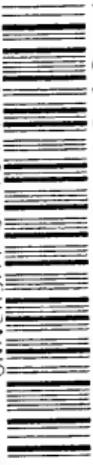


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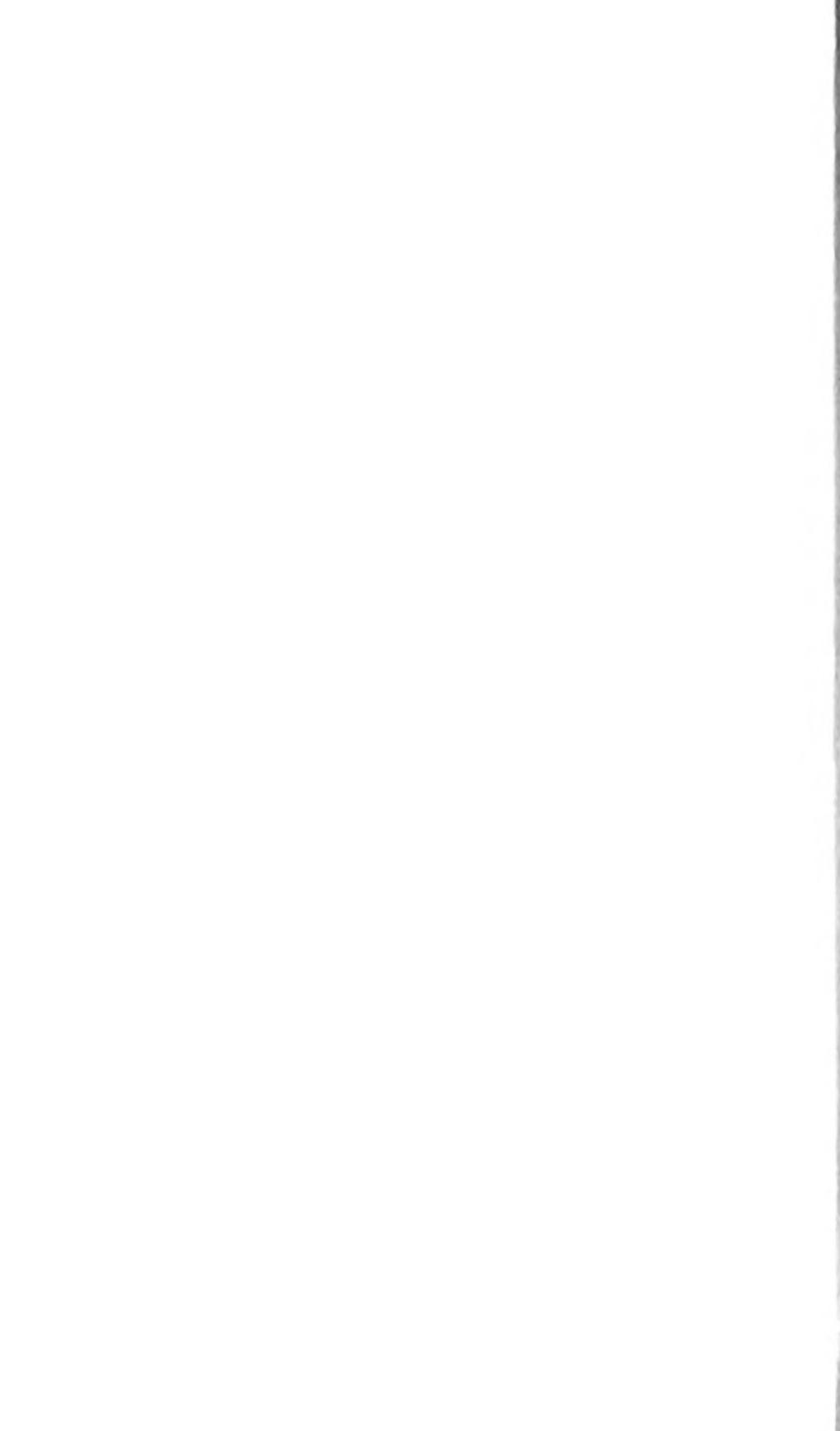
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## LIVY

VIII

BOOKS XXVIII—XXX



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LIVY  
WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION  
IN FOURTEEN VOLUMES

VIII

BOOKS XXVIII—XXX

TRANSLATED BY

FRANK GARDNER MOORE  
PROFESSOR EMERITUS IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY



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## TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

THE completion of this VIIIth volume closes a long-standing gap between the early years of the Second Punic War and the beginning of the Fourth Decade in Vol. IX, published in 1935. Events narrated in Books XXVIII-XXX fall within the years 207-201 B.C. A few chapters only in Book XXVIII are given to campaigns in Greece against Philip, much more space to Scipio's success in driving the Carthaginians out of Spain, not without a mutiny in his own army; and in the next year comes the threat of another invasion of Italy, this time by Mago from the Ligurian coast. Book XXIX, completing the conquest of Spain, includes the introduction of the worship of Cybele, the brutal treatment of Locri by Pleminius, Scipio's sailing from Sicily, his landing on African soil, together with a digression on the adventures of Masinissa in exile. In Book XXX we have preliminary engagements resulting in defeat for Hasdrubal son of Gisgo, and in captivity for Syphax, with a tragic end for Sophoniba; then the failure of Mago's plans, followed by his death on shipboard; Hannibal's departure at last from Italy and landing in Africa; the disastrous "Battle of Zama," and his flight to the coast; finally the peace, and Scipio's return in triumph to Rome—a triumph for which Livy can spare but two words of description. So ends the Third Decade.

## TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

In editing the text no change of method has been made from that employed in the two preceding volumes. Obligations to the facsimile of *P* and to previous editors remain the same, with special indebtedness to Conway and Johnson's text, Vol. IV, 1935.

The publishers of the *Cambridge Ancient History* have again kindly permitted us to base several maps upon theirs in Vols. VIII and IX, with such alterations as were required for our purposes. As for Africa and Numidia, the campaign of 1943 has so stimulated interest in the geography of Tunisia that it seemed only proper to use a map with modern names, many of them still fresh in memory, and to add ancient names only where required by readers of Livy, or for other reasons desirable. We have accordingly depended chiefly upon French originals, military and archaeological, including the *Atlas archéologique*, cited several times in the Appendix. To the Director of the American Geographical Society, Dr. John K. Wright, we are indebted for the friendly help of a specialist. On this map, in place of Livy's unsupported Maesulii for Masinissa's people, we have followed the usual practice of substituting the Massylii of Polybius, Appian and the *Periochae* of Livy's Books XXIV, XXVIII, XXIX, reinforced by Strabo's Μασιλιεῖς, and Μασνλεῖς cited from a fragment of Polybius, not to mention poets from Virgil to Claudian. It is to be regretted that military operations in Tunisia could not have shed some ray of light upon the problem of Zama-Margaron-Naragara, which is here relegated to an Appendix.

## THE MANUSCRIPTS

*P* = codex Puteanus, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 5730, 5th century, our principal source for the text of XXI–XXX. But as it is defective at the beginning, so it fails us at the end of the decade. In the closing words of XXX. xxxviii. 2 this MS. comes abruptly to an end, the remainder having been lost as early, apparently, as the 11th century, possibly earlier. There is a serious lacuna also between xxx. 14 and xxxvii. 3 of the same book.

From the Puteanus are descended the following :

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

*R* = Romanus, Vatican Library, 9th century.  
This fails us at XXX. v. 7.

*M* = Mediceus, Florence, Laurentian Library, 10th century, ending at XXX. xxvi. 10.

*B* = Bambergensis, Bamberg, 11th century.

*D* = Cantabrigiensis, Trinity College, Cambridge, 12th century, ending at XXX. xli. 3.

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

*N* = Laurentianus Notatus, Florence, 13th century.

## THE MANUSCRIPTS

Arabic numbers in parentheses indicate the agreement 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 in Books XXVI-XXX 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.

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

*Ta* = two folia no longer extant of book XXIX from a Turin palimpsest of the 5th century; cf. Vol. VII, p. x. Insignificant as these fragments are, they carry us back six centuries earlier than *S*.

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

Corrections thought to be by the original scribe are marked e.g.: *P<sup>1</sup>*, those by later hands: *P<sup>2</sup>*, *P<sup>3</sup>*, etc.; corrections which cannot be thus distinguished: *P<sup>x</sup>* (chiefly deletions); and so for other MSS.

## THE MANUSCRIPTS

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 are :

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

*y* = late correction or addition in a MS., e.g. *A<sup>y</sup>*.

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

For details the Oxford text of Conway and Johnson, Vol. IV, should be consulted.



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LIVY

FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE CITY

BOOK XXVIII

A.U.C.  
547

T. LIVI  
AB URBE CONDITA  
LIBER XXVIII

I. CUM transitu Hasdrubalis, quantum in Italiam<sup>1</sup> declinaverat belli, tantum levatae Hispaniae viderentur, renatum ibi subito par priori bellum est. Hispanias ea tempestate sic habebant Romani Poenique: Hasdrubal Gisgonis filius ad Oceanum penitus Gadesque concesserat; nostri maris ora omnisque ferme Hispania qua in orientem vergit Scipionis ac Romanae dicionis erat. Novus imperator Hanno in locum Barcini Hasdrubalis novo cum exercitu ex Africa transgressus Magonique iunctus, cum in Celtiberia, quae media inter duo maria est, brevi magnum hominum numerum armasset, Scipio adversus eum M. Silanum cum decem haud amplius<sup>2</sup> milibus militum, equitibus quingentis misit. Silanus quantis maximis potuit

<sup>1</sup> Italiam JK Froben 2: italia P(1)N Aldus.

<sup>2</sup> haud amplius Conway: haud plus Gronovius, Eds.: illauoplus P: seu plus (preceded by milia) P<sup>2</sup>(1)N om. A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>2</sup> Allus, Froben.

---

<sup>1</sup> Hasdrubal's attempt to aid his brother Hannibal by a second invasion of Italy had ended in disaster at the Metaurus; XXVII. xlvii. ff. The narrative now reverts to Spain, where a third brother, Mago, was in command of an army.

LIVY  
FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE CITY  
BOOK XXVIII

I. WHILE the passage of Hasdrubal,<sup>1</sup> by shifting B.C. 207 the war to Italy, was felt to have lightened in proportion the burden for Spain, suddenly a war as dangerous as the former broke out again in that country. Spanish territory was at that time occupied by Romans and Carthaginians as follows: Hasdrubal son of Gisgo had retired all the way to the Ocean and Gades; the coast of Our Sea and nearly all of Spain facing eastward were under Scipio and Roman rule; a new commander, Hanno,<sup>2</sup> as successor to Hasdrubal Barca had crossed over from Africa with a new army, and uniting with Mago, had promptly armed men in large numbers in Celtiberia, which lies directly between the two seas. Whereupon Scipio sent Marcus Silanus<sup>3</sup> with not more than ten thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry against Hanno. Silanus made his marches as long

<sup>1</sup> When a second descent upon Italy was first planned nine years earlier, Hasdrubal had urged the authorities at Carthage to send out another army with a general to take his place in Spain; XXIII. xxvii. 12. A new commander has now arrived, but this Hanno is soon captured and sent to Rome; ii. 11; iv. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. XXVI. xix. 10; XXVII. vii. 17; xxii. 7.

itineribus—impediebant autem et asperitates viarum et angustiae saltibus crebris, ut pleraque Hispaniae sunt, inclusae—, tamen non solum nuntios sed etiam famam adventus sui praegressus, ducibus indidem ex 7 Celtiberia transfugis ad hostem pervenit. Eisdem auctoribus conpertum est, cum decem circiter milia ab hoste abessent, bina castra circa viam qua irent esse; laeva Celtiberos, novum exercitum, supra novem milia hominum, dextra Punica tenere castra. 8 Ea stationibus, vigiliis, omni iusta militari custodia tuta et firma esse; illa altera soluta neglectaque, ut barbarorum et tironum et minus timentium, quod in sua terra essent.

9 Ea prius adgredienda ratus Silanus signa quam maxime ad laevam iubebat ferri, necunde ab stationibus Punicis conspiceretur; ipse praemissis speculatoribus citato agmine ad hostem pergit. II. Tria milia ferme aberat cum haudum quisquam hostium senserat; confragosa loca et obsiti virgultis tegebant<sup>1</sup> 2 colles. Ibi in cava valle atque ob id occulta considerere militem et cibum capere iubet. Interim<sup>2</sup> speculatores transfugarum dicta adfirmantes 3 runt; tum sarcinis in medium coniectis arma Romani capiunt acieque iusta in pugnam vadunt. Mille passuum aberant cum a boste conspecti sunt trepidarique repente coeptum; et Mago ex castris citato

<sup>1</sup> tegebant Kreyssig, Eds.: tenebant A·N·JK Aldus: tenebat P(1)N.

<sup>2</sup> interim A·N·JK Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)N.

as possible, being hampered, however, both by rough B.C. 207 roads and narrow passes frequently hemmed in by wooded mountains, as is usual in Spain. Nevertheless he outstripped not only messengers reporting his approach but even rumours of it, and guided by deserters from the same Celtiberia he made his way to the enemy. From the same informants it was learned, when they were about ten miles from the enemy, that there were two camps, one on each side of the road along which they were moving; that, on the left lay the Celtiberians, a new army, over nine thousand men, on the right the Carthaginian camp; that this was strongly defended by outposts, sentries and all the protection usual in the field, while the other camp was lax and carelessly guarded, as belonging to barbarians who were raw recruits and less afraid because they were in their own country.

Silanus, thinking this camp must be attacked first, ordered the standards to move as far to the left as possible, for fear he might be seen from somewhere by the Carthaginian outposts. He sent scouts in advance and himself proceeded towards the enemy with a swiftly moving column. II. He was some three miles away when not one of the enemy had yet noticed them; a rugged terrain and brush-covered hills kept them concealed. There in a deep valley that was consequently unseen he bade his soldiers sit down and take food. Meantime came the scouts confirming the deserters' reports. Then the Romans piled their light baggage in the centre, took up their arms and advanced to fight in regular line of battle. They were a mile away when they were seen by the enemy, who suddenly began to show alarm. Mago too, leaving his

equo ad primum clamorem et tumultum advehitur.  
 4 Erant in Celtiberorum exercitu quattuor milia scutata  
 et ducenti equites; hanc iustam legionem—et id  
 ferme roboris erat—in prima acie locat; ceteros,  
 5 levem armaturam, in subsidiis posuit. Cum ita in-  
 structos educeret e castris, vixdum in egressos vallo  
 6 eos<sup>1</sup> Romani pila coniecerunt. Subsidunt Hispani  
 adversus emissa tela ab hoste, inde ad mittenda ipsi  
 consurgunt; quae cum Romani conferti, ut solent,  
 densatis exceperint scutis, tum pes cum pede con-  
 7 latus et gladiis geri res coepit. Ceterum asperi-  
 tas locorum et Celtiberis, quibus in proelio concursare  
 mos est, velocitatem inutilem faciebat, et haud iniqua  
 8 eadem erat Romanis stabili pugnae adsuetis, nisi  
 quod angustiae et internata virgulta ordines diri-  
 mebant et singuli binique velut cum paribus conse-  
 9 rere pugnam cogebantur. Quod ad fugam impedi-  
 mento hostibus erat, id ad<sup>2</sup> caedem eos velut vincitos  
 10 praebebat. Et iam ferme omnibus scutatis Celti-  
 berorum imperfectis levis armatura et Carthaginienses  
 qui ex alteris castris subsidio venerant, perculti cae-  
 11 debantur. Duo haud amplius milia peditum et  
 equitatus omnis vix inito proelio cum Magone  
 effugerunt; Hanno, alter imperator, cum eis qui  
 postremi iam profligato proelio advenerant vivus  
 12 capitur. Magonem fugientem equitatus ferme omnis  
 et quod veterum peditum erat secuti, decimo die in

<sup>1</sup> eos *P(1)N* : in eos *M<sup>7</sup>A<sup>2</sup>N<sup>4</sup>JK* : *om. Aldus, Froben, Con-*  
*way.*

<sup>2</sup> id ad *P(1)NJK* : *om. Sp* : et ad *Rhenanus*.

camp at the first shouting and uproar, rode up at a B.C. 207 gallop. In the army of the Celtiberians there were four thousand men with long shields and two hundred horsemen. This complete legion—and they were the best of his troops—was placed in the front line. The rest, the light-armed, he posted as reserves. While he was leading the men in that order out of their camp and they had scarcely got beyond the rampart, the Romans hurled their javelins at them. The Spaniards squatted down to meet the enemy's volley; then they in turn rose to hurl their weapons. After the Romans in dense array, as usual, had received these on their shields held close together, men fought at close quarters and began to use swords. But the roughness of the ground made nimbleness of no use to the Celtiberians, whose custom it is to be skirmishers in battle, and at the same time it was not unfavourable for the Romans, accustomed to a static order of battle, except that restricted spaces and intervening thickets broke up their ranks, and they were forced to engage now singly, now in couples, as though with men paired against them. Whatever hampered the flight of the enemy exposed them to slaughter, as if they were fettered. And now that nearly all the Celtiberian heavy infantry had been slain, the light-armed and the Carthaginians who had come to their aid from the other camp were being routed and cut down. Not more than two thousand infantry and all the cavalry escaped with Mago almost at the beginning of the battle. Hanno, the second in command, was captured alive with those who had been the last to arrive when the battle was nearly over. Almost all the cavalry and such old soldiers as there were in the infantry

Gaditanam provinciam ad Hasdrubalem pervenerunt ;  
Celtiberi, novus miles, in proximas dilapsi silvas inde  
domos diffugerunt.

13 Peropportuna victoria nequaquam tantum iam  
conflatum bellum, quanta<sup>1</sup> futuri materia belli, si  
licuisset iis Celtiberorum gente excita et alias ad  
14 arma sollicitare populos, oppressa erat. Itaque con-  
laudato benigne Silano Scipio spem debellandi, si  
nihil eam ipse cunctando moratus esset, nactus, ad id  
quod reliquum belli erat in ultimam Hispaniam  
15 adversus Hasdrubalem pergit. Poenus cum castra  
tum<sup>2</sup> forte in Baetica ad sociorum animos continendos  
in fide haberet, signis repente sublati fugae magis  
quam itineris modo penitus ad Oceanum et Gades  
16 dicit. Ceterum, quoad continuisset exercitum,<sup>3</sup> pro-  
positum bello se fore ratus, antequam freto Gades  
traiceret,<sup>3</sup> exercitum omnem passim in civitates  
divisit, ut et muris se ipsi et armis muros tutarentur.

III. Scipio, ubi animadvertisit dissipatum passim  
bellum, et circumferre ad singulas urbes arma diutini  
2 magis quam magni esse operis, retro vertit iter. Ne  
tamen hostibus eam relinquaret regionem, L. Scipio-

<sup>1</sup> quanta A'JK Aldus, Froben : quantum P(1)N.

<sup>2</sup> tum P(1, except D)N Aldus : sua SpA'N'JK Froben 2 :  
om. D.

<sup>3</sup> exercitum . . . traiceret P(1)NxJK : om. Sp, four lines.

<sup>1</sup> The son of Gisgo, mentioned just above, i. 2; cf. iii. 3.

followed Mago in flight and on the tenth day reached b. c. 207 Hasdrubal<sup>1</sup> in the region of Gades. The newly recruited Celtiberians slipped away into the neighbouring forests and thence scattered to their homes.

This very timely victory had made a sudden end, not so much indeed of the war already in progress, as of the resources for some subsequent war, had it been possible for the Carthaginians, after calling out the Celtiberian nation, to entice other tribes also to take up arms. Accordingly Scipio praised Silanus in generous terms and cherished the hope of ending the war if only he should not retard the fulfilment by his own delaying. Aiming to finish what remained of the war he proceeded into the farthest part of Spain against Hasdrubal. The Carthaginian, in order to ensure the loyalty of his allies, had his camp at that time, as it happened, in Baetica.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless he suddenly took up his standards and with the appearance of a flight rather than of a march led his men all the way to the Ocean and Gades. But before taking ship along the strait to Gades, thinking he would be the object of attack so long as he kept his army together, he scattered his entire force among the cities in every direction, that they might defend themselves by walls and at the same time defend walled cities by their arms.

III. Scipio, observing that the field of operations was widely extended, and that to attack the cities one after another would be a protracted task, if not a great one, turned back. Not to leave the region, however, to the enemy, he sent his brother Lucius

<sup>2</sup> Here not the later (Augustan) province of that name, but a vague term for the southernmost part of Spain, including Gades and most of the valley of the Baetis (Guadalquivir).

nem fratrem cum decem milibus peditum, mille<sup>1</sup> equitum ad oppugnandam opulentissimam in iis locis 3 urbem—Orongin barbari appellabant—mittit. Sita in Maesessum finibus est, Bastetanae<sup>2</sup> gentis; ager frugifer; argentum etiam incolae fodunt. Ea arx fuerat<sup>3</sup> Hasdrubali ad excursiones circa mediter-4 raneos populos faciendas. Scipio castris prope urbem positis, priusquam circumvallaret urbem, misit ad portas qui ex propinquo alloquo animos temptarent suaderentque ut amicitiam potius quam vim experi-5 rentur Romanorum. Ubi nihil pacati respondebatur, fossa duplique vallo circumdata urbe<sup>4</sup> in tres partes exercitum dividit, ut una semper pars quietis 6 interim duabus oppugnaret. Prima pars cum adorta oppugnare est,<sup>5</sup> atrox sane et anceps proelium fuit: non subire, non scalas ferre ad muros prae incidenti-7 bus telis facile erat; etiam qui erexerant ad murum scalas, alii furcis ad id ipsum factis detrudebantur, in alias lupi superne ferrei iniecti, ut in periculo 8 essent ne suspensi in murum extraherentur. Quod ubi animadvertisit Scipio nimia paucitate suorum exaequatum certamen esse, et iam eo superare hostem quod ex muro pugnaret, duabus simul partibus, prima 9 recepta, urbem est adgressus. Quae res tantum

<sup>1</sup> mille A'JK : om. P(1)N.

<sup>2</sup> Bastetanae Weissenborn (*from Zonaras IX. viii. 8*): Hispanae P(3)N Conway.

<sup>3</sup> fuerat P(1)N Aldus : fuit SpJK Froben 2.

<sup>4</sup> urbe P(1)N Aldus, Froben : urbem (*with circumdat*) SpN\*JK.

<sup>5</sup> est P(1)NJK : esset Riemann : Conway would prefer adorta esset, rejecting oppugnare.

---

<sup>1</sup> Probably the same as Aurungis (or Aurinx) in Andalusia; XXIV. xlvi. 5.

Scipio with ten thousand infantry and a thousand cavalry to besiege the wealthiest city in that country —Orongis<sup>1</sup> the barbarians called it. It is situated in the territory of the Maesesses,<sup>2</sup> a Bastetanian tribe. Its land is fruitful; the inhabitants mine silver also. That city had been a stronghold for Hasdrubal in making raids among the tribes of the interior. Scipio pitched his camp near the city and before investing it sent men up to the gates to sound the inhabitants by speaking to them from a short distance, urging them to test the friendship of the Romans rather than their power. When no peaceable replies were forthcoming, he surrounded the city with a trench and a double earthwork and divided his army into three parts, so that one third should always be attacking while two thirds in the meantime were resting. When the first third essayed an attack there was, to be sure, a fierce battle and indecisive. It was not easy to come near the walls for the shower of missiles, nor to bring up ladders. Some who had succeeded in raising their ladders against the walls were pushed down by forks made for that very purpose, others had iron grappling-hooks lowered upon them from above, so that they were in danger of being caught up and dragged to the top of the wall. When Scipio noted that owing to the greatly inferior number of his men the struggle was evenly balanced, and that the enemy had an advantage already in fighting from the wall, he attacked the city with two thirds of his men at the same time, having recalled the first third. This

<sup>1</sup> Mention of silver mining places this lesser tribe in the mountains, while the Bastetani proper occupied the south coast.

pavoris iniecit fessis iam cum primis pugnando, ut et oppidani moenia repentina fuga desererent, et Punicum praesidium metu ne prodita urbs esset relictis stationibus in unum<sup>1</sup> se colligeret.

- 10 Timor inde oppidanos incessit ne, si hostis urbem intrasset, sine discrimine Poenus an Hispanus esset  
 11 obvii passim caederentur; itaque<sup>2</sup> patefacta repente porta frequentes ex oppido sese eiecerunt, scuta prae se tenentes, ne tela procul conicerentur, dextras nudas ostentantes, ut gladios abiecisse appareret.  
 12 Id utrum parum ex intervallo sit conspectum an dolus aliquis suspectus fuerit incompertum est; impetus hostilis in transfugas factus, nec secus quam adversa acies caesi; eademque porta signa infesta  
 13 urbi inlata. Et aliis partibus securibus dolabrisque caedebantur et refringebantur<sup>3</sup> portae, et ut quisque intraverat eques, ad forum occupandum—ita enim  
 14 praeceptum erat—citato equo pergebat. Additum erat et triariorum equiti praesidium; legionarii ceteras partis urbis pervadunt. Direptione et caede obviorum, nisi qui armis se tuebantur, abstinuerunt.  
 15 Carthaginienses omnes in custodiam dati sunt, oppidanorum quoque trecenti<sup>4</sup> ferme qui clauerant portas; ceteris traditum oppidum, suae redditiae  
 16 res. Cecidere in urbis eius oppugnatione hostium

<sup>1</sup> unum *P(1)N*: unum locum *SpA<sup>1</sup>J* (*and with* locum at the end *K*).

<sup>2</sup> itaque *A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>(altern.)*: adque *P*: atque *(1)N*.

<sup>3</sup> et refringebantur *A<sup>1</sup>JK* *Allus*, *Froben*, *Johnson*: after portae *N<sup>1</sup>* *Conway*: *om. P(1)N*, one line.

<sup>4</sup> quoque trecenti *A<sup>1</sup>?N<sup>1</sup>JK*: con *P* (*for ccc*): *om. P<sup>2</sup>(1)N*.

<sup>1</sup> The seasoned infantry, here on special duty, not in the formal battle line with its *ordines* (as in XXVI. xlvi. 7). Cf. VIII. viii. 9ff.; x. 5; Polybius VI. xxi. 7ff.

inspired so much alarm among men already spent in B.C. 207 fighting with the first to attack them that the towns-men in sudden flight abandoned the walls and for fear the city had been betrayed the Carthaginian garrison also left their posts and gathered in one place.

Then the men of the town were possessed by the fear that, if the enemy should enter the city, those whom they happened to meet anywhere would be slain with no distinction between Carthaginian and Spaniard. Accordingly they suddenly opened a gate and dashed out of the town in large numbers, holding their shields in front of them for fear weapons might be hurled at long range, but displaying their right hands empty, so that it should be clear that they had thrown away their swords. Whether this was not seen owing to distance, or whether some ruse was suspected, has not been ascertained. The Romans, making an attack upon the deserters, cut them down like an opposing battle-line; and by the same gate hostile units entered the city. Elsewhere also gates were being hewed to pieces and broken open with hatchets and pickaxes, while a cavalryman on entering would ride ahead at full speed to seize the forum; for such were their orders. A detachment of *triarii*<sup>1</sup> also had been assigned to support the cavalry. The legionaries made their way through the other quarters of the city. They refrained from plundering and from slaying those they met, except when men defended themselves with arms. The Carthaginians were all put under guard, also about three hundred of the citizens who had closed the gates. The town was handed over to the rest and their property restored. About two thousand of the

duo milia ferme, Romanorum haud amplius<sup>1</sup> nonaginta.

IV. Laeta et ipsis qui rem gessere urbis eius expugnatio fuit et imperatori ceteroque exercitui; et speciosum adventum suum ingentem turbam captivorum prae se agentes fecerunt. Scipio conlaudato fratre cum quanto poterat verborum honore Carthagini ab se captae captam ab eo Orongin aequasset, quia et hiems instabat, ut nec temptare Gades nec disiectum passim per provinciam exercitum Hasdrubalis consectari posset, in citeriorem Hispaniam omnes suas copias reduxit; <sup>2</sup> dimissisque in hiberna legionibus, L. Scipione fratre Romam misso et Hannone hostium imperatore ceterisque nobilibus captivis ipse Tarraconom concessit.

5 Eodem anno classis Romana cum M. Valerio Laevino proconsule ex Sicilia in Africam transmissa in Uticensi Carthaginiensique agro late populationes fecit. Extremis finibus Carthaginiensium circa ipsa 6 moenia Uticae praedae actae sunt. Repetentibus Siciliam classis Punica—septuaginta erant longae naves—occurrit; septemdecim<sup>3</sup> naves ex iis captae sunt, quattuor in alto mersae, cetera fusa ac fugata 7 classis. Terra marique victor Romanus cum magna omnis generis praeda Lilybaeum repetit. Tuto<sup>4</sup> inde mari pulsis hostium navibus magni conmeatus frumenti Romam subvecti.

<sup>1</sup> amplius *P(3)M<sup>4</sup>N Aldus*: plus *Sp?JK Froben* 2.

<sup>2</sup> omnes (*or -nis*) suas copias reduxit *P<sup>1</sup>* or *P<sup>2</sup>(1)NJK Aldus* (*sua P*: redixit *D*): recipit exercitum *Spz Froben* 2.

<sup>3</sup> septemdecim, *P has decem et septem and so (or numerals) the rest*: cf. Vol. VII, p. 186, crit. note 6.

<sup>4</sup> Tuto *P(1)N Aldus*: toto *SpN<sup>2</sup>(altern.)JK Froben* 2.

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 3, n. 2.

enemy were slain in the siege of the city, of the B.C. 207 Romans not more than ninety.

IV. The storming of that city brought joy not only to those who took part in the exploit but also to the commander-in-chief and the rest of his army; and the troops made their approach an impressive sight, as they drove before them a great crowd of captives. Scipio warmly praised his brother, with the highest possible compliment placing his capture of Orongis on the same level as his own capture of (New) Carthage. Thereupon, and because winter was at hand, so that he was unable either to attack Gades or to follow up Hasdrubal's army, widely scattered throughout the province, he led all his forces back into Hither Spain. After sending the legions away to their winter quarters and his brother Lucius Scipio to Rome, and with him Hanno,<sup>1</sup> a general of the enemy, and the rest of the noble captives, he himself retired to Tarraco.

The same year a Roman fleet under Marcus Valerius Laevinus, the proconsul, was sent over from Sicily to Africa, and in the territory of Utica and Carthage they ravaged the country far and wide. Along the edge of the Carthaginian territory, close to the very walls of Utica, booty was carried off. On their return voyage to Sicily a Carthaginian fleet of seventy warships encountered them. Seventeen of these were captured, four sunk at sea, the rest of the fleet routed and put to flight. Victorious on land and sea, the Romans returned with ample plunder of every kind to Lilybaeum. Thereafter, as the sea was safe in consequence of the discomfiture of the enemy's ships, great supplies of grain were brought to Rome.

V. Principio aestatis eius qua haec sunt gesta  
 P. Sulpicius proconsul et Attalus rex cum Aeginae,  
 sicut ante dictum est, hibernassent, Lemnum inde  
 classe iuncta—Romanae quinque et viginti quinque-  
 remes, regiae quinque et triginta<sup>1</sup>—transmiserunt.  
 2 Et Philippus ut, seu terra seu mari obviam eundum  
 hosti foret, paratus ad omnes conatus esset, ipse  
 Demetriadem ad mare descendit, Larisam diem ad  
 3 conveniendum exercitui edixit. Undique ab sociis  
 legationes Demetriadem ad famam regis convenerunt.  
 4 Sustulerant enim animos Aetoli cum ab Romana  
 societate tum post Attali adventum, finitimosque  
 5 depopulabantur. Nec Acarnanes solum Boeotique  
 et qui Euboeam incolunt in magno metu erant, sed  
 Achaei quoque, quos super Aetolicum bellum Ma-  
 chanidas etiam Lacedaemonius tyrannus haud procul  
 6 Argivorum fine positis castris terrebat. Hi omnes  
 suis quisque urbibus quae pericula terra marique  
 portenderentur<sup>2</sup> memorantes auxilia regem orabant.  
 7 Ne ex regno quidem ipsius tranquillae nuntiabantur  
 res: et Scerdilaedum Pleuratumque motos esse, et  
 Thracum maxime Maedos, si quod longinquum  
 bellum regem occupasset, proxima Macedoniae in-

<sup>1</sup> *triginta, after this Ussing inserted* erant (*Madrig after quinqueremes*).

<sup>2</sup> *portenderentur Sp? A: J Froben 2: -bantur P(1)N Aldus.*

<sup>1</sup> Since Roman progress in Greece had been slow Livy is summarizing events of 208 and 207 B.C. in that theatre under the latter year. Cf. XXVII. xxix. 9 ff. (Vol. VII. p. 330, n. 2). Polybius is the source (X. xli. f.) for the events which follow.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e. XXVII. xxxiii. 5.*

V. At the beginning of the summer in which these events took place<sup>1</sup> Publius Sulpicius, the proconsul, and King Attalus, after wintering at Aegina, as has been stated above,<sup>2</sup> sailed across to Lemnus with their combined fleets, twenty-five Roman and thirty-five royal quinqueremes. And Philip, to be prepared for every effort of the enemy, whether he must be met on land or on sea, came down himself to the sea at Demetrias<sup>3</sup> and appointed a day for the army to assemble at Larisa. From his allies all around deputations gathered at Demetrias on the first report of the king's coming. For the Aetolians in consequence of their alliance with the Romans, and particularly after the arrival of Attalus, had been emboldened and were laying waste their neighbours' lands. And not only were the Acarnanians and Boeotians and the inhabitants of Euboea greatly alarmed but also the Achaeans, who in addition to the Aetolian war were further terrified by Machanidas,<sup>4</sup> tyrant of Sparta, who had pitched his camp not far from the Argive frontier. All these delegations stated the dangers impending by land and sea for their several cities and were imploring the aid of the king. Even from his own kingdom the report was of no peaceful conditions: that Scerdilaedus and Pleuratus had taken the field; also that of the Thracians the Maedi<sup>5</sup> in particular were ready to invade the nearest part of Macedonia if some distant war should

<sup>3</sup> At the north end of the Sinus Pagasaeus (Demetriacus in § 18), it was the chief trade centre of Thessaly; cf. Vol. VII. p. 342, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. XXVII. xxix. 9; below, vii. 17.

<sup>5</sup> Between Thrace and Paeonia, in the upper valley of the Strymon and eastward; XXVI. xxv. 6, 8.

8 cursuros. Boeoti quidem et interiores Graeciae populi Thermopylarum saltum,<sup>1</sup> ubi angustae fauces coartant iter, fossa valloque intercludi ab Aetolis nuntiabant, ne transitum ad sociorum urbes tuendas Philippo darent.

9 Vel segnem ducem tot excitare tumultus circumfusi poterant. Legationes dimittit pollicitus, prout tempus ac res sineret, omnibus laturum se auxilium. In praesentia quae maxime urgebat res, Peparethum praesidium urbi mittit, unde allatum erat Attalum ab Lemno classe transmissa omnem circum urbem

11 agrum depopulatum. Polyphantam cum modica manu in Boeotiam, Menippum item quandam ex regiis ducibus cum mille peltatis<sup>2</sup>—pelta caetrae

12 haud dissimilis est—Chalcidem mittit; additi quingenti<sup>3</sup> Agrianum, ut omnes insulae partes tueri posset. Ipse Scotussam est profectus, eodemque ab

13 Larisa Macedonum copias traduci iussit. Eo nuntiatum est concilium Aetolis Heracleam indictum regemque Attalum ad consultandum de summa belli

14 venturum. Hunc conventum ut turbaret subito 15 adventu,<sup>4</sup> magnis itineribus Heracleam duxit. Et

<sup>1</sup> saltum *JK* : saltus *P(1)N Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>2</sup> peltatis *P(1)NJK Weissenborn, Conway* : peltastis *Jac. Gronovius, Eds.*

<sup>3</sup> quingenti (or d) *P<sup>4</sup>N<sup>2</sup>JK* : om. *P<sup>2</sup>(1)N.*

<sup>4</sup> hunc conventum . . . adventu *A'N'JK Aldus, Froben* : om. *P(1)N, two lines.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. vii. 3; Strabo IX. iv. 12 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Of the same name as the island, and destroyed by Philip; XXXI. xxviii. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Paeonian auxiliaries (archers) of the Macedonians; XXXIII. xviii. 9; Thucydides II. 96; Polybius II. lxv; X. xlvi. 3; Strabo VII. fr. 36 f.

engage the king's attention. In fact the Boeotians <sup>B.C. 207</sup> and inland Greek states reported that the pass of Thermopylae,<sup>1</sup> where a narrow entrance hems in the road, was being closed with a ditch and an earthwork by the Aetolians, that it might not allow Philip a passage in order to defend the cities of his allies.

Even a general lacking in spirit might have been aroused by so many alarms from all sides. Philip sent the deputations away with a promise that he would lend aid to them all as time and circumstances might permit. As the urgency of the moment required, he sent to Peparēthus a garrison for the city,<sup>2</sup> from which had come the news that Attalus, sending his fleet over from Lemnus, had ravaged all the country round the city. Philip sent Polyphantas with a force of moderate size into Boeotia; also one of his own generals, Menippus, to Chalcis with a thousand peltasts, whose shield is not unlike the *caetra*. Five hundred of the Agrianes<sup>3</sup> were added, to enable Menippus to protect all parts of the island. The king himself set out for Scotussa and ordered that the Macedonian troops should march across from Larisa to the same place. There the report reached him that a council had been appointed for the Aetolians at Heraclēa,<sup>4</sup> and that King Attalus would attend for a consultation on the issues of the war. To break up this gathering by his sudden arrival Philip led his men by forced marches to Heraclēa. He arrived indeed after the

<sup>1</sup> Above Thermopylae, to the west of the pass and commanding the road to it; XXXVI. xvi. 4 f.; xxii. 1, 4 f.; Thuc. III. 92; Strabo IX. iv. 13; Polybius X. xlvi. 4. From Scotussa, in eastern Thessaly, to Thermopylae the distance was about 50 Roman miles; cf. vii. 3.

concilio quidem dimisso<sup>1</sup> venit; segetibus tamen,  
 quae iam<sup>2</sup> prope maturitatem erant, maxime in sinu  
 Aenianum evastatis Scotussam copias reducit. Ibi  
 exercitu omni relicto, cum cohorte regia Demetriadem  
 16 sese recipit.<sup>3</sup> Inde ut ad omnes hostium motus  
 posset occurrere, in Phocidem atque Euboeam et  
 Peparethum mittit qui loca alta eligerent unde editi  
 17 ignes apparerent; ipse in Tisaeo—mons est in alti-  
 tudinem ingentem cacuminis editi—speculam posuit,  
 ut ignibus procul sublatis signum, ubi quid molirentur  
 hostes, momento temporis acciperet.

