium Crassum, maximum pontificem.
Crassus Licinius nec consul nec praetor ante fuerat
quam censor est factus; ex aedilitate gradum ad
18 censuram fecit. Sed hi censores neque senatum
legerunt neque quicquam publicae rei egerunt:
mors diremit L. Veturi; inde et Licinius censura se

¹ dein *P(1)N Froben* 2: deinde *JK Aldus*.

² redit *P(1)N*: rediit *C¹?M²JK Aldus, Froben*.

³ factus . . . Crassi, bracketed by Madvig, while *JK Aldus, Froben* omit *Ti. Sempronius . . . Crassi, three lines in P, found also in (1)*.

¹ Cagliari, at the south end of the island, originally settled by Phoenicians, as had been Olbia on the northeast coast. Sardinia and Corsica had been taken by the Romans shortly after the First Punic War; XXI. i. 5; *Periocha* 20.

Tubulus, Gaius Aurunculeius. The magistrates having been elected for the year, Quintus Fulvius abdicated his dictatorship.

At the end of this summer a Carthaginian fleet of forty ships under command of the prefect Hamilcar crossed over to Sardinia and first laid waste the region of Olbia. Then after Publius Manlius Volso, the praetor, showed himself there with an army, the fleet coasted around from Olbia to the other side of the island, ravaged the territory of Carales¹ and returned with booty of every kind to Africa.

Of the Roman priests a number died that year and successors were appointed. Gaius Servilius was made pontifex in place of Titus Otacilius Crassus; Tiberius Sempronius Longus, son of Tiberius, was made augur in place of Titus Otacilius Crassus. In like manner Tiberius Sempronius Longus, son of Tiberius, was appointed decemvir for the performance of rites in place of Tiberius Sempronius Longus, son of Gaius. Marcus Marcius, *rex sacrorum*, and Marcus Aemilius Papus, the chief *curio*,² died; and no priests were appointed that year in their places.

And as censors this year had Lucius Veturius Philo and Publius Licinius Crassus, pontifex maximus. Crassus Licinius had been neither consul nor praetor before he became censor; he made but one step from aedileship to censorship. But these censors neither revised the senate list nor did any public business. The death of Veturius dissolved their censorship,³ consequently Licinius abdicated

² Each of the 30 *curiae* was headed by a *curio*, and at the head of the *curiones* was the *maximus curio*, whose duties were religious; cf. viii. 1-3; III. vii. 6.

³ The only office that was terminated by the death of a colleague. Cf. XXIV. xlivi. 4.

A.U.C. 19 abdicavit. Aediles curules L. Veturius et P. Licinius
544 Varus ludos Romanos diem unum instaurarunt. Aediles plebei¹ Q. Catius et L. Porcius Licinus ex multaticio argento signa aenea ad Cereris² dedere, et ludos pro temporis eius³ copia magnifice apparatus⁴ fecerunt.

VII. Exitu anni huius C. Laelius legatus Scipionis⁵ die quarto et tricensimo quam a Tarracone profectus erat Romam venit; isque cum agmine captivorum ingressus urbem magnum concursum hominum² fecit. Postero die in senatum introductus captam Carthaginem, caput Hispaniae, uno die, receptasque aliquot urbes quae defecissent novasque in societatem³ adscitas exposuit. Ex captivis comperta iis fere congruentia quae in litteris fuerant M. Valerii Messallae. Maxime movit patres Hasdrubalis transitus in Italiam, vix Hannibali atque eius armis⁴ obstantem.⁶ Productus et in⁷ contionem Laelius eadem edisseruit.⁸ Senatus ob res feliciter a

¹ plebei (or -eii) *PCR*: plebis *M¹BDANJK Aldus, Froben.*

² Cereris *A^yJ Aldus, Froben* (also *K*, inserting edem = aedem): cererem *N⁸*: ceteris *PCR*: ceteros *R²MBDAN*.

³ eius *SpA⁴JK Froben* 2: huius *P(1)N Aldus*.

⁴ magnifice apparatus *SpJKx Froben* 2: -fici -atus *P(1)N Aldus, Conrav.*

⁵ C. Laelius legatus Scipionis *om.* *P(1)N*, a line supplied from *A⁴N⁸JK*.

⁶ obstantem *A⁴z Froben* 2: subsistentem *P(1)JK Aldus*.

⁷ et in *P(1)N*: in *JK Aldus, Froben*.

⁸ edisseruit *P* (aed-): disseruit *P²(1)NJK Aldus, Froben*.

¹ He was consul in 206 B.C.; XXVIII. x. 8.

his office. The curule aediles, Lucius Veturius¹ B.C. 210 and Publius Licinius Varus, renewed the Roman Games for one day. The plebeian aediles, Quintus Catius and Lucius Porcius Lentinus, out of money paid in fines set up bronze statues at the Temple of Ceres,² and they celebrated the games with splendid appointments, considering the resources of the time.

VII. At the end of this year³ Gaius Laelius, Scipio's lieutenant, came to Rome on the thirty-fourth day after leaving Tarraco. And on entering the city with a train of captives⁴ he occasioned a great concourse of people. Introduced into the senate the next day, he set forth the capture of (New) Carthage, chief city of Spain, in a single day, and the recovery of a number of cities that had revolted, and the admission of new cities into alliance. From the captives they ascertained facts which in general agreed with statements previously made in the letter of Marcus Valerius Messalla.⁵ What especially stirred the fathers was Hasdrubal's proposed crossing into Italy, which was with difficulty notwithstanding Hannibal and his arms. On being brought before an assembly also, Laelius discoursed on the same subject. The senate decreed a thanksgiving for

² This was the temple of the Roman plebeians and headquarters of the plebeian aediles, who conducted these *ludi plebeii* in November. It was founded 493 B.C.

³ This late season may be drawn from a different authority, since the capture of New Carthage has been described as taking place in the spring, and 40 days would have been sufficient for the entire voyage. But see De Sanctis *l.c.* pp. 468 f.; cf. XXVI. li. 2.

⁴ About 15 senators of New Carthage, according to XXVI. *l.c.*, in addition to Mago, the commandant; cf. Polybius X. xviii. 1; xix. 8.

⁵ Cf. v. 8 and 10-13.

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- P. Scipione gestas supplicationem¹ in unum diem decrevit; C. Laelium primo quoque tempore cum quibus venerat navibus redire in Hispaniam iussit.—
 5 Carthaginis expugnationem in hunc annum contuli multis auctoribus, haud nescius quosdam esse qui
 6 anno insequenti captam tradiderint, quod² mihi minus simile veri visum est annum integrum Scipionem nihil gerundo in Hispania consumpsisse.
 7 Q. Fabio Maximo quintum, Q. Fulvio Flacco quartum consulibus, idibus Martiis, quo die magistratum inierunt, Italia ambobus provincia decreta, regionibus tamen partitum imperium: Fabius ad Tarentum, Fulvius in Lucanis ac Bruttiis rem gereret.
 8 M. Claudio prorogatum in annum imperium. Praetores sortiti provincias, C. Hostilius Tubulus urbanam, L. Veturius Philo peregrinam cum Gallia, T. Quintius Crispinus Capuam, C. Aurunculeius Sardiniam.
 9 Exercitus ita per provincias divisi: Fulvio duae legiones quas in Sicilia M. Valerius Laevinus haberet, Q. Fabio, quibus in Etruria C. Calpurnius praefuisset; urbanus³ exercitus ut in Etruriam succederet; C.
 10 Calpurnius eidem praeesset provinciae exercituique;

¹ supplicationem *Sp? A⁴N²* Froben 2: om. *P(1)N*: -nes *C⁴x Aldus.*

² quod *P(1)N Aldus*: sed *SpJK Froben* 2.

³ praefuisset; urbanus *A⁴N²JK*: om. *P(1)N*, one line.

¹ A single quinquereme was mentioned XXVI. li. 2 (see note there). Smaller vessels, not deserving of mention in comparison with the captured five-banker, probably escorted her.

² The chronology now accepted is based on Polybius, from whose Book X. it is shown that New Carthage was taken in 209 B.C. Cf. XXVI. xviii. 2, note; De Sanctis *ibid.* By Livy's reckoning 208 B.C. is the year in which Scipio did nothing, since the historian has anticipated the battle of Baecula also by one year.

one day on account of Publius Scipio's successes. It ^{B.C. 210} ordered Gaius Laelius to return as soon as possible to Spain on the ships¹ with which he had come.—The storming of (New) Carthage I have set in this year on the authority of many writers, though not unaware that there are some who have related its capture in the following year.² I have done so because it has seemed to me less probable that Scipio spent a whole year in Spain doing nothing.

Quintus Fabius Maximus being now consul for the ^{B.C. 209} fifth and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus for the fourth time, on the Ides of March, the day of their entry upon office, Italy was assigned to the two as their province; their military authority, however, was geographically divided. Fabius was to command around Tarentum, Fulvius in Lucania and the land of the Bruttii. For Marcus Claudius his command was prolonged for one year. The praetors received their assignments by lot, Gaius Hostilius Tubulus the city praetorship, Lucius Veturius Philo the jurisdiction over foreigners, together with Gaul; ³ Titus Quinctius Crispinus received Capua, Gaius Aurunculeius Sardinia. The armies were distributed among the assignments as follows: to Fulvius the two legions which Marcus Valerius Laevinus had in Sicily, to Quintus Fabius those which Gaius Calpurnius had commanded in Etruria; the army at the city was to take the place of that in Etruria; Gaius Calpurnius was to be in command of that province and its army;

³ *I.e.* his duties as a judge are to be taken over by the praetor urbanus, in order to leave the praetor peregrinus free to take the field as a commander; cf. xxii. 3; xxxvi. 11; XXV. iii. 2 and note.

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Capuam¹ exercitumque quem Q. Fulvius habuisset
 11 T. Quinetius obtineret. C. Hostilius ab C. Laetorio
 propraetore provinciam exercitumque qui tum
 Arimini erat acciperet. M. Marcello quibus consul
 12 rem gesserat legiones decretae. M. Valerio cum
 L. Cincio—iis quoque enim prorogatum in Sicilia
 imperium—Cannensis exercitus datus, eumque
 supplere ex militibus qui ex legionibus Cn. Fulvi
 13 superessent iussi. Conquisitos eos consules in Siciliam
 miserunt; additaque eadem militiae ignominia²
 sub qua Cannenses militabant quique ex praetoris
 Cn. Fulvi exercitu ob similis iram fugae missi eo ab
 14 senatu fuerant. C. Aurunculeio eaedem in Sardinia³
 legiones quibus P. Manlius Volso eam provinciam
 15 obtainuerat decretae. P. Sulpicio eadem legione
 eademque classe Macedoniam obtainere iusso proro-
 gatum in annum imperium. Triginta quinqueremes
 ex Sicilia Tarentum ad Q. Fabium consulem mitti
 16 iussae; cetera classe placere⁴ praedatum in Africam
 aut ipsum M. Valerium Laevinum traicere, aut
 mittere⁵ seu L. Cineum seu M. Valerium Messallam

¹ exercituique; Capuam *Sp. A⁴N⁸JK* Froben: om. *P(1)N*, one line.

² -dem militiae ignominia om. *P(1)N*, one line supplied from *Sp.*, as above.

³ in Sardinia; following these words there was a long gap in *S.*, as we know from *Rhenanus*, extending up to ix. 14 idem socios.

⁴ placere *A⁸N⁸JK* Aldus: om. *P(1)N*.

⁵ Laevinum traicere, aut mittere *A⁸N⁸JK* Aldus: mes-
 sallam misere *P(1)N(A?)*.

¹ An error for Lucius Veturius Philo, who was assigned to Cisalpine Gaul, while Hostilius as city-praetor must remain at Rome.

² Cf. i. 7-12.

Titus Quinctius was to be in charge of Capua and the army which Quintus Fulvius had had. Gaius Hostilius¹ was to take over from Gaius Laetorius, the propraetor, his province and the army which was then at Ariminum. To Marcus Marcellus were assigned the legions with which he had carried on operations as consul. To Marcus Valerius and Lucius Cincius—for their command in Sicily was also prolonged—was assigned the army from Cannae, and they were ordered to recruit it from the soldiers who survived from the legions of Gnaeus Fulvius.² These were sought out and sent by the consuls into Sicily. And there was added the same humiliation in the service as that under which the men from Cannae were serving, and those from the army of the praetor Gnaeus Fulvius,³ who had been sent thither by the senate out of anger on account of their similar flight. To Gaius Aurunculeius in Sardinia were assigned the same legions with which Publius Manlius Volso had held that province.⁴ Publius Sulpicius was ordered to hold Macedonia with the same legion⁵ and the same fleet, and his command was prolonged for one year. Thirty five-bankers were ordered to be sent from Sicily to Quintus Fabius, the consul, at Tarentum. With the rest of his fleet it was the will of the senate, he was informed, that Marcus Valerius Laevinus should either cross over into Africa himself to plunder the country, or should send at his discretion Lucius Cincius or Marcus Valerius

³ For the defeat of this Fulvius (doubted by recent historians) cf. note on i. 15.

⁴ Cf. XXVI. xxviii. 11.

⁵ In spite of XXVI. xxviii. 9 he seems to retain one legion, not mentioned, however, below at xxii. 10.

A.U.C. 545 17 vellet.¹ Nec de Hispania quicquam mutatum, nisi quod non in annum Scipioni Silanoque, sed donec revocati ab senatu forent, prorogatum imperium est. Ita provinciae exercituumque in eum annum partita imperia.

VIII. Inter maiorum rerum curas comitia maximi curionis, cum in locum M. Aemili sacerdos crearetur, 2 vetus excitaverunt certamen, patriciis negantibus C. Mamili Atelli, qui unus ex plebe petebat, habendam rationem esse, quia nemo ante eum nisi ex patribus 3 id sacerdotium habuisse. Tribuni appellati ad senatum rem² reiecerunt; senatus populi potestatem fecit: ita primus ex plebe creatus maximus curio 4 C. Mamilius Atellus. Et flaminem Dialem invitum inaugurari coegit P. Licinius pontifex maximus C. Valerium Flaceum; decemvirum sacris faciundis creatus in locum Q. Muci Scaevolae demortui C. 5 Laetorius. Causam inaugurarri coacti flaminis libens reticuisse. ni ex mala fama in bonam vertisset. Ob adulescentiam neglegentem luxuriosamque C. Flaccus flamen captus a P. Licinio pontifice maximo erat. L. Flaceo fratri germano cognatisque aliis ob 6 eadem vitia invisus. Is ut animum eius cura sacerorum et caerimoniarum cepit, ita repente exuit antiquos mores ut nemo tota iuventute haberetur prior nec

¹ vellet *A⁴N⁸JK Aldus*: om. *P(1)N*.

² rem *Gronovius*: om. *P(1)NJK*.

¹ On this Livy's authorities must have differed, for a year later we read that their commands were prolonged for one year; xxii. 7.

² Cf. vi. 16 and note.

Messalla. And in regard to Spain no change was made, except that the commands of Scipio and Silanus were prolonged, not for one year, but until they should be recalled by the senate.¹ Thus were the assignments and army commands apportioned for that year.

VIII. In the midst of their attention to more important matters the election of a *maximus curio*,² when they were choosing a priest to succeed Marcus Aemilius, stirred up an old contest. The patricians declared that no regard should be paid to Mamilius Atellus, the one plebeian who was a candidate, since no one not a patrician had previously held that priesthood. The tribunes were appealed to, and referred the case back to the senate; the senate gave the people power to decide. Thus as the first plebeian Gaius Mamilius Atellus was elected *maximus curio*. Installation as flamen of Jupiter Gaius Valerius Flaccus, though unwilling, was compelled by Publius Licinius, the pontifex maximus, to accept. Gaius Laetorius was named one of the decenviri for the performance of rites in place of Quintus Mucius Scaevola deceased. The reason for installing a flamen perforce I should gladly have passed over in silence, had not his reputation changed from bad to good. Because of his irresponsible and dissipated youth Gaius Flaccus, who was odious to his own brother, Lucius Flaccus, and other relatives on account of the same vices, had been seized upon as flamen by Publius Licinius, pontifex maximus. As soon as the charge of rites and ceremonies took possession of his mind, Gaius so suddenly put off his old character that no one among all the young men stood higher in the estimation and approval of the leading sena-

probator primoribus patrum, suis pariter alienisque,
 7 esset. Huius famae consensu elatus ad iustum
 fiduciam sui rem intermissam per multos annos ob
 indignitatem flaminum priorum repetivit, ut in
 8 senatum introiret. Ingressum eum curiam cum
 P.¹ Licinius praetor inde eduxisset, tribunos plebis
 appellavit. Flamen vetustum ius sacerdotii repe-
 bat: datum id cum toga praetexta et sella curuli ei ²
 9 flamonio esse. Praetor non exoletis vetustate
 annalium exemplis stare ius, sed recentissimae
 cuiusque consuetudinis usu volebat: nec patrum
 nec avorum memoria Dialem quemquam id ius
 10 usurpasse. Tribuni rem inertia flaminum oblitera-
 tam ipsis, non sacerdotio damno fuisse cum aequom
 censuisserunt, ne ipso quidem contra tendente praetore,
 magno adsensu patrum pleisque flaminem in
 senatum introduxerunt, omnibus ita existimantibus,
 magis sanctitate vitae quam sacerdotii iure eam rem
 flaminem obtinuisse.

11 Consules priusquam in provincias irent, duas urba-
 nas legiones in supplementum quantum opus erat
 12 ceteris exercitibus militum scripserunt. Urbanum
 veterem exercitum Fulvius consul C. Fulvio Flacco
 legato—frater hic consulis erat—in Etruriam dedit
 ducendum et legiones quae in Etruria erant Romam
 13 deducendas. Et Fabius consul reliquias exercitus

¹ P. Glareanus. Sigonius: L. P(1)N Aldus.

² ei Madrig: et P(1)N: est J.

¹ As now a member of the senate.

tors, both of his own family and of strangers alike. ^{B.C. 209} By the unanimity of this good report he was raised to a well-founded self-confidence, and claimed what had been in abeyance for many years owing to the unworthiness of former flamens, namely, that he should be admitted to the senate. When he had entered the Senate House, and the praetor, Publius Licinius, had escorted him out of it, he appealed to the tribunes of the plebs. The flamen insistently claimed an ancient right of his priesthood, saying it had been granted to that office of flamen along with the *toga praetexta* and the *sella curulis*. The praetor maintained that a right was based, not upon outmoded instances from the annals, but in each case upon very recent practice; and that within the memory neither of their fathers nor grandfathers had any flamen of Jupiter exercised that right. The tribunes expressed the opinion that obsolescence due to the indolence of flamens was justly accounted their own loss, not a loss to the priestly office. Whereupon, without opposition even from the praetor himself, and with the general approval of the senators and of the commons, the tribunes led the flamen into the senate,¹ for it was the opinion of everyone that the flamen had carried his point rather by the uprightness of his life than by virtue of priestly privilege.

The consuls, before leaving for their provinces, enrolled two city legions to supplement the other armies so far as was necessary. The duty of leading the former city army into Etruria the consul Fulvius assigned to Gaius Fulvius Flaccus, his lieutenant—this was the consul's brother—also that of bringing the legions that were in Etruria away to Rome. And Fabius, the consul, ordered his son Quintus

Fulviani conquisitas—fuere autem ad quattuor milia ¹
 trecenti quadraginta quattuor—Q. Maximum filium
 ducere in Siciliam ad M. Valerium proconsulem
 iussit, atque ab eo duas legiones et triginta quin-
 14 queremes accipere. Nihil eae deductae ² ex insula
 legiones minuerunt nec viribus nec specie eius pro-
 15 viciae praesidium; nam cum praeter egregie
 suppletas duas veteres legiones transfugarum etiam
 Numidarum equitum peditumque magnam vim
 haberet, Siculos quoque qui in exercitu Epicydis aut
 Poenorum fuerant, belli peritos viros, milites scripsit.
 16 Ea externa auxilia cum singulis Romanis legionibus
 adiunxisset, duorum speciem exercituum servavit:
 altero L. Cincium partem insulae regnum qua ³
 17 Hieronis fuerat tueri iussit; altero ipse ceteram
 insulam tuebatur, divisam quondam Romani Punicique
 imperii finibus, classe quoque navium ⁴ septuaginta
 partita, ut omni ambitu litorum praesidio ⁵ orae
 18 maritumae essent. Ipse cum Muttinis equitatu
 provinciam peragrabat, ut viseret agros cultaque
 ab incultis notaret et perinde dominos laudaret
 19 castigaretque. Ita tantum ea eura frumenti pro-
 venit ut et Romam mitteret et Catinam conveheret

¹ quattuor milia (∞ ∞ ∞ ∞) PC : om. by rest of (1) : tria
 milia x Aldus.

² deductae A^s : eductae P(3)JK Aldus : educte A^tN.

³ regnum qua P(1)N : qua regnum A^tJ.

⁴ navium C⁴x Aldus : om. P(1)NJK.

⁵ praesidio C²JK Aldus : -dia P(1)N.

Maximus to search out the remains of the Fulvian army¹—and they amounted to four thousand three hundred and forty-four—and to conduct them to Sicily to Marcus Valerius, the proconsul; also to receive from him two legions and thirty five-bankers.² The withdrawal of those legions from the island did not reduce the garrison of that province at all either in actual strength or in appearance. For Valerius, in addition to the two old legions remarkably well recruited, had a large number of Numidian deserters also, cavalry and infantry; and he enrolled Sicilians likewise who had been in the army of Epicydes³ or of the Carthaginians, being men trained in warfare. Having attached these foreign auxiliary forces to each of the Roman legions, he preserved the appearance of two armies. With the one he ordered Lucius Cincius to defend that part of the island where had been the kingdom of Hiero: with the other he himself defended the rest of the island, formerly divided by the boundaries between the Roman and the Punic empires.⁴ The fleet also of seventy ships was divided, so that they might protect the seacoast around its entire circuit. Valerius himself with Muttines' cavalry roamed about his province, in order to visit the farms and to distinguish between cultivated and uncultivated lands, and to praise or upbraid the owners accordingly. So, owing to this diligence, such a crop of grain was produced that he sent grain to Rome and also transported it to Catina.

³ A prominent figure in XXIV. and XXV. He fled to Africa in 210 B.C.; XXVI. xl. 11.

⁴ A statement for which no explanation has been found, since we do not know of a time when that part of Sicily west of the Syracusan kingdom was divided between Romans and Carthaginians. Did Livy write *Romani* for *Graeci*?

unde exercitui qui ad Tarentum aestiva acturus
esset posset praeberi.

IX. Ceterum transportati milites in Siciliam—et erant¹ maior pars Latini nominis sociorumque—prope magni motus causa fuere; adeo ex parvis saepe magna² narum momenta rerum pendent. Fremitus enim inter Latinos sociosque in conciliis ortus, decimum annum dilectibus, stipendiis se² exhaustos esse; 3 quotannis ferme clade magna pugnare; alios in acie occidi, alios morbo absumi; magis perire sibi civem qui ab Romano miles lectus sit quam qui ab Poeno captus: quippe ab hoste gratis remitti in patriam, ab Romanis extra Italiam in exsilium verius 4 quam in militiam ablegari. Octavum iam ibi annum senescere Cannensem militem, moriturum ante quam Italia hostis, quippe nunc cum maxime 5 florens viribus, excedat. Si veteres milites non redeant in patriam, novi legantur, brevi neminem superfuturum. Itaque, quod propediem res ipsa negatura sit, priusquam ad ultimam solitudinem atque egestatem perveniant,³ negandum populo 6 Romano esse. Si consentientes in hoc socios videant Romani, profecto de pace cum Carthaginiensibus iungenda cogitatueros; aliter numquam vivo Hannibale sine bello Italiam fore. Haec acta in conciliis.

¹ erant *PCR*: erat *the rest*.

² se *Ruperti*: s *P*: om. *P²(1)JK Aldus*.

³ perveniant *PCJK Aldus*, *Froben*: -iat *RBDA*: -iatur *N.*

whence it could be supplied to the army which was to have its summer camp near Tarentum.

IX. But the transfer of soldiers to Sicily—and the most of them were of Latin status or allies—was the cause of an outbreak which might have been serious; so true is it that on small things often depends the course of great events. For complaints began to be heard among Latins and allies in their gatherings: ¹ that for now the tenth year they had been exhausted by levies of troops and their pay; that almost every year they fought in a disastrous defeat. Some, they said, were slain in battle, others carried off by disease. The townsman who was enlisted by the Roman was lost to them more completely than a man taken captive by the Carthaginian. For with no demand for a ransom the enemy sent him back to his native town; the Romans transported him out of Italy, really into exile rather than into military service. For the eighth year now the soldiers from Cannae were growing old there, certain to die before the enemy, who at the very moment was in the flower of his strength, departed out of Italy. If the old soldiers should not return to their native places, and fresh soldiers continued to be levied, soon no one would be left. Accordingly what the situation itself would soon refuse, before they should reach the extreme of desolation and poverty, must be refused the Roman people. If the Romans should see the allies unanimous to this effect, surely they would think of making peace with the Carthaginians. Otherwise never, so long as Hannibal lived, would Italy be rid of war. Such were the matters debated in their meetings.

¹ *I.e.* local meetings.

7 Triginta tum coloniae populi Romani erant; ex iis duodecim, cum omnium legationes Romae essent, negaverunt consulibus esse unde milites pecuniamque darent. Eae fuere Ardea. Nepete, Sutrium, Alba, Carsioli. Sora,¹ Suessa, Circeii, Setia, Cales, 8 Narnia, Interamna. Nova re eonsules icti cum absterrere eos a tam detestabili consilio vellent, castigando increpandoque plus quam leniter agendo 9 profeeturos rati, eos ausos esse consulibus dicere aiebant quod consules ut in senatu pronuntiarent in animum inducere non possent; non enim detrectationem eam munerum militiae, sed apertam defectionem a populo Romano esse. Redirent itaque propere in colonias et tamquam integra re, locuti magis quam ausi tantum nefas, cum suis consulerent. Admonerent non Campanos neque Tarentinos esse 11 eos sed Romanos, inde oriundos, inde in colonias atque in agrum bello captum stirpis² augendae causa missos. Quae liberi parentibus deberent, ea illos Romanis debere, si ulla pietas, si memoria 12 antiquae patriae esset. Consulerent igitur de integro; nam tum quidem quae temere agitassent, ea prodendi imperii Romani, tradendae Hannibali 13 victoriae esse. Cum alternis haec eonsules diu iactassent, nihil moti legati neque se quod³ domum

¹ Sora *M⁵* Froben 1: co *P(3)N*: om. *CA⁴JK Aldus*; cf. XXIX. xv. 5, where *P(1)N* omit this name.

² stirpis *A⁴JK Aldus*: urbis *P(1)N*.

³ quod *P(3)C³A⁴NJK Aldus*: quis Conway.

¹ Latin colonies sent out by Rome. Their inhabitants did not have the full Roman citizenship but only the Latin. There were at this time but ten colonies of *Roman* citizens, e.g. Ostia, Minturnae, Sena Gallica and other seaports.

There were at that time thirty colonies of the Roman state.¹ Of these, while delegations from them all were at Rome, twelve informed the consuls that they had no means of furnishing soldiers and money. These were Ardea, Nepete, Sutrium, Alba, Carsioli, Sora, Suessa, Circeii, Setia, Cales, Narnia, Interamna.² The consuls, deeply impressed by what was unheard-of, wishing to deter them from so abominable a move, and thinking they should accomplish more by upbraiding and rebuking them than by soft words, told them that they had dared to say to the consuls what the consuls could not bring themselves to utter in the senate. For it was not a refusal of burdens and of military service, but an open revolt from the Roman people. Accordingly they should return to their colonies promptly, and, as though nothing had been settled, since they had spoken of so great a crime, but had not yet ventured to commit it, they should deliberate with their people. Let them remind them that they were not Capuans nor Tarentines, but Romans, sprung from Rome and sent thence into colonies and on land captured in war, to increase their race. All that children owed to their parents they owed, it was said, to the Romans, if there was any filial affection, any memory of their former city. Let them therefore deliberate again; for their present reckless proposal tended to betray the Roman empire, to give over the victory to Hannibal. The consuls by turns kept on for a long time in this strain; but the deputies, still unmoved, said

² In a somewhat different order these twelve reappear in XXIX. xv. 5, where Sora is better attested than in our passage. They were established at various dates between 442 and 298 B.C.

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renuntiarent habere dixerunt neque senatum suum quod¹ novi consuleret, ubi nec miles qui legeretur, nec pecunia quae daretur in stipendium esset.

14 Cum obstinatos eos viderent consules, rem ad senatum detulerunt, ubi tantus pavor animis hominum est iniectus ut magna pars actum de imperio diceret:² idem alias colonias facturas,³ idem socios; consensisse omnes ad prodendam Hannibali urbem Romanam.

X. Consules hortari et consolari senatum et dicere alias colonias in fide atque officio pristino fore; eas quoque ipsas quae officio decesserint,⁴ si legati circa eas colonias mittantur qui castigent, non qui precentur, verecundiam imperii habituras esse.

2 Permissum ab senatu iis cum esset, agerent facerentque⁵ ut e re publica ducerent, pertemptatis⁶ prius aliarum coloniarum animis citaverunt legatos quae siveruntque ab iis ecquid milites ex formula paratos

3 haberent. Pro duodeviginti coloniis M. Sextilius Fregellanus respondit et milites paratos ex formula⁷

4 esse, et, si pluribus opus esset, pluris datus, et quidquid aliud imperaret velletque populus Romanus enixe faeturos: ad id sibi neque opes deesse et⁸ animum

¹ quod *Madrig*, *Emend.*: quid *P(1)NJK Aldus, Froben, Madrig*, 1872.

² diceret *P(1)N Aldus*: -rent *JK*.

³ facturas, *here ended the long lacuna in the Spirensis*; cf. p. 232, n. 3.

⁴ decesserint *SpJK Froben* 2: -sissent *P(1)N Aldus*.

⁵ facerentque, *P(1)N om. facerent*.

⁶ pertemptatis *SpN⁸JK Froben* 2: temptatis *P(1)N Aldus*.

⁷ paratos ex formula *A⁸N⁸ also (om. ex) P(1)N*: ex formula paratos *JK Aldus, Froben*.

⁸ deesse et *Alschesfski*: -asset or -essent *P(3)*: -esse *CM²A⁸N⁸JK Aldus, Froben*.

that they had nothing to report back home, nor did ^{b.c. 209} their senates have anything new to decide upon, in towns where there were neither soldiers to be enlisted nor money to be furnished for pay. The consuls, finding them unyielding, brought the matter before the senate; and there such terror was inspired in the minds of the members that a great many of them said the empire was at an end; that the same thing would be done by the other colonies, the same by the allies; that they all had conspired to betray the city of Rome to Hannibal.

X. The consuls exhorted and comforted the senate, and said that the rest of the colonies would be loyal and dutiful as formerly; that even the colonies which had abandoned their duty would have respect for the empire, if legates should be sent about among them to upbraid, not to entreat. Permission having been given the consuls by the senate to act and do as they thought to be for the interest of the state, after first sounding the temper of the other colonies, they summoned their legates, and asked them whether they had any soldiers in readiness according to the compact.¹ On behalf of the eighteen colonies Marcus Sextilius, of Fregellae, replied that they had soldiers in readiness according to the compact, and would give more if more were needed, and would exert themselves to do whatever else the Roman people might command and desire. To that end, he said, they did not lack means and had even a surplus of

¹ To each of the allies and to every colony a *formula* was given, *i.e.* a formal agreement or covenant in which mutual obligations were stated, including what military assistance was to be furnished; cf. XXII. lvii. 10; XXIX. xv. 12.

5 etiam superesse. Consules parum sibi videri praefati pro merito eorum sua voce conlaudari eos,¹ nisi universi patres iis in curia gratias egissent, sequi in 6 senatum eos² iusserunt. Senatus quam poterat honoratissimo decreto adlocutus eos³ mandat consulibus ut ad populum quoque eos producerent, et inter multa alia praeclara quae ipsis maioribusque suis praestitissent recens etiam meritum eorum in rem 7 publicam commemorarent. Ne nunc quidem post tot saecula sileantur fraudulenturve laude sua: Signini fuere et Norbani Saticulanique et Fregellani, et Lucerini et Venusini, et Brundisini et Hadriani et 8 Firmani et Ariminenses, et ab altero mari Pontiani et Paestani et Cosani, et mediterranei Beneventani et Aesernini et Spoletini, et Placentini et Cremo- 9 nenses. Harum coloniarum subsidio tum imperium populi Romani stetit, iisque gratiae in senatu et 10 apud populum actae. Duodecim aliarum coloniarum quae detractaverunt imperium mentionem fieri patres vetuerunt. neque illos dimitti neque retineri neque appellari a consulibus; ea tacita castigatio maxime ex dignitate populi Romani visa est.

11 Cetera expedientibus quae ad bellum opus erant consulibus, aurum vicensimarium, quod in sanctiore

¹ eos, bracketed by Conway.

² eos P(1)N Aldus, Eds.: om. Sp?JK Froben 2.

³ eos P(1)N Aldus, Froben: om. N*JK.

¹ On the coast of Etruria, but a Roman, not an Etruscan town, which still preserves its imposing polygonal walls.

² The names show a studied arrangement in pairs or larger groups: Latium and Samnium near the coast, a group of four; Apulia: Adriatic coast; coast and islands of the Tuscan Sea; Samnium and Umbria: Cisalpine Gaul.

spirit. The consuls began by saying that to do the men justice it did not seem enough that they should receive praise from the lips of the consuls only, without having the entire senate first return thanks to them in the Senate House; and then they bade them to follow into the senate. After addressing them in a decree as complimentary as possible, the senate instructed the consuls to bring them before the people also, and along with the many other conspicuous services they had rendered to the senators themselves and their ancestors, to recount their recent service also to the state. Even now, after so many generations, they shall not be passed over in silence or defrauded of their praise. It was the men of Signia and Norba and Saticula and Fregellae, and of Luceria and Venusia, and of Brundisium and Hadria and Firmum and Ariminum, and on the other sea, the men of Pontiae and Paestum and Cosa,¹ and in the interior, the men of Beneventum and Aesernia and Spoletium, and of Placentia and Cremona.² With the aid of these colonies at that time the empire of the Roman people stood fast, and thanks were rendered to them in the senate and before the people. Of the other twelve colonies, which refused to obey orders, the senators forbade any mention to be made; their legates should neither be dismissed nor detained nor spoken to by the consuls. That silent rebuke seemed most in keeping with the majesty of the Roman people.

While the consuls were endeavouring to provide everything else needed for the war, it was voted that the gold yielded by the five per cent tax on manumissions, and kept in the more sacred treasury to

aerario ad ultimos casus servabatur,¹ promi placuit.

12 Prompta ad quattuor milia pondo auri. Inde quingenia pondo data consulibus et M. Marcello et P. Sulpicio proconsulibus et L. Veturio praetori qui

13 Galliam provinciam erat sortitus, additumque Fabio consuli centum pondo auri praecipuum quod in arcem Tarentinam portaretur; cetero auro² usi sunt ad vestimenta praesenti pecunia locanda exercitui qui in Hispania bellum secunda sua fama ducisque gerebat.

XI. Prodigia quoque, priusquam ab urbe consules proficerentur, procurari placuit. In Albano monte tacta de caelo erant signum Iovis arborque templo propinqua, et Ostiae³ lacus,⁴ et Capuae murus Fortunaeque aedis, et Sinuessae murus portaque.

3 Haec de caelo tacta: cruentam etiam fluxisse aquam Albanam quidam auctores erant, et Romae intus in cella aedis⁵ Fortis Fortunae de capite signum, quod in corona erat, in manum sponte sua prolapsum: ei

4 Priverni satis constabat bovem locutum, volturiumque frequenti foro in tabernam devolasse, et Sinuessae

¹ servabatur *P(1)N Aldus*: -aretur *SpN*JK Froben* 2.

² auro *A*N*JK*: *om. P(1)N Aldus, Froben, Madvig.*

³ Ostiae (hostiae) *C¹ Aldus*: ostium (or hostium) *P(1)NJK*.

⁴ lacus *P(1)N Aldus, Froben*: locus *A*?N*JK*: lucus *Crévier.*

⁵ aedis *P(1)N Aldus, Froben*: *om. A*JK Luchs.*

¹ In the *aerarium sanctius* was kept a reserve of gold bars (at this period), stored separately from other funds and to be drawn upon only in some great emergency. This is the first instance of its use. The five per cent tax imposed upon the master who manumitted slaves was the chief source of supply.

² The quaestors would have the duty of letting the contracts, in this case for cash, with no resort to credit and a moratorium, as in XXIII. xlvi. 11.

meet extreme emergencies, should be brought out.¹ B.C. 209 About four thousand pounds of gold were brought out. Of this five hundred pounds each were given to the consuls and to Marcus Marcellus and Publius Sulpicius, the proconsuls, and to Lucius Veturius, the praetor who had by lot received Gaul as his province. And for Fabius, the consul, there were added a hundred pounds of gold above the rest, to be conveyed to the citadel of Tarentum. The remainder of the gold they employed in letting contracts² in terms of ready money for clothing for the army which was carrying on the war in Spain, with distinction to itself and to its commander.

XI. It was further voted that for prodigies the atonement be made before the consuls should set out from the city. On the Alban Mount a statue of Jupiter and a tree near the temple had been struck by lightning; and at Ostia a basin,³ and at Capua the city wall and the temple of Fortune, and at Sinuessa the wall and a gate. These were struck by lightning. Also some persons testified that the current of the outlet⁴ of the Alban Lake was blood-red, and that at Rome inside the cella of the Temple of Fors Fortuna⁵ a small image on a garland fell of itself from the head of the statue into the hand. And at Privernum it was established that an ox spoke, and that in the crowded market-place a vulture flew down upon a shop, and that at Sinuessa

³ Probably of a public fountain, such as may be seen at street corners in Pompeii; cf. XXXIX. xliv. 5.

⁴ The famous *emissarium*, made in accordance with a response of the Delphic oracle in 396 B.C.; V. xvi. 9.

⁵ Outside the city and by the Tiber, probably that at the first milestone of the road later known as Via Portuensis.

natum ambiguo inter marem ac feminam sexu infantem, quos androgynos volgus, ut pleraque,
 5 faciliore ad duplicanda verba Graeco sermone, appellat, et lacte pluisse, et cum elephanti capite
 6 puerum natum. Ea prodigia hostiis maioribus procurata, et supplicatio circa omnia pulvinaria, obsecratio¹ in unum diem indicta; et decretum ut C. Hostilius praetor ludos Apollini, sicut iis annis voti factique erant, voveret faceretque.

7 Per eos dies et censoribus creandis Q. Fulvius consul comitia habuit. Creati censores, ambo qui nondum consules fuerant, M. Cornelius Cethegus,
 8 P. Sempronius Tuditanus. Ii² censores ut agrum Campanum fruendum locarent ex auctoritate patrum latum ad plebem est plebesque scivit.

9 Senatus lectionem contentio inter censores de
 10 principe legendendo tenuit. Semproni lectio erat; ceterum Cornelius morem traditum a patribus sequendum aiebat, ut qui primus censor ex iis qui viverent fuisset, eum principem legerent; is T.
 11 Manlius Torquatus erat; Sempronius, cui di sortem legendi dedissent, ei³ ius liberum eosdem dedisse deos; se id suo arbitrio facturum lecturumque Q. Fabium Maximum, quem tum principem Romanae civitatis esse vel Hannibale iudice victurus esset.

¹ obsecratio *P(1)N Aldus, Froben*: et obsecratio *C¹N¹JK*.

² Ii *Drakenborch*: duo *Sp²A⁸N⁸JK Froben* 2: in *P*: om. *P²(1)N Aldus, Madrig.*

³ ei *Sp²N⁸K Froben* 2: et *P(1)N Aldus*: eis *J.*

¹ Cf. iv. 15 and note.

² Cf. XXV. xii. 11 ff.; XXVI. xxiii. 3; and below, xxiii. 5 f.

³ For the censors chosen in the previous year and the reason for this election cf. vi. 17 f.

a child was born of uncertain sex, as between male ^{B.C. 209} and female—the populace call them hermaphrodites, as it uses many similar terms, since the Greek language is more apt in compounding words—; also that it rained milk there, and that a child was born with the head of an elephant. These prodigies were atoned for with full-grown victims, and prayers were ordered at all the *pulvinaria*,¹ and entreaties for one day. And it was decreed that Gaius Hostilius, the praetor, should vow and conduct games in honour of Apollo, as they had been vowed and conducted in those years.²

About that time Quintus Fulvius, the consul, also held an election for the naming of censors.³ Marcus Cornelius Cethegus and Publius Sempronius Tuditanus, both of whom had not yet been consuls, were named censors. That these censors should lease lands in the Campanian region was proposed to the commons on the authority of the senate, and the commons so ordered.

The revision of the list of the senate was delayed by a dispute between the censors in regard to the choice of a *princeps senatus*. The choice belonged to Sempronius; but Cornelius said that they must follow the traditional custom of the senate, namely, to choose as *princeps* the man who, among the living, had been censor first. That was Titus Manlius Torquatus. Sempronius claimed that if the gods had given a man the choice by lot, they also gave him an unrestricted right; he would make the choice according to his own judgment, and would choose Quintus Fabius Maximus, whom he could prove, even with Hannibal as judge, to be at that time the first citizen of the Roman state. After the war of words had

- A.U.C. 545 12 Cum diu certatum verbis esset, concedente conlega lectus a Sempronio princeps in senatum¹ Q. Fabius Maximus consul. Inde alias lectus senatus octo praeteritis, inter quos M. Caecilius Metellus erat, infamis auctor deserendae Italiae post Cannensem 13 cladem. In equestribus quoque notis eadem servata causa, sed erant perpauci quos ea infamia attingeret.
- 14 Illis omnibus—et multi erant—adempti equi qui Cannensium legionum equites in Sicilia erant. Addiderunt acerbitate etiam tempus, ne praeterita stipendia procederent iis quae² equo publico meruerant, sed dena stipendia equis privatis facerent.
- 15 Magnum praeterea numerum eorum conquisiverunt qui equo merere deberent; atque ex iis qui principio eius belli septemdecim annos nati fuerant neque 16 militaverant omnes aerarios fecerunt. Locaverunt inde refienda quae circa forum incendio consumpta erant septem tabernas, macellum, atrium regium.

XII. Transactis omnibus quae Romae agenda 2 erant consules ad bellum profecti. Prior Fulvius praegressus Capuam; post paucos dies consecutus Fabius, qui et conlegam coram obtestatus et per litteras Marcellum ut quam acerrimo bello detinerent³ 3 Hannibalem, dum ipse Tarentum oppugnaret—ea urbe adempta hosti iam undique pulso, nec ubi

¹ senatum *Riemann (from an inscr. in honour of Fabius, C.I.L. I. i. p. 288)*: senatu P(1)NJK Eds.

² quae P(3): q; BDN: qui A^sN^sJK Aldus, Froben.

³ detinerent JK: -eret P(1)N Aldus, Froben.

¹ XXII. liii. 5; XXIV. xlivi. 2 f. and note.

² Cf. XXIV. xviii. 6 and note.