18 Romanus imperator et Attalus rex a Peparetho  
 Nicaeam traiecerunt; inde classem in Euboeam ad  
 urbem Oreum tramittunt, quae ab Demetriaco sinu  
 Chalcidem et Euripum petenti ad laevam prima  
 19 urbium Euboeae posita est. Ita inter Attalum ac  
 Sulpicium convenit, ut Romani a mari, regii a terra  
 oppugnarent. VI. Quadriduo post quam adpulsa  
 classis est, urbem adgressi sunt. Id tempus occultis  
 cum Platore, qui a Philippo praepositus urbi erat,  
 2 conloquiis absumptum est. Duas arces urbs habet,  
 unam imminentem mari, altera urbis media<sup>4</sup> est.  
 Cuniculo inde via ad mare dicit, quam a mari turris

<sup>1</sup> dimisso, followed by iam in P(1)NJK Eds.: Conway rejects iam.

<sup>2</sup> iam A<sup>2</sup>N<sup>2</sup>JK Eds.: om. P(1)N.

<sup>3</sup> recipit Sp<sup>2</sup>K Froben 2: recepit P(1)NJ Aldus, Conway.

<sup>4</sup> media P(3): medio AN Aldus Froben.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the Sinus Maliacus (XXVII. xxx. 3), for the Aenianes lay to the west of that gulf.

<sup>2</sup> Plainly visible from Demetrias across the gulf. The height of the mountain is 2112 ft. Cf. Polybius X. xlvi. 7.

<sup>3</sup> For signalling by fires cf. XXIX. vi. 8, 10. Polybius has an excursus of several pages on the subject, including improvements he had himself made; *i.e.* xlvi-xlvii. The Romans

council had been dismissed; but he destroyed crops <sup>B.C. 207</sup> which were now almost ripe, especially along the Gulf of the Aenianes,<sup>1</sup> and led his troops back to Scotussa. There he left the whole army and with his cohort of guards returned to Demetrias. From there, in order that he might meet every movement of his enemies, he sent men into Phocis and Euboea and to Peparethus, to select heights from which signal fires might be visible. For himself he placed a watch-tower on Mount Tisaeus,<sup>2</sup> whose peak rises to a great height, so that by fires<sup>3</sup> on distant heights he might in an instant receive a message as to where his enemies were active.

The Roman commander and King Attalus crossed from Peparethus to Nicaea.<sup>4</sup> From there they sailed over to Euboea in their fleet and to the city of Oreum,<sup>5</sup> which is the first of the cities of Euboea situated on the left as one coming from the Gulf of Demetrias steers towards Chalcis and the Euripus. Between Attalus and Sulpicius it was agreed that the Romans should attack from the sea, the king's forces from the land. VI. In four days after the fleet came in they attacked the city. That time was spent in secret conversations with Plator, who had been put in command of the city by Philip. The place has two citadels, one overhanging the sea; the other is in the centre of the city. From it a road leads down to the sea through a tunnel, and at

seem to have made no use of so elaborate a system; cf. Riepl, *Das Nachrichtenwesen des Altertums* 61 f., 74 ff., 91 ff.

<sup>4</sup> A stronghold of the Eastern Locrians and a seaport  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles east of Thermopylae; XXXII. xxxii. 9; xxxv. 2; Polybius X. xlvi. 4; XVIII. vii. 8; Strabo IX. iv. 13.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. XXXI. xlvi. 6 ff.; Strabo X. i. 3 ff. Earlier it had been called Histiaea.

quinque tabulatorum, egregium propugnaculum,  
 3 claudebat. Ibi primo atrocissimum contractum est  
 certamen, et turre instructa omni genere telorum,  
 et tormentis machinisque ad oppugnandam eam ex  
 4 navibus expositis. Cum omnium animos oculosque  
 id certamen avertisset, porta maritumae arcis Plator  
 Romanos accepit, momentoque arx occupata est.  
 Oppidani pulsi inde in medium urbem ad alteram  
 5 tendere arcem; et ibi positi erant qui fores portae  
 obicerent. Ita exclusi in medio caeduntur capi-  
 6 unturque. Macedonum praesidium conglobatum  
 sub arcis muro stetit nec fuga effuse petita, nec  
 7 pertinaciter proelio inito.<sup>1</sup> Eos Plator venia ab Sul-  
 picio impetrata in naves impositos ad Demetrium  
 Phthiotidis exposuit, ipse ad Attalum se recepit.

8 Sulpicius tam facili ad Oreum successu elatus  
 Chalcidem inde protinus victrici classe petit, ubi haud-  
 9 quaquam ad spem eventus respondit. Ex patenti  
 utrimque coactum in angustias mare speciem intuenti  
 primo gemini portus in ora duo versi praebuerit;<sup>2</sup>  
 10 sed haud facile alia infestior classi statio est. Nam  
 et venti ab utriusque terrae praealtis montibus subiti  
 ac procellosi se<sup>3</sup> deiciunt, et fretum ipsum Euripi  
 non septiens die, sicut fama fert, temporibus statis

<sup>1</sup> proelio inito *Sp?JK Froben* 2: proelium initium *P(3), corrected to initum P<sup>x</sup>C<sup>x</sup>M<sup>1</sup>B<sup>2</sup>AN.*

<sup>2</sup> praebuerit *Sp?A<sup>x</sup>N<sup>x</sup>J Froben* 2: -buere *P(1)N*: -buit *K Aldus.*

<sup>3</sup> se *Gronovius, Eds.*: *om. P(1)NJK Conway.*

the seaward end a tower having five stories, a B.C. 207 remarkable defensive work, used to close the road. There at first a very fierce engagement began, for the tower was provided with missiles of every kind, while artillery also and engines had been landed from the ships for an attack upon it. When that conflict had diverted the attention and the eyes of all, Plator admitted the Romans through a gate in the citadel by the sea, and in an instant the citadel was seized. The citizens being repulsed hastened to the heart of the city and the other citadel; and men had been posted there to close the gates. Being thus shut out they were surrounded and slain or captured. The Macedonian garrison stood in a mass under the wall of the citadel, having neither taken to flight in disorder nor gone into battle with determination. Plator, having gained permission from Sulpicius, embarked his men and landed them at Demetrium<sup>1</sup> in Phthiotis, while he himself joined Attalus.

Sulpicius, inspired by a success so easily won at Oreum, sailed thence with his victorious fleet directly to Chalcis, where the result by no means matched his expectation. The sea, which from a wide expanse on both sides is narrowed into a strait, might give one at first sight the appearance of a double harbour facing two entrances. But hardly any other anchorage is more dangerous for a fleet. For sudden, squally winds blow down from very high mountains on either shore, and also the Euripus strait itself does not reverse its direction seven times a day at

<sup>1</sup> Two and a half miles from Thebae Phthiotides and named from a temple of Demeter. It was known also as Pyrasus; Strabo IX. v. 14.

reciprocat, sed temere in modum venti nunc huc  
 nunc illuc verso mari, velut monte praecipiti devolutus torrens rapitur. Ita nec nocte nec die quies  
 11 navibus datur. Cum classem tam infesta statio  
 accepit, tum et oppidum alia parte clausum mari,  
 alia ab terra egregie munitum praesidioque valido  
 firmatum et praecipue fide praefectorum principumque, quae fluxa et vana apud Oreum fuerat,  
 12 stabile atque inexpugnabile fuit. Id prudenter, ut  
 in temere suscepta re, Romanus fecit quod circum-  
 spectis difficultatibus, ne frustra tempus tereret,  
 celeriter abstitit incepto classemque inde ad Cynum  
 Locridis—emporium id est urbis Opuntiorum<sup>1</sup> mille  
 passuum a mari sitae—traiecit.

VII. Philippum et ignes ab Oreo editi monuerant,  
 sed serius Platoris fraude ex specula elati; et in pari  
 maritumis<sup>2</sup> viribus haud facilis erat in insulam classi  
 2 accessus; ita re<sup>3</sup> per cunctationem omissa, ad Chalci-  
 dis auxilium, ubi signum accepit, impigre est motus.  
 Nam et ipsa Chalcis quamquam eiusdem insulae urbs  
 est, tamen adeo arto interscinditur freto ut ponte  
 continent iungatur terraque aditum faciliorem quam  
 3 mari habeat. Igitur<sup>4</sup> Philippus ab Demetriade

<sup>1</sup> urbis Opuntiorum, *this order indicated by P(1)N Aldus, Eds.; reversed in A\*JKx Froben 2.*

<sup>2</sup> maritumis, *before this A\*N\* Aldus, Conway have tum (om. SpJK Froben 2, but possibly preserved in tumvis, which P(3) have in place of maritumis.*

<sup>3</sup> re A\*JK Aldus, Conway: res Sp? Froben 2: om. P(1)N.

<sup>4</sup> Igitur P(1)NJK: Rediit igitur M. Müller.

<sup>1</sup> This is the statement of Strabo *l.c.* ii. 8 and Pliny *N.H.* II. 219. Regularity is stressed by Cicero *N.D.* III. 24, without giving the number of times daily. But the irregularity was proverbial; Plato *Phaedo* 90 C. In actual fact the real tides are perfectly regular, with four changes daily, while in

fixed times,<sup>1</sup> as report has it, but with a current that B.C. 207  
 like the wind changes irregularly, now this way, now  
 that, it races along as a torrent dashes down from a  
 steep mountain. Thus neither by night nor by day  
 are ships given rest. Not only was the anchorage  
 into which the fleet came so dangerous, but in addition  
 the town was strong and impregnable, being  
 protected on one side by the sea, on the other side,  
 towards the land, extraordinarily fortified and  
 secured by a strong garrison and in particular by  
 the loyalty of its commanders and leading citizens,  
 a quality which at Oreum had been uncertain and  
 delusive. It was wise on the part of the Roman,  
 considering his rash undertaking, that after surveying  
 the difficulties, in order not to waste time for nothing,  
 he promptly gave up the attempt and with his fleet  
 crossed over to Cynus in Locris, the mart of the city  
 of Opus, which is situated a mile from the sea.<sup>2</sup>

VII. Philip had been warned also by fire-signals  
 from Oreum, but through the treachery of Plator they  
 were set too late on the watch-tower. Also, since he  
 was no match in naval strength, approach to the island  
 by a fleet was not easy. He let slip that project by  
 delaying, and, on receiving the signal accordingly, set  
 out with spirit to bring aid to Chalcis. For although  
 Chalcis is likewise a city of the same island, still it  
 is separated by a strait so narrow that the city is  
 linked to the mainland by a bridge, and approach  
 by land is easier than by sea. Accordingly Philip

a strait so narrow very marked irregularities are due to  
 secondary causes, chiefly winds.

<sup>2</sup> Nearly two miles from the sea according to Strabo IX.  
 iv. 2, and less than eight east of its port, Cynus. Opus was  
 the chief city of the Eastern (Opuntian) Locrians.

Scotussam, inde de tertia vigilia profectus,<sup>1</sup> deiecto praesidio fusisque Aetolis qui saltum Thermopylarum insidebant, cum trepidos hostis Heracleam compulisset, ipse uno die Phocidis Elatiam milia amplius <sup>4</sup> sexaginta contendit. Eodem ferme die ab Attalo rege Opuntiorum urbs capta diripiebatur. Concesserat eam regi praedam Sulpicius, quia Oreum paucos ante dies ab Romano milite, expertibus regiis, <sup>5</sup> direptum fuerat. Cum <sup>2</sup> Romana classis Oreum sese recepisset,<sup>3</sup> Attalus ignarus adventus Philippi pecunias a principibus exigendis terebat tempus, adeoque improvisa res fuit ut, nisi Cretensium quidam forte pabulatum ab urbe longius progressi agmen hostium <sup>7</sup> procul conspexissent, opprimi potuerit. Attalus inermis atque incompositus cursu effuso mare ac naves petit, et molientibus ab terra naves Philippus supervenit <sup>4</sup> tumultumque etiam ex terra nauticis <sup>8</sup> praebuit. Inde Opuntem rediit, deos hominesque accusans quod tantae rei fortunam ex oculis prope <sup>9</sup> raptam amisisset. Opuntii quoque ab eadem ira increpiti quod, cum trahere obsidionem in adventum suum potuissent, viso statim hoste prope in voluntariam ditionem concessissent.

<sup>1</sup> ab Demetriade . . . profectus, placed here by Madvig and many eds.; in P(1)NJK Aldus these words follow deiecto . . . insidebant cum; i.e. P om. four lines and inserted them later.

<sup>2</sup> Cum P(3)NA<sup>4</sup>Aldus: om. SpJK Froben 2.

<sup>3</sup> recepisset A<sup>4</sup>N<sup>4</sup>CM<sup>7</sup> Aldus: se cepisset P(3)N: receperat et SpA<sup>4</sup>JK Froben 2.

<sup>4</sup> supervenit P(1)N Aldus: advenit SpJKFroben 2.

hastened from Demetrias to Scotussa, whence he set <sup>B.C. 207</sup> out in the third watch, dislodged the garrison and routed the Aetolians occupying the pass of Thermopylae. Then after driving the enemy in alarm into Heraclēa, he himself in a single day covered a distance of more than sixty miles to Elatīa<sup>1</sup> in Phocis. On about the same day the captured city of Opus was being sacked by King Attalus. Its booty had been given up to the king by Sulpicius because Oreum<sup>2</sup> had been sacked by Roman soldiers a few days before, while the king's troops had no share in it. When the Roman fleet had returned to Oreum, Attalus, unaware of the coming of Philip, was spending his time in exacting money from leading citizens. And so unexpected was the attack that if some of the Cretans, who happened to have gone a long distance from the city to forage, had not caught sight of the enemy's column in the distance, the king could have been overpowered. Attalus' men, being unarmed and in disorder, rushed pell-mell to the sea and their ships; and as they were struggling to cast off, Philip came upon them and from the shore caused further confusion among the sailors. Then he returned to Opus, accusing gods and men because he had lost so great an opportunity, snatched away almost before his eyes. The men of Opus also were no less angrily upbraided because, although they could have dragged out the siege until his coming, at the first sight of the enemy they had almost willingly surrendered.

<sup>1</sup> The largest city of Phocis, commanding roads from the north coast and Thermopylae; Strabo IX. iii. 2, 15.

<sup>2</sup> The name is always masculine in our Greek sources.

Compositis circa Opuntem rebus Thronium<sup>1</sup> est  
 10 profectus. Et Attalus primo Oreum se recepit<sup>2</sup>;  
 inde, cum fama accidisset Prusian Bithyniae regem in  
 fines regni sui transgressum, omissis Romanis rebus  
 11 atque Aetolico bello in Asiam traiecit. Et Sulpicius  
 Aeginam classem recepit,<sup>3</sup> unde initio veris profectus  
 erat. Haud maiore certamine quam Opuntem  
 12 Attalus ceperat, Philippus Thronium cepit. Incole-  
 bant urbem eam profugi ab Thebis Phthioticis; urbe  
 sua capta a Philippo cum in fidem Aetolorum per-  
 fugissent,<sup>4</sup> sedem iis Aetoli eam dederant urbis  
 vastae ac desertae priore eiusdem Philippi bello.  
 13 Tum ab Thronio, sicut paulo<sup>5</sup> ante dictum est,  
 recepto profectus Tithronion et Drumias, Doridis  
 parva atque ignobilia oppida, cepit. Inde Elatiam,  
 iussis ibi se opperiri Ptolomaei Rhodiorumque legatis,  
 14 venit. Ubi cum de finiendo Aetolico bello ageretur—  
 adfuerant enim legati nuper Heracleae concilio Roma-  
 norum Aetolorumque—. nuntius adfertur Machani-  
 dam Olympiorum sollemne ludicrum parantes Eleos  
 15 adgredi statuisse. Praevertendum id ratus legatis cum

<sup>1</sup> Thronium *Glareanus*. Eds.: Toronen (or -em) *P(1)N Luchs, Conway, and similarly in §§ 11 and 13, requiring us to believe that Livy was wrong in his geography.*

<sup>2</sup> se recepit *N\*JK Aldus, Froben, Conway*: est profectus *P(1)N*: om. *Gronovius, Madrig.*

<sup>3</sup> recepit *P(1)NJK Aldus*: recipit *SpN\* Froben* 2.

<sup>4</sup> perfugissent *P(1)N Aldus, Froben*: -venissent *SpA\*N\** (*altern.*) *JK*.

<sup>5</sup> paulo *N\*JK*: om. *P(1)N*. For recepto the MSS. have -cepta to agree with Torone, and the fem. was retained by Alschesfski and Madrig with Thronio.

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<sup>1</sup> More than two miles from the sea (Strabo IX. iv. 4), this ancient town was high-perched at the west end of Mt. Cnemis. Hence the Locrians of this region were called Epi-cnemidian.

Having settled matters in the neighbourhood of Opus, he went to Thronium.<sup>1</sup> Attalus also retired at first to Oreum; and then, when the report reached him that Prusias, King of Bithynia, had crossed into territory belonging to his kingdom, he sailed over to Asia, forsaking the Roman cause and the Aetolian war. And Sulpicius withdrew with his fleet to Aegina, from which he had set out at the beginning of the spring. Philip captured Thronium with no greater struggle than Attalus had in capturing Opus. The inhabitants of the former were refugees from Thebes<sup>2</sup> in Phthiotis. When their city was taken by Philip they had sought refuge in the protection of the Aetolians, whereupon the Aetolians had given them an abiding-place in that city, desolated and abandoned in a previous war with the same Philip. Then setting out from Thronium, which he had recovered, as has just been said, he captured Tithronion and Drumiae, small and unimportant towns in Doris. Then he came to Elatia, having bidden the envoys of Ptolemy and of the Rhodians<sup>3</sup> to wait for him there. While they were there discussing how to end the Aetolian war—for the envoys had recently been present at the council of the Romans and Aetolians at Heraclēa<sup>4</sup>—came the news that Machanidas had decided to attack the Eleans, who were making ready to celebrate the Olympic Games.<sup>5</sup> Thinking he must make that his first task, the king

<sup>2</sup> A very ancient and important city of Achaia Phthiotis, on a ridge above its port, Pyrasus, two miles away on the Sinus Pagasaeus; Strabo IX. v. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. XXVII. xxx. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. v. 13 f.

<sup>5</sup> I.e. those of the year 208 B.C.; cf. XXVII. xxxv. 3.

benigno responso dimissis—se neque causam eius belli fuisse nec moram, si modo aequa et honesta con-  
 16 ditione liceat, paci facturum—cum expedito agmine profectus per Boeotiam Megara atque inde Corinthum descendit, unde commeatibus sumptis Phliunta  
 17 Pheneumque petit. Et iam cum Heraeam venisset, auditio Machanidam fama adventus sui territum refugisse Lacedaemonem, Aegium se ad concilium Achaeorum recepit, simul classem Punicam, ut mari quoque aliquid posset,<sup>1</sup> accitam, ibi ratus se inventu-  
 18 rum. Paucis ante diebus inde Oxeas<sup>2</sup> traiecerant Poeni; inde portus Acarnanum petierant, cum ab Oreo profectum Attalum Romanosque audissent, veriti ne ad<sup>3</sup> se iretur et intra Rhium—fauces eae sunt Corinthii sinus—opprimerentur.

VIII. Philippus maerebat quidem et angebatur, cum ad omnia ipse raptim isset, nulli tamen se rei in tempore occurrisse, et rapientem omnia ex oculis 2 elusisse celeritatem suam fortunam. In concilio autem dissimulans aegritudinem elato animo disseruit,

<sup>1</sup> posset JK Aldus, Froben : possit P(1)N.

<sup>2</sup> Oxeas Crévier (cf. Strabo X. ii. 19) : uaeas P(3)N : ut eas A : phoceas A\*JK.

<sup>3</sup> ad P(1)N : in JK Aldus, Froben, Conway.

<sup>1</sup> Phlius lay south-west of Corinth; Phenēus farther west, near a lake of the same name, at the foot of Mt. Cyllene in north-eastern Arcadia.

<sup>2</sup> In western Arcadia, on the river Alphēus and the road to Olympia. It still belonged to the Macedonian king. Cf. Pausanias VIII. xxvi.

<sup>3</sup> The Oxēae were small western islands off the mouth of the Achelōus and opposite Cephallenia. They formed the

sent away the envoys with a friendly answer: that he had not been the cause of this war, and would not delay making peace, provided it was possible to do so on fair and honourable terms. Setting out with a light column he came down through Boeotia to Megara and then to Corinth, from which he took on supplies and marched to Phlius and Phenēus.<sup>1</sup> And when he had already reached Heraea,<sup>2</sup> he heard that Machanidas, alarmed by the report of his coming, had fled back to Sparta. Thereupon the king went to Aegium for the council of the Achaeans, at the same time thinking that there he would find the Carthaginian fleet which he had summoned that he might be able to accomplish something by sea as well. A few days earlier the Carthaginians had crossed over to the Oxēae,<sup>3</sup> and then had made for the Acarnanian ports, on hearing that Attalus and the Romans had set sail from Oreum. They were afraid they might be pursued and overpowered inside of Rhium,<sup>4</sup> the narrows, that is, of the Gulf of Corinth.

VIII. Philip was sorry indeed and vexed that, although he had himself made rapid marches in every direction, nevertheless he had not met a single situation at the right moment, and that fortune had mocked his speed by whisking everything out of his sight. In the council, however, concealing his vexation, he made a proud speech, calling gods and men

southernmost group of the Echinades archipelago. Cf. Strabo VIII. iii. 26 *fin.*; X. ii. 19.

<sup>1</sup> Properly the Headland on the south side of the strait, and its counterpart, Antirrhium, on the Aetolian side, marking the entrance to the Gulf of Corinth; Thuc. II. 86; Strabo VIII. ii. 3; Pausanias VII. xxii. 10 (Frazer). Also at times of the strait itself; so Livy here and in XXVII. xxix. 9.

## LIVY

A.U.C.  
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testatus deos hominesque se nullo loco nec tempore<sup>1</sup>  
 defuisse quin, ubi hostium arma concrepuissent, eo  
 3 quanta maxima posset celeritate tenderet; sed vix<sup>2</sup>  
 rationem iniri posse utrum a se audacius an fugacius ab  
 hostibus geratur bellum. Sic ab Opunte Attalum, sic  
 Sulpicium ab Chalcide, sic eis ipsis diebus Machani-  
 4 dam e manibus suis elapsum. Sed non semper felicem  
 esse fugam, nec pro difficulti id bellum habendum in  
 quo, si modo congressus cum hostibus<sup>3</sup> sis, viceris.  
 5 Quod primum esset, confessionem se hostium habere  
 nequaquam pares esse sibi<sup>4</sup>; brevi et victoriam haud  
 dubiam habiturum, nec meliore eventu eos secum  
 quam spe pugnaturos.

6 Laeti regem socii audierunt. Reddidit inde Achaeis  
 Heraeam et Triphuliam, Alipheram autem Megalo-  
 politis, quod suorum fuisse finium satis probabant,  
 7 restituit. Inde navibus acceptis ab Achaeis—  
 erant autem tres quadriremes et biremes totidem—  
 8 Anticyram traiecit. Inde quinqueremibus septem et  
 lembis viginti amplius, quos, ut adiungeret Cartha-  
 giniensium classi, miserat in Corinthium sinum, pro-

<sup>1</sup> nullo . . . tempore *Gronovius, Madvig, Conway*: nullo . . . tempori *P(1)N*: nulli . . . tempori *A<sup>1</sup>K Luchs* (*with tempore J*).

<sup>2</sup> vix *P(1)NJK Aldus, Froben*: haud *Rhenanus, from id of SpN<sup>4</sup>(altern.)*.

<sup>3</sup> hostibus *P(1)N Aldus, Eds.*: hoste *SpJK Froben 2, Conway*.

<sup>4</sup> sibi *P(1)N*: eos *SpJK Froben 2*: eos sibi *x Aldus*.

to witness that at no place or time had he failed to <sup>B.C. 207</sup> hasten with all possible speed to any place where the din of enemies' arms had been heard. But it could scarcely be made out, he said, whether his audacity in carrying on the war was the greater, or his enemies' eagerness to run away. So from Opus Attalus had slipped out of his hands, so had Sulpicius from Chalcis, so in those very days had Machanidas. But not always was flight successful, nor must that be accounted a difficult war in which you are the victor if you have merely made contact with the enemy. What was of most significance, he said, he had the confession of his enemies that they were by no means his equals. Soon he would likewise have no uncertain victory, and they would fight against him with a result no better than they had hoped.

The allies rejoiced when they listened to the king. Thereupon he delivered Heraea and Triphylia<sup>1</sup> to the Achaeans, but restored Aliphēra<sup>2</sup> to Megalopolis, because the citizens of the latter gave sufficient proofs that it had belonged to their territory. Then on receiving ships—they were three quadriremes and as many biremes—from the Achaeans, he sailed over to Anticyra.<sup>3</sup> From there he set sail with seven quinqueremes and more than twenty light vessels previously sent by him into the Gulf of Corinth to be added to the Carthaginian fleet, and made a landing at

<sup>1</sup> Not actually given back to Achaia until 198 B.C.; XXXII. v. 4. Cf. Strabo VIII. iii. 3. For Heraea cf. p. 30, n. 2. Triphylia lay south of the Alphēus, and reached the sea on the west.

<sup>2</sup> In Arcadia, near the border of Triphylia; XXXII. l.c.; Pausanias VIII. xxvi. 5-7.

<sup>3</sup> The Locrian Anticyra, near the entrance to the Gulf; cf. Vol. VII. p. 100, n.

fectus ad Eruthras Aetolorum, quae prope Eupalium  
 9 sunt, escensionem fecit. Haud fefellit Aetolos; nam  
 hominum quod aut in agris aut in propinquis castellis  
 Potidaniae atque Apolloniae fuit in silvas montesque  
 10 refugit; pecora, quae inter festinationem abigi  
 nequierant, sunt direpta et in naves compulsa. Cum  
 iis ceteraque praeda Nicia praetore Achaeorum  
 Aegium misso, cum Corinthum petisset, pedestris  
 11 inde copias per Boeotiam terra duci iussit. Ipse ab  
 Cenchreis praeter terram Atticam<sup>1</sup> super Sunium  
 navigans inter medias prope hostium classes Chalci-  
 12 dem pervenit. Inde conlaudata fide ac virtute, quod  
 neque timor nec spes flexisset eorum animos, hortas-  
 que in posterum ut eadem constantia permanerent  
 in societate, si suam quam Oritanorum atque<sup>2</sup>  
 13 Opuntiorum fortunam mallent, ab Chalcide Oreum  
 navigat, principumque iis qui fugere capta urbe  
 quam se Romanis tradere maluerant summa rerum  
 et custodia urbis permissa, ipse Demetriadem ab  
 Euboea, unde primum<sup>3</sup> ad opem ferendam sociis  
 14 profectus erat, traiecit. Cassandrae deinde cent-  
 tum navium longarum carinis positis contractaque ad  
 effectum eius operis multitudine fabrorum navalium,  
 quia res in Graecia tranquillas et profectio Attali  
 fecerat et in tempore laborantibus sociis latum ab se

<sup>1</sup> terram Atticam *P(1)N Aldus*: atticen *SpJ(-em)* *Froben* 2.

<sup>2</sup> in posterum . . . atque *A'N'JK Eds.*: *om.* *P(1)N*,  
*four or five lines.*

<sup>3</sup> primum *P(1)N Aldus*: primo *Sp?JK Froben* 2.

<sup>1</sup> A seaport of the Ozolian Locrians, on the north shore of the Gulf, but at this time belonging to the Aetolians. Inland and to the north lay Eupalium.

<sup>2</sup> Mentioned by Thucydides III. 96; along the upper course of the Daphnus river, north-west of Anticyra and Erythrae.

Erythrae,<sup>1</sup> in Aetolia and near Eupalam. He did <sup>B.C. 207</sup> not surprise the Aetolians, for all the men who were either on the farms or in the nearest strongholds, Potidania<sup>2</sup> and Apollonia, fled into the forests and the mountains. Sheep and goats which in their haste could not be driven away were seized and loaded on the ships. With these and the rest of the booty Nicias, chief magistrate of the Achaeans, was sent to Aegium; and when the king had reached Corinth, he ordered his land forces to march from there overland across Boeotia. He himself sailing from Cenchreæ along the coast of Attica round Sunium, almost through the midst of enemy fleets, came to Chalcis. Then, after praising their loyalty and courage, in that neither fear nor hope had swayed their spirit, and encouraging them to remain his allies with the same steadfastness for the future, if they preferred their own lot to that of the men of Oreum and Opus, he sailed from Chalcis to Oreum. Then entrusting the government and defence of the city to leading citizens who had preferred to flee after the capture of the city rather than to surrender to the Romans, he himself crossed over from Euboea to Demetrias, from which he had first set out to bring aid to his allies. At Cassandria<sup>3</sup> he then laid down the keels of a hundred war-ships and brought together a great number of ship-carpenters to complete the task. Having done so, inasmuch as peaceful conditions had been produced in Greece both by the departure of Attalus and by the timely aid which he

Not far away was a similar stronghold, Apollonia, not to be confused with any of the better-known Apollonias.

<sup>1</sup> On the Chalcidic Peninsula; formerly called Potidaea, but rebuilt by Cassander (founder of Thessalonica also) in 316 B.C. Cf. XLIV. xi. 2.

auxilium, retro in regnum concessit, ut Dardanis bellum inferret.

IX. Extremo aestatis eius qua haec in Graecia gesta sunt, cum Q. Fabius Maximus filius<sup>1</sup> legatus ab M. Livio consule Romam ad senatum<sup>2</sup> nuntiasset consulem satis praesidii Galliae provinciae credere L. 2 Porcium cum suis legionibus esse, decedere se inde ac deduci exercitum consularem posse, patres non M. Livium tantum redire ad urbem, sed conlegam 3 quoque eius C. Claudium iusserunt. Id modo in decreto interfuit quod M. Livi exercitum reduci, Neronis legiones Hannibali oppositas manere in 4 provincia iusserunt. Inter consules ita per litteras convenit ut, quem ad modum uno animo rem publicam gessissent, ita, quamquam ex diversis regionibus convenienter, uno tempore ad urbem accederent; Praeneste qui prior venisset, collegam ibi opperiri 5 iussus. Forte ita evenit ut eodem die ambo Praeneste venirent. Inde praemisso edicto ut triduo post frequens senatus ad aedem Bellonae adesset, omni multitudine obviam effusa ad urbem accessere. 6 Non salutabant modo universi circumfusi,<sup>3</sup> sed con-

<sup>1</sup> Maximus filius *Allen*, *Conway* (*with Maximi Gronovius, Eds.*): maximi p (or p̄) *P(3)*: maximus pre *N*: maximus *C²A²Sp?JK*.

<sup>2</sup> senatum, followed by missus in *A²N²JK Aldus, Froben*: not so in *P(1)N*.

<sup>3</sup> circumfusi *P(1)NJK Aldus*: om. *Froben 2, Johnson*.

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<sup>1</sup> For their threatened invasion cf. XXVII. xxxii. 9; xxxiii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The undefined region meant by Gallia was often called Ager Gallicus, or merely suggested by the town-name Ariminum. There was no province then in the sense comparable to 'province of Sardinia.' Cf. Vol. VI. p. 315 and n. 2; below, x. 12; xxxviii. 13; XXIX, xiii. 2; XXX. i. 7.

had himself borne to his distressed allies, he withdrew B.C. 207 into his own kingdom in order to wage war against the Dardanians.<sup>1</sup>

IX. At the end of the summer in which these events took place in Greece, Quintus Fabius Maximus the son, as an emissary of Marcus Livius, the consul, reported to the senate at Rome that the consul considered Lucius Porcius with his legions a sufficient defence for Gaul, his own assignment;<sup>2</sup> that he himself could retire from it and his consular army could be withdrawn. Thereupon the senators ordered that not merely Marcus Livius but also his colleague Gaius Claudius should return to the city. The only difference in the decree was that they ordered the return of the army of Marcus Livius, but that Nero's legions facing Hannibal should remain in that province. Between the consuls an agreement was made by letter that, just as they had carried on the war with one purpose only, so, although coming from opposite directions, they should approach the city at one and the same time. Whichever should first reach Praeneste was instructed to wait for his colleague there. It chanced that both reached Praeneste on the same day. From there they sent in advance an edict that three days later the senate should meet with full attendance in the Temple of Bellona;<sup>3</sup> and with the whole populace flocking out to meet them they drew near to the city. Not only did everyone in the surrounding crowd greet them,

<sup>1</sup> This temple stood below the Citadel and near the east end of the Flaminian Circus. Being outside the pomerium it was used by the senate when returning generals were to present their claims to a triumph; also when foreign ambassadors were to be received. Cf. xxxviii. 2; XXVI. xxi. 1; XXX. xxi. 12; XLII. xxxvi. 2.

tingere<sup>1</sup> pro se quisque victrices dextras consulum cupientes, alii gratulabantur, alii gratias agebant,  
 7 quod eorum opera incolumis res publica esset. In senatu cum more omnium imperatorum expositis rebus ab se gestis postulassent ut pro re publica fortiter feliciterque<sup>2</sup> administrata et deis immortalibus haberetur honos et ipsis triumphantibus urbem  
 8 inire liceret, se vero ea quae postularent decernere patres merito deorum primum, dein secundum deos  
 9 consulum responderunt; et supplicatione amborum nomine et triumpho utriusque decreto, inter ipsos, ne, cum bellum communi animo gessissent, triumphum  
 10 separarent, ita convenit, ut,<sup>3</sup> quoniam et in provincia M. Livi res gesta esset, et eo die quo pugnatum foret eius forte auspicium fuisse et exercitus Livianus deductus Romam venisset, Neronis deduci de provincia non potuisset, ut M. Livium quadrigis urbem ineuntem milites sequerentur, C. Claudius equo sine militibus invehernetur.

11 Ita consociatus triumphus cum utriusque, tum magis ei qui quantum merito anteibat, tantum honore  
 12 conlegae cesserat, gloriam auxit. Illum equitem aiebant sex dierum spatio transcurrisse longitudinem

<sup>1</sup> contingere *A'JK Aldus, Froben*: *om. P(1)*: prospicere *N.*

<sup>2</sup> feliciterque *P(1)N Aldus*: fideliterque *SpA'JK Froben* 2.

<sup>3</sup> ut *P(1)NJK Aldus, Eds.* : *om. Sp Froben* 2, *Conway*.

<sup>1</sup> Since the consuls had commanded on alternate days, only one of them had both *imperium* and *auspices* on the day of the battle.

but vying with one another in their desire to grasp <sup>B.C. 207</sup> the victorious right hands of the consuls some were congratulating them, others were offering thanks because by their services the state was safe. In the senate after the manner of all commanders-in-chief they stated their achievements and demanded that for a brave and successful conduct of the war honour should be paid to the immortal gods; likewise that they themselves should be permitted to enter the city in triumph. Whereupon the senators replied that they did indeed decree the granting of their demands with due recognition first of the gods, and then next to the gods, of the consuls. After a thanksgiving had been decreed in honour of them both and a triumph also to each, in order that they should not have separate triumphs after conducting the war with a common purpose, they came to an agreement as follows. Inasmuch as the battle had been fought in the province of Marcus Livius, and on the day of the battle the auspices also, as it happened, had been his,<sup>1</sup> and inasmuch as Livius' army had been brought back to Rome, while Nero's could not be brought back from his province, they agreed between them that Marcus Livius should enter the city in a four-horse chariot with his soldiers following him, and that Gaius Claudius should ride on horseback without his soldiers.

This sharing of the triumph added indeed to the glory of both, but even more so for the one who had yielded to his colleague in honour to the same degree that he surpassed him in his achievement. That man now on horseback in the space of six days had traversed the whole length of Italy, men kept saying, and had fought, standards against standards, with

Italiae, et eo die cum Hasdrubale in Gallia signis  
 conlatis pugnasse quo eum castra adversus sese in  
 13 Apulia posita habere Hannibal credidisset. Ita unum  
 consulem pro utraque parte Italiae adversus duos  
 exercitus,<sup>1</sup> duos imperatores, hinc consilium suum,  
 14 hinc corpus opposuisse. Nomen Neronis satis fuisse  
 ad continendum castris Hannibalem; Hasdrubalem  
 vero qua alia re quam adventu eius obrutum atque  
 15 extinctum esse? Itaque iret alter consul sublimis  
 curru multiugis, si vellet, equis; uno equo per urbem  
 verum triumphum vehi, Neronemque, etiam si pedes  
 incedat, vel parta eo bello vel spreta eo triumpho  
 16 gloria memorabilem fore. Hi sermones spectantium  
 Neronem usque in Capitolium prosecuti sunt.  
 Pecuniae<sup>2</sup> in aerarium tulerunt sestertium triciens,  
 17 octoginta<sup>3</sup> milia aeris. Militibus M. Livius quin-  
 quagenos senos asses divisit; tantundem C. Claudius  
 absentibus militibus suis est pollicitus, cum ad  
 18 exercitum redisset. Notatum est<sup>4</sup> eo die plura  
 carmina militaribus iocis in C. Claudium quam in  
 19 consulem suum iactata; equites L. Veturium et Q.  
 Caecilium legatos magnis tulisse laudibus hortatosque  
 esse plebem ut eos consules in proximum annum  
 20 crearent; adiecissem equitum praerogativaee auctorita-  
 tem consules postero die in contione quam forti-  
 fidelique duorum praecipue legatorum opera usi essent  
 commemorantes.

<sup>1</sup> exercitus *Luchs*, M. Müller (*cf.* xxviii. 9; xxxviii. 3): duces *P(1)NJK*. Koch and Madvig (1886) would substitute duas acies for duos duces, which Conway considers corrupt. Anaphora is defended by the balanced structure.

<sup>2</sup> Pecuniae *PSp?AJK* *Froben* 2: -iam *P<sup>2</sup>(3)Aldus*: -ia *BDN*.

<sup>3</sup> octoginta *P(1)NSp? Aldus, Froben*: nonaginta *A<sup>4</sup>(marg.)* and in numerals *JK*.

Hasdrubal in Gaul on a day on which Hannibal had <sup>B.C. 207</sup>  
believed the consul had his camp established facing  
his own in Apulia. Thus a single consul in defence of  
both regions of Italy had confronted two armies  
and two generals, here with his strategy and there in  
person. Nero's name had been enough, they said,  
to keep Hannibal within his camp. As for Hasdrubal,  
what else than Nero's arrival had overwhelmed and de-  
stroyed him? Thus let the other consul drive stand-  
ing erect in a chariot drawn, if he wished, by many  
horses. The truly triumphant progress through the  
city was on a single horse; and Nero, even if he went  
on foot, would be memorable, be it for the glory won  
in that war, or for his contempt of it in that triumph.  
Such was the talk of the spectators who accompanied  
Nero all the way to the Capitol. As for money,  
the consuls carried into the Treasury three million  
sesterces and eighty thousand *asses*. To his soldiers  
Marcus Livius apportioned fifty-six *asses* apiece.  
Gaius Claudius promised the same amount to his  
absent soldiers when he should return to the army.  
It has been remarked that in the jesting of the sol-  
diers on that day more of their songs were levelled at  
Gaius Claudius than at their own consul; that the  
knights highly extolled Lucius Veturius and Quintus  
Caecilius, the lieutenant-generals, and urged the com-  
mons to elect them consuls for the following year; also  
that to the knights' preliminary choice the consuls  
on the next day added their authority by an address  
to the people, stating what brave and faithful service  
they had had in particular from their two lieutenants.

<sup>4</sup> est A<sup>4</sup>N<sup>5</sup>JK : om. P(3)N Aldus, Froben.

## LIVY

A.U.C.  
547

X. Cum comitiorum tempus adpeteret et per dictatorem comitia haberi placuisse, C. Claudius consul M. Livium conlegam dictatorem dixit, Livius Q. Caecilius cilium magistrum equitum. A M. Livio dictatore creati consules L. Veturius Q. Caecilius, is ipse qui tum erat magister equitum. Inde praetorum comitia habita; creati C. Servilius M. Caecilius Metellus Ti. Claudius Asellus Q. Mamilius Turrinus, qui tum aedilis plebis erat. Comitiis perfectis dictator magistratu abdicato dimissoque exercitu in Etruriam provinciam ex senatus consulto est profectus ad quaestiones habendas qui Etruscorum Umbrorumve populi defectionis ab Romanis ad Hasdrubalem sub adventum<sup>1</sup> eius consilia agitassent quique eum auxiliis aut commeatu aut ope aliqua iuvissent.

Haec eo anno domi militiaeque gesta.

Ludi Romani ter toti instaurati ab aedilibus curulibus Cn. Servilio Caepione Ser. Cornelio Lentulo; item ludi plebeii semel toti instaurati ab aedilibus plebis M. Pomponio Mathone et Q. Mamilio Turrino. Tertio decimo anno Punici belli, L. Veturio Philone et Q. Caecilio Metello consulibus, Brutii amboibus, ut cum Hannibale bellum gererent, provincia de Creta. Praetores exinde sortiti sunt M. Caecilius

<sup>1</sup> adventum *P(1)NSp?JK Froben* 2: -tu x Aldus (*and so in § 12*).

X. Inasmuch as the time for elections was approaching and it had been decided that the elections should be conducted by a dictator, the consul Gaius Claudius named his colleague Marcus Livius dictator, and Livius named Quintus Caecilius master of the horse. The consuls elected were announced by Marcus Livius as dictator, namely, Lucius Veturius and Quintus Caecilius, the same being at the time master of the horse. Then the elections of praetors were held. Elected were Gaius Servilius, Marcus Caecilius Metellus, Tiberius Claudius Asellus, Quintus Mamilius Turrinus, who was at the time a plebeian aedile. The elections being completed, the dictator, abdicating his office and discharging his army, set out in accordance with a decree of the senate for Etruria as his province, to conduct an investigation as to what communities among the Etruscans or Umbrians had discussed plans to revolt from the Romans to Hasdrubal upon his arrival, and which states had aided him with auxiliaries or supplies or any kind of assistance. Such were the events at home and in the field that year.

The Roman Games were repeated three times completely by the curule aediles, Gnaeus Servilius Caepio and Servius Cornelius Lentulus. Likewise the Plebeian Games were completely repeated once by the plebeian aediles, Marcus Pomponius Matho and Quintus Mamilius Turrinus.

In the thirteenth year of the Punic war, the consulship of Lucius Veturius Philo and Quintus Caecilius Metellus, the land of the Bruttii was assigned by decree to them both as their province, to carry on war with Hannibal. The praetors then received their assignments by lot, Marcus Caecilius Metellus the

Metellus urbanam, Q. Mamilius peregrinam, C. Ser-  
 10 vilius Siciliam, Ti. Claudius Sardiniam. Exercitus  
 ita divisi: consulum alteri quem C. Claudius prioris  
 anni consul, alteri quem Q. Claudius propraetor—  
 eae binae legiones erant—habuissent<sup>1</sup> exercitum;  
 11 in Etruria duas volonum legiones a C. Terentio pro-  
 praetore M. Livius proconsul, cui prorogatum in  
 12 annum imperium erat, acciperet; et Q. Mamilius ut  
 collegae iurisdictione tradita Galliam cum exercitu  
 cui L. Porcius praetor<sup>2</sup> praefuerat obtineret decretum  
 est, iussusque populari agros Gallorum qui ad Poenos  
 13 sub adventum Hasdrubalis defecissent. C. Servilio  
 cum Cannensibus duabus legionibus, sicut C. Mami-  
 14 lius tenuerat, Sicilia tuenda data. Ex Sardinia vetus  
 exercitus, cui A. Hostilius praefuerat, deportatus;  
 novam legionem quam Ti. Claudius traiceret secum  
 15 consules conscripserunt. Q. Claudio ut Tarentum,  
 C. Hostilio Tubulo ut Capuam provinciam haberet,  
 16 prorogatum in annum imperium est. M. Valerius  
 proconsul, qui tuendae circa Siciliam maritumae orae  
 praefuerat, triginta navibus C. Servilio praetori  
 traditis<sup>3</sup> cum cetera omni classe redire ad arbem  
 iussus.

XI. In civitate tanto discrimine belli sollicita,  
 cum omnium secundorum adversorumque causas in

<sup>1</sup> habuissent *P(1)NJ* Eds.: -set *K Aldus, Froben, Conway*.

<sup>2</sup> praetor *Pighius*, Eds.: pro pr. *P(1)NJK Weissenborn*,  
*who accepts it as Livy's error*.

<sup>3</sup> praetori traditis *Weissenborn, Conway*: praeditis *P(1)N*:  
 traditis *C<sup>3</sup>A<sup>4</sup>N<sup>5</sup>JK Aldus, Froben*.

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<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* the city praetor. It was a frequent practice during this war to relieve the praetor peregrinus of his judicial duties so that he might take a command; *e.g.* XXV. iii. 2; XXVII. xxxvi. 11; XXX. i. 9; xxvii. 9; xl. 5.

city praetorship, Quintus Mamilius the duties of <sup>B.C. 206</sup> praetor peregrinus; Gaius Servilius received Sicily and Tiberius Claudius Sardinia. The armies were divided as follows: to one of the consuls the army which Gaius Claudius had had as consul in the preceding year, to the other consul that which Quintus Claudius had had as propraetor; and these were of two legions each. In Etruria Marcus Livius as proconsul, with his command continued for one year, was to take the two legions of slave-volunteers from Gaius Terentius, the propraetor; and it was decreed that Quintus Mamilius, handing over his judicial duties to his colleague,<sup>1</sup> should have command of Gaul with the army which Lucius Porcius, the praetor, had commanded; and he was ordered to lay waste the lands of the Gauls who had revolted to the Carthaginians upon the coming of Hasdrubal. The defence of Sicily was given to Gaius Servilius with the two legions from Cannae, just as Gaius Mamilius had held it. From Sardinia the old army which Aulus Hostilius had commanded was withdrawn. A new legion which Tiberius Claudius should take across with him was enrolled by the consuls. Military authority was continued for the year for Quintus Claudius, to have Tarentum as his assignment, and for Gaius Hostilius Tubulus, who was to have Capua. Marcus Valerius, the proconsul, who had been in charge of the defence of the entire sea-coast of Sicily, was ordered to turn over thirty ships to Gaius Servilius, the praetor, and to return to the city with all the rest of his fleet.

XI. In the state perturbed by so critical a moment in the war, since men attributed to the gods the causes of everything fortunate and unfortunate,

2 deos verterent, multa prodigia nuntiabantur: Tarracinae Iovis aedem, Satrici Matris<sup>1</sup> Matutae de caelo tactam; Satricanos haud minus terrebant in aedem Iovis foribus ipsis duo perlapsi angues; ab Antio nuntiatum est cruentas spicas metentibus visas  
 3 esse; Caere porcus biceps et agnus mas idem feminaque natus erat; et Albae duo soles visos ferebant  
 4 et nocte Fregellis lucem obortam; et bos in agro Romano locutus, et ara Neptuni multo manasse sudore<sup>2</sup> in circo Flaminio dicebatur, et aedes Cereris,  
 5 Salutis, Quirini de caelo tactae. Prodigia consules hostiis maioribus procurare iussi et supplicationem unum diem habere; ea ex senatus consulto facta.  
 6 Plus omnibus aut nuntiatis peregre aut visis domi prodigiis terruit animos hominum ignis in aede Vestae extinctus, caesaque flagro est Vestalis cuius custodia eius noctis fuerat iussu P. Licini pontificis.  
 7 Id quamquam nihil portendentibus deis ceterum neglegentia humana acciderat, tamen et hostiis maioribus procurari et supplicationem ad Vestae haberi placuit.  
 8 Priusquam proficerentur consules ad bellum, moniti<sup>3</sup> a senatu sunt ut in agros reducendae plebis curam haberent: deum benignitate summotum bellum ab urbe Romana et Latio esse, et<sup>4</sup> posse sine

<sup>1</sup> Matris, after this P(1)N om. as far as Satri-: supplied by A·N·JK Aldus, Froben.

<sup>2</sup> manasse sudore P(1)N Aldus: sudore manasse JK Froben 2.

<sup>3</sup> moniti P(1)N Aldus: admoniti Sp?A·JK Froben 2.

<sup>4</sup> et Sp.A·N·JK Froben 2: om. P(1)N Aldus.

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<sup>1</sup> As in XXII. i. 10, also at Antium.

<sup>2</sup> Probably an aurora; cf. note on XXIX. xiv. 3.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. pontifex maximus, elected in 212 B.C.; XXV. v. 2-4.

many portents were reported : that at Tarracina the temple of Jupiter, at Satricum that of Mater Matuta, had been struck by lightning. The people of Satricum were no less alarmed by two serpents that glided into the temple of Jupiter, actually through the doorway. From Antium it was reported that ears of grain appeared to the reapers to be blood-stained.<sup>1</sup> At Caere a pig had been born with two heads and a lamb that was at the same time male and female ; and at Alba they said that two suns were seen, and at Fregellae that light had appeared in the night ;<sup>2</sup> and an ox was said to have spoken in the country about Rome, and the altar of Neptune in the Flaminian Circus to have been dripping with sweat ; and the temples of Ceres and Salus and Quirinus to have been struck by lightning. The consuls were bidden to expiate the prodigies with full-grown victims and to have a single day of prayer observed. Both orders were carried out in accordance with the decree of the senate. More terrifying to men than all the prodigies, whether reported from outside or seen in the city, was the extinction of the fire in the Temple of Vesta ; and the Vestal who had been on duty that night was scourged by order of Publius Licinius, the pontifex.<sup>3</sup> Although the thing had happened without a portent from the gods but by a mortal's negligence, it was nevertheless decided that it should be expiated by full-grown victims and that a day of prayer at the Temple of Vesta should be observed.

Before the consuls should leave for the field they were reminded by the senate that they should take care to restore the common people to their farms. By the favour of the gods the war had been removed, they said, from the city of Rome and from Latium,

metu in agris habitari; minime<sup>1</sup> convenire Siciliae  
 quam Italiae colendae maiorem curam esse. Sed res  
 haudquaquam erat populo facilis, et<sup>2</sup> liberis cultoribus  
 bello absumptis et inopia servitiorum et pecore  
 direpto villisque dirutis aut incensis. Magna tamen  
 pars auctoritate consulum compulsa in agros remi-  
 gravit. Moverant autem huiusce rei mentionem  
 Placentinorum et Cremonensium legati, querentes  
 agrum suum ab accolis Gallis incurvare ac vastari,  
 magnamque partem colonorum suorum dilapsam  
 esse, et iam infrequentis se urbes, agrum vastum ac  
 desertum habere. Mamilio praetori mandatum ut  
 colonias ab hoste tueretur; consules ex senatus con-  
 sulto edixerunt ut qui cives Cremonenses atque  
 Placentini essent ante certam diem in colonias re-  
 verterentur. Principio deinde veris et ipsi ad bellum  
 profecti sunt.

Q. Caecilius consul exercitum ab C. Nerone, L.  
 Veturius a Q. Claudio propraetore accepit novisque  
 militibus quos ipse conscripserat supplevit. In  
 Consentinum agrum consules exercitum duxerunt,  
 passimque depopulati, cum agmen iam grave praeda  
 esset, in saltu angusto a Bruttii iaculatoribusque  
 Numidis turbati sunt ita ut non praeda tantum sed  
 armati quoque in periculo fuerint. Maior tamen  
 tumultus quam pugna fuit, et praemissa praeda in-  
 colums legiones in loca culta evasere. Inde<sup>3</sup> in

<sup>1</sup> metu . . . minime *A<sup>4</sup>N<sup>4</sup>(JK with habitare)*: om. *P(1)N*.

<sup>2</sup> et *A<sup>4</sup>N<sup>4</sup>JK Aldus*: om. *P(1)N*.

<sup>3</sup> Inde *N<sup>2</sup>* or *N<sup>4</sup>JK Aldus*: om. *P(1)N*.

and it was possible to live on the farms without fear; b.c. 206 it was illogical to give more attention to the cultivation of Sicily than of Italy. But it was no easy matter for the people, since free farmers had been wiped out by the war, and there was a scarcity of slaves, while cattle had been stolen and farm-houses demolished or burned. A large proportion of the rustics, however, were constrained by the authority of the consuls to move back to their farms. The occasion for bringing up the matter had been the complaints of representatives of Placentia and Cremona that their territory was being raided and laid waste by neighbouring Gauls, and that a large part of their colonists had scattered, and that now they had sparsely peopled cities and land desolated and deserted. Mamilius, the praetor, was ordered to protect the colonies from the enemy. The consuls in accordance with a decree of the senate proclaimed that all citizens of Cremona and Placentia should return to their colonies before a fixed date. Then at the beginning of spring they also set out for the field.

Quintus Caecilius, the consul, received his army from Gaius Nero; Lucius Veturius took his from Quintus Claudius, the propraetor, and recruited it with fresh soldiers whom he had himself enrolled. The consuls led their army into the territory of Consentia and ravaged it far and wide. When the column was now laden with booty, they were so harried by Bruttians and Numidian spearmen in a narrow pass that not only the booty but also the troops were in danger. However, there was more commotion than battle; and sending the booty in advance the legions without loss made their way out into arable country. Thence the consul set out

## LIVY

A.U.C.  
543

Lucanos profecti; ea sine certamine tota gens in dicionem populi Romani rediit.

XII. Cum Hannibale nihil eo anno rei gestum est. Nam neque ipse se obtulit in tam recenti volnere publico privatoque neque lacerzierunt quietum Romani: tantam inesse vim, etsi omnia alia circa eum ruerent, in uno illo duce censebant. Ac nescio an mirabilior adversis quam secundis rebus fuerit, quippe qui, cum <sup>1</sup> in hostium terra per annos tredecim, tam procul ab domo, varia fortuna bellum gereret, exercitu non suo civili, sed mixto ex conluvione omnium gentium, quibus non lex, non mos, non lingua communis, aliis habitus, alia vestis, alia arma, alii ritus, alia sacra, alii prope dei essent, ita quodam uno vinculo copulaverit eos ut nulla nec inter ipsos nec adversus ducem seditio exstiterit, cum et pecunia saepe in stipendium et commeatus in hostium agro deessent,<sup>2</sup> quorum inopia priore Punico bello multa infanda inter duces militesque commissa fuerant. Post Hasdrubalis vero exercitum cum duce, in quibus spes omnis reposita victoriae fuerat, deletum cedendoque in angulum Bruttium cetera Italia concessum, cui non videatur mirabile nullum motum in castris factum?

7 Nam ad cetera id quoque accesserat ut ne alendi quidem exercitus nisi ex Bruttio agro spes esset, qui, ut

<sup>1</sup> qui cum *x* Crévier: qui cum et *x* Aldus, Froben: *cum A<sup>2</sup>N<sup>2</sup> or N<sup>4</sup>*: eum JK: et *P(1)A<sup>2</sup>N*.

<sup>2</sup> deessent *NJK Froben 2*: -set *P(1) Aldus*.

<sup>1</sup> This passage is obviously reminiscent of Polybius' tribute to Hannibal in a fragment of Book XI (xix. esp. 3-5). Cf. XXIII. v. 11; XXX. xxxiii. 8; XXIV. iii. 12.

for Lucania. That entire nation returned without a b.c. 206  
struggle to its allegiance to the Roman people.

XII. With Hannibal there was no campaigning that year. For neither did he invite attack, owing to his very recent wound, a blow national as well as personal, nor did the Romans provoke him so long as he remained inactive; such power they believed to be present in that one commander, even though everything else round him crashed. And I am inclined to think he was more marvellous in adversity than in success. For here he was, carrying on war in the enemy's land for thirteen years, so far from home with varying fortune, having an army not made up of his own citizens but a mixture of the offscourings of all nations, men who had in common no law, no custom, no language, differing from each other in bearing, in garb, in their arms, differing as to religious rites, sacred observances, one might almost say as to their gods. Yet he somehow bound them together by a single bond, so that no outbreak ensued among the men themselves nor any mutiny against their general.<sup>1</sup> Yet in the enemy's country both money to pay them and supplies were often wanting—deficiencies which in the previous Punic war had given rise to many unspeakable acts on the part of commanders and soldiers. Certainly after the destruction of Hasdrubal's army with its commander—and on them he had rested all his hope of victory—, when by retiring into the remote land of the Bruttii he had given up the rest of Italy, who would not find it a marvel that there was no outbreak in his camp? For added to everything else was this also, that he had no hope even of feeding his army except from the Bruttian region; and even supposing all of it to be under cultivation, it

omnis coleretur, exiguus tamen tanto alendo exercitui  
 8 erat; tum magnam partem iuventutis abstractam a  
 cultu agrorum bellum occupaverat et mos vitio  
 etiam insitus genti per<sup>1</sup> latrocinia militiam exercendi.  
 9 Nec ab domo quicquam mittebatur de Hispania  
 retinenda sollicitis, tamquam omnia prospera in  
 Italia essent.

10 In Hispania<sup>2</sup> res quadam ex parte eandem fortu-  
 nam, quadam longe disparem habebant: eandem  
 quod proelio victi Carthaginienses duce amisso in  
 ultimam Hispaniae oram usque ad Oceanum compulsi  
 11 erant, disparem autem quod Hispania non quam Italia  
 modo, sed quam ulla pars terrarum bello reparando  
 12 aptior erat locorum hominumque ingenii. Itaque  
 ergo prima Romanis inita provinciarum, quae quidem  
 continentis sint, postrema omnium nostra demum  
 aetate ductu auspicioque Augusti Caesaris perdomita  
 13 est. Ibi tum Hasdrubal Gisgonis, maximus clarissi-  
 musque eo bello secundum Barcinos dux, regressus ab  
 Gadibus rebellandi spe, adiuvante Magone Hamil-  
 caris filio, dilectibus per ulteriorem Hispaniam habitis  
 ad quinquaginta milia peditum, quattuor milia et  
 14 quingentos equites armavit. De equestribus copiis  
 ferme inter auctores convenit; peditum septua-  
 ginta milia quidam adducta ad Silpiam urbem

<sup>1</sup> per *Pz A z Aldus*: par *P(1)N*: inter *Sp? N\* JK Froben* 2.

<sup>2</sup> retinenda. . . . In Hispania *om.* *P(1)N*, *three lines*: supplied by *N\* A\* JK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>1</sup> Since Agrippa's completion of the conquest of north-  
 western Spain is evidently meant here, we have in this refer-

was nevertheless too small to feed so large an army. <sup>B.C. 206</sup>  
 Moreover a great part of the young men, drawn off from the farming of the land, had been claimed instead by the war and by their custom of training soldiers through brigandage, a practice viciously inbred in their nation. Furthermore, nothing was being sent from home, since they were concerned about their hold upon Spain, as though everything was succeeding in Italy.

In Spain the campaign was having an issue in part the same, in part very different : the same in that the Carthaginians, vanquished in battle with the loss of a general, had been forced to the farthest coast of Spain, even to the Ocean ; on the other hand different in that Spain, owing to the nature of the country and its people, was better adapted not merely than Italy but than any other part of the world to preparing for another war. In consequence, though the first of the provinces, at least of those on the mainland, to be entered by the Romans, it has been the last of all to be completely conquered, and not until our own times under the command and auspices of Augustus Caesar.<sup>1</sup> There Hasdrubal son of Gisgo, being the greatest and most distinguished general after the Barca family in that war, had at that time returned from Gades in the hope of renewing the war. After conducting levies in Farther Spain with the help of Mago the son of Hamilcar, he armed about fifty thousand infantry and four thousand five hundred cavalry. As to the cavalry forces there is substantial agreement among the authorities, but some writers state that seventy thousand foot-soldiers were

ence to a contemporary event evidence that Book XXVIII was written (or published) after 19 B.C.

## LIVY

A.U.C. 15 scribunt. Ibi super campos patentes duo duces  
 548 Poeni ea mente ne detectarent certamen conser-  
 derunt.<sup>1</sup>

XIII. Scipio, cum ad eum fama tanti comparati exercitus perlata esset, neque Romanis legionibus tantae se fore<sup>2</sup> parem multitudini ratus ut non in speciem saltem opponerentur barbarorum auxilia,  
 2 neque in iis tamen tantum virium ponendum ut mutando fidem, quae clavis causa fuisse patri patruoque,  
 3 magnum momentum facerent, praemisso Silano ad Culcham duodetriginta oppidis regnante, ut equites peditesque ab eo quos se per hiemem conscripturum  
 4 pollicitus erat acciperet, ipse ab Tarracone profectus protinus ab sociis qui accolunt viam modica contra-  
 5 hendo auxilia Castulonem pervenit. Eo adducta ab Silano auxilia, tria milia peditum et quingenti equites. Inde ad Baeculam urbem progressus<sup>3</sup> omni exercitu civium, sociorum, peditum equitumque quinque et  
 6 quadraginta milibus. Castra ponentes eos Mago et Masinissa cum omni equitatu adgressi sunt, tur-

<sup>1</sup> considerunt *B<sup>2</sup>ANJK Froben* 2, *Conway*: -siderunt *P(3) Aldus, Eds.*

<sup>2</sup> fore *P(3)N<sup>2</sup>* or *N<sup>4</sup> Eds.*: after parem *JKx*: *om. Sp Froben* 2, *Conway*.

<sup>3</sup> progressus *P(3) Eds.*: progressus cum *ANJK Aldus*: processum cum *Sp? Froben* 2, *Conway*.

<sup>1</sup> In the MSS. of Polybius 'ΗΑΙΠΤΑ (Elinga, unknown), probably an error for 'ΙΑΙΠΠΑ, *i.e.* Ilipa (accepted by his editors, XI. xx. 1). It lay 10 miles north of Hispalis (Seville), and on the right bank of the Baetis. Cf. XXXV. i. 10; Pliny *N.H.* III. 11; Strabo III. ii. 3; v. 9. For Livy's habit of substituting place-names familiar to his readers for those

brought to the city of Silpia.<sup>1</sup> There in open plains B.C. 206 the two Carthaginian generals established themselves, resolved not to refuse a battle.

XIII. Scipio, when the news reached him that they had got together so large an army, thought that with Roman legions alone he would be no match for such a multitude unless barbarian auxiliaries should confront them, at least for appearance' sake. Yet he felt that these must not compose so large a part of his forces that by changing sides—which had been the cause of disaster to his father and uncle—they might decide the outcome. Accordingly he sent Silanus in advance to Culchas,<sup>2</sup> who ruled over twenty-eight towns, in order to receive from him the cavalry and infantry which he had promised to enlist during the winter. Then Scipio himself set out from Tarraco, and gathering up as he went a moderate number of auxiliaries from the allies dwelling near the road, he arrived at Castulo.<sup>3</sup> Thither Silanus brought auxiliaries, three thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry. From there Scipio advanced to the city of Baecula<sup>4</sup> with the entire army, forty-five thousand legionaries and allies, infantry and cavalry. As they were pitching camp Mago and Masinissa with all their

used by Polybius cf. Ed. Meyer, *Kleine Schriften* II, 406 ff.; Veith in Kromayer, *Antike Schlachtfelder* IV, 518; Scullard, *Scipio Africanus in the Second Punic War* 127 f.

<sup>2</sup> Kolichas in Polybius *l.c.* §§ 3, 5.

<sup>3</sup> On a tributary of the upper Baetis, giving its name to the Saltus Castulonensis (Sierra Morena). The main road to Corduba and Gades passed through the city; Strabo III, iv. 9. fin. Cf. xix. 2, 4; xx. 8; XXIV. xli. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Vol. VII. p. 283 n. It was west of Castulo but on the same road. The site cannot be certainly determined, although it has been identified with Bailén. Cf. Polybius XI. xx. 5; Veith in Kromayer *op. cit.* IV. 503 ff.; Scullard *op. cit.* 300 ff.

bassentque munientes, ni abditi post tumulum opportune ad id positum ab Scipione equites improviso in effusos incurrisserent. Ei promptissimum quemque et proxime vallum atque in ipsos munitores primum invectum vixdum proelio inito fuderunt. Cum ceteris, qui sub signis atque ordine agminis incesserant, longior et diu ambigua pugna fuit. Sed cum ab stationibus primum expeditae cohortes, deinde ex opere deducti milites atque arma capere iussi plures usque<sup>1</sup> et integri fessis subirent,<sup>2</sup> magnumque iam agmen armatorum a castris in proelium rueret, terga haud dubie vertunt Poeni Numidaeque. Et primo turmatim abibant, nihil propter pavorem festinationemve confusis ordinibus; dein, postquam acrius ultimis incidebat Romanus neque sustineri impetus poterat, nihil iam ordinum memores passim, qua 10 cuique proximum fuit, in fugam effunduntur. Et quamquam eo proelio aliquantum et<sup>3</sup> Romanis aucti et deminuti hostibus animi erant, tamen numquam<sup>4</sup> per aliquot insequentes dies ab excursionibus equitum levisque armaturae cessatum est.

XIV. Ubi satis temptatae per haec levia certamina vires sunt, prior Hasdrubal in aciem copias eduxit,

<sup>1</sup> usque *Sp?JK Froben* 2: om. *P(1)N Aldus*.

<sup>2</sup> subirent *A'NzJK Aldus*: om. *P(1)N*.

<sup>3</sup> et *A'NzJK Aldus*: om. *P(1)N*.

<sup>4</sup> numquam *SpA'NzJK Aldus*: om. *P(1)N*.

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<sup>1</sup> The reader would naturally assume that this attack and the important battle which follows took place very near Baecula. But at xii. 14 the Carthaginian generals were encamped near Silpia (Ilipa), *i.e.* less than 60 miles from the Atlantic at the nearest point, while Baecula is 130 miles farther in a straight line. In Polybius it is Scipio who does the marching (XI. xx. 9). No long march of the Carthaginians to meet him is mentioned, and near Baecula there is

cavalry attacked them<sup>1</sup> and would have thrown the men working on the fortifications into confusion, had not cavalry concealed by Scipio behind a hill favourably situated for the purpose unexpectedly charged them in their disorder. These horsemen at the very beginning of the battle put to flight the most active and those who had been the first to ride up close to the earthwork and even among the men at work. With the rest, who had advanced under their standards and in marching order, the battle was more protracted and for a long time indecisive. But when light cohorts at first drawn off from the outposts, and then soldiers withdrawn from work on the fortifications and ordered to take up arms, came up in increasing number, and fresh to assist the weary, while by this time a long column of men under arms was dashing out from camp into battle, Carthaginians and Numidians thereupon faced about in unmistakable retreat. And at first they were retiring by troops, while their ranks were not at all broken on account of fear or haste. Then when the Roman fell more fiercely upon their rear and the attack could not be withstood, no longer mindful of their ranks, they scattered in flight hither and thither, each taking the shortest way. And although the spirit of the Romans was notably higher in consequence of that battle and that of the enemy notably lowered, still for some days following there was never any respite from sudden attacks by cavalry and light-armed.

XIV. When his forces had been sufficiently tested by these skirmishes, Hasdrubal was the first to lead no open plain suited to this battle. Hence this was near modern Seville and not a "second battle of Baecula," as Mommsen, Ihne and others have it.

## LIVY

A.U.C.  
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- 2 deinde et Romani processere. Sed utraque acies pro vallo stetit instructa, et cum ab neutris pugna coepita esset, iam die ad occasum inclinante a Poeno prius, deinde ab Romano in castra copiae reductae.
- 3 Hoc idem per dies aliquot factum. Prior semper Poenus copias castris educebat, prior fessis stando signum receptui dabat; ab neutra parte procursum
- 4 telumve missum aut vox ulla orta. Medium aciem hinc Romani illinc Carthaginienses mixti Afris, cornua socii tenebant—erant autem utrisque<sup>1</sup> Hispani—; pro cornibus ante Punicam aciem elephanti
- 5 castellorum procul speciem praebabant. Iam hoc in utrisque castris sermonis erat, ita ut instructi stetissent pugnatores; medias acies, Romanum Poenumque, quos inter belli causa esset, pari robore
- 6 animorum armorumque concursuros. Scipio ubi hoc obstinate credi<sup>2</sup> animadvertisit, omnia de industria
- 7 in eum diem quo pugnaturus erat mutavit. Tesseram vesperi per castra dedit ut ante lucem viri equique curati et<sup>3</sup> pransi essent, armatus eques frenatos instratosque teneret equos.
- 8 Vixdum satis certa luce equitatum omnem cum

<sup>1</sup> utrisque *P(1)N*: utrimque *N<sup>1</sup>JK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>2</sup> hoc . . . credi *JK Conway* (*with haec most Eds.*): haec . . . credita *P(1)N Aldus, Froben, Alschefski, Weissenborn.*

<sup>3</sup> et supplied by *Lipsius, Eds.*: om. *P(1)N Conway*: curati also is om. by *Sp<sup>2</sup>JK Froben 2.*

<sup>1</sup> Some of the elephants carried on their backs a crenellated tower from which javelins were hurled by four or more soldiers posted on the tower; hence the resemblance to forts; XXXVII. xl. 4; cf. Curtius VIII. xii. 7; Pliny *N.H.* VIII. 22 and 27; Lucretius V. 1302. Such *elephanti turriti* are represented in terracotta figures and on painted ware.

his troops out into battle-line ; then the Roman also B.C. 206 went forward. But each of the two lines stood drawn up in front of its earthwork, and when neither side had begun the battle and the day was now nearing sunset, the troops were led back into camp, first by the Carthaginian and then by the Roman. The same thing happened for a number of days. Always the first to lead his troops out of camp, the first to sound the recall for his men weary of standing still, would be the Carthaginian. From neither side was there a charge, or a missile hurled, or any raising of a shout. The centre was held on one side by the Romans, on the other by the Carthaginians combined with Africans, the wings by their allies, and for both armies these were Spanish troops. In front of the wings, in advance of the Punic line of battle, the elephants presented from a distance the appearance of forts.<sup>1</sup> Already it was common talk in both camps that they were to fight in the formation in which they had stood ; that the centres, the Roman and Carthaginian troops, between whom lay the cause of the war, would clash, evenly matched in spirit and in arms. When Scipio observed that this was a persistent belief, he deliberately changed everything for the day on which he was to give battle. At evening he passed a written order through the camp that before daybreak the horses should be cared for and the men have breakfast, that the horsemen under arms should keep their mounts bridled and saddled.<sup>2</sup>

It was not yet quite daylight when he sent all his

<sup>2</sup> Not quite literal for this period. Primarily the word has to do with a cloth kept in place by a girth and straps. Evolution of cloth into saddle was slow.

levi armatura in stationes Punicas immisit; inde confestim ipse cum gravi agmine legionum procedit,  
 9 praeter opinionem destinatam suorum hostiumque Romano milite cornibus firmatis, sociis in medium  
 10 aciem acceptis. Hasdrubal clamore equitum ex-  
 citatus ut ex tabernaculo prosiluit tumultumque ante vallum et trepidationem suorum et procul signa legionum fulgentia plenosque hostium campos vidit,  
 11 equitatum omnem extemplo in equites emittit; ipse cum peditum agmine castris egreditur, nec ex ordine  
 12 solito quicquam acie instruenda mutat. Equitum iam diu anceps pugna erat nec ipsa per se decerni poterat,<sup>1</sup> quia pulsis, quod prope in vicem fiebat, in  
 13 aciem peditum tutus receptus erat; sed ubi iam haud plus quingentos passus acies inter sese aberant, signo receptui dato Scipio patefactisque ordinibus equitatum omnem levemque armaturam, in medium acceptam divisamque in partes duas, in subsidiis post  
 14 cornua locat. Inde, ubi incipiendae iam pugnae tempus erat, Hispanos—ea media acies fuit—  
 15 presso gradu incedere iubet; ipse e<sup>2</sup> dextro cornu —ibi namque praeerat—nuntium ad Silanum et Marcium mittit ut cornu extenderent in sinistram partem, quem ad modum se tendentem ad dextram  
 16 vidissent, et cum expeditis peditum equitumque prius pugnam consererent cum hoste quam coire inter se

<sup>1</sup> ipsa . . . poterat om. *Spx*: supplied from *P(1)NJK*.  
<sup>2</sup> e om. *Sp?JK*.

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<sup>1</sup> For this battle of Ilipa see the works already cited: Scullard, 126 ff. with plan; Veith, 517 ff. with map.

## BOOK XXVIII. xiv. 8-16

cavalry with the light-armed against the Punic B.C. 206 outposts.<sup>1</sup> Immediately afterwards he himself with the heavy column of the legions went forward, and contrary to the fixed idea of his own men and of the enemy, he formed strong wings of his Roman soldiers, while the allies were taken into the centre. When Hasdrubal, who was aroused by the shouts of the horsemen, sprang out of his tent and saw the uproar outside his earthwork and the excitement among his men, and in the distance the gleaming standards of the legions and the plain filled with the enemy, he forthwith sent out all his cavalry against the horsemen. As for himself, he marched out of the camp with the infantry column, and in drawing up his line made no change from the customary order. The cavalry engagement had long been uncertain, and by itself it could not be decisive because when repulsed—and this repeatedly happened almost by turns—they could safely retire into the infantry line. But when the lines of battle were not more than half a mile apart, Scipio sounding the recall and opening his ranks admitted all the cavalry and the light-armed into the centre; and dividing them into two sections he posted them as a reserve behind the wings. Then, when it was now time to begin the battle, he ordered the Spaniards—they formed the centre of the line—to advance at a slow pace. From the right wing—for he was himself in command there—he sent a message to Silanus and Marcius<sup>2</sup> that they should prolong their wing towards the left, just as they had seen him pressing to the right, and with the light infantry and cavalry should engage the enemy

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vol. VII. pp. 5 *fin.*, 65 (and notes), 77. Repeatedly mentioned in this Book.

A.U.C. 17 mediae acies possent. Ita diductis cornibus cum  
 543 ternis peditum cohortibus ternisque equitum turmis,  
 ad hoc velitibus, citato gradu in hostem ducebant,  
 18 sequentibus in obliquum aliis. Sinus in medio erat,  
 qua segnissimus Hispanorum signa incedebant.  
 19 Et iam conflixerant cornua, cum quod roboris in  
 hostium acie<sup>1</sup> erat, Poeni veterani Afrique, nondum  
 ad teli coniectum venissent, neque in cornua, ut  
 adiuvarent pugnantes, discurrere auderent, ne  
 aperirent medium aciem venienti ex adverso hosti.  
 20 Cornua ancipiti proelio urgebantur: eques levisque  
 armatura ac<sup>2</sup> velites circumductis alis in latera  
 incurrebant; cohortes a fronte urgebant, ut abrum-  
 perent cornua a cetera acie. XV. Et cum ab omni  
 parte haudquaquam par pugna erat, tum quod turba<sup>3</sup>  
 Balarium tironumque Hispanorum Romano Latino-  
 que militi obiecta erat. Et procedente iam die  
 vires etiam<sup>4</sup> deficere Hasdrubalis exercitum coe-  
 perant, oppressos matutino tumultu coactosque  
 priusquam cibo corpora firmarent, raptim in aciem

<sup>1</sup> hostium acie JK : acie hostium P(1)N.

<sup>2</sup> ac Madrig, Emend., Conway : et Aldus, Froben : om.  
 P(1)NJK.

<sup>3</sup> turba JK Aldus, Froben : pugna P(1)N.

<sup>4</sup> die vires etiam A'N\*JK Eds. : om. P(1)N.

<sup>1</sup> Here Polybius XI. xxiii has a detailed account of complicated movements executed by the Roman wings in order to outflank the weaker Carthaginian wings before fighting could reach the centre of the lines. Cf. Scullard *op. cit.* 132 ff.; Veith, 522 ff.