³ See XXVI. xxvii. 2 f. and notes. Of the shops there mentioned as destroyed the so-called *novae* (north side of the Forum) were apparently not rebuilt until 194 B.C.; XXXV. xxiii f.

lasted long, his colleague was giving way, and Sempronius chose Quintus Fabius Maximus, the consul, as *princeps senatus*. Then the rest of the list of the senate was made up, with eight men ignored, among whom was Marcus Caecilius Metellus, notorious as having advised the desertion of Italy after the disaster at Cannae.¹ In attaching their *nota* to knights also the same principle was maintained, but very few were the men to whom that notoriety applied. From all of those who, as horsemen belonging to the legions from Cannae, were in Sicily—and there were many of them—their horses were taken away. To this severity the censors added also prolonged service—that the years previously served with horses furnished by the state should not be reckoned, but that they must serve ten years, furnishing their own mounts. Furthermore they sought out a great number of the men who were bound to serve in the cavalry, and reduced to the grade of *aerarii*² all those who at the beginning of the war had been seventeen years old and had not served. They then contracted for the rebuilding of what had been destroyed by fire around the Forum, namely, seven shops, the market, the Atrium Regium.³

XII. Having completed everything that was to be done at Rome, the consuls set out for the war. Fulvius went first and led the way to Capua. After a few days he was overtaken by Fabius, who in person implored his colleague and by letter Marcellus also to keep Hannibal occupied by the most spirited fighting while he himself was laying siege to Tarentum. With that city taken from him, he said, the enemy, beaten back on every side, and having no

consisteret nec quod¹ fidum respiceret habenti, ne
 4 remorandi² quidem causam in Italia fore—, Regium
 etiam nuntium mittit ad praefectum praesidii quod
 ab Laevino consule adversus Bruttios ibi locatum
 5 erat, octo milia hominum, pars maxima ab Agathyrna,
 sicut ante dictum est, ex Sicilia traducta, rapto
 vivere hominum adsuetorum; additi erant Bruttiorum
 indidem perfugae, et audacia et audendi omnia
 6 necessitatibus pares. Hanc manum ad Bruttiū
 primum agrum depopulandum duci iussit, inde ad
 Cauloniam urbem oppugnandam. Imperata non
 in pigre solum sed etiam avide exsecuti direptis
 fugatisque cultoribus agri summa vi urbem oppugna-
 bant.

7 Marcellus et consulis litteris excitus et quia ita³
 induxerat in animum neminem ducem Romanum
 tam parem Hannibali quam se esse, ubi primum in
 agris pabuli copia fuit, ex hibernis profectus ad
 8 Canusium Hannibali occurrit. Sollicitabat ad de-
 fectionem Canusinos Poenus; ceterum ut adpro-
 pinquare Marcellum audivit, castra inde movit.
 Aperta erat regio sine ullis ad insidias latebris;
 9 itaque in loca saltuosa cedere inde coepit. Marcellus
 vestigiis instabat castraque castris conferebat, et
 opere perfecto extemplo in aciem legiones educebat.
 Hannibal turmatim per equites peditumque iacula-
 tores levia certamina serens casum universae pugnae

¹ quod *Wesenberg*: quid *P(1)N Madrig, Conway* (*cf. ix. 13*).

² remorandi *P(1)N¹ Aldus*: remoranti *N*: morandi *SpJK Froben* ².

³ ita *Sp? Froben* ²: *om. P(1) NJK Aldus*.

¹ Cf. XXVI. xl. 16 ff.

² On the coast 23 miles northeast of Locri.

place where he might make a stand nor any loyal support to look to, would also find no reason for lingering in Italy. He sent a messenger to Regium also, to the commander of the garrison which had been posted there against the Bruttii by Laevinus. the consul, eight thousand men, for the most part from Agathyrna, as has been said above, who had been brought over from Sicily, being men accustomed to live by plundering.¹ To their number had been added from the same region Bruttian deserters, a match for them in daring and in the urgent needs that compelled them to take any risk. This force Fabius ordered to be led out first for the purpose of ravaging the country of the Bruttians, and then of besieging the city of Caulonia.² After carrying out their orders not only with energy but also with zest, robbing and putting to flight the tillers of the soil, they proceeded to assail the city with great violence.

Marcellus, spurred by the consul's letter, and also because he had come to believe that no Roman general was so good a match for Hannibal as himself, set out from winter quarters as soon as there was abundance of pasture in the fields, and encountered Hannibal near Canusium. The Carthaginian was tempting the men of Canusium to revolt; but on hearing of the approach of Marcellus, he moved his camp away. It was an open country, with no concealment for ambuscades: accordingly he began to retire from it into wooded regions. Marcellus kept at his heels and would place camp close to camp, and after completing his fortifications, he would at once lead his legions out into battle-line. Hannibal by his cavalry in single troops and by spearmen on foot kept bringing on slight engagements, but

A.R.C. 10 non necessarium duebat. Tractus est tamen ad id
 545 quod vitabat certamen. Nocte praegressum adse-
 quitur locis planis ac patentibus Marcellus; castra
 inde ponentem pugnando undique in munitores
 operibus prohibet. Ita signa conlata pugnatumque
 totis copiis et, cum iam nox instaret, Marte aequo
 discessum est. Castra exiguo distantia spatio raptim
 11 ante noctem permunita. Postero die luce prima
 Marcellus in aciem copias eduxit; nec Hannibal
 detractavit certamen, multis verbis adhortatus
 milites ut memores Trasumenni Cannarumque con-
 12 tunderent ferociam hostis: urgere atque instare eum,
 non iter quietos facere,¹ non castra ponere pati, non
 respirare aut circumspicere: cotidie simul orientem
 solem et Romanam aciem in campis videndam esse;
 si uno proelio haud incruentus abeat, quietius deinde
 13 tranquilliusque eum bellaturum. His irritati adhorta-
 tionibus simulque taedio ferociae hostium cotidie
 instantium lacescentiumque aeriter proelium ineunt.
 14 Pugnatum amplius duabus horis est. Cedere inde
 ab Romanis dextra ala et extraordinarii coepere.
 Quod ubi Marcellus vidit, duodevicensimam legionem
 15 in primam aciem inducit. Dum alii trepidi² cedunt,
 alii segniter subeunt, turbata tota acies est, dein

¹ non iter quietos facere *Sp Froben* 2: *om. P(1)N Aldus,*
one line.

² trepidi *P(1)N Aldus*: trepide *SpJK Froben* 2.

¹ Of the allies, while the *ala* filled the rest of the front line;
cf. note on i. 8.

² Marcellus had still another legion and another *ala* as a
reserve probably.

thought the risk of a general conflict unnecessary. B.C. 209
Nevertheless he was drawn into the conflict which he
was trying to avoid. When the enemy had gone ahead
by night, Marcellus overtook him in level and open
country. Then as Hannibal was pitching camp, the
Roman by fighting on all sides against the men
engaged in fortifying prevented them from doing so.
Thus standards faced standards and it was a battle
with all their forces, and when night was now at hand,
they separated on even terms. The camps, separa-
ted by a very short distance, were hastily fortified
before night. The next day Marcellus led out his
forces into line at daybreak. And Hannibal did not
refuse battle, after he had exhorted his soldiers at
length, that, remembering Trasumennus and Cannae,
they should crush the over-confidence of the enemy,
who was pressing them, Hannibal said, and threatening
them, not allowing them to march undisturbed,
nor to pitch their camp, nor to take breath and look
around them; every day they must at the same
moment see the sun rising and in the meadows the
Roman battle-line: if he should come out of a single
battle not without some losses, the enemy would
thereafter carry on the war more calmly and quietly.
Inflamed by these exhortations and also weary of
the high spirit of a foe who daily pressed upon them
and challenged them, they went into battle fiercely.
They fought for more than two hours. Then on the
side of the Romans the right *ala* and the élite troops¹
began to give way. Seeing this Marcellus led up the
eighteenth legion into the front rank.² While the
one part in disorder was yielding ground, and the
other was slow in coming up, the whole line was
confused, then thoroughly routed, and as fear over-

prorsus fusa, et vincente pudorem metu terga
 16 dabant. Cecidere in pugna fugaque¹ ad duo milia
 et septingenti civium sociorumque: in iis² quattuor
 Romani centuriones, duo tribuni militum, M. Licinius
 17 et M. Helvius. Signa militaria quattuor de ala
 prima quae fugit, duo de legione quae cedentibus
 sociis successerat amissa.

XIII. Marcellus, postquam in castra redditum est,
 contionem adeo saevam atque acerbam apud milites
 habuit ut proelio per diem totum infeliciter tolerato
 2 tristior iis irati ducis oratio esset. "Dis immortalibus,
 ut in tali re, laudes gratesque," inquit "ago
 quod victor hostis cum tanto pavore incidentibus vobis
 in vallum portasque non ipsa castra est adgressus;
 deseruissetis profecto eodem terrore castra quo
 3 omisistis pugnam. Qui pavor hic, qui terror, quae
 repente qui et cum quibus pugnaretis oblivio animos
 cepit? Nempe idem sunt hi hostes quos vincendo
 et victos sequendo priorem aestatem³ absumpsistis,
 4 quibus dies noctesque fugientibus per hos dies
 institistis, quos levibus proeliis fatigastis,⁴ quos
 hesterno die nec iter facere nec castra ponere passi
 5 estis. Omitto ea quibus gloriari potestis; cuius et
 ipsius pudere ac paenitere vos oportet referam⁵:

¹ fugaque *AJK*: que *P(3)*: om. *AN Aldus, Froben*.

² in iis *PCR?*: in his *MBDAN Aldus, Froben*: inter quos
 fuere *AJK*.

³ priorem aestatem *TaSp? Froben 2 (with in J and K)*:
 priore aestate *P(1)V*.

⁴ fatigastis *P²(3)Ta²*: fatigatis *PTa*: fugastis *ANJK Aldus, Froben*.

powered the sense of shame, they fled. In battle ^{B.C. 209} and flight some two thousand seven hundred citizens and allies fell, among them four Roman centurions, two tribunes of the soldiers, Marcus Licinius and Marcus Helvius. Four military standards were lost from the *ala* which was the first to flee, and two from the legion which had relieved the allies as they gave way.

XIII. Marcellus, after they had returned to camp, made a speech to the soldiers which was so savage and bitter that, although they had borne the battle all day long without success, the angry general's speech was more ferocious to them. "The immortal gods," he said, "have my praises and thanks, so far as one can be grateful now, because the victorious enemy, when you were throwing yourselves in such fright upon the earthwork and the gates, did not attack the camp itself. You would surely have deserted the camp in terror, just as in terror you abandoned the battle. What fright is this, what terror, that have taken possession of your minds, what sudden forgetting who you are and in battle with whom? Of course these are the same enemies in defeating whom, and in pursuing them when defeated, you have spent last summer, the same men whom you have pressed hard in these days, as they were fleeing day and night, whom you have wearied by slight engagements, whom yesterday you did not allow either to march or to pitch camp. I pass over the things of which you can boast. I shall mention something for which you ought also to feel shame

⁵ referam P(1)NTa Aldus: om. SpN^sJK Froben 2.

A.U.C.
515

nempe aequis manibus hesterno die diremistas
 6 pugnam. Quid haec nox, quid hic dies attulit? Vestrae iis copiae inminutae sunt an illorum auctae? Non equidem mihi cum exercitu meo loqui videor nec cum Romanis militibus: corpora tantum atque
 7 arma sunt eadem. An, si eosdem animos habuissetis, terga vestra vidisset hostis? signa alicui manipulo aut cohorti ademisset?¹ Adhuc caesis legionibus Romanis gloriabatur: vos illi hodierno die primum s fugati exercitus dedistis decus." Clamor inde ortus ut veniam eius diei daret; ubi vellet deinde experietur militum suorum animos. "Ego vero experiar," inquit "milites, et vos crastino die in aciem educam, ut victores potius quam victi veniam impetratis quam
 9 petitis." Cohortibus quae signa amiserant hordeum dari iussit, centurionesque manipolorum quorum signa amissa fuerant destrictis gladiis discinectos destituit; et ut postero die omnes, pedites equites,²
 10 armati adessent edixit. Ita contio dimissa fatentium iure ac merito sese increpitos, neque illo die virum quemquam in acie Romana fuisse praeter unum ducem, cui aut morte satisfaciendum aut egregia victoria esset.

11 Postero die armati ornatique³ ad edictum aderant.

¹ ademisset *TaJK*: abstulisset *P(1)N Aldus, Froben*.

² pedites equites *Ta, Allus and Froben add -que*: equites pedites *P(1), NJK add -que*.

³ armati ornatique *TaSpK Froben 2*: ornati armatique *P(1)NJ*; ornati *Conway* (*deleting* armatique).

¹ *I.e.* the drawn battle of yesterday is something of which you should be ashamed, as well as of your rout to-day, though not to the same degree.

² Cohorts of allies had their *signa*; XXV. xiv. 4. In the legions it was the maniple, not the cohort, which had a standard until Marius' time.

and regret; namely, you broke off the battle B.C. 209 yesterday while it was undecided.¹ What has this night, what has this day brought? Have your troops in that time been reduced, or their forces increased? For my part I do not seem to be speaking with my army nor with Roman soldiers. It is merely your bodies and weapons that are the same. Can it be that, if you had had the same spirit, the enemy would have seen your backs? And would he have taken standards from any maniple or cohort?² Till now his boasting was in the slaughter of Roman legions: you have this day given him for the first time the distinction of putting an army to flight." Then they began to shout that he should pardon them for that day, and afterwards, whenever he wished, he should test the spirit of his soldiers. "I will indeed test them, soldiers," said he, "and to-morrow I will lead you out into battle-line, that as victors, rather than as vanquished, you may gain the pardon for which you ask." To the cohorts which had lost their standards he ordered barley to be issued, and as for the centurions of the maniples whose standards had been lost, he made them stand aside with drawn swords and no belts; and he ordered that on the morrow they should all, infantry and cavalry, present themselves under arms. So the assembly was dismissed, as the men confessed that they had been upbraided with good reason and deservedly, and that on that day in the Roman line no one had been a man except the general alone, whom they must satisfy either by dying or by a notable victory.

The next day they presented themselves according to orders armed and equipped. The general

A.U.C.
545

Imperator eos conlaudat pronuntiatque a quibus
 orta pridie fuga esset cohortesque quae signa ami-
 12 sissent se in primam aciem inducturum; edicere iam
 sese omnibus pugnandum ac vincendum esse et
 adnitendum singulis universisque ne prius hesternae
 fugae quam hodiernae victoriae fama Romam per-
 13 veniat. Inde cibo corpora firmare iussi, ut, si longior
 pugna esset, viribus sufficerent. Ubi omnia dicta
 factaque sunt quibus excitarentur animi militum in
 aciem procedunt. XIV. Quod ubi Hannibali nuntia-
 tum est, "Cum eo nimirum," inquit "hoste res est
 qui nec bonam nec malam ferre fortunam possit.
 Seu vicit, ferociter instat viciis: seu victus¹ est,
 2 instaurat cum victoribus certamen." Signa inde
 canere iussit et² copias educit. Pugnatum utrimque
 aliquanto quam pridie acrius est, Poenis ad obtainen-
 dum hesternum decus adnitentibus, Romanis ad
 3 demendam ignominiam. Sinistra ala ab Romanis
 et cohortes quae amiserant signa in prima acie
 pugnabant, et legio duodevicensima³ ab dextro
 4 cornu instructa. L. Cornelius Lentulus et C.
 Claudius Nero legati cornibus praerant; Marcellus
 median aciem hortator testisque praesens firmabat.
 5 Ab Hannibale Hispani primam obtinebant frontem,
 6 et id roboris in omni exercitu erat. Cum anceps diu
 pugna esset, Hannibal elephantes in primam aciem
 induci iussit, si quem inicere ea res tumultum ac-

¹ seu vicius A¹N¹JK Aldus, Froben: om. P(1): P² changes
 viciis (*above*) to vicius (1).

² et Sp¹N²JK Froben 2: om. P(1)N Aldus.

³ duodevice(n)sima Perizonius: vice(n)sima P(1)NJK;
 cf. xii. 14.

¹ Cf. the words put into Scipio's mouth in XXVI. xli. 12
fin. and into Hannibal's by Horace in *Carm.* IV. iv. 53-68.

praised them warmly and declared that he would lead out into the first line the men with whom the flight had begun the day before, and the cohorts which had lost their standards; that now he proclaimed that they must all fight and win, and strive singly and collectively to prevent news of yesterday's flight from reaching Rome before that of to-day's victory. They were then bidden to strengthen themselves by eating, so that, if the battle should be prolonged, they might have sufficient endurance. When everything had been said and done that could arouse the soldiers' spirits, they advanced into line.

XIV. When this was reported to Hannibal, "Of a truth," he said, "we have to deal with an enemy who can bear neither good fortune nor bad. If he has won, he furiously presses the defeated; if on the other hand he has been defeated, he renews the conflict with the victors."¹ Then he ordered the trumpets to sound and led out his forces. On both sides the battle was much fiercer than the day before, the Carthaginians striving to maintain the distinction of yesterday, while the Romans strove to rid themselves of their disgrace. The left *ala* on the Roman side and the cohorts which had lost their standards were fighting in the first line, and the eighteenth legion was drawn up on the right wing. Lucius Cornelius Lentulus and Gaius Claudius Nero, the lieutenants, commanded the wings. Marcellus in person upheld the centre, to encourage them and as a witness. On Hannibal's side Spanish troops held the front line, and they were the best troops in the entire army. When the battle had long been indecisive Hannibal ordered the elephants to be driven up to the front, in the hope that that move might

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7 pavorem posset. Et primo turbarunt signa ordinesque,
 et partim occuleatis partim dissupatis terrore qui
 8 circa erant nudaverant una parte aeiem, latiusque
 fuga manasset, ni C. Decimius Flavus tribunus mili-
 tum signo arrepto primi hastati manipulum eius signi
 sequi se iussisset. Duxit ubi maxime tumultum con-
 globatae beluae faciebant pilaque in eas conici iussit.
 9 Haesere omnia tela haud difficili ex propinquio in
 tanta corpora ictu et tum¹ conferta turba; sed ut
 non omnes vulnerati sunt, ita in quorum tergis infixi
 stetere pila, ut est genus anceps, in fugam versi
 10 etiam integros avertere. Tum iam non unus mani-
 pulus, sed pro se quisque miles, qui modo adsequi
 agmen fugientium elephantorum poterat, pila coni-
 cere. Eo magis ruere in suos beluae tantoque
 maiorem stragem edere quam inter hostes ediderant,
 quanto aerius pavor consternatam² agit quam
 11 insidentis magistri imperio regitur.³ In perturbatam
 transcurso beluarum aeiem signa inferunt Romani
 pedites et haud magno certamine dissupatos trepi-
 12 dantesque avertunt. Tum in fugientes equitatum
 immittit Marellus, nec ante finis sequendi est factus
 13 quam in castra paventes eompulsi sunt. Nam
 super alia quae terrorem trepidationemque facerent,⁴
 elephanti quoque⁵ duo in ipsa porta corruerant,

¹ tum *P(3)*: eum *Sp*: tam *BDANJK Aldus, Froben.*² consternatam *P(3) SpN⁶ Froben 2*: -tas *A⁸J Aldus.*³ regitur *P(1)NSp Froben 2*: reguntur *A⁸JK Aldus.*⁴ facerent *P(1) Aldus, Froben*: fecerant *A⁸JK.*⁵ quoque *Gronovius (from a Ms.)*: que *P(1)N*: forte
*A⁸N⁶JK Aldus, Froben.*¹ Cf. XXVI. v. 15.

bring about confusion and panic. And at first they did cause disorder among the standards and ranks, and by trampling down some of those who were near, and scattering others in alarm, they had stripped the line of battle at one point, and the flight would have spread further, had not Gaius Decimius Flavus, a tribune of the soldiers, seized a standard from the first maniple of the *hastati*¹ and ordered the maniple to which it belonged to follow him. He led them to the spot where the brutes massed together were causing confusion and bade them hurl their javelins against them. All the weapons stuck fast, for it was not difficult to hit bodies of such size from a short distance and now packed in a dense mass. But although not all were wounded, still those in whose backs the javelins remained well fixed—so undependable is the species—took to flight and even made the uninjured wheel about. Then no longer a single maniple hurled its javelins, but every soldier for himself, provided he was able to catch up with the column of the fleeing elephants. All the more did the brutes dash among their own men and cause a greater slaughter than they had done among the enemy, in proportion as the frightened beast is urged on more fiercely by terror than when under the control of a driver on its back. Into the line thrown into confusion by the brutes dashing through it the Roman infantry carried their standards and with no great struggle they made the scattered and wavering enemy retreat. Then, as they fled, Marcellus sends his cavalry against them, and pursuit did not end until in alarm they were driven into their camp. For in addition to the other causes of terror and consternation, two elephants had fallen in the very gate.

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coactique erant milites per fossam vallumque ruere
 in castra. Ibi maxima hostium caedes facta; caesa
 14 ad octo milia hominum, quinque elephanti. Nec
 Romanis ineruenta victoria fuit: mille ferme et
 septingenti de duabus legionibus et sociorum supra
 mille et trecentos occisi; vulnerati permulti civium
 15 sociorumque. Hannibal nocte proxima castra movit:
 cupientem insequi Marcellum prohibuit multitudo
 sauciorum. XV. Speculatores qui prosequerentur¹
 agmen missi postero die rettulerunt Bruttios Hanni-
 balem petere.

2 Isdem ferme diebus et ad Q. Fulvium consulem
 Hirpini et Lucani et Volceientes traditis praesidiis
 Hannibalis quae in urbibus habebant dediderunt sese,
 clementerque a consule cum verborum tantum casti-
 gatione ob errorem praeteritum accepti sunt;²
 3 et Bruttii similis spes veniae facta est, cum ab iis
 Vibius et Paccius fratres, longe nobilissimi gentis
 eius, eandem quae data Lucanis erat condicionem
 ditionis petentes venissent.

4 Q. Fabius consul oppidum in Sallentinis Manduriam
 vi cepit; ibi ad tria milia³ hominum capta et ceterae
 praedae aliquantum. Inde Tarentum profectus in

¹ prosequerentur *P(1)NJK Aldus*: sequerentur *Sp Froben 2*; per. *x*.

² accepti sunt *BDLN*: accepti *Sp JK Froben 2*: acceptis *P(3)*.

³ tria milia ($\infty \infty \infty$) *PC Madrig*: quattuor milia *A^sN^sJK Conway*: om. *RMBIDAN*.

¹ According to Plutarch he went to Campania; *Marcellus xxvi. 4.*

and the soldiers were forced to dash into the camp over fosse and earthwork. It was there that the greatest slaughter of the enemy occurred. Slain were about eight thousand men and five elephants. And for the Romans also it was not a bloodless victory. About one thousand seven hundred from the two legions, and of the allies more than one thousand three hundred, were killed; wounded were a large number of citizens and allies. Hannibal moved his camp that night; Marcellus was eager to pursue, but the numbers of the wounded prevented him.

XV. Scouts sent to pursue the column reported next day that Hannibal was on his way to the land of the Bruttii.¹

About the same time the Hirpini and Lucani and the men of Volceii² surrendered to Quintus Fulvius, the consul, handing over Hannibal's garrisons which they had in their cities, and were kindly received by him with nothing more than an oral reprimand for their past aberrations. The Bruttii³ also were given to expect a like pardon, upon the arrival from that region of the brothers Vibius and Paccius, easily the noblest of that tribe, to ask for the same terms of surrender as had been given to the Lucanians.

Quintus Fabius, the consul, took the town of Manduria,⁴ in the land of the Sallentini, by storm. There about three thousand persons were captured, and other booty in quantity. Then removing to

² An unimportant city in northern Lucania is unaccountably added, as if its citizens were not Lucanians. Some of their people still sided with Hannibal two years later: li. 13.

³ For Bruttian towns that had returned to Roman allegiance four years before cf. XXV. i. 2.

⁴ About 20 miles southeast of Tarentum.

5 ipsis faucibus portus posuit castra. Naves quas Laevinus¹ tutandis commeatibus habuerat partim machinationibus onerat apparatuque moenium oppugnandorum. partim tormentis et saxis omnique missilium telorum genere instruit, onerarias quoque, 6 non eas² solum quae remis agerentur, ut alii machinas scalasque ad muros ferrent, alii procul ex navibus 7 volnerarent moenium propugnatores. Hae naves ab aperto mari ut³ urbem adgredierentur instructae parataeque sunt; et erat liberum mare classe Punica, cum Philippus oppugnare Aetolos pararet, Coreyram s tramsa. In Bruttii interim Cauloniae oppugnatores sub adventum⁴ Hannibal, ne opprimerentur, in tumulum a praesenti impetu tutum, ad cetera inopem, concessere.⁵

9 Fabium Tarentum obsidentem leve dictu momentum ad rem ingentem potiundam adiuvit. Praesidium Bruttiorum datum ab Hannibale Tarentini habebant. Eius praesidii praefectus deperibat amore mulierculae cuius frater in exercitu Fabii 10 consulis erat. Is certior litteris sororis factus de nova consuetudine advenae locupletis atque inter popularis tam honorati, spem nactus per sororem

¹ Laevinus *Unger*: il. iuius *P*: il iuius *CRM*: liuius *M¹BDANJK Eds.*; cf. vii. 15 f.

² quoque, non eas *A¹N⁸JK Aldus, Froben*: om. *P(1)N*.

³ ut *C⁴N Aldus, Froben, Eds.*: om. *P(1)*, and *JK* (*having* ut *after* naves).

⁴ adventum *JK Aldus, Froben, Madrig*: adventu *P(1)N Conway*.

⁵ ad cetera inopem, concessere *SpzA⁸JK Froben* 2: sere *P* (*omitting a line*): se recepere(*or eip.-*) *P²(1)N*.

¹ And opposite the citadel; XXV. xi. 1.

² I.e. the smaller and swifter vessels, contrasted with heavier ships probably anchored at a distance.

Tarentum he pitched camp at the very entrance to ^{B.C. 209} the harbour.¹ Of the ships which Laevinus had had to protect his supplies, the consul loaded some with devices and equipment for attacking city walls, while some of them he fitted out with artillery and stones and every kind of missile weapon. And so also with the merchantmen, not merely those propelled by oars,² in order that some crews should carry engines and ladders up to the walls, and others from ships at long range should wound the defenders of the walls. These ships were equipped and made ready to attack the city from the open sea. And the sea was unmolested by the Punic fleet, which had been sent over to Coreyra, since Philip was preparing to attack the Aetolians. In the country of the Bruttii meanwhile the besiegers of Caulonia,³ to avoid being surprised, just before Hannibal's arrival withdrew to a hill that was safe from immediate attack, but otherwise offered nothing.

While Fabius was besieging Tarentum,⁴ a circumstance hardly worth mentioning aided him in attaining his great objective. The Tarentines had a guard of Bruttians, furnished by Hannibal. The commander of that guard⁵ was desperately in love with a young woman whose brother was in the army of Fabius, the consul. This brother, informed by a letter from his sister of her new acquaintance with a stranger who was rich and held in such honour by his people, conceived the hope that through his sister her

³ Cf. xii. 6; xvi. 9.

⁴ Of Polybius' narrative of the recovery of Tarentum only an introductory page has survived (X. i.).

⁵ Not of the entire garrison, which was commanded by a Carthaginian, Carthalo; xvi. 5.

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545 quolibet impelli amantem posse, quid speraret ad
 11 consulem detulit. Quae cum haud vana cogitatio
 visa esset, pro perfuga¹ iussus Tarentum transire,
 ac per sororem praefecto conciliatus, primo occulte
 temptando animum, dein satis explorata levitate
 blanditiis muliebribus perpulit eum ad proditionem
 12 custodiae loci cui praepositus erat. Ubi et ratio
 agendae rei et tempus convenit, miles nocte per
 intervalla stationum clam ex urbe emissus ea quae
 acta erant quaeque ut agerentur convenerat ad
 consulem refert.

13 Fabius vigilia prima dato signo iis qui in arce
 erant quique custodiam portus habebant, ipse
 circumito portu ab regione urbis in orientem versa
 14 occultus consedit. Canere inde tubae simul ab
 arce simul² a portu et ab navibus quae ab³ aperto
 mari ad pulsae erant, clamorque undique cum ingenti
 tumultu unde minimum periculi erat de industria
 15 ortus. Consul interim silentio continebat suos.
 Igitur Democrats, qui praefectus antea⁴ classis
 fuerat, forte illo⁵ loco praepositus, postquam quieta
 omnia circa se vidit, alias partes eo tumultu personare
 16 ut captae urbis interdum excitaretur clamor, veritus
 ne inter cunctationem suam consul aliquam vim
 faceret ac signa inferret, praesidium ad arcem,

¹ perfuga CJK: terfuga PR: profuga Sp. (*om. preceding pro*): perfuga (*om. pro*) Rhenanus, Froben 2: transfuga est DAN: tran(s)fuga Bz Aldus.

² simul P(1)NJK Aldus: et Sp Froben 2.

³ ab P(3) Aldus: *om. ANSpJK Froben 2.*

⁴ antea Sp?N?JK: *om. P(1)N.*

⁵ illo P(1)N Aldus: illi Sp?A?JK Froben 2, Conway.

¹ On leaving his camp near the bridge-head Fabius must have left troops to guard the camp and harbour entrance.

lover could be swayed in any desired direction, and informed the consul what he hoped for. Since that seemed no empty idea, he was bidden to go over to Tarentum, as if he were a deserter. And having won the friendship of the commander through his sister, he first guardedly sounded him, then, his lack of character being demonstrated, he used a woman's blandishments to lead him on to betray the defence of a place of which he had been put in command. When the method of carrying out the plan and the time also had been settled, a soldier, sent out of the city secretly by night through intervals between outposts, reported to the consul the steps which had been taken and those which it had been agreed should be taken.

Fabius at the first watch gave the signal to the men in the citadel and to those who were guarding the harbour¹; and thereupon, making the circuit of the harbour, he established himself in hiding on the eastern side of the city. Then trumpets sounded at the same time from the citadel and from the harbour, and from the ships which had approached from the open sea, and from all sides shouting and great uproar were purposely raised where there was the least danger. The consul meantime kept his men quiet. Accordingly Democrates, who had previously been admiral of the fleet,² and chanced to be in command at that point, on seeing everything near him quiet, while other quarters resounded with such an uproar that from time to time shouts arose as in a captured city, feared that, while he himself delayed, the consul might make an assault and bring in his troops. He thereupon led his forces over to

¹ Cf. XXVI. xxxix. 6.

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unde maxime terribilis accidebat sonus, traducit.

17 Fabius cum et ex temporis spatio et ex silentio ipso, quod, ubi paulo ante strepebant excitantes vocantesque ad arma, inde nulla accidebat vox, deductas custodias sensisset, ferri sealas ad eam partem muri qua Bruttiorum cohortem praesidium agitare¹

18 proditionis conciliator nuntiaverat iubet. Ea primum captus est murus adiuvantibus recipientibusque Bruttiis, et transeensum in urbem est; inde² et³ proxima refracta porta, ut frequenti agmine signa

19 inferrentur. Tum clamore sublato sub ortum ferme lucis nullo obvio armato in forum pervenient, omnesque undique qui ad arcem portumque pugnabant in se converterunt.

XVI. Proelium in aditu fori maiore impetu quam perseverantia commissum est. Non animo, non armis, non arte belli, non vigore ac viribus corporis par Romano Tarentinus erat. Igitur pilis tantum coniectis, prius paene quam consererent manus terga dederunt, dilapsique per nota urbis itinera in suas amicorumque domos. Duo ex ducibus Nico et Democrates fortiter pugnantes cecidere, Philemenus, qui proditionis ad Hannibalem auctor fuerat, cum citato equo ex proelio avectus esset, vacuus⁴ paulo post equus errans⁵ per urbem cognitus, corpus

¹ agitare P(1)NJ Rhenanus, Froben 2: cogitare Sp.

² inde P(1)N Aldus: deinde SpJK Froben 2.

³ et C²DAN Aldus: ex P(3): om. SpJK Froben 2.

⁴ vacuus Aldus, Froben, Eds.: vagus P(1)NJK Conway.

⁵ errans P(1)NJK (Aldus, Froben adding -que): bracketed by Walters, Conway.

¹ Probably the Temenitis Gate of XXV. ix. 9 f.

the citadel, from which came the most terrifying noise. Fabius, both from the time elapsed and from the mere silence—since no voice came from the direction where a little while before there was shouting to waken men and call them to arms—was aware that the guards had been removed. Accordingly he ordered ladders to be carried to that part of the wall where the go-between in the betrayal had reported that the cohort of Bruttians was on guard duty. There first the wall was taken, the men being aided and welcomed by the Bruttians, and they climbed over the wall into the city. Then also the nearest gate¹ was broken open, so that a dense column might march in. Thereupon raising a shout they made their way into the market-place at about daybreak, while no armed men encountered them, and they drew against themselves an attack on every side from all the men who were fighting at the citadel and by the harbour.

XVI. They joined battle at the entrance to the market-place with more spirit than persistence. The Tarentine was no match for the Roman in courage, in arms, in the art of war, in bodily energy and strength. Therefore, after merely throwing their javelins, they retreated almost before they came to blows, and slipped away along the familiar streets of the city to their homes and those of friends. Two of their commanders, Nico and Democrates, fell fighting bravely. Philemenus,² who was the originator of the betrayal to Hannibal, had ridden away at full speed from the battle; and a little later his riderless horse was recognized wandering about

² For Nico and Philemenus cf. XXV. viii. 3 ff.; ix. 8 ff.; XXVI. xxxix. 15.

nusquam¹ inventum est: creditum volgo est in
 5 puteum apertum ex equo praecipitasse.² Carthala-
 lonem autem, praefectum Punici praesidii, cum
 commemoratione paterni hospitii positis armis venien-
 6 tem ad consulem miles obvius obtruncat. Alii alios
 passim³ sine discriminine armatos inermis⁴ caedunt,
 Carthaginienses Tarentinosque pariter. Bruttii
 quoque multi passim⁵ interficti, seu per errorem
 seu vetere in eos insito odio seu ad proditionis
 famam, ut vi potius atque armis captum Tarentum
 7 videretur. extinguedam. Tum a eaede ad diri-
 piendam urbem discursum. Triginta milia⁶ servilium
 capitum dicuntur capta. argenti vis ingens facti
 signatique, auri tria milia octoginta⁷ pondo, signa
 et⁸ tabulae, prope ut Syracusarum ornamenta
 8 aequaerint.⁹ Sed maiore animo generis eius praeda
 abstinuit Fabius quam Marcellus; qui interrogante
 scriba¹⁰ quid fieri signis vellet ingentis magnitudinis
 —di sunt, suo quisque habitu in modum pugnantium
 formati—deos iratos Tarentinis relinqu iussit.

¹ nusquam *AJK*: nunquam (*or num-*) *P(3)N*.

² praecipitasse *P(3)Sp? Froben* 2: -cipitatum *AN¹JK Aldus*.

³ passim *P(1)NJK*: bracketed by *Conway*.

⁴ inermis *P(1)N*: -que added by *A⁸N⁸JK Aldus, Froben*.

⁵ passim *A⁸N⁸JK*: om. *P(1)A²N*.

⁶ xxx milia *JK Aldus, Froben, Luchs*: mil/1/ja xxx *P(1)N*.

⁷ tria milia octoginta *Madrig, Emend., Conway*: lxxxiii millia *P(1)N*: lxxxiii m. *JK*.

⁸ signa et *Alschefski*: signata *P(1)*: signa *N⁸JK Aldus, Froben*: signa ac *Weissenborn*.

⁹ aequaerint *P(3) Aldus*: -arent *Sp? A⁸N⁸JK Froben* 2: -arint *W. Heraeus*.

¹⁰ interrogante scriba *Drakenborch*: -ganti scribae *C^zA^yN⁸JK Aldus, Froben*: -gatis scribae *P(1)N*: *Conway inserts dagger*.

¹ Presumably with Fabius, and the tie was inherited. But his protest was in vain.

the city, but his body was nowhere found. It was B.C. 209 generally believed that he had thrown himself from his horse into an open well. Moreover Carthalo, commander of the Punic garrison, mentioning his father's guest-friendship,¹ had laid down his arms and was on his way to the consul, when he was slain by a soldier who met him. Other soldiers slew other men everywhere, whether armed or unarmed, Carthaginians and Tarentines alike. Everywhere Brutians also were slain, many of them, either by mistake or out of old, inbred hatred of them, or to blot out the report of treachery, that Tarentum might be thought to have been captured rather by force of arms. Then from the slaughter they dispersed to plunder the city. Thirty thousand slaves are said to have been captured, an immense quantity of silver, wrought and coined, of gold three thousand and eighty pounds,² statues and paintings, so that they almost rivalled the adornments of Syracuse.³ But Fabius showed more magnanimity in refraining from plunder of that kind than did Marcellus. When a clerk asked what he wished to have done with statues of colossal size—they are gods in the form of warriors, but each in his own attitude—Fabius ordered that their angry gods be left to the Tarentines.⁴

² If the MS. tradition (83,000) could be accepted as conceivable, we should be obliged to explain how Capua, so much more prosperous than Tarentum, could have yielded only 2,070 pounds of gold to the captors; XXVI. xiv. 8.

³ For statues and paintings removed by Marcellus from Syracuse to Rome cf. XXV. xl. 1 ff.

⁴ One colossal statue of Jupiter, attributed to Lysippus, Fabius was unable to remove; Pliny *N.H.* XXXIV. 40. Another of Hercules he brought to Rome and set up on the Capitol; cf. Plutarch *Fabius* xxii. 5, making a comparison with Marcellus, but unfavourable to Fabius; cf. *Marcellus* xxi. 3 f.

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545 9 Murus inde qui urbem ab arce dirimebat dirutus est
ac disiectus.

Dum haec¹ aguntur, Hannibal, iis qui Cauloniam
10 obsidebant in ditionem acceptis, audita oppugna-
tione Tarenti dies noctesque cursim agmine acto,
cum festinans ad opem ferendam captam urbem
audisset, "Et Romani suum Hannibalem" inquit
"habent; eadem qua ceperamus arte Tarentum
11 amisimus." Ne tamen fugientis modo convertisse
agmen videretur, quo constiterat² loco quinque
milia ferme ab urbe posuit castra. Ibi paucos
12 moratus dies Metapontum sese recepit. Inde duos
Metapontinos cum litteris principum eius civitatis
ad Fabium Tarentum mittit, fidem ab consule
accepturos inpunita iis³ priora fore, si Metapontum
13 cum praesidio Punico prodidissent. Fabius vera
quae⁴ adferrent esse ratus, diem qua accessurus
esset Metapontum constituit litterasque ad principes
14 dedit, quae ad Hannibalem delatae sunt. Enimvero
laetus successu fraudis, si ne Fabius quidem dolo
invictus fuisset, haud procul Metaponto insidias
15 ponit. Fabio auspicanti, priusquam egrederetur ab
Tarento, aves semel atque iterum non addixerunt.
Hostia quoque caesa consulenti deos haruspex
cavendum a fraude hostili et ab insidiis praedixit.

¹ haec, after this A⁴JK Aldus and Froben insert Tarenti, not found in P(1)N.

² constiterat C²M²A¹JK Aldus: constituerat P(1)N.

³ iis PR Aldus: his R²MBDANK: hiis J: tis C: om. Sp?N⁸ Froben 2, Conway.

⁴ vera quae CMBDAN Aldus, Froben: veraq. P (-que R); quae (adferrent) vera JK.

Then the wall which separated the city from the citadel was torn down and completely destroyed.^{B.C. 209}

While these things were going on, Hannibal received the surrender of the force besieging Caulonia and, on hearing of the attack upon Tarentum, urged his column rapidly forward day and night. When informed, while hastening to bring aid, that the city had been taken, "The Romans also," he said, "have their Hannibal; by the same art by which we had captured Tarentum we have lost it." Nevertheless, in order not to appear to have reversed his column as if in retreat, he pitched camp just where he had halted, about five miles from the city. After lingering there a few days he withdrew to Metapontum. From there he sent to Fabius at Tarentum two men of Metapontum carrying a letter from the leading men of that city and expecting to receive the consul's promise that their previous acts would go unpunished, if they should betray Metapontum and its Punic garrison. Fabius, assuming their message to be true, appointed a day on which he would come to Metapontum, and gave them a letter addressed to the leading citizens—a letter which was delivered to Hannibal. Pleased indeed at the success of the ruse, if even Fabius was to prove not unconquerable by trickery, Hannibal laid an ambush not far from Metapontum. When Fabius endeavoured to take the auspices before leaving Tarentum, the fowls were again and again unfavourable.¹ And when with the slaughter of a victim also he consulted the gods, the soothsayer declared that he must be on his guard against a ruse of the enemy and against an ambus-

¹ *I.e.* the sacred fowls refused to eat.

A.U.C. 16 Metapontini, postquam ad constitutam¹ non venerat
 545 diem, remissi, ut cunctantem hortarentur, ac repente
 comprehensi, metu gravioris quaestionis detegunt
 insidias.

XVII. Aestatis eius principio qua haec agebantur,
 P. Scipio in Hispania cum hiemem totam reconciliandis barbarorum animis partim donis, partim remissione obsidum captivorumque absumpsisset, Edesco ad eum clarus inter duces Hispanos venit.
 2 Erant coniunx liberique eius apud Romanos; sed praeter eam causam etiam velut fortuita inclinatio animorum, quae Hispaniam omnem averterat ad
 3 Romanum a Punico imperio, traxit eum. Eadem causa Indibili Mandonioque fuit, haud dubie omnis Hispaniae principibus, cum omni popularium manu relichto Hasdrubale secedendi in imminentes castris eius tumulos, unde per continentia iuga tutus
 4 receptus ad Romanos esset. Hasdrubal, cum hostium res tantis augescere incrementis cerneret, suas imminui, ac fore ut, nisi audendo aliquid moveret, qua coepissent fluenter,² dimicare quam primum
 5 statuit. Scipio avidior etiam certaminis erat, cum a³ spe quam successus rerum augebat, tum quod, priusquam iungerentur hostium exercitus, cum uno dimicare duce exercituque quam simul cum

¹ constitutam JK Aldus, Froben, Luchs: constitutum P(1)N¹ Madrig, Conway.

² fluenter P(1)(C?)N Aldus: ruerent SpA^sN^sJK Froben 2, Conway.

³ a Sp? Froben 2: ea P(1)NJK Aldus.

¹ On the art of the haruspices and the widespread practice of finding omens in the *exta*, particularly the liver, cf. Pease's notes on Cicero *de Div.* I. 16. Cf. below xxvi. 13.

² I.e. by torture; cf. iii. 5: XXIII. xxxiv. 7.

cade.¹ The men of Metapontum, when the consul had not come on the appointed day, were sent back to urge him if he hesitated; and being suddenly seized, in fear of a more relentless inquiry² they revealed the plot.

XVII. At the beginning of the summer in which these events were taking place, after Publius Scipio in Spain had spent the entire winter in winning over the support of the barbarians, partly by gifts and partly by restoring their hostages and captives. Edesco, who was eminent among the Spanish chieftains, came to him.³ His wife and children were in the hands of the Romans; but in addition to this reason he was drawn by that more or less fortuitous trend of feeling which had turned all Spain away from Punic rule to Roman. Indibilis and Mandonius,⁴ unquestionably the leading men of all Spain, had the same reason for leaving Hasdrubal, taking with them the entire band of their countrymen and withdrawing to heights which overlooked his camp, and from which there was a safe retreat along continuous ridges to the Romans. Hasdrubal, seeing that the resources of the enemy were increasing by such large accessions, while his own were diminishing and, unless he ventured to do something, they would melt away to the Roman side, as they had begun to do, decided to fight as soon as possible. Scipio was even more eager for battle, both because of confidence which was increasing with his success, and because he preferred to fight with one general and army before the armies of the enemy should unite, rather than with them all at

¹ More of Ede(s)eo in Polybius X. xxxiv. f.