<sup>2</sup> It has been held that Livy here mistranslated Polybius, who meant maniples. Everything depends upon the interpretation of *τρεῖς σπεῖρας* and a following parenthesis, "this infantry unit is called a cohort (*κοόπτις*) by the Romans"

before the centres could come together.<sup>1</sup> Thus B.C. 206 extending the wings, with three cohorts<sup>2</sup> of infantry and three troops of cavalry on each wing, and with skirmishers in addition, they led at a rapid pace against the enemy, while the rest followed them obliquely. In the centre was a curve where the Spanish units were more slowly advancing.

By this time the wings were already engaged, while the main strength of the enemy's line, the veteran Carthaginians and Africans, had not yet come within range, and did not dare to dash towards the wings to help the combatants, for fear of exposing the centre to the enemy directly advancing. The wings were being hard pressed by a double attack; cavalry and light-armed and skirmishers with enclosing wings were charging into their flanks, while the cohorts were pressing them in front, endeavouring to cut off the wings from the rest of the battle-line. XV. And not only was the battle in general far from being evenly matched, but especially because the horde of Baliares and Spanish recruits had been made to face Roman and Latin soldiers. Besides, as the day now wore on their strength also began to fail Hasdrubal's soldiers, who had been surprised by an early morning onslaught and compelled to go out into line in haste before they

(XI. xxiii. 1). It remains debatable whether "this unit" refers to the single *σπείρα*, which must then be a maniple, or to the three combined to make a cohort. For *manipulus* the regular word was *σημεῖα*. Later on *σπείρα* came to be cohort almost invariably. But in Polybius' time one could use either *σημεῖα* or *σπείρα* in the same meaning, as VI. xxiv. 5; so even in the same sentence, as *l.c.* § 8; III. cxiii. 3; XV. ix. 7. In this battle the larger number, 1800 men, seems absolutely required. Cf. Veith *l.c.*; F. G. Moore, *Classical Weekly*, XXXVII. 238 f.

3 exire. Et<sup>1</sup> ad id sedulo diem extraxerat Scipio ut  
 sera pugna esset; nam ab septima demum hora pe-  
 4 ditum signa cornibus incucurrerunt<sup>2</sup>; ad medias acies  
 aliquanto serius pervenit pugna, ita ut prius aestus  
 a meridiano sole laborque standi sub armis et simul  
 fames sitisque corpora adficerent quam manus cum  
 5 hoste consererent. Itaque steterunt scutis innixi.  
 Iam<sup>3</sup> super cetera elephanti etiam, tumultuoso  
 genere pugnae equitum velitumque et levis arma-  
 turae consternati, e cornibus in medium aciem sese  
 6 intulerant. Fessi igitur corporibus animisque rettu-  
 lere pedem, ordines tamen servantes, haud secus  
 quam si imperio ducis cederet<sup>4</sup> integra acies.<sup>5</sup>  
 7 Sed cum eo ipso acrius, ubi inclinatam sensere rem,  
 victores se undique inveharent, nec facile impetus  
 8 sustineri posset, quamquam retinebat obsistebatque  
 cedentibus Hasdrubal, ab tergo esse colles tutumque  
 9 receptum, si modice se reciperent, clamitans, tamen  
 vincente metu verecundiam, cum proximus quisque  
 hostem caderet,<sup>6</sup> terga extemplo data, atque in fugam  
 10 sese omnes effuderunt. Ac primo consistere<sup>7</sup> signa  
 in radicibus collium ac revocare in ordines militem  
 cooperant cunctantibus in adversum collem erigere  
 aciem Romanis; deinde, ut inferri in pigre signa  
 viderunt, integrata fuga in castra pavidi compel-

<sup>1</sup> Et *Nx*: om. *P(1)NJK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>2</sup> ineucurrerunt *P(3)N*: incur- *B Aldus*: concur- *Sp?JK Froben* 2.

<sup>3</sup> Iam *Weissenborn*: nam *P(1)NJK*.

<sup>4</sup> cederet *JK Aldus, Froben, Conway*: cederent *P(1)N Eds.*

<sup>5</sup> acies *P(1)NJK Aldus, Conway*: acie *Weissenborn, Eds.*

<sup>6</sup> caderet *Madrig, Luchs, Riemann*: cederet *P(3)A'N'JK Weissenborn, Conway*.

<sup>7</sup> consistere *P(1)NJK Weissenborn, Conway*: constituere *Duker, Eds.*

## BOOK XXVIII. xv. 2-10

could take food to sustain them. And Scipio had <sup>B.C. 206</sup> deliberately dragged out the day, in order that the battle might be belated. For it was not until the seventh hour that the infantry units<sup>1</sup> charged the wings. The battle reached the centre of the lines considerably later, so that the heat of the midday sun and the strain of standing under arms, and at the same time hunger and thirst, weakened their bodies before they engaged the enemy. Accordingly they stood resting on their shields. By this time, in addition to everything else, the elephants also took fright at the skirmishing tactics of cavalry and skirmishers and light-armed and had shifted from the wings into the centre. Weakened therefore in body and spirit the men retreated, keeping their ranks nevertheless, just as if by order of the general the line was giving way intact.

But when the victors, on seeing that the tide of battle had turned, for that reason charged with more spirit from all sides, and it was not easy to withstand their attack, although Hasdrubal tried to hold his men back and confronted them as they gave way, shouting to them again and again that in the rear there were hills and a safe refuge if they retired slowly. Nevertheless, as fear overcame their respect for him and those nearest to the enemy were falling, at once they faced about and all took to flight. And at first the standard-bearers began to halt at the foot of the hills and to call the soldiers back into their ranks, while the Romans hesitated to advance their line up the hill. Then when the enemy saw the standards coming bravely on, they resumed their flight and were

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* those of xiv. 17, three cohorts on each wing (Veith), or one cohort as the passage has been commonly understood.

A.U.C. 548 11 luntur. Nec procul vallo Romanus aberat, cepissetque tanto impetu castra, nisi<sup>1</sup> ex vehementi sole, qualis inter graves imbre nubes effulget, tanta vis aquae deiecta esset<sup>2</sup> ut vix in castra sua receperint se victores, quosdam etiam religio ceperit<sup>3</sup> ulterius 12 quicquam eo die conandi. Carthaginenses, quamquam fessos labore ac volneribus nox imberque ad 13 necessariam quietem vocabat, tamen, quia metus et periculum cessandi non dabat tempus, prima luce oppugnaturis hostibus castra, saxis undique circa ex propinquis vallibus congestis augent vallum, munimento sese, quando in armis parum praesidii foret, 14 defensuri. Sed transitio sociorum fuga ut tutior mora videretur fecit. Principium defectionis ab 15 Attene regulo Turdetanorum factum est; is cum magna popularium manu transfugit; inde duo munita oppida cum praesidiis tradita a praefectis 16 Romano. Et ne latius inclinatis semel ad defectiōnem animis serperet res, silentio proximae noctis Hasdrubal castra movet.

XVI. Scipio, ut prima luce qui in stationibus erant rettulerunt profectos hostes, praemissō equitatu signa 2 ferri iubet; adeoque citato agmine ducti sunt ut, si via recta vestigia sequentes issent, haud dubie adsecuturi fuerint; ducibus<sup>4</sup> est creditum brevius aliud esse iter ad Baetim fluvium, ut transeuntes 3 adgrederentur. Hasdrubal clauso transitu fluminis

<sup>1</sup> nisi *P<sup>4</sup>RAN<sup>2</sup>* or *N<sup>1</sup>JK* Aldus, Conway: ni se *P(3)* Eds.

<sup>2</sup> deiecta esset *N<sup>1</sup>JK* Aldus, Froben, Conway: deiecisset *P(1)N* Eds.

<sup>3</sup> ceperit *P(3)NJ* Aldus: ceperat *Sp* Froben 2: cepit *K*: coeperit *CRB*.

<sup>4</sup> ducibus, before this *AN* Aldus have sed.

driven panic-stricken into camp. Not far from the B.C. 206 earthwork were the Romans ; and by such momentum they would have captured the camp if, after a blazing sun, such as shines out in the midst of clouds heavy with rain, there had not been so extraordinary a down-pour that the victors with difficulty retired to their camp, and had not some been beset by scruples also against any further attempt that day. The Carthaginians, although night and pouring rain invited them to needed rest, being weak from exertion and wounds, nevertheless, because fear and danger gave them no time to be idle when the enemy would attack the camp at daybreak, raised their earthwork by gathering stones from near-by valleys all round, intending to defend themselves by a fortification, since in their arms they would have no sufficient protection. But the desertion of their allies made flight seem safer than delay. Defection began with Attenes, prince of the Turdetani, who deserted with a large force of his tribesmen. Then two fortified towns were handed over with their garrisons to the Roman by their commanders. And for fear the mischief might spread farther, now that men were once disposed to change sides, Hasdrubal moved his camp in the silence of the following night.

XVI. Scipio, when men on outpost duty reported at daylight that the enemy had left, sent his cavalry ahead and ordered the standards to advance. The column also marched at such a pace that, if they had directly followed the enemy's track, they would undoubtedly have overtaken them. They believed the guides that there was another shorter road to the river Baetis, by which they might attack the enemy while crossing over. Hasdrubal, finding the passage

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ad Oceanum flectit, et iam inde fugientium modo effusi abibant; itaque<sup>1</sup> ab legionibus Romanis ali-  
 4 quantum intervalli fecit; eques levisque armatura nunc ab tergo nunc ab lateribus occurrendo fatigabat  
 5 morabaturque; sed<sup>2</sup> cum ad crebros tumultus signa consisterent et nunc equestria nunc cum velitibus auxiliisque peditum proelia consererent, super-  
 6 venerunt legiones. Inde non iam pugna sed truci-  
 datio velut pecorum fieri, donec ipse dux fugae auctor in proximos colles cum sex milibus ferme  
 7 semermium evasit; ceteri caesi captique. Castra tumultuaria raptim Poeni tumulo editissimo com-  
 muniverunt, atque inde, cum hostis nequ quam subire iniquo ascensu conatus esset,<sup>3</sup> haud difficulter  
 8 sese tutati sunt. Sed obsidio in loco nudo atque inopi vix in paucos dies tolerabilis erat; itaque transitiones ad hostem fiebant. Postremo dux ipse navibus accitis<sup>4</sup>—nec procul inde aberat mare—nocte relicto  
 9 exercitu Gades perfugit. Scipio fuga ducis hostium audita decem milia peditum mille equites relinquit  
 10 Silano ad castrorum obsidionem; ipse cum ceteris copiis septuagensimis castris, protinus causis regulorum civitatumque cognoscendis, ut praemia ad veram meritorum aestimationem tribui possent,  
 11 Tarraconem rediit. Post profectionem eius Masi-

<sup>1</sup> itaque *P(1)N*: idque *NJK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>2</sup> sed *P(3)NJK Aldus, Froben*: et *C Madvig, Emend.*

<sup>3</sup> conatus esset *P(1)N Aldus*: -ti essent *SpJK Froben* 2 (*with hostes above*).

<sup>4</sup> accitis *Weissenborn*: acceptis *P<sup>2</sup>(1)NJK Aldus*: ac-  
 cipitis *P.*

<sup>1</sup> Hasdrubal had intended to cross the Baetis and then retreat to Gades (total distance about 75 miles to the harbour of that city). But now he is obliged to remain on the right bank, thus increasing the distance considerably.

of the river closed, turned aside towards the Ocean,<sup>1</sup> B.C. 206 and henceforward, scattering like fugitives, away they went. Thus he put a considerable distance between himself and the Roman legions. Cavalry and light-armed, dashing upon them now from the rear, now on the flanks, kept wearing them out and delaying them. But when in view of the numerous clashes the standards came to a halt and the men were engaged now with cavalry, now with skirmishers and auxiliary infantry, the legions came up. Thereafter it was no longer a battle but a slaughter as of cattle, until the general, himself now approving their flight, escaped to the nearest hills with some six thousand half-armed men. The rest were slain or captured. The Carthaginians hastily fortified an improvised camp on a very high hill and from it they defended themselves without difficulty, since the enemy had tried in vain to come up the steep slope. But in an exposed situation which furnished nothing a siege was scarcely endurable even for a few days. Accordingly there were repeated desertions to the enemy. Finally the general himself sent for ships<sup>2</sup>—the sea was not far away—and leaving his army by night he escaped to Gades. Scipio, learning of the flight of the enemy's general, left Silanus ten thousand infantry and a thousand cavalry to besiege the camp. With the rest of the forces he himself returned to Tarraco in seventy days' marches,<sup>3</sup> hearing the cases of chiefs and states as he proceeded, in order to bestow rewards according to the real worth of their services. After his departure Masi-

<sup>2</sup> From Gades; cf. § 13.

<sup>3</sup> The slow progress is explained by what immediately follows.

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nissa cum Silano clam congressus, ut ad nova consilia  
gentem quoque suam oboedientem haberet, cum  
12 paucis popularibus in Africam traiecit, non tam  
evidenti eo<sup>1</sup> tempore subitae mutationis causa quam  
documento post id tempus constantissimae ad ultimi-  
mam senectam fidei ne tum quidem eum sine proba-  
13 bili causa fecisse. Mago inde remissis ab Hasdrubale  
navibus Gades petit; ceteri deserti ab ducibus, pars  
transitione, pars<sup>2</sup> fuga dissupati per proximas civi-  
tates sunt, nulla numero aut viribus manus insignis.  
14 Hoc maxime modo ductu atque auspicio P. Scipionis pulsi Hispania Carthaginenses sunt, quarto  
decimo anno post bellum initum, quinto quam<sup>3</sup> P.  
15 Scipio provinciam et exercitum accepit. Haud multo  
post Silanus debellatum referens Tarragonem ad  
Scipionem rediit. XVII. L. Scipio cum multis  
nobilibus captivis nuntius receptae Hispaniae Romam  
2 est missus. Et<sup>4</sup> cum ceteri laetitia gloriaque  
genti eam rem volgo ferrent, unus qui gesserat, in-  
explebilis virtutis veraeque laudis, parvum instar  
eorum quae spe ac magnitudine animi concepisset  
3 receptas Hispanias ducebat. Iam Africam magnam-  
que Carthaginem et in suum decus nomenque velut

<sup>1</sup> eo N<sup>o</sup>JK Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)N: illo Weissenborn.

<sup>2</sup> pars om. P(1)N.

<sup>3</sup> quam P(3)K; postquam ANSp?J Aldus.

<sup>4</sup> Et P(1)NJK Aldus: sed Madvig.

<sup>1</sup> He lived on until 148 B.C., upwards of 90 years old, and  
reigned 60 years; App. *Pun.* 106; Pliny *N.H.* VII. 156.

<sup>2</sup> An error corrected by x. 8 and xxxviii. 12, the 14th year  
of the war being 205 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> Livy had assigned Scipio's arrival in Spain to the year  
211 B.C.; XXVI. xix, 11 ff. Consequently he placed the  
capture of New Carthage in 210 B.C. See Vol. VII. notes on  
pp. 68, 230, 296; Scullard, 304 ff.

nissa conferred secretly with Silanus, then crossed over to Africa with a few of his countrymen, in order that in changing his policy he might count upon the obedience of his nation also. The reason for his sudden change was not so clear then as was later the evidence furnished by a loyalty unswerving down to extreme age,<sup>1</sup> that even at that time he had not acted without a reasonable ground. Mago then reached Gades on the ships sent back by Hasdrubal. The rest, abandoned by their generals, were scattered, some by desertion, others by flight, among the neighbouring states; no force remained which was notable for its numbers or its strength.

So much in general for the manner in which under the command and auspices of Publius Scipio the Carthaginians were driven out of Spain in the fourteenth year<sup>2</sup> from the beginning of the war, the fifth<sup>3</sup> after Publius Scipio received his province and army. Not much later Silanus returned to Scipio at Tarraco, reporting the war at an end.<sup>4</sup> XVII. Lucius Scipio with many noble captives was sent to Rome to announce the conquest of Spain. And while everyone else was publishing the fact abroad with great rejoicing and high praise, the one man who had accomplished it was insatiable in his craving for merit and well-earned distinction. He considered the conquest of Spain insignificant compared with all that he had imagined in his high-minded hopes. Already his eye was upon Africa and the greater Carthage and the glory of such a war, as if

<sup>4</sup> Although his readers would here infer that a campaign has now been completed, the historian goes on to include a seemingly impossible range of operations within what remained of the same year, 206 B.C.

4 consummatam eius belli gloriam spectabat. Itaque  
 praemoliendas sibi ratus iam res conciliandosque  
 regum gentiumque animos, Syphacem primum  
 5 regem statuit temptare. Masaesuliorum is rex  
 erat. Masaesulii, gens adfinis Mauris, in regionem  
 Hispaniae maxime qua sita Nova Carthago est spec-  
 6 tant. Foedus ea tempestate regi cum Carthaginien-  
 7 sibus erat; quod haud gravius ei sanctiusque quam  
 volgo barbaris, quibus ex fortuna pendet fides, ratus  
 fore, oratorem ad eum C. Laelium cum donis mittit.  
 8 Quibus barbarus laetus, et quia res tum prosperae  
 ubique Romanis, Poenis<sup>1</sup> in Italia adversae, in His-  
 pania nullae iam erant, amicitiam se Romanorum  
 accipere annuit: firmatae eius fidem nec dare nec  
 9 accipere nisi cum ipso coram duce Romano. Ita  
 Laelius in id modo fide ab rege accepta, tutum adven-  
 tum fore, ad Scipionem redit.

10 Magnum in omnia momentum Syphax adfectanti  
 res Africae erat,<sup>2</sup> opulentissimus eius terrae rex,<sup>3</sup>  
 bello iam expertus ipsos Carthaginienses, finibus  
 etiam regni apte ad Hispaniam, quod freto exiguo  
 11 dirimuntur, positis. Dignam itaque rem Scipio ratus  
 quae, quoniam aliter non<sup>4</sup> posset, magno periculo  
 peteretur, L. Marcio Tarracone, M. Silano Cartha-  
 gine Nova, quo pedibus ab Tarracone itineribus mag-  
 12 nis ierat, ad praesidium Hispaniae relictis, ipse cum

<sup>1</sup> Poenis *BSp?JK Froben* 2: poenis autem *P(3)BzN Aldus.*

<sup>2</sup> Africae erat *JK Froben* 2: erat Africae *P(1)N Aldus.*

<sup>3</sup> rex *Sp?A?JK Froben* 2: *om. P(1)N Aldus.*

<sup>4</sup> aliter non *x Luchs*: non aliter *P(1)NJK Aldus, Froben, Conway.*

accumulated to bring him honour and a name. Accord- B.C. 206  
ingly, thinking that he must already make prepara-  
tions and gain the goodwill of kings and tribes, he  
decided first to sound King Syphax. He was the king  
of the Masaesulians. A tribe bordering on the Mauri,  
the Masaesulians directly face the region of Spain in  
which lies New Carthage. At that time the king  
had a treaty with the Carthaginians; and Scipio,  
thinking it would have for Syphax no more weight  
and sanctity than is usual for barbarians, with whom  
loyalty depends upon success, sent Gaius Laelius as  
an envoy to him with gifts. Delighted with these,  
and since at that time the situation was everywhere  
favourable for the Romans but for the Carthaginians  
unfavourable in Italy and now quite hopeless in Spain,  
the barbarian indicated that he would accept the  
friendship of the Romans; that for its confirmation  
he would neither give nor receive a pledge except  
in the actual presence of the Roman commander.  
So Laelius, having received from the king a promise  
to this effect only, that for the visit safety would be  
assured, returned to Scipio.

A factor of great importance in every respect for a man planning an attack upon Africa was Syphax, the richest king in that land and one who had already gained experience even of the Carthaginians in war, while boundaries of his kingdom were also well situated with reference to Spain in being separated from it by a narrow strait only. Consequently Scipio thought the matter deserved to be pursued even at a great risk, since it was otherwise impossible. Leaving Lucius Marcius at Tarraco and Marcus Silanus at New Carthage—to which he had come by land in long stages from Tarraco—that they might defend Spain,

C. Laelio duabus quinqueremibus ab Carthagine profectus tranquillo mari plurimum remis, interdum et  
 13 leni adiuvante<sup>1</sup> vento, in Africam traiecit. Forte ita incidit ut eo ipso tempore Hasdrubal pulsus Hispania, septem triremibus portum invictus, ancoris positis  
 14 terrae adipicaret naves, cum conspectae duae quinqueremes, haud cuiquam dubio quin hostium essent opprimique a pluribus, priusquam portum intrarent, possent, nihil aliud quam tumultum ac trepidationem simul militum ac nautarum nequ quam armaque et  
 15 naves expedientium fecerunt. Percussa enim ex alto vela paulo acriori vento prius in portum intulerunt quinqueremes quam Poeni ancoras molirentur;  
 16 nec ultra tumultum ciere quisquam in regio portu audebat. Ita in terram prior Hasdrubal, mox Scipio et Laelius egressi ad regem pergunt. XVIII. Magnificumque id Syphaci—nec erat aliter—visum, duorum opulentissimorum ea tempestate duces populorum uno die suam pacem amicitiamque petentes venisse.

2 Utrumque in hospitium invitat; et<sup>2</sup> quoniam fors eos sub uno tecto esse atque ad eosdem penates voluisse, contrahere ad<sup>3</sup> conloquium diriment  
 3 darum simultatium causa est conatus, Scipione abnuente aut privatim sibi ullum cum Poeno odium

<sup>1</sup> adiuvante *P(1)N Aldus*: iuvante *SpJK Froben* 2.

<sup>2</sup> et *P(1)N Aldus, Froben*: *om. SpJK*.

<sup>3</sup> ad *P(1)N Aldus, Eds.*: in *SpN(altern.)JK Froben* 2, Conway.

he himself sailed with Gaius Laelius and two quinqueremes from (New) Carthage. Using oars for the most part over a calm sea, while at times a gentle wind lent its help, he crossed over to Africa.<sup>1</sup> It so chanced that at the very same time Hasdrubal, who had been forced out of Spain and had sailed into the harbour with seven triremes and cast anchor, was bringing his ships to the shore when the two quinqueremes were sighted. No one had any doubt that they belonged to the enemy, and that they could be surprised by superior numbers before they entered the harbour. But they caused nothing more than uproar and excitement both among soldiers and sailors, as they made ready their arms and ships all to no purpose. For the sails, catching a slightly stronger wind from the open sea, brought the quinqueremes into the harbour before the Carthaginians could weigh anchor. Nor did anyone dare to make further disturbance in the king's harbour. So first Hasdrubal and then Scipio and Laelius disembarked and went to the king. XVIII. To Syphax it seemed a splendid thing—as indeed it was—that the generals of the two richest peoples of that time had come on the same day to ask for peace and friendship from him.

He invited both of them to be his guests, and inasmuch as chance had ordained that they should be under one roof and in the same dwelling, he tried to draw them into a conference to put an end to their quarrels. Scipio indeed stated that neither as a private citizen had he any hatred toward

<sup>1</sup> Probably to Siga, in Mauretania, where Syphax at times resided; Pliny *N.H.* V. 19; Strabo XVII. iii. 9; App. *Hisp.* 29 f.

## LIVY

esse quod conloquendo finiret, aut de re publica  
quicquam se<sup>1</sup> cum hoste agere iniussu senatus posse.  
 4 Illud magno opere tendente rege, ne alter hospitum  
exclusus mensa videretur, ut in animum induceret ad  
easdem venire epulas, haud abnuit; cenatumque  
 5 simul apud regem est; eodem<sup>2</sup> etiam lecto Scipio  
atque Hasdrubal, quia ita cordi erat regi. accubuerunt.  
 6 Tanta autem inerat comitas Scipioni atque ad omnia  
naturalis ingenii dexteritas ut non Syphacem modo,  
barbarum insuetumque moribus Romanis, sed hostem  
etiam infestissimum facunde adloquendo sibi con-  
 7 ciliarit.<sup>3</sup> Mirabiliorem<sup>4</sup> sibi eum<sup>5</sup> congresso coram  
 8 visum prae se ferebat quam bello rebus gestis, nec  
dubitare quin Syphax regnumque eius iam in Roma-  
norum essent potestate; eam artem illi viro ad con-  
 9 ciliandos animos esse. Itaque non quo modo His-  
paniae amissae sint quaerendum magis Carthagi-  
niensibus esse quam quo modo Africam retineant  
 10 cogitandum. Non peregrinabundum neque circa  
amoenas oras vagantem tantum ducem Romanum,  
relicta provincia novae dicionis, relictis exercitibus,  
duabus navibus in Africam traiecssisse et commisisse  
sese in hostilem terram, in potestatem<sup>6</sup> regiam, in  
 11 fidem inexpertam, sed potiundae Africæ spem  
adfectantem. Hoc eum iam pridem volutare in

<sup>1</sup> quicquam se *P(3)M<sup>2</sup> or M<sup>7</sup> Albus*: se before quicquam  
*ANJK Froben 2.*

<sup>2</sup> eodem *SpJK Froben 2, Conway*: et eodem *P(1)N Aldus, Eds.*

<sup>3</sup> conciliarit *Sp<sup>2</sup> Froben 2, Luchs, Conway*: -aret *P(3)NJK Aldus, Eds.*

<sup>4</sup> Mirabiliorem *SpJK Conway*: *P(1)N Eds. add -que.*

<sup>5</sup> eum, after this *P(1)N Albus, Eds. habe virum*: *om. SpJK Froben 2, Conway.*

the Carthaginian which might be ended by a conference, nor as regarded the state could he treat with an enemy without an order from the senate. When the king kept insisting that he consent to come to the same feast for fear one of his guests should seem to have been excluded from his table, Scipio did not decline, and they dined together in the king's house. On the same couch even, since the king would have it so, Scipio and Hasdrubal reclined. Moreover, such was the genial manner of Scipio, such his inborn cleverness in meeting every situation, that by his eloquent mode of address he won not Syphax only, the barbarian unacquainted with Roman ways, but his own bitterest enemy as well. Hasdrubal plainly showed that when he met him face to face, Scipio seemed even more marvellous than in his achievements in war, and that he did not doubt Syphax and his kingdom would soon be in the power of the Romans; such skill did the man possess in winning men over.<sup>1</sup> And so, he said, it was not so essential for the Carthaginians to inquire how their Spanish provinces had been lost as to consider how they were still to hold Africa. It was not as a traveller, nor as one who idles along beautiful shores, that so great a Roman general had left a newly subdued province, had left his armies, and with only two ships had crossed over to Africa and entrusted himself to an enemy's land, to a king's power, to a man's untested honour; on the contrary he was cherishing a hope of conquering Africa. It had long

<sup>1</sup> A single sentence remains from Polybius' account of this meeting of the three and their conversation (XI. xxiv<sup>a</sup>. 4), here reflected by Livy.

<sup>6</sup> in potestatem N<sup>s</sup>(but after regiam) A<sup>s</sup>JK Aldus, Froben: om. P(I)N.

animo, hoc palam fremere, quod non quemadmodum Hannibal in Italia, sic Scipio in Africa bellum gereret. Scipio, foedere icto cum Syphace, profectus ex Africa dubiusque et plerumque saevis in alto iactatus ventis die quarto Novae Carthaginis portum tenuit.

XIX. Hispaniae sicut a bello Punico quietae erant, ita quasdam civitates propter conscientiam culpae metu magis quam fide quietas esse apparebat, quarum maxume insignes et magnitudine et noxa 2 Iliturgi et Castulo erant. Castulo, cum prosperis rebus socii fuissent, post caesos cum exercitibus Scipiones defecerat<sup>1</sup> ad Poenos; Iliturgitani prodendis qui ex illa clade ad eos perfugerant inter 3 ficiendisque scelus etiam defectioni addiderant. In eos populos primo adventu, cum dubiae Hispaniae essent, merito magis quam utiliter saevitum foret; 4 tunc iam tranquillis rebus quia tempus expetendae poenae videbatur venisse, accitum ab Tarracone L. Marcium cum tertia parte copiarum ad Castulonem oppugnandum mittit, ipse cum cetero exercitu 5 quintis fere<sup>2</sup> ad Iliturgin castris pervenit. Clausae

<sup>1</sup> defecerat *Sp?JK Froben* 2: -rant *P(1)N.*

<sup>2</sup> fere *Jx*: ferre *P*: ferme *P<sup>2</sup>(1)N Aldus, Froben*: *om. K.*

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<sup>1</sup> The last previous mention of a town of this name was XXVI. xvii. 4. That was about 175 miles in a straight line from New Carthage, and in a quite unthinkable direction for retreating Romans. Amtorgis, where the two brothers separated, cannot be identified (XXV. xxxii. 5, 9). Iliturgi has taken the place here of a town less well known, perhaps that of Pliny's Ilorei (the *rogus Scipionis*, i.e. of Gnaeus, *N.H.* III. 9; Ilurgia in App. *HisP.* 32, Ilourgeia in Polybius, XI. xxiv. *sub.fin.*, a fragment which seems to belong here, Dindorf). This may be modern Lorca, on a tributary of the Tader, about 40 miles west of Cartagena; so Ed. Meyer, *Kl. Schr.* II. 445 f.

been Scipio's constant reflection, his open complaint, <sup>B.C. 206</sup> he added, that he was not waging war in Africa, as Hannibal was in Italy. Scipio, after making a treaty with Syphax, set sail from Africa, and tossed in open sea by unsteady winds, mostly violent, he reached the harbour of New Carthage on the fourth day.

XIX. Although the Spanish provinces were having a respite from a Carthaginian war, still it was evident that on account of a guilty conscience certain states were quiet out of fear rather than because of loyalty. Most conspicuous both for size and guilt among these were Iliturgi<sup>1</sup> and Castulo.<sup>2</sup> Although in favourable times its citizens had been allies, Castulo, after the Scipios had been slain with their armies, had revolted to the Carthaginians. The men of Iliturgi, by betraying and slaying those who from that disaster had fled to them for refuge, had added a crime also to their revolt. On Scipio's first coming, when the Spanish provinces were wavering, vengeance upon those states would have been deserved but not politic. Now, however, since in a time of peace the moment for exacting the penalty seemed to have arrived, he summoned Lucius Marcius from Tarraco and sent him with a third of his forces to lay siege to Castulo. He himself with the rest of the army reached Iliturgi in about five stages. The gates had been closed and

<sup>and Schulten in *Hermes* LXIII. 288 ff. Or possibly Lorqui on the Tader, 35 miles north-west of Cartagena; so Scullard, 143. Cf. *Cambridge Ancient History* VIII. 90.</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xiii. 4; XXIV. xli. 7. Here App. *l.c.* has Castax, unknown and an improbable form, but accepted by Scullard, 144 and Hallward in C.A.H. *l.c.* Any argument for rejecting Castulo is less cogent than in the case of Iliturgi. We may have our doubts, however, about an advance so far to the west unsupported except by the annalistic tradition. Cf. Kahrstedt in Meltzer, *Geschichte der Karthager* III. 495 ff.

erant portae omniaque instructa et parata ad oppugnationem arcendam: adeo conscientia quid se meritos  
 6 scirent pro indicto eis bello fuerat. Hinc et hortari milites Scipio orsus est: ipsos claudendo portas indicasse Hispanos quid ut timerent meriti essent. Itaque multo infestioribus animis cum eis quam cum  
 7 Carthaginiensibus bellum gerendum esse; quippe cum illis prope sine ira de imperio et gloria certari, ab his perfidiae et crudelitatis et sceleris poenas  
 8 expetendas esse. Venisse<sup>1</sup> tempus quo et nefandam commilitonum necem et in semet ipsos, si eodem fuga delati forent, instructam fraudem<sup>2</sup> ulciscerentur, et in omne tempus gravi documento sancirent ne quis umquam Romanum civem militemve<sup>3</sup> in ulla fortuna opportunum iniuriae duceret.

9 Ab hac cohortatione ducis incitati scalas electis per manipulos viris dividunt, partitoque exercitu ita ut parti alteri Laelius praeesset legatus, duobus simul  
 10 locis ancipiti terrore urbem adgrediuntur. Non dux unus aut plures principes oppidanos, sed suus ipsorum ex<sup>4</sup> conscientia culpae metus ad defendendam  
 11 impigre urbem hortatur. Et meminerant et admonebant alii alios<sup>5</sup> supplicium ex se, non victoriam peti; ubi quisque mortem oppeteret, id referre, utrum in pugna et in acie, ubi Mars communis et victum saepe

<sup>1</sup> esse. Venisse *Sp?N\*JK Froben* 2, *Eds.* (*with evenisse Aldus*): sevenisse *P*: evenisse *P<sup>2</sup>(1)N Conway*: venisse *N<sup>1</sup>*.

<sup>2</sup> fraudem *N\*JK Aldus, Froben*: tradem *P*: stragem *P<sup>2</sup>(3)N*.

<sup>3</sup> -ve *C\* Aldus, Froben, Eds.*: vel *P(1)N*: -que *N\*JK Conway*.

<sup>4</sup> ex *Sp?N\*JK Froben* 2: *om. P(1)N Aldus*.

<sup>5</sup> alii alios *x Sigonius, Madvig*: alios *P(1)N Aldus, Froben Eds.*: *om. JK*.

everything disposed and prepared to resist an attack. B.C. 206  
So true was it that consciousness of what they knew they had deserved had meant as much for them as a declaration of war. With this point also Scipio opened his speech of encouragement to his soldiers, saying that the Spaniards by closing their gates had themselves shown what they had deserved to fear. Consequently, he said, they must wage war against them with much more animosity than against the Carthaginians. With these it was a contest almost devoid of anger in pursuit of power and glory; from the Iliturgians they must exact the penalty for treachery and cruelty and crime. The time had come for them to avenge the atrocious slaughter of their comrades and the perfidy which would have been brought to bear against themselves if in flight they had reached the same city. It was time also for them by a severe example to ordain that no one should ever account a Roman citizen or soldier in any misfortune as fair game for ill treatment.

Immediately after this exhortation from their general the officers, thoroughly aroused, issued ladders to men picked out of one maniple after another, and dividing the army so that Laelius as lieutenant should command one half, they attacked the city in two places at the same time, causing a double alarm. It was not a single commander or a number of leading men that urged the citizens gallantly to defend the city, but their own fear due to consciousness of guilt. They remembered and reminded one another also that the aim was their punishment, not victory; that when every man perished what mattered most was whether he did so in battle and in the line, where the fortune of the fray,

J.C.  
48 12 erigeret et adfligeret victorem, an postmodo, cremata  
 et diruta urbe, ante ora captarum coniugum libero-  
 rumque, inter verbera et vincula, omnia foeda atque  
 13 indigna passi exspirarent. Igitur non militaris modo  
 aetas aut viri tantum, sed feminae puerique super<sup>1</sup>  
 animi corporisque vires adsunt, propugnantibus<sup>2</sup>  
 tela ministrant, saxa in muros munientibus gerunt.  
 14 Non libertas solum agebatur, quae virorum fortium  
 tantum pectora acuit, sed ultima omnibus<sup>3</sup> supplicia  
 et foeda mors ob oculos erat. Accendebantur animi  
 et certamine laboris ac periculi atque ipso inter se  
 15 conspectu. Itaque tanto ardore certamen initum est  
 ut domitor ille totius Hispaniae exercitus ab unius  
 oppidi iuventute saepe repulsus a muris haud satis  
 16 decoro proelio trepidaret.<sup>4</sup> Id ubi vedit Scipio,  
 veritus ne vanis tot<sup>5</sup> conatibus suorum et hostibus<sup>6</sup>  
 cresceret animus et segnior miles fieret, sibimet  
 conandum ac partem periculi capessendam esse ratus,  
 increpita ignavia militum ferri scalas iubet et se ipsum,  
 17 si ceteri cunctentur, escensurum minatur. Iam  
 subierat haud mediocri periculo moenia, cum clamor  
 undique ab sollicitis vicem imperatoris militibus  
 sublatus, scalaeque multis simul partibus erigi  
 18 coepitae; et ex altera parte Laelius instituit. Tum

<sup>1</sup> super *P(1)NJK*: supra *Aldus*, *Froben*.

<sup>2</sup> propugnantibus *JK Aldus*, *Froben*, *Luchs* (obp. *N<sup>4</sup>*).  
*pugnantibus P(1)N Eds.*, *Conway*.

<sup>3</sup> omnibus *JK Aldus*, *Froben*, *Riemann*, *Conway*: omnium  
*P(1)N Eds.*.

<sup>4</sup> trepidaret *P(1)N Aldus*: -darit *SpK Froben* 2: -dant *J.*

<sup>5</sup> tot *SpN JK Froben* 2: *om. P(1)N Aldus*.

<sup>6</sup> suorum et hostibus *om. Spk*.

making no distinctions, often lifted up the defeated B.C. 206 and dashed down the victor, or whether later, when their city was in ashes and ruins, there before the faces of their captured wives and children, after enduring every outrage and indignity, they breathed their last under the scourge and in chains. Accordingly not merely those of military age or men alone, but women and children also helped beyond their powers of mind and body, bringing up weapons for the fighting men and carrying stones for the builders up to the wall. The stake was not freedom only, which whets the courage of brave men alone, but all had before their eyes extreme penalties and a hideous death. Bravery was kindled by emulation in toil and danger and by the mere sight of one another. And so the battle was begun with such heat that that famous army, the conqueror of all Spain, was repeatedly beaten back from the walls by the young men of a single town and thrown into disorder in an inglorious battle. When Scipio saw this, he was afraid that, owing to so many vain attempts made by his men, the enemy's spirits might be cheered and his own soldiers lose heart. Thinking that he must himself make the attempt and claim a share in the danger, he berated the soldiers for their cowardice, ordered ladders to be brought up, and threatened that if the rest hesitated he would climb up himself. Already at no small risk <sup>1</sup> he had come close to the walls when from all sides an outcry was made by the soldiers, who were concerned for their commander and began to set up ladders in many places at the same time; and on the other side Laelius pressed the attack. Then the resistance of

<sup>1</sup> App. *Hisp.* 32 has him wounded; Zonaras IX. x. 2.

v.c.  
48 victa oppidanorum vis, deiectisque propugnatoribus  
occupantur muri.

Arx etiam ab ea parte qua<sup>1</sup> inexpugnabilis videbatur inter tumultum capta est. XX. Transfugae Afri, qui tum inter auxilia Romana erant, et oppidanis in ea tuenda unde periculum videbatur versis et Romanis subeuntibus<sup>2</sup> . . . qua adire poterant, conspexerunt editissimam urbis partem, quia<sup>3</sup> rupe praealta tegebatur, neque opere ullo munitam et ab defensoribus vacuam. Levium corporum homines et multa exercitatione pernicium, clavos secum ferreos portantes, qua per inaequaliter eminentia rupis pote-<sup>4</sup> rant scandunt. Sicubi nimis arduum et leve saxum occurrebat, clavos per modica intervalla figentes cum velut gradus fecissent, primi insequentes<sup>4</sup> extra-hentes manu, postremi sublevantes eos qui p[re]se-<sup>5</sup> rent,<sup>5</sup> in summum evadunt. Inde decurrunt cum clamore in urbem iam captam ab Romanis. Tum vero apparuit ab ira et ab odio urbem oppugnatam esse. Nemo capiendi vivos, nemo patentibus ad direptionem omnibus praedae memor est; trucidant inermes iuxta atque armatos, feminas pariter ac viros; usque ad infantium caedem ira crudelis per-<sup>7</sup> venit. Ignem deinde tectis iniciunt ac diruunt quae incendio absumi nequeunt; adeo vestigia quoque

<sup>1</sup> qua *P<sup>r</sup>M<sup>1</sup>AN Aldus, Eds.*: quae *P(3)R<sup>2</sup>SpJK Froben* 2.

<sup>2</sup> subeuntibus, followed by s.c. tr. in *P(3)N*, the meaningless abbreviation apparently representing something unintelligible in *P*'s archetype. *Aldus supplied scalis moenia, Alschesfski, contra.*

<sup>3</sup> quia *Sp<sup>?</sup> Froben* 2, *Luchs, Conway*: quae *P(1)NJK Aldus, Eds.*

<sup>4</sup> insequentes (or -is) *Sp<sup>?</sup>N<sup>4</sup>JK Froben* 2: sequentis (or -tes) *P(1)N Aldus.*

the townsmen was broken and, once the defenders <sup>B.C. 206</sup> had been dislodged, the walls were occupied.

The citadel also in the midst of the confusion was captured from the side on which it appeared to be impregnable. XX. African deserters, who were at that time in the Roman auxiliaries, just when the townsmen had turned to the defence of places where the danger was evident, while at the same time the Romans kept coming up . . . by any possible approach, caught sight of a very lofty part of the city lacking any kind of fortifications, lacking defenders as well, because it was protected by a very high cliff. Men of light build and nimble, thanks to much training, they carried iron spikes with them and climbed up wherever they could over the irregular projections of the cliff. Wherever they encountered rock too steep and smooth, by driving in spikes at suitable intervals they made something like steps. Then while the first men with their hands drew up those who followed and the last pushed up those ahead of them, they made their way up to the summit. Thence they dashed down with a shout into the city already captured by the Romans. It was then in truth evident that the city had been attacked out of anger and hatred. No one thought of taking men alive, no one thought of booty, although every place was open for plunder. They slaughtered the unarmed and the armed alike, women as well as men; cruel anger went even so far as to slay infants. Then they threw firebrands into houses and demolished what could not be consumed by the flames. So delighted were they to destroy even the

<sup>5</sup> prae se irent *Sp?N<sup>4</sup>JK Froben 2 : praeirent P(1)N Aldus.*

urbis extinguere ac delere memoriam hostium sedis cordi est.

8 Castulonem inde Scipio exercitum ducit, quam urbem non Hispani modo convenae, sed Punici etiam exercitus ex dissipata passim fuga reliquiae tutabantur. Sed adventum Scipionis praevenerat fama cladis Iliturgitanorum, terrorque inde<sup>1</sup> ac desperatio 10 invaserat; et in diversis causis cum sibi quisque consultum sine alterius respectu vellet, primo tacita suspicio, deinde aperta discordia secessionem inter 11 Carthaginienses atque Hispanos fecit. His Cerdubelus, propalam deditonis auctor, Himilco Punicis auxiliaribus praeerat; quos urbemque clam fide 12 accepta Cerdubelus Romano prodit. Mitior ea victoria fuit; nec tantundem noxae admissum erat, et aliquantum irae lenierat voluntaria deditio.

XXI. Marcius inde in barbaros, si qui nondum perdomiti erant, sub ius dicionemque redigendos missus. Scipio Carthaginem ad vota solvenda deis munusque gladiatorium, quod mortis causa patris patruique paraverat, edendum rediit. Gladiatorum spectaculum fuit non ex eo genere hominum ex quo lanistis comparare mos est, servorum de catasti ac liberorum<sup>2</sup> qui venalem sanguinem habent: voluntaria omnis et 3 gratuita opera pugnantium fuit. Nam alii missi ab regulis sunt ad specimen insitae genti virtutis ostend-

<sup>1</sup> inde *Sp?JK Froben* 2: deinde *P(1)N Aldus*.

<sup>2</sup> de catasti ac liberorum, corrected by Ursinus (but with aut) from de causa ac liberorum of *SpN* (-torum J: -tinorum K): ac liberorum *Weissenborn*: om. *P(1)N*, one line; followed by *Gronovius*, with quive for qui.

traces of the city and to blot out the memory of B.C. 206 their enemies' abode.

Scipio then led his army to Castulo, a city defended not only by Spaniards from other places but also by remnants of the Carthaginian army after a scattering flight in every direction. But Scipio's coming had been preceded by a report of the disaster at Iliturgi, and in consequence alarm and despair had taken possession. Also as their interests were different, since everyone wished to be safeguarded himself without regard to any one else, at first unexpressed suspicion, then open discord produced a separation between Carthaginians and Spaniards. The latter were commanded by Cerdubelus, an open advocate of surrender, the Punic auxiliaries by Himilco. After receiving a secret promise Cerdubelus betrayed garrison and city to the Roman commander. More merciful was this victory. Not so serious a crime had been committed and voluntary surrender had greatly appeased their anger.

XXI. Marcius was thereupon sent to bring under Roman sway and authority any barbarians who had not yet been thoroughly subdued. Scipio returned to (New) Carthage to pay his vows to the gods and to conduct the gladiatorial show which he had prepared in honour of his deceased father and uncle. The exhibition of gladiators was not made up from the class of men which managers are in the habit of pitting against each other, that is, slaves sold on the platform and free men who are ready to sell their lives. In every case the service of the men who fought was voluntary and without compensation. For some were sent by their chieftains to display an example of the courage inbred in their tribe; some declared on their

4 dendum, alii ipsi professi se pugnaturos in gratiam ducis, alias aemulatio et certamen, ut provocarent 5 provocative<sup>1</sup> haud abnuerent traxit; quidam quas disceptando controversias finire nequierant aut noluerant, pacto<sup>2</sup> inter se ut victorem res sequeretur, 6 ferro decreverunt. Neque obscuri generis homines sed clari inlustresque, Corbis et Orsua, patrueles fratres, de principatu civitatis quam Iberm vocabant 7 ambigentes, ferro se certaturos professi sunt. Corbis maior erat aetate; Orsuae pater princeps proxime fuerat, a fratre maiore post mortem eius principatu 8 accepto. Cum verbis disceptare Scipio vellet ac sedare iras, negatum id ambo dicere cognatis communibus, nec alium deorum hominumve quam Mar- 9 tem se iudicem habituros esse. Robore maior, minor flore aetatis ferox, mortem in certamine quam ut alter alterius imperio subiceretur praeoptantes, cum dirimi ab tanta rabie nequirent, insigne spectaculum exercitui praebuere documentumque quantum cupiditas 10 imperii malum inter mortales esset. Maior usu armorum et astu facile stolidas vires minoris superavit. Huic gladiatorum spectaculo ludi funebres additi pro copia provinciali et castrensi apparatu.

XXII. Res interim nihilo minus ab legatis gerebantur. Marcius superato Baete amni. quem incolae Certim appellant, duas opulentas civitates sine cer-

<sup>1</sup> -ve *P(1)N Aldus*: -que *Sp?JK Froben* 2.

<sup>2</sup> pacto *P(1)NSp?JK Froben* 2: pacti x *Aldus, Madvig, Riemann.*

<sup>1</sup> Only here, site unknown, unless it be Ibi, 12 miles north-north-west of Alicante (*Castrum Album*, XXIV. xli. 3).

<sup>2</sup> Another local name was Perces: Steph. Byz. 156. 9.

own motion that they would fight to please the general; in other cases rivalry and the desire to compete led them to challenge or, if challenged, not to refuse. Some who had been unable or unwilling to end their differences by a legal hearing, after agreeing that the disputed property should fall to the victor, settled the matter with the sword. Men also of no obscure family but conspicuous and distinguished, Corbis and Orsua, being cousins and competing for the post of chief of a city called Ibes,<sup>1</sup> declared that they would contend with the sword. Corbis was the older in years. Orsua's father had lately been chief, having succeeded to an elder brother's rank upon his death. When Scipio desired to settle the question by a hearing and to calm their anger, they both said they had refused that request to their common relatives, and that they were to have as their judge no other god or man than Mars. The older man was confident in his strength, the younger in the bloom of his youth, each preferring death in the combat rather than to be subject to the rule of the other. Since they could not be made to give up such madness, they furnished the army a remarkable spectacle, demonstrating how great an evil among mortals is the ambition to rule. The older man by his skill with arms and by his cunning easily mastered the brute strength of the younger. In addition to this gladiatorial show there were funeral games so far as the resources of the province and camp equipment permitted.

XXII. Meantime operations were carried on no less actively by the lieutenants. Marcius after crossing the river Baetis, which the inhabitants call Certis,<sup>2</sup> accepted the surrender of two rich cities without an

2 tamine in deditonem accepit. Astapa urbs erat,<sup>1</sup>  
 Carthaginiensium semper partis; neque id tam dignum  
 ira erat quam quod extra necessitates belli  
 3 praecipuum in Romanos gerebant odium. Nec urbem  
 aut situ aut munimento tutam habebant quae fero-  
 ciores iis animos faceret; sed ingenia incolarum latro-  
 cinio laeta ut excursiones in finitimum agrum socio-  
 rum populi Romani facerent impulerant et vagos  
 milites Romanos lixasque et mercatores exciperent.  
 4 Magnum etiam comitatum, quia paucis parum tutum  
 fuerat, transgredientem fines positis insidiis circum-  
 5 ventum iniquo loco interfecerant.<sup>2</sup> Ad hanc urbem  
 oppugnandam cum admotus exercitus esset, oppidani  
 conscientia scelerum, quia nec deditio tuta ad tam  
 infestos videbatur, neque spes moenibus aut armis  
 tuendae salutis erat, facinus in se ac suos foedum ac  
 6 ferum consciscunt. Locum in foro destinant quo  
 pretiosissima rerum suarum congererent. Super eum  
 cumulum coniuges ac liberos considere cum iussissent,  
 ligna circa exstruunt<sup>3</sup> fascesque virgultorum coni-  
 7 ciunt. Quinquaginta deinde armatis iuvenibus praeci-  
 piunt ut, donec incertus eventus pugnae esset,  
 praesidium eo loco fortunarum suarum corporumque  
 8 quae cariora fortunis essent servarent; si rem  
 inclinatam viderent atque in eo iam esse ut urbs  
 caperetur, scirent omnes quos euntes in proelium

<sup>1</sup> erat N<sup>•</sup>JK Aldus, Froben : om. P(1)N.

<sup>2</sup> interfecerant Sp? Froben 2 : -erunt P(1)N JK Aldus.

<sup>3</sup> exstruunt A<sup>6</sup>?N<sup>•</sup> or N<sup>2</sup>JK Eds. : extrui (or ext-.) P(1)N.

<sup>1</sup> Ostippo in Pliny *N.H.* III. 12 and inscriptions; now  
 Estepa, 70 miles east-south-east of Seville. App. *Hisp.* 33  
 retells the tale.

engagement. There was the city of Astapa,<sup>1</sup> always B.C. 206 on the side of the Carthaginians; and this did not so much justify anger as that they bore a particular hatred against the Romans over and above the exigencies of war. Nor did they have a city secure either by reason of its situation or fortifications to make them over-confident. But their natural delight in brigandage had impelled the inhabitants to make raids into adjoining territory of allies of the Roman people and to capture stray Roman soldiers and sutlers and merchants. Even a caravan—large because there had been too little safety for small numbers—crossing their territory had been entrapped in an unfavourable spot by an ambuscade and cut to pieces. When the army had been brought up to lay siege to this city, the men of the town, prompted by a guilty conscience, because neither surrender to an enemy so incensed seemed safe nor was there any hope of defending their lives by walls and arms, resolved to carry out against themselves and their families a brutal and barbarous act.<sup>2</sup> A spot in the market-place was selected where they were to bring together their most valuable possessions. Having ordered their wives and children to sit down upon that heap they piled up wood all around and threw on bundles of brush. They then instructed fifty armed young men to keep guard at that place, so long as the issue of the battle was uncertain, over their treasures and over persons that were dearer than treasures. If they should see that the battle had gone against them and the city was on the point of being captured, they were to know that all those whom they now saw

<sup>1</sup> Cf. XXI. xiv, the similar conduct of the Saguntines, and XXXI. xvii, Abydus; cf. Polybius XVI. xxxi. ff.

9 cernerent mortem in ipsa pugna obituros; illos se  
 per deos superos inferosque orare ut memores liber-  
 tatis, quae illo die aut morte honesta aut servitute  
 infami finienda esset, nihil relinquenter in quod  
 10 saevire iratus hostis posset. Ferrum ignemque in  
 manibus esse; amicae ac fideles potius ea quae  
 peritura forent<sup>1</sup> absumerent manus quam insul-  
 11 tarent superbo ludibrio hostes. His adhortationibus  
 exsecratio dira adiecta, si quem a proposito spes molli-  
 tiave animi flexisset.

Inde concitato agmine patentibus portis ingenti  
 12 cum tumultu erumpunt. Neque erat ulla satis firma  
 statio opposita, quia nihil minus quam ut<sup>2</sup> egredi  
 obsessi<sup>3</sup> moenibus auderent timeri poterat. Per-  
 paucae equitum turmae levisque armatura repente  
 13 e castris ad id ipsum emissa occurrit. Acerior impetu  
 atque animis quam compositior ullo ordine<sup>4</sup> pugna  
 fuit. Itaque pulsus eques qui primus se hosti  
 obtulerat terrorem intulit levi armaturae; pugna-  
 tumque sub ipso vallo foret, ni robur legionum per-  
 exiguo ad instruendum dato tempore aciem direxis-  
 14 set. Ibi quoque trepidatum parumper circa signa est,  
 cum caeci furore in volnera ac ferrum recordi audacia  
 ruerent; dein vetus miles, adversus temerarios im-  
 petus pertinax, caede<sup>5</sup> primorum insequentes sup-

<sup>1</sup> forent Jx Froben 2: fuerant K: essent P(1)N Aldus.

<sup>2</sup> ut P(1)NJK Eds., Conway: ne Madvig, Luchs, M. Müller.

<sup>3</sup> obsessi Weissenborn: posset P(3)N: hostes Jac. Gronovius, Johnson: om. CA<sup>4</sup> or A<sup>6</sup>JK Aldus, Froben, Eds., Conway.

<sup>4</sup> ullo ordine P(1)NK Akkus: ordine ullo J Froben 2, Conway.

<sup>5</sup> caede, following this word P(1)N have a long misplaced passage which begins at our chapter xxxvii. 9 (conscriptis) and extends to XXIX. i. 24 (imperio). The dislocation was noted by later hands and corrected in HJK from Sp (see p. 212, n. 3).

marching out to battle would meet death where they were fighting. They implored them, they said, by the gods above and below to remember the freedom which must be brought to an end that day either by an honourable death or an infamous slavery, and leave nothing upon which an angry enemy might vent his fury. Sword and firebrand were in their hands; let friendly and loyal hands destroy all that was doomed to perish, rather than have the enemy offer indignities with insolent mockery. To these exhortations they added a dreadful curse, in case hope or weakness of character should turn any one from their purpose.

Then at the double they burst out of wide-open gates with a great uproar. And no outpost in sufficient strength had been stationed to face them, since nothing less could be feared than that the besieged should venture to sally out from the walls. A very few troops of cavalry and such light-armed infantry as were suddenly sent out of the camp for that very purpose encountered them. The battle was fierce in courageous onslaught rather than regular in any formation. Accordingly the horsemen who had been the first to confront the enemy were beaten back and brought panic to the light-armed. The fighting would also have been directly outside the earthwork had not the heavy legionary infantry drawn up their line of battle in spite of the very short time given them to form. Even there for a short time there was some alarm in the front line, while men blinded by frenzy dashed on to meet wounds and steel with mad recklessness. Then the veteran soldiers, steadfast against rash attacks, by slaying the first men checked those who followed.

A.U.C. 15 pressit. Conatus paulo post ultiro inferre pedem, ut  
<sup>545</sup> neminem cedere atque obstinatos mori in vestigio  
 quemque suo vidit, patefacta acie, quod ut facere  
 posset multitudo armatorum facile suppeditabat,  
 cornua hostium amplexus, in orbem pugnantes ad  
 unum omnes occidit.

XXIII. Atque haec tamen caedes ab impetu<sup>1</sup>  
 hostium iratorum ac tum maxime dimicantium iure<sup>2</sup>  
<sup>2</sup> belli in armatos repugnantesque edebatur; <sup>3</sup> foedior  
 alia in urbe trucidatio erat, cum turbam feminarum  
 puerorumque inbellem inermemque<sup>4</sup> cives sui  
 caederent et in succensum rogum semianima pleraque  
 inicerent corpora, rivique sanguinis flamمام orientem  
 restinguerent; postremo ipsi, caede miseranda  
 suorum fatigati, cum armis medio incendio se  
<sup>3</sup> iniecerunt. Iam caedi perpetratae victores Romani  
 supervenerunt. Ac primo conspectu tam foedae  
<sup>4</sup> rei mirabundi parumper obstupuerunt; dein cum  
 aurum argentumque cumulo rerum aliarum inter-  
 fulgens<sup>5</sup> aviditate ingenii humani rapere ex igni  
 vellent, correpti alii flamma sunt, alii ambusti adflatu  
 vaporis, cum receptus primis urgente ab tergo  
<sup>5</sup> ingenti<sup>6</sup> turba non esset. Ita Astapa sine praeda  
 militum ferro ignique absumpta est. Marcius ceteris

<sup>1</sup> caedes ab impetu, supplied here by M. Müller: Weissenborn supplied vis et impetus after dimicantium (with edebant); Madvig, odium (with edebat); Johnson and Conway, in morem after iratorum (and with edebantur). Something is lacking in P(1)NJK Aldus, Froben.

<sup>2</sup> iure belli in armatos re- om. P(1)N, one line, found in A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>JK Aldus, Froben.

<sup>3</sup> edebatur JK: -bantur M<sup>1</sup>A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup> Aldus, Froben: -bā P: -bam CRM**D**: -bant C<sup>2</sup>AN.

<sup>4</sup> -que P(1)N Aldus: om. SpJK Froben 2, Conway.

<sup>5</sup> interfulgens N<sup>1</sup>(altern.) JK Eds.: interfluens P(1)N.

A little later, venturing to take the offensive, when B.C. 206 they saw no one giving way and every man resolutely dying in his tracks, they extended their line, as superior numbers of armed men made it possible for them to do, outflanked the enemy, and as they fought in circular formation slew them to the last man.

XXIII. Such slaughter, however, arose from the attack of a furious enemy, fighting at that moment according to the law of war against armed men resisting. More horrible was another butchery within the city, when their own citizens were slaying an unarmed, unresisting throng of women and children and throwing bodies, very often only half-dead, upon a pyre they had lighted, and streams of blood were putting out the rising flames. Finally the men, exhausted by the pitiful slaying of their own kin, threw themselves and their arms into the midst of the fire. The slaughter was already finished when the victorious Romans arrived. And at the first sight of so terrible a scene they stood for a little while stunned with amazement. Then, when gold and silver glistened in the heap of other objects and with the eagerness which is natural to man they were trying to snatch them from the flames, some caught fire themselves, others were scorched by the hot blast,<sup>1</sup> since those in front had no way of escape, while the mass of men pressed upon them from the rear. Thus was Astapa destroyed by sword and fire without booty for the soldiers. Marcius, having received the

<sup>1</sup> Here Polybius' narrative survives in a single sentence about frantic efforts to recover gold and silver, XI. xxiv. 11.

<sup>6</sup> ab tergo ingenti *Sp?N\** Froben 2 : ingenti JK Aldus : *om. P(1)N.*

eius regionis metu in deditio[n]em acceptis victorem  
exercitum Carthaginem ad Scipionem reduxit.

6 Per eos ipsos dies perfugae a Gadibus venerunt  
pollicentes urbem Punicumque praesidium quod in ea  
urbe esset et imperatorem praesidii cum classe pro-  
7 dituros esse.<sup>1</sup> Mago ibi ex fuga substiterat, navi-  
busque in Oceano collectis aliquantum auxiliorum et  
trans fretum ex Africa<sup>2</sup> ora et ex proximis Hispaniae  
8 locis per Hannonem praefectum coegerat. Fide  
accepta dataque perfugis, et Marcius eo cum expeditis  
cohortibus et Laelius cum<sup>3</sup> septem triremibus, quin-  
queremi una est missus, ut terra marique communi  
consilio rem gererent.

XXIV. Scipio ipse gravi morbo implicitus, gra-  
viore tamen fama, cum ad id quisque quod audierat  
insita hominibus<sup>4</sup> libidine alendi de industria rumores  
adiceret aliquid, provinciam omnem ac maxime  
2 longinqua eius turbavit; apparuitque quantam ex-  
citatura molem vera fuisset clades, cum vanus rumor  
tantas procellas excivisset. Non socii in fide, non  
3 exercitus in officio mansit. Mandonius et Indibilis,  
quibus, quia regnum sibi Hispaniae pulsis inde  
Carthaginiensibus destinarant animis, nihil pro spe  
4 contigerat, concitatis popularibus—Lacetani autem

<sup>1</sup> esse om. JK Conway.

<sup>2</sup> ex Africa (africæ *P<sup>4</sup>*) *P(1)N* Aldus, Froben: africæ *SpJK*.

<sup>3</sup> expeditis . . . cum *A<sup>4</sup>N<sup>4</sup>* (om. cum) *JK* Aldus, Froben:  
om. *P(1)N*.

<sup>4</sup> hominibus *N<sup>4</sup>JK* Eds.: hominum *P(1)N*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Vol. VII. pp. 279, n. 4; 282, n. 1; below, xxv. 11;  
XXIX. i. 19 and iii. 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Probably an error for Laeetani; in the north-east corner

surrender of all the other tribes of that region owing to their fear, led his victorious army back to Scipio at (New) Carthage.

About the same time came deserters from Gades promising to betray the city and the Punic garrison in that city and the commander of the garrison together with the fleet. Mago after his flight had halted there, and having assembled ships on the Ocean, he had gathered up a considerable force of auxiliaries both from the African coast across the strait and from the nearest places in Spain with the help of Hanno, the prefect. Promises were received from the deserters and given them, and Marcius with cohorts lightly equipped and Laelius also with seven triremes and one quinquereme were sent thither, to carry on the campaign by land and sea with a single plan.

XXIV. Scipio himself fell ill with an alarming malady, but still more alarming as reported, since everyone added something to what he had heard, with the inbred human passion for purposely magnifying rumours. His illness agitated the whole province and especially the distant parts of it. And how serious a situation would have been created if the fatality had been real was evident, since an empty report had stirred up such tempests. Allies did not remain loyal, nor the army mindful of duty. Mandioniis and Indibilis,<sup>1</sup> because they had reckoned upon a kingdom of Spain for themselves when the Carthaginians should be expelled from it, and yet nothing to match their hopes had come to them, stirred up their countrymen—and they were Lacetani<sup>2</sup>—called

of Spain around Barcino (Barcelona); xxxiv. 4; XXI. xxiii. 2; XXXIV. xx. 2.

## LIVY

A.U.C.  
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erant—et iuventute Celtiberorum excita agrum Suessetanum Sedetanumque sociorum populi Romani hostiliter depopulati sunt.

5 Civilis alias furor in castris ad Sucronem ortus. Octo ibi milia militum erant, praesidium gentibus  
 6 quae cis Hiberum incolunt inpositum. Motae autem eorum mentes sunt non tum primum cum de vita imperatoris dubii rumores<sup>1</sup> allati sunt, sed iam ante licentia ex diutino, ut fit, otio conlecta, et non nihil quod in hostico laxius rapto suetis vivere artiores in  
 7 pace res erant. Ac primo sermones tantum occulti serebantur: si bellum in provincia esset, quid sese inter pacatos facere? si debellatum iam et confecta 8 provincia esset, cur in Italiam non revehi? Flagitatum quoque stipendum procacius quam ex more et modestia militari erat, et ab custodibus probra in circumeuntes vigilias tribunos iacta, et noctu quidam praedatum in agrum circa pacatum ierant; postremo interdiu ac propalam sine commeatu ab signis  
 9 abibant. Omnia libidine ac licentia militum, nihil instituto ac<sup>2</sup> disciplina militiae aut imperio eorum 10 qui praeerant gerebatur. Forma tamen Romanorum castrorum constabat una ea re<sup>3</sup> quod tribunos, ex

<sup>1</sup> rumores om. *P(1)N.*

<sup>2</sup> ac *JK Froben* 2: aut *P(1)N Aldus, Conway.*

<sup>3</sup> re *Weissenborn, Eds.*: spe *P(1)NJK Aldus, Froben, Conway* (*who conj. qua for quod*): specie *Freinsheim.*

<sup>1</sup> Also north of the Ebro and near the coast; xxxi. 7; XXIX. i. 26. So were the Suessetani, enemies in XXV. xxxiv. 6, but now allies, neighbours of the Edetani across the river.

<sup>2</sup> The town of the same name on the river (now the Júcar). Near it Pompey fought against Sertorius; Plutarch *Sert.* 19; *Pomp.* 19; App. *B.C.* I. 110. Livy's source for the narrative of this mutiny was Polybius XI. xxv-xxx. Cf. App. *Hisp.* 34 ff. It remained a mutiny to the end (xxix. 12). The only citizens were (1) Romans in the army, and (2) Italian

out the young men of the Celtiberians and ravaged <sup>B.C. 206</sup> the territory of the Suessetani and Sedetani,<sup>1</sup> allies of the Roman people, in warlike fashion.

From citizens sprang a different outbreak in the camp near Sucro.<sup>2</sup> Eight thousand soldiers were there, posted as a garrison for the tribes dwelling on this side of the Ebro. Their disloyalty, however, was not just beginning when unsubstantiated reports of the general's imminent danger reached them, but existed even before, owing to the usual licence resulting from long inaction. It was also to some extent because men accustomed to live unrestrainedly on plunder in an enemy's territory felt the pinch of peace-time. And at first they merely engaged in secret conversations: If there was a war in the province, what were they doing among people already pacified? If the war was over now and the province set in order, why were they not transported back to Italy? They made demands also for their pay with more petulance than accorded with the customary self-control of the soldier; and sentries heaped reproaches on tribunes making the rounds of the guard, and at night some men had gone out for plunder into peaceful country all around. Finally by day and openly without permission they would leave their standards. Everything was being done in accordance with the whim and fancy of the soldiers, nothing according to the traditions and discipline of the service or the orders of superior officers. The outward appearance, however, of a Roman camp was maintained in this alone, that, believing the

allies serving with them (xxxii. 6). There can be no hint of civil war in *civilis furor*, for the theme now to be developed was announced in § 2, *non exercitus*, etc.

contagione furoris haud expertes seditionis defec-  
tionisque rati fore, et iura reddere in principiis sine-  
bant et signum ab eis petebant et in stationes ac  
11 vigilias ordine<sup>1</sup> ibant; et ut vim imperii abstulerant,  
ita speciem dicto parentium ultiro ipsi<sup>2</sup> imperantes  
servabant.

12 Erupit deinde seditio, postquam reprehendere  
atque improbare tribunos ea quae fierent et conari  
obviam ire et propalam abnuere furoris eorum se-  
13 futuros socios senserunt. Fugatis itaque e principiis  
ac post paulo e castris tribunis, ad principes sedi-  
tionis, gregarios milites, C. Albium Calenum et C.  
Atrium Umbrum, delatum omnium consensu im-  
14 perium est. Qui nequaquam tribuniciis contenti  
ornamentis, insignia etiam summi imperii, fasces  
securesque, attractare ausi; neque eis<sup>3</sup> venit in  
mentem suis tergis suis<sup>4</sup> cervicibus virgas illas  
securesque imminere quas ad metum aliorum pree-  
15 ferrent. Mors Scipionis falso credita obcaecabat  
animos, sub cuius volgatam mox<sup>5</sup> famam non dubita-  
16 bant totam Hispaniam arsuram bello; in eo tumultu  
et sociis pecunias imperari et diripi propinquas urbes  
posse; et turbatis rebus, cum omnia omnes auderent,  
minus insignia fore quae ipsi fecissent. XXV. Cum  
aliros subinde recentes nuntios non mortis modo, sed  
etiam funeralis exspectarent, neque superveniret

<sup>1</sup> ordine *Sp?JK Froben* 2: in ordinem *P(1)N Aldus*: in  
orbem *Madvig.*

<sup>2</sup> ipsi *C<sup>x</sup>N<sup>y</sup>(altern.)JK Aldus, Froben*: si im *P*: si  
*P<sup>z</sup>(1)(C?)N*: sibi *M<sup>1</sup>A<sup>5</sup>*: sibi ipsi *Conway*.

<sup>3</sup> neque eis *N<sup>x</sup>JK Aldus, Froben, Conway*: nequem  
*P(1)N*: neque *P<sup>z</sup>M<sup>1</sup>Eds.*

<sup>4</sup> suis *Sp<sup>z</sup> Froben* 2, *Conway*: suisque *P(1)NJK Aldus,*  
*Eds.*

<sup>5</sup> mox *P(1)N*: iam *N<sup>x</sup>JK Aldus, Froben, Conway.*

tribunes, infected with their madness, would not fail B.C. 206 to share their mutiny and revolt, they permitted them to hear cases before the headquarters, went to them for the password and did outpost and guard duty in succession. Moreover, though they had robbed their command of power, yet they kept up a show of obedience while actually giving orders themselves.

Then the mutiny broke out after they observed that the tribunes censured and disapproved of what was being done and were endeavouring actively to oppose it, also openly declaring that they would not be partners in their madness. Accordingly, chasing the tribunes out of the space before headquarters and soon after out of the camp, they by common consent bestowed the command upon the leaders of the mutiny, the privates Gaius Albius of Cales and Gaius Atrius, an Umbrian. These men, not at all satisfied with the distinguishing marks of tribunes, ventured to pollute the insignia of the very highest command, the fasces and axes. Nor did it occur to them that those rods and axes, which they caused to be carried before them to frighten others, were hanging over their own backs and their own necks. The unfounded belief in Scipio's death was the cause of their blindness and, once rumour of it should presently be spread abroad, they had no doubt that all Spain would be ablaze with war. In that uprising, they thought, money could be exacted from allies, and also neighbouring cities plundered; and in the confusion, when any man would dare anything, what they had themselves done would be less conspicuous. XXV. While they waited from moment to moment for fresh news, expecting to hear not only of his death but even of his funeral, and yet none came and the groundless

quisquam, evanesceretque temere ortus rumor, tum  
 2 primi auctores requiri coepti. Et subtrahente se  
 quoque, ut credidisse potius temere quam finxisse  
 rem talem videri posset, destituti duces iam sua ipsi  
 insignia et pro vana imagine imperii quod gererent  
 veram iustumque mox in se versuram potestatem  
 3 horrebat. Stupente<sup>1</sup> ita seditione, cum vivere  
 primo, mox etiam valere Scipionem certi auctores  
 adferrent, tribuni militum septem ab ipso Scipione  
 4 missi supervenerunt.<sup>2</sup> Ad quorum primum adven-  
 tum exasperati animi; mox ipsis placido sermone  
 permulcentibus notos cum quibus congressi erant,  
 5 leniti sunt. Circumeuntes enim tentoria primo,  
 deinde in principiis praetorioque, ubi sermones inter-  
 se serentium circulos vidissent, adloquebantur per-  
 cunctantes magis quae causa irae consternationisque  
 6 subitae foret quam factum accusantes. Volgo  
 stipendum non datum ad diem iactabatur, et, cum  
 eodem tempore quo scelus Iliturgitanorum ex-  
 stitisset post duorum imperatorum duorumque ex-  
 exercituum stragem sua virtute defensum nomen  
 Romanum ac retenta provincia esset, Iliturgitanos  
 poenam noxae meritam habere, suis recte factis  
 7 gratiam qui exsolvat non esse. Talia querentes<sup>3</sup>  
 aequa orare, seque ea relatuos ad imperatorem re-  
 spondebant; laetari quod nihil tristius nec insana-

<sup>1</sup> stupente *P(1)Eds.*: *stupenti (with sedition)* *JK Luchs, Riemann*: -ebant *N.*

<sup>2</sup> ab ipso Scipione missi supervenerunt *Sp?JK Froben 2, Luchs, Conway*: *qui ab ipso Scipione sunt P(3) (with sunt missi AN, while N<sup>4</sup> adds supervenere, and N<sup>x</sup> deletes qui).* Possibly *qui is evidence for a lost clause.*

<sup>3</sup> querentes, *for this Riemann has querentibus.*

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. xix. i. and n.

report was losing hold, then its first sponsors began B.C. 206 to be sought out. And as one after another drew back, that he might be thought to have rashly believed such a thing rather than to have invented it, the deserted leaders were now alarmed at their own insignia and, in place of the empty semblance of command which was theirs, at the real, duly bestowed authority that would presently turn against them. Thus when the mutiny was at a standstill and credible informants brought the news, first that Scipio was alive, and then that he was even well, seven tribunes of the soldiers arrived, being sent by Scipio himself. Upon their arrival there was at first irritation; soon after, as the tribunes themselves by mild words calmed acquaintances whom they had met, the men were less resentful. For going round at first among the tents, then in the headquarters square and before the general's tent, where they saw groups talking together, they would speak to the men, asking them what was the reason for their anger and their sudden mania, instead of finding fault with them for what they had done. A common complaint was that their pay had not been given them on the proper date; also that, whereas at the time when the men of Iliturgi<sup>1</sup> had committed their crime, after the slaughter of the two commanders-in-chief and the two armies, the Roman name had been defended and the province retained by their own courage, yet, while the Iliturgians now had a due punishment for their crime, there was no one to reward their own good deeds. In reply the tribunes said that those who complained of such matters only were making just pleas, and they would report them to the commander-in-chief. They were glad that there was nothing more serious

bilius esset; et P. Scipionem deum benignitate et rem publicam esse gratiae referendae.

8 Scipionem bellis adsuetum, ad seditionum procellas rudem, sollicitum habebat res, ne aut exercitus  
 9 peccando aut ipse puniendo modum excederet. In praesentia, ut coepisset, leniter agi placuit et missis circa stipendiarias civitates exactoribus stipendii  
 10 spem propinquam facere; et<sup>1</sup> edictum subinde propositum ut ad stipendum petendum convenienter Carthaginem, seu carptim partes<sup>2</sup> seu universi mal-  
 11 lent. Tranquillam seditionem iam<sup>3</sup> per se languescentem repentina quies rebellantium Hispanorum fecit; redierant enim in fines omisso incepto Mandonius et Indibilis, postquam vivere Scipionem allatum  
 12 est; nec iam erat aut civis aut externus cum quo  
 13 furorem suum consociarent. Omnia circumspec-  
 tantes consilia<sup>4</sup> nihil reliqui habebant praeter non<sup>5</sup> tutissimum a malis consiliis receptum, ut imperatoris vel iustae irae vel non desperandae clementiae sese committerent: etiam hostibus eum ignovisse cum  
 14 quibus ferro dimicasset; suam seditionem sine volnere, sine sanguine fuisse, nec ipsam atrocem nec atroci poena dignam,—ut ingenia humana sunt ad suam  
 15 cuique levandam culpam nimio plus facunda.<sup>6</sup> Illa

<sup>1</sup> facere; et JK Luchs, Conway: -eret et N<sup>t</sup>: fecere P(1)N: facere Aldus, Froben.

<sup>2</sup> partes P(1)N<sup>x</sup>: per partes Gronovius: om. as a gloss Riemann.

<sup>3</sup> iam N<sup>t</sup>JK Eds.: om. P(1)N.

<sup>4</sup> consilia P(1)NJK Eds.: om. Gronovius, Conway.

<sup>5</sup> non P(1)NJK Eds.; unum Aldus, Froben, Conway: enim Sp.

nor more incurable; and by favour of the gods <sup>B.C. 206</sup> Scipio and the republic, they said, were in a position to show gratitude.

Scipio, who was familiar with wars but unacquainted with the gusts of mutinies, was kept in a state of concern lest either the army should go to excess in wrong-doing or he himself in punishing them. For the present he decided to use gentle measures, as he had begun to do, and to bring the hope of pay nearer by sending collectors round the tributary states. Next an edict was posted up that they should assemble at (New) Carthage to get their pay, whether they preferred to do so as separate units or all together. The mutiny, already of itself on the wane, was quelled by sudden peace on the part of the rebellious Spaniards. For Mandonius and Indibilis had abandoned their project and retired to their borders when they had news that Scipio was alive. Nor was there either a fellow-citizen or foreigner any longer with whom the soldiers might share their madness. On surveying all possible plans they had nothing left except a not altogether safe retreat from criminal designs, namely, to give themselves up either to the commander's well-grounded anger or to his mercy, as not beyond their hopes. He had pardoned even enemies, they said, with whom he had fought with the sword; their mutiny had been free from wounds, free from bloodshed, and neither in itself savage nor meriting a savage punishment. So unduly eloquent is human nature in minimizing one's own guilt.

<sup>6</sup> facunda A<sup>4</sup>?N<sup>2</sup> or N<sup>4</sup>JK Eds. : faciunda P(3)N : f(o)ecunda Duker, Madvig 1863.

dubitatio erat, singulaene cohortes an universi ad stipendum petendum irent. Inclinavit sententia, quod tutius censebant, universos ire.