² For these leaders of the Ilergetes cf. XXII. xxi. 2 f.; XXV. xxxiv. 6 f.; XXVI. xlix. 11; Polybius X. xxxv. 6 ff.

6 universis malebat. Ceterum, etiamsi cum pluribus pariter dimicandum foret, arte quadam copias auxerat. Nam cum videret nullum esse navium usum, quia vacua omnis Hispaniae ora classibus Punicis erat,¹ subductis navibus Tarracone navales socios terrestribus copiis addidit. Et armorum adfatum erat, et² captorum Carthagine³ et quae post captam eam fecerat tanto opificum numero inclusu.⁴

8 Cum iis copiis Scipio veris principio ab Tarracone egressus—iam enim et Laelius redierat ab Roma, sine quo nihil maioris rei motum volebat—ducere 9 ad hostem pergit. Per omnia pacata eunti, ut cuiusque populi fines transiret, prosequentibus excipientibusque sociis, Indibilis et Mandonius cum suis 10 copiis occurrerunt. Indibilis⁵ pro utroque locutus haudquaquam ut⁶ barbarus stolidi incauteve, sed potius cum verecundia ac⁷ gravitate, propiorque excusanti transitionem ut necessariam quam glorianti 11 eam velut primam occasionem raptam; scire enim se transfugae nomen execrabile veteribus sociis, novis suspectum esse; neque eum se reprehendere morem⁸ hominum, si tamen⁹ anceps odium causa, non 12 nomen faciat. Merita inde sua in duces Cartha-

¹ Punicis erat *A⁴N⁸JK Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)N.*

² et *Alschesfski: om. all MSS.*

³ captorum Carthagine *A⁴N⁸JK Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)N, one line.*

⁴ numero inclusu *A⁴N⁸JK Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)N, probably a short line at the end of a paragraph in P's exemplar.*

⁵ et Mandonius . . . occurrerunt. Indibilis *A⁴N⁸JK Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)N, probably three lines omitted on account of the repeated name.*

⁶ ut *Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)NJK.*

⁷ ac *Alschesfski: et C¹?: om. P(1)NJK.*

once. But even supposing he should have to fight ^{B.C. 209} with several at the same time, he had enlarged his forces by a certain artifice. For, seeing that he was making no use of ships, since the whole coast of Spain was rid of Punic fleets, he beached his vessels at Tarraco and added their crews to the land forces. And arms he had in abundance, both those captured at (New) Carthage and those which after the capture of that city he had caused to be made by impounding a large number of artisans.

With these troops Scipio set out at the beginning of spring from Tarraco and proceeded to lead against the enemy; for by this time Laelius also, without whom he did not wish any important action to be taken, had returned from Rome. As Scipio was passing through an entirely peaceful region, while allies escorted and welcomed him whenever he crossed the boundary of a tribe, Indibilis and Mandonius with their forces met him. Indibilis spoke for them both, not at all boorishly or carelessly, as one might expect of a barbarian, but rather with modesty and dignity, and more like a man who excused their change of sides as necessary than one who bragged that they had, as it were, seized that as the first opportunity. For he was aware, he said, that the word deserter was detested by old allies, suspected by new ones; and he did not blame men for that habit, if only it was the motive, not the word, which produced hatred in both parties. He then recounted their services to the Carthaginian

⁸ morem *Axz Rhenanus*, *Froben* 2: amorem *SpA^sN^s*: nomen *P(I)(A?)N Aldus*.

⁹ tamen *Sp^sN^s Froben* 2, *Drakenborch. Eds.*: tam *P(I)NJK Aldus, Alschefski, Conway.*

ginienses commemoravit, avaritiam contra eorum superbiamque et omnis generis iniurias in se atque
 13 populares. Itaque corpus dumtaxat suum ad id tempus apud eos fuisse; animum iam pridem ibi esse ubi ius ac fas crederent coli. Ad deos quoque confugere supplices qui nequeant hominum vim atque
 14 iniurias pati; se id Scipionem orare, ut transitio sibi nec fraudi apud eum nec honori sit. Quales ex hac¹ die experiundo cognorit, perinde operae eorum pretium faceret.²

15 Ita prorsus respondet facturum Romanus, nec pro transfugis habiturum qui non duxerint societatem ratam ubi nec divini quicquam nec humani sanctum
 16 esset. Productae deinde in conspectum iis coniuges 17 liberique lacrumantibus gaudio redduntur. Atque eo die in hospitium abducti; postero die foedere accepta fides, dimissique ad copias adducendas. Isdem deinde castris tendebant, donec ducibus iis ad hostem peruentum est.

XVIII. Proximus Carthaginiensium exercitus Hasdrubalis prope urbem Baeculam erat. Pro castris 2 equitum stationes habebant. In eas velites antesignanique et qui primi agminis erant advenientes

¹ haec *P(1)N Aldus*: ea *SpA* N* JK Froben* 2.

² faceret *P(1)N Aldus*: faciat *SpN* JK Froben* 2.

¹ Not mentioning their attack upon the Romans in XXII. l.c. For their later disloyalties see XXVIII. xxiv. 3; xxxi. 5 ff.; XXIX. i. 19 ff.; Polybius XI. xxix. 3; xxxi. ff.

² Polybius gives only an outline; X. xxxvii. *fin.*

generals,¹ and on the other hand the greed and haughtiness of the generals and the wrongs of every sort they had done to them and their countrymen. Consequently it was till then merely their body that had been with them; their mind had long since been where they believed justice and right were held in honour. Even to the gods, he said, do those who cannot endure the violence and the wrongs of men flee as suppliants; as for themselves, their prayer to Scipio was that he should not reckon the change of sides either to their detriment or to their credit. According as he should henceforward come to know their worth by testing them, let him in that light estimate the value of their service.²

The Roman replied that he would do precisely that, and not regard as deserters men who did not consider an alliance valid in which nothing either divine or human was sacred. Thereupon their wives and children were brought before their eyes and given over to them as they wept for joy. And on that day they were escorted to guest-quarters, while the next day their promise of loyalty was accepted on the basis of a treaty, and they were sent away to bring up their forces. Thereafter they were quartered in the same camp, until with these men as guides the enemy was reached.

XVIII. The nearest army of the Carthaginians, that of Hasdrubal, was close to the city of Baecula.³ Before the camp they had cavalry outposts. Upon these the light-armed, the vanguard and men at the head of the column, just as they came up after the

¹ A short distance north of the river Baetis, not far from Castulo, and in the silver mining region: XXVIII. xiii. 5; Polybius *l.c.* xxxviii. 7.

ex itinere, priusquam castris locum caperent,¹ adeo contemptim impetum fecerunt ut facile appareret
 3 quid utrique parti animorum esset. In castra trepida
 fuga compulsi equites sunt, signaque Romana portis
 4 prope ipsis inflata. Atque illo quidem die inritatis
 tantum ad certamen animis castra Romani posuerunt.
 5 Nocte Hasdrubal in tumulum copias recipit plano
 campo in summo patentem; fluvius ab tergo, ante
 circaque velut ripa praeeceps oram eius omnem
 6 cingebat. Suberat et altera inferior summissa
 fastigio planities; eam quoque altera crepido haud
 7 facilior in ascensum² ambibat. In hunc inferiorem
 campum postero die Hasdrubal, postquam
 stantem pro castris hostium aciem vidit, equites
 Numidas leviumque armorum Baliares et Afros
 demisit.
 8 Scipio circumvectus ordines signaque ostendebat
 hostem, praedamnata spe aequo dimicandi³ campo
 captantem tumulos, loci fiducia, non virtutis aut
 armorum⁴ stare in conspectu; sed altiora moenia
 habuisse Carthaginem, quae transcendisset miles
 9 Romanus: nec tumulos nec arcem, ne mare quidem
 armis obstitisse suis. Ad id fore altitudines quas
 cepissent hostibus, ut per praecipitia et praerupta
 salientes fugerent; eam quoque se illis fugam
 10 clausurum. Cohortesque duas alteram tenere fauces

¹ caperent *N^oJK Aldus, Froben*: acciperent *P(1)N Conway*.

² facilior in ascensum *P(1)NJ Aldus, Froben* (-su K): faciliori adscensu *Madrig.*

³ aequo dimicandi *JK Froben* 2: dimicandi aequo *P(1)N Aldus.*

⁴ ant armorum *Sp?N^oJK Froben* 2: armorumque *P(1)N Aldus.*

march and before choosing a site for a camp, made an attack with such disdain that it was easy to perceive the spirit of each side. The horsemen were forced into the camp in alarm and flight, and the Roman standards were all but carried inside the very gates. And on that day, indeed, after they had merely provoked each other to battle, the Romans pitched camp; but by night Hasdrubal withdrew his troops to a hill the top of which formed an open, level plain.¹ The river was behind it, while in front and at the sides a steep bank, as it were, encircled its entire margin. Beneath was also a lower level area, gently sloping down. This also was surrounded by another ledge no easier to climb. Down to this lower plain Hasdrubal next day, on seeing the enemy's line standing before his camp, sent down his Numidian cavalry and the light-armed Balearic and African troops.

Scipio, while riding about his ranks and standards, pointed out that the enemy, having given up in advance the hope of fighting on level ground, were hugging the hills and were standing before them in reliance upon position, not upon courage and arms. But (New) Carthage, he said, had possessed higher walls, which the Roman soldier had scaled: and neither hills nor citadel, not even the sea, had withstood his arms. The heights which the enemy had taken would only serve them for purposes of flight, as they leaped over precipices and crags. He would cut them off from such a flight too. And of two cohorts he ordered one to hold the entrance

¹ In Polybius' account Hasdrubal had occupied this stronger position before the first attack of the Romans, two days after their arrival (*i.e.* xxxviii. 8 f.).

vallis per quam deferretur amnis iubet, alteram viam
 insidere quae ab urbe per tumuli obliqua in agros
 ferret. Ipse expeditos qui pridie stationes hostium
 pepulerant ad levem armaturam infimo stantem
 11 supercilios ducit. Per aspreta¹ primum, nihil aliud
 quam via impediti, iere. Deinde ut sub ictum vene-
 runt, telorum primo omnis generis vis ingens effusa
 12 in eos est; ipsi contra saxa quae locus strata passim,
 omnia ferme missilia, praebet ingerere, non milites
 solum sed etiam turba calonum inmixta armatis.

13 Ceterum quamquam ascensus difficilis erat, et
 prope obruebantur telis saxisque, adsuetudine
 tamen succedendi muros et pertinacia animi subierunt
 14 primi. Qui simul cepere aliquid aequi loci ubi firmo
 consisterent gradu, levem et concursatorem hostem
 atque intervallo tutum, cum procul missilibus pugna
 eluditur, instabilem eundem ad comminus conserendas
 manus, expulerunt loco et cum caede magna in aciem
 15 altiori² superstantem tumulo inpegere. Inde Scipio
 iussis adversus mediam evadere aciem victoribus ce-
 teras copias cum Laelio dividit, atque eum parte
 dextra tumuli circumire, donec mollieris ascensus
 viam inveniret, iubet; ipse ab laeva, circuitu haud
 16 magno, in transversos hostes incurrit. Inde primo

¹ aspreta *Sp Froben* 2: aspera *P(1)NJK Aldus.*

² altiori *SpJK* : altiore *P(1)N Aldus.*

into the valley through which the river flowed, the other to block the road leading from the city down the slope of the hill into the country. He himself led the unencumbered men, who the day before had routed the outposts of the enemy, to meet the light-armed standing on the lowest brow of the hill. At first they advanced over rugged ground, hampered only by the footing. Then when they came within range, at first an immense number of missile weapons of every kind was showered upon them. In return they hurled stones which the place affords, strewn broadcast and almost all of them of a size to be thrown, and not only did the soldiers do so, but also the mass of camp-servants mingling with the armed men.

But although the ascent was difficult and they were almost overwhelmed by missile weapons and stones, still, thanks to their practice in scaling walls and to their persistence, they were the first to reach the top. As soon as they had taken some level ground where they could get a firm footing, they dislodged the light-armed enemy—such troops are accustomed to skirmishing and, so long as they avoid the battle by hurling their missiles from afar, are protected by distance, but are unsteady in the face of hand-to-hand conflict—and with great slaughter they drove them against the battle-line standing on the higher level of the hill. Then Scipio ordered his victorious troops to go up facing the centre of the line, divided the rest of his forces with Laelius, and bade him circle round the right side of the hill, until he found a way less difficult of ascent. He himself on the left, after a moderate circuit, charged into the flank of the enemy. In consequence the line was at first

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turbata acies est, dum ad circumsonantem undique clamorem flectere cornua et obvertere ordines
 17 volunt. Hoe tumultu et Laelius subiit, et dum pedem referunt, ne ab tergo volnerarentur, laxata prima acies locusque ad evadendum et mediis datus
 18 est, qui per tam iniquum locum stantibus integris ordinibus elephantisque ante signa locatis numquam
 19 evasissent. Cum ab omni parte caedes fieret,
 Scipio, qui laevo cornu in dextrum incueurrerat,¹
 20 maxime in nuda latera hostium pugnabat; et iam ne fugae quidem patebat locus; nam et stationes utrimque Romanae dextra laevaque insederant vias,
 et porta² castrorum ducis principumque fuga clausa erat,³ addita trepidatione elephantorum, quos territos aequo atque hostes timebant. Caesa igitur ad octo milia hominum.

XIX. Hasdrubal, iam antequam dimicaret pecunia rapta elephantisque praemissis, quam plurimos poterat de fuga excipiens praeter Tagum flumen ad
 2 Pyrenaeum tendit. Scipio castris hostium potitus, cum praeter libera capita omnem praedam militibus concessisset, in recensendis captivis decem milia

¹ incueurrerat *P(3)*: incurrerat *ANJK Aldus, Froben.*

² porta *P(3)N*: portam *MJK Aldus, Froben*: -tas *A.*

³ clausa erat *P(3)N*: clauerat *RMBDANJK Aldus, Froben.*

¹ His original intention was to cross the Pyrenees about this time on his way to Italy; Polybius X. xxxix. 7 f.; cf. above, v. 12.

² By this route (vaguely indicated, as in Polybius *l.c.* § 8) Hasdrubal avoided any possibility of Roman opposition while following the upper valleys of the Tagus and the Ebro. The only indication which we have of his passage over into Gaul

thrown into disorder, while the men tried to wheel ^{B.C. 209} and make their ranks face the uproar resounding on every side. In the midst of this disorder Laelius also reached the top; and the front line of the enemy, as the men gave way and were afraid of being wounded from the rear, lost its solidity, and room was given even for the Romans in the centre to mount to the top. These men would never have done so over such unfavourable ground if the ranks had stood unbroken with the elephants placed in front of the standards. While on all sides the slaughter was in progress, Scipio, who with the left wing had charged into the enemy's right wing, was fighting chiefly against the exposed flank of the enemy. And no longer was space left open even for flight; for both on the right and on the left Roman outposts had blocked the roads, and the gate of the camp was obstructed by the flight of the general and chief officers, while in addition there was the panic of the elephants, of which, when terrified, they were as much afraid as of the enemy. Accordingly about eight thousand men were slain.

XIX. Hasdrubal, who even before the battle had hastily gathered up his money and had sent elephants in advance,¹ picking up as many men as possible in the course of their flight, directed his march along the river Tagus towards the Pyrenees.² Scipio took possession of the enemy's camp, and after giving up to the soldiers all the booty except free persons, in listing the captives found ten thousand foot-soldiers

is in Appian *Hispania*, 28, who says Hasdrubal crossed near the northern ocean, *i.e.* the Atlantic. The time was really the autumn of 208 B.C., and in the following spring he crossed the Alps; cf. note on xx. 8.

peditum duo milia equitum invenit. Ex iis¹ Hispanos sine pretio omnes domum dimisit, Afros vendere quaestorem iussit. Circumfusa inde multitudo Hispanorum et ante deditorum et pridie captorum regem eum ingenti consensu appellavit. Tum Scipio silentio per praeconem facto sibi maximum nomen imperatoris esse dixit, quo se milites sui appellassent; regium nomen alibi magnum, Romae intolerabile² esse. Regalem animum in se esse, si id in hominis ingenio amplissimum ducerent, tacite³ iudicarent; vocis usurpatione abstinerent. Sensere etiam barbari magnitudinem animi, cuius miraeulo nominis alii mortales stuperent, id ex tam alto⁴ fastigio aspernantis.

Dona inde regulis principibusque Hispanorum divisa, et ex magna copia captorum equorum trecentos quos vellet eligere Indibilem iussit. Cum Afros venderet iussu imperatoris quaestor, puerum adultum inter eos forma insigni cum audisset regii generis esse, ad Scipionem misit. Quem cum percunctaretur Scipio quis et cuias et cur id aetatis in castris fuisse, Numidam esse⁵ ait, Massivam populares vocare; orbum a patre relictum, apud maternum avum

¹ iis *J Aldus, Froben*: his *K Conway*: om. *P(1)N*.

² intolerabile *P(1)NJK Aldus*: intolerandum *Sp Froben* 2.

³ tacite(-tae) *P(1)N Aldus, Froben*: taciti *A^yN^yJK Conway*.

⁴ alto *A^yJK Aldus, Froben*: magno *P(1)N*.

⁵ esse *P(1)N*: esse se *N^yJK*: se esse *A^y Aldus, Froben*.

and two thousand horsemen. Of these he sent all ^{B.C. 209} the Spaniards to their homes without ransom; the Africans he ordered the quaestor to sell. Then the crowd of Spaniards, both those previously surrendered and those captured the day before, flocked round him and with great unanimity hailed him as king. Thereupon Scipio, after silence had been secured by a herald, said that his highest title was that of general-in-command; with that his soldiers had addressed him:¹ the title of a king, elsewhere in high honour, was not to be endured at Rome. As for his having the spirit of a king, if they thought *that* was the noblest thing in the nature of man, let it be their silent verdict; from the use of the word let them refrain.² Even the barbarians appreciated the magnanimity of a man who from so lofty a height scorned a title by whose fascination the rest of mortals were dazed.

Then gifts were apportioned to the princes and chieftains of the Spaniards, and out of the large number of captured horses he ordered Indibilis to select three hundred of his own choosing. While the quaestor at the general's command was selling the Africans, and had heard that a well-grown boy of conspicuous beauty among them was of royal race, he sent him to Scipio. When Scipio asked him who he was and from what region, and why at that age he was in the camp, he said he was a Numidian; that his people called him Massiva; that, left an orphan by his father, he had been brought up in the house of

¹ This (though not mentioned by Livy as such) is the earliest known instance of a commander being saluted as *imperator* by his troops.

² Cf. Polybius *l.c.* xl. 5.

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Galam, regem Numidarum, eductum,¹ cum avunculo
 Masinissa, qui nuper cum equitatu subsidio Cartha-
 giniensibus venisset, in Hispaniam traiecerat;
 prohibitum propter aetatem a Masinissa numquam
 ante proelium inisse; eo die quo pugnatum cum
 Romanis esset, inscio avunculo, clam armis equoque
 sumpto in aciem exisse; ibi prolapso equo effusum
 11 in praeceps captum ab Romanis esse. Scipio cum
 adservari Numidam iussisset, quae pro tribunali
 agenda erant peragit; inde cum se in praetorium
 receperisset, vocatum eum interrogat velletne ad
 12 Masinissam reverti. Cum effusis gaudio lacrimis
 cupere vero diceret, tum pueru anulum aureum,
 tunicam lato clavo cum Hispano sagulo et aurea
 fibula equumque ornatum donat, iussisque prosequi
 quoad vellet equitibus dimisit.

XX. De bello inde consilium habitum. Et
 auctoribus quibusdam ut confestim Hasdrubalem
 2 consequeretur, anceps id ratus, ne Mago atque
 alter² Hasdrubal cum eo iungerent copias, praesidio
 tantum ad insidendum Pyrenaeum misso ipse reli-
 cuum aestatis recipiendis in fidem Hispaniae populis
 absumpsit.

3 Paucis post proelium factum ad Baeculam diebus,
 cum Scipio rediens iam Tarraconem saltu Castulo-

¹ eductum *BDAN*: edictum *P(3)*: educatum *M²A¹JK*
Aldus, Froben.

² alter *N⁸JK Luchs*: om. *P(1)N Aldus, Froben*: cf. § 5.

¹ For the two Hasdrubals and Mago cf. also XXVI. xx. 6;
 XXV. xxxii. 3-8.

² Meaning obviously the road near the Mediterranean. At
 the pass (Le Perthus, ca. 940 feet) it was about 12 miles back
 from a rugged coast. Scipio was criticized for allowing Has-

his maternal grandfather Gala, king of the Numidians; that with his uncle Masinissa, who had recently come with his cavalry to the assistance of the Carthaginians, he had crossed over into Spain; forbidden by Masinissa on account of his age, he had never before gone into battle. On the day they had fought with the Romans, without his uncle's knowledge, he said, he had secretly taken arms and a horse and gone out into the battle-line; there, thrown headforemost by a fall of his horse, he had been captured by the Romans. Scipio, after ordering that the Numidian should be guarded, completed such duties as he had to perform from the platform; and then, having returned to headquarters, summoned him and asked whether he would like to return to Masinissa. When he shed tears of joy and said that he was indeed eager to do so, Scipio thereupon presented the boy with a gold ring, a tunic with a broad stripe, and a Spanish cloak, a golden brooch and a horse with his harness. And ordering horsemen to escort him as far as he desired, Scipio sent him away.

XX. Then a council was held on the conduct of the war. And when some advised him to overtake Hasdrubal at once, Scipio thought that a dangerous course, for fear lest Mago and the other Hasdrubal¹ should join forces with him. He therefore merely sent a force to occupy the Pyrenees,² and himself spent the remainder of the summer in receiving the submission of the peoples of Spain.

A few days after the battle at Baecula, when Scipio, now on his way back to Tarraco, had emerged drubal to escape from Spain. But only a much larger army could have closed the other passes, few as they are.

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nensi excessisset, Hasdrubal Gisgonis filius et Mago imperatores ex ulteriore Hispania ad Hasdrubalem venere, serum post male gestam rem auxilium, consilio in cetera exsequenda¹ belli haud parum opportuni. Ibi conferentibus quid in cuiusque provinciae² regione animorum Hispanis esset, unus Hasdrubal Gisgonis ultimam Hispaniae oram, quae ad Oceanum et Gades vergit, ignaram adhuc Romanorum esse eoque Carthaginiensibus satis fidam censebat; inter Hasdrubalem alterum et Magonem constabat beneficiis Scipionis occupatos omnium animos publice privatimque esse, nec transitionibus finem ante fore quam omnes Hispani milites aut in ultima Hispaniae amoti aut traducti in Galliam forent. Itaque etiam si senatus Carthaginiensium non censuisset, eundum tamen Hasdrubali fuisse in Italiam, ubi belli caput rerumque³ summa esset, simul ut Hispanos omnes procul ab nomine Scipionis ex Hispania abduceret. Exercitum eius cum transitionibus tum adverso proelio imminentium Hispanis repleri militibus, et Magonem, Hasdrubali Gisgonis filio tradito exercitu, ipsum cum grandi pecunia ad conducenda mercede auxilia in Baleares traicere; Hasdrubalem Gisgonis cum exercitu penitus in Lusitaniam abire, nec cum Romano manus conserere; Masinissae ex omni equitatu quod roboris esset, tria milia equitum expleri, eumque vagum per

¹ ex(s)equenda *P(1)NJK* : -sequendi *Madrig.*

² provinciae *P(1)NJK Aldus, Froben, Johnson* : provincia ae *Riemann* (et *Madrig.*) : *Conway would delete.*

³ rerumque *A^sN^sJK* : rerum *P(1)N* : et rerum *C² Aldus, Froben.*

¹ The brother of Mago.

² Cf. v. 12.

from the forest of Castulo, Hasdrubal, the son of Gisgo, and Mago, the generals, came from farther Spain to Hasdrubal, bringing belated aid after the defeat, but not inopportune for a council on the prosecution of the rest of the war. There, as they were exchanging information concerning the spirit of the Spaniards in the territory assigned to each of them, Hasdrubal, the son of Gisgo, was alone of the opinion that the most remote part of Spain, which extends toward the Ocean and Gades, was still unacquainted with the Romans and in consequence sufficiently loyal to the Carthaginians. The other Hasdrubal¹ and Mago agreed that, both as states and as individuals, all men were prepossessed owing to the favours of Scipio; and there would be no end to desertions until all the Spanish soldiers had been either segregated in the farthest part of Spain, or led over into Gaul. And so, they said, even if the Carthaginian senate had not decreed it,² Hasdrubal would still have been obliged to proceed into Italy, where was the focus of the war and the main issue, with this purpose also, in order that he might lead all the Spanish troops out of Spain, far removed from the fame of Scipio. They proposed that his army, depleted both by desertions and by defeat, should be recruited with Spanish soldiers; and further, that Mago, after turning over his army to Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, should himself cross to the Balearic Isles with a large sum of money, to hire mercenary auxiliaries; that Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, should retire with his army into the interior of Lusitania and not engage in battle with the Roman; that for Masinissa there should be a full complement of three thousand horsemen, the pick of all the cavalry, and

citeriorem Hispaniam sociis opem ferre, hostium oppida atque agros populari. His decretis ad exse-
quenda quae statuerant duces¹ digressi. Haec eo anno in Hispania acta.

- 9 Romae fama Scipionis in dies crescere, Fabio Tarentum captum astu² magis quam virtute gloriae
 10 tamen esse. Fulvi senescere fama, Marcellus etiam adverso rumore esse, superquam quod primo male pugnaverat, quia vagante per Italiam Hannibale media aestate Venusiam in tecta milites abduxisset.
 11 Inimicus erat ei C. Publicius Bibulus tribunus plebis. Is iam a prima pugna, quae adversa fuerat, adsiduis contionibus infamem invisumque plebei Claudium
 12 fecerat. et iam de imperio abrogando eius agebat, cum tamen necessarii Claudi obtinuerunt ut relieto Venusiae legato Marellus Romanum veniret³ ad purganda ea quae inimici obicerent.⁴ nec de imperio
 13 eius abrogando absente ipso ageretur. Forte sub idem tempus et Marellus ad deprecandam ignominiam et Q. Fulvius consul comitiorum causa Romanum venit.

XXI. Actum de imperio Marcelli in circo Flaminio est ingenti concursu plebisque et omnium ordinum;

¹ duces *A²N⁴JK Allus*, *Froben*: *om.* *P(1)N Madvig*.

² astu *SpA¹N⁴JK Froben* 2: *om.* *P(3)* : ingenio *AN Aldus* : fraude *C⁴*.

³ veniret *SpJK Froben* 2: rediret *P 1:N Aldus*, *Madrig*, *Conway*.

⁴ obicerent *A⁴N⁴JK Aldus*, *Froben*: decernerent *P(1)N*: deferrent *M. Müller*.

¹ Here again we correct Livy's chronology by Polybius Book X, in which the battle of Baecula falls in 208 B.C., leaving the winter and early spring only for Hasdrubal's stay in Gaul; cf. vii. 5 note. Livy has him remain a whole year among the Gauls, and makes no attempt to explain a delay so incredible.

that, roaming about over hither Spain, he should lend ^{B.C. 209} aid to allies and devastate towns and farms of the enemy. Having thus ordered, the generals separated, to carry out the measures decided upon. Such were the events in Spain that year.¹

At Rome Scipio's fame was growing from day to day; Fabius, although Tarentum had been taken by ruse rather than by courage, nevertheless gained glory thereby: Fulvius' celebrity was declining: Marcellus was even in bad repute, not only because he had at first been defeated, but also because, while Hannibal was wandering about Italy, he had drawn off his troops to their billets at Venusia in mid-summer. He had a personal enemy, Gaius Publicius Bibulus, tribune of the plebs. This man, beginning with the first battle, which had been unsuccessful, by continually haranguing had defamed Claudius to the common people and made them hate him, and by this time he was arguing for the abrogation of his command, when the relatives of Claudius nevertheless carried their point that Marcellus should leave a lieutenant at Venusia and come to Rome, to clear himself of the charges which his enemies were making, and that the abrogation of his command should not be discussed while he himself was absent. By chance Marcellus came to Rome to avert disgrace, about the same time that Quintus Fulvius, the consul, arrived to conduct the elections.

XXI. The argument in regard to Marcellus' command was staged in the Flaminian Circus,² before a great assemblage of the commons and of all classes.

¹ For the use of the Flaminian Circus at times for assemblies see Cicero *pro Sestio* 33; *ad Att.* I. xiv. 1. Plutarch in *Marcellus* xxvii. is following Livy, as often.

- 2 accusavitque ¹ tribunus plebis non Marcellum modo,
 sed omnem nobilitatem: fraude eorum et cunctatione
 fieri ut Hannibal decimum iam annum Italiam pro-
 vinciam habeat, diutius ibi quam Carthagine vixerit.
- 3 Habere fructum imperii prorogati Marcello populum
 Romanum: bis caesum exercitum eius aestiva
- 4 Venusiae sub tectis agere. Hanc tribuni orationem
 ita obruit Marcellus commemoratione rerum suarum
 ut non rogatio solum de imperio eius abrogando
 antiquaretur, sed postero die consulem eum ingenti
- 5 consensu centuriae omnes crearent. Additur conlega
 T. Quinetius Crispinus, qui tum praetor erat.
 Postero die praetores creati P. Licinius Crassus Dives
 pontifex maximus, P. Licinius Varus, Sex. Iulius
 Caesar, Q. Claudius.²
- 6 Comitiorum ipsorum diebus sollicita civitas de
 Etruriae defectione fuit. Principium eius rei ab
 Arretinis fieri C. Calpurnius scripserat, qui eam
- 7 provinciam pro praetore obtinebat. Itaque³ con-
 festim eo missus Marcellus consul designatus, qui
 rem inspicceret ac. si digna videretur, exercitu accito
 bellum ex Apulia in Etruriam transferret. Eo
- 8 metu compressi Etrusci quieverunt. Tarentinorum
 legatis pacem potentibus cum libertate ac legibus
 suis responsum ab senatu est ut redirent, cum Fabius
 consul Romam venisset.
- 9 Ludi et Romani et plebei eo anno in⁴ singulos

¹ -que *P(1)NJK Aldus*: *om. Sp Froben* 2, *Conway*.

² *Claudius P(1)NJK*: *Claudius Flamen Froben* 2 (*Flami-*
nus x Aldus): *cf. p. 300, n. 5.*

³ *Itaque Aldus, Froben*: *aque PRM*: *atque N(3)*: *ita JK*.

⁴ *in Pz(3)RzNJK Aldus*: *sin PR*: *om. Froben* 2, *Riemann,*
Luchs.

And the tribune of the plebs accused not Mareellus B.C. 209 merely, but the entire nobility. It was due to their dishonesty and delaying, he said, that Hannibal had Italy as his province for now the tenth year, and had lived longer there than at Carthage. The Roman people had this fruit from the continuation of Marcellus' command, namely, that his army, twice cut to pieces, had its summer quarters at Venusia in billets! This speech of the tribune was so completely refuted by Marcellus' statement of his achievements that not only was the bill to abrogate his command rejected, but on the following day all the centuries with great unanimity elected him consul. Joined with him as colleague was Titus Quinetius Crispinus, who at the time was praetor. On the following day Publius Licinius Crassus Dives, pontifex maximus, Publius Licinius Varus, Sextus Julius Caesar and Quintus Claudius were elected praetors.

Precisely on these election days the state was concerned in regard to a revolt in Etruria. First steps in that direction were reported in a letter of Gaius Calpurnius, propraetor in charge of the assignment, as being taken by the men of Arretium. Accordingly Marcellus, the consul-elect, was at once sent thither to look into the matter and, if he thought it important enough, to send for an army and shift the war from Apulia to Etruria. The Etruscans, restrained by the fear of that move, kept quiet. When legates of the Tarentines sued for peace with freedom and their own laws, the senate answered that they should return when Fabius, the consul, came to Rome.

The Roman Games and the Plebeian Games were repeated that year for one day in each case. The

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dies instaurati. Aediles curules fuere L. Cornelius Caudinus et Ser. Sulpicius Galba, plebei C. Servilius 10 et Q. Caecilius Metellus.¹ Servilium negabant iure aut tribunum plebis fuisse aut aedilem esse, quod patrem eius, quem triumvirum agrarium occisum a Boiis circa Mutinam esse opinio per novem² annos fuerat, vivere atque in hostium potestate esse satis constabat.

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XXII. Undecimo anno Punici belli consulatum inierunt M. Marcellus quintum—ut numeretur consulatus quem vitio creatus non gessit—et T. Quintius 2 Crispinus. Utrisque consulibus³ Italia decreta provincia est et duo consulum prioris anni exercitus—tertius Venusiae tum erat, cui Marcellus praefuerat—ita ut ex tribus eligerent duo quos vellent, tertius ei traderetur cui Tarentum et Sallentini provincia 3 evenisset. Ceterae provinciae ita divisae: praetoribus P. Licinio Varo urbana, P. Licinio⁴ Crasso pontifici maximo peregrina et quo senatus censuisset, Sex. Iulio Caesari Sicilia, Q. Claudio⁵ Tarentum. 4 Prorogatum in annum imperium⁶ est Q. Fulvio

¹ et Q. Caecilius Metellus *A⁴N⁴JK Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)N, one line.*

² novem *C Conway: nexem P(3): decem ANJK Aldus, Froben.*

³ Utrisque consulibus *P(1)N Aldus: utriusque consulum Sp⁴JK Froben 2.*

⁴ Varo . . . Licinio: *an omitted line in P(1)N: supplied by A⁴N⁴JK Aldus, Froben.*

⁵ Claudio, *P(3) Froben 2 add Flamini: M²ANJK Aldus add Flaminio: cf. p. 298, n. 2.*

⁶ in annum imperium *JK Luchs: imperium in annum P(1)N Aldus, Froben.*

curule aediles were Lucius Cornelius Caudinus and ^{B.C. 209} Servius Sulpicius Galba, the plebeian aediles being Gaius Servilius and Quintus Caecilius Metellus. It was said that legally Servilius had not been tribune of the plebs, nor was he now legally aedile, because his father, of whom it had been believed for nine years that he was slain as one of the three land-commissioners by the Boii near Mutina, was alive, it was now established, and in the hands of the enemy.¹

XXII. In the eleventh year of the Punic War the ^{B.C. 208} consuls entering office were Marcellus, for the fifth time—to include the consulship which he had not held on account of a defective election²—and Titus Quinctius Crispinus. Italy was assigned as their province to both consuls, also the two armies of the consuls of the previous year. A third, hitherto commanded by Marcellus, was then at Venusia. The decree ordered that of the three they should choose two of their own selection, and that the third be given to the general whose assignment should be Tarentum and the Sallentini. The rest of the assignments were distributed as follows: for the praetors, jurisdiction in the city to Publius Licinius Varus, that involving strangers to Publius Licinius Crassus, pontifex maximus, with a command wherever the senate should decide; Sicily to Sextus Iulius Caesar and Tarentum to Quintus Claudius. Continued for one year was the command of Quintus Fulvius Flacaeus,

¹ Cf. XXI. xxv. 3. So long as a patrician father lived and had not sanctioned a son's transfer to a plebeian *gens*, the son's election to plebeian offices was accounted void; cf. XXX. xix. 9; Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* I³. 487 and note.

² Cf. XXIII. xxxi. 13.

Flaco, ut provinciam Capuam, quae T. Quinti
 5 praetoris fuerat, cum una legione obtineret. Prorogatum et C. Hostilio Tubulo est, ut pro praetore in Etruriam ad duas legiones succederet C. Calpurnio. Prorogatum et L. Veturio Philoni est, ut pro praetore Galliam eandem provinciam cum isdem duabus legionibus obtineret quibus praetor obtinuisset.
 6 Quod in L. Veturio, idem in C. Aurunculeio decre-
 tum ab senatu, latumque de prorogando imperio ad populum est, qui praetor Sardiniam provinciam cum duabus legionibus obtinuerat. Additae ei ad praesidium provinciae quinquaginta longae¹ naves
 7 quas P. Scipio ex Hispania misisset. Et P. Scipioni et M. Silano suae Hispaniae suique exercitus in annum decreti. Scipio ex octoginta navibus quas aut secum ex Italia adductas aut captas Carthagine habebat quinquaginta in Sardiniam trahittere
 8 iussus, quia fama erat magnum navalem apparatum eo anno Carthagine esse, ducentis navibus omnem oram Italiae Siciliaeque ac² Sardiniae inpleturos.
 9 Et in Sicilia ita divisa res est: Sex. Caesari exercitus Cannensis datus est; M. Valerius Laevinus—ei quoque enim prorogatum imperium est—classem quae ad Siciliam erat navium septuaginta obtineret; adderet eo triginta naves quae ad Tarentum priore anno fuerant; cum ea centum navium classe, si
 10 videretur ei, praedatum in Africam traiceret. Et

¹ longae N^eJK Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)N.

² -que ac Sp^oJK Froben 2: -que (after Sardiniae) P(3)N Aldus.

¹ Polybius makes his entire fleet number 53 ships (18 captured); X. xvii. 13.

who with one legion was to be in charge of Capua as B.C. 203 his assignment, formerly held by Titus Quinetius, a praetor. Continued also was the command of Gaius Hostilius Tubulus, who was to succeed Gaius Calpurnius as propraetor for Etruria, at the head of two legions. Continued also was the command of Lucius Veturius Philo, to hold Gaul as propraetor—the same assignment with the same two legions with which he had held it as praetor. The measure adopted in the case of Lucius Veturius was likewise decreed by the senate in that of Gaius Aurunculeius, and the bill to continue his command was brought before the people. As praetor he had had Sardinia for his province with two legions. In addition he was given for the defence of the province the fifty warships which Publius Scipio had sent from Spain. And to Publius Scipio and Marcus Silanus were deereed for one year their own provinees in Spain and their own armies. Scipio was ordered to send over to Sardinia fifty of the eighty¹ ships which he had either brought with him from Italy or captured at (New) Carthage. This was owing to the report that at Carthage there were great naval preparations that year, and that with two hundred ships the Carthaginians would cover the whole coast of Italy, also of Sicily and Sardinia. In Sieily, moreover, the apportionment was as follows: the army from Cannae was given to Sextus Caesar; Mareus Valerius Laevinus—for his command also was continued—to have the fleet of seventy vessels then in Sicilian waters. To that he should add thirty ships whieh had been at Tarentum the previous year. With that fleet of a hundred ships he was, if he saw fit, to cross over to Africa, to ravage the country. Likewise Publius

P. Sulpicio, ut eadem classe Macedoniam Graeciamque provinciam haberet, prorogatum in annum imperium est. De duabus quae ad urbem Romam fuerant legionibus nihil mutatum. Supplementum quo opus esset ut¹ scriberent consulibus² permisum. Una et viginti legionibus eo anno defensum imperium Romanum est. Et P. Licinio Varo praetori urbano negotium datum ut naves longas triginta veteres reficeret quae Ostiae erant et viginti novas naves sociis navalibus conpleret, ut quinquaginta navium classe oram maris³ vicinam urbi Romanae tueri posset. C. Calpurnius vetitus ab Arretio movere exercitum, nisi cum successor venisset; idem et Tubulo imperatum, ut inde praecipue caveret ne qua nova consilia orerentur.⁴

XXIII. Praetores in provincias profecti; consules religio tenebat, quod prodigiis aliquot nuntiatis non facile litabant. Et⁵ ex Campania nuntiata erant, Capuae duas aedes, Fortunae et Martis. et sepulera aliquot de caelo tacta, Cumis—adeo minimis etiam rebus prava religio inserit deos—mures in aede Iovis aurum rosisse. Casini⁶ examen apium ingens in 3 foro consedisse; et Ostiae murum portamque de

¹ ut N*JK Aldus, *Froben*: om. *P(I)N*.

² consulibus N*JK: *consules P(I)N*.

³ maris A*N*JK: magis *P(I)N*.

⁴ orerentur Luchs, 1879: orirentur N*JK Aldus, *Froben*: eaperentur *P(I)N Luchs*, 1888.

⁵ Et *P(I)N*: om. JK Aldus, *Froben*.

⁶ Casini *P(I)N*J*: Casilini *K*.

¹ He must have had troops as well; but the legion of vii. 15 is not expressly mentioned.

Sulpicius' command was continued for one year, ^{B.C. 208} and he was to have Macedonia and Greece as his province with the same fleet as before.¹ In regard to the two legions that had been at the city of Rome no change was made. Permission was given to the consuls to reeruit additional numbers, to be assigned to meet any need. It was with twenty-one legions that the Roman empire was defended that year. In addition, Publius Lieinius Varus, the city praetor, was given the task of repairing the thirty old warships which were at Ostia and of manning twenty new ships with crews, so that with a fleet of fifty ships he might defend the seacoast near the city of Rome.² Gaius Calpurnius was forbidden to move his army away from Arretium before the arrival of his successor. The same order was given to Tubulus also, to be particularly on his guard there against the outbreak of any sedition.

XXIII. The praetors set out for their assignments.
The consuls were detained by religious scruples,
because, when a number of portents were reported,
they did not easily obtain favourable sacrifices.
 From Campania had come reports that at Capua two temples, those of Fortune and of Mars, and a number of tombs were struck by lightning; that at Cumae mice had gnawed the gold in the temple of Jupiter—so true is it that superstition brings the gods into the smallest circumstances. At Casinum it was said that a great swarm of bees had settled in the forum.³ It was also reported that at Ostia the wall and a gate

² Thus even the city praetor has an emergency command.

³ Cf. XXIV. x. 11 (Rome, Forum); XXI. xlvi. 2 (in camp, over the headquarters). Casinum was not in Campania, but on the way thither (Via Latina).

caelo tactam. Caere vulturium volasse in aedem
 4 Iovis, Volsiniis sanguine lacum manasse. Horum
 prodigiorum causa diem unum supplicatio fuit.
 Per dies aliquot hostiae maiores sine litatione caesae,
 diuque non impetrata pax deum. In capita consulum
 re publica incolumi exitiabilis prodigiorum eventus
 vertit.

5 Ludi Apollinares Q. Fulvio Ap. Claudio consulibus
 a P.¹ Cornelio Sulla praetore urbano primum facti
 erant; inde omnes deinceps praetores urbani fecerant;
 sed in unum annum vocebant dieque incerta²
 6 faciebant. Eo anno pestilentia gravis incidit in³
 urbem agrosque, quae tamen magis in longos morbos
 7 quam in perniciabiles⁴ evasit. Eius pestilentiae
 causa et supplicatum per compita tota urbe est, et
 P. Licinius Varus praetor urbanus legem ferre ad
 populum iussus ut ii ludi in perpetuum in statam
 diem voverentur. Ipse primus ita votit, fecitque
 ante diem tertium nonas⁵ Quinctiles. Is dies
 deinde sollemnis servatus.

XXIV. De Arretinis et fama in dies gravior et
 cura crescere patribus. Itaque C. Hostilio scriptum

¹ Claudio consulibus a P. x Aldus, *Froben* 2: *om. P(1)NJK*,
a line following Ap.

² incerta JK *Froben* 2: *incerto P(1)N Aldus.*

³ in *P(1)N*: *per Sp Froben* 2.

⁴ perniciabiles(-is). *CBDA Madvig, Luchs*: -iales *N⁸JK*
Aldus, Froben 2: *permitiales Sp Conway*: -abilis *PRM.*

⁵ nonas *P-1 NSp²JK*: *idus Merkel.*

¹ The Lake of Bolsena.

² *I.e.* 212 B.C.

³ A decree of the senate in 211 B.C. (XXVI. xxiii. 3) seems
 not to have been carried out.