XXVI. Per eosdem dies quibus haec illi consulabant consilium de iis Carthagini erat, certabaturque sententiis utrum in auctores tantum seditionis—erant autem ii numero haud plus quam quinque et triginta—animadverteretur, an plurium suppicio vindicanda tam foedi exempli defectio magis quam seditio esset. Vicit sententia lenior ut, unde culpa orta esset, ibi poena consisteret; ad multitudinem castigationem satis esse. Consilio dimisso, ut id actum videretur, expeditio adversus Mandonium Indibilemque edicitur exercitui qui Carthagine erat et cibaria dierum aliquot parare iubentur. Tribunis septem qui et antea Sucronem ad leniendam seditionem ierant obviam exercitui missis quina nomina principum seditionis edita sunt, ut eos per idoneos homines benigno voltu ac sermone in hospitium invitatos sopitosque<sup>1</sup> vino vincirent. Haud procul iam Carthagine aberant cum ex obviis auditum postero die omnem exercitum cum M. Silano in Lacetanos proficiisci non metu modo<sup>2</sup> omni qui tacitus insidebat animis liberavit eos, sed laetitiam ingentem fecit, quod magis habituri solum imperatorem quam

<sup>1</sup> sopitosque *A'N'JK Eds.* : -que (*om. sopitos*) *P(3,R<sup>2</sup>)*.

<sup>2</sup> modo *A'N'JK Aldus, Froben* : *om. P(1)N.*

The only question was whether to go in separate cohorts to get their pay, or all together. Their decision was that all should go together, which they thought safer.

XXVI. During the days on which they were thus deliberating there was a war-council in regard to them at (New) Carthage, and a conflict of opinions as to whether the leaders only of the mutiny—and they were not more than thirty-five in number—should be punished, or whether punishment of a larger number was required in penalizing, not a mutiny but rather a rebellion which set so terrible an example. The milder opinion prevailed, that punishment should be limited to those with whom the breach of discipline had begun, whereas for the mass a reprimand was enough. After the dismissal of the council, to give the impression that this was the matter discussed, an expedition against Mandonius and Indibilis was announced to the army which was at (New) Carthage, and they were ordered to make ready their rations for several days. The seven tribunes who had already gone to Sucro to repress the mutiny and were now sent to meet the army had each of them the names of five leaders of the mutiny assigned him, to have them invited with kindly countenance and words by suitable men to be their guests, lulled to sleep by wine and then bound. The mutineers were now not far from (New) Carthage when the news, heard from those they met, that on the next day the entire army would set out under Marcus Silanus against the Lacetani, not only relieved them of all fear which remained unexpressed in their minds, but caused great rejoicing that they would have the commander alone, rather than be themselves in his

8 ipsi futuri in potestate eius essent. Sub occasum  
 solis urbem ingressi sunt exercitumque alterum  
 9 parantem omnia ad iter viderunt. Excepti ser-  
 monibus de industria compositis—laetum opportu-  
 numque adventum eorum imperatori esse, quod sub  
 ipsam profectionem alterius exercitus venissent—  
 10 corpora curant. Ab tribunis sine ullo tumultu  
 auctores seditionis, per idoneos homines perducti in  
 11 hospitia, comprensi ac vinci sunt. Vigilia quarta  
 impedimenta exercitus cuius<sup>1</sup> simulabatur iter  
 proficisci coepere; sub lucem signa mota, et ad por-  
 tam retentum agmen custodesque circa omnes portas  
 12 missi, ne quis urbe egrederetur. Vocati deinde ad  
 contionem qui pridie venerant, ferociter in forum  
 ad tribunal imperatoris, ut ultro territuri succlama-  
 13 tionibus, concurrunt. Simul et imperator in tribunal  
 escendit<sup>2</sup> et reducti armati a portis<sup>3</sup> inermi contioni  
 14 se<sup>4</sup> ab tergo circumfuderunt. Tum omnis ferocia  
 concidit et, ut postea fatebantur, nihil aequa eos  
 terruit quam praeter spem robur et colos imperatoris,  
 quem adfectum visuros crediderant, voltusque qualem  
 15 ne in acie quidem aiebant meminisse. Sedit tacitus  
 paulisper, donec nuntiatum est deductos in forum

<sup>1</sup> cuius *P(1)NJK Aldus*: cui *Sp? Froben* 2.

<sup>2</sup> escendit *PCR*: as. *R<sup>2</sup>MBDAN Aldus*: con- *Sp?JK*  
*Froben* 2.

<sup>3</sup> a portis *before* armati *JK*.

<sup>4</sup> contioni se *P(3)*: se contioni *ANJK Aldus, Froben*.

power. At sunset they entered the city and saw the other army making every preparation for the march. Received with studied words of welcome—that their coming was a happy and timely thing for the general, in that they had arrived at the very time the other army was leaving—they took refreshment and rest. The tribunes, without causing any commotion, had the promoters of the mutiny brought by suitable persons to their hospitable quarters, then seized and bound. At the fourth watch the baggage of the army which, it was pretended, was to march away began to take the road. By daybreak the standards were in motion, but at the gate the column was halted and guards were sent round to all the gates, that no one should leave the city. Then the men who had arrived the day before, on being summoned to an assembly, rushed fiercely into the open space<sup>1</sup> and up to the general's platform, intending actually to intimidate him by their interruptions. At the same moment that the general mounted the platform the armed men brought back from the gates surrounded the unarmed assembly from the rear. Then all their fierceness failed them and, as they afterwards admitted, nothing alarmed them so much as the unexpected strength and healthy colour of the general whom they had believed they would see as an invalid, also an expression of his face such as, they said, they never remembered even in battle. He sat in silence for a moment, until the report reached him that the promoters of the mutiny had been

<sup>1</sup> I.e. Polybius' ἀγορά (VI. xxxi. 1 f.) to the right of the headquarters, not the similar space (also called *forum*) in which stood the *quaestorium*; XLI. ii. 11.

auctores seditionis et parata omnia esse. XXVII.  
Tum silentio per praeconem facto ita coepit:

" Numquam mihi defuturam orationem qua exer-  
2 citum meum adloquerer credidi, non quo verba  
umquam potius quam res exercuerim, sed quia prope  
a pueritia in castris habitus adsueram militaribus in-  
3 geniis; apud vos quem ad modum loquar nec con-  
silium nec oratio suppeditat, quos ne quo nomine  
4 quidem appellare debeam scio. Cives? qui a  
patria vestra descistis. An milites? qui imperium  
auspiciumque abnuistis, sacramenti religionem  
rupistis. Hostes? Corpora, ora, vestitum, habitum  
civium adgnosco; facta, dicta, consilia, animos  
5 hostium video. Quid enim vos, nisi quod Ilergetes  
et <sup>1</sup> Lacetani, aut optastis aliud aut sperastis? Et  
illi tamen Mandonium atque Indibilem, regiae  
nobilitatis viros, duces furoris secuti sunt; vos  
auspicium et imperium ad Umbrum Atrium et  
6 Calenum Albium detulistis. Negate vos id omnes  
fecisse aut factum voluisse, milites; paucorum eum  
furorem atque amentiam esse; libenter credam  
negantibus; nec enim ea sunt commissa quae,  
volgata in omnem exercitum, sine piaculis ingentibus  
expiari possint.<sup>2</sup>

7 " Invitus ea tamquam volnera attingo; sed nisi  
8 tacta tractataque sanari non possunt. Evidem  
pulsis Hispania Carthaginiensibus nullum locum tota

<sup>1</sup> et JK Aldus, Froben: aut P(1)N: ac Drakenborch  
conj.

<sup>2</sup> possint P(1)NJK Eds.: possent Riemann.

<sup>1</sup> The following speech has few direct borrowings from the  
briefer discourse in Polybius XI. xxviii f., e.g., the comparison

brought into the open space and that everything was ready. XXVII. Then, when the herald had enforced silence, Scipio began as follows :<sup>1</sup>

“ Never have I supposed that language with which to address my army would fail me ; not that I have ever occupied myself with words rather than deeds, but because, having lived in camps almost from boyhood, I was familiar with the minds of soldiers. But how to speak to *you*—for that both thoughts and language fail me. I do not know even by what name I ought to address you. Citizens? when you have revolted from your country? Or soldiers? when you have rejected the high command and the auspices, have broken the sanctity of your oath? Enemies? I recognize the bodies, faces, clothing, appearance of citizens, but the deeds, the words, the plans, the spirit of enemies. For what else did you either wish or hope for but the same as the Ilergetes and the Lacetani? And yet they followed Mandonius and Indibilis, men of royal rank, as leaders in their madness. You conferred the auspices and high command upon the Umbrian Atrius and the Calenian Albius. Say that not all of you did that, soldiers, or wished it done ; that it was the frenzy and folly of a few ; I will gladly accept your denial. For the acts committed were such that, if they were shared by the entire army, they cannot be expiated without atonements on a great scale.

“ Unwillingly do I handle such misdeeds, as if they were wounds. But unless handled and treated they cannot be healed. As for myself, after the Carthaginians were driven out of Spain I did not believe of a crowd to the sea, § 11, more fully developed in the Greek peroration, xxix. 9–11.

provincia,<sup>1</sup> nullos homines credebam esse ubi vita  
 invisa <sup>2</sup> esset mea; sic me non solum adversus socios  
 9 gesseram, sed etiam adversus hostes. In castris  
 en meis—quantum opinio<sup>3</sup> fecerit!—fama mortis  
 meae non accepta solum, sed etiam exspectata est.  
 10 Non <sup>4</sup> quod ego volgari facinus per omnes velim—  
 equidem, si totum exercitum meum<sup>5</sup> mortem mihi  
 optasse crederem, hic statim ante oculos vestros  
 morerer, nec me vita iuvaret invisa civibus et militibus  
 11 meis. Sed multitudo omnis sicut natura maris per  
 se immobilis est, at<sup>6</sup> venti et aurae carent; ita<sup>7</sup> aut  
 tranquillum aut procellae in vobis sunt; et causa  
 atque origo omnis furoris penes auctores est, vos  
 12 contagione insanistis; qui mihi ne hodie quidem scire  
 videmini quo amentiae progressi sitis, quid facinoris  
 in me, quid in patriam parentesque ac liberos vestros,  
 quid in deos sacramenti testes, quid adversus auspicia  
 sub quibus militatis,<sup>8</sup> quid adversus morem militiae  
 disciplinamque maiorum, quid adversus summi  
 imperii maiestatem ausi sitis.

13 “ De me ipso taceo—temere potius quam avide  
 credideritis, is denique ego sim, cuius imperii taedere  
 exercitum minime mirandum sit: patria quid de  
 vobis meruerat, quam cum Mandonio et Indibili con-  
 14 sociando consilia prodebatis? Quid populus Ro-  
 manus, cum imperium ablatum ab tribunis suffragio

<sup>1</sup> nullum . . . provincia *A'N'JK Aldus, Froben: om P(1)N.*

<sup>2</sup> invisa *A'N'JK: om. P(1)N.*

<sup>3</sup> opinio *P(1)NJK: me opinio Riemann.*

<sup>4</sup> Non *JK Aldus, Froben: vero P(3)N: verum C<sup>4</sup>.*

<sup>5</sup> meum *om. P(1)N.*

<sup>6</sup> at suggested (not read) by Conway: et *P(3) Weissenborn: om. Gronovius, Conway: ut DA'N'JK Aldus, Froben, Alscheski, Madvig: si et N: sed Crévier.*

there was in the entire province any place, any people, where my life was hated ; so had I borne myself not only towards allies, but also towards enemies. Behold ! here in my own camp—how mistaken I was !—a rumour of my death was not only believed but even waited for. Not that I should wish the crime to be shared by all. For my part, if I believed that the whole of my army had desired my death I should die here at once before your eyes, nor would a life hated by my fellow-citizens and my soldiers give me pleasure. But every crowd is in itself motionless, as is the natural state of the sea ; rather do winds and breezes ruffle it. So among you there is either calm or sudden storms. And the cause and source of every madness is chargeable to its promoters ; your insanity came by contagion. Even today you do not seem to me to know what a pitch of frenzy you have reached, what a crime you have dared to commit against me, against your country and parents and children, against the gods, witnesses of your oath, what a crime as regards the auspices under which you are serving, or the custom of the service and the discipline of your ancestors, or the dignity of the supreme command !

“ Of myself I say nothing, granting that you were hasty rather than eager in believing, granting in short that I am a man whose authority irks an army, and no wonder. But the country, what evil had she done you, when you were betraying her by sharing your designs with Mandonius and Indibilis ? What harm had the Roman people done you when you took away

<sup>7</sup> ita om. Sp<sup>N</sup>sJK Froben 2.

<sup>8</sup> militatis P(1)N : militastis Sp<sup>?</sup>JK Froben 2.

- populi creatis ad homines privatos detulistis, cum eo ipso non contenti si pro tribunis illos haberetis, fasces imperatoris vestri ad eos quibus servus cui imperarent numquam fuerat, Romanus exercitus detulistis?
- 15 In praetorio tetenderunt Albius et Atrius, classicum apud eos cecinit, signum ab iis petitum est, sederunt in tribunali P. Scipionis, lictor apparuit, summoto incesserunt, fasces cum securibus praelati sunt.
- 16 Lapidem pluere et fulmina iaci de caelo et insuetos fetus animalia edere vos portenta esse putatis: hoc est portentum quod nullis hostiis, nullis supplicationibus sine sanguine eorum qui tantum ausi facinus sunt<sup>1</sup> expiari possit.

XXVIII. "Atque ego, quamquam nullum scelus rationem habet, tamen, ut in re nefaria, quae mens, 2 quod consilium vestrum fuerit scire velim. Regium quondam in praesidium missa legio interfectis per scelus principibus civitatis urbem opulentam per 3 decem annos tenuit; propter quod facinus tota legio, milia hominum quattuor, in foro Romae securi per- 4 cussi sunt. Sed illi primum non Atrium Umbrum semilixam, nominis etiam abominandi ducem, sed D. Vibellium tribunum militum secuti sunt, nec cum Pyrrho nec cum Samnitibus aut Lucanis, hostibus 5 populi Romani, se coniunxerunt; vos cum Mandonio

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<sup>1</sup> sunt N<sup>o</sup> (altern.) JK Allus, Froben : sint P(1)N.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Periocha* 12 fin.; Polybius I. vii. 6 ff. This legion was made up of Campanians. As such they were Roman citizens and did not serve as auxiliaries.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Periocha* 15. Livy overlooked serious losses the legion must have suffered when the city was captured and in the course of ten years. This may reduce the number executed to about Polybius' figure—more than 300; *l.c.* §§ 11 f.

the command from tribunes elected by vote of the people and conferred it upon private persons, when, not even satisfied with having them as tribunes, you, a Roman army, bestowed the fasces of your commander upon men who had never had a slave to whom they might give orders? In the headquarters were lodged Albius and Atrius; at their tent sounded the trumpet, men came to them for the watchword; they sat on Publius Scipio's tribunal. A lictor attended them; the way was cleared before they proceeded; fasces with their axes were borne before them. Showers of stones and thunderbolts hurled from the sky and animals bringing forth strange offspring you reckon portents; here we have a portent which cannot be expiated by any victims, by any set days of prayer, without the blood of those who have dared so great a crime.

XXVIII. "And although no crime has a reasonable ground, nevertheless I should like to know what was your purpose, what your plan, seeing that we are dealing with a flagrant offence. A legion formerly sent as a garrison to Regium,<sup>1</sup> after foully slaying the leading men of the state, held that wealthy city for ten years. For that crime the entire legion, four thousand men,<sup>2</sup> were beheaded in the Forum at Rome. But in the first place they did not follow the lead of Atrius the Umbrian, half-soldier half-sutler, with an ominous name<sup>3</sup> also, but of Decimus Vibellius, a tribune of the soldiers; neither did they ally themselves with Pyrrhus, nor with the Samnites and Lucanians, enemies of the Roman people. You

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.* from *ater*, 'coal black,' 'unlucky'; cf. the *dies atri* of the calendar.

et Indibili et<sup>1</sup> consilia communicastis et arma conso-  
ciaturi fuistis. Illi, sicut Campani Capuam Tuscis  
veteribus cultoribus ademptam, Mamertini in Sicilia  
Messanam, sic Regium habituri perpetuam sedem  
erant, nec populum Romanum nec socios populi Ro-  
mani ultro lacestuti bello: Sucronemne vos domi-  
ciliū habituri eratis? Ubi si vos decedens confecta  
provincia imperator relinquem, deum hominumque  
fidem implorare debebatis, quod non rediretis<sup>2</sup> ad con-  
iuges liberosque vestros.

“ Sed horum quoque memoriam, sicut patriae  
meique, eieceritis ex animis vestris; viam consilii  
scelerati sed non ad ultimum dementis exsequi volo.  
Mene vivo et cetero incolumi exercitu, cum quo ego  
die uno Carthaginem cepi, cum quo quattuor impera-  
tores,<sup>3</sup> quattuor exercitus Carthaginiensium fudi,  
fugavi. Hispania<sup>4</sup> expuli, vos octo milia hominum,  
minoris certe omnes pretii quam Albius et Atrius sunt  
quibus vos subiecistis. Hispaniam provinciam populo  
Romano erecturi eratis? Amolior et amoveo nomen  
meum; nihil ultra facile creditam mortem meam a  
vobis violatus sim: quid? si ego morerer, mecum  
exspiratura res publica, mecum casurum imperium  
populi Romani erat? Ne istuc Iuppiter optimus  
maximus sirit, urbem auspicato deis auctoribus in

<sup>1</sup> et SpN\*JK Froben 2: om. P(1)N Aldus.

<sup>2</sup> rediretis M<sup>1</sup>A<sup>6</sup>?N<sup>2</sup>JK Aldus, Froben, Eds.: redieritis  
P(1)(-entis D<sub>1</sub>N Conway.

<sup>3</sup> quattuor imperatores om. P(1)N.

<sup>4</sup> Hispania A<sup>6</sup>N\*JK Luchs, Conway: om. P(1) Eds.

<sup>1</sup> It was in fact the Samnites who captured Etruscan Capua; cf. IV. xxxvii. 1. (424 B.C.); Strabo V. iv. 3.

have shared your plans with Mandonius and Indibilis B.C. 206 and were to have been their comrades in arms as well. The legion would have held Regium as its permanent abode, just as the Campanians<sup>1</sup> held Capua, wrested away from its former Etruscan inhabitants, just as the Mamertines held Messana in Sicily; and it would not have gone so far as to attack the Roman people or allies of the Roman people. Was Sucro to have been your domicile? If I had left you there when as general-in-command I was retiring from my province completely subdued, it would have been right for you to implore the help of gods and men because you were not returning to your wives and children.

" But granted that you have banished their memory also from your minds, as you have that of your country and of myself, I wish to follow up the outcome of your plan, a criminal one but not utterly insane. If I lived and the rest of the army was intact with which I captured (New) Carthage in a single day and with which I routed, put to flight, drove out of Spain, four generals,<sup>2</sup> four armies of the Carthaginians, would you—eight thousand men, all of you certainly of less consequence than Albius and Atrius, to whom you submitted yourselves—would you really have intended to wrest the province of Spain from the Roman people? Suppose I take no account whatever of my name—granted that I have not been wronged by you except in your readiness to believe me dead, tell me, if I had been dying would the state have breathed its last with me, would the empire of the Roman people have fallen with me? May Jupiter the best and greatest forbid that the city, founded with due auspices and

<sup>2</sup> Both Hasdrubals, Hanno (ii. 11) and Mago (xvi. 13).

aeternum conditam huic fragili<sup>1</sup> et mortali corpori  
 12 aequalem esse. Flaminio, Paulo, Graccho,<sup>2</sup> Postumio Albino, M. Marcello, T. Quintio Crispino, Cn. Fulvio, Scipionibus meis, tot tam praeclaris imperatoribus uno bello absumptis superstes est populus Romanus, eritque mille aliis nunc ferro nunc morbo<sup>3</sup> morientibus: meo unius funere elata esset res  
 13 publica?<sup>4</sup> Vos ipsi hic in Hispania patre et patruo meo, duobus imperatoribus, interfectis Septimum Marcium ducem vobis adversus exultantes recenti victoria Poenos delegistis. Et sic loquor tamquam  
 14 sine duce Hispaniae futurae fuerint: M. Silanus eodem iure, eodem imperio mecum in provinciam missus, L. Scipio frater meus et C. Laelius legati,  
 15 vindices maiestatis imperii deessent? Utrum exercitus exercitui, an duces ducibus, an dignitas, an causa comparari poterat? Quibus si omnibus superiores essetis, arma contra patriam, contra cives vestros ferretis? Africam Italiae, Carthaginem urbi Romanae imperare velletis? Quam ob noxam patriae? XXIX. Coriolanum quondam damnatio iniusta, miserum et indignum exilium ut iret ad oppugnandam patriam impulit; revocavit tamen a publico parricidio privata

<sup>1</sup> huic fragili *P(1)N Aldus*: fragili huic *JK Froben*.

<sup>2</sup> Flaminio . . . Graccho *Sp?N<sup>2</sup>JK Froben 2*: *om. P(1)N*.

<sup>3</sup> nunc morbo *A<sup>6</sup>N<sup>2</sup>* or *N<sup>4</sup>JK*: *om. P(1)N*.

<sup>4</sup> esset res publica *SpJK* (*preceded in all three by populi romani, which Froben 2, Luchs and others retain*) Conway: *res p.* (or *publica*) *P(1)N Aldus, Eds.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. IV. iv. 4; V. vii. 10. For *urbs aeterna* see *Trans. Amer. Philol. Assn.* XXV. (1894), 34 ff.; Franz Christ in *Tübinger Beiträge* XXXI. (1938), 59 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Although Gnaeus Scipio was not legally an *imperator*, having been sent to Spain by Publius, while he himself returned to Italy (XXI. xxxii. 3; xl. 3), it was unnecessary

favour of the gods to endure forever,<sup>1</sup> should live no longer than this frail, mortal body! Although Flaminius, Paulus, Gracchus, Postumius Albinus, Marcus Marcellus, Titus Quintius Crispinus, Gnaeus Fulvius, my Scipios—so many generals and so distinguished—have perished in one war, the Roman people survives and will survive, although a thousand others die, now by the sword, now by disease. At *my* funeral—one man's—would the republic have been borne to its tomb? You yourselves here in Spain, after the slaying of my father and uncle, two generals,<sup>2</sup> appointed Septimus Marcus as your commander against the Carthaginians, who were overjoyed by their recent victory. And I am speaking just as if the Spanish provinces would have been without a commander. But would Marcus Silanus, who was sent with me into the province with the same authority, the same command, would my brother Lucius Scipio and Gaius Laelius, my lieutenants, have failed to avenge the dignity of the high command? Could army have been compared with army, or generals with generals? Could rank or cause have been matched? If in all these respects you had been superior, would you have borne arms against your country, against your fellow-citizens? Would you have wished Africa to rule over Italy, Carthage over the city of Rome? For what offence on the part of your country? XXIX. Coriolanus was once impelled by an unjust condemnation, a wretched and undeserved banishment, to set out to besiege his native city. Nevertheless family devotion recalled him from foul treason to the state. In your case what

for the historian to be pedantic. Cf. XXV. xxxii. 1; xxxvii. 9; XXVI. ii. 5.

- 2 pietas: vos qui dolor, quae ira incitavit? Stipendiumne diebus paucis imperatore aegro serius numeratum satis digna causa fuit cur patriae indiceretis bellum, cur ad Ilergetes descisceretis a populo Romano, cur nihil divinarum humanarum rerum inviolatum vobis esset?
- 3 " Insanistis profecto, milites, nec maior in corpus meum vis morbi quam in vestras mentes invasit.
- 4 Horret animus referre quid crediderint homines, quid speraverint, quid optaverint: <sup>1</sup> auferat omnia inrita oblivio, si potest; si non, utcumque silentium tegat.
- 5 Non negaverim tristem atrocemque vobis visam orationem meam: <sup>2</sup> quanto creditis facta vestra atrociora esse quam dicta mea? Et me ea quae fecistis pati aequum censem; <sup>3</sup> vos ne dici quidem omnia aequo
- 6 animo fertis: <sup>4</sup> Sed ne ea quidem ipsa ultra exprobra-buntur. Utinam tam facile vos obliviscamini eorum
- 7 quam ego obliviscar! Itaque quod ad universos vos attinet, si erroris paenitet, satis superque poenarum habeo. Albius Calenus et Atrius Umber et ceteri nefariae seditionis auctores sanguine luent quod ad-
- 8 miserunt. Vobis supplicii eorum spectaculum non modo non acerbum, sed laetum etiam, si sana mens rediit, debet esse: de nullis enim quam de vobis infestius aut inimicius <sup>5</sup> consuluerunt."
- 9 Vix finem dicendi fecerat cum ex praeparato simul omnium rerum terror oculis auribusque est
- 10 offusus. Exercitus, qui corona contionem circum-

<sup>1</sup> quid optaverint *P(1)N Aldus, Froben: om. SpJK.*

<sup>2</sup> meam *P(1)N Aldus: om. Sp?JKx Froben 2.*

<sup>3</sup> pati aequum censem *om. P(1)N, one line.*

<sup>4</sup> fertis *P(1)N: feretis A'N'JK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>5</sup> inimicius *Aldus, Froben, Eds.: inicius P(3): iniquius CAN: immitius JK.*

grievance, what anger spurred you on? Was delay of B.C. 206 a few days in receiving your pay owing to the illness of your general a sufficient reason why you should declare war on your country, why you should revolt from the Roman people to the Ilergetes, why not one thing divine or human should be to you inviolable?

"Insane you surely were, soldiers, and no more critical ailment attacked my body than your minds. I shrink from recalling what men believed, what they hoped, what they desired. Let forgetfulness carry away and cancel everything if possible; if not, let silence somehow cover it all. I would not deny that my speech has seemed to you severe and cruel; how much more cruel do you believe your acts are than my words? And you think I ought patiently to bear what you have done: on your side can you not bear patiently even the telling of the whole story? But even those acts themselves will not be the subject of further reproaches. May you forget them as easily as I shall forget them! Accordingly, so far as the mass of you are concerned, if you repent of your mistake, that is to me a quite sufficient punishment. Albius of Cales and Atrius the Umbrian and the rest of those who brought about a wicked mutiny will atone with their blood for what they have done. To you the spectacle of their punishment, if your minds have returned to health, ought not only to bring no bitterness but even joy. For there are no men whom they have treated in a more hostile and unfriendly spirit than yourselves."

Scarcely had he made an end of speaking when, in accordance with previous orders, their eyes and ears were assailed by terrifying sights and sounds everywhere. The troops who had encircled the as-

dederat, gladiis ad scuta concrepuit; praetoris audita  
 11 vox citantis nomina damnatorum in consilio; nudi in  
 medium protrahebantur, et simul omnis apparatus  
 supplicii expromebatur. Deligati ad palum virgisque  
 caesi et securi percussi, adeo torpentibus metu qui  
 aderant ut non modo ferocior vox adversus atrocitatem  
 12 poenae, sed ne gemitus quidem exaudiretur. Tracti  
 inde de medio omnes,<sup>1</sup> purgatoque loco citati milites  
 nominatim apud tribunos militum in verba P.  
 Scipionis iurarunt, stipendumque ad nomen singulis  
 persolutum est. Hunc finem exitumque seditio  
 militum copta apud Sucronem habuit.

XXX. Per idem tempus ad Baetim fluvium Hanno,  
 praefectus Magonis, missus a Gadibus cum parva  
 manu Afrorum, mercede Hispanos sollicitando ad  
 2 quattuor milia iuvenum armavit. Castris deinde  
 exutus ab L. Marcio, maxima parte militum inter  
 tumultum captorum castrorum, quibusdam etiam in  
 fuga amissis, palatos persequente equite, cum paucis  
 ipse effugit.

3 Dum haec ad Baetim fluvium geruntur, Laelius  
 interim freto in Oceanum enectus ad Carteiam classe  
 accessit. Urbs ea in ora Oceani sita est, ubi primum

<sup>i</sup> <sup>1</sup> omnes *P(1)NJK*: exanimes *Allen*: trunci et inanim  
 omnes *Johnson conj.* (*after Polybius XI. xxx. 3.*)

<sup>1</sup> At the north end of the Bay of Gibraltar, about half-way  
 between the Rock, Calpe, and Algeciras. Livy thinks of the  
 Atlantic as beginning immediately beyond the Pillars of  
 Hercules, and thus including nearly the whole of the Strait

sembly crashed swords against shields. The herald's voice was heard, calling out the names of those condemned in the war-council. They were being dragged out into the centre stripped, and at the same time everything requisite for punishment was being brought out. Bound to a stake they were scourged and beheaded, while the spectators were so paralysed by fear that not only was no fierce protest against the severity of the punishment heard, but not even a groan. Then all the bodies were dragged away from the centre, and after the ground had been cleansed the soldiers, summoned by name, in the presence of the military tribunes, swore allegiance to Publius Scipio; and as each man was called his pay was counted out to him. Such was the end and outcome of the mutiny of the soldiers which began at Sucro.

XXX. About the same time along the Baetis River Hanno, Mago's prefect, who had been sent from Gades with a small force of Africans, enlisting Spaniards for pay, armed about four thousand young men. Then stripped of his camp by Lucius Marcius, while the largest part of his troops were lost in the confusion of its capture, some also lost in the flight, since the cavalry pursued the scattered fugitives, Hanno himself with a small number only escaped.

While these things were going on along the Baetis River, Laelius meantime sailed down the strait into the Ocean and came with his fleet to Carteia.<sup>1</sup> This city is situated on the coast of the Ocean, where

(*Fretum Gaditanum*). In 171 b.c. Carteia became a Latin colony; XLIII. iii. 3 f. Cf. also Strabo III. i. 7; Mela II. 96.

## LIVY

4 e faucibus angustis panditur mare. Gades sine certamine per prodigionem<sup>1</sup> recipiendi, ultro qui eam rem pollicerentur in castra Romana venientibus, spes, sicut ante dictum est, fuerat. Sed<sup>2</sup> patefacta inmatura proditio est, comprensosque omnes Mago Adherbali praetori Carthaginem devehendos tradit.

5 Adherbal coniuratis in quinqueremem inpositis, praemissaque ea, quia tardior quam triremis erat, ipse cum octo triremibus modico intervallo sequitur.

6 Iam fretum intrabat quinqueremis cum Laelius et ipse in quinqueremi ex<sup>3</sup> portu Carteiae sequentibus septem triremibus evectus in Adherbalem ac triremes<sup>4</sup> invehitur, quinqueremem satis credens deprensam rapido in freto in adversum aestum recipro-

7 cari non posse. Poenus in re subita parumper incertus trepidavit<sup>5</sup> utrum quinqueremem sequeretur

8 an in hostes rostra converteret. Ipsa cunctatio facultatem detractandae pugnae ademit; iam enim sub ictu teli erant, et undique instabant hostes. Aestus quoque arbitrium moderandi naves ademerat. Neque erat navali pugna<sup>6</sup> similis, quippe ubi nihil voluntarium, nihil artis aut consilii esset. Una natura freti aestusque totius certaminis potens suis, alienis navibus nequicquam remigio in contrarium tendentes invehiebat; et<sup>7</sup> fugientem navem videres vertice

<sup>1</sup> per prodigionem *Sigonius*, *Eds.*: per dedit- *P(1)NJK Aldus*: per dit. *Sp*: proditione *Froben* 2.

<sup>2</sup> Sed *om.* *P(1)N*.

<sup>3</sup> ex *A'NJK*: e *Froben* 2: *om.* *P(1)N Aldus*.

<sup>4</sup> ac triremes *om.* *P(1)N*.

<sup>5</sup> trepidavit *P(1)N Aldus*, *Froben*: -bat *JK*.

<sup>6</sup> pugna *Froben*: pugnae *P(1)NJK Aldus*.

<sup>7</sup> et *P(1)NJK Eds.*: ut *A'NJK Aldus*, *Froben*, *Luchs*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, xxiii. 6.

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the sea begins to open out after the narrow entrance. Of Gades, as has been said above, he had hoped without a battle to gain possession by betrayal,<sup>1</sup> since men actually came into the Roman camp to make such a promise. But the betrayal was prematurely revealed, and Mago arrested all the conspirators and turned them over to Adherbal, the magistrate,<sup>2</sup> to be transported to Carthage. Adherbal placed the conspirators on a quinquereme and after sending it in advance, because it was slower than a trireme, himself followed with eight triremes at no great distance. The quinquereme was already entering the strait when Laelius, also on a quinquereme, sailed out from the harbour of Carteia followed by seven triremes, and steered for Adherbal and his triremes, feeling quite sure that the quinquereme, caught in the swift current of the strait, could not reverse its course in the face of the tide. The Carthaginian in the unexpected situation was troubled for the moment and uncertain whether to follow his quinquereme or to turn his prows towards the enemy. That hesitation in itself deprived him of the power to refuse a battle; for they were already within range and the enemy was pressing them from all sides. The tide also had deprived them of control of their ships. Nor was the fight like a naval battle; for here there was no initiative, no skill or strategy. The nature of the strait and its tide alone controlled the entire engagement, carrying men, vainly struggling to row in the opposite direction, against their own ships or those of the enemy. And one might have seen a fleeing ship swung about by a swirl

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* one of the two *sufētes* and at the same time a general. Cf. xxxvii. 2 (at Gades); XXX. vii. 5.

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retro intortam victoribus inlatam, et sequentem, si in contrarium tractum incidisset maris, fugientis modo  
 10 sese avertentem. Iam in ipsa pugna haec, cum infesto<sup>1</sup> rostro peteret hostium navem, obliqua ipsa iectum alterius rostri accipiebat; illa, cum transversa obiceretur hosti, repente intorta in proram circumagebatur. Cum inter triremes fortuna regente anceps proelium misceretur, quinqueremis Romana seu pondere tenacior, seu pluribus remorum ordinibus scindentibus vertices cum facilius regeretur, duas triremes suppressit, unius praelata impetu lateris  
 12 alterius remos detersit; ceterasque quas indepta esset mulcasset, ni cum reliquis quinque navibus Adherbal velis in Africam transmisisset.

XXXI. Laelius victor Carteiam revectus, auditis quae acta Gadibus erant—patefactam proditionem coniuratosque missos Carthaginem, spem ad inritum 2 redactam qua venissent—nuntiis ad L. Marcium missis, nisi si<sup>2</sup> terere frustra tempus sedendo ad Gades vellent, redeundum ad imperatorem esse, adsentiente Marcio paucos post dies ambo Carthaginiem rediere. Ad quorum discessum non respiravit  
 3

<sup>1</sup> infesto JK Aldus, Froben, Eds. : infesta P(1)N Conway.

<sup>2</sup> si om. N'J Aldus, Froben.

<sup>1</sup> If a quinquereme had but one bank of oars, each oar pulled by five men, as many now incline to believe, it remains unexplained how Livy in comparing a quinquereme in battle with triremes could simply say that the former had more *ordines remorum*, unless he thought that to be the case. In XXIV. xxxiv. 7 *exteriore ordine remorum* includes all the oars on one side of a ship but does not tell us whether in a single bank or in five. Certainly the quinquereme, however rowed, was a more impressive sight from the shore than a trireme even

and borne against the victors, and a pursuing ship, B.C. 206 if it chanced upon an opposite current, turning away as if in flight. In actual combat now one ship, aiming to ram a ship of the enemy with its beak, turning aslant would itself receive the blow of the other's beak. Another ship, exposing its beam to the enemy, would suddenly be swung and turned bow foremost. While between the triremes an indecisive battle controlled by chance was in progress, the Roman quinquereme, whether because she was steadier by reason of her weight or more easily steered as her more numerous banks of oars<sup>1</sup> cleft the whirling waters, sank two triremes and shooting past another swept away the oars on one side. In addition she would have seriously damaged the rest of the ships with which she had closed, had not Adherbal with five remaining ships crossed over to Africa under sail.

XXXI. Laelius as victor sailed back to Carteia, and on hearing of the occurrences at Gades—that the betrayal had been revealed and the conspirators sent to Carthage; that the hope in which they had come to him had been frustrated—he sent messengers to Lucius Marcius, saying that unless they wished to waste time to no purpose in idling before Gades, they must return to the commander-in-chief. As Marcius agreed, they both returned after a few days to (New) Carthage. Upon their departure Mago was not only

to a landlubber; cf. XXIX. xi. 4. For the whole question see A. Köster, *Das antike Seewesen* 143 ff.; and in Kromayer-Veith, *Heerwesen*, etc. 182 f.; 616 f.; W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments* 124 ff.; and in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXV. 137 ff., 156, 204 ff.; Starr, C. G., *Class. Philol.* XXXV. 353 ff.; 373.

modo Mago, cum terra marique ancipiti metu urgeretur, sed etiam audita rebellione Ilergetum spem recuperandae Hispaniae nanctus, nuntios Carthaginem ad senatum mittit qui simul seditionem civilem in castris Romanis, simul defectionem sociorum in maius verbis extollentes hortentur<sup>1</sup> ut auxilia mitterent quibus traditum a patribus imperium Hispaniae repeti posset.

Mandonius et Indibilis in fines regressi paulisper, dum quidnam de seditione statueretur scirent, suspensi quieverunt, si civium errori ignosceretur, non diffidentes sibi quoque ignosci posse. Postquam volgata est atrocitas supplicii, suam quoque noxam pari poena aestimatam rati, vocatis rursus ad arma popularibus contractisque quae ante habuerant auxiliis, in Sedetanum agrum, ubi principio defectionis stativa habuerant, cum viginti milibus peditum, duobus milibus<sup>2</sup> equitum et quingentis transcenderunt.

XXXII. Scipio, cum fide solvendi pariter omnibus noxiis innoxiiisque stipendii tum voltu ac sermone in omnes placato facile reconciliatis militum animis, priusquam castra ab Carthagine moveret, contione advocata multis verbis in perfidiam rebellantium regulorum invectus, nequaquam eodem animo se ire

<sup>1</sup> hortentur *P(1)N Eds.*: hortarentur *M<sup>3</sup>?N<sup>4</sup>JK Aldus, Froben, Luchs.*

<sup>2</sup> peditum duobus milibus *om. P(1)N.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxiv. 4.

relieved, since he was beset by a two-fold source of alarm, by sea and by land, but when he heard of the deflection of the Ilergetes he conceived the hope also of recovering Spain. Accordingly he sent messengers to the senate at Carthage, to exaggerate at the same time both the mutiny of citizens in the Roman camp and the rebellion of allies, and to urge them to send auxiliaries, by whose help rule over Spain, which they had inherited from their fathers, could be recovered.

Mandonius and Indibilis returned into their own territory and for a time remained quietly on the alert, until they should know what decision was reached in regard to the mutiny, not without confidence that, if a misunderstanding on the part of Roman citizens should be pardoned, they themselves also might possibly be pardoned. After the harsh punishment came to be generally known, they thought that their guilt likewise was reckoned as deserving the same penalty. Recalling the men of their tribe to arms and assembling their previous auxiliaries, with twenty thousand infantry and two thousand five hundred cavalry they crossed into the land of the Sedetani,<sup>1</sup> where they had maintained a permanent camp at the beginning of the rebellion.

XXXII. Scipio by his conscientiousness in paying all his men, guilty and innocent alike, and more by his countenance and speech showing no resentment against any one, easily won the hearts of his soldiers. Before moving his camp away from (New) Carthage he summoned an assembly. There after inveighing at great length against the treachery of the chiefs in rebellion, he declared that in order to punish their crime he was setting out in a very different spirit

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professus est ad vindicandum id scelus quo civilem  
 4 errorem nuper sanaverit. Tum se haud secus quam  
 viscera secantem sua cum gemitu et lacrimis triginta  
 hominum capitibus expiassae octo milium seu im-  
 prudentiam seu noxam; nunc laeto et erecto animo  
 5 ad caedem Ilergetum ire. Non enim eos neque natos  
 in eadem terra nec ulla secum societate iunctos esse;  
 eam quae sola fuerit fidei atque amicitiae<sup>1</sup> ipsos  
 6 per scelus rupisse. In exercitu suo se, praeterquam  
 quod omnes cives aut socios Latinique nominis videat,  
 etiam eo moveri quod nemo fere sit miles qui non aut  
 a patruo suo Cn. Scipione, qui primus Romani  
 nominis in eam provinciam venerit, aut a patre  
 7 consule aut a se sit ex Italia advectus. Scipionum  
 nomini auspiciisque<sup>2</sup> omnes adsuetos, quos secum in  
 patriam ad meritum triumphum deducere velit, quos  
 consulatum petenti, velut si omnium communis  
 agatur honos, adfuturos speret.  
 8 Quod ad expeditionem<sup>3</sup> attineat quae instet, im-  
 memorem esse rerum suarum gestarum qui id bellum  
 ducat. Magonis hercule sibi, qui extra orbem  
 terrarum in circumfusam Oceano insulam cum paucis  
 perfugerit navibus, maiorem curam esse quam Iler-  
 9 getum; quippe illic et ducem Carthaginiensem et  
 quantumcumque Punicum praesidium esse, hic  
 latrones latronumque duces, quibus ut ad populandos  
 finitimorum agros tectaque urenda et rapienda

<sup>1</sup> fidei atque amicitiae *P(1)N*: -dem atque -tiam *N<sup>4</sup>JK*  
*Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>2</sup> -que *AN Aldus, Froben*: *om. P(3)SpJK.*

<sup>3</sup> expeditionem, *after this Sp<sup>2</sup>N<sup>4</sup>JK Froben* 2 add eam.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 141 and note.

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from that in which he recently cured a misunderstanding on the part of citizens. At that time, he said, with sighing and tears, just as though he were cutting into his own vital organs, he had atoned by the lives of thirty men for the folly, or it might be the guilt, of eight thousand. But now with joy and exaltation of spirit he was advancing to the slaughter of the Ilergetes. For they had not been born in the same land, nor were they linked by any alliance with himself. The only bond which once existed, that of loyalty and friendship, they had themselves broken by their crime. As for his own army, he was stirred on seeing all the men in it citizens or allies and Latins, and also because there was hardly a soldier who had not been brought from Italy either by his uncle Gnaeus Scipio, who was the first of the Romans to come into that province, or by his father as consul, or by himself. They were all of them accustomed to the name and auspices of the Scipios, being men whom he would like to bring home to their country for a well-earned triumph, men who he hoped would support his canvass for the consulship, just as if an honour shared by all alike were at stake.

So far as concerned the enterprise now impending, he said, any man who considered it a war was forgetting their own achievements. Mago surely, who fled with a few ships beyond the known world to an island surrounded by the Ocean,<sup>1</sup> was a greater concern to him than the Ilergetes. For there it was a Carthaginian general and also a Punic force however small; here there were brigands and brigand chiefs, who might, to be sure, have considerable strength for ravaging the lands of neighbouring tribes and for burning houses and stealing cattle, but none

pecora aliqua vis sit, ita in acie ac signis conlatis nullam esse; magis velocitate ad fugam quam armis pugnaturos esse. Itaque non quod ullum inde periculum aut semen maioris belli videat, ideo se, priusquam provincia decedat, opprimendos Ilergetes duxisse, sed primum ne inpunita tam scelerata defectio esset, deinde ne quis in provincia simul virtute tanta et felicitate perdomita relictus hostis dici posset. Proinde deis bene iuvantibus sequentur, non tam ad bellum gerendum—neque enim cum pari hoste certamen esse—quam ad expetendas ab hominibus scelestis poenas.

XXXIII. Ab hac oratione dimisso ad iter se comparare in diem posterum iubet, profectusque decumis castris pervenit ad Hiberum flumen. Inde superato amni die quarto in conspectu hostium posuit castra. Campus ante montibus circa saeptus erat. In eam vallem Scipio cum pecora, rapta pleraque ex ipsorum<sup>1</sup> hostium agris, propelli ad inritandam feritatem barorum iussisset, velites subsidio misit, a quibus ubi per procurationem commissa pugna esset, Laelium cum equitatu impetum ex occulto facere iubet. Mons opportune prominens equitum insidias texit, nec ulla mora pugnae facta est. Hispani in conspecta procul pecora, velites in Hispanos praeda occupatos incurrere. Primo missilibus territavere; deinde missis levibus telis, quae inritare magis quam decer-

<sup>1</sup> ipsorum *N·JK Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)N.*

at all in battle-line and when standards faced stan- B.C. 206  
dards. In battle they would rely more upon swiftness in flight than upon arms. Accordingly it was not because he saw any danger from them or the seed of a greater war, that he had thought the Ilergetes must be overpowered before he left his province. It was in the first place in order that so criminal a rebellion might not go unpunished, and then that it might not possibly be said that any enemy had been left in a province which had been thoroughly conquered by such courage combined with such success. Wherefore with the kind aid of the gods let them follow him, not so much to carry on a war—for it was no conflict with a well-matched enemy—as to exact punishment from criminals.

XXXIII. Dismissing them after this speech, he ordered them to make ready for the march on the morrow; and setting out he came in ten stages to the river Hiberus. Then crossing the river, he pitched camp on the fourth day in sight of the enemy. In front was level ground hemmed in on this side and that by mountains. Into that valley Scipio first ordered men to drive cattle—mostly booty from the enemy's own farms—to tempt the barbarians' love of pillage, and then sent light-armed troops to their assistance. When these had begun the battle with a charge, he ordered Laelius to make an attack with cavalry from an ambush. A hill conveniently projecting concealed the ambuscade of cavalry, and the battle began without delay. The Spaniards, catching sight of cattle in the distance, dashed upon them, the light-armed upon the Spaniards busy with their plunder. At first they inspired alarm by their missiles; then abandoning their light weapons, which

nere pugnam poterant, gladios nudant, et conlato  
 pede res copta geri est; ancepsque<sup>1</sup> pedestre cer-  
 6 tamen erat, ni<sup>2</sup> equites supervenissent. Neque ex  
 adverso tantum inlati obvios obtrivere, sed circum-  
 vecti etiam quidam per infima clivi ab tergo se, ut  
 plerosque intercluderent, obiecerunt,<sup>3</sup> maiorque  
 caedes fuit quam quantam edere levia per excursiones  
 proelia solent.

7 Ira magis accensa adverso proelio barbaris est  
 quam imminuti animi. Itaque ne perculti<sup>4</sup> videren-  
 8 tur, prima luce postero die in aciem processere. Non  
 capiebat omnes copias angusta, sicut ante dictum est,  
 valles; duae ferme peditum partes et<sup>5</sup> omnis equi-  
 tatus in aciem descendit; quod relicum peditum erat  
 9 obliquo constituerunt<sup>6</sup> colle. Scipio, pro se esse loci  
 angustias ratus, et quod in arto pugna Romano  
 aptior quam Hispano militi futura videbatur, et quod  
 in eum locum detracta hostium acies esset qui non  
 omnem multitudinem eorum caperet, novo etiam con-  
 10 silio adiecit animum; equitem nec se posse circum-  
 dare cornibus in tam angusto spatio, et hosti quem  
 11 cum pedite deduxisset inutilem fore. Itaque imperat  
 Laelio ut per colles quam occultissimo itinere circum-  
 ducat equites segregetque quantum possit<sup>7</sup> eque-  
 12 strem a pedestri pugnam; ipse omnia signa peditum  
 in hostes vertit; quattuor cohortes in fronte statuit,  
 13 quia latius pandere aciem non poterat. Moram

<sup>1</sup> pede . . . ancepsque *om.* *P(1)N*, *two lines probably, supplied from A<sup>t</sup>N<sup>s</sup>JK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>2</sup> ni *P<sup>1</sup>CJK Froben 2*: nisi *P(3)N Aldus.*

<sup>3</sup> obiecerunt *P(3)M<sup>1</sup>N Aldus*: -cere *JK Froben 2.*

<sup>4</sup> perculti<sup>?</sup> *Sp<sup>?</sup>A<sup>?</sup>JK Froben 2*: pulsi *P(1)N Aldus.*

<sup>5</sup> et *A<sup>x</sup>JK*: *om. P(1)N.*

<sup>6</sup> constituerunt *P(1)N Aldus*: -stiterunt *M<sup>3</sup>Sp<sup>?</sup>JK Froben 2.*

<sup>7</sup> possit *ANJK Aldus, Froben*: posset *P(3).*

could provoke rather than decide the battle, they <sup>B.C. 206</sup> drew their swords and began fighting at close quarters. And the infantry battle would have remained doubtful if the cavalry had not arrived. Not only did they trample down those they met by a frontal attack, but some also rode round along the lowest part of the slope and made an attack in the rear, so that they cut off a good many; and the slaughter was greater than unimportant skirmishes usually cause.

This defeat kindled the anger of the barbarians, instead of diminishing their courage. Consequently, not to appear daunted, they went out into battle-line at daybreak the next day. The valley being narrow, as stated above, had no room for all the forces. About two-thirds of the infantry and all the cavalry came down into line. The remainder of their infantry they stationed on the slope of the hill. Scipio, who thought the limited space was to his advantage, both because a battle at close range seemed likely to be better suited to the Roman than to the Spanish soldier, also because the enemy's line had been enticed down into a position which did not have room for all of their multitude, turned his attention to a further new plan. He could not place his cavalry on the wings, he thought, in so limited a space, and the enemy would have no use of the cavalry they had brought down with their infantry. Therefore he ordered Laelius to lead his cavalry about over the hills, taking the road that was best hidden, and to separate the cavalry battle, so far as he could, from that of the infantry. As for himself, he made all his infantry units face the enemy; four cohorts he placed in the front line, since he was unable to extend his line to a greater length. He did not delay

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pugnandi nullam fecit, ut ipso certamine averteret ab conspectu transeuntium per colles equitum. Neque ante circumductos sensere quam tumultum equestris  
 14 pugnae ab tergo accepere. Ita duo diversa<sup>1</sup> proelia erant; duae peditum acies, duo equitatus per longitudinem campi, quia misceri ex genere utroque proelium angustiae non patiebantur, pugnabant.  
 15 Hispanorum cum neque pedes equiti neque eques pediti auxilio esset, pedes fiducia equitis temere commissus campo caederetur, eques circumventus nec peditem a fronte—iam enim stratae pedestres copiae erant—nec ab tergo equitem sustineret, et ipsi, cum diu in orbem sese stantibus equis defendissent, ad unum omnes caesi sunt, nec quisquam peditum equitumve superfuit qui in valle pugna-  
 16 verunt. Tertia pars, quae in colle ad spectaculum magis tutum quam ad partem pugnae capessendam steterat, et locum et tempus ad fugiendum habuit.  
 17 Inter eos et reguli ipsi fugerunt, priusquam tota circumveniretur acies inter tumultum elapsi.

XXXIV. Castra eodem die Hispanorum, praeter ceteram praedam, cum tribus ferme milibus hominum 2 capiuntur. Romani sociique ad mille et<sup>2</sup> ducenti eo<sup>3</sup> proelio ceciderunt; volnerata amplius tria milia hominum. Minus cruenta victoria fuisset, si patentiore campo et ad fugam capessendam facili foret pugnatum.

<sup>1</sup> diversa N'JK Aldus, Froben : om. P(1)N.

<sup>2</sup> et JK (with ducentos) : om. P(1)N.

<sup>3</sup> eo, before this Conway restores in, found in C and suggested by the ducentii of P(3)(-ti P<sup>x</sup>).

beginning the engagement, in order to divert B.C. 206 attention by the battle itself from the sight of the cavalry crossing over the hills; and they were not aware that the horsemen had outflanked them until they heard the din of a cavalry battle in their rear. Thus there were two distinct battles; two infantry lines, two cavalry forces, were fighting down the length of the level ground, since the narrow space did not permit a battle that combined both arms. On the Spanish side neither did infantry aid cavalry nor cavalry infantry; the foot-soldiers, who in reliance upon the cavalry had been rashly posted on the level ground, were cut to pieces; the cavalry, being outflanked, were neither notwithstanding Roman infantry in front—for their own infantry were already overwhelmed—nor Roman cavalry in the rear. Consequently the horsemen also, after they had formed a circle and with their horses at a standstill had defended themselves for a long time, were all slain to a man; and not one of their foot or horse that fought in the valley survived. Only a third of them, having stood on the hill, to look on in safety rather than to take part in the battle, had both a suitable position and time for flight. Among them the princes also fled, having slipped away in the confusion before the entire line should be surrounded.

XXXIV. The camp of the Spaniards was captured the same day, with about three thousand men in addition to other booty. Of the Romans and allies about twelve hundred fell in that battle; more than three thousand men were wounded. The victory would have been less bloody if the battle had been fought on a more open ground affording an easy escape.

3 Indibilis abiectis belli consiliis nihil tutius in  
 afflictis rebus experta fide et clementia Scipionis  
 4 ratus, Mandonium fratrem ad eum mittit; qui  
 advolutus genibus fatalem rabiem temporis eius  
 accusat, cum velut contagione quadam pestifera non  
 Ilergetes modo et Lacetani, sed castra quoque  
 5 Romana insanierint. Suam quidem et fratribus et  
 reliquorum popularium eam condicionem esse ut aut,  
 si ita videatur, reddant spiritum P. Scipioni ab eodem  
 illo acceptum, aut servati bis uni debitam vitam pro  
 6 eo in perpetuum devoveant. Antea in causa sua  
 fiduciam sibi fuisse nondum experta clementia eius;  
 nunc contra nullam in causa, omnem in misericordia  
 victoris spem positam<sup>1</sup> habere.

7 Mos vetustus erat Romanis, cum quo nec foedere  
 nec aequis legibus iungeretur amicitia, non prius  
 imperio in eum tamquam pacatum uti quam omnia  
 divina humanaque dedidisset, obsides accepti, arma  
 8 adempta, praesidia urbibus imposita forent. Scipio  
 multis inventus in praesentem Mandonium absen-  
 temque Indibilem verbis, illos quidem merito perisse  
 ipsorum maleficio ait, victuros suo atque populi  
 9 Romani beneficio. Ceterum se neque arma iis  
 adempturum<sup>2</sup> neque obsides imperaturum<sup>3</sup>—quippe  
 ea pignera timentium rebellionem esse; se libera  
 10 arma relinquere, solutos animos—neque se<sup>4</sup> in

<sup>1</sup> positam *P(1)N Aldus*: repositam *Sp?NJK Froben* 2.

<sup>2</sup> se . . . adempturum *om. P(1)N*: supplied by *A'NJK Aldus, Froben*.

<sup>3</sup> neque . . . imperaturum *om. P(1)NJK old Eds.*: supplied by *Weissenborn*.

<sup>4</sup> se *P(1)NJK Eds.*: rejected by *Conway*.

Indibilis, having discarded his plans for war, B.C. 206 thought no refuge safer in his distress than Scipio's honesty and mercy, of which he had had experience, and sent his brother Mandonius to him. Mandonius, clasping Scipio's knees, laid the blame upon the fateful madness of a time in which some pestilent epidemic had frenzied not merely the Ilergetes and Lacetani but also a Roman camp. As for himself, indeed, and his brother and the rest of their countrymen, such was their situation that they should either give back to Publius Scipio, if he approved, the life they had received also from him, or, if spared twice, they should perpetually devote to him the lives they owed to him alone. Formerly, when they had as yet no experience of his mercy, they had confidence in their cause. Now, however, they had no hope, he said, in their cause, but rested it all on the pity of the victor.

The old custom of the Romans in establishing peaceful relations with a people neither on the basis of a treaty nor on equal terms had been this: not to exert its authority over that people, as now pacified, until it had surrendered everything divine and human, until hostages had been received, arms taken away and garrisons posted in its cities. Scipio, however, after inveighing at length against Mandonius, who was present, and the absent Indibilis, said that in consequence of their own misdeeds they had surely deserved to die; that they should live by his kindness and that of the Roman people. But he would not take away their arms nor demand hostages; for those were the pledges for men who feared a rebellion, whereas he was leaving them their arms without restriction, their minds relieved of fear. And if they

obsides innoxios, sed in ipsos, si defecerint, saevitum, nec ab inermi, sed ab armato hoste poenas expediturum. Utramque fortunam<sup>1</sup> expertis permettere sese utrum propitos an iratos habere Romanos mallingent. Ita dimissus Mandonius pecunia tantummodo imperata ex qua stipendum militi praestari posset. Ipse Marcio in ulteriorem Hispaniam praemisso, Silano Tarraconem remisso<sup>2</sup> paucos moratus dies, dum imperatam pecuniam Ilergetes pernumerarent, cum expeditis Marcium iam adpropinquantem Oceano adsequitur.

XXXV. Incohaeta res iam ante de Masinissa aliis atque aliis de causis dilata erat, quod Numida cum ipso utique congregredi Scipione volebat atque eius dextra fidem sancire; ea tum itineris tam longi ac tam devii causa Scipioni fuit. Masinissa cum Gadibus esset, certior adventare eum a Marcio factus, causando corrumpi equos inclusos in insula penuriamque omnium rerum et facere ceteris et ipsos sentire, ad hoc equitem marcescere desidia, Magonem<sup>3</sup> perpulit ut se traicere in continentem ad depopulandos proximos Hispaniae agros pateretur. Transgressus tres principes Numidarum praemittit ad

<sup>1</sup> expediturum. Utramque fortunam *A'N'JK Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)N.*

<sup>2</sup> Silano . . . remisso *A'N'JK: om. P(1)N.*

<sup>3</sup> Magonem *om. P(1)NJK: supplied by z (1518): Conway would prefer Poenorū praefectum, one line.*

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<sup>1</sup> Gades, the oldest Phoenician city in the West (possibly 300 years older than Carthage), was built at first on a very small island at the north-west end of a long narrow island tapering away to the south-south-east. In later times the harbour was closed in that direction by the slow action of Atlantic tides, so that the long island became a peninsula. The city,

should revolt his wrath would be directed, not against innocent hostages, but against themselves, and he would exact punishment, not from an unarmed, but from an armed enemy. As they had known both kinds of fortune, he gave them their choice, whether they preferred to find the Romans kindly disposed or angry. Thus Mandonius was dismissed with no other demand than money, that the soldiers might receive their pay. After sending Marcius ahead into Farther Spain and Silanus back to Tarraco, Scipio delayed a few days for the Ilergetes to pay the whole amount demanded, and then with an unencumbered force overtook Marcius as he was now approaching the Ocean.

XXXV. Dealings which had to do with Masinissa, begun even before this time, had been postponed on one pretext or another because the Numidian desired in any case to meet Scipio in person and to ratify the agreement by clasping his hand. That was Scipio's reason at this time for a march so long and so circuitous. Masinissa, being at Gades and informed by Marcius of Scipio's approach, pretended that the horses, being shut up on an island,<sup>1</sup> were deteriorating and not only causing a general scarcity for the rest but also themselves suffering from it. Adding that the horsemen were losing their vigour from inaction, he prevailed upon Mago to permit him to cross over to the mainland in order to lay waste the nearest lands in Spain. After crossing over he sent three prominent Numidians in advance to fix a time and

now Cadiz, is separated from the mainland to the east (at the Trocadero) by a channel three-fourths of a mile wide. Cf. Strabo III. v. 3; Mela III. 46; Pliny *N.H.* IV. 119 f.; Schulten in *Arch. Anzeiger* 1927, pp. 203 ff. (maps).

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tempus locumque conloquio statuendum. Duos pro  
obsidibus retineri ab Scipione iubet; remisso tertio  
qui quo iussus erat adduceret Masinissam, cum paucis  
5 in conloquium venerunt. Ceperat iam ante Numidam  
ex fama rerum gestarum admiratio viri, substituerat-  
que animo speciem quoque corporis amplam ac  
6 magnificam; ceterum maior praesentis veneratio  
cepit, et, praeterquam quod suapte natura multa  
maiestas inerat, adornabat promissa caesaries habi-  
tusque corporis non cultus munditiis, sed virilis vere  
7 ac militaris, et aetas erat in medio virium robore,  
quod plenius nitidiusque ex morbo velut renovatus  
flos iuventae faciebat.

8 Prope attonitus ipso congressu Numida gratias de  
fratris filio remisso agit. Ex eo tempore adfirmat  
eam se quaesisse occasionem quam tandem oblatam  
9 deum immortalium beneficio non omiserit. Cupere  
se illi populoque Romano operam navare ita ut nemo  
unus externus magis enixe adiuverit rem Romanam.  
10 Id se, etiamsi iam pridem vellet, minus praestare in  
Hispania, aliena atque ignota terra,<sup>1</sup> potuisse; in  
qua autem genitus educatusque in spem paterni regni  
11 esset, facile praestaturum. Si quidem eundem  
Scipionem ducem in Africam Romani mittant, satis  
12 sperare perbrevis aevi Carthaginem esse. Laetus  
eum Scipio vidi audivitque, cum caput rerum in  
omni hostium equitatu Masinissam fuisse sciret, et

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<sup>1</sup> terra, here *P(1)N* Eds.: before aliena *JK Froben* 2,  
*Conway*: in both places *N<sup>1</sup>*.

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<sup>1</sup> Here a brother's son, while according to XXVII. xix. 9,  
perhaps from a different source, Massiva would be a sister's  
son.

place for a conference. He gave instructions that <sup>B.C. 206</sup> two were to be kept by Scipio as hostages. When the third had been sent back to conduct Masinissa to the place indicated in the order, they came with a small escort to the conference. The Numidian had already been filled with admiration for the man in consequence of his reported achievements, and had conjured up in mind an ideal figure, tall and stately. But greater still was the reverence that possessed him for the man in his presence; and while Scipio had great natural dignity, long hair added charm, as did a general appearance not due to studied elegance, but truly masculine and soldierly; and his age was exactly at the height of physical strength, amplified and made more dazzling by the youthful bloom which appeared to have been renewed after his illness.

Almost dazed by merely meeting him, the Numidian thanked him for sending home his nephew.<sup>1</sup> From that time on, he said, he had sought the opportunity which he did not let slip when at last it was presented him by the favour of the immortal gods. He was eager to give such services to Scipio and the Roman people that no individual foreigner would have aided the Roman state with more ardour. That aid, although he had long wished to give it, he had been unable to furnish in Spain, a foreign and unknown land. But in the land in which he had been born and brought up in the hope of inheriting his father's kingdom, he would easily furnish it. If indeed the Romans should send Scipio as commander into Africa as well he was quite confident that Carthage would be very short-lived. Scipio was glad to see and hear him, since he knew that in the entire cavalry of the enemy Masinissa had been the soul

- ipse iuvenis specimen animi pae se ferret. Fide  
data acceptaque profectus retro Tarraconem est.
- 13 Masinissa permissu Romanorum, ne sine causa  
traieceret in continentem videretur, populatus proximos agros Gades rediit.

XXXVI. Magoni desperatis in Hispania rebus, in quarum spem seditio primum militaris, deinde defectio Indibilis animos eius sustulerant, paranti traicere in Africam nuntiatum ab Carthagine est iubere senatum ut classem quam Gadibus haberet in 2 Italiam traiceret; conducta ibi Gallorum ac Ligurum quanta maxima posset iuventute coniungeret se<sup>1</sup> Hannibali neu senescere bellum maximo impetu, 3 maiore fortuna coeptum sineret. Ad eam rem et a Carthagine pecunia Magoni advecta est, et ipse quantam potuit a Gaditanis exegit, non aerario modo eorum sed etiam templis spoliatis, et privatim omnibus coactis aurum argentumque in publicum conferre.

4 Cum praetervehheretur Hispaniae oram, haud procul Carthagine Nova expositis in terram militibus proximos depopulatur<sup>2</sup> agros; inde ad urbem classem 5 adpulit. Ibi cum interdiu milites in navibus tenuisset, nocte in litus expositos ad partem eam muri qua capta Carthago ab Romanis fuerat, ducit, nec praesidio satis valido urbem teneri ratus et aliquos

<sup>1</sup> se om. *P(1)N*: supplied by A'JK Aldus, Froben.

<sup>2</sup> depopulatur *P(3)N* Eds.: -tus BDJK Aldus, Froben, Luchs.

<sup>1</sup> Including the famous temple of Hercules, 12 miles south of the city, on a very small peninsula, now an island (Santipetri). Cf. XXI. xxi. 9; Strabo *l.c. sub fin.*; Mela *l.c.*; Schulten *op. cit.* 1922, pp. 38 ff.; 1927, p. 211.

of everything, and in himself the young man showed <sup>B.C. 206</sup> clear evidence of his spirit. After giving and receiving promises Scipio set out on the return to Tarraco. Masinissa by permission of the Romans, that he might not appear to have crossed to the mainland without reason, devastated the nearest lands and returned to Gades.

XXXVI. Just as Mago, who had despaired of success in Spain—a hope to which first the mutiny of the soldiers and then the rebellion of Indibilis had raised his spirits—was preparing to cross over to Africa, word reached him from Carthage that the senate commanded him to take the fleet which he had at Gades over to Italy. There he was ordered to hire the greatest possible number of young Gauls and Ligurians, to join Hannibal and not permit a war that had been begun with the greatest vigour and even greater good fortune to decline now. For that purpose money was brought to Mago from Carthage, and in addition he himself exacted all that he could from the citizens of Gades by plundering not merely their treasury but also the temples,<sup>1</sup> and by compelling all private owners to contribute gold and silver to the public funds.

As he was sailing along the coast of Spain he landed soldiers not far from New Carthage and laid waste the nearest farms; then he brought his fleet up to the city. There after keeping the soldiers on shipboard during the day, he landed them on the shore by night and led them to that part of the wall where (New) Carthage had been stormed by the Romans.<sup>2</sup> For he thought the city was not held by a garrison of sufficient strength, also that with the

<sup>2</sup> Cf. XXVI. xlv. 7 ff.; xlvi. 2.

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oppidanorum ad spem novandi res aliquid moturos.  
 6 Ceterum nuntii ex agris trepidi simul populationem  
 agrestiumque fugam et hostium adventum adtule-  
 7 rant, et visa interdiu classis erat, nec sine causa  
 electam ante urbem stationem apparebat. Itaque  
 instructi armatique intra portam ad stagnum ac  
 8 mare versam continebantur. Ubi effusi hostes, mixta  
 inter milites navalis turba, ad muros tumultu maiore  
 quam vi subierunt, patefacta repente porta Romani  
 9 cum clamore erumpunt, turbatosque hostes et ad pri-  
 mum incursum coniectumque telorum aversos usque  
 10 ad litus cum multa caede persequuntur; nec, nisi  
 naves litori adpulsae trepidos accepissent, super-  
 11 fuisse fugae aut pugnae quisquam. In ipsis quoque  
 trepidatum navibus est, dum, ne hostes cum suis  
 simul inrumperent, trahunt scalas, orasque et  
 ancoras, ne in moliendo mora esset, praecidunt;  
 12 multique adnantes navibus, incerto prae tenebris  
 quid aut peterent aut vitarent, foede interierunt.  
 13 Postero die cum classis inde retro ad Oceanum, unde  
 venerat, fugisset, ad octingenti<sup>1</sup> homines caesi inter  
 murum litusque et ad duo milia armorum inventa.

<sup>1</sup> octingenti P(1)N Drakenborch, Conway: -tos A<sup>5</sup>?Eds.: decc JK.

<sup>1</sup> Inexact, for the gate at the west end of the city beneath the citadel of Hasdrubal faced neither lagoon nor sea. It merely gave access to a bridge over the canal (outlet of the lagoon) and so by diverging roads to the *stagnum* or to the harbour. See plan in Vol. VII; Scullard, 298 f.

<sup>2</sup> Used in place of gang-planks. Cf. Bell. Alex. 20. 4; Theocr. 22. 30.

<sup>3</sup> From stern to shore; XXII. xix. 10; Quint. IV. ii. 41. Bows were headed seaward and held by *ancoralia* (here

prospect of changing sides many of the townspeople B.C. 206 would take an active part. But messengers coming in alarm from the country had brought news at the same time of lands laid waste and farmers fleeing and the enemy approaching. By day the fleet also had been seen, and it was evident that an anchorage before the city had not been chosen without reason. Accordingly the men were kept drawn up under arms inside the gate which faced the lagoon and the sea.<sup>1</sup> When the enemy pouring out of the ships—a mob of sailors mingling with the soldiers—approached the walls with an uproar out of proportion to their power the Romans suddenly opened the gate and burst out with a shout, threw the enemy into confusion, routed them at the first charge and the first volley of their missiles and pursued them down to the shore with great slaughter. And if the ships moored to the shore had not received them in their alarm not a man would have survived the flight and the battle. Even on the ships also there was confusion while, to prevent the enemy from dashing on board along with their own men, they were drawing in the ladders<sup>2</sup> and cutting hawsers<sup>3</sup> and cables, to avoid delay in getting away. And many perished miserably while swimming towards the ships, as in the darkness it was not clear what they should make for and what they should avoid. On the next day, when the fleet had slipped away, returning towards the Ocean from which it had come, about eight hundred bodies and some two thousand weapons were found between the wall and the shore.

*ancorae* by the same figure of speech as “shores” for “shore cables”). Cf. XXXVII. xxx. 10.

XXXVII. Mago cum Gades repetisset, exclusus  
inde, ad Cimbios—haud procul a Gadibus is locus  
abest—classe adpulsa, mittendis legatis querendoque  
quod portae sibi socio atque amico clausae forent,  
<sup>2</sup> purgantibus iis multitudinis concursu factum, infestae  
ob direpta quaedam ab condescendentibus naves militi-  
bus, ad conloquium sufetes eorum, qui summus Poenis  
est magistratus, cum quaestore elicuit, laceratosque  
<sup>3</sup> verberibus cruci adfigi iussit. Inde navibus ad Pity-  
usam insulam centum milia ferme a continenti—  
<sup>4</sup> Poeni tum eam incolebant—traiecit. Itaque classis  
bona cum pace accepta est, nec commeatus modo  
benigne praebiti, sed in supplementum classis iuven-  
tus armaque data. Quorum fiducia Poenus in Baliares  
insulas—quinquaginta inde milia absunt—tramisit.  
<sup>5</sup> Duae sunt Baliares insulae,<sup>1</sup> maior altera atque opu-  
lentior armis virisque; et portum habet, ubi commode  
hibernaturum se—et iam extremum autumni erat—  
<sup>6</sup> credebat.<sup>2</sup> Ceterum haud secus quam si Romani  
eam insulam incolerent hostiliter classi occursum est.  
Fundis ut nunc plurimum, ita tum solo eo telo ute-  
bantur, nec quisquam alterius gentis unus tantum ea  
arte quantum inter alios omnes<sup>3</sup> Baliares excellunt.  
<sup>7</sup> Itaque tanta vis lapidum creberrimae grandinis modo

<sup>1</sup> insulae *P(1)N Aldus, Eds.* : *om. Sp?JK Froben 2.*

<sup>2</sup> credebat *P(1)N Eds.* : censebat *Sp?N?JK Froben 2,* *Conway.*

<sup>3</sup> alios omnes *P(1)N Aldus, Eds.* : omnes alios *JK Conway :* alias omnes *Gronovius.*

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned here only.

<sup>2</sup> The larger (now Ibiza) separated by a narrow strait from a smaller island also called Ebusus. Cf. XXII. xx. 7; Pliny *N.H.* III. 76, 78; Strabo III. v. 1; Mela II. 125; Diodorus Sic. V. 16.

XXXVII. Mago, upon his return to Gades finding himself shut out of the city, put in with his fleet to Cimbii,<sup>1</sup> a place not far from Gades. He sent emissaries and complained because the gates had been closed against him, an ally and friend. The Gaditani tried to excuse themselves, saying it was done by a mob enraged on account of some looting committed by the soldiers as they were embarking. He thereupon enticed their *sufētes*—the highest magistrates among the Phoenicians—together with the treasurer to a conference and ordered them to be scourged and crucified. Then he crossed over on his ships to the island of Pityusa,<sup>2</sup> about a hundred miles from the mainland. Carthaginians at that time inhabited the island; consequently the fleet was received on friendly terms, and not only were supplies generously furnished but young men to recruit the fleet, and arms also were given. Relying upon these the Carthaginian crossed over to the Balearic Islands, fifty miles away.

There are two Balearic Islands,<sup>3</sup> one larger and richer in arms and men. It has a harbour also, where Mago—and it was now the end of autumn—believed he could winter comfortably. But an attack was made on the fleet, just as if the inhabitants of the island were Romans. The sling, now their most used weapon, was then their only one, and not a single man in any other tribe so excels in the art of using it as do all the Balearic Islanders in comparison with other peoples. Accordingly such a volley of stones,

<sup>3</sup> Now Mallorca and Menorca, 30 miles apart, the former with its towns, Palma and Pollentia (Pollenz); Mela II. 124 and the others just cited.

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in propinquantem iam terrae classem effusa est ut  
 intrare portum non ausi averterent in altum naves.  
 8 In minorem inde Baliam insulam traiecerunt, fer-  
 9 tilem agro, viris armis haud aequa validam. Itaque  
 egressi navibus super portum loco munito castra  
 locant; ac sine certamine urbe agroque potiti, duobus  
 milibus auxiliarium inde conscriptis<sup>1</sup> missisque Car-  
 thaginem, ad hibernandum naves subduxerunt.  
 10 Post Magonis ab Oceani ora discessum Gaditani  
 Romanis deduntur.

XXXVIII. Haec in Hispania P. Scipionis ductu  
 auspicioque gesta. Ipse L. Lentulo et L. Manlio  
 Acidino propraetoribus<sup>2</sup> provincia tradita decem  
 2 navibus Romam rediit, et senatu extra urbem dato  
 in aede Bellonae quas res in Hispania gessisset  
 disseruit, quotiens signis conlatis dimicasset, quot  
 oppida ex hostibus vi cepisset, quas gentes in dicio-  
 3 nem populi Romani redegisset; adversus quattuor se  
 imperatores, quattuor victores exercitus in His-  
 paniamisse; neminem Carthaginiensem in iis terris  
 4 reliquise. Ob has res gestas magis temptata est  
 triumphi spes quam petita pertinaciter, quia neminem  
 ad eam diem triumphasse qui sine magistratu res  
 5 gessisset constabat. Senatu misso urbem est in-

<sup>1</sup> conscriptis: *on the misplaced passage in P beginning here*  
*cf. p. 212, n. 3.*

<sup>2</sup> propraetoribus *C<sup>2</sup> or C<sup>3</sup>* Alscheski, Walters: pro *P(3): om. P<sup>4?</sup> or P<sup>x</sup>* MANJK Eds.

<sup>1</sup> Both had been praetors (in 211 and 210 B.C. respectively) but were not technically propraetors, having been sent out as private citizens *cum imperio*, thus having the rank and authority of proconsuls. Such was Scipio's own status. Cf. XXIX. xii. 2; xiii. 7; XXXI. xx. 4 (Vol. IX. p. 59 and note).

like the densest hail, was rained upon the fleet now <sup>B.C. 206</sup> approaching land that, not venturing to enter the harbour, they headed their ships out to sea. Thereupon they crossed over to the smaller of the Balearic Islands, fertile in its land, not so strong in men and arms. Disembarking, therefore, they pitched camp in a strong position above the harbour. And having gained possession of the city and its territory without a battle they enlisted two thousand auxiliaries from there, sent them to Carthage and beached their ships to spend the winter. After Mago's retirement from the coast of the Ocean Gades surrendered to the Romans.

XXXVIII. Such were the results in Spain under the command and auspices of Publius Scipio. Turning over the province to Lucius Lentulus and Lucius Manlius Acidinus, the propraetors,<sup>1</sup> Scipio himself returned to Rome with ten ships. And when a session of the senate was granted him in the Temple of Bellona<sup>2</sup> outside the city, he set forth his achievements in Spain; how many times he had fought pitched battles; how many towns he had taken by force from the enemy; what tribes he had subjected to the sway of the Roman people. He had gone to Spain, he said, against four generals-in-command,<sup>3</sup> against four victorious armies; he had left not a Carthaginian in that country. For these achievements he sought the desired triumph but did not make an insistent demand, because it was established that down to that time no one who had commanded without being a magistrate had triumphed. The senate having

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ix. 5 and note.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. xxviii. 9, note.