⁴ A slip, as Livy himself in giving the time of the festival in
 XXXVII. iv. 4 reckons from the Ides, not from the Nones.

of the city had been struck by lightning, that at Cære ^{B.C. 208}
 a vulture had flown into the temple of Jupiter, that at
 Volsinii the lake¹ was stained with blood. On account
of these prodigies prayers were offered for one day.
For several days full-grown victims were slain without
 a favourable result, and for a long time the peace of
 the gods was not secured. It was upon the heads of
the consuls that dire consequences of the portents
 descended, while the state remained unharmed.

The Games of Apollo had been observed for the first time in the consulship of Quintus Fulvius and Appius Claudius,² under the direction of Publius Cornelius Sulla, the city praetor. From that time all the successive city praetors had conducted them. But they vowed them for a single year and did not conduct them on a fixed date. That year a serious epidemic fell upon the city and the countryside, occasioning maladies, however, that were rather lingering than fatal. On account of that epidemic prayers were offered at the street corners throughout the city; and in addition Publius Licinius Varus, the city praetor, was ordered to propose to the people a bill that those games should be vowed in perpetuity for a fixed date.³ He himself was the first to vow them in those terms, and he conducted them on the fifth⁴ of Quinctilis.⁵ Thenceforward that day was kept as a regular holiday.

XXIV. As regards the Arretines, reports grew more serious every day, and the anxiety of the senators was increased. Accordingly Gaius Hostilius

Thus the corrected date is the 13th of the month by our reckoning. The extended festival of later times covered the days from the 6th through the 13th.

⁵ July in Caesar's calendar.

est ne differret obsides ab Arretinis accipere, et cui
 traderet Romam deducendos C. Terentius Varro cum
 2 imperio missus. Qui ut venit, extemplo Hostilius
 legionem unam, quae ante urbem castra habebat,
 signa in urbem ferre iussit praesidiaque locis idoneis
 disposuit; tum in forum¹ citatis senatoribus obsides
 3 imperavit. Cum senatus biduum ad considerandum²
 peteret, aut ipsos extemplo dare aut se postero die
 senatorum omnes liberos sumpturum edixit. Inde
 portas custodire iussi tribuni³ militum praefectique⁴
 socium et centuriones,⁵ ne quis nocte urbe exiret.
 4 Id segnissus neglegentiusque factum; septem principes
 senatus, priusquam custodiae in portis locarentur,
 5 ante noctem cum liberis evaserunt. Postero die
 luce prima, cum senatus in forum citari coepitus esset,
 desiderati, bonaque eorum venierunt. A ceteris
 senatoribus centum viginti obsides, liberi ipsorum,
 accepti traditique C. Terentio Romam deducendi.
 6 Is omnia suspectiora quam ante fuerant in senatu
 fecit. Itaque tamquam imminentे Etrusco tumultu,
 legionem unam, alteram ex urbanis, Arretium ducere
 iussus ipse C. Terentius, eamque habere in praesidio
 7 urbis; C. Hostilium cum cetero exercitu placet⁶
 totam provinciam peragrare et cavere ne qua occasio

¹ forum *Duker*: foro *P(1)NJK Aldus*.

² considerandum, after this *P(1)N Aldus* hanc tempus
 (after peteret *JK Froben* 2; om. *Duker*).

³ iussi tribuni *Gronovius*: iussit tribuni *P(3)N^{1?}* (tribunos
Sp? A^{y?} JK Froben 2: -nis *M²BDAN Aldus*).

⁴ praefectique *P(3)N^{1?}* (-tosque *Sp?* etc., as above: -tisque
M² etc., as above).

⁵ centuriones *P(3)A^{y?} JK Sp? Froben* 2: -ibus *M²BDAN*.

⁶ placet *P(1)N*: -uit *A^{y?} N^{1?} JK*.

received written orders not to postpone taking ^{B.C. 208} hostages from the Arretines, and Gaius Terentius Varro was sent with military authority, that Hostilius might turn them over to him to be escorted to Rome. Upon Varro's arrival Hostilius at once ordered the one legion which was encamped before the city to advance into the city, and he posted his forces in suitable positions. Then, summoning the senate to the forum, he demanded hostages of them. When the senate asked for two days to consider, he ordered that they themselves furnish them forthwith, or else on the next day, he declared, he would take all the children of the senators. Thereupon the tribunes of the soldiers and prefects of allies and centurions were bidden to guard the gates, that no one might leave the city in the night. This was done slowly and with carelessness. Seven leading members of the senate, before guards could be posted at the gates, escaped before nightfall with their children. Next day at dawn they were missed when the senators began to be summoned to the forum, and their property was sold. From the rest of the senators a hundred and twenty hostages, their own children, were taken and handed over to Gaius Terentius Varro to be escorted to Rome. Varro in the senate represented everything as causing more apprehension than before. And so, just as if an outbreak in Etruria were imminent, Gaius Terentius himself was ordered to lead a single legion, one or the other of the city legions, to Arretium and to keep that legion as the garrison of the town. As for Gaius Hostilius, it was decided that with the rest of the army he should scour the whole province and see to it that no opportunity was given to those eager

8 novare cupientibus res daretur. C. Terentius ut Arretium cum legione venit, claves portarum cum magistratus poposcisset, negantibus iis comparere, fraude amotas magis ratus quam neglegentia intercidisse, ipse alias claves omnibus portis imposuit, cavitque cum cura¹ ut omnia in potestate sua essent; 9 Hostilium intentius monuit ut in eo spem non moturos quicquam Etruscos poneret, si ne quid movere possent² praecavisset.

XXV. De Tarentinis inde magna contentione in senatu actum coram Fabio, defendantे ipso quos cuperat armis, aliis infensis et plerisque aequantibus 2 eos Campanorum noxae poenaeque. Senatus consultum in sententiam M'. Acili factum est ut oppidum praesidio custodiretur, Tarentinique omnes intra moenia continerentur, res integra postea referretur, 3 cum tranquillior status Italiae esset. Et de M. Livio praefecto arcis Tarentinae haud minore certamine actum est, aliis senatus consulto notantibus praefectum, quod eius socordia Tarentum proditum hosti 4 esset, aliis praemia decernentibus, quod per quinquennium arcem tutatus esset, maximeque unius 5 eius opera receptum Tarentum foret, mediis ad censores, non ad senatum notionem de eo pertinere dicentibus; cuius sententiae et Fabius fuit. Adiecit

¹ eum cura *P(1)N Aldus*: *om. SpJK Froben* 2.

² movere possent *A'JK Aldus*, *Froben*: moveri posset *P(1)N* (*omitting prae- with the next word*).

¹ As at Capua, the citizens were to be treated as political prisoners; XXVI. xxvii. 12.

² Livius had been drinking, according to Polybius VIII. xxvii.

for a revolution. Upon the arrival of Gaius Terenius at Arretium with his legion, when he demanded of the magistrates the keys of the gates, and they said they were not to be found, thinking they were removed by stealth and not really missing through carelessness, he himself provided other keys for all the gates, and took great pains to have everything under his own control. He very earnestly warned Hostilius to rest his hope that the Etruscans would not make any move upon one thing—that he had first made it impossible for them to do so.

XXV. Then in regard to the Tarentines there was very heated discussion in the senate in the presence of Fabius, who himself defended the men whom he had captured by force, whereas others were hostile and many put them upon the same level of guilt and punishment as the Capuans. A decree of the senate was adopted on motion of Manius Acilius, that the town should be guarded by a garrison and all the Tarentines confined within the walls:¹ that, with no action now, the case should be brought up later, when the condition of Italy was more peaceful. Also in regard to Marcus Livius, commandant of the citadel of Tarentum, there was no less heated discussion. For some were proposing to brand the commandant by a decree of the senate, because by his lack of spirit Tarentum had been betrayed to the enemy,² and others proposed to vote him rewards, because he had defended the citadel for five years, and it was thanks to him more than to anyone else that Tarentum had been recovered. And those who took a middle course were claiming that a verdict in his case belonged to the censors, not to the senate. Of this mind was Fabius also. He added, however,

tamen fateri se opera Livi Tarentum receptum, quod amici eius volgo in senatu iactassent; neque enim recipiendum fuisse, nisi amissum foret.

- 6 Consulum¹ alter T. Quinetius Crispinus ad exercitum quem Q. Fulvius Flaccus habuerat cum supplemento in Lucanos est profectus. Marcellum aliae atque aliae obiectae animo religiones tenebant, in quibus quod, cum bello Gallico ad Clastidium aedem Honori et Virtuti vovisset, dedicatio eius a pontificibus impeditabatur, quod negabant unam cellam amplius quam uni deo² recte dedicari, quia, si de caelo taeta aut prodigii aliquid in ea factum esset, difficilis procuratio foret, quod utri deo res divina fieret. sciri non posset; neque enim duobus nisi certis deis rite una hostia fieri. Ita addita Virtutis aedes adproperato opere; neque tamen ab ipso aedes eae dedicatae sunt. Tum demum ad exercitum quem priore anno Venusiae reliquerat cum supplemento proficisciuit.
- 11 Locros in Bruttiis Crispinus oppugnare conatus, quia magnam famam attulisse Fabio Tarentum rebatur,³ omne genus tormentorum machinarumque ex Sicilia arcessierat; et naves indidem accitae erant

¹ Consulum *P(1)N Aldus, Froben*: consul JK.

² amplius quam uni deo *SpA⁴N⁵JK Froben* 2: duobus *P(1)N Aldus*: duobus diis *Weissenborn*.

³ rebatur *PCR*: ferebatur *R¹(3)NJK Aldus, Froben*.

¹ Cicero *Cato Maior* 11, Certe, nam nisi tu amisisses, numquam receperissem; *de Oratore*, II. 273; Plutarch, *Fabius* xxiii. 3.

² 222 B.C., in his first consulship.

³ Doubtless those specified in the books of the pontiffs as divinities who might be so paired together. Cf. Valerius Maximus I. i. 8.

his admission that the recovery of Tarentum was due ^{B.C. 208} to Livius, as his friends had repeatedly declared in the senate; for it would not have had to be recovered unless it had been lost.¹

Of the consuls one, Titus Quintius Crispinus, set out for Lucania with additional recruits to join the army which Quintus Fulvius Flaccus had had. Marcellus was detained by religious scruples one after another, as they were impressed upon his mind. One of them was that, although he had vowed at Clastidium, in the Gallic War,² a temple to Honour and Valour, the dedication of the temple was being blocked by the pontiffs. These said that one cella was not properly dedicated to more than a single divinity, since, if it should be struck by lightning, or some portent should occur in it, expiation would be difficult, because it could not be known to which god sacrifice should be offered; for, with the exception of certain deities,³ sacrifice of a single victim to two gods was not proper. Accordingly a temple of Valour was added, its construction being hastened. Even so the temples were not dedicated by Marcellus in person.⁴ Then at last he set out with additional recruits to join the army which he had left at Venusia the previous year.

Crispinus attempted to besiege Locri⁵ in the land of the Brutii, because he thought that Tarentum had brought great repute to Fabius; and he had requisitioned artillery and machines of every kind from Sicily. And from the same quarter ships also

¹ For these temples outside the Porta Capena and their dedication by his son, see Vol. VI. p. 494, note; Cicero *de Nat. Deor.* II. 61; *in Verr.* IV. 121; Val. Max. *l.c.*

⁵ Cf. XXIV. i.-iii.

- A.U.C.
546 quae vergentem ad mare partem urbis oppugnarent.
- 12 Ea omissa oppugnatio est, quia Lacinium Hannibal
admovebat copias, et conlegam eduxisse iam a
Venusia exercitum fama erat, cui coniungi volebat.
- 13 Itaque in Apuliam ex Bruttii reditum, et inter
Venusiam Bantiamque minus trium milium passuum
- 14 intervallo consules binis castris consederunt.¹ In
eandem regionem et Hannibal rediit² averso ab
Locris bello. Ibi consules ambo ingenio feroce
prope cotidie in aciem exire³ haud dubia spe, si
duobus exercitibus consularibus iunctis commisisset
sese hostis, debellari posse.

XXVI. Hannibal quia cum Marcello bis priore
anno congressus vicerat victusque erat, ut, cum
eodem si dimicandum foret, nec spem nec metum
ex vano habere.⁴ ita duobus consulibus haudquaquam
2 sese parem futurum credebat.⁵ Itaque totus in suas
3 artes versus insidiis locum quaerebat. Levia tamen
proelia inter bina castra vario eventu fiebant; quibus
cum extrahi aestatem posse consules crederent, nihilo
minus oppugnari Locros posse rati, L. Cincio ut ex
4 Sicilia Locros cum classe traiceret scribunt. Et
ut ab terra quoque oppugnari moenia possent, ab
Tarento partem exercitus qui⁶ in praesidio erat duci

¹ considerunt A⁴JK Madrig: -rant P(3)M⁵N Aldus,
Froben. Conway: -siderant R¹MBD.

² rediit P(3)B¹N: redit JK.

³ in aciem exire x Gronovius: in acie heare P: milites in
aciem excire (-ciere) A⁴JK Aldus, Froben (exire N⁴): in acie
heare CRMBD: in acie stare Weissenborn.

⁴ habere Harant, Riemann, Conway (in note): haberet
P(1)NJK Eds., Johnson: habebat Gronovius.

⁵ credebat P(1)N Aldus, Froben: censebat A⁴N⁴JK Con-
way.

⁶ qui x Sigonius: quae P(1)NJK Aldus, Froben: qui ibi
Weissenborn.

had been sent for, to attack the part of the city facing the sea. That siege was given up, because Hannibal had brought up his forces to Lacinium,¹ B.C. 208 and the consul wished to unite with his colleague, who, it was reported, had already led his army away from Venusia. And so he returned from the land of the Bruttii into Apulia, and the consuls established themselves between Venusia and Bantia in two camps less than three miles apart. Hannibal also, now that the war had been diverted from Loeri, returned into the same region. There both consuls, who were by nature high-spirited, went out into battle-line almost daily, with no uncertain hope that, if the enemy should risk a battle with two united consular armies, the war could be finished.

XXVI. Hannibal, since in his two encounters with Marcellus in the previous year he had been both victor and vanquished, believed indeed that, if he should have to fight with the same general, he would find neither hope nor fear unfounded; nevertheless he believed that he would be by no means a match for the two consuls. Accordingly, devoting himself exclusively to his own arts, he was in search of a place for an ambush. Slight engagements, however, were taking place in the space between the two camps with varying results. The consuls, believing that the whole summer could be spent in that way, and yet thinking it possible to besiege Loeri, wrote to Lucius Cincius to cross over from Sicily with his fleet to Loeri. And, to make an attack upon the walls possible from the landward side also, they ordered that a part of the force which was serving as a garrison

¹ For promontory and temple cf. Vol. VI. p. 182, note; XXXVI. xlvi. 2.

5 eo iusserunt. Ea ita futura per quosdam Thurinos
 conperta Hannibali cum essent, mittit ad insidendam
 ab Tarento viam. Ibi sub tumulo Peteliae tria
 6 milia equitum, duo peditum in occulto locata; in
 quae inexplorato euntes Romani cum incidissent, ad
 duo milia armatorum caesa, mille et quingenti ferme
 vivi capti, alii dissupati fuga per agros saltusque
 Tarentum rediere.

7 Tumulus erat silvestris inter Punica et Romana
 castra, ab neutrīs primo occupatus, quia Romani
 qualis pars eius quae vergeret ad¹ hostium castra
 esset ignorabant, Hannibal insidiis quam castris
 8 aptiorem eum crediderat. Itaque nocte ad id missas
 aliquot Numidarum turmas medio in saltu condiderat,
 quorum interdiu nemo ab statione movebatur, ne aut
 9 arma aut ipsi procul consiperentur. Fremebant
 volgo in castris Romanis occupandum eum tumulum
 esse et castello firmandum, ne, si occupatus ab
 Hannibale foret, velut in cervicibus haberent hostem.
 10 Movit ea res Marellum, et conlegae “Quin imus”
 inquit “ipsi cum equitibus paucis exploratum?
 Subiecta res oculis nostris² certius dabit consilium.”
 11 Adsentienti³ Crispino, cum equitibus ducentis

¹ ad *P(1)N Aldus* : in *JK Froben* 2.

² nostris *P(1)N Aldus* : om. *JKSp Froben* 2, *Conway*.

³ Adsentienti *Luchs*, *Conway* : -ente *Sp?JK Froben* 2 : consentienti *P(1)N Aldus*. Cf. adsentienti *in abl. abs.* XXXVI. xxxii. 9.

¹ The town crowned a hill 1,100 feet high, and could be reduced only by starvation in 216 B.C.; cf. XXIII. xx. 4 ff.; xxx. 1 ff.

should be brought from Tarentum to Loeri. Hannibal, being informed by some men of Thurii that this was about to be done, sent men to lie in wait along the road from Tarentum. There, beneath the hill of Petelia,¹ three thousand horsemen and two thousand foot were posted in hiding. When the Romans, as they advanced without reconnoitring, encountered this force, about two thousand of their armed men were slain, about fifteen hundred taken alive. The rest, scattering in flight over the farms and through the woods, returned to Tarentum.

Between the Carthaginian and the Roman camps² there was a wooded hill, at first not occupied by either army, because the Romans did not know what was the character of that side of it which faced the enemy's camp, and Hannibal had believed it better suited to an ambuscade than to a camp. And so, sending by night a number of squadrons of the Numidians for that purpose, he had concealed them in the middle of the wood. And during the day none of them would stir from his post, for fear lest either their arms or the men themselves should be seen from a distance. In the Roman camp³ there was a general outcry that the hill must be occupied and defended by a fort, in order that they might not have the enemy, as it were, upon their necks, if the hill should be occupied by Hannibal. That roused Marcellus, and he said to his colleague, "Why not go ourselves with a few horsemen to reconnoitre? Seeing the situation before our eyes will give us a surer judgment." As Crispinus assented, they set out with two

² For the scene we revert to the region of Venusia; cf. xxv. 13; xxviii. 5; Plutarch, *Marcellus* xxix. 1.

³ Evidently that of Marcellus.

A.U.C.
546

- viginti. ex quibus quadraginta Fregellani, ceteri
 12 Etrusci erant. proficiscuntur: secuti tribuni militum
 M. Marcellus consulis filius et A. Manlius, simul et
 duo praefecti socium L. Arrenius et M'. Aulius.
 13 Immolasse eo die quidam prodidere memoriae¹ con-
 sulem Marcellum. et prima hostia caesa iocur sine
 14 capite inventum, in secunda omnia comparuisse quae
 adsolent, auctum etiam visum in capite; nec id
 sane haruspici placuisse quod secundum truncata et
 turpia exta nimis laeta apparuissent. XXVII. Ce-
 terum consulem Marcellum tanta cupiditas tenebat
 dimicandi cum Hannibale ut numquam satis castra
 2 castris conlata diceret.² Tum quoque vallo egrediens
 signum dedit ut ad locum miles esset paratus, ut, si
 collis in quem speculatum irent placuisset, vasa
 colligerent ac³ sequerentur.
 3 Exiguum campi ante castra erat: inde in collem
 aperta undique et conspecta ferebat via. Numidis
 speculator, nequaquam in spem tantae rei positus,
 sed si quos vagos pabuli aut lignorum causa longius
 a castris progressos possent excipere, signum dat
 ut pariter ab suis quisque latebris⁴ exorerentur.
 4 Non ante apparuere quibus obviis ab iugo ipso con-
 surgendum erat quam circumiere qui ab tergo inter-
 cluderent viam. Tum undique omnes exorti, et

¹ memoriae. JK Froben 2 have it before prodidere.

² diceret Sp. A^s JK Froben 2 : crederet P(1)N Aldus.

³ ac JK Aldus, Froben : et P(3)N.

⁴ ab (or a) suis quisque latebris A^s N^s JK Aldus, Froben : ab utrisque lateribus P(1)N.

¹ Polybius' briefer account makes their escort two troops of cavalry, about 30 light-armed infantry and the lictors (who would be 24 in number); X. xxxii. 2.

² So Plutarch also, at greater length; *Marcellus* xxix. 5.

hundred and twenty horsemen, of whom forty were from Fregellae, the rest Etruscans.¹ The tribunes of the soldiers, Marcus Marcellus, son of the consul, and Aulus Manlius, followed them, along with two prefects of the allies, Lucius Arrenius and Manius Aulius. Some have related that the consul Marcellus offered a sacrifice that day, and that when the first victim was slain, the liver was found headless; that in the second everything usually found was present; that the head seemed even enlarged; also that the soothsayer had not been at all pleased that, after organs defective and deformed, others had appeared which were more than promising.² XXVII. But such eagerness to fight with Hannibal possessed the consul Marcellus that he said the camps were never close enough together. At this time also, as he came out from the earthwork, he gave the command that the soldiers should be ready and in place, so that, in case the hill which they were on their way to reconnoitre proved satisfactory, they might gather up their baggage and follow.

There was only a small level space before the camps; then a road open and visible from every side led up the hill. As for the Numidians, a scout who had been posted not at all in the hope of so important a result, but in case they might be able to capture any men who, in wandering about in search of fodder or firewood, had gone too far from camp, gave the signal to spring up, all of them at the same time, from their different hiding-places. Those who had to rise up from the hillside itself facing the enemy did not show themselves before those who were to cut off the road in the rear turned the enemy's flanks. Then they all sprang up from every side and, raising a

5 clamore sublato impetum fecere. Cum in ea valle
 consules essent ut neque evadere possent¹ in iugum
 occupatum ab hoste nec receptum ab tergo circum-
 venti haberent, extrahi tamen diutius certamen
 potuisset, ni copta ab Etruscis fuga pavorem ceteris
 6 inieciisset. Non tamen omisere pugnam deserti ab
 Etruscis Fregellani, donee integri consules hortando
 7 ipsique ex parte pugnando rem sustinebant; sed
 postquam vulneratos ambo consules, Marcellum etiam
 transfixum lancea prolabentem ex equo moribundum
 videre, tum et ipsi—perpauci autem supererant—
 cum Crispino consule duobus iaculis icto et Marcello
 8 adolescente saucio et ipso effugerunt. Interfectus A.
 Manlius tribunus militum, et ex duobus praefectis
 socium M'. Aulius occisus, L. Arrenius captus; et
 lectores consulum quinque vivi in hostium potestatem
 venerunt. ceteri aut interfici aut cum consule effu-
 9 gerunt. Equitum² tres et quadraginta aut in proelio
 aut in fuga ceciderunt, duodeviginti vivi capti.
 10 Tumultuatum in³ castris fuerat, ut consulibus irent
 subsidio, cum consulem et filium alterius consulis
 saucios exiguaeque infelicis expeditionis reliquias
 11 ad castra venientes cernunt. Mors Marcelli cum
 alioqui miserabilis fuit, tum quod nec pro aetate—
 iam enim maior sexaginta annis erat—neque pro
 veteris prudentia ducis tam improvide se conlegamque
 et prope totam rem publicam in praeceps dederat.

¹ evadere possent *P(1)N Aldus*: evaderent *SpJK Froben* 2.

² Equitum *P(1)N Aldus*: equites *Sp?A?N?J Froben* 2.

³ in. *SpNJK Froben* 2, *Conway add* et before in.

¹ Polybius enlarges upon Marcellus' indefensible temerity and contrasts Hannibal's prudent care of his personal safety; X. xxxii. f.; cf. Plutarch *Pelopidas and Marcellus* iii. 3 f.

shout, they attacked. Although the consuls were in such a depression that they neither could make their way up on to the ridge occupied by the enemy, nor had any retreat open, being enclosed in the rear, still the combat might possibly have been prolonged, had not flight begun by the Etruscans inspired alarm in the others. Nevertheless the men of Fregellae, deserted by the Etruscans, did not give up the battle, so long as the consuls unwounded withstood the attack, encouraging their men and themselves taking part in the fight. But after they saw both consuls wounded, Marcellus even pierced by a lance and slipping, a dying man, from his horse, then they likewise—now only a very few were left—fled with Crispinus, the consul, who had been struck by two javelins, and Marcellus the younger, also wounded. Slain was Aulus Manlius, tribune of the soldiers, and of the two prefects of the allies Manius Aulius was killed, Lucius Arrenius captured. And five of the consuls' lictors came alive into the hands of the enemy; the rest were either slain or they escaped with the consul. Of the horse forty-three fell either in battle or in flight, eighteen were captured alive. In the camps there had been an uproar, a clamour that they should go to the relief of the consuls, when now they saw the consul and the son of the other consul both wounded, and the little remnant of the unlucky enterprise coming towards the camps. Marcellus' death was pitiable both for other reasons and also because it was neither consistent with his age—for he was now more than sixty years old—nor with his foresight as a veteran commander, that with such imprudence he had carried himself and his colleague and almost the entire state over the brink.¹

A.U.C. 12 Multos circa unam rem ambitus fecerim, si quae
 546 de Marcelli morte variant auctores omnia exsequi
 13 velim. Ut omittam alios, Coelius triplicem gestae rei
 commemorationem ¹ ordine ² edit: unam traditam
 fama, alteram scriptam in ³ laudatione fili, qui rei
 gestae interfuerit, tertiam quam ipse pro inquisita
 14 ac sibi conperta adfert. Ceterum ita fama variat ut
 tamen plerique loci speculandi causa castris egressum,
 omnes insidiis circumventum tradant.

XXVIII. Hannibal magnum terrorem hostibus
 morte consulis unius, volnere alterius iniectum esse
 ratus, ne cui deesset occasio, castra in tumulum in
 quo pugnatum erat extemplo transfert. Ibi inven-
 2 tum Marcelli corpus sepelit. Crispinus et morte
 conlegae et suo volnere territus, silentio insequentis
 noctis profectus, quos proximos nanctus est montes,
 3 in iis loco alto et tuto undique castra posuit. Ibi
 duo duces sagaciter moti sunt, alter ad inferendam,
 4 alter ad cavendam ⁴ fraudem. Anulis ⁵ Marcelli
 simul cum corpore Hannibal potitus erat. Eius
 signi errore ne qui ⁶ dolus necteretur a Poeno me-
 tuens, Crispinus circa civitates proximas miserat
 nuntios occisum conlegam esse anulisque eius hostem

¹ commemorationem *Conway conj.*: *om. MSS.*

² ordine *Conway conj.*: ordinem *P(1)NJK Aldus, Froben*: seriem *J. Perizonius*: rationem *Weissenborn*: memoriam *Luchs*.

³ in *N¹*: *om. the rest.*

* ⁴ alter ad cavendam *A⁴N⁴JK Aldus, Froben*: *om. P(1)N, one line.*

⁵ Anulis *P(3)A⁴N*: anulo *A⁵JK Aldus, Froben*.

⁶ qui *Sp Froben 2, Conway*: quis *A⁴JK*: cui *P(1)N Aldus*.

¹ Cf. Cicero *Cato Maior* 75; Val. Max. V. i. Ext. 6. For different accounts see Plutarch *Marcellus* xxx. 2 ff., with incorrect citation of his authorities.

I should be very discursive in regard to a single event, if I should aim to rehearse all the statements in which authorities differ concerning the death of Marellus. Not to mention others, Coelius furnishes successively a threefold relation of what happened: one the traditional account, a second set down in the eulogy pronounced by the son, who was present, Coelius says, when it happened, a third which he himself contributes as investigated and established by him. But the divergent reports fall within this range, that most authorities relate that he left the camp to reconnoitre a position, while all say that he was overwhelmed by an ambush.

XXVIII. Hannibal, thinking that great terror had been inspired in the enemy by the death of one consul and the wounding of the other, not to miss any opportunity, at once removed his camp to the hill on which they had fought. There Marcellus' body was found and buried.¹ Crispinus, alarmed both by the death of his colleague and by his own wound, set out in the silence of the following night and in the first mountains which he reached pitched camp on a high place that was also safe on every side. There the two generals set their wits to work, the one to employ, the other to guard against, a ruse. Marcellus' ring² had come into the hands of Hannibal along with the body. Fearing some trickery might be contrived by the Carthaginian through a fraudulent use of that seal, Crispinus had sent word around to the nearest city-states that his colleague had been slain and the enemy was in possession of his ring;

¹ Livy's probably unique use of the plural where only a single seal ring can be meant has never been satisfactorily explained.

potum: ne quibus litteris crederent nomine
 5 Marcelli compositis. Paulo ante hic nuntius consulis Salapiam venerat quam litterae ab Hannibale allatae sunt Marcelli nomine compositae, se nocte quae diem illum secutura esset Salapiam venturum: parati milites essent qui in praesidio erant, si quo
 6 opera eorum opus esset. Sensere Salapitani fraudem, et ab ira non defectionis modo sed etiam equitum interfectorum rati occasionem supplicii peti,
 7 remisso retro nuntio—perfuga autem Romanus erat—ut¹ sine arbitro milites quae vellent agerent, oppidanos per muros urbiske opportuna loca in
 8 stationibus disponunt; custodias vigiliasque in eam noctem intentius instruunt; circa portam qua venturum hostem rebantur quod roboris in praesidio
 9 erat opponunt. Hannibal quarta vigilia ferme ad urbem accessit. Primi agminis erant perfugae Romanorum et arma Romana habebant. Ii, ubi ad portam est ventum, Latine omnes loquentes excitant vigiles aperireque² portam iubent: consulem adesse. Vigiles velut ad vocem eorum excitati tumultuari, trepidare, moliri portam. Cataracta³ clausa erat; eam partim vectibus levant, partim funibus subducunt in tantum altitudinis ut subire

¹ erat ut A^sN^sJK Aldus, Froben: erat C⁴: om. P(1)N.

² aperireque JK: aperirique C⁴?M²BDAN Aldus: aperi- que PCR¹M.

³ cataracta, P(1)N Aldus, Froben add deiecta (om. JKx Conway).

¹ Cf. XXVI. xxxviii. 6, note; and for the betrayal of its garrison of Numidian cavalry, *ibid.* §§ 11-13.

that they should not trust any letters written in the name of Marcellus. This message of the consul had come to Salapia¹ a little before a letter from Hannibal written in Marcellus' name arrived, saying that he would come to Salapia in the night following that day; that the soldiers on garrison duty should be ready, in case he should have any need of their services. The men of Salapia were aware of the deception, and thinking that Hannibal, out of anger not only because of their revolt, but also for the slaughter of his cavalry, was seeking an excuse for punishing them, they sent back the messenger—he was, in fact, a Roman deserter—that the soldiers might do what they wished unobserved. And they posted men of the town along the walls and at favourable positions in the city in detachments on guard duty. For that night they established guard-lines and sentries with more than usual care. Around the gate by which they thought the enemy would come they drew up the best men in the garrison. Hannibal approached the city about the fourth watch. At the head of the column were the Roman deserters, and they had Roman arms. When they came up to the gate, all of them, speaking Latin, called out to the sentinels and bade them open the gate. The consul, they said, was coming. The sentries, pretending to have been awakened by their outcry, were in a turmoil, excited and labouring to open the gate. The portcullis² had been closed. Some of them raise it with levers, some hoist it with ropes, just high enough for men to pass

¹ Constructed of stout timbers strengthened with iron, as described in Aeneas Tacticus xxxix. 3 f. (about 150 years earlier); cf. Vegetius IV. iv.: Appian *B.C.* IV. 78. The vertical grooves are often found in remains of city gates.

A.U.C. 546 11 recti¹ possent. Vixdum satis patebat iter, cum
 perfugae certatim ruunt per portam; et cum ses-
 centi² ferme intrassent, remisso fune quo suspensa
 12 erat cataracta magno sonitu cecidit. Salapitani
 alii perfugas neglegenter ex itinere suspensa
 umeris, ut inter pacatos, gerentis arma invadunt,
 alii e turribus³ portae murisque saxis, sudibus, pilis
 13 absterrent hostem. Ita inde Hannibal suamet ipse
 fraude captus abiit, profectusque ad Locorum
 solvendam obsidionem, quam urbem⁴ L. Cincius
 summa vi, operibus tormentorumque omni genere ex
 14 Sicilia advecto oppugnabat.⁵ Magoni iam haud
 ferme fidenti retenturum defensurumque se urbem,
 15 prima spes morte nuntiata Marcelli adfulsit. Secutus
 inde nuntius Hannibalem Numidarum equitatu
 praemisso ipsum, quantum adcelerare posset, cum
 16 peditum agmine sequi. Itaque ubi primum Numidas
 edito e speculis signo adventare sensit, et ipse pate-
 facta repente porta ferox in hostes erumpit. Et
 primo magis quia improviso id fecerat quam quod
 17 par viribus esset, anceps certamen erat; deinde ut
 supervenire Numidae. tantus pavor Romanis est
 injectus ut passim ad mare ac naves fugerent relictis
 operibus machinisque quibus muros quatiebant.
 Ita adventu Hannibalis soluta Locorum obsidio est.

¹ recti A'JK Aldus, *Froben*: recte P(1)N.

² sescenti A'JK Aldus: d c N': d C: de P(3)R²N.

³ e turribus SpA'JK *Froben*, *Conway*: et turribus N':
 e turri eius C Aldus: et turri eius P(3)N.

⁴ quam urbem *Wesenberg*, *Luchs*: quam P(1)NA'JK: qua
 cingebat urbem *Johnson*.

⁵ oppugnabat A'JK: oppugnas P: -pugnans *Johnson*:
 -pugnasset P²(1)N.

¹ This is the Mago responsible for the death of Gracchus in
 212 B.C.; cf. XXV. xvi.

under it upright. Hardly had the way been quite cleared, when the deserters vied with each other in dashing through the gate. And when about six hundred had entered and the rope by which it was held up had been let go, the portcullis fell with a great crash. Some of the Salapians attack the deserters, who fresh from their march were carrying arms carelessly slung from their shoulders, as if among peaceable people; others from towers of the gate and from the walls frighten off the enemy with stones, poles and javelins. Thus Hannibal, having been ensnared by his own ruse, went away. And he set out to raise the siege of Locri, a city which Lucius Cineius was besieging with great violence by means of siege-works and with every sort of artillery brought from Sicily. For Mago,¹ who no longer was confident that he would hold and defend the city, the first ray of hope came with the news of Marcellus' death. Then followed the news that Hannibal had sent the Numidian cavalry in advance and was himself following with the infantry column, making all possible speed. Accordingly, as soon as Mago knew from signals given from watch-towers that the Numidians were approaching, he also suddenly opens a gate and sallies out confidently against the enemy. And at first it was a doubtful conflict, rather because his action had been unexpected than because he was a match in forces. Then when the Numidians came up, such terror was inspired among the Romans that they fled pell-mell to the sea and the ships, leaving siege-works and engines with which they were battering the walls. Thus by Hannibal's coming the siege of Locri was raised.

XXIX. Crispinus postquam in Bruttios profectum Hannibalem sensit, exercitum cui conlega praefuerat M. Marcellum tribunum militum Venusiam abducere iussit; ipse cum legionibus suis Capuam profectus, vix lecticae agitationem p[re]e gravitate volnerum patiens, Romam litteras de morte conlegae scripsit, quantoque ipse in discrimine esset: se comitorum causa non posse Romanam venire, quia nec viae laborem passurus videretur et de Tarento sollicitus esset, ne ex Bruttii Hannibal eo converteret agmen; legatos opus esse ad se mitti, viros prudentes cum quibus quae vellet de re publica loqueretur. Hae litterae recitatae magnum et luctum morte alterius consulis et metum de altero fecerunt. Itaque et Q. Fabium filium ad exercitum Venusiam miserunt, et ad consulem tres legati missi, Sex. Iulius Caesar, L. Licinius Pollio, L. Cincius Alimentus, cum paucis ante diebus ex Sicilia redisset. Hi nuntiare consuli iussi ut, si ad comitia ipse ¹ venire Romanam non posset, dictatorem in agro Romano diceret comitorum causa; si consul Tarentum profectus esset, Q. Claudium praetorem placere in eam regionem inde abducere legiones in qua plurimas sociorum urbes tueri posset.

7 Eadem aestate M. Valerius cum classe centum

¹ ipse N^oJK Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)N.

¹ Valerius Laevinus (xxii. 9), not Valerius Messalla (vii. 16).

XXIX. Crispinus, on learning that Hannibal had set out for the country of the Bruttii, ordered Marcus Marcellus, tribune of the soldiers, to lead away to Venusia the army which his colleague had commanded. He himself set out with his legions for Capua, although on account of his serious wounds he was barely able to endure the motion of his litter. And he sent to Rome a letter in regard to the death of his colleague, stating also in what danger he was himself; that he was unable to come to Rome for the elections, because it seemed that he would not be able to endure the strain of the journey, also because he was concerned about Tarentum, lest Hannibal, leaving the land of the Bruttii, should head his column in that direction. It was necessary, he wrote, that envoys be sent to him, men of foresight with whom he might say what he wished to say about the state. The reading of this letter caused at the same time great grief for the death of one consul and great fear in regard to the other. Accordingly they sent Quintus Fabius the son to the army at Venusia, and also three legates were sent to the consul, namely, Sextus Iulius Caesar, Lucius Licinius Pollio and Lucius Cincius Alimentus, the last named having returned from Sicily a few days before. These men were bidden to report to the consul that, if he could not come himself to Rome for the elections, on Roman territory he should name a dictator for the purpose of the elections: that if the consul should go to Tarentum, it was the will of the senate that Quintus Claudius, the praetor, should lead his legions away to a region in which he could defend the greatest number of cities of the allies.

The same summer Marcus Valerius¹ crossed over

navium ex Sicilia in Africam trahit, et ad Clupeam urbem escensione facta agrum late nullo ferme obvio armato vastavit.¹ Inde ad naves raptim praedatores recepti, quia repente fama accidit classem Punicam adventare. Octoginta erant et tres naves. Cum his haud procul Clueta prospere pugnat Romanus. Duodeviginti² navibus captis, fugatis aliis, cum magna terrestri navalique praeda Lilybaeum rediit.

9 Eadem aestate et Philippus implorantibus Achaeis auxilium tulit, quos et Machanidas tyrannus Lacedaemoniorum finitimo bello urebat, et Aetoli, navibus per fretum quod Naupactum et Patras interfluit—Rhion incolae vocant—exercitu traecto, depopulati 10 erant. Attalum quoque regem Asiae, quia Aetoli summum gentis suae magistratum ad eum proximo³ concilio detulerant,⁴ fama erat in Europam trajecturum. XXX. Ob haec Philippo in Graeciam descendenti ad Lamiam urbem Aetoli duce Pyrrhia, qui praetor in eum annum cum absente Attalo 2 creatus erat, occurrerunt. Habebant et ab Attalo auxilia secum et mille⁵ ferme ex Romana classe a P. Sulpicio missos. Adversus hunc ducem atque

¹ vastavit *P(1)N Aldus*: -abat *JK Froben* 2.

² Duodeviginti *Conway*: decem et octo *Eds.*: x et viii *P(1)N*. Cf. p. 186, crit. note 6.

³ proximo, *P(3)A¹N add anno (om. A^yJK Aldus, Froben, Luchs)*: proximo anno *Weissenborn*: proximi anni *Conway conj.*

⁴ detulerant *JK Aldus, Froben*: -erunt *P(1)N*.

⁵ mille (∞) *PCA¹N^yJK*: om. *RMBDAN*.

¹ So named == Λασπίς, shield, from the shape of the hill; south of Cape Bon (Promuntorium Mercurii) and east of Carthage (85 miles): Strabo XVII. iii. 16.

² In this passage Livy departs from strict chronology by summarizing under 208 B.C. events also in Macedonia and

from Sicily to Africa with a fleet of a hundred ships, ^{B.C. 208} and making a landing at the city of Clupea,¹ he ravaged the country far and wide, meeting hardly any armed men. Then the foragers were hurriedly brought back to the ships, because suddenly came the report that a Carthaginian fleet was approaching. There were eighty-three ships. With these the Roman fought with success not far from Clupea. After capturing eighteen ships and putting the rest to flight, he returned to Lilybaeum with a great quantity of booty from the land and from the ships.

The same summer² Philip, in response to their appeal, lent aid to the Achaeans, whom Machanidas, tyrant of Lacedaemon, was harassing with a war on their border, while the Aetolians also, sending their army on ships across the strait—the inhabitants call it Rhion—which flows between Naupactus and Patrae, had devastated their country. Furthermore Attalus, King of Asia, it was reported, was about to cross over into Europe, since the Aetolians had at their last council conferred upon him the highest magistracy of their nation. XXX. Consequently, as Philip was coming down into Greece, the Aetolians encountered him at the city of Lamia, their general being Pyrrhias, who along with the absent Attalus had been elected praetor³ for that year. They had with them auxiliary troops from Attalus and also about a thousand men sent by Publius Sulpicius from the Roman fleet. Against this general and these forces

Greece which belong to the previous year, but had been passed over. Thus the Nemean Games (xxx. f.) occurred in 209 B.C.

³ I.e. *στρατηγός*. Attalus I (241-197 B.C.) had the same title as an honour merely.

has copias Philippus bis prospero eventu pugnavit; mille¹ admodum hostium utraque pugna occidit. 3 Inde cum Aetoli metu compulsi Lamiae urbis moenibus tenerent sese, Philippus ad Phalara exercitum reduxit.² In Maliaco sinu is locus est, quondam frequenter habitatus propter egregium portum tutaque circa stationes et aliam opportunitatem maritimum terrestremque. Eo legati ab rege Aegypti Ptolomaeo Rhodiisque et Atheniensibus et Chiis venerunt ad dirimentum inter Philippum atque Aetolos bellum. Adhibitus ab Aetolis et ex finitimis pacificator Amyntander rex Athamanum. Omnium autem non tanta pro Aetolis cura erat, ferociori quam pro ingeniosis Graecorum gente, quam ne Philippus regnumque eius rebus Graeciae,³ grave libertati futurum, immiseretur. De pace dilata consultatio est in concilium Achaeorum, concilioque ei et⁴ locus et dies certa indicta; interim triginta dierum induitae impetratae. Profectus inde rex per Thessaliam Boeotiamque Chalcidem Euboeae venit, ut Attalum, quem classe Euboeam petitum audierat, portibus et litorum adpulsu arceret. Inde praesidio relicto adversus Attalum, si forte interim traieisset, profectus ipse cum paucis equitum levisque⁵ armaturae Argos venit. Ibi curatione Heraeorum Nemeorumque

¹ mille (≈ PC: om. RMBDA^N: milites N^t: multos A^tJK Aldus, Froben.

² reduxit A^tJK Aldus, Froben: duxit P(1)A^tN.

³ rebus Graeciae, JK Aldus, Froben have this after futurum.

⁴ -que ei et N^t Aldus, Froben: -que ei A^tJ¹K: et P(1)(A?) A^vN.

⁵ -que P(1)N Aldus, Froben: om. SpJK.

¹ On the north shore of the Gulf. Phalara was the port of Lamia.

² I.e. from Phalara.

Philip fought twice with success. In each battle he ^{B.C. 208} slew fully a thousand of the enemy. Then, while the Aetolians, constrained by fear, remained inside the walls of the city of Lamia, Philip led his army back to Phalara. The place is on the Maliac Gulf,¹ and was formerly populous on account of its remarkable harbour and safe roadsteads on this side and that and other advantages from the sea and the land. To that place came ambassadors from Ptolemy, King of Egypt, and from the Rhodians and Athenians and Chians, in order to bring to an end the war between Philip and the Aetolians. A peacemaker from their neighbours also was brought in by the Aetolians, Amynander, King of the Athamanians. For all of them, however, it was not so much solicitude for the Aetolians, a race more warlike than comports with the character of Greeks, as it was the fear lest Philip and his kingdom might become involved in the affairs of Greece and become a menace to freedom. As for the peace, consideration was postponed until the council of the Achaeans, and for that council a place and also a fixed date were appointed. Meantime a truce for thirty days was obtained. Setting out from thence² King Philip came by way of Thessaly and Boeotia to Chaleis in Euboea, in order that he might prevent Attalus, who, he had heard, was about to make for Euboea with a fleet, from using the harbours and from landing on the shore. And then, leaving a garrison against Attalus, in case he should cross over in the meantime, he set out himself with a few horsemen and light-armed and came to Argos. There the direction of the games in honour of Hera and of the Nemean Games³ was conferred upon him by vote of

¹ Celebrated in the 2nd and 4th year of each Olympiad; cf. pp. 330-331, note 2.

suffragiis populi ad eum delata, quia se Mace-
donum reges ex ea civitate oriundos referunt,¹
Heraeis peractis ab ipso ludiero extemplo Aegium
profectus est ad indictum multo ante sociorum con-
cilium. Ibi de Aetolico finiendo bello actum, ne
causa aut Romanis aut Attalo intrandi Graeciam
esset. Sed ea omnia vixdum indutiarum tempore
circumacto Aetoli turbavere, postquam et Attalum
Aeginam venisse et Romanam classem stare ad
Naupactum audivere. Vocati enim in concilium
Achaeorum, in quo et eae legationes erant quae ad
Phalara egerant de pace, primum questi sunt quae-
dam parva contra fidem conventionis tempore indu-
tiarum facta; postremo negarunt dirimi bellum
posse, nisi Messeniis Achaei Pylum redderent,
Romanis restitueretur Atintania, Scerdilaedo et
Pleurato Ardiaei. *Enimvero indignum ratus Philip-*
pus vietos victori sibi ultro condiciones ferre, ne antea
quidem se aut de pace audisse aut indutias pepigisse
dixit spem ullam habentem quieturos Aetolos, sed
ut² omnes socios testes haberet se pacis, illos belli
causam quaesisse. Ita infecta pace concilium dimisit
quattuor milibus armatorum relictis ad praesidium
Achaeorum et quinque longis navibus acceptis, quas
si adiecisset missae nuper ad se classi Carthagini-
ensium et ex Bithynia ab rege Prusia venientibus

¹ referunt *P(1)NJK Aldus, Froben* : ferunt *Perizonius*.

² ut *P(3)N Aldus, Froben* : uti *A⁴N⁵JK*.

¹ Attalus purchased the island three years before this from the Aetolians; these had acquired it under a treaty made with the Romans, who had taken forcible possession; Polybius XXII. viii. 10.

² Cf. XXVI. xxiv. 9.

the people, because the kings of the Maeedonians B.C. 208 claim that they sprang from that city. When the Heraea were over, immediately after the games he left for Aegium and the long since appointed councel of his allies. There they discussed the termination of the Aetolian war, that neither the Romans nor Attalus might have reason to enter Greece. But all such plans, though the time of the truee had scarceely elapsed, were thrown into confusion by the Aetolians, when they heard that Attalus had reached Aegina¹ and also that a Roman fleet was lying at Naupactus. For on being called into the council of the Achaeans, in which were also present the embassies which at Phalara had spoken on behalf of peace, they at first complained of eertain small breaches of the agreement committed during the truee. Finally they asserted that the war could not be brought to an end unless the Achaeans should restore Pylus to the Messenians, and Atintania should be returned to the Romans, and the Ardiaei to Seerdilaedus and Pleuratus.² Philip, who thought it a perfect outrage for the vanquished actuallly to offer terms to him, the victor, said that on the former occasion also it was not with any hope that the Aetolians would keep quiet that he had either listened to pleas for peace or agreed to a truce, but in order to have all the allies witnesses that he had sought a ground for peace, the Aetolians a ground for war. So, with peace un-achieved, he dismissed the council, leaving four thousand armed men to proteet the Achaeans and receiving five warships from them. He had decided that, if he should add these to the Carthaginian fleet lately sent to him and to the ships that were coming from Bithynia from King Prusias, he would attaek the

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navibus, statuerat navali proelio lacessere Romanos
 17 iam diu in regione ea potentes maris. Ipse ab eo
 concilio Argos regressus; iam enim Nemeorum
 adpetebat tempus, quae celebrari¹ volebat praesentia
 sua.

XXXI. Occupato rege apparatu ludorum et per
 dies festos licentius quam inter belli tempora remit-
 tente animum P. Sulpicius ab Naupacto profectus
 classem appulit inter Sicyonem et Corinthum,
 agrumque nobilissimae² fertilitatis effuse vastavit.
 2 Fama eius rei Philippum ab ludis excivit; raptimque
 cum equitatu profectus, iussis subsequi peditibus,
 palatos passim per agros gravesque praeda, ut qui
 nihil tale metuerent, adortus Romanos compulit
 3 ad³ naves. Classis Romana haudquaquam laeta
 praeda Naupactum redit. Philippo ludorum quoque
 qui reliqui erant celebritatem quantaecumque, de
 Romanis tamen, victoriae partae fama auxerat,
 4 laetitiaque ingenti celebrati festi dies, eo magis
 etiam quod populariter dempto capit isigni
 purpuraque atque alio regio habitu aequaverat
 ceteris se in speciem, quo nihil gratius est civitatibus
 5 liberis; praebuissetque haud dubiam eo facto spem
 libertatis, nisi omnia intoleranda libidine foeda ac de-
 formia⁴ effecisset. Vagabatur enim⁵ cum uno aut
 6 altero comite per maritas domos dies noctesque, et
 summittendo se in privatum fastigium quo minus
 conspectus, eo solutior erat, et libertatem, cum aliis

¹ celebrari *A¹N²?JK Aldus, Froben* : -are *P(1)N*.

² agrumque nobilissimae *A¹N²JK Aldus, Froben* : om.
P(1)N, one line.

³ ad *Sp²N⁴JK Froben* 2 : in *P(1)N Aldus*.

⁴ deformia *CM¹N²* : deformi *P(3)NJK*.

⁵ enim *P(1)N Aldus, Froben* : autem *N²JK Conway*.

Romans, who had long commanded the sea in that region, in a naval battle. As for himself, he returned from that council to Argos; for the time of the Nemean Games was at hand, and he wished them to be more festive because of his presence.

XXXI. While the king was engaged in preparing for the games and relaxing during the festal days with more freedom than in war-times, Publius Sulpicius sailing from Naupactus put in with his fleet between Sicyon and Corinth and ravaged a region of the most noted fertility far and wide. The report of this called Philip away from the games; and setting out in haste with the cavalry, after ordering the infantry to follow, he attacked the Romans, who, fearing nothing of the kind, were widely scattered over the country and loaded down with their plunder, and drove them to their ships. The Roman fleet, not at all happy over its plunder, returned to Naupactus. For Philip the remainder of the games also had gained in festivity from the news of a victory, unimportant as it might be, but still over the Romans. And the festival was observed with immense rejoicing, all the more because, to be popular, he had removed his diadem and purple and other regal attire, and in appearance had put himself on the same plane as the others, than which nothing is more acceptable to free states. And by doing so he would have offered them no uncertain hope of freedom, had he not degraded and debased everything by his insufferable lust. For with one or two companions he would roam day and night round the homes of married couples, and lowering himself to the level of a private citizen, the less he was observed the more unrestrained was he, and liberty, of which

vanam ostendisset, totam in suam lieentiam verterat.

7 Neque enim omnia emebat aut e blandiebatur, sed vim etiam¹ flagitiis adhibebat, periculosumque et viris et parentibus erat moram incommoda severitate libidini regiae fecisse. Uni etiam principi Achaeorum Arato adempta uxor nomine Polyceratia ac spe regiarum nuptiarum in Macedoniam asportata fuerat.

9 Per haec flagitia sollemni Nemeorum peracto paucisque additis diebus, Dymas est profectus ad praesidium Aetolorum, quod ab Eleis ad eum accep-
10 tumque in urbem erat, ciciendum. Cyliadas—
penes eum summa imperii erat—Achaeique ad Dymas regi occurrere, et Eleorum accensi odio, quod a ceteris Achaeis dissentirent, et infensi Aetolis,
quos Romanum quoque adversus se movisse bellum
11 credebant. Profecti ab Dymis coniuncto exercitu transeunt Larisum amnem, qui Eleum agrum ab²
Dymaeo dirimit. XXXII. Primum diem quo fines hostium ingressi sunt populando absumperunt;
postero die acie instructa ad urbem accesserunt
praemissis equitibus qui obequitando portis³ promptum ad excursiones genus lacesserent Aetolorum.
2 Ignorabant Sulpicium cum quindecim navibus ab Naupacto Cyllenen traiceisse et expositis in terram
quattuor milibus armatorum silentio noctis, ne con-

¹ etiam *A^sN^sJK Froben* 2 : om. *P(1)N*.

² ab *A^sN^sJK*, as in line above : a *P(1)N Aldus*.

³ portis *A^sN^sJK* : om. *P(1)N*.

he had made but an empty show to others, for his purpose he turned wholly to licence. For he did not obtain everything by purchase or cajoling, but even employed force to gain his shameful ends. And it was dangerous for both husbands and parents if they had delayed the royal lust by disobliging strictness. Even from one of the leading men of the Achaeans, Aratus, his wife, named Polyceratia, had been taken away and carried off into Macedonia with the prospect of a royal marriage.

After the festival of the Nemea had been completed in the midst of such shameful conduct, and he had added a few more days, he set out for Dymae, in order to expel the Aetolian garrison which had been summoned by the Eleans and admitted to their city.¹ Cyliadas, who held the chief command, and the Achaeans met the king near Dymae, being not only inflamed with hatred of the Eleans because they were at odds with the rest of the Achaeans, but also hostile to the Aetolians, who, they believed, had stirred the Romans likewise to a war against them. Setting forth from Dymae and uniting their armies, they crossed the river Larisus, which separates the Elean territory from that of Dymae. XXXII. The first day on which they entered the territory of the enemy they spent in devastation. On the next day, drawing up a battle-line, they approached the city, after sending the cavalry in advance; it was to ride up to the gates and provoke the Aetolians, a race of men alert for sallies. They did not know that Sulpicius with fifteen ships had crossed over from Naupactus to Cyllene, and landing four thousand armed men had entered Elis in the dead of night, so that the column

¹ The city of Elis, not Dymae, which was in Achaia.

3 spici agmen posset, intrasse Elim. Itaque improvisa
 res ingentem iniecit terrorem, postquam inter Aetolos
 4 Eleosque Romana signa atque arma cognovere. Et
 primo recipere suos voluerat rex; deinde¹ contracto
 iam inter Actolos et Tralles—Illyriorum id est genus
 —certamine cum urgeri videret suos, et ipse rex
 5 cum equitatu in cohortem Romanam incurrit. Ibi
 equus pilo traiectus cum prolapsum super² caput
 regem effudisset, atrox pugna utrimque accensa est,
 et ab Romanis impetu in regem facto et protegentibus
 6 regiis. Insignis et ipsius pugna fuit, cum pedes inter
 equites coactus esset proelium inire. Dein cum iam
 impar certamen esset, caderentque circa eum multi
 et volnerarentur, raptus ab suis atque alteri equo
 7 iniectus fugit.³ Eo die castra quinque milia passuum
 ab urbe Eleorum posuit. Postero die ad propin-
 quum Eleorum castellum⁴—Pyrgum vocant—copiae
 omnes⁵ eduxit, quo agrestium multitudinem cum
 pecoribus metu populationum compulsam audierat.
 8 Eam inconditam inermemque multitudinem primo
 statim terrore adveniens cepit; compensaveratque
 ea praeda quod ignominiae ad Elim acceptum fuerat.
 9 Dividenti praedam captivosque—fuere autem quat-
 tuor milia hominum, pecorum⁶ omnis generis ad

¹ deinde *P(1)N Aldus*, dein *JK Froben* 2.

² super *Madrig*: per *P(1)NSp Froben* 2: in *A¹JK Aldus*.

³ fugit *P(1)NJK*: fuit *Sp.*

⁴ castellum, *P(3)* omit the three preceding words (*a line*) supplied by *A¹JK, Aldus, Froben*.

should not be seen. Consequently the surprise ^{B.C. 208} inspired great alarm, when they had recognized Roman standards and arms among the Aetolians and Eleans. And at first the king had wished to recall his men; then, on seeing his own men hard pressed by the battle already begun between the Aetolians and the Tralles, an Illyrian race, the king also with his cavalry charged a Roman cohort. There his horse was run through by a javelin and threw the king sprawling over his head, whereupon a fierce battle was kindled on both sides, as the Romans made an attack upon the king and at the same time the king's guards tried to protect him. Conspicuous was his own fighting also, although he had been forced to go into battle on foot among horsemen. Then, when the combat was now one-sided and many were falling and being wounded around him, he was seized by his men, was lifted upon another horse, and fled. On that day he pitched camp five miles from the city of Elis. The next day he led out all his troops to a neighbouring fortress of the Eleans—they call it Pyrgus—into which he had heard that a great number of rustics, together with their flocks, had been driven by the fear of being robbed. That unorganized and unarmed multitude he at once captured in the first panic as he came up. And by that booty he had made good the disgrace he had suffered at Elis. As he was dividing the booty and the captives—there were in fact four thousand persons and about twenty thousand cattle of every

⁵ copias omnes *P(3)*: omnes copias *AN* (also *A⁸N⁸JK Aldus, Froben, but after die above*).

⁶ pecorum *JK* (-rumque *Aldus, Froben*): pecoris *P(1)N*: pecorisque *N⁸ Conway*.

viginti milia—nuntius ex Macedonia venit Aëropum
 quendam corrupto arcis praesidiique praefecto Lych-
 nidum cepisse, tenere et Dassaretiorum quosdam vicos
 10 et Dardanos etiam concire. Omissa igitur Achaico
 atque Aetolico¹ bello, relictis tamen duobus milibus et
 quingentis omnis generis armatorum cum Menippo et
 11 Polyphanta ducibus ad praesidium sociorum, profec-
 tus ab Dymis per Achaiam Boeotiamque et Euboeam
 decumis castris Demetriadem in Thessaliam pervenit.

XXXIII. Ibi alii maiorem adferentes tumultum
 nuntii occurrunt: Dardanos in Macedoniam effusos
 Orestidem iam tenere ac descendisse in Argestaeum
 campum, famamque inter barbaros celebrem esse
 2 Philippum occisum. Expeditione ea qua cum popu-
 latoribus agri ad Sicyonem pugnavit in arborem
 inlatus impetu equi ad eminentem ramum cornu
 3 alterum galeae praefregit; id inventum ab Aetolo
 quodam perlatumque in Aetoliam ad Scerdilaedum,
 cui notum erat insigne galeae, famam interfecti
 4 regis² volgavit. Post profectionem ex Achaia regis
 Sulpicius Aeginam classe profectus cum Attalo sese
 5 coniunxit. Achaei cum Aetolis Eleisque haud procul
 Messene prosperam pugnam fecerunt. Attalus rex
 et P. Sulpicius Aeginae hibernarunt.

¹ atque Aetolico *A^tN^tJK*: *om. P(1)N*.

² regis *P(1)N* Aldus: philippi *SpA^tJK Froben* 2: philippi
regis N^t.

¹ Now Ochrida, at the north-east end of the lake of the same name (between Albania and Jugoslavia), on the main road from the Adriatic to Thessalonica (later the Via Egnatia). South of the lake and bordering on Macedonia were the Dassaretii, an important Illyrian tribe in a mountain country. North-east of the lake were the Illyrian Dardani.

² The commercial centre of Thessaly, in Magnesia, at the north end of the Gulf of Pagasae, and strongly fortified.

kind—came the news from Macedonia that one ^{B.C. 208} Aëropus by bribing the commander of the citadel and garrison had captured Lychnidus,¹ was holding some villages of the Dassaretii and also stirring up the Dardani. Consequently the king, dropping the Achaean and Aetolian war, but still leaving twenty-five hundred armed men of every sort with Menippus and Polyphantas as commanders to defend his allies, setting out from Dymae, made his way through Achaia and Boeotia and Euboea in ten day's marches to Demetrias² in Thessaly.

XXXIII. There other messengers met him, bringing news of a greater inroad: that the Dardanians pouring into Macedonia were already holding Orestis³ and had come down into the Argestaean Plain; and that it was currently reported among the barbarians that Philip had been slain. On that raid in which he fought near Sicyon⁴ with men who were ravaging the country, he was dashed against a tree by his charging horse, and broke off one of the two horns of his helmet against a projecting branch. It was found by a certain Aetolian and carried into Aetolia to Scerdilaedus, who was acquainted with the ornament of the helmet, and this spread abroad the report that the king had been slain. After the departure of the king from Achaia, Sulpicius went with his fleet to Aegina⁵ and joined Attalus. The Achaeans fought a successful engagement with the Aetolians and Eleans not far from Messene. King Attalus and Publius Sulpicius spent the winter at Aegina.

¹ A region of Macedonia east of the Dassaretii and in the upper basin of the river Haliacmon.

² Cf. xxxi. 1 f.

³ Cf. xxx. 11 and note.

6 Exitu huius anni T. Quintius¹ consul, dictatore
 comitiorum ludorumque faciendorum causa dicto T.
 Manlio Torquato, ex volnere moritur; alii Tarenti,
 7 alii in Campania mortuum tradunt. Ita,² quod
 nullo ante bello acciderat, duo consules sine memo-
 rando proelio interfecti velut orbam rem publicam
 reliquerant. Dictator Manlius magistrum equitum
 8 C. Servilium—tum aedilis curulis erat—dixit. Sena-
 tus quo die primum est habitus ludos magnos facere
 dictatorem iussit, quos M. Aemilius praetor urbanus
 C. Flaminio, Cn. Servilio consulibus fecerat et in
 quinquennium voverat. Tum dictator et fecit ludos
 9 et in insequens³ lustrum vovit. Ceterum cum duo
 consulares exercitus tam prope hostem sine ducibus
 essent, omnibus aliis omissis una praecipua cura
 patres populumque incessit consules primo quoque
 tempore creandi, et ut⁴ eos crearent potissimum
 10 quorum virtus satis tuta a fraude Punica esset: cum
 toto eo bello damnosa praepropera ac fervida ingenia
 imperatorum fuissent,⁵ tum eo ipso anno consules
 nimia cupiditate conserendi cum hoste manum in
 11 necopinatam fraudem lapsos esse; ceterum deos
 immortales, miseritos nominis Romani, pepercisse
 innoxiis exercitibus, temeritatem consulum ipsorum
 capitibus damnasse.

XXXIV. Cum circumspicerent patres quosnam
 consules facerent, longe ante alios eminebat C.

¹ Quintius. *A'JK add Crispinus.*

² Ita Weissenborn: id *P(1)NJK Aldus, Froben*: ita, id *Riemann*: et, id *Madrig.*

³ insequens *P(1)N Aldus*: sequens *JK Froben* 2.

⁴ et ut *JK Froben* 2: ut *P(1)N Aldus*: et *N.*

⁵ fuissent *P(1)NJK*: fuisse *Sp? Froben* 2.

¹ Votive games, vowed in 217 B.C.; XXII. ix. 10; x. 7.

At the end of this year Titus Quinctius, the consul, ^{B.C. 208} after naming Titus Manlius Torquatus dictator for the purpose of holding elections and games, died of his wound. Some relate that he died at Tarentum, others in Campania. So two consuls—and this had happened in no previous war—losing their lives without a notable battle, had left the state as it were bereft. The dictator Manlius named Gaius Servilius, then a curule aedile, as master of the horse. The senate on the first day on which it sat ordered the dictator to conduct the great games¹ which Marcus Aemilius, the city praetor, had conducted in the consulship of Gaius Flaminius and Gnaeus Servilius and had vowed for the fifth year thereafter.² At this time the dictator conducted the games and also vowed them for the succeeding lustrum. But inasmuch as two consular armies were so near the enemy without their commanders, the senate and the people, neglecting everything else, were possessed by one particular concern—to elect consuls at the first possible moment, and to elect especially men whose courage was quite safe against the Carthaginian wiles. Not only throughout that war, they said, had the over-hasty, fiery temperament of the generals proved ruinous, but in that very year the consuls in their excessive eagerness to engage with the enemy had fallen unawares into a trap. But, they added, the immortal gods, taking pity upon the Roman people, had spared the innocent armies, and had punished the rashness of the consuls by the loss of their own lives.

XXXIV. While the fathers were casting about to see whom they should make consuls, pre-eminent

² But the vow had not been fulfilled.

2 Claudio Nero. Ei¹ conlega quaerebatur; et virum
 quidem eum egregium ducebant, sed promptiore
 acrioremque quam tempora belli postularent aut
 3 hostis Hannibal; temperandum aere ingenium eius²
 moderato et prudenti viro adiuneto conlega cense-
 bant. M. Livius erat, multis ante annis ex consulatu
 4 populi iudicio damnatus, quam ignominiam adeo
 aegre tulerat ut rus migrarit³ et per multos annos
 5 et urbe et omni coetu careret⁴ hominum. Octavo
 ferme post damnationem anno M. Claudio Marcellus
 et M. Valerius Laevinus consules reduxerant eum
 in urbem; sed erat veste obsoleta capilloque et
 barba promissa, prae se ferens in voltu habituque
 6 insignem memoriā ignominiae acceptae. L. Ve-
 turius et P. Licinius censores eum tonderi et squa-
 lorem deponere et in senatum venire fungique aliis
 7 publicis muneribus coegerunt. Sed tum quoque aut
 verbo adsentiebatur aut pedibus in sententiam ibat,
 donec cognati hominis eum causa M. Livii Macati,
 cum fama⁵ eius ageretur, stantem coegit in senatu
 8 sententiam dicere. Tunc ex tanto intervallo auditus
 convertit ora hominum in se, causamque sermonibus
 praebuit.⁶ indigno iniuriam a populo factam, magnō-

¹ Ei A¹N¹JK Aldus, Froben: et P(3)N: set B.

² eius P(1)N: before ingenium JK Froben 2): om. Conway.

³ migrarit Ta²x Froben 2: Conway: -aret P(1)NJK Aldus:
 -arent Ta.

⁴ careret P(1)N Aldus, Conway: caruerit TaSpJK.

⁵ fama P(3)A¹?N¹: de fama A¹JK Aldus, Froben: in
 fama AN.

⁶ praebuit TaA¹N¹JK: om. P(1)N.

¹ Following his consulship, for the year 219 B.C. with
 Aemilius Paulus, he was charged with taking too large a share
 in the spoils of a war against the Illyrians, for which they
 were granted triumphs; Frontinus IV. i. 45; *ex invidia*

above all the rest was Gaius Claudius Nero: their quest was for his colleague. And they considered Nero a remarkable man, to be sure, but more hasty and violent than the war situation and Hannibal as enemy demanded. They thought his violent nature must be tempered by giving him as his colleague a man of moderation and foresight. There was Marcus Livius,¹ who many years before, after his consulship, had been condemned by verdict of the people, and had been so indignant at that disgrace that he removed to the country and for many years absented himself from the city and also from every gathering of men. About seven years after his condemnation Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Marcus Valerius Laevinus, the consuls, had brought him back into the city. But he wore old clothing and long hair and beard, revealing outwardly in countenance and garb a vivid memory of the disgrace he had incurred. Lucius Veturius and Publius Licinius, the censors, compelled him to shave and lay aside his neglected appearance and to come into the senate and perform other public duties. Even then, however, he would either assent in a word or go over to the side of the mover, until the case of his relative, Marcus Livius Macatus,² whose reputation was involved, obliged him to stand up and deliver his opinion in the senate. When he was heard at that time after so long an interval, he attracted men's attention to himself and gave occasion for their saying that the people had wronged a man who did not deserve it, and that it had been a great loss that

peculatus reus. Aurelius Victor (?) I. i; cf. XXIX. xxxvii. Livius was fined according to Suetonius *Tiberius* iii.

¹ Cf. xxv. 3 ff.

que id damno fuisse quod tam gravi bello nec opera
 9 nec consilio talis viri usa res publica esset: C.
 Neroni neque Q. Fabium neque M. Valerium Lae-
 vinum dari conlegam¹ posse, quia duos patricios
 10 creari non licet; eandem causam in T. Manlio
 esse, praeterquam quod recusasset delatum consulatum
 recusaturusque esset; egregium par consulum
 fore, si M. Livium C. Claudio conlegam adiunxissent.
 11 Nec populus mentionem eius rei ortam a patribus
 12 est aspernatus. Unus eam rem in civitate is cui
 deferebatur honos abnuebat, levitatem civitatis
 accusans: sordidati rei non miseritos candidam
 13 togam invito offerre; eodem honores poenasque
 congeri. Si virum bonum² ducerent, quid ita
 pro malo ac noxio damnassent?³ Si noxium com-
 perissent, quid ita male credito priore consulatu
 14 alterum crederent? Haec taliaque arguentem et
 querentem castigabant patres, et M. Furium
 memorantes revocatum de exilio patriam pulsam
 sede sua restituisse—ut parentium saevitiam, sic
 patriae patiendo ac ferendo leniendam esse—
 15 adnisi omnes cum C. Claudio M. Livium consulem
 fecerunt.

XXXV. Post diem tertium eius diei praetorum
 comitia habita. Praetores creati L. Porcius Lentinus,

¹ conlegam JK: -gas P(1)NTa Aldus, Froben.

² virum bonum Ta?: bonum virum A'N*JK Aldus,
Froben: bonum P(3)N.

³ malo ac noxio damnassent TaA'N*JK Aldus, Froben:
om. P(1)N (*these om. si following*).

¹ On Camillus and his restoration of Rome see V. li. 1 f.;
 VII. i. 9 Plutarch *Camillus* xxx. 1.

in so serious a war the state had not availed itself of ^{B.C. 208} the services and the advice of such a man; that neither Quintus Fabius nor Marcus Valerius Laevinus could be given to Gaius Nero as his colleague, because it was not lawful to elect two patricians; that the same reason applied to Titus Manlius, in addition to the fact that he had refused and would refuse the offer of a consulship. An extraordinary pair of consuls it would be, if they should link Marcus Livius with Gaius Claudius as his colleague. And mention of the matter, beginning with the fathers, was not frowned upon by the people. The only one in the state who rejected it, accusing the citizens of inconsistency, was the man to whom the office was tendered. He said that, having shown no pity toward a defendant in mourning, they were offering the whitened toga to a reluctant man; honours and penalties were being heaped upon the same person. If they thought him a good man, why then had they condemned him as a bad man and a criminal? If they had found him a criminal, why then, after unfortunately entrusting a former consulship, were they now entrusting a second to him? When he made use of these and similar arguments and complaints, the fathers would rebuke him, and by reminding him that Marcus Furius,¹ on being recalled from exile, had restored his native city when driven from her place—that, as in the case of parents, so the harshness of one's native city must be appeased by suffering and bearing it—through the united efforts of them all, they elected Marcus Livius consul with Gaius Claudius.

XXXV. On the third day after that the election of praetors took place. Elected praetors were

C. Mainilius, C. et A. Hostilii Catones. Comitiis perfectis ludisque factis dictator et magister equitum 2 magistratu abierunt. C. Terentius Varro in Etruriam pro praetore missus, ut ex ea provincia C. Hostilius Tarentum ad eum exercitum iret quem T. 3 Quintius consul habuerat; et L.¹ Manlius trans mare legatus iret viseretque quae res ibi gererentur; simul quod Olympiae ludicrum ea aestate futurum 4 erat. quod maximo coetu Graeciae² celebraretur, ut si tuto per hostem posset, adiret id concilium, ut qui Sieuli bello ibi profugi aut Tarentini cives relegati ab Hannibale essent, domos redirent scirentque sua omnia iis quae ante bellum habuissent reddere populum Romanum.

5 Quia periculosissimus annus inminere videbatur, neque consules in re publica erant, in consules designatos omnes versi, quam primum eos sortiri provincias et praesciscere quam quisque eorum provinciam, quem hostem haberet, volebant. De reconciliatio- 6 ne etiam gratiae eorum in senatu actum est principio facto a Q. Fabio Maximo. Inimicitiae autem nobiles inter eos erant et acerbiores eas indignoresque Livio sua calamitas fecerat quod spretum s se in ea fortuna credebat. Itaque is magis inopinabilis erat et nihil opus esse reconciliatione aiebat:

¹ Quintius consul habuerat; et L. A⁸N⁸JK Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)N, one line.

² Graeciae A⁸N⁸JK: om. P(1)N.

¹ Cf. iv. 4; 1. 8; XXVI. xxiii. 1.

Lucius Porcius Lætinus, Gaius Mamilius, Gaius ^{B.C. 203} Hostilius Cato and Aulus Hostilius Cato. After completing the elections and holding the games, the dictator and master of the horse abdicated office. Gaius Terentius Varro was sent into Etruria as propraetor, with the understanding that Gaius Hostilius should go from that province to Tarentum, to the army which Titus Quinctius, the consul, had had. It was decreed also that Lucius Manlius¹ should cross the sea as an emissary and ascertain what was going on there; at the same time, inasmuch as the Olympic Festival was to be held that summer—and, as they said, it was observed by a great multitude of Greeks—if he could be safe from the enemy, he should go to that gathering, so that such Sicilians as were there as refugees on account of the war, or citizens of Tarentum banished by Hannibal, might return and know that the Roman people was restoring to them all the possessions which they had held before the war.

Inasmuch as a very dangerous year seemed impending, and the state had no consuls, everyone turned to the consuls-elect and wished that as soon as possible they should cast lots for their provinces and settle in advance what province and what enemy each of them was to have. Also a reconciliation between them was discussed in the senate, Quintus Fabius Maximus taking the initiative. Now between them was a well-known enmity, and for Livius his own downfall had embittered that enmity and made it more intolerable, because he believed that in that misfortune he had been treated with contempt. And so he was the more deaf to entreaty, and kept saying they had no need to be reconciled; that in

aerius et intentius omnia gesturos timentes ne
 erescendi ex se inimico conlegae potestas fieret.
 9 Vicit tamen auctoritas senatus ut positis simultatibus
 communi animo consilioque administrarent rem
 10 publicam. Provinciae iis non permixtae regionibus,
 sicut superioribus annis, sed diversae extremis
 Italiae finibus, alteri adversus Hannibalem Brutii
 et Lucani, alteri Gallia adversus¹ Hasdrubalem,
 quem iam Alpibus adpropinquare fama erat, decreta.
 11 Exercitum e duobus qui in Gallia quique in Etruria
 esset, addito urbano, eligeret quem mallet, qui
 12 Galliam esset sortitus. Cui Brutii provincia
 evenisset, novis legionibus urbanis scriptis, utrius
 13 mallet consulm prioris anni exercitum sumeret; re-
 lictum a consule exercitum Q. Fulvius proconsul ac-
 14 ciperet, eique in annum imperium esset. Et C.
 Hostilio, cui pro Etruria Tarentum mutaverant
 provinciam, pro Tarento Capuam mutaverunt;
 legio una data est,² cui Fulvius proximo anno
 praefuerat.

XXXVI. De Hasdrubalis adventu in Italiam cura
 in dies crescebat. Massiliensium primum legati nun-
 tiaverant³ eum in Galliam transgressum, erectosque

¹ adversus *P(1)N Aldus, Froben* : contra *JK*.

² est *P(1)N Aldus* : *om. Sp?JK Froben 2.*

³ nuntiaverant *JK Aldus, Froben* : -erunt *P(1)N*.

every act each would show more spirit and alertness B.C. 208 for fear an unfriendly colleague might have the opportunity to gain at his expense. Nevertheless by the authority of the senate they were prevailed upon to lay aside their quarrels and to carry on the government with a common spirit and policy. The provinces assigned to them were not locally indistinguishable, as in the preceding years, but separated by the whole length of Italy. To the one was assigned the land of the Bruttii and Lucania facing Hannibal, to the other Gaul facing Hasdrubal, who was reported to be already nearing the Alps. Whichever of them should receive Gaul in the allotment was to choose the army he preferred out of the two that were in Gaul and in Etruria and the one at the city. The consul to whom the land of the Bruttii should fall as his province was to enrol new legions for the city and take, at his own discretion, the army of one or the other of the consuls of the previous year. As for the army which was not taken by a consul, Quintus Fulvius, the proconsul, was to take it, and his command was to be for one year. And for Gaius Hostilius, for whom they had made a change of provinces, Tarentum in place of Etruria, they made a change of Capua instead of Tarentum. One legion was assigned to him, that which in the previous year Fulvius had commanded.

XXXVI. In regard to Hasdrubal's coming to Italy anxiety was daily increasing. First, ambassadors from Massilia¹ had announced that he had passed over into Gaul, and that the Gauls were aroused by

¹ Livy, whose chronology gives Hasdrubal a whole year in Gaul, does not speak of Scipio's couriers sent to Rome; Zonaras IX. viii. 7.

adventu eius, quia magnum pondus auri attulisse diceretur ad mercede auxilia conducenda, Gallorum 3 animos. Missi deinde cum iis legati ab Roma Sex. Antistius et M. Raecius ad rem inspiciendam rettulerant misisse se¹ cum Massiliensibus ducibus qui per hospites eorum principes Gallorum omnia 4 explorata referrent; pro comperto habere Hasdrubalem ingenti iam coacto exercitu proximo vere Alpes traiecturum, nec tum eum quicquam aliud morari nisi quod clausae hieme Alpes essent.

5 In locum M. Marcelli P. Aelius Paetus augur creatus inauguratusque; et Cn. Cornelius Dolabella rex sacerorum inauguratus est in locum M. Marcii, 6 qui biennio ante mortuus erat. Hoc eodem anno et lustrum conditum est a censoribus P. Sempronio Tuditano et M. Cornelio Cethego. Censa civium capita centum triginta septem milia centum octo, minor alii 8 quanto numerus quam qui ante bellum fuerat. Eo anno primum, ex quo Hannibal in Italiam venisset, comitium tectum esse memoriae proditum est, et ludos Romanos semel instauratos ab aedilibus curulibus Q. Metello et C. Servilio. Et plebeis ludis²

¹ se *PCAN Aldus*: om. *RMBDIK*.

² plebeis ludis *P(1)NJK Aldus*, *Froben*: plebei ludi (*with* *instaurati*) *A² Wesenberg*.

1 His route from the western Pyrenees across Gaul is thought by some to have been a northerly one, as possibly indicated by mention of the Arverni at xxxix. 6; see p. 288, n. 2, but also p. 366, n. 2. Highly improbable is Jullian's theory (based upon a questionable interpretation of Silius Italicus XV. 494) that Hasdrubal wintered at Iliberris (Elne), hardly 15 miles from the eastern pass guarded by Scipio's detachment. More can be said for the historic low-level route Tolosa-Carcaso-Narbo, and then on the trail of Hannibal at least until the Rhone was reached. Cf. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule* I. 496; De Sanctis *l.c.* 483.

his coming,¹ because he was said to have brought a great amount of gold in order to hire mercenaries. After that, Sextus Antistius and Marcus Raecius, who were sent with them from Rome as ambassadors to look into the matter, had reported that with Massilians as guides they had sent men to ascertain all the facts through leading Gauls who were guest-friends of their guides, and to report; that they had established that Hasdrubal with a huge army already concentrated would cross the Alps the next spring, and that at that time nothing else was detaining him than that the Alps were closed by the winter.

In place of Marcus Marcellus as augur Publius Aelius Paetus was elected and installed: and Gnaeus Cornelius Dolabella was installed as *rex sacrorum* in place of Marcus Marcius, who had died two years before. Also in the same year the lustration was completed² by the censors, Publius Sempronius Tuditanus and Marcus Cornelius Cethegus. Enrolled in the census were 137,108 citizens, a considerably smaller number than it had been before the war.³ In that year for the first time since Hannibal had invaded Italy it is recorded that the Comitium was covered,⁴ and that the Roman Games were repeated for one day by the curule aediles, Quintus Metellus and Gaius Servilius. And at the

² The usual phrase in describing the formal rite of purification with which the work of the censors came to an end; cf. I. xliv. 2, etc.

³ Ten years before, in the censorship of Flamininus and Aemilius Papus, the number of citizens had been over 270,000, almost twice as many: *Pericella* XX.

⁴ *I.e.* with awnings to protect the spectators at gladiatorial shows. For the same purpose Caesar covered the entire Forum; Pliny *N.H.* XIX. 23.

A.U.C.
546 biduum instauratum a C. Mamilio et M. Caecilio
Metello aedilibus plebis; et tria signa ad Cereris
eidem dederunt; et Iovis epulum fuit ludorum
causa.

A.U.C. 10 Consulatum inde ineunt C. Claudius Nero et M.
547 Livius iterum; qui quia iam¹ designati provincias
11 sortiti erant, praetores sortiri iusserunt. C. Hostilio
urbana² evenit; addita et peregrina, ut tres in
provincias exire possent; A. Hostilio Sardinia, C.
12 Mamilio Sicilia, L. Porcio Gallia evenit. Summa
legionum trium et viginti ita per provincias divisa:
binae consulum essent, quattuor Hispania haberet,
binas tres praetores, in Sicilia et Sardinia et Gallia,
13 duas C. Terentius in Etruria, duas Q. Fulvius in
Bruttiis, duas Q. Claudius³ circa Tarentum et
Sallentinos, unam C. Hostilius Tubulus Capuae;
14 duae urbanae ut scriberentur. Primis quattuor
legionibus populus tribunos creavit; in ceteras
consules miserunt.

XXXVII. Priusquam consules proficiscerentur,
novendiale sacrum fuit, quia Veis de caelo lapidaverat.
2 Sub unius prodigii, ut fit, mentionem alia quoque
nuntiata. Minturnis aedem Iovis et lucum Maricae,
3 item Atellae murum et portam de caelo tacta;⁴ Min-

¹ iam *x Aldus, Froben*: om. *P(1)N*.

² urbana, before this *N^oJK Aldus Froben* have iurisdictio
(om. *P(1)N*); cf. XXVIII. x. 9; XXIX. xiii. 2.

³ in Bruttiis duas Q. Claudius *A'N^oJK Aldus, Froben*:
om. *P(1)N*, one line.

⁴ tacta *P(3)N?*: tactam *CDN^oJK Aldus, Froben*; cf.
xxiii. 3.

¹ As in XXV. ii. 10; XXIX. xxxviii. 8; XXX. xxxix. 8.

² Cf. Vol. VI. p. 346, n. 3, and 501, note.

³ *I.e.* the legions to be assigned to the consuls.

⁴ Cf. note on XXVI. xxiii. 6.

Plebeian Games there was a repetition for two days ^{B.C. 208} by order of Gaius Mamilius and Marcus Caecilius Metellus, plebeian aediles. And they likewise gave three statues at the Temple of Ceres. There was also a banquet for Jupiter on account of the festival.¹

Thereupon Gaius Claudius Nero and Marcus Livius ^{B.C. 207} entered upon their consulship, the latter for the second time. Because as consuls-elect they had already cast lots for their provinces, they ordered the praetors to cast lots. To Gaius Hostilius fell the city praetorship; the foreign praetorship also was assigned to him, to enable three praetors to go out to provinces.² Sardinia fell to Aulus Hostilius, Sicily to Gaius Mamilius, Gaul to Lucius Porcius. The total of the legions was twenty-three, divided as follows among the provinces: the consuls were each to have two legions, Spain four, each of three praetors was to have two, in Sicily and Sardinia and Gaul, Gaius Terentius to have two in Etruria, Quintus Fulvius two in the land of the Bruttii, Quintus Claudio two in the vicinity of Tarentum and the Sallentini, Gaius Hostilius Tubulus one at Capua. Two city legions were to be enrolled. For the first four legions³ the people elected the tribunes, to the rest of the legions tribunes were sent by the consuls.

XXXVII. Before the consuls set out there were nine days of rites,⁴ because stones had rained from the sky at Veii. Following mention of one prodigy, as usual, others also were reported: that at Minturnae the Temple of Jupiter and the grove of Marica,⁵ also at Atella the city wall and a gate had been struck by

¹ A goddess especially honoured here at the mouth of the Liris. There was a temple as well; Plutarch *Marius* xxxix. 4; xl. 1.

turnenses, terribilis quod esset, adiebant sanguinis
 rivum in porta fluxisse; et Capuae lupus nocte
 4 portam ingressus vigilem laniaverat. Haec pro-
 curata hostiis maioribus prodigia, et supplicatio diem
 unum fuit ex decreto pontificum. Inde iterum
 novendiale instauratum, quod in Armilusto lapidibus
 5 visum pluere. Liberatas religione mentes turbavit
 rursus nuntiatum Frusinone natum infantem esse¹
 quadrimo parem, nec magnitudine tam mirandum
 quam quod is quoque, ut Sinuessae biennio ante,
 6 incertus mas an femina esset natus erat. Id vero
 haruspices ex Etruria ad citi foedum ac turpe prodi-
 gium dicere: extorrem agro Romano, procul terrae
 contactu, alto mergendum. Vivum in arcum condi-
 7 dere provectumque in mare proiecerunt. Decrevere
 item pontifices ut virginis ter novenae per urbem
 eentes carmen canerent. Id cum in Iovis Statoris
 aede discerent conditum ab Livio poeta carmen,
 taeta de caelo aedis² in Aventino Iunonis Reginae;
 8 prodigiumque id ad matronas pertinere haruspices
 cum respondissent donoque divam placandam esse,
 9 aedilium curulium edicto in Capitolium convocatae
 quibus in urbe Romana intraque decimum lapidem
 ab urbe domicilia essent, ipsae inter se quinque et

¹ infantem esse *P(1)N*: esse infantem *JK Conway*.

² aedis *P(1)N*: -des *JK*.

¹ An open space on the Aventine (near S. Sabina) where the purification of arms took place at an annual festival in October.

² Cf. xi. 4 f.

³ In expiation of a similar portent seven years later a chorus of 27 maidens rendered a hymn. Livius Andronicus being dead, the poet was one Licinius Tegula; XXXI. xii.

lightning. To make it more terrible, the men of Minturnae added that there had been a river of blood in the gate. And at Capua a wolf had entered a gate at night and mangled a sentry. These prodigies were atoned for with full-grown victims, and a single day of prayer was observed by decree of the pontiffs. Then again the nine days of rites were repeated, because in the Armilustrum¹ it seemed to rain stones. Relieved of their religious scruples, men were troubled again by the report that at Frusino there had been born a child as large as a four-year-old, and not so much a wonder for size as because, just as at Sinuessa two years before,² it was uncertain whether male or female. In fact the soothsayers summoned from Etruria said it was a terrible and loathsome portent: it must be removed from Roman territory, far from contact with earth, and drowned in the sea. They put it alive into a chest, carried it out to sea and threw it overboard. The pontiffs likewise decreed that thrice nine maidens should sing a hymn as they marched through the city.³ While they were in the Temple of Jupiter Stator, learning that hymn, composed by Livius the poet, the Temple of Juno the Queen on the Aventine was struck by lightning. That this portent concerned the matrons was the opinion given by the soothsayers, and that the goddess must be appeased by a gift: whereupon the matrons domiciled in the city of Rome or within ten miles of it were summoned by an edict of the curule aediles to the Capitol. And from their own number they themselves chose twenty-five, to whom they

9 f. Two other cases of this choral expiation of an *androgynus* are reported from lost books of Livy by Julius Obsequens 34 and 36.

viginti delegerunt ad quas ex dotibus stipem con-
10 ferrent. Inde donum pelvis aurea facta lataque in
Aventinum, pureque et caste¹ a matronis sacri-
ficatum.

11 Confestim ad aliud sacrificium eidem divae ab
decemviris edicta dies, cuius ordo talis fuit: ab aede
Apollinis boves feminae albae duae porta Carmentali
12 in urbem ductae; post eas duo signa cupressea
Iunonis Reginae portabantur; tum septem et
viginti virgines, longam indutae vestem, carmen in
13 Iunonem Reginam canentes ibant, illa tempestate
forsitan laudabile rudibus ingeniis, nunc abhorrens
et inconditum, si referatur. Virginum ordinem
sequebantur decemviri coronati laurea praetextati-
14 que. A porta Iugario vico in forum venere. In foro
pompa constitit, et per manus reste data virgines
sonum vocis pulsu pedum modulantes incesserunt.
15 Inde vico Tusco Velabroque per Bovarium forum in
clivum Publicum atque aedem Iunonis Reginae
perrectum. Ibi duae hostiae ab decemviris immo-
latae et simulacra cupressea in aedem inlata.

XXXVIII. Deis rite placatis dilectum consules
habebant aerius intentiusque quam prioribus annis
2 quisquam meminerat habitum; nam et belli terror
duplicatus novi hostis in Italiam adventu, et minus

¹ pureque et caste *SpJK Froben* 2: pure casteque *P(3)N Aldus.*

¹ In the Campus Martius, between the gate and the Flaminian Circus; the only Apollo temple at Rome until the time of Augustus.

² As the first known lyric by the very first poet writing at Rome the historian might have told his readers more about it. For the honour paid to Andronicus at the time v. Festus 446 L.

should bring a contribution from their dowries. B.C. 207
 Out of that a golden basin was made as a gift and
 carried to the Aventine, and the matrons after due
 purification offered sacrifice.

At once a day was appointed by the decemvirs for another sacrifice to the same goddess; and the order of procedure was as follows: from the Temple of Apollo¹ two white cows were led through the Porta Carmentalis into the city; behind them were carried two statues of Juno the Queen in cypress wood. Then the seven and twenty maidens in long robes marched, singing their hymn in honour of Juno the Queen, a song which to the untrained minds of that time may have deserved praise, but now, if repeated, would be repellent and uncouth.² Behind the company of maidens followed the decemvirs wearing laurel garlands and purple-bordered togas. From the gate they proceeded along the Vicus Iugarius into the Forum. In the Forum the procession halted, and passing a rope from hand to hand the maidens advanced, accompanying the sound of the voice by beating time with their feet. Then by way of the Vicus Tuseus and the Velabrum, through the Forum Boarium they made their way to the Clivus Publicius³ and the Temple of Juno the Queen. There the two victims were sacrificed by the decemvirs and the cypress statues borne into the temple.

XXXVIII. After due appeasement of the gods the consuls conducted the levy more vigorously and more strictly than anyone remembered its conduct in previous years. For the terror of the war was doubled by the coming of a new enemy into Italy,

¹ Cf. XXVI. x. 6 and note.

3 iuventutis erat unde scriberent milites. Itaque colonos etiam maritimos, qui sacrosanctam vacationem dicebantur habere, dare milites cogebant. Quibus recusantibus edixere in diem certam ut quo quisque iure vacationem haberet ad senatum deferret.

4 Ea die ad senatum hi populi venerunt: Ostiensis Alsiensis Antias Anxurnas Minturnensis Sinuessanus,

5 et ab supero mari Senensis. Cum vacationes suas quisque populus recitaret, nullius, cum in Italia hostis esset, praeter Antiatem Ostiensemque vacatio observata est; et earum coloniarum iuniores iure iurando adacti supra dies triginta non pernoctatueros se¹ extra moenia coloniae sua, donec hostis in Italia esset.

6 Cum omnes censerent primo quoque tempore consulibus eundum ad bellum—nam et Hasdrubali occurrentum esse descendantibus ab Alpibus, ne Gallos Cisalpinos neve Etruriam erectam in spem rerum

7 novarum sollicitaret, et Hannibalem suo proprio occupandum bello, ne emergere ex Bruttiis atque obviam ire fratri posset—Livius cunctabatur, parum

8 fidens suarum provinciarum exercitibus; conlegam ex duobus consularibus egregiis exercitibus et tertio, cui Q. Claudius Tarenti praeesset, electionem habere; intuleratque mentionem de volonibus re-

9 vocandis ad signa. Senatus liberam potestatem

¹ *se, after this Sp?JK Froben 2, Eds. have esse, om. by P(1)N Aldus, Conway.*

¹ *I.e.* Adriatic; cf. Vol. VI., p. 131 and note.

² *I.e.* as represented by its legates. Each delegation probably produced its formula (cf. p. 245, n. 1).

³ No mention of this possibility is made at xxxv. 12 nor at xl. 14. This Claudius had two legions; xxxvi. 13.

and also there were fewer young men from whom to enlist soldiers. Accordingly they compelled even the men of the seaboard colonies, who, it was said, had an exemption that could not be touched, to furnish soldiers. When they refused, the consuls named a date for them to report to the senate on what basis each state had exemption. On that day these came before the senate: Ostia, Alsium, Antium, Anxur, Minturnae, Sinuessa, and from the Upper¹ Sea, Sena. Although each state² read the evidence of its exemption, in no case except Antium and Ostia was exemption respected so long as the enemy was in Italy; and in the case of these colonies the younger men were made to swear that they would not pass the night outside the walls of their colony for more than thirty days, so long as the enemy was in Italy.

All the senators were indeed of the opinion that the consuls must take the field at the earliest possible moment. For they felt that Hasdrubal must be met as he came down from the Alps, to prevent his stirring up the Cisalpine Gauls or Etruria, which was already aroused to the hope of rebellion, and likewise that Hannibal must be kept busy with a war of his own, that he might not be able to leave the country of the Brutii and go to meet his brother. Nevertheless Livius was hesitating, having small confidence in the armies of his provinces, while his colleague, he thought, had his choice between two excellent consular armies and a third army,³ which Quintus Claudius commanded at Tarentum. Livius had also mentioned a proposal to recall the slave-volunteers⁴ to their standards. The senate gave the

¹ Cf. Vol. VI. p. 108, note; XXV. xx. 4; xxii. 3.

consulibus fecit et supplendi unde vellent et eligendi de omnibus exercitibus quos vellent, permutandique et¹ ex provinciis quo² e re publica censerent esse traducendi.³ Ea⁴ omnia cum summa concordia consulum acta. Volones in undevicensimam et vicensimam legiones scripti. Magni roboris auxilia ex Hispania quoque a P. Scipione M. Livio missa quidam ad id bellum auctores sunt, octo milia Hispanorum Gallorumque et⁵ duo milia de legione militum, equitum mille octingentos⁶ mixtos Numidas Hispanosque; M. Lueretium has copias navibus ad vexisse;⁷ et sagittariorum funditorumque ad tria milia ex Sicilia C. Mamilius misisse.

XXXIX. Auxerunt Romae tumultum litterae ex Gallia allatae ab L. Porcio praetore: Hasdrubalem movisse ex hibernis et iam Alpes transire; octo milia Ligurum conscripta armataque coniunctura se transgresso in Italiam esse, nisi mitteretur in Ligures qui eos bello occuparet; se cum invalido exercitu quoad tutum putaret progressurum. Hae litterae consules raptim confecto dilectu maturius quam constituerant exire in provincias coegerunt ea mente ut uteisque hostem in sua provincia contineret neque coniungi aut conferre in unum vires pateretur. 4 Plurimum in eam rem adiuvit opinio Hannibal,.

¹ et Aldus, Madvig: om. P(1)NJK Conway.

² quo Madvig: quos P(3)NJK Aldus, Conway.

³ traducendi P(1)NJK: -cendos Conway.

⁴ Ea A^sN^sJK Aldus: om. P(1)N.

⁵ et P(1)N Aldus, Froben: ad Sp?N^sJK.

⁶ octingentos Sp?x Aldus, Froben 2: om. P(1)N.

⁷ ad vexisse Sp?N^sJK: adduxisse P(1)N Aldus.

consuls unlimited power both to supplement from any source they pleased, and to choose out of all the armies men whom they preferred, and to exchange them, and to transfer them from their provinces whithersoever they thought to the advantage of the state. All of this was done with the greatest harmony on the part of the consuls. The slave-volunteers were enrolled in the nineteenth and twentieth legions. Auxiliary forces of great strength, according to some of the authorities for this war, were sent from Spain as well to Marcus Livius by Publius Scipio, namely, eight thousand Spaniards and Gauls and two thousand legionary soldiers, one thousand eight hundred cavalry, partly Numidians, partly Spanish. They report that Marcus Lucretius brought these troops by sea; and that about three thousand archers and slingers were sent from Sicily by Gaius Mamilius.

XXXIX. At Rome the confusion was increased by the receipt of a letter from Gaul written by Lucius Poreius, the praetor, reporting that Hasdrubal had left his winter quarters and was already crossing the Alps; that eight thousand Ligurians; enrolled and armed, would join him after he had crossed into Italy, unless some one should be sent into Liguria to forestall them by a war; that he would himself advance, so far as he thought safe, with an army that was not strong. This letter constrained the consuls to complete the levy in haste and to leave for their provinces earlier than they had planned, with this intention, that each of them should keep an enemy in his province, and not allow them to come together and combine their armies in one. Of the greatest assistance in that direction was Hannibal's miscalcu-

quod, etsi ea aestate transitum in Italiam fratrem crediderat, recordando quae ipse in transitu nunc Rhodani, nunc Alpium cum hominibus locisque pugnando per quinque menses exhausisset, haudquam tam facilem maturumque transitum exspectabat; ea tardius movendi ex hibernis causa fuit. Ceterum Hasdrubali et sua et aliorum spe omnia celeriora atque expeditiora fuere. Non enim receperunt modo Arverni eum deincepsque aliae¹ Gallicae atque Alpinae gentes, sed etiam secutae sunt ad bellum. Et cum per munita pleraque transitu fratribus, quae antea invia fuerant, ducebat, tum etiam duodecim annorum adsuetudine perviis Alpibus factis inter mitiora iam transibant² hominum ingenia. Invisitati namque antea alienigenis nec videre ipsi advenam in sua terra adsueti, omni generi humano insociabiles erant. Et primo ignari quo Poenus pergeret suas rupes suaque castella et pecorum hominumque praedam peti crediderant; fama deinde Punici belli, quo duodecimum annum Italia urebatur, satis edocuerat viam tantum Alpes

¹ aliae *P(1)N Aldus, Froben: om. SpJK.*

² transibant *P(1)N Conway: ibat JK Aldus, Froben, Madrig.*

¹ So a fragment of Polybius, XI. i. 1; in two months (*i.e.* from the time he left winter quarters) according to Appian *Hann.* 52.

² As to Hasdrubal's route across Gaul, we may not safely argue from the mention of this powerful tribe (really a wide-spreading confederacy) that he passed north of the Cévennes, through the home-country of the Arverni. Cf. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, I, 496, note 4.

³ Appian accepted, with Livy, the same route as had been followed by Hannibal. That route brought Hannibal down into the land of the Taurini, according to Livy, XXI. xxxviii. 5 ff.

lation. He had believed, indeed, that his brother would come over into Italy that summer : but when he recalled what he had himself endured during five months, in crossing first the Rhone, and then the Alps, in conflicts with men and the nature of the country, he looked forward to a crossing by no means so easy and so soon accomplished. This accounted for his slowness in leaving winter quarters. But for Hasdrubal everything moved more quickly and more easily than had been expected by himself and others.¹ For not only did the Arverni,² and then in turn other Gallic and Alpine tribes, receive him, but they even followed him to war. And not merely was he leading an army through country for the most part made passable by his brother's crossing,³ although previously trackless, but, thanks to the opening up of the Alps by twelve years of habitual use,⁴ they were also crossing through tribes now less savagely disposed. For previously, being never seen by strange peoples and unaccustomed themselves to see a stranger in their own land, they were unfriendly to the human race in general. And at first, not knowing whither the Carthaginian was bound, they had believed that their own rocks and fastnesses and booty in cattle and men were the objects of attack. Then reports of the Punic war, with which Italy had been aflame for eleven years, had made it quite plain to them that the Alps were

Hence the inference that the pass was either Mont-Genèvre or Mont-Cenis. Varro had placed Hasdrubal's pass farther north than that of Hannibal; cf. Servius on *Aeneid* X. 13; De Sanctis *l.c.* pp. 65 f., 561.

¹ By whom Livy omits to state; certainly not by armies comparable to Hasdrubal's.

esse; duas praevalidas urbes, magno inter se maris terrarumque spatio discretas, de imperio et opibus certare.

Hae causae aperuerant Alpes Hasdrubali. Ceterum quod celeritate itineris profectum erat, id mora ad Placentiam, dum frustra obsidet magis quam oppugnat, conrupit. Crediderat campestris oppidi facilem expugnationem esse, et nobilitas coloniae induxit eum, magnum se excidio eius urbis terrorem ceteris ratum iniecturum. Non ipse se¹ solum ea oppugnatione² impediit, sed Hannibalem post famam transitus eius tanto spe sua celeriorem iam moventem ex hibernis continuerat, quippe reputantem non solum quam lenta urbium oppugnatio esset, sed etiam quam ipse frustra eandem illam coloniam ab Trebia viator regressus temptasset.

XL. Consules diversis itineribus profecti ab urbe velut in duo pariter bella distenderant euras hominum, simul recordantium, quas primus adventus Hannibal intulisset Italiae clades, simul cum illa angeret eura, quos tam propitos urbi atque imperio fore deos ut eodem tempore utrobique res publica prospere gereretur? Adhuc adversa secundis pensando rem ad id tempus extractam esse. Cum in Italia ad Trasumenum et Cannas praecipitasset Romana res, prospera bella in Hispania prolapsam eam erexisse; postea, cum in Hispania alia super

¹ ipse se *Sp?NJK* *Froben* 2: ipse *PRM*: ipsum *CBDAN* *Aldus*, *Madvig.*

² oppugnatione *Sp?K* (imp. *NJ*): oppugnatio *P(1)N* *Madvig.*

¹ No such siege of Placentia was mentioned in XXI. lvii., lix., but only an unsuccessful attack upon its port.

merely a route; that two very powerful cities, ^{B.C. 207} separated from each other by a wide expanse of sea and land, were contending for empire and supremacy.

These were the reasons which had opened the Alps for Hasdrubal. But what had been gained by the rapidity of his march he lost by delaying before Placentia, in a futile blockade rather than a siege. He had believed that the storming of a town in the plain was easy, and the reputation of the colony had led him on, thinking that by the destruction of that city he would inspire great alarm in the others. Not only did he hinder himself by that siege, but he had kept back Hannibal, who was just preparing to leave winter quarters, on hearing so much sooner than he had expected news of his brother's crossing. For Hannibal recalled not only how slow was the besieging of cities, but also how vainly he had himself attempted to take that same colony, upon returning as a victor from the Trebia.¹

XL. The setting out of the consuls from the city in opposite directions, as though for two wars at the same time, had drawn men's anxious thoughts both ways, while they not only remembered what disasters the first coming of Hannibal had brought into Italy, but also were tormented by this anxiety: what gods were to be so kindly disposed to the city and the empire that the state should meet with success at the same time in both quarters? It was with a balancing of defeats so far by victories, they thought, that matters had dragged on up to that time. When in Italy at Trasumennus and Cannae the Roman state had gone down to defeat, victorious campaigns in Spain had saved her from falling. Later, when in Spain one disaster after another had

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aliam clades duobus egregiis dueibus amissis duos
 exercitus ex parte delesset, multa secunda in Italia
 Siciliaque gesta quassatam rem publicam excepisse;
 et ipsum intervallum loci, quod in ultimis terrarum
 oris alterum bellum gereretur, spatium dedisse ad
 respirandum. Nunc duo bella in Italianam accepta,
 duo celeberrimi nominis duces circumstare urbem
 Romanam, et unum in locum totam periculi molem,
 omne onus incubuisse. Qui eorum prior vicisset,
 intra paucos dies castra¹ cum altero iuncturum.
 Terrebat et proximus annus lugubris duorum con-
 sulum funeribus. His anxiis curis homines digre-
 sidentes in provincias consules prosecuti sunt. Me-
 moriae proditum est plenum adhuc irae in civis
 M. Livium ad bellum proficiscentem monenti Q.
 Fabio ne, priusquam genus hostium cognosset,
 temere manum consereret, respondisse, ubi primum
 hostium agmen conspexisset, pugnaturum. Cum
 quaereretur quae causa festinandi esset, "Aut ex
 hoste egregiam gloriam" inquit "aut ex civibus
 victis gaudium meritum certe, etsi non honestum,
 capiam."

Priusquam Claudius consul in provinciam per-
 veniret,² per extreum finem agri³ . . . ducentem
 in Sallentinos exercitum Hannibalem expeditis co-
 hortibus adortus C. Hostilius Tubulus incomposito

¹ paucos dies castra A¹N¹JK : om. P(1)N, one line.

² perveniret SpJK Froben 2 : veniret P(1)N Aldus.

³ agri, followed in P¹JK by larinatis, impossible on account of the distance of Larinum : Madrig (Emend.) conj. Tarentini; also Uriatis (later), adopted by Riemann : laritanis P(3) : -tani BAN.

partially destroyed two armies with the loss of two ^{B.C. 207} extraordinary generals, many successes in Italy and Sicily had supported the tottering state. And the very distance, they said, in that one of the wars was fought in the remotest part of the world, had given time to recover breath. But now two wars had been admitted into Italy, two generals of the greatest celebrity were encircling the city of Rome, and upon one spot the whole mass, the entire weight of the danger had settled. Whichever of them was the first to win a victory would within a few days unite his camp with the other's. Alarm was caused also by the preceding year, saddened by the death of two consuls. Troubled by such anxieties men escorted the consuls as they parted, leaving for their provinces. It is related that when Marcus Livius, still filled with resentment toward his fellow-citizens, was setting out for the war, and Quintus Fabius warned him not to engage the enemy rashly, before he had come to know their character, he replied that he would fight when he first caught sight of the enemy's column. When the question was asked what reason he had for haste, he said, "I shall win either great fame from the enemy, or from my defeated fellow-citizens a joy that surely is earned, even if not to my credit."

Before Claudius, the consul, reached his province, as Hannibal was leading his army along the very border of the territory of . . .¹ into the country of the Sallentini, Gaius Hostilius Tubulus with cohorts unencumbered by baggage attacked him and caused

¹ Some town not far from Tarentum; cf. § 12. Uria (chief town of the Sallentini), suggested by Madvig, was on the Via Appia, halfway between Tarentum and Brundisium. Cf. Strabo VI. iii. 6 f.

A.U.C. 547 H agmini terribilem tumultum intulit; ad quattuor
 milia hominum occidit, novem signa militaria cepit.
 Moverat ex hibernis ad famam hostis Q. Claudius,
 qui per urbes agri Sallentini castra disposita habebat.
 Itaque ne cum duobus exercitibus simul confligeret,
 Hannibal nocte castra ex agro Tarentino movit atque
 in Bruttios concessit. Claudius in Sallentinos agmen
 convertit, Hostilius Capuam petens obvius¹ ad
 Venusiam fuit² consuli Claudio. Ibi ex utroque
 exercitu electa peditum quadraginta milia, duo milia³
 et quingenti equites, quibus consul adversus Hanni-
 balem rem gereret: reliquas copias Hostilius Capuam
 ducere iussus, ut Q. Fulvio proconsuli traderet.

XLI. Hannibal undique contracto exercitu, quem
 in hibernis aut in praesidiis agri Bruttii habuerat, in
 Lueanos ad Grumentum venit spe recipiendi oppida
 quae per metum ad Romanos defecissent. Eodem a
 Venusia consul Romanus exploratis itineribus conten-
 dit, et mille fere et quingentos passus castra ab hoste
 locat.⁴ Grumenti moenibus prope iniunctum vide-
 batur Poenorum vallum; quingenti passus intererant.
 Castra Punica ac Romana interiacebat campus; colles
 imminebant nudi sinistro lateri Carthaginiensium,
 dextro Romanorum, neutris suspecti, quod nihil

¹ obvius *P(1)N*: obviam *JK*.

² fuit *P(1)N*: fit *N'JK Aldus, Froben*.

³ duo milia *x Aldus, Froben*: duo *d N'*: duo *A'JK*: om.
 (also quingenti, i.e. d) *P(1)(A?)N*.

⁴ ab hoste (urbe *J*) locat *JK Aldus, Froben*: locat ab hoste
P(3)N.

¹ I.e. the winter stations among which his two legions were dispersed; xxxvi. 13. Note that Quintus Claudius is different from the consul Gaius Claudius Nero of section 13.

² But in xl. 10 Hannibal had already taken the field. This statement is evidently from a different source.

terrible confusion in the straggling column. He ^{B.C. 207} slew about four thousand men and captured nine military standards. On hearing of the approach of the enemy, Quintus Claudiūs, who had his camps¹ established near the various cities of the Sallentine territory, had left his winter quarters. Accordingly, not to engage two armies at the same time, Hannibal moved his camp out of the region of Tarentum by night and retired into the country of the Bruttii.² Claudio turned his column into the territory of the Sallentini, while Hostilius on his way to Capua met the consul Claudio near Venusia. There forty thousand infantry and twenty-five hundred horsemen were selected from both their armies, that with them the consul might campaign against Hannibal. As for the rest of the forces, Hostilius was ordered to lead them to Capua, to be handed over to Quintus Fulvius, the proconsul.

XLI. Hannibal, after concentrating the army which he had kept in winter quarters or garrisons in the land of the Bruttii, came to Grumentum³ in Lucaniā, in the hope of recovering the towns which out of fear had gone over to the Romans. The Roman consul hastened from Venusia to the same place, reconnoitring as he advanced, and pitched camp about fifteen hundred paces from the enemy. The Carthaginians' earthwork seemed almost in contact with the walls of Grumentum; the distance was only five hundred paces. Between the Punic camp and the Roman lay a plain. Bare hills overhung the left flank of the Carthaginians and the right flank of the Romans, without arousing suspi-

³ An important town in the interior, with a large territory; cf. XXIII. xxxvii. 10.

5 silvae neque ad insidias latebrarum habebant. In
 medio campo ab stationibus procursantes certamina
 haud satis digna dictu serebant. Id modo Romanum
 quaerere apparebat, ne abire hostem pateretur:
 Hannibal inde evadere cupiens totis viribus in aciem
 6 descendebat. Tum consul ingenio hostis usus, quo
 minus in tam apertis collibus timeri insidia poterant,
 quinque cohortes additis quinque manipulis nocte
 iugum superare et in aversis collibus¹ considere
 7 iubet. Tempus exsurgendi ex insidiis et adgre-
 diendi hostem Ti. Claudium Asellum tribunum
 militum et P. Claudium praefectum socium edocet,
 8 quos cum iis mittebat. Ipse luce prima copias omnes
 peditum equitumque in aciem eduxit. Paulo post et
 ab Hannibale signum pugnae propositum est, clamor-
 que in castris ad arma disurrentium est sublatus.
 Inde eques pedesque certatim portis ruere ac
 9 palati per campum properare ad hostes. Quos ubi
 effusos consul videt, tribuno militum tertiae legionis
 C. Aurunculeio imperat ut equites legionis quanto
 10 maximo impetu possit in hostem emittat: ita
 pecorum modo incompositos toto passim se campo²
 fudisse ut sterni obterique, priusquam instruantur,
 possint.

XLI. Nondum Hannibal e castris exierat cum
 pugnantium clamorem audivit. Itaque excitus tu-

¹ collibus *P(1)N*: vallibus *A*V*JK Aldus, Froben.*

² se campo *P(1)VJK Aldus*: campo se *Froben 2.*

cions for either army, because they had no woods nor ^{B.C. 215} any hiding-places for an ambush. In the plain between them charges starting from outposts brought on engagements not important enough to be mentioned. It was evident that the Roman general's only object was not to allow the enemy to get away. But Hannibal in his eagerness to make his way out of the place would go down into battle-line with all his forces. Then the consul, using the enemy's talent, all the more readily that on such exposed hills ambuscades could not be feared, commanded five cohorts, with five maniples in addition, to cross over the ridge in the night, and to post themselves on the farther side of the hills. As to the time for them to rise from ambush and attack the enemy he instructed Tiberius Claudius Asellus, tribune of the soldiers, and Publius Claudius, prefect of the allies, officers whom he was sending with them. At day-break he himself led out all his forces, infantry and cavalry, into battle-line. A little later the signal for battle was set up by Hannibal also, and a shout was raised in the camp as the men rushed in all directions to get their arms. Then cavalry and infantry in rivalry dashed out of the gates and, scattering over the plain, made haste to reach the enemy. On seeing their disorder, the consul ordered Gaius Aurunculeius, tribune of the soldiers of the third legion, to send out the cavalry of the legion with all possible momentum against the enemy, saying that they had scattered so widely, like sheep, in disorder over the whole plain that they could be routed and crushed before they were drawn up in line.

XLII. Not yet had Hannibal left the camp when he heard the shouting of the combatants. Accord-

2 multu raptim ad hostem copias agit. Iam primos
 occupaverat equestris¹ terror; peditum etiam prima
 legio et dextra ala proelium inibat. Incompositi
~~hostes~~, ut quemque aut pediti aut equiti casus
~~3~~ obtulit, ita conserunt manus. Crescit pugna
 subsidiis et procurrentium ad certamen numero
 augetur; pugnantisque—quod nisi in vetere exercitu
~~4~~ et duci veteri² haud facile est—inter tumultum ac
 terrorem instruxisset Hannibal, ni cohortium ac
 manipulorum decurrentium³ per colles clamor ab
 tergo auditus metum ne intercluderentur a castris
~~5~~ inieciisset. Inde pavor incussus et fuga passim fieri
 coepta est. Minorque caedes fuit, quia propinquitas
~~6~~ castrorum breviorem fugam percussis fecit. Equites
 enim tergo inhaerebant; in transversa latera invaser-
 rant cohortes secundis collibus via nuda ac facili-
~~7~~ decurrentes. Tamen supra octo milia hominum
 occisa, supra septingentos⁴ capti; signa militaria
 novem adempta; elephanti etiam, quorum nullus
 usus in repentina ac tumultuaria pugna fuerat,
~~8~~ quattuor occisi, duo capti. Circa quingentos Ro-
 manorum sociorumque victores ceciderunt.

Postero die Poenus quievit; Romanus in aciem
 copiis eductis,⁵ postquam neminem signa contra
 efferre vidit, spolia legi caesorum hostium et suorum

¹ equestris *A·N·JK* *Froben* 2: eques *P(3)R¹*: equites *RC⁴* *Aldus*: equester *Salmasius*, *Madvig*.

² duci veteri *P(1)N* *Aldus*, *Madvig*: duce veteri *A·N·JK* *Froben* 2: duecere veteri *N⁴*, *Conway*.

³ decurrentium *C⁴A·N·JK*: decursū (or -um) *P(1)N*: decursu *Madvig*.

⁴ septingentos *z Eds.*: -ti *PK Conway*, who brackets supra: some *MSS.* have *LXX*.

⁵ eductis *Sp²A·JK* *Froben* 2: ductis *P(1)N*.

ingly, being summoned by the uproar, he rapidly ^{B.C. 207} moved his troops up to the enemy. Already the foremost had been seized with the panic caused by the cavalry. Of the Roman infantry also the first legion and the right *ala*¹ were coming into battle. In disorder the enemy engaged, just as chance brought a man face to face with either a foot-soldier or a horseman. The battle was enlarged by the reserves and increased by the numbers of men rushing into the fray. And while his men were actually fighting, in spite of the uproar and the panic, Hannibal would have drawn them up—a thing not easy except in a veteran army and for a veteran commander—if from the rear the sound of the shouting cohorts and maniples, as they dashed down the hillsides, had not inspired the fear of being cut off from the camp. Thereupon they were panic-stricken and flight began on all sides. And the slaughter was less only because the nearness of the camp shortened flight for the routed. For the cavalry clung close to their rear; on the flank the cohorts, charging down the slope of the hills by an open, easy road, had attacked them. However, more than eight thousand men were slain, more than seven hundred captured; nine military standards were taken. Of the elephants also, of which no use had been made in a battle sudden and disorderly, four were slain, two captured. About five hundred Romans and allies fell although victorious.

On the next day the Carthaginian remained inactive. The Roman led his forces out into line, and on seeing that no standards were coming out against him, ordered the spoils of the fallen enemies to be gathered and the bodies of his own men to be

¹ Cf. i. 7 and note.

9 corpora conlata in unum sepeliri iussit. Inde inse-
 quentibus continuis¹ diebus aliquot ita institit portis
 10 ut prope inferre signa videretur, donec Hannibal
 tertia vigilia crebris ignibus tabernaculisque, quae
 pars castrorum ad hostes vergebat, et Numidis paucis
 qui in vallo portisque se ostenderent relictis, profec-
 11 tus Apuliam petere intendit. Ubi inluxit, successit
 vallo Romana acies, et Numidae ex composito pau-
 lis per in portis se valloque ostentavere, frustratique
 aliquamdiu hostes citatis equis agmen suorum adse-
 12 quuntur. Consul ubi silentium in castris et ne paucos
 quidem qui prima luce obambulaverant parte ulla
 cernebat, duobus equitibus speculatum in castra praemissis,
 postquam satis tuta omnia esse exploratum
 13 est, inferri signa iussit; tantumque ibi moratus, dum
 milites ad praedam discurrunt, receptui deinde
 14 cecinit multoque ante noctem copias reduxit. Poste-
 ro die prima luce² prefectus, magnis itineribus
 famam et vestigia agminis sequens haud procul
 15 Venusia hostem adsequitur. Ibi quoque tumultuaria
 pugna fuit; supra duo milia Poenorum caesa. Inde
 nocturnis montanisque itineribus Poenus, ne locum
 16 pugnandi daret, Metapontum petiit. Hanno inde-
 is enim praesidio eius loci praefuerat—in Bruttios
 cum paucis ad exercitum novum comparandum
 missus; Hannibal copiis eius ad suas additis Venu-
 siam retro quibus venerat itineribus repetit,³ atque

¹ continuis *P(1)N* (*after diebus JK*) : *Conway would bracket.*

² prima luce *P(1)N* : luce prima *JK*.

³ repetit *JK Aldus, Froben* : *repetiit P(1)N.*

¹ His only object apparently was to reinforce his army.

brought together and buried. Then for several days in succession he came up so close to the gates that he almost seemed to be advancing into the camp, until at the third watch Hannibal set out, leaving numerous fires and tents in that part of the camp which faced the enemy, also a few Numidians to show themselves on the earthwork and at the gates; and he pushed on toward Apulia. When day dawned, the Roman line came up to the earth-work, and the Numidians showed themselves a while, as arranged, at the gates and on the wall. And after deceiving the enemy for some time, riding at full speed they overtook their own column. The consul, perceiving the stillness in the camp and not seeing anywhere even the few men who at daybreak had been strolling about, sent two horsemen in advance into the camp to reconnoitre. Then, once it had been ascertained that everything was quite safe, he ordered an advance into the camp. And after lingering there only long enough for the soldiers to scatter for plunder, he then sounded the recall, and long before nightfall led his troops back. Setting out at dawn on the next day, in forced marches he followed reports of the enemy's column and its tracks and overtook them not far from Venusia. There also there was a disorderly battle; over two thousand Carthaginians were slain. Then, marching by night and in the mountains, to give no opportunity for battle, the Carthaginian made for Metapontum.¹ Thereupon Hanno, who had commanded the garrison of that place, was sent with a few men into the land of the Bruttii to muster a fresh army. Hannibal added Hanno's troops to his own, returned to Venusia by the same route by which he

A.T.C. 17 inde Canusium procedit. Numquam Nero vestigiis
⁵⁴⁷ hostis abstiterat et Q. Fulvium, cum Metapontum
 ipse proficeretur, in Lucanos, ne regio ea sine
 praesidio esset, arcessierat.

XLIII. Inter haec ab Hasdrubale, postquam a Placentiae obsidione abscessit, quattuor Galli equites, duo Numidae cum litteris missi ad Hannibalem, cum per medios hostes totam ferme longitudinem Italiae
 2 emensi essent, dum Metapontum cedentem Hannibalem sequuntur, incertis itineribus Tarentum delati, a vagis per agros pabulatoribus Romanis ad Q. Claudiūm propraetorem deducuntur. Eum primo incertis implicantes responsis, ut metus tormentorum admotus fateri vera coegerit, edocuerunt litteras se ab Hasdrubale ad Hannibalem ferre. Cum iis litteris, sicut erant, signatis L. Verginio tribuno militum ducendi
 5 ad Claudium consulem traduntur; duae simul turmae Samnitium praesidii causa missae. Qui ubi ad consulem pervenerunt, litteraeque lectae per interpretem sunt, et ex captivis percunctatio facta,
 6 tum Claudius non id tempus esse rei publicae ratus quo consiliis ordinariis provinciae suae quisque finibus per exercitus suos cum hoste destinato ab senatu
 7 bellum gereret—audendum ac novandum¹ aliquid improvsum, inopinatum, quod coeptum non minorem apud cives quam hostes terrorem faceret, perpetra-

¹ ac novandum *A⁴N⁴JK Froben* : *om. P(1)N.*

¹ Later evidently to the camp near Canusium to face Hannibal, though Livy does not mention it; cf. p. 384, n. 1.

² *I.e.* Gaius Claudius Nero.

³ For the present emergency, however, traditional methods had been set aside and the senate had given the consuls *carte blanche*; xxxviii. 9.

had come, and proceeded thence to Canusium. Nero ^{B.C. 207} had never left the enemy's heels and, when setting out himself for Metapontum, he had summoned Quintus Fulvius into Lucania,¹ in order that that region should not be without troops.

XLIII. Meanwhile Hasdrubal, after abandoning the siege of Placentia, sent four Gallic horsemen and two Numidians with a letter to Hannibal. When they had already traversed nearly the whole length of Italy through the midst of the enemy, in following Hannibal as he withdrew to Metapontum they came by roads of which they were uncertain to Tarentum and were brought by Roman foragers who roamed about the country to Quintus Claudius, the propraetor. At first they tried to confuse him by vague answers, but when the fear of torture was brought to bear and compelled them to admit the truth, they informed him that they were carrying a letter from Hasdrubal to Hannibal. Together with the letter, still sealed as it was, they were turned over to Lucius Verginius, tribune of the soldiers, to be conducted to Claudio^s, the consul.² At the same time two troops of Samnites were sent as an escort. When they had reached the consul, and the letter had been read by an interpreter and the captives questioned, Claudio^s thereupon judged that the situation of the state was not such that they should carry on the war by routine methods, each consul within the bounds of his own province, operating with his own armies against an enemy prescribed by the senate.³ Rather must he venture to improvise something unforeseen, unexpected, something which in the beginning would cause no less alarm among citizens than among enemies, but if accomplished would convert

tum in magnam laetitiam ex magno metu verteret—
 8 litteris Hasdrubalis Romam ad senatum missis simul
 et ipse patres conscriptos, quid pararet,¹ edocet: ut,²
 cum in Umbria se occursum Hasdrubal fratri scribat,
 9 legionem a Capua Romam arcessant, dilectum Romae
 habeant, exercitum urbanum ad Narniam hosti
 10 opponant. Haec senatu³ scripta. Praemissi item
 per agrum Larinatem Marruecinum Frentanum Prae-
 tutianum, qua exercitum ducturus erat, ut omnes
 ex agris urbibusque commeatus paratos militi ad
 vescendum in viam deferrent, equos iumentaque alia
 11 producerent, ut vehiculorum fessis copia esset. Ipse
 de toto exercitu civium sociorumque quod roboris
 erat de legit, sex milia peditum, mille equites; pro-
 nuntiat occupare se in Lucanis proximam urbem
 Punicumque in ea praesidium velle; ut ad iter parati
 12 omnes essent. Profectus nocte flexit in Picenum.

Et consul quidem quantis maximis itineribus po-
 terat ad conlegam ducebat, relieto Q. Catio legato
 qui castris praeesset. XLIV. Romae haud minus
 terroris ac tumultus erat quam fuerat quadriennio⁴

¹ pararet *P(1)N Aldus*: paret *SpJK Froben* 2.

² ut *P(1)N Aldus, Froben*: monet ut *A⁸N⁸JK Conway*: et
ut Duker, Madvig.

³ senatu *PCR²*: -tui *P³(3)C¹NJK*.

⁴ quadriennio *Glareanus, Conway*: biennio *P(1)NJK Eds.*

¹ Meaning that part of Umbria which lies east of the Apennines along the Adriatic between the Rubico and the Aesis rivers, *i.e.* the Ager Gallicus. He expected Hannibal to follow the coast until they met.

great fear into great rejoicing. Sending Hasdrubal's letter to the senate at Rome, he likewise informed the conscript fathers what he was himself intending to do. In view of Hasdrubal's writing to his brother that he would meet him in Umbria,¹ the consul advised the senate to summon a legion from Capua to Rome, to conduct a levy at Rome, to confront the enemy at Narnia² with the city troops. In such terms he wrote to the senate. He sent also messengers in advance through the regions of Larinum, of the Marrucini, the Frentani, the Praetutii, along the line of his proposed march, that they should all carry from the farms and the cities provisions, ready for the soldiers to eat, down to the road, and should bring out horses and mules as well, that the weary might have no lack of vehicles. As for himself, out of the whole army he chose the best soldiers, citizens and allies, six thousand infantry, a thousand cavalry. He announced that he intended to seize the nearest city in Lucania and its Carthaginian garrison: that they must all be ready for the march. Setting out at night, he changed his direction to that of Picenum.³

While the consul by marches forced to the limit was leading his army towards his colleague, having left Quintus Catius, his lieutenant, to command the camp, (XLIV.) at Rome there was no less panic and confusion than there had been four years before,⁴ when

² Here were two legions, from which no doubt various detachments had been sent up the Via Flaminia, even as far as the pass, we must presume (cf. p. 407, n. 1), about 25 miles from the Adriatic.

³ The distance to be traversed (Canusium to Sena Gallica) was nearly 250 miles.

⁴ (cf. XXVI. ix. 6 ff., x.

ante, cum castra Punica obiecta Romanis moenibus portisque fuerant. Neque satis constabat animis tam audax iter consulis laudarent vituperarentne; apparebat, quo nihil iniquius est, ex eventu famam 2 habiturum: castra prope Hannibalem hostem relictam sine duce, cum exercitu cui detractum foret omne quod roboris, quod floris fuerit; et consulem in Lucanos ostendisse iter, cum Picenum et Galliam 3 peteret, castra relinquenter nulla alia re tutiora quam errore hostis, qui ducem inde atque exercitus 4 partem abesse¹ ignoraret. Quid futurum, si id palam fiat, et aut insequi Neronem cum sex milibus armatorum profectum Hannibal toto exercitu velit aut castra invadere praedae relicita, sine viribus, sine 5 imperio, sine auspicio? Veteres eius belli clades, duo consules proximo anno interfecti terrebant; et ea omnia accidisse, cum unus imperator, unus exercitus hostium in Italia esset; nunc duo bella Punica facta, duos ingentes exercitus, duos prope 6 Hannibales in Italia esse. Quippe et Hasdrubalem patre eodem Hamilcare genitum, aeque in pigrum dueem, per tot annos in Hispania Romano exercitatum bello, gemina victoria insignem, duobus exercitibus cum clarissimis ducibus deletis. Nam itineris quidem celeritate ex Hispania et concitatis ad arma Gallicis gentibus multo magis quam Hannibalem

¹ abesse *P^c(3)M¹?N Aldus*: abisse *Sp?N⁴JK Froben 2*: abasset *PRM*.

¹ As a matter of fact the Roman forces left behind near Canusium probably numbered 30,000, including the legions commanded by one of the most capable generals, Q. Fulvius Flaccus, a proconsul. And as a reserve there were two more legions near Tarentum.

a Carthaginian camp had been pitched before the Roman walls and gates. Nor was it quite clear to men's minds whether they should praise or blame so bold a march on the part of the consul. It was plain that it would be praised or blamed according to the outcome, than which nothing is more unjust. They said that the camp had been left near an enemy who was Hannibal, without a general, with an army from which had been detached all its strength, all its flower. And the consul had indicated a march into Lucania, whereas he was heading for Picenum and Gaul, leaving a camp that was defended by nothing else than the deception of the enemy, who was unaware that the general and a part of his army were not there. What was to happen, if that became known and Hannibal should wish either with his whole army to pursue Nero, who had set out with only six thousand armed men, or else to attack the camp, abandoned to plunder, without proper forces, without its high command, without the auspices?¹ The earlier disasters in that war, the death of two consuls in the preceding year, were still terrifying. And they said that all those misfortunes had befallen them when the enemy had but a single general, a single army, in Italy. At present it had become two Punic wars, two mighty armies, two Hannibals, so to speak, in Italy. For Hasdrubal also was a son of the same father, Hamilcar, and an equally strenuous commander, trained for so many years in Spain by a war with Romans, famous too for a double victory, the destruction of two armies and generals of great distinction. Certainly of the swiftness of his march from Spain, and of having aroused the Gallic tribes to war he could boast far more than Hannibal him-

8 ipsum gloriari posse; quippe in iis locis hunc coegisse
 exercitum quibus ille maiorem partem militum fame
 ac frigore, quae miserrima mortis genera sint,
 9 amisisset. Adiebant etiam periti rerum Hispaniae
 haud cum ignoto eum¹ duce C. Nerone congressurum,
 sed quem in saltu impedito deprensus forte haud
 secus quam puerum conscribendis fallacibus condi-
 10 cionibus pacis frustratus elusissct. Omnia maiora
 etiam vero praesidia hostium, minora sua, metu
 interprete semper in deteriora inclinato, ducebant.

XLV. Nero postquam iam² tantum intervalli ab
 hoste fecerat, ut detegi consilium satis tutum esset,
 2 paucis milites alloquitur. Negat ullius consilium im-
 peratoris in speciem audacius, re ipsa tutius fuisse
 quam suum: ad certam eos se victoriam ducere;
 3 quippe ad quod bellum collega non ante quam ad
 satietatem ipsius peditum atque equitum datae ab
 senatu copiae fuissent, maiores instructioresque quam
 si adversus ipsum Hannibalem iret, profectus sit, eo
 ipsi si³ quantumcumque virium momentum addiderint,
 4 rem omnem inclinaturos. Auditum modo in acie—
 nam ne ante audiatur daturum operam—alterum
 consulem et alterum exercitum advenisse haud
 5 dubiam victoriam facturum. Famam bellum con-
 ficere, et parva momenta in spem metumque impel-
 lere animos; gloriae quidem ex re bene gesta partae

¹ eum *Crévier*: cum *PCR*: eo *N¹JK*: om. *C²MBDAN*
Aldus, Froben, Johnson.

² iam *A²N¹JK Aldus, Froben*: om. *P(1)A²N.*

³ eo ipsi si *Madrig*: eos ipsos *ANJK Conway*: eo ipsos
P(3)N¹ Aldus, Froben.

¹ Cf. XXVI. xvii. 5 ff.

self. For he had gathered an army in the very ^{B.C. 207} region in which Hannibal had lost the larger part of his forces by hunger and cold, the most pitiable forms of death. Furthermore, men acquainted with events in Spain repeatedly added that he would encounter in Gaius Nero no unknown general, but one whom he, when himself surprised, as it happened, in a difficult pass, had baulked and baffled like a child by the pretence of drawing up terms of peace.¹ They reckoned all the enemy's forces even larger, their own less, than they were, since fear is an interpreter always inclined to the worse side.

XLV. Nero, now that he had already made his distance from the enemy such that it was quite safe to reveal his plan, briefly addressed his soldiers. He said that no plan of any general had been in appearance more reckless, but in fact safer, than his. He was leading them to certain victory. For inasmuch as his colleague had set out for the war only when infantry and cavalry forces had been furnished by the senate to his own satisfaction—larger forces and better equipped than if he were marching even against Hannibal—if they should themselves with their troops add ever so small a makeweight, they would change the whole situation. The mere report along the battle-line—for he would see to it that they did not hear sooner—that a second consul and a second army had arrived would put their victory beyond a doubt. Hearsay,² he said, decides a war and slight influences move men in the direction of hope and fear. Of the glory at least to be derived from success they

² *I.e.* reports, even unfounded, crystallized into prevailing impressions or popular opinion, and so determining morale. So *e.g.* Seneca *Epist.* xiii. 8; cf. XXXIV. xii. 4.

6 fructum prope omnem ipsos laturos; semper quod postremum adiectum sit, id rem totam videri traxisse. Cernere ipsos quo concursu, qua admiratione, quo favore hominum iter suum celebretur.

7 Et hercule per instructa omnia ordinibus virorum mulierumque undique ex agris effusorum, inter vota ac¹ preces et laudes ibant. Illos praesidia rei publicae, vindices urbis Romanae imperiique appellabant; in illorum armis dextrisque suam liberorumque suorum salutem ac libertatem repositam esse. Deos omnes deasque precabantur ut illis faustum iter, felix pugna, matura ex hostibus victoria esset, damnaren-
9 turque ipsi votorum quae pro iis suscepissent, ut, quem ad modum nunc solliciti prosequerentur eos, ita paucos post dies laeti ovantibus victoria obviam irent.

10 Invitare inde pro se quisque et offerre et fatigare precibus ut quae ipsis iumentisque usui essent ab se potissimum sumerent; benigne omnia cumulata dare. Modestia certare milites, ne quid ultra usum necessarium sumerent; nihil morari, nec abire² ab signis nec³ subsistere⁴ nisi⁵ cibum capientes; diem ac noctem ire; vix quod satis ad naturale desiderium 12 corporum esset, quieti dare. Et ad collegam prae- missi erant qui nuntiarent adventum percunctarenturque clam an palam, interdiu an noctu venire sese

¹ ac *Sp?JK Froben* 2: et *P(1)N Aldus, Madrig.*

² abire *Weissenborn*: discedere (*or abs-*) *Madrig*: *om. MSS., Conway.*

³ nec *P(1)N*: *om. N^tJK Froben, Conway.*

⁴ subsistere *P(1)NJK Aldus*: absistere *Froben* 2, *Gronovius, Conway.*

⁵ nisi *Madrig*: *om. MSS., Conway.*

¹ The scene recalls one more briefly pictured in XXVI. ix. 5.

would themselves reap almost the whole benefit. B.C. 207
Always what was the last to be added is felt to have brought with it the whole issue. They themselves could see by what throngs of people, by what admiration, by what approval, their march was acclaimed.

And in fact they were marching everywhere between lines of men and women who had poured out from the farms on every side, and amidst their vows and prayers and words of praise. Defenders of the state men called them, champions of the city of Rome and of the empire. In their weapons and their right hands, they said, were placed their own safety and freedom, and those of their children. They kept imploring all the gods and goddesses that the soldiers might have a successful march, a favourable battle, a prompt victory over the enemy, and that they might themselves be obliged to pay the vows they had made on their behalf; that, just as they were now anxiously escorting them, so after a few days they might with rejoicing go to meet them in the exultation of victory. Then they vied with each other in invitations and offers and in importuning them to take from them in preference to others whatever would serve the men themselves and their beasts; they heaped everything upon them generously.¹ The soldiers competed in self-restraint, not to take more than they needed. There was no loitering, no straggling, no halt except while taking food; they marched day and night; they gave to rest hardly enough time for the needs of their bodies. And men had been sent in advance by Nero to his colleague, to announce their coming and to inquire whether he wished them to come secretly or openly,

LIVY

v.c.
547

vellet, isdem an aliis considere castris. Nocte clam ingredi melius¹ visum est.

XLVI. Tessera per castra ab Livio consule data erat ut tribunus tribunum, centurio centurionem, 2 eques equitem, pedes peditem acciperet: neque enim dilatari castra opus esse, ne hostis adventum alterius consulis sentiret; et coartatio plurium in angusto tendentium facilior futura erat, quod Claudianus exercitus nihil ferme² praeter arma secum 3 in expeditionem tulerat. Ceterum in ipso itinere auctum voluntariis agmen erat, offerentibus ultrō sese et veteribus militibus perfunctis iam militia et iuvenibus, quos certatim nomina dantes, si quorum corporis species roburque virium aptum militiae 4 videbatur, conscripserat. Ad Senam castra alterius consulis erant, et quingentos ferme inde³ passus Hasdrubal aberat Itaque cum iam adpropinquaret, tectus montibus substitit Nero, ne ante noctem castra 5 ingredetur. Silentio ingressi, ab sui quiske ordinis hominibus in tentoria abducti cum summa omnium laetitia hospitaliter excipiuntur. Postero

¹ melius P(1)NJK Aldus: om. Spz Froben 2, Conway.

² ferme SpN'JK Froben 2: fere PCA¹ Aldus: ferre RMBDAN.

³ inde P(1)N (before ferme Sp?JK Aldus, Froben): om. Conway.

¹ I.e. by Livius.

² With the countersign (on a wooden tablet) were sent out orders for the night; VII. xxxv. 1; IX. xxxii. 4. Cf. Polybius VI. xxxiv. 7 ff.

³ Livius' army was very much larger than Nero's 7,000 plus the volunteers who had joined them on the march.

by day or by night, to establish themselves in the same camp or in another. It was thought best¹ that they should enter by night in secret.

XLVI. Orders² had been sent by Livius, the consul, throughout the camp that tribune should receive tribune, centurion centurion, horseman horseman, foot-soldier foot-soldier;³ for to enlarge the camp was not to the purpose, he said, lest the enemy should know of the arrival of the other consul. And to crowd in larger numbers of men in cramped quarters was to prove easier, because Claudius' army had brought with it on its expedition hardly anything besides its arms. But in the very course of the march the column had been enlarged by volunteers; for not only did old soldiers who had already completed their service offer themselves of their own motion, but also young men who had vied with each other in giving in their names and whom Claudius had enrolled whenever their physical appearance and solid strength seemed suitable for military service. The other consul's camp was near Sena,⁴ and about five hundred paces away was Hasdrubal. Accordingly, as he was now approaching, Nero came to a halt under cover of the hills, in order not to enter the camp before night. Silently they entered, each man being led to his tent by one of the same rank, and they were hospitably welcomed with great

¹ Modern Senigallia (or Sinigaglia), directly on the sea, but with no harbour. 15 miles beyond (north-west) was the mouth of the river Metaurus, and at Fanum, less than two miles farther on, the Via Flaminia, coming from Ariminum, turned inland up the valley of the river and went on its way over the Apennines. No sufficient reason has been given for disputing Livy's statement that the camps were near Sena, as do some of the critics.

die consilium habitum, cui et L. Porcius Licinus
 6 praetor adfuit. Castra iuncta consulum castris
 habebat, et ante adventum eorum per loca alta
 ducendo exercitum, cum modo insideret angustos
 saltus, ut transitum clauderet, modo ab latere aut
 ab tergo carperet agmen, ludificatus hostem omnibus
 7 artibus belli fuerat; is tum in consilio aderat. Multo
 torum eo inclinant¹ sententiae ut, dum fessum via
 ac vigiliis reficeret militem Nero, simul et ad noscen-
 dum hostem paucos sibi sumeret dies, tempus pugnae²
 8 differretur. Nero non suadere modo, sed summa ope
 orare institit ne consilium suum, quod tutum celeritas
 9 fecisset, temerarium morando facerent; errore, qui
 non diuturnus futurus esset, velut torpem Hanni-
 balem nec castra sua sine duce reicta adgredi nec
 ad sequendum se iter intendisse. Antequam se
 moveat, deleri exercitum Hasdrubalis posse redireque³
 10 in Apuliam. Qui prolatando spatium hosti det, eum
 et illa castra prodere Hannibali et aperire in Galliam
 iter, ut per otium ubi velit Hasdrubali coniungatur.
 11 Extemplo signum dandum et exeundum in aciem
 abutendumque errore hostium absentium praesenti-
 umque, dum neque illi sciant cum paucioribus nec
 12 hi cum pluribus et validioribus rem esse. Consilio

¹ inclinant *P(1)NJK Conway*: -abant *x Aldus, Froben, Eds.*

² pugnae *P(1)N Aldus, Eds.*: pugnandi *Sp?N⁸JK Conway*.

³ -que, before this *P(1)N om. two lines* (exercitum . . . rediri) found (with redireque) in *A⁸N⁸JK*; corrected by *Gronovius*.

¹ But he had been unable appreciably to retard Hasdrubal's southward march.

general rejoicing. On the next day a council of war ^{B.C. 207} was held, at which ~~Lucius~~ Porcius Licinus, the praetor, was present. His camp adjoined that of the consuls, and before their arrival he had baffled the enemy by all the arts of war, leading his army on high ground, while at one time he would occupy a narrow pass, to block their way, at another would make sudden attacks upon the column from the flank or the rear.¹ And now he was present at the council. The opinions of many inclined in the direction of postponing the time for battle, until Nero should refresh his troops, worn by the march and lack of sleep, and at the same time should take a few days to acquaint himself with the enemy. But Nero began not merely to urge, but by all means also to implore them not to make his plan, which rapid movement had made safe, a reckless plan by delaying. It was by a deception which would not last long, he said, that Hannibal, as though dazed, was not attacking his camp, left without its commander, and had not set his army in motion to pursue him; that before Hannibal should bestir himself, they could destroy Hasdrubal's army and return to Apulia. Whoever by delaying gave the enemy time, was betraying the distant camp to Hannibal, at the same time opening the way into Gaul, so that unmolested he might join Hasdrubal whenever he pleased. At once, he said, the signal must be given and they must go out into battle-line and take advantage of the deception of their enemies, both the distant and those near at hand, while the one army was unaware that it had to do with smaller numbers, and the other that it had to deal with larger and stronger forces. Dismissing the council they raised

LIVY

dmisso signum pugnae proponitur, confestimque in aciem procedunt.

XLVII. Iam hostes ante castra instructi stabant. Moram pugnae attulit quod Hasdrubal, proiectus ante signa cum paucis equitibus, scuta vetera hostium notavit, quae ante non viderat, et strigosiores equos; 2 multitudine quoque maior solita visa est. Suspicatus enim id quod erat, receptui propere cecinit ac misit ad flumen unde aquabantur, ubi et excipi aliqui possent et notari oculis, si qui forte adustioris coloris 3 ut ex recenti via essent; simul circumvehi procul castra iubet specularique num auctum aliqua parte sit vallum. et ut attendant semel bisne signum canat 4 in castris. Ea cum ordine omnia relata¹ essent, castra nihil aucta errorem faciebant; bina erant, sicut ante adventum consulis alterius fuerant, una M. Livi, altera L. Porci; neutris quicquam quo 5 latius tenderetur ad munimenta adiectum. Illud veterem ducem adsuetumque Romano hosti movit quod semel in praetoriis castris signum, bis in consularibus referebant cecinisse. Duos profecto consules esse,² et quonam modo alter ab Hannibale 6 abscessisset cura angebat. Minime id quod erat suspicari poterat, tantae rei frustratione Hannibalem elusum, ut ubi dux, ubi exercitus esset cum quo

¹ omnia relata *A·J Aldus, Froben*: relata omnia *N·K Conway*: *P(1)N* *om.* relata.

² Duos profecto consules esse *A·N·JK Aldus, Froben*: *om. P(1)N*, one line.

¹ Cf. Zonaras IX. ix. 8. At supper-time the trumpets regularly sounded outside the general's tent as a signal to post the guards for the night; so Polybius XIV. iii. 6.

the signal for battle and forthwith went out into b.c. 207
battle-line.

XLVII. Already the enemy were standing in line before the camp. Delay in beginning the battle was due to Hasdrubal, in that, riding out in front of the standards with a few horsemen, he observed among the enemy old shields which he had not seen before and very lean horses; and he thought the numbers also larger than was usual. For, suspecting what had happened, he promptly sounded the recall and sent men to the river from which the Romans were drawing water, that some Romans might be captured there and scanned to see whether any chanced to be more sunburned, as though from a recent march. At the same time he ordered men to ride round the camps at a distance, and to notice whether the earthworks had been somewhere enlarged, and to mark whether the trumpet sounded once in the camp or twice.¹ All this having been duly reported, the fact that the camps had not been enlarged deceived him. There were two of them, as there had been before the coming of the second consul, one that of Marcus Livius, the other that of Lucius Porcius. In neither case had anything been added to the fortifications to give ampler space for the tents. The one thing that impressed an experienced general and one accustomed to a Roman enemy was their report that the trumpet had sounded once in the praetor's camp, twice in the consul's. There surely were two consuls, he thought, and sadly concerned he was how the one had got away from Hannibal. Least of all could he suspect the fact—that Hannibal had been baffled and baulked to such an extent that he did not know where the

7 castra conlata¹ habuerit² ignoraret; profecto haud medioeri elade absterritum insequi non ausum; magno opere vereri ne perditis rebus serum ipse auxilium venisset Romanisque eadē iam fortuna in
 8 Italia quae in Hispania esset. Interdum litteras suas ad eum non pervenisse credere, intercepitique iis consulem ad sese opprimendum adeelerasse. His anxius curis, extinctis ignibus, vigilia prima dato signo ut taciti vasa colligerent, signa ferri iussit.
 9 In trepidatione et nocturno tumultu duees parum intente adservati, alter in destinatis iam ante animo latebris subsedit, alter per vada nota Metaurum flumen tranavit. Ita desertum ab dueibus agmen primo per agros palatur, fessique aliquot somno ac vigiliis sternunt corpora passim atque infrequentia
 10 relinquunt signa. Hasdrubal, dum lux viam ostenderet, ripa fluminis³ signa ferri iubet, et per tortuosi amnis sinus flexusque cum errorem⁴ volvens haud multum processisset, substitit,⁵ ubi prima lux transi-

¹ conlata *P(1)N Aldus, Froben*: coniuncta *A²?J Conway*: iuncta *K*.

² habuerit *P(1)N Aldus, Conway*: haberet *SpJK Froben* 2, *Luchs*.

³ ripa fluminis *A²N²JK Aldus*: *om. P(1)N*.

⁴ errorem *P(3)(C?)*: errore *C²?DAN Sp²JK Aldus*: orbem *Weissenborn conj.*: errore iter re- *Riemann*: iter errore re- *M. Müller*.

⁵ substitit *Sartorius, Madvig*: *om. MSS., Weissenborn, Conway*.

¹ The right (south) bank must be meant. Had Hasdrubal been on the left bank the treachery of his guides would have been of no consequence. For he would simply have followed the Flaminian Way. Livy represents them as vainly seeking for a road; therefore they were on the south side of the Metaurus. Polybius' narrative at this point has not been preserved. It resumes with the battle formation (XI. i. 2).

general, where the army was with which his camp ^{B.C. 207} was formerly in contact. Surely he had been deterred by no common disaster, and had not dared to pursue. Hasdrubal greatly feared that after all was lost he had himself come too late to assist, and that the Romans would have the same good fortune in Italy as in Spain. At times he believed his own letter had not reached Hannibal, and that the consul, upon intercepting it, had made haste, in order to overpower him. Troubled by these anxieties, he had the fires put out and orders given at the first watch that they should pack up their baggage in silence, and then he commanded the standards to advance. In the excitement and confusion of the night the guides were not closely watched, and one of them settled himself in a hiding-place he had previously determined upon, while the other swam across the river Metaurus, using a shallow place known to him. So the column, deserted by its guides, wandered at first about the country, and a considerable number, overcome by drowsiness and lack of sleep, threw themselves down anywhere and left few men with the standards. Hasdrubal ordered the standard-bearers to move along the bank of the river,¹ until daylight should disclose a road. And having made little progress, while describing blind circles along the bends and curves of the twisting stream he halted, intending to cross the river as

Cf. Frontinus I. i. 9; Zonaras IX. ix. 7-12; Appian *Hann.* 52; Valerius Max. VII. iv. 4; Kromayer and Veith, *Antike Schlachtfelder* III. 1. esp. 456 ff. and maps; De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani* III. 2. 491 ff. and 562 ff., but he places the battle on the *left* bank and the camps at the mouth of the river, instead of near Sena. The left bank is preferred by the *Cambridge Ancient History* also (VIII. 94 f.).

11 tum opportunum ostendisset, transiturus.¹ Sed cum quantum a mari abscedebat, tanto altioribus coercentibus amnem ripis non inveniret vada, diem terendo spatium dedit ad insequendum sese hosti.

XLVIII. Nero primum cum omni equitatu advenit, Porcius deinde adsecutus cum levi armatura.
 2 Qui cum fessum agmen carperent ab omni parte incursarentque, et iam omisso itinere quod fugae simile erat, castra metari Poenus in tumulo super
 3 fluminis ripam vellet, advenit Livius peditum omnibus copiis non itineris modo, sed ad conserendum
 4 extemplo proelium instructis armatisque. Sed ubi omnes copias coniunxerunt directaque² acies est, Claudius dextro in cornu, Livius ab sinistro pugnam
 5 instruit; media acies praetori tuenda data. Hasdrubal omissa munitione castrorum postquam pugnandum vidit, in prima acie ante signa elephantos locat³; circa eos laevo in cornu adversus Clodium Gallos opponit, haud tantum iis fidens quantum ab hoste
 6 timeri eos credebat; ipse dextrum cornu adversus M. Livium sibi atque Hispanis—et ibi maxime in
 7 vetere milite spem habebat—sumpsit; Ligures in medio post elephantos positi. Sed longior quam latior acies erat; Gallos prominens collis tegebat.
 8 Ea frons quam Hispani tenebant cum sinistro Romanorum cornu concurrit; dextra omnis acies

¹ transiturus, *Sp?A*N*JKz Conway, M. Müller add erat (om. by P(1)N Madrig).*

² directaque *R²MBDAJK Madrig, Conway: derectaque PCRN.*

³ locat *SpJK Froben 2, Luchs: conlocat P(1)N Aldus.*

¹ So Polybius XI. i. 5, who makes no mention of Porcius.

² 10 in number and in the centre, Polybius § 3; 15 according to Appian *Hann.* 52.

soon as daylight should show a favourable crossing. B.C. 207
 But inasmuch as the farther he marched away from
 the sea the higher were the banks that confined the
 stream, and hence he could not find a ford, by wasting
 the day he gave the enemy time to overtake him.

XLVIII. First Nero with all the cavalry arrived,
 then Porecius with the light-armed caught up with
 them. And while they made skirmishing attacks
 from every side and charged the weary column, and
 the Carthaginian, now abandoning a march which
 resembled a flight, was aiming to lay out a camp on
 the hill above the bank of the river, came Livius with
 all the infantry forces, not in marching order, but
 formed and armed to begin the battle at once.
 But after they had combined all their troops and
 the line had been drawn up, Claudius on the right
 wing,¹ Livius on the left, prepared for battle, while
 the command of the centre was assigned to the
 praetor. Hasdrubal, on seeing that he must fight,
 ceased fortifying his camp and placed his elephants in
 the front line before the standards. Flanking the
 elephants,² on the left wing he placed the Gauls
 facing Claudius—not so much that he trusted them,
 as that he believed the enemy was afraid of them.
 The right wing facing Marcus Livius he took for him-
 self and his Spanish troops, and above all he rested
 his hopes on these veteran soldiers.³ The Ligurians
 were placed in the centre behind the elephants.
 But the battle-line was deep rather than widely
 extended. A projecting hill shielded the Gauls.
 That part of the front which the Spaniards held
 clashed with the left wing of the Romans, whose

³ Polybius puts Hasdrubal in the centre, but makes him attack the Roman left wing; §§ 3–5.

extra proelium eminens cessabat; collis oppositus
arcebat ne aut a fronte aut ab latere adgrederentur.
9 Inter Livium Hasdrubalemque ingens contractum
certamen erat, atroxque caedes utrimque edebatur.
10 Ibi duces ambo, ibi pars maior peditum equitumque
Romanorum, ibi Hispani, vetus miles peritusque
Romanae pugnae, et Ligures, durum in armis genus.
Eodem versi elephanti, qui primo impetu turbaverant
11 antesignanos et iam signa moverant loco; deinde
crescente certamine et clamore impotenter iam regi
et inter duas acies versari, velut incerti quorum
essent, haud dissimiliter navibus sine gubernaculo
12 vagis. Claudius "Quid ergo praecepiti cursu tam
longum iter emensi sumus?" clamitans militibus,
cum in adversum collem frustra signa erigere conatus
13 esset, postquam ea regione penetrari ad hostem non
videbat posse, cohortes aliquot subductas e dextro
cornu, ubi stationem magis segnem quam pugnam
14 futuram cernebat, post aciem circumducit et non
hostibus modo sed etiam suis inopinantibus in
dextrum¹ hostium latus incurrit; tantaque celeritas
fuit ut, cum ostendissent se ab latere, mox in terga
15 iam pugnarent. Ita ex omnibus partibus, ab fronte,
ab latere, ab tergo, trucidantur Hispani Liguresque,

¹ dextrum *Glareanus*, Eds.: sistrum *PRM*: sinistrum *P⁴(3)NJK Aldus, Froben, Conway* (*who assumes omission of a line, evectus in dextrum, following this*).

² Since Livius outranks Nero, he is here thought of as commander-in-chief.

² *I.e. hastati and principes*, after which came the standards.

whole right wing extended beyond the fighting and had nothing to do. The hill facing them prevented them from attacking either in front or on the flank.

Between Livius and Hasdrubal a mighty battle had begun, and a savage slaughter on both sides was in progress. There both generals¹ were engaged, there the greater part of the Roman infantry and cavalry, there the Spanish troops, the old soldiers, acquainted also with the Roman mode of fighting, and the Ligurians, a hardy race of warriors. To the same place came the elephants, which had thrown the front lines² into confusion by their first charge and had by this time forced the standards back. Then as the conflict and the shouting increased, they were no longer under control and roamed about between the two battle-lines,³ as though uncertain to whom they belonged, not unlike ships drifting without their steering-oars. Claudius shouted to his soldiers, "Why then have we covered so long a march at headlong speed?" and endeavoured without success to lead his line up the hill. Thereupon, after discovering that they could not get to the enemy in that direction, he drew off a number of cohorts from the right wing, where he saw that they would be standing idly by instead of fighting. He led them round behind the battle-line,⁴ and to the surprise not only of the enemy, but also of his own troops, charged into the enemy's right flank. And such was his speed that, soon after showing themselves on the flank, they were already attacking the rear. Thus from all sides, front, flank, rear, the Spaniards and Ligurians

³ Polybius stresses the confusion caused in both armies by the elephants; § 9.

⁴ *I.e.* of the Romans; cf. Polybius §§ 7, 10 f.

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547 16 et ad Gallos iam caedes pervenerat. Ibi minimum certaminis fuit; nam et pars magna ab signis aberant, nocte dilapsi stratique somno passim per agros, et qui aderant, itinere ac vigiliis fessi, intolerantissima
17 laboris corpora, vix arma umeris gestabant;¹ et iam diei medium erat, sitisque et calor hiantes caedendos capiendosque adfatum praebebat.

XLIX. Elephanti plures ab ipsis rectoribus quam ab hoste interfecti. Fabrile scalprum cum malleo habebant; id, ubi saevire beluae ac ruere in suos coeperant, magister inter aures positum, ipso in articulo quo² iungitur capiti cervix, quanto maximo 2 poterat ietu adigebat. Ea celerrima via mortis in tantae molis belua inventa erat, ubi regendi spem vicissent,³ primusque id Hasdrubal instituerat, dux cum saepe alias memorabilis, tum illa praecipue 3 pugna. Ille pugnantes hortando pariterque obeundo pericula sustinuit; ille fessos abnuentesque taedio et labore nunc precando nunc castigando accedit; ille fugientes revocavit omissamque pugnam aliquot 4 locis restituit; postremo, cum haud dubie fortuna hostium esset, ne superstes tanto exercitui suum nomen secuto esset, concitato equo se in cohortem

¹ gestabant *P(1)N Aldus, Eds.*: gerebant *SpJK Froben 2, Conway*.

² ipso in articulo quo *P(1) Eds.*: same om. quo *N*: ipsa in compage qua *N^yJK Aldus, Froben, Conway*.

³ regendi spem vicissent *Sp^yA^tN^yJK Froben 2, Johnson (with vi vicissent N^y Conway)*: regendis pervicissent *P(1)(A?)N*: regentis sprevissent *Weissenborn (with regentis imperium M. Müller)*.

¹ Indians, *id. XI. i. 12* (six elephants killed, four captured).

were slain, and the slaughter had now reached the Gauls. At that point there was the least fighting; for a large proportion of them were not with the standards, having slipped away in the night and lying asleep scattered over the fields. And further, those who were present, being exhausted by marching and lack of sleep, lusty, but utterly lacking in endurance, could scarcely carry their arms on their shoulders. And now it was midday, and thirst and heat exposed the gasping men to unlimited slaughter or capture.

XLIX. More of the elephants were slain by their own drivers¹ than by the enemy. These used to have a carpenter's chisel and a mallet. When the beasts began to grow wild and to dash into their own men, the keeper would place the chisel between the ears, precisely at the joint which connects the neck with the head, and would drive it in with all possible force. That had been found to be the quickest means of death² in a brute of such size, when they got beyond the hope of control. And the first man to introduce the practice had been Hasdrubal, a general who was often notable at other times, but pre-eminently in that battle. It was he that by encouraging them and sharing the same dangers sustained his men in battle; he that fired them, now by entreating, now by upbraiding, the exhausted and those who because of weariness and over-exertion were giving up; he that recalled those who tried to flee and at not a few points revived the battle they were abandoning. Finally, when fortune unquestionably was on the enemy's side, in order not to survive so large an army that had followed his fame, he spurred his horse and

² This discovery is not mentioned by Polybius.

Romanam inmisit. Ibi, ut patre Hamilcare et Hannibale fratre dignum erat, pugnans cecidit.

5 Numquam eo bello una acie tantum hostium interfectum est, redditaque aequa Cannensi clades vel 6 ducis vel exercitus interitu videbatur. Quinquaginta sex¹ milia hostium occisa, capta quinque milia et quadringenti; magna praeda alia cum omnis generis, 7 tum auri etiam argentique. Civium etiam Romanorum qui capti apud hostes erant supra quattuor milia² capitum recepta. Id solacii fuit pro amissis eo proelio militibus. Nam haudquaquam incruenta victoria fuit: octo ferme milia Romanorum sociorumque occisa; adeoque etiam victores sanguinis caedisque ceperat satias³ ut postero die, cum esset nuntiatum Livio consuli Gallos Cisalpinos Liguresque, qui aut proelio non adfuissent aut inter caedem effugissent, uno agmine abire sine certo duce, sine signis, sine ordine ullo aut imperio; posse,⁴ si una 9 equitum ala mittatur, omnes deleri: "Quin⁵ supersint" inquit⁶ "aliqui nuntii et hostium cladis et nostrae virtutis."

¹ sex *P(1)N Aldus, Froben, Eds.*: septem *A'JK Conway*.

² quattuor milia *A'JK Aldus, Froben*: tria milia (*in numerals PC*) *Madeig*: corrupted into xxx or ~~xxx~~ in other MSS.

³ satias *Sp Froben 2* (*cf. XXV. xxiii. 16*): satietas *P(3)NJK Aldus*.

⁴ posse *P(1)N Aldus, Froben*: after mittatur *A'N'JK*.

⁵ deleri: *Quin Gronovius, Eds., Conway*: delerique (or qui) *P(1)(A?)N*: deleri *A'N'JKz Johnson*.

⁶ inquit *A'N'JK*: om. *P(1)N*.

¹ Polybius pays a high tribute to Hasdrubal as a general and as a man; XI. ii.

charged into a Roman cohort. There, in a manner ^{B.C. 207} worthy of his father Hamilcar and of Hannibal his brother, he fell fighting.¹

Never in a single battle of that war were so many of the enemy slain, and a disaster equal to that of Cannae, whether in the loss of the general or that of an army, seemed to have been inflicted in return. Fifty-six thousand ² of the enemy were slain, fifty-four hundred captured. Great was the rest of the booty, both of every kind and of gold and silver as well. In addition, Roman citizens—over four thousand of them—who as captives were in the hands of the enemy were recovered. This was some compensation for the soldiers lost in the battle. For the victory was by no means bloodless. About eight thousand Romans and allies were slain, and to such an extent were even the victors sated with bloodshed and slaughter that on the next day, when word was brought to Livius, the consul, that the Cisalpine Gauls and Ligurians, who either had not been present in the battle, or had escaped in the midst of the carnage, were moving away in one column, with no trustworthy guide, no standards, no formation or high command, that they all could be wiped out, if a single regiment of cavalry should be sent, the consul said, “No! let there be some survivors, to carry the news both of the enemy’s disaster and of our valour.”³

² Livy’s high figures for the losses on both sides (cf. § 7) must be contrasted with those of the Greek historian—10,000 and 2,000 respectively; ch. iii. 3.

³ Livy omits mention of a temple to Iuventas vowed on this day by Livius. It was dedicated in 191 B.C.; XXXVI. xxxvi. 5 f. The date of the battle was 23rd June; Ovid *Fasti* VI. 769 f.

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L. Nero ea nocte quae secuta est pugnam profectus
 in Apuliam¹ citatiore quam inde venerat agmine die
 sexto ad stativa sua atque ad² hostem pervenit.
 2 Iter eius frequentia minore, quia nemo³ praecesserat
 nuntius, laetitia vero tanta vix ut compotes mentium
 3 prae gaudio essent celebratum est. Nam Romae
 neuter animi habitus satis dici enarrarie potest,
 nec quo incerta expectatione eventus civitas fuerat,
 4 nec quo victoriae famam accepit. Numquam per
 omnis dies, ex quo Clodium consulem profectum
 fama attulit, ab orto sole ad occidentem aut senator
 quisquam a curia atque ab magistratibus abscessit aut
 5 populus e⁴ foro. Matronae, quia nihil in ipsis opis
 erat, in preces obtestationesque versae, per omnia
 delubra vagae suppliciis votisque fatigare⁵ deos.
 6 Tam sollicitae ac suspensae civitati fama incerta
 primo accidit duos Narnienses equites in castra quae
 in faucibus Umbriae opposita erant venisse ex
 7 proelio nuntiantes caesos hostes. Et primo magis
 auribus quam animis id acceptum erat, ut maius
 laetiusque quam quod mente capere aut satis credere
 possent; et ipsa celeritas fidem impeditiebat, quod
 s biduo ante pugnatum dieebatur. Litterae deinde
 ab L. Manlio Acidino missae ex castris adferuntur
 9 de Narniensium equitum adventu. Hae litterae per

¹ profectus in Apuliam *Rossbach*, *Conway*: *om.* *P(1)NJK*,
one line: profectus *Sartorius*, *Eds.*: regressus *Madvig*.

² ad *NJK Aldus*, *Froben*: *om.* *P(1)N*.

³ quia nemo *P(1)N Aldus*, *Eds.*: nemo enim *Sp?JK Froben* 2, *Conway*.

⁴ e *P(1)N Aldus*, *Froben* 2: *om.* *Sp?JK*.

⁵ fatigare *P(1)N Aldus*: -avere *Sp?N'JK Froben* 2.

L. Nero on the night following the battle set out ^{B.C. 207} for Apulia, and with a column moving more rapidly than when he had come from that region, reached his permanent camp and the enemy on the sixth day. His march was attended by smaller throngs, because no messenger had come in advance, but by rejoicing so great that people were almost beside themselves for joy. At Rome, of course, neither state of feeling can be sufficiently described and set forth, neither that in which the city had waited in suspense for the outcome, nor that in which it heard news of the victory. Not once in all the days since it was first reported that Claudio^s, the consul, had set out did a senator leave the Senate House and the magistrates from sunrise to sunset, nor did the people leave the Forum. The matrons, being in themselves unable to help, resorted to prayers and supplications, and wandering from one to another of all the temples, importuned the gods with entreaties and vows. While the city was in a state of such anxiety and suspense, came first a vague rumour that two horsemen of Narnia, coming from the battle, had reached the camp which had been placed to guard the gateway of Umbria,¹ reporting that the enemy had been cut to pieces. And at first men had heard it, rather than taken it in, as something too great and too joyous for them to grasp and quite believe. And the promptness was in itself an obstacle to belief, in that the battle was said to have been fought but two days before. Then came a letter sent by Lucius Manlius Acidinus from the camp in regard to the arrival of the Narnian horsemen. This letter, carried through the

¹ The pass of Furlo, Intercisa of the Itineraries; cf. xlivi. 9.

LIVY

forum ad tribunal praetoris latae senatum curia¹ exciverunt: tantoque certamine ac tumultu populi ad fores curiae concursum est ut adire nuntius non posset, sed traheretur a percunctantibus vociferantibusque ut in rostris prius quam in senatu litterae reci-
10 tarentur. Tandem summoti et coerciti a magistratis, dispensarique laetitia inter inpotentes eius
11 animos potuit. In senatu primum, deinde in con-
tione litterae recitatae sunt; et pro cuiusque ingenio aliis iam certum gaudium, aliis nulla ante futura fides erat quam legatos consulumve litteras audissent.

LI. Ipsos deinde adpropinquare legatos adlatum est. Tunc enim vero omnis aetas currere obvii,² primus quisque oculis auribusque haurire tantum
2 gaudium cupientes. Ad Mulvium usque pontem
3 continens agmen pervenit. Legati—erant L. Ve-
turius Philo, P. Licinius Varus, Q. Caecilius Metellus
—circumfusi omnis generis hominum frequentia in
forum pervenerunt, cum alii ipsos, alii comites eorum
4 quae acta essent³ percunetarentur. Et ut quisque
audierat exercitum hostium imperatoremque occisum,
legiones Romanas incolumes, salvos consules esse,
extemplo aliis porro impertiebant gaudium suum.
5 Cum aegre in curiam perventum esset,⁴ multo
aegrius summota turba, ne patribus misceretur,
litterae in senatu recitatae sunt. Inde traducti in

¹ curia *P(1)N Aldus, Froben*: in curiam *NJK*.

² obvii *P(1)(A?)N Aldus*: obviam *Sp?AJK Froben 2*.

³ essent *P(1)N Aldus*: sint *Sp?JK Froben 2*.

⁴ perventum esset *P(1)N Aldus*: -venissent *Sp?JK Froben 2*.

¹ Until Gaius Hostilius could make his way to the Curia there could be no session of the senate.

Forum to the tribunal of the praetor,¹ brought the senate out of the Curia. And with such rivalry and disorder did the people rush up to the doors of the Curia that the messenger could not get near, but was jostled by men asking questions and shouting that the letter should be read from the Rostra before the reading in the senate. Finally the rioters were pushed aside and restrained by magistrates, and the joy could be progressively imparted to men unable to contain it. In the senate first, then in the assembly, was the letter read. And, according to each man's temperament, some felt a delight already well founded, others would have no assurance until they should hear the emissaries or a letter from the consuls.

LI. Next came word that the emissaries themselves were approaching. Then in truth all ages ran to meet them, each one eager to be the first to take in with eyes and ears a joy so great. An unbroken column reached all the way to the Mulvian Bridge. The emissaries, who were Lucius Veturius Philo, Publius Licinius Varus and Quintus Caecilius Metellus, beset by a crowd of men of every class made their way into the Forum, while some were questioning the emissaries themselves, some their companions, as to what had happened. And whenever a man heard that the army of the enemy and their general had been slain, that the Roman legions were intact, the consuls safe, forthwith he would pass his delight on to others. After they had made their way with difficulty into the Senate House and with much more difficulty the crowd had been pushed aside, so as not to mingle with the senators, the letter was read in the senate. Then the emissaries were led over into the

A.U.C.
547

6 contionem legati. L. Veturius litteris recitatis, ipse
 planius omnia quae acta erant exposuit cum
 ingenti adsensu, postremo etiam clamore universae
 7 contionis, cum vix gaudium animis caperent. Dis-
 cursum inde ab aliis circa templa deum, ut grates
 agerent, ab aliis domos, ut coniugibus liberisque tam
 8 laetum nuntium impertirent. Senatus quod M.
 Livius et C. Claudius consules incolumi exercitu
 ducem hostium legionesque occidissent, supplica-
 tionem in triduum decrevit. Eam supplicationem
 C. Hostilius praetor pro contione¹ edixit, celebra-
 9 taque a viris feminisque est. Omnia² templa per
 totum triduum aequalem turbam habuere, cum
 matronae amplissima veste cum liberis, perinde ac si
 debellatum foret, omni solutae metu deis immortali-
 10 bus grates agerent. Statum quoque civitatis ea
 victoria movit, ut iam³ inde haud secus quam in
 pace res inter se contrahere vendendo, emendo,
 mutuum dando⁴ argentum creditumque⁵ solvendo
 auderent.

11 C. Claudius consul cum castra redisset, caput
 Hasdrubalis, quod servatum cum cura attulerat,
 proici ante hostium stationes, captivosque Afros
 vinetos ut erant ostendi, duos etiam ex iis solutos ire
 ad Hannibalem et expromere quae acta essent iussit.

¹ pro contione *AJK Aldus*: *om. P(1)N*.² Omnia *P(1)N Aldus*: omniaque *NJK Froben* 2.³ victoria movit ut iam *A'N'JK Aldus*: victoriam *P(1)N*.⁴ emendo, mutuum dando *A'N'JK Aldus*: *om. P(1)N, one line*.⁵ creditumque *Sp.A'JK Froben* 2: creditum *P(1) NK Aldus*.¹ *I.e.* across the Comitium to the Rostra.² And the once dreaded Hannibal seemed no longer to be in Italy (*Polybius XI. iii. 6*).

assembly.¹ Lucius Veturius, after the reading of the letter, himself set forth more clearly everything that had been done, with great approval and finally even shouting from the entire assembly, since they were barely able to contain their joy. Then some hastened to one temple of the gods after another to return thanks, others to their homes, to share news so joyous with wives and children. The senate decreed that, whereas Marcus Livius and Gaius Claudius, the consuls, with their army safe, had slain the general and legions of the enemy, there should be a thanksgiving for three days. This thanksgiving was proclaimed before an assembly by Gaius Hostilius, the praetor, and observed by men and women. All the temples were uniformly crowded for all three days, while the matrons in their richest garments, together with their children, being relieved of every fear, just as if the war were already finished,² returned thanks to the immortal gods. Even the financial situation of the state was changed by that victory, so that from that time on, just as if in peace, they ventured to carry on business with one another, selling and buying, lending money and repaying loans.

Gaius Claudius, the consul, having returned to his camp, ordered the head of Hasdrubal, which he had kept with care and brought with him, to be thrown in front of the enemy's outposts,³ and that captured Africans should be displayed, as they were, in chains; furthermore that two of them, released from bonds, should go to Hannibal and relate to him what

¹ For parallel examples v. Pais' list in *Guerre Puniques* II. 452. Contrast in Hannibal's favour xxviii. 1 *fin.* and XXV. xvii. 4-7.

LIVY

- A.U.C. 12 Hannibal, tanto simul publico familiarique ictus luctu,
547 agnoscere se fortunam Carthaginis fertur dixisse;
13 castrisque inde motis, ut omnia auxilia quae diffusa
latius tueri non poterat in extremum Italiae angulum
Bruttios contraheret, et Metapontinos, civitatem
universam, excitos sedibus suis, et Lucanorum qui
suae dicionis erant in Bruttium agrum traduxit.

BOOK XXVII. LI. 12-13

had happened. Hannibal, under the blow of so great B.C. 207 a sorrow, at once public and intimate, is reported to have said that he recognized the destiny of Carthage. And moving his camp away, with the intention to concentrate in the extreme corner of Italy, the land of the Brutii, all the forces which he was unable to defend if widely scattered, he removed the whole body of citizens of Metapontum, whom he had summoned to leave their homes,¹ and such Lucanians also as were subject to him, into the Bruttian country.

¹ As Metapontum was close to the border of Apulia and dangerously near Tarentum; cf. XXV. xv. 6.

LIBRI XXVII PERIOCHA

Cn. Fulvius proconsul cum exercitu ab Hannibale ad Herdoneam caesus est. Meliore eventu ab Claudio Marcello consule adversus eundem ad Nunistronem pugnatum est. Inde Hannibal nocte recessit; Marcellus insecurus est et subinde cedentem pressit, donec confligeret. Priore pugna Hannibal superior, sequenti Marcellus. Fabius Maximus pater consul Tarentinos per prodictionem recepit. Claudius Marcellus T. Quinctius Crispinus consules, speculandi causa progressi e castris, insidiis ab Hannibale circumventi sunt. Marcellus occisus, Crispinus fugit. Lustrum a censoribus conditum est. Censa sunt civium capita CXXXVII CVIII; ex quo numero apparuit quantum hominum tot proeliorum adversa fortuna populo Romano abstulisset. In Hispania ad Baeculam Scipio cum Hasdrubale et Hamilcare conflixit et vicit. Inter alia captum regalem puerum eximiae formae ad avunculum Masinissam cum donis dimisit. Hasdrubal, qui cum exercitu novo Alpes transcenderat, ut se Hannibali iungeret, cum milibus hominum LVI caesus est, capta VCCCC M. Livi consulis ductu, sed non minore opera Claudi Neronis consulis, qui, cum Hannibali oppositus esset, relictis castris ita ut hostem falleret, cum electa manu profectus Hasdrubalem circumvenerat. Res praeterea feliciter a P. Scipione in Hispania et a P. Sulpicio praetore adversus Philippum et Achaeos gestas continet.

SUMMARY OF BOOK XXVII

Gnaeus Fulvius, the proconsul, was slain with his army by Hannibal near Herdonea. With a happier outcome a battle was fought by Claudius Marcellus, the consul, against the same commander near Numistro. Hannibal thereupon withdrew by night. Marcellus pursued him and repeatedly bore heavily on him as he retreated, until he engaged. In the first battle Hannibal was the winner, Marcellus in the second. Fabius Maximus the father, as consul, recovered Tarentum by treachery. Claudius Marcellus and Titus Quinctius Crispinus, the consuls, having advanced from the camp to reconnoitre, were overpowered by Hannibal in an ambush. Marcellus was slain, Crispinus escaped. The ceremony of purification was completed by the censors. Listed in the census were 137,108 citizens, from which number it was evident how many men the unfavourable fortune of so many battles had carried off from the Roman people. In Spain Scipio engaged with Hasdrubal and Hamilcar¹ near Baecula and was victorious. A boy of royal birth and remarkable beauty, who had been captured with the rest of the spoils, was sent away to his maternal uncle Masinissa by Scipio with gifts. Hasdrubal, who with a fresh army had crossed the Alps to unite with Hannibal, was slain with 56,000 men, and 5,400 were captured, under the command of Marcus Livius, the consul, but with no smaller share borne by Claudius Nero, the consul, who, after being assigned to confront Hannibal, had left his camp in such a way as to escape the enemy's notice, had set out with a picked force and overpowered Hasdrubal. The book contains in addition the operations successfully carried on by Publius Scipio in Spain and by Publius Sulpicius, the praetor, against Philip and the Achaeans.

¹ An obvious error.

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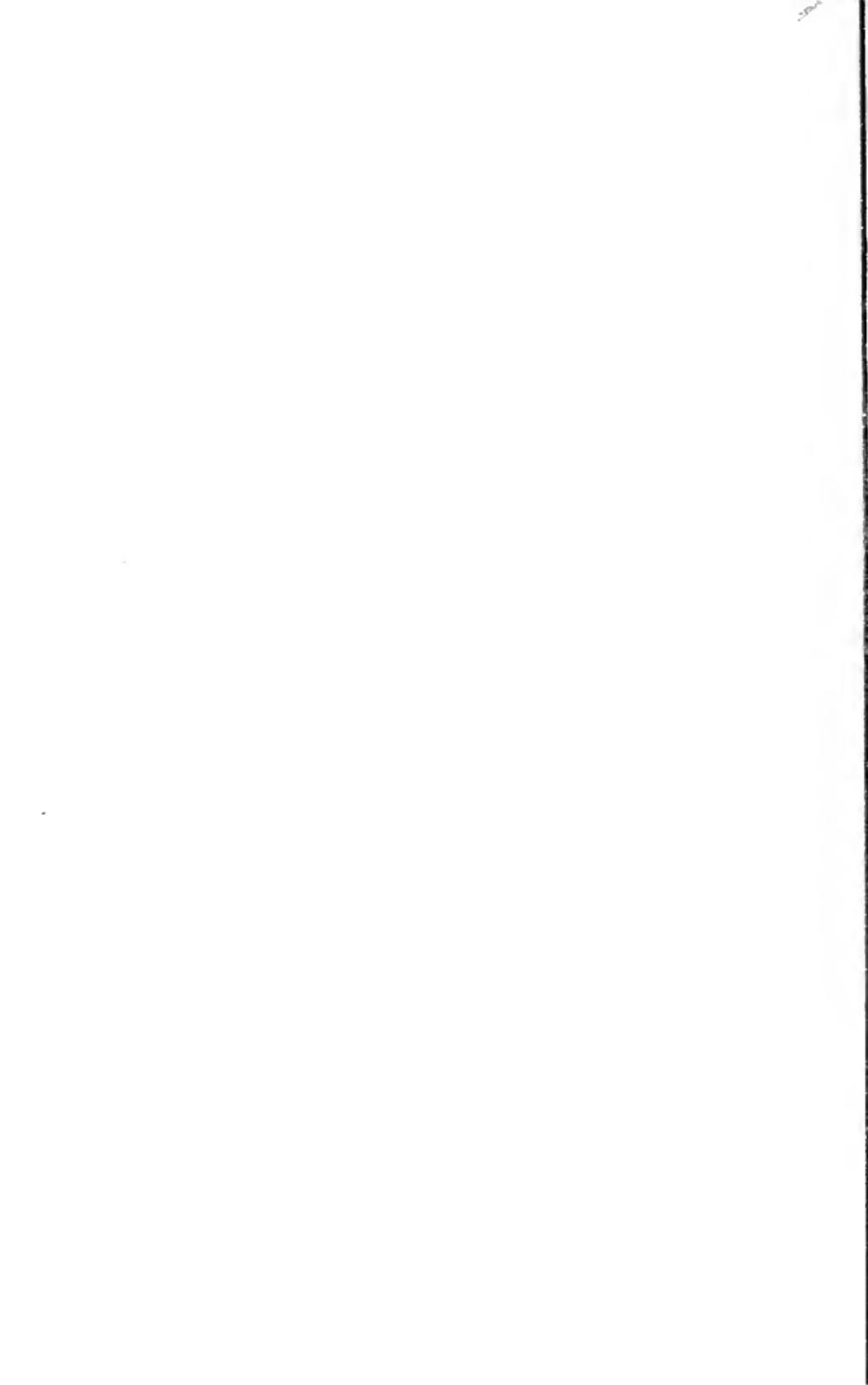
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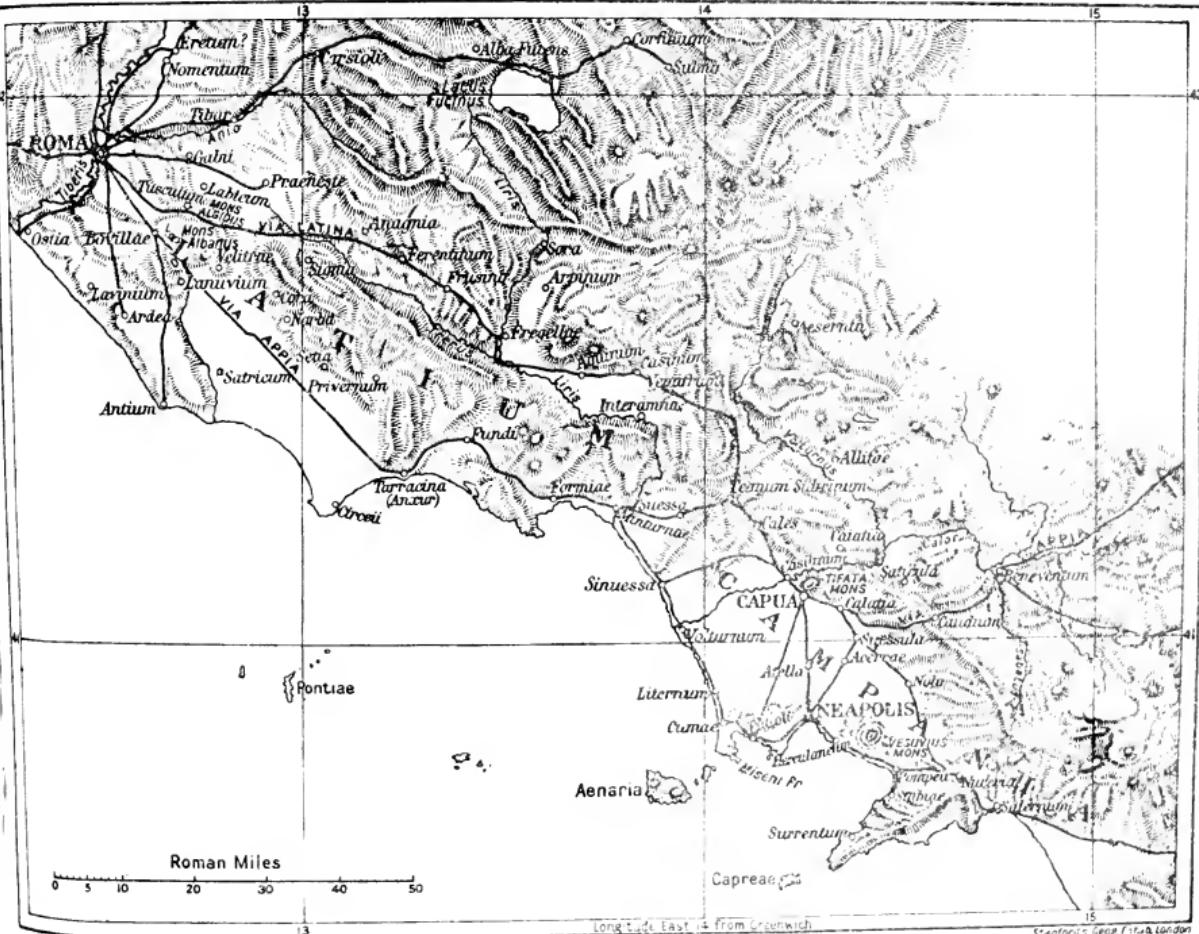
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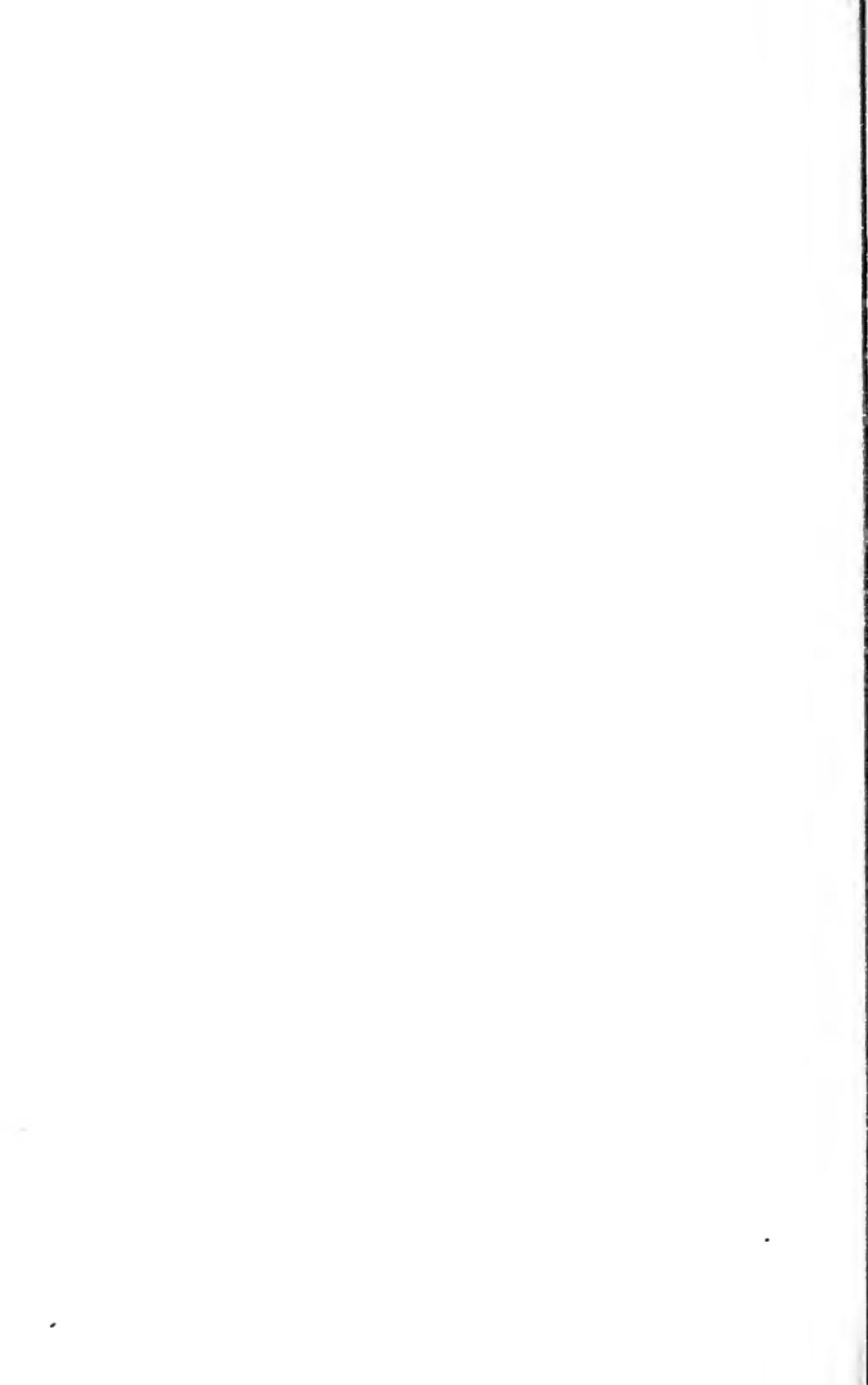
CENTRAL ITALY



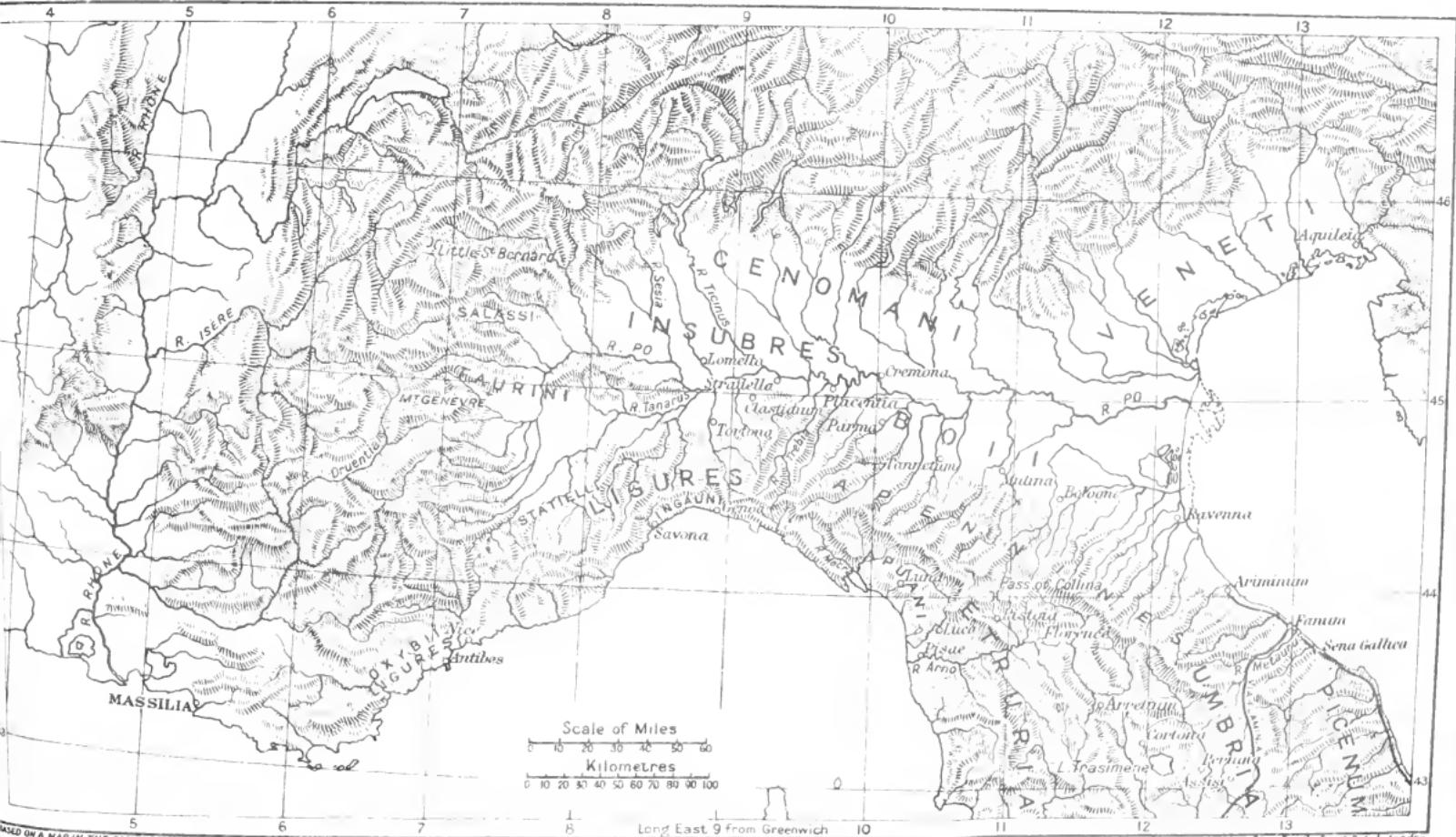


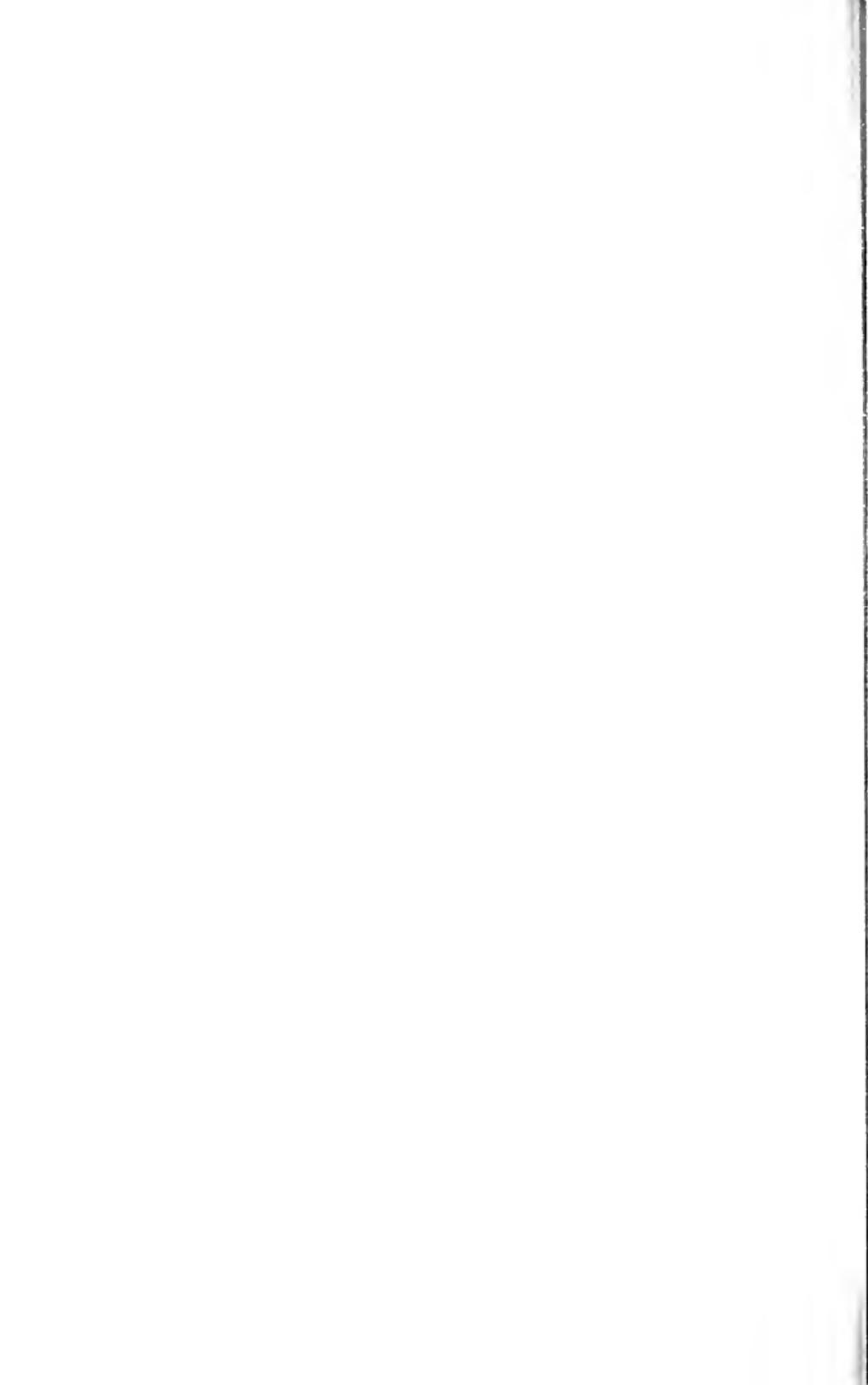
LATIUM AND CAMPANIA





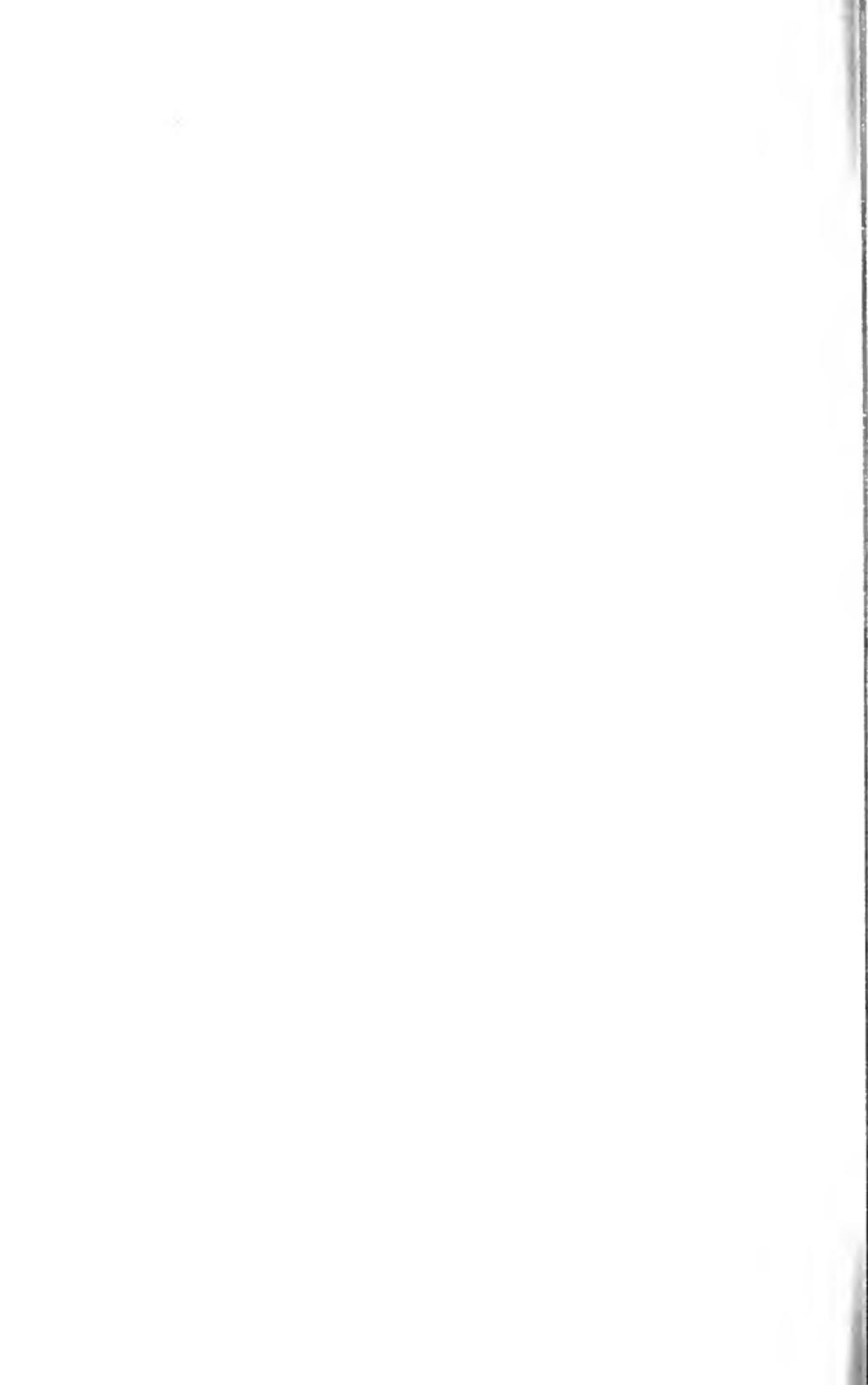
NORTH ITALY





SOUTH ITALY & SICILY





G U L F O F



CHOERADESiae

T A R E N T U M

VIA APPIA
Pons
PORTUS
Arx
Agora

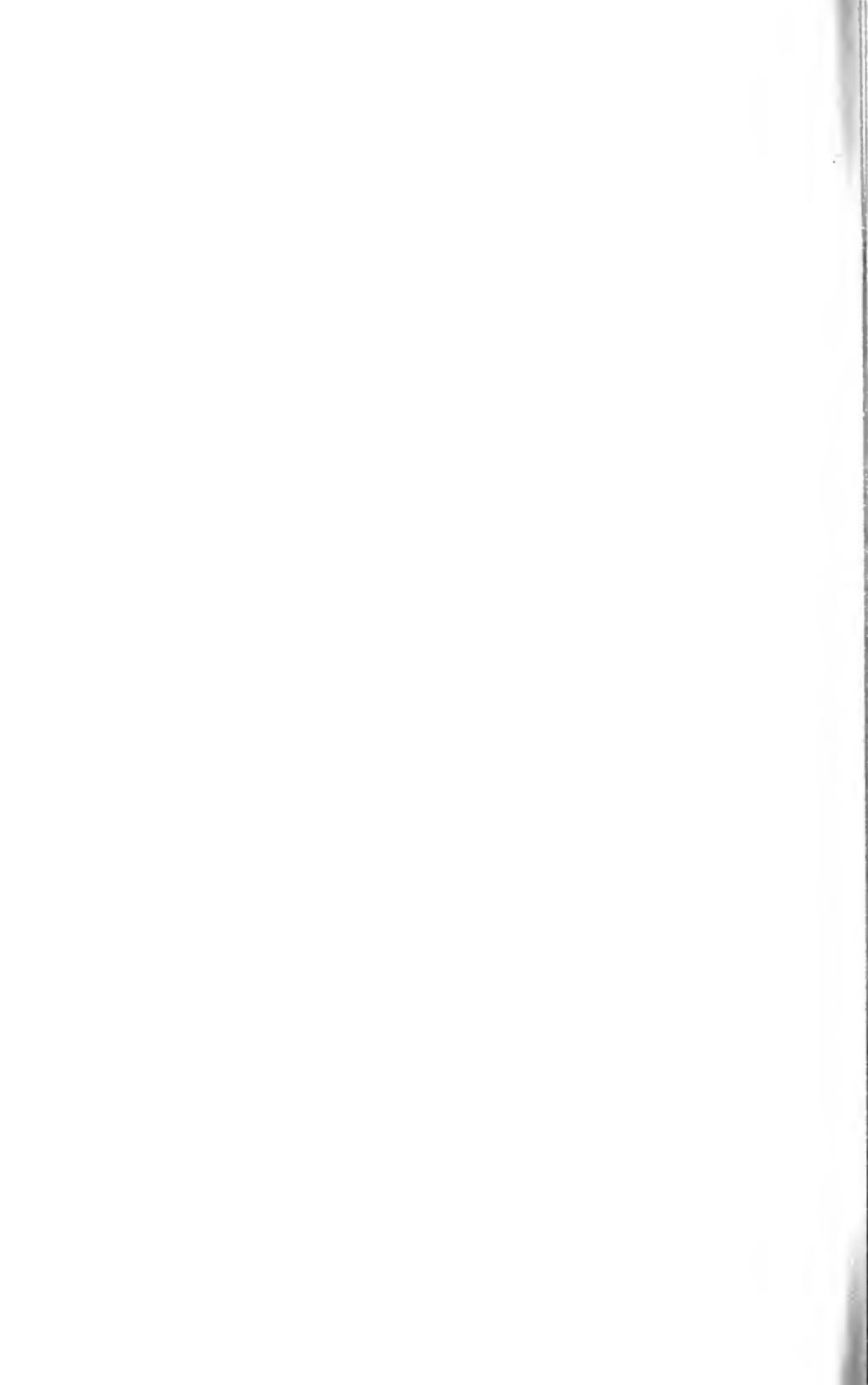
Necropolis
VIA APPIA
Temenitis
Porta

TARENTUM

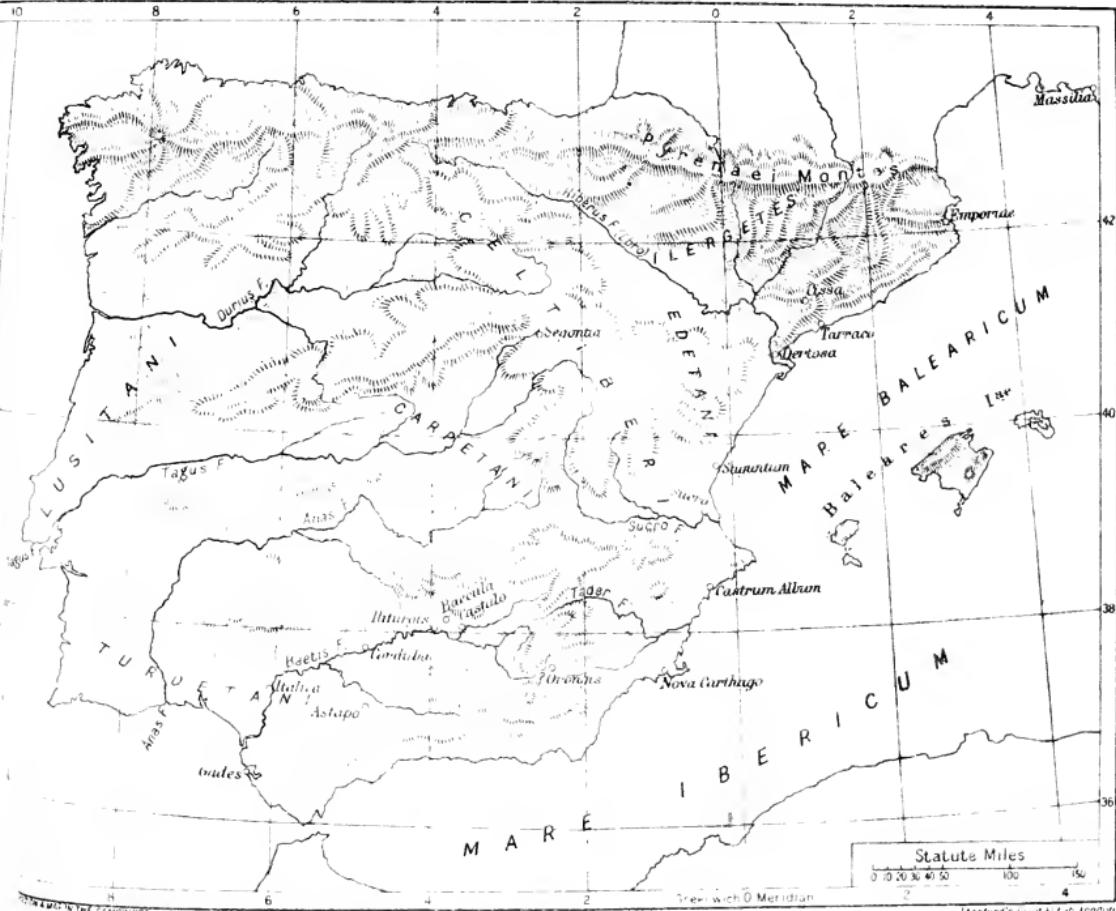
and Environs

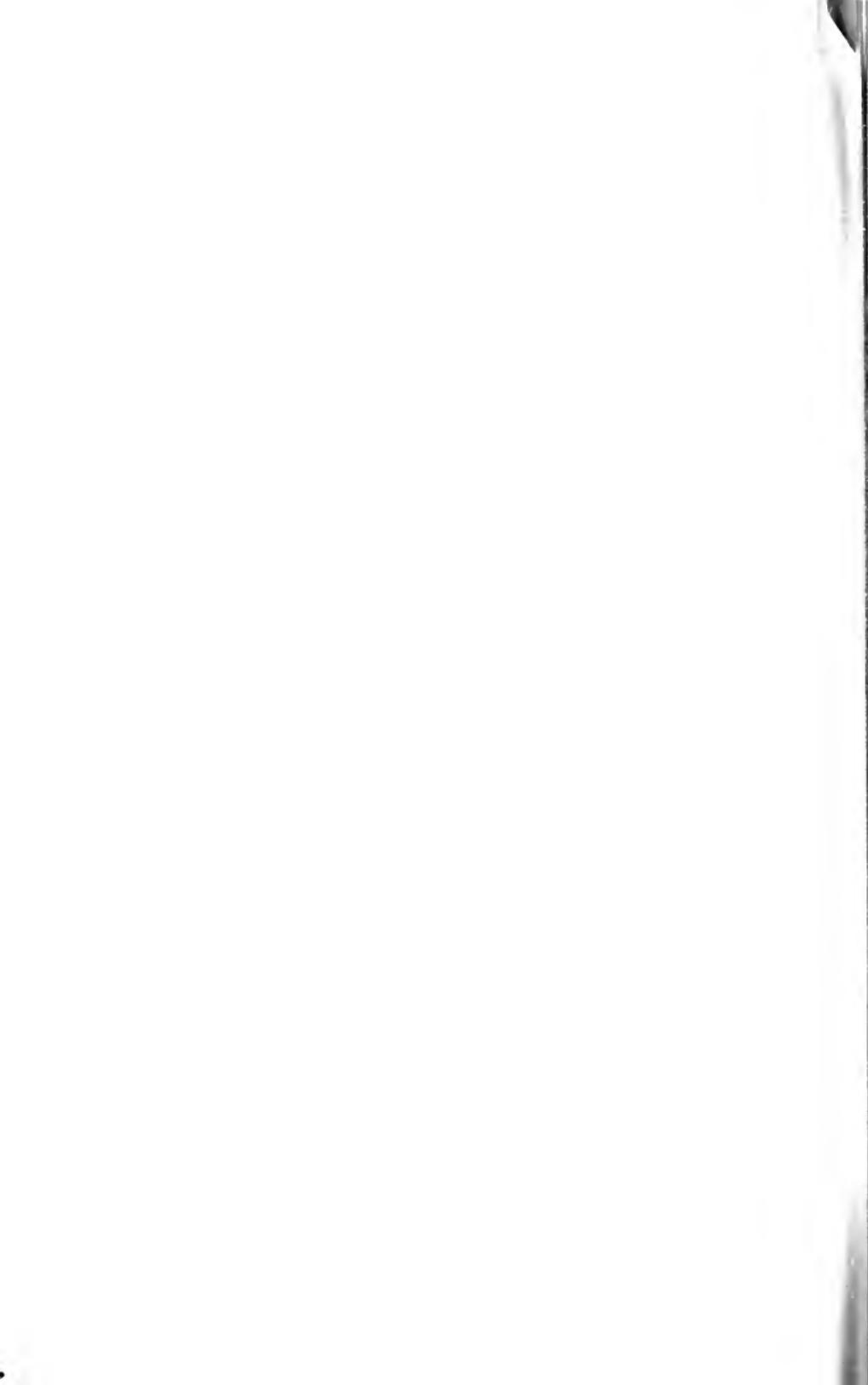
Scale
0 $\frac{1}{2}$ 1 Mile

The Arx of Tarentum was not only a citadel (at the same time a bridgehead), but also a quarter of the city, with other inhabitants besides soldiers.

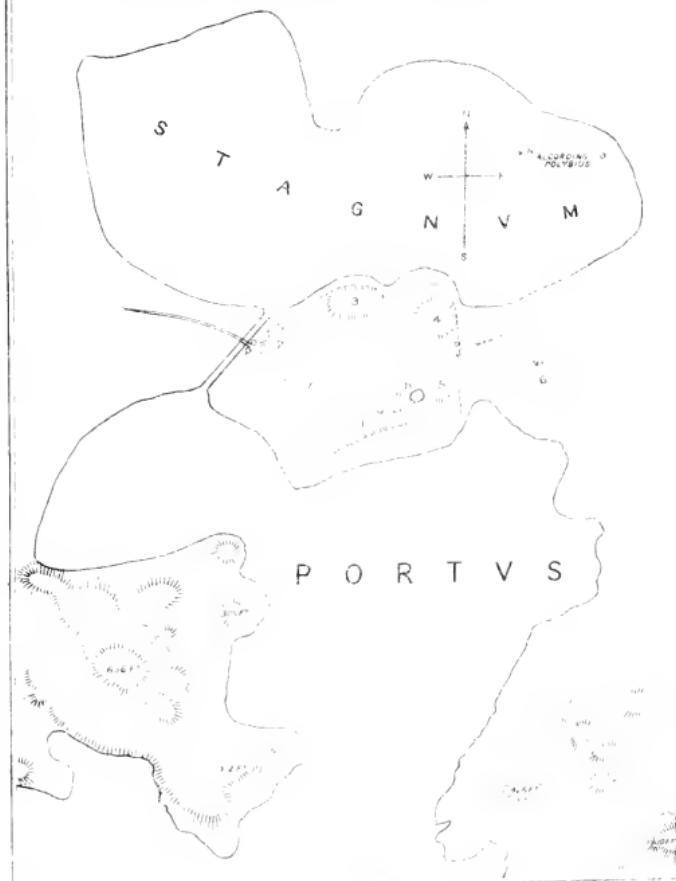


SPAIN IN 2ND PUNIC WAR





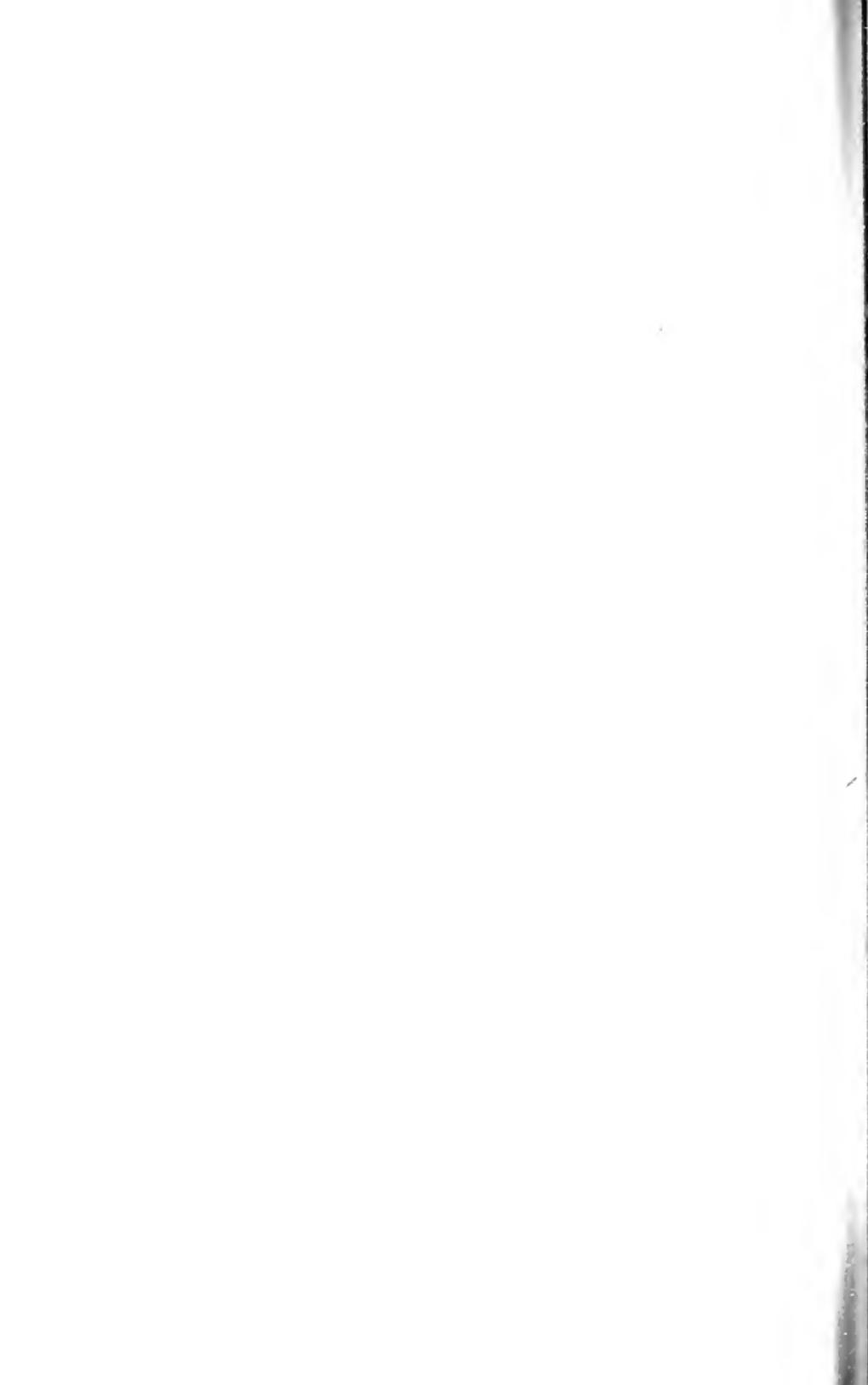
CARTHAGO NOVA



KEY TO MAP OF CARTHAGO NOVA.

1. Hill of Aesculapius, citadel, 243 feet.
2. Hasdrubal's citadel.
3. Hill of Saturn.
4. Hill of Aletes.
5. Hill of Vulcan.
6. Hill of Mercury, Scipio's camp.
7. Forum.
8. Later Amphitheatre.

A broken line indicates approximately the circuit of the ancient walls. The shore-line of the lagoon, Almajar, which has completely disappeared, is largely conjectural. With the draining of the lagoon the modern city of Cartagena, an important naval base, has grown chiefly to the west and northwest.



GREECE AND MACEDONIA





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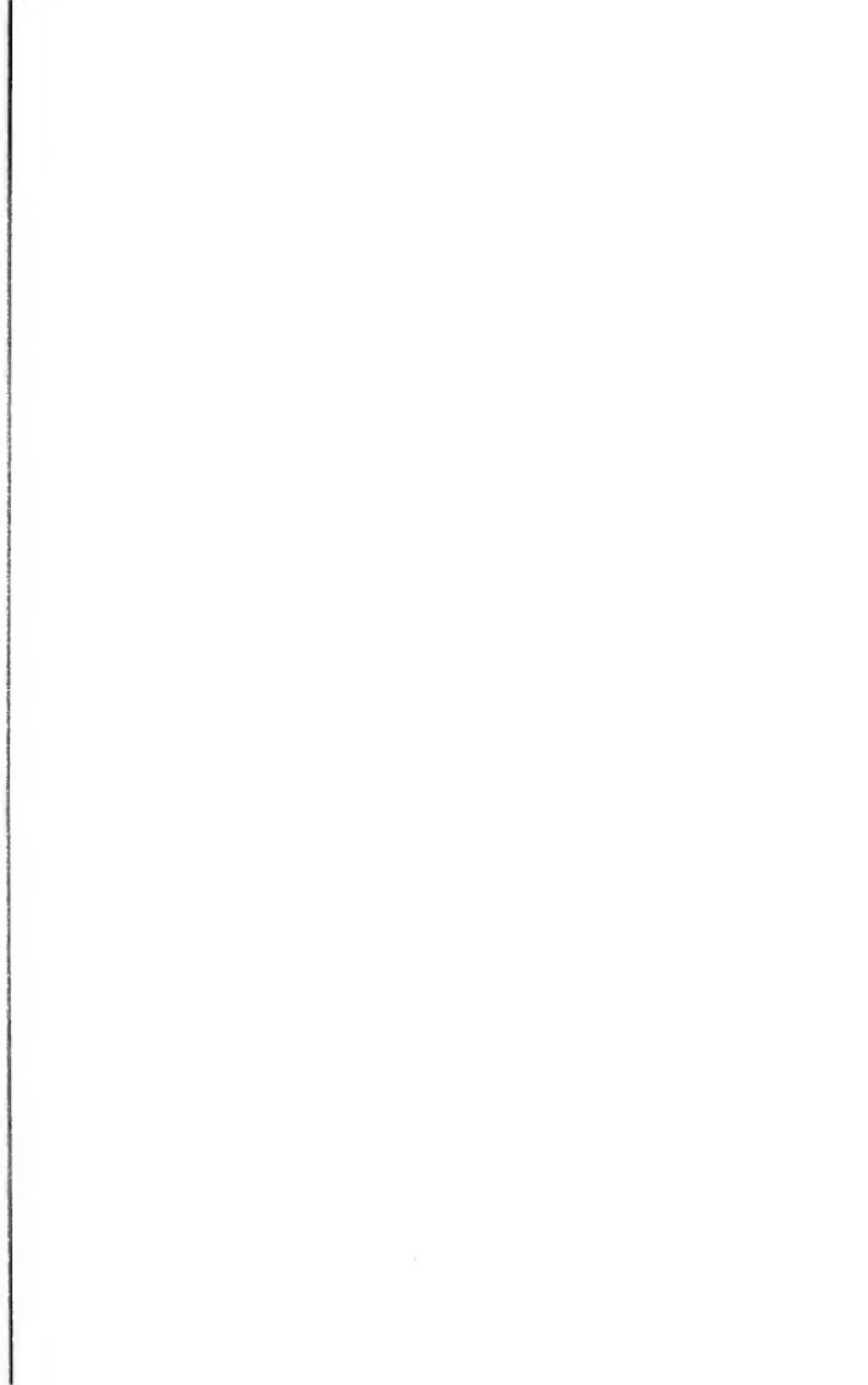
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