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- gressus, argentique prae se in aerarium tulit quatuordecim<sup>1</sup> milia pondo trecenta quadraginta duo et  
 6 signati argenti magnum numerum. Comitia inde creāndis consulibus habuit L. Veturius Philo, centuriaeque omnes ingenti favore P. Cornelium Scipionem<sup>2</sup> consulem dixerunt; collega additur ei  
 7 P. Licinius Crassus pontifex maximus. Ceterum comitia maiore quam ulla per id bellum celebrata  
 8 frequentia proditum memoriae est. Convenerant undique non suffragandi modo, sed etiam spectandi causa P. Scipionis, concurrebantque et domum frequentes et in Capitolium ad immolantem eum, cum centum bubus votis in Hispania Iovi sacrificaret;  
 9 spondebantque<sup>3</sup> animis, sicut C. Lutatius superius bellum Punicum finisset, ita id quod instaret P. Cornelium finitum, atque uti Hispania omni Poenos expulisset, sic Italia pulsurum esse; Africamque ei, perinde ac debellatum in Italia foret, provinciam de-  
 10 stinabant. Praetoria inde comitia habita. Creati duo qui tum aediles plebis erant, Sp. Lucretius et Cn. Octavius, et ex privatis Cn.<sup>4</sup> Servilius Caepio et L. Aemilius Papus.
- 12 Quarto decimo anno Punici belli P. Cornelius Scipio et P. Licinius Crassus ut consulatum inierunt, nominatae consulibus provinciae sunt, Sicilia Scipioni

<sup>1</sup> quattuordecim *N<sup>2</sup>x Conway*: decem quattuor *P(1)N Eds*; cf. p. 14, *crit. note* 3; XXVI. xlix. 3; XXIX. ii. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Scipionem, *with the nomen omitted except in JK (J omitting Scipionem), and so in § 8; cf. xxxix. 9.*

<sup>3</sup> spondebantque *P(1)N Aldus*: despon- *Sp<sup>2</sup>JK Froben* 2.

<sup>4</sup> Octavius . . . Cn. om. *P(1)N*: supplied by *A<sup>2</sup>N<sup>2</sup>JK Eds.*

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<sup>1</sup> As being a private citizen; cf. Vol. VII. p. 80, n. 1; XXXII. vii. 4.

adjourned, he entered the city on foot,<sup>1</sup> and before B.C. 206 him he caused fourteen thousand three hundred and forty-two pounds of silver to be carried to the treasury, and a great number of silver coins. Then an election for the choice of consuls was conducted by Lucius Veturius Philo, and all the centuries with great enthusiasm named Publius Cornelius Scipio consul. As his colleague he was given Publius Licinius Crassus, the pontifex maximus. The election was thronged, it is further related, by greater numbers than any other during that war. From every side they had come together, not only to vote but also to get a sight of Publius Scipio, and they flocked in large numbers both to his house<sup>2</sup> and to him on the Capitol as he was sacrificing, offering up to Jupiter the hundred oxen he had vowed in Spain. They promised themselves also that, just as Gaius Lutatius had finished the former Punic war, so Publius Cornelius would finish the war that was upon them; and that as he had driven the Carthaginians entirely out of Spain, so he would drive them out of Italy; further assuring themselves that Africa should be his province, just as if the war in Italy were over. Then the election of praetors was held. Two who at that time were plebeian aediles were elected, Spurius Lucretius and Gnaeus Octavius, and from private life Gnaeus Servilius Caepio and Lucius Aenilius Papus.

In the fourteenth year of the Punic war, at the B.C. 205 time Publius Cornelius Scipio and Publius Licinius Crassus entered upon their consulship, the consuls' provinces were designated, Sicily for Scipio—

<sup>2</sup> It was south of the Forum, just behind the Tabernae Veteres; XLIV. xvi. 10.

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- extra sortem, concedente collega, quia sacrorum cura pontificem maximum in Italia retinebat, Bruttii  
 13 Crasso. Tum praetoriae provinciae in sortem coniectae. Urbana Cn. Servilio obtigit, Ariminum—ita Galliam appellabant—Sp. Lucretio, Sicilia L. Aemilio, Cn. Octavio Sardinia.  
 14 Senatus in Capitolio habitus. Ibi referente P. Scipione senatus consultum factum est ut, quos ludos inter seditionem militarem in Hispania vovisset, ex ea pecunia quam ipse in aerarium detulisset ficeret.

XXXIX. Tum Saguntinorum legatos in senatum introduxit. Ex eis maximus natu: “Etsi nihil ultra malorum est, patres conscripti, quam quod passi sumus, ut ad ultimum fidem vobis praestaremus, tamen ea vestra merita imperatorumque vestrorum erga nos fuerunt ut nos cladium nostrarum non 2 paeniteat. Bellum propter nos suscepistis, susceptum quartum decimum annum tam pertinaciter geritis ut saepe ad ultimum discriben et ipsi veneritis 3 et populum Carthaginiensem adduxeritis. Cum in Italia tam atrox bellum et Hannibalem hostem haberetis, consulem cum exercitu in Hispaniam velut ad conligendas<sup>1</sup> reliquias naufragii nostri 4 misistis. P. et Cn. Cornelii, ex quo in provinciam venerunt, nullo tempore destiterunt quae nobis secunda quaeque adversa hostibus nostris essent 5 facere. Iam omnium primum oppidum nobis restituerunt; per omnem Hispaniam cives nostros venum

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<sup>1</sup> conligendas (col-) *P(1)N Aldus*, *Eds.*: conciliandas  
*SpN<sup>4</sup>(altern.)JK Conway*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ix. 1, note.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vol. VII. p. 2, note; XXIV. x. 1; XXX. xxvii. 1.

without casting lots, as his colleague gave way <sup>B.C. 205</sup> because the charge of religious rites kept a pontifex maximus in Italy—and the land of the Bruttians for Crassus. Then the praetorian assignments were determined by lot. The city praetorship fell to Gnaeus Servilius, Ariminum<sup>1</sup>—so they used to designate Gaul—to Spurius Lucretius, Sicily to Lucius Aemilius, Sardinia to Gnaeus Octavius.

The senate met on the Capitol.<sup>2</sup> There, the question being raised by Publius Scipio, a decree of the senate was passed that the games which he had vowed during the mutiny of the soldiers in Spain should be celebrated by him, drawing upon the money which he had himself brought into the treasury.

XXXIX. Thereupon he presented the ambassadors from Saguntum. The eldest of these spoke as follows : “ Although no calamity exists which goes beyond what we have suffered, conscript fathers, in our desire to keep our faith with you to the very end, nevertheless, such have been your services and those of your generals towards us that we do not regret our disasters. You undertook the war on our account ; having undertaken it you have carried it on with such persistence through thirteen years that often you yourselves reached the extreme of danger and brought the Carthaginian people often to the same pass. Although in Italy you had so terrible a war and Hannibal as your enemy, you sent a consul with his army into Spain, as if to gather up the flotsam of our shipwreck. Publius Cornelius and Gnaeus Cornelius from the time when they came into the province never ceased doing what was in our favour and against our enemies. First of all they restored our city to us ; they sent men all over Spain in search of

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datos dimissis qui conquererent, ex servitute in  
 6 libertatem restituerunt. Cum iam prope esset ut  
 optabilem ex miserrima fortunam<sup>1</sup> haberemus, P. et  
 Cn. Cornelii imperatores vestri luctuosius nobis  
 prope<sup>2</sup> quam vobis perierunt.

7 "Tum vero ad hoc retracti ex distantibus locis in  
 sedem antiquam videbamur ut iterum periremus et al-  
 s terum excidium patriae videremus—nec ad pernicie-  
 nostram Carthaginiensi utique aut duce aut exercitu  
 opus esse; ab Turdulis nos, veterrimis hostibus, qui  
 prioris quoque excidii causa nobis fuerant, exstingui-  
 9 posse—cum ex insperato repente misistis nobis hunc  
 P. Scipionem, quem fortunatissimi omnium Sagun-  
 tinorum videmur, quia consulem declaratum videmus  
 ac vidisse nos civibus nostris renuntiaturi sumus,  
 10 spem, opem,<sup>3</sup> salutem nostram; qui cum plurimas  
 hostium vestrorum cepisset in Hispania urbes,  
 ubique ex captorum numero excretos Saguntinos in  
 11 patriam remisit; postremo Turdetaniam, adeo  
 infestam nobis ut illa gente incolumi stare Saguntum  
 non posset, ita bello adfixit ut non modo nobis, sed<sup>4</sup>—  
 absit verbo invidia—ne posteris quidem timenda  
 12 nostris esset. Deletam urbem cernimus eorum  
 quorum in gratiam Saguntum deleverat Hannibal;

<sup>1</sup> fortunam *A\** or *A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>2</sup>JK Aldus, Froben, Luchs, Conway*:  
 fortuna *P(1)(A?)N Eds.*

<sup>2</sup> prope *A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>2</sup>(altern.)JK Aldus, Froben*: quoque *P(1)N*.

<sup>3</sup> opem *Sp<sup>2</sup>JKN<sup>2</sup> Froben 2*: omnem *P(1)N* (*all with*  
*salutemque, which N<sup>2</sup> Aldus have with opem*).

<sup>4</sup> sed *om. P(1)NJ*: supplied by *Ussing* (*before ne by A<sup>2</sup>Kz*  
*Aldus*). —

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<sup>1</sup> The most that we know about this tribe is that they were neighbours of the Turdetani in Baetica, fully 250 miles from Saguntum, which was in the land of the Edetani. Livy and his source (probably Coelius) ignored the impossible distance

our citizens who had been sold and out of slavery B.C. 205 restored them to freedom. When now we had almost attained an enviable lot after the utmost misery, Publius Cornelius and Gnaeus Cornelius, your generals, brought almost more sorrow to us than to you by their death.

“ Then indeed we seemed to ourselves to have been dragged back from distant places to our former abode merely to perish again and to witness a second destruction of our native city. We were thinking also that there was no need whatever of a Carthaginian general or army for our ruin, that we could be wiped out by the Turduli,<sup>1</sup> our oldest enemies, who had been responsible for our former destruction as well, when suddenly and unexpectedly you sent us this Publius Scipio. In seeing him declared consul and in reporting, as we intend, to our citizens that we have seen him, our hope, our help, our safety, so elected we deem ourselves the most fortunate of all the Saguntines. On capturing many cities of your enemies in Spain he everywhere separated Saguntines from the number of captives and sent them back to their native city. Finally, as for Turdetania, which was so hostile to us that Saguntum could not stand if that tribe was preserved, he so crushed it in war that not only we, but even our descendants do not need to fear it—without boasting be it said! We see the ruined city of a people to favour whom Hannibal had destroyed Saguntum. We receive

and made the Turdetani (§ 11), or here the Turduli, responsible. App. *Hisp.* 10 has Τορβολῆται, and if any Greek source had such a reading as Τορδολῆται the confusion might perhaps be accounted for. Cf. XXI. vi. 1; XXIV. xlvi. 11; Strabo III. i. 6; ii. 11, 15; iii. 5; E. Meyer, *Kl. Schr.* II. 408. In Polybius' account no tribe is mentioned (III. xiv. f., xvii.).

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vectigal ex agro eorum capimus, quod nobis non<sup>1</sup>  
 13 fructu iucundius est quam ultione. Ob haec,  
 quibus maiora nec sperare nec optare ab dis immorta-  
 libus poteramus, gratias actum nos deceem legatos  
 14 Saguntinus senatus populusque ad vos misit, simul  
 gratulatum, quod ita res per hos<sup>2</sup> annos in Hispania  
 atque Italia gessistis ut<sup>3</sup> Hispaniam non Hiberio  
 amne tenus, sed qua terrarum ultimas finit<sup>4</sup> Oceanus,  
 domitam armis habeatis, Italiae, nisi quatenus vallum  
 15 castrorum cingit, nihil reliqueritis Poeno. Iovi  
 optimo maximo, praesidi Capitolinae arcis, non grates  
 tantum ob haec agere iussi sumus, sed donum hoc  
 etiam, si vos permitteretis, coronam auream in  
 16 Capitolium victoriae ergo ferre. Id uti permittatis  
 quae sumus, utique, si vobis ita videtur,<sup>5</sup> quae nobis  
 imperatores vestri commoda tribuerunt, ea rata atque  
 perpetua auctoritate vestra faciatis.

17 Senatus legatis Saguntinis respondit et dirutum  
 et restitutum Sagustum fidei socialis utrumque  
 18 servatae documentum omnibus gentibus fore; suos  
 imperatores recte et ordine et ex voluntate senatus  
 fecisse, quod Sagustum restituerint civesque Sagun-  
 tinos servitio exemerint; quaeque alia eis<sup>6</sup> benigne  
 fecerint, ea senatum ita voluisse fieri; donum permit-  
 19 tere ut in Capitolio ponerent. Locus inde lautiaque

<sup>1</sup> non, *P(3)N<sup>2</sup> Aldus add tam.*<sup>2</sup> per hos *A<sup>x</sup>N<sup>4</sup>(altern.)JK Aldus, Froben*: *hos P(1)N.*<sup>3</sup> ut *N<sup>4</sup>JK*: *utin P(1)*: *uti Alscheski*: *om. N.*<sup>4</sup> ultimas finit *P(1)N Aldus*, also *J* (*prefixing non*): *-mus*  
finis *Sp<sup>2</sup> Froben 2*: *-mus finit K.*<sup>5</sup> videtur *SJK Froben 2*. (*On this single leaf of S, beginning*  
*ita videtur, cf. p. 168, n. 2*): *videretur P(1)N Aldus.*

from their territory a revenue which is not more <sup>b.o. 205</sup> welcome to us as income than as vengeance. For these things—and we could not hope or pray for greater things from the immortal gods—the senate and people of Saguntum have sent us, ten ambassadors, to you to express our thanks, at the same time to congratulate you because for these years you have so conducted the war in Spain and in Italy that you hold Spain subdued by arms, not merely so far as the river Hiberus, but even where Ocean sets bounds to the most distant lands, and have left the Carthaginian only so much of Italy as the fortification of his camp encircles. To Jupiter greatest and best, defender of the Capitoline citadel, we have been bidden not merely to render thanks for all this but with your permission to carry this gift of a golden wreath also to the Capitol on account of your victory. We beg you to permit this, and if it seems best to you, that you ratify and perpetuate by your authority those advantages which your generals have bestowed upon us.”

The senate replied to the Saguntine ambassadors that the destruction and restoration of Saguntum would be to all nations an example of a loyalty which both allies have maintained; that its generals had been entirely right and had complied with the wish of the senate in restoring Saguntum and rescuing the citizens of Saguntum from slavery; and that wherever the generals had treated them with consideration the senate had approved of such action; that they permitted them to deposit their gift on the Capitol. It was then ordered that lodgings and com-

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<sup>6</sup> eis *P(1)N Aldus, Froben*: aliis *S.*

legatis praeberi iussa, et muneris ergo in singulos<sup>1</sup>  
 20 dari ne minus dena milia aeris. Legationes deinde  
 21 ceterae in senatum introductae<sup>2</sup> auditaeque. Et  
 patentibus Saguntinis ut, quatenus tuto possent,  
 Italianam spectatum irent, duces dati litteraeque per  
 22 oppida missae ut Hispanos comiter acciperent. Tum  
 de re publica, de exercitibus scribendis, de provinciis  
 relatum.

XL. Cum Africam novam provinciam extra sortem  
 P. Scipioni destinari homines fama ferrent, et ipse  
 nulla iam modica gloria contentus non ad gerendum  
 modo bellum, sed ad finiendum diceret se consulem  
 2 declaratum esse,<sup>3</sup> neque aliter id<sup>4</sup> fieri posse quam  
 si ipse in Africam exercitum transportasset,<sup>5</sup> et  
 acfurm se id per populum aperte ferret, si senatus  
 adversaretur,—id consilium haudquaquam primoribus  
 patrum cum placeret, ceteri<sup>6</sup> per metum aut ambi-  
 3 tationem mussarent, Q. Fabius Maximus rogatus  
 sententiam: “ Scio multis vestrum videri, patres con-  
 scripti, rem actam hodierno die agi et frustra habi-  
 turum orationem qui tamquam de integra re de Africa  
 4 provincia sententiam dixerit. Ego autem primum

<sup>1</sup> ergo in singulos *SANJK* Eds.: om. *P(1)N*, *a line*.

<sup>2</sup> in senatum introductae *SNJK* Eds.: om. *P(1)N*,  
*another line*.

<sup>3</sup> esse *P(1)N Aldus*, *Froben*, Eds.: om. *SNJK Conway*.

<sup>4</sup> aliter id *P(1)N Aldus*: id aliter *SSpJK*.

<sup>5</sup> transportasset *SSpJ Froben* 2: -taret *P(1)NK Aldus*.

<sup>6</sup> ceteri *P(3)SJK*: ceterique *C<sup>2</sup>AN Aldus*, *Froben*: et  
 ceteri *Madvig*.

<sup>1</sup> The term *lautia* by its derivation from *lavare* at first meant bathing facilities, but came to include other comforts provided for guests of the state. Cf. XXX. xvii. 14.

forts<sup>1</sup> be provided for the ambassadors, and that to b.c. 205 each of them be presented not less than ten thousand *asses* as a gift.<sup>2</sup> Then the rest of the embassies were introduced into the senate and had their hearing. And upon request of the Saguntines that they might make a tour of Italy so far as they could safely do so, guides were furnished them and letters sent to the different towns, bidding them to receive the Spaniards hospitably. Thereupon the senate took up matters concerning the state, the enrolment of armies, the assignment of posts.<sup>3</sup>

XL. While it was commonly reported that without casting lots Africa was to be assigned to Publius Scipio as a new province, he himself, no longer satisfied with moderate fame, kept saying that he had been named consul not only to carry on the war but also to finish it. This was impossible unless he should himself transport his army to Africa, he said, openly declaring that he would accomplish that result by popular vote if the senate should oppose. This plan being by no means approved by the leading senators, while because of fear or else to curry favour, all the rest failed to speak out, Quintus Fabius Maximus, when asked his opinion, said: "I know that many of you, conscript fathers, hold that we are today debating a closed question, and that whoever expresses an opinion on Africa as a province, just as if it were an open question, will be speaking to no purpose. For myself, however, in the first place I

<sup>2</sup> Cf. XXX. *l.c.*, for a gift in money to ambassadors.

<sup>3</sup> This last had already been done (xxxviii. 12 f.). Popular feeling, however, favoured at least giving Scipio power to cross over from Sicily to Africa if he should deem it best (xlv. 8), or even substituting Africa for Sicily as his assignment.

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illud ignoro, quem ad modum certa iam<sup>1</sup> provincia Africa consulis, viri fortis ac strenui, sit, quam nec senatus censuit in hunc annum provinciam esse nec populus iussit. Deinde, si est, consulem peccare arbitror qui de re transacta simulando se referre senatum ludibrio habet, non senatorem<sup>2</sup> qui de quo consulitur suo loco dicit sententiam. Atque ego certum habeo dissentienti mihi ab ista festinatione in Africam traiciendi duarum rerum subeundam opinionem esse: unius, insitae ingenio meo cunctationis, quam metum pigritiamque homines adulescentes sane appellant, dum ne<sup>3</sup> paeniteat adhuc aliorum speciosiora primo aspectu consilia semper visa, mea usu meliora; alterius, obtrectationis atque invidiae adversus crescentem in dies gloriam fortissimi consulis. A qua suspicione si me neque vita acta et mores mei neque dictatura cum quinque consulatibus tantumque gloriae belli domique partae vindicat ut proprius fastidium eius sim quam desiderium, aetas saltem liberet.<sup>4</sup> Quae enim mihi aemulatio cum eo esse potest qui ne filio quidem meo aequalis sit? Me dictatorem, cum vigerem adhuc viribus et in cursu maximarum rerum essem, recusantem nemo aut in senatu aut apud<sup>5</sup> populum audivit quo minus insectanti me magistro equitum, quod fando numquam ante auditum erat, imperium mecum aequaretur;

<sup>1</sup> certa iam *P(1)N Aldus*: iam certa *SJK Froben* 2.

<sup>2</sup> senatorem, *P(1)N Aldus add modo.*

<sup>3</sup> ne *CzD Gronovius, Eds.*: me *P(1)N*: me non *SA•N•JK Aldus, Froben, Luchs*: me ne *Weissenborn conj., Riemann.*

<sup>4</sup> liberet *P(1)NJK Aldus*: -rat *SSp Froben* 2.

<sup>5</sup> apud (*or* -ut) *P(1) Aldus*: *om. N*: ad *SSpN•JK Froben* 2.

do not understand how Africa is already definitely assigned to that brave and energetic man, the consul, since neither has the senate voted nor the people commanded<sup>1</sup> that it be a province for this year. In the second place, if it is his, I think that the consul who mocks the senate by pretending to bring before the house business upon which action has been taken is at fault, not a senator who in his proper order states his opinion on the matter under consideration. And I am quite certain that in opposing such haste to cross over into Africa I must expose myself to two charges, first, of an inborn habit of delay, which young men are free to call fear and lack of spirit, provided there are as yet no regrets that other men's policies have always appeared at first sight more attractive, mine the better in practice. Secondly, they will accuse me of carping criticism and envy towards the daily increasing fame of a very brave consul. From this suspicion if neither my past life and my character nor my dictatorship and five consulships can defend me, together with so much glory won in the field and at home that I tend to be sated rather than to crave it, may my years at least bring exemption. For what rivalry can I have with a man who is not even my son's contemporary? In my dictatorship, although I was still at the height of my powers and in the stream of great events, no one heard me refuse either in the senate or before the people to have the command of my master of the horse, who was inveighing against me, made equal to mine, a thing which never had been heard of before.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The people in such a case could act only on request of the senate; XXX. xxvii. 3; xl. 10. Scipio's threat (§ 2) would first involve action by the senate. <sup>2</sup> Cf. XXII. xxv f.

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11 rebus quam verbis adsequi malui ut qui aliorum<sup>1</sup>  
 iudicio mihi comparatus erat sua mox confessione  
 12 me sibi praeferret; nedum ego perfunctus honoribus  
 certamina mihi atque aemulationem<sup>2</sup> cum adul-  
 13 scente florentissimo proponam: videlicet ut mihi  
 iam vivendo, non solum rebus gerendis fesso, si huic  
 negata fuerit, Africa provincia decernatur. Cum ea  
 gloria quae parta est vivendum atque moriendum est.  
 14 Vincere ego prohibui Hannibalem, ut a vobis quorum  
 vigent nunc vires etiam vinci posset.

XLI. “ Illud te mihi ignoscere, P. Cornelii, aequum  
 erit, si, cum in me ipso numquam pluris famam  
 hominum quam rem publicam fecerim, ne tuam  
 2 quidem gloriam bono publico preeponam.<sup>3</sup> Quam-  
 quam, si aut bellum nullum in Italia aut is hostis esset  
 ex quo victo nihil gloriae quaereretur, qui te in Italia  
 retineret, etsi id bono publico faceret, simul cum bello  
 materiam gloriae tuae isse<sup>4</sup> ereptum videri posset.  
 3 Cum vero Hannibal hostis incolumi exercitu quartum  
 decimum annum Italiam obsideat, paenitebit te,  
 P. Cornelii, gloriae tuae, si hostem eum qui tot  
 funerum, tot cladium nobis causa fuit, tu consul Italia  
 expuleris et, sicut penes C. Lutatium prioris Punici  
 perpetrati belli titulus fuit, ita penes te huius fuerit?  
 4 Nisi aut Hamilcar Hannibali dux est preeferundus

<sup>1</sup> aliorum *P(1)N Aldus, Eds.*: aliquorum *SN JK Froben 2, Conway*.

<sup>2</sup> aemulationem (*or em-*) *CDAN Aldus*: -ne *P(3)*: -nes *SA JK Froben 2*.

<sup>3</sup> bono publico preeponam (*pro-* *SN*) *SA N JK Aldus, Froben, Eds.*: *om. P(1)N, a line (P leaving a gap)*.

<sup>4</sup> isse *P(1)NSz*: ire *A JK Aldus, Froben*.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Periocha 19 fin.*; Polybius I. lix.-lxi for the naval victory off the Aegates Islands, 241 B.C.; XXII. xiv. 13; XXIII. xiii. 4.

By acts rather than words I preferred to gain this B.C. 205 result, that one who by the verdict of other men had been made my colleague should presently by his own admission place me above himself. Much less would I, who have filled the high offices, set before me competition and rivalry with a young man in the very flower of his youth, with the intention, of course, of having Africa, if it be denied him, awarded as a province to me, who am now worn out by mere living, not only by cares of state. With such glory as has been already earned must I live and die. I have prevented Hannibal from conquering, in order that you men whose powers are still strong might even conquer him.

XLI. "One thing it will be right, Publius Cornelius, for you to pardon me—inasmuch as in my own case I have never rated what men say more highly than the state—namely, if I do not prefer your glory, either, to the welfare of the state. If, however, there were no war in Italy, or if the enemy were one from whose defeat no glory was to be earned, only then could a man who kept you in Italy, even if he did so with advantage to the state, be thought to have been bent on taking away the war from you and with it your opportunity for fame. But since Hannibal as an enemy with army intact is occupying Italy for the fourteenth year, will *you* be dissatisfied with your fame, Publius Cornelius, if in your consulship you shall have driven out of Italy the enemy who has caused us so many losses, so many disasters, and if you shall have the distinction of finishing the present war, just as Gaius Lutatius had that of ending the former Punic war?<sup>1</sup> Unless Hamilcar is to be rated above Hannibal as a general, or that war above this

aut illud bellum huic, aut victoria illa maior clariorque quam haec—modo contingat ut te consule  
 5 vincamus—futura est. Ab Drepanis aut Eryce detraxisse Hamilcarem quam Italia expulisse Poenos  
 6 atque Hannibalem malis? Ne tu quidem, etsi magis partam<sup>1</sup> quam speratam gloriam amplecteris, Hispania potius quam Italia bello liberata gloriatus fueris.  
 7 “ Nondum is est Hannibal, quem non magis timuisse videatur quam contempsisse qui aliud bellum  
 8 maluerit. Quin igitur ad hoc accingeris nec per istos circuitus, ut, cum in Africam traieceris, secuturum te illuc Hannibalem spores potius quam recto hinc itinere, ubi Hannibal est, eo bellum intendis,<sup>2</sup> si<sup>3</sup> egregiam istam palmam belli Punici patrati<sup>4</sup> petis?  
 9 Hoc et natura prius est, tua cum defenderis, aliena ire oppugnatum. Pax ante in Italia quam bellum in Africa sit, et nobis prius decedat timor quam ultiro  
 10 aliis inferatur. Si utrumque tuo ductu auspicioque fieri potest, Hannibale hic victo, illie Carthaginem expugna; si altera ultra Victoria novis consulibus relinquenda est, prior cum maior clarioque, tum  
 11 causa etiam insequentis fuerit. Nam nunc quidem, praeterquam quod et in Italia et in Africa duos  
 12 diversos exercitus alere aerarium non potest, praeter-

<sup>1</sup> partam *SJK*: paratam *P(1)N*.

<sup>2</sup> intendis *P(3)NSJK*: -dis? (*end of sentence*) *Drakenborch*, *Conway*: -das *D Crévier*, *Luchs*: -dens *Madvig* 1863 (*and Emend.*).

<sup>3</sup> si, added by *Halm*, *Madvig* 1886, *M. Müller*, *Riemann*: et by *Weissenborn*: both rejected by *Conway*.

<sup>4</sup> patrati *SSp Froben* 2: parati *P(3)B<sup>2</sup>N*: peracti *A<sup>4</sup>JK Aldus*.

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<sup>1</sup> Now Monte San Giuliano, 2465 ft. It had a famous temple of Aphrodite, whose cult was presumably of Phoenician origin. Cf. XXI. x. 7; xli. 6 ff.; Polybius I. lv. 7 ff.; Strabo VI. ii.

one, or unless that victory was greater and more famous than this one is to be, if only it be our good fortune to win in your consulship. Would you rather have dragged Hamilcar away from Drepana or down from Eryx<sup>1</sup> than have driven the Carthaginians and Hannibal out of Italy? Although you take more delight in glory already won than in glory hoped for, even you would not boast of having rid Spain of the war rather than Italy.

" Not yet has Hannibal reached such a pass that the man who preferred some other war would not seem to have feared rather than despised him. Therefore gird yourself for this war, and not employing your roundabout method—crossing first to Africa, and then hoping Hannibal will follow you thither—but rather by a direct march from here aim your campaign at the region where Hannibal is, if you seek your glorious palm for bringing the Punic war to an end. This is also the natural order: first to defend your own possessions, then to proceed to attack those of others. First peace in Italy, then be it war in Africa! and let our fear abate before we use fear as an offensive weapon against others. If both can be done under your lead and your auspices, after defeating Hannibal here, storm Carthage over there. If one or the other of these two victories must be left to new consuls, the earlier will prove not only greater and more celebrated but the cause as well of the later victory. For at the present time, not to mention that the treasury cannot support two widely separated armies, in Italy and in Africa, not to mention that no resources

6. Here Hamilcar held out until the Roman naval victory brought the First Punic War to an end. Drepana (Trapani), the seaport, was  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles away.

quam quod unde classes tueamur, unde commeatibus praebendis<sup>1</sup> sufficiamus nihil reliqui est, quid? periculi<sup>2</sup> tandem quantum adeatur quem fallit? P. Licinius in Italia, P. Scipio bellum in Africa geret. Quid? si—quod omnes dei omen avertant et dicere etiam reformidat animus, sed quae acciderunt accidere possunt—victor Hannibal ire ad urbem perget, tum demum te consulem ex Africa, sicut Q. Fulvium a Capua, arcessemus? Quid quod in Africa quoque Mars communis belli erit? Domus tibi tua, pater patruusque intra triginta dies cum exercitibus caesi documento sint, ubi per aliquot annos maxumis rebus terra marique gerendis amplissimum nomen apud exteras gentes populi Romani vestraeque familiae fecerant.<sup>3</sup> Dies me deficiat, si reges imperatoresque temere in hostium terram transgressos cum maximis cladibus suis exercitumque suorum enumerare velim. Athenienses, prudentissima civitas, bello domi relicto, auctore aequo impigro ac nobili iuvene magna classe in Siciliam traxissa, una pugna naval i florentem rem publicam suam in perpetuum adfixerunt.

XLII. " Externa et nimis antiqua repeto. Africa eadem ista et M. Atilius, insigne utriusque fortunae exemplum, nobis documento sint. Ne tibi, P. Cornelii, cum ex alto Africam conspexeris, ludus

<sup>1</sup> praebendis, here *SJK Froben* 2, *Luchs*: after sufficiamus *P(1)N Aldus*, most Eds.

<sup>2</sup> periculi, here ends the single extant leaf of *S* (cf. p. 158, n. 5).

<sup>3</sup> fecerant *NJK Aldus*, *Froben*: -rint *P(1)(-im B)N*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. XXVI. viii-xi.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. Alcibiades.

remain out of which we may maintain fleets, out of which we may be able to furnish supplies, pray tell me, who does not see how great is the danger involved? Publius Licinius will carry on the war in Italy, Publius Scipio in Africa. Tell me, if a victorious Hannibal—may all the gods avert the omen! and my mind even shudders to mention it; but what has happened can happen—if he shall advance towards the city, then and not before, are we to summon you as consul out of Africa, as we summoned Quintus Fulvius<sup>1</sup> from Capua? What of it that in Africa also the fortune of war will make no distinctions? Let your own house be a warning, your father and uncle, slain with their armies within thirty days, and that in a land where for some years by very great achievements on land and sea they won a most honourable name among foreign nations for the Roman people and for your family. Time would fail me if I should attempt to enumerate the kings and generals who have rashly invaded the land of their enemies with disastrous defeats for themselves and their armies. The Athenians, although their state had great foresight, leaving a war at home crossed over to Sicily with a great fleet under the leadership of a young man<sup>2</sup> as energetic as he was noble, and in a single naval battle permanently ruined their prosperous state.

XLII. “Foreign examples are these that I am recalling and too ancient. Let that same Africa of yours and Marcus Atilius,<sup>3</sup> a striking example of good fortune and bad, be a lesson to us. Verily, Publius Cornelius, when you sight Africa from the sea your

<sup>1</sup> Regulus; *Periocha* 17 f.; Polybius I. xxv. 7-xxxv.; Diodorus Sic. XXIII. 12. 15. Cf. below XXX. xxx. 23.

et iocus fuisse Hispaniae tuae videbuntur. Quid  
 3 enim simile? Pacato mari praeter<sup>1</sup> oram Italiae  
 Galliaeque vectus Emporias in urbem sociorum  
 classem ad pulisti; expositos milites per tutissima  
 omnia ad socios et amicos populi Romani Tarra-  
 4 conem duxisti; ab Tarracone deinde iter per praesi-  
 dia Romana; circa Hiberum exercitus patris patrui-  
 que tui post amissos imperatores ferociores calamitate  
 5 ipsa facti, et dux tumultuarius quidem ille L. Marcius  
 et militari suffragio ad tempus lectus, ceterum, si  
 nobilitas ac iusti honores adornarent, claris impera-  
 toribus qualibet arte belli par; oppugnata per  
 summum otium Carthago nullo trium Punicorum  
 6 exercituum socios defendente; cetera—neque ea  
 elevo—nullo tamen modo Africo bello comparanda,  
 ubi non portus ullus classi nostrae apertus, non ager  
 pacatus, non civitas socia, non rex amicus, non  
 7 consistendi usquam locus, non<sup>2</sup> procedendi; qua-  
 cumque circumspexeris, hostilia omnia atque infesta.

“An Syphaci Numidisque credis? Satis sit semel  
 creditum; non semper temeritas est felix, et fraus  
 fidem in parvis sibi praestruit, ut, cum operae pre-  
 8 tium sit, cum mercede magna fallat. Non hostes  
 patrem patruumque tuum armis prius quam Celtiberi  
 socii fraude circumvenerunt; nec tibi ipsi a Magone

<sup>1</sup> praeter *x Aldus, Froben, Eds.*: per *P(1)NJK*.

<sup>2</sup> consistendi usquam locus, non *A'N'JK Eds.*: *om. P(1)V.*

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<sup>1</sup> For this voyage cf. XXVI. xix. 11 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. on xiv. 15.

Spanish provinces will seem to you to have been mere child's play. For what is there that is comparable? Over an unmolested sea you sailed along the coast of Italy and Gaul,<sup>1</sup> and put in with your fleet at Emporiae, a city of our allies. Landing your troops you led them through country everywhere perfectly safe and reached allies and friends of the Roman people at Tarraco. From Tarraco it was then a march from one Roman post to another. Along the Hiberus were the armies of your father and uncle, which after losing their generals had gained more spirit even from disaster. Their commander also was the well-known Lucius Marcius,<sup>2</sup> irregularly appointed, to be sure, being chosen for an emergency by vote of the soldiers, but if nobility and the normal magistracies added their distinction, equal to famous generals in all the arts of war. (New) Carthage was taken without any interference, since none of the three Punic armies came to the defence of their allies. The rest of your campaign—and I do not belittle it—cannot, however, be compared in any way with a war in Africa, where there is no harbour open to our fleet, no subjugated territory, no allied city, no friendly king, no place anywhere to hold your ground, no place to advance, while wherever you look, the country all about you will be hostile and dangerous.

"Can it be that you trust Syphax and the Numidians? Let it suffice to have trusted them once. Not always is rashness successful, and treachery seeks in small matters to ensure trustfulness, so that when it becomes worth while, it may deceive with great profit. The enemy did not overpower your father and uncle by force of arms until the Celtiberian allies had done so by treachery. Nor in your own case was

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et Hasdrubale, hostium ducibus, quantum ab Indibili  
 9 et Mandonio in fidem acceptis periculi fuit. Numidis  
 tu credere potes, defectionem militum tuorum  
 expertus? Et Syphax et Masinissa se quam  
 Carthaginienses malunt potentis<sup>1</sup> in Africa esse,  
 10 Carthaginienses quam quemquam alium. Nunc illos  
 aemulatio inter se<sup>2</sup> et omnes causae certaminum  
 acount, quia procul externus metus est; ostende  
 Romana arma et exercitum alienigenam; iam<sup>3</sup>  
 velut ad commune restinguendum incendium con-  
 11 current. Aliter eidem illi Carthaginienses His-  
 paniam defenderunt, aliter moenia patriae, templa  
 deum, aras et focos defendent, cum euntes in proe-  
 lium pavida prosequetur coniunx et parvi liberi occur-  
 sabunt.

12 "Quid porro, si satis confisi Carthaginienses  
 consensu Africæ, fide sociorum regum, moenibus suis,  
 cum tuo exercitusque tui praesidio nudatam Italiam  
 viderint, ultro ipsi novum exercitum in Italiam aut  
 13 ex Africa miserint, aut Magonem, quem a Baliaribus  
 classe transmissa iam praeter oram Ligurum Al-  
 pinorum vectari constat, Hannibali se coniungere  
 14 iusserint? Nempe in eodem terrore erimus in quo  
 nuper fuimus, cum Hasdrubal in Italiam transcendit,  
 quem tu, qui non solum Carthaginem sed omnem  
 Africam exercitu tuo es clausurus, e manibus tuis in  
 15 Italiam emisisti. Victum a te dices; eo quidem minus

<sup>1</sup> potentis (or -es) *P(1)N Aldus, Eds.*: -tissimos *A'JK*  
*Froben 2, Conway.*

<sup>2</sup> se *P(1)N*: sese *A'N'JK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>3</sup> iam *A'N'JK Aldus, Froben*: om. *P(1)N.*

there as much danger from Mago and Hasdrubal, B.C. 205 generals of the enemy, as from Indibilis and Mandonius, who had come under your protection. Can you trust the Numidians after experiencing a mutiny of your own soldiers? Both Syphax and Masinissa prefer that they themselves rather than the Carthaginians should be supreme in Africa, and the Carthaginians rather than anyone else. At present rivalry between them and all possible reasons for contention spur them on because the foreigners whom they fear are far away. Show them Roman arms and a foreign-born army, and now they will rush, as it were, to put out a fire that concerns them all. In one fashion those same Carthaginians have defended Spain; in quite another fashion will they defend the walls of their native city, the temples of the gods, their altars and hearths, when as they go out to battle a frightened wife will escort them and little children will throw themselves in their way.

“ Furthermore, what if the Carthaginians, confidently relying upon the united spirit of Africa, the loyalty of the allied kings, and their own walls, shall take the initiative themselves when they have seen Italy stripped of protection from yourself and your army? What if they either send a new army into Italy from Africa, or order Mago—and it is known that he has crossed from the Balearic Islands on his fleet and is already sailing along the coast held by the Alpine Ligurians—to unite with Hannibal? Surely we shall be in the same panic as we were recently when Hasdrubal crossed into Italy—the man whom you, who are about to invest not merely Carthage but all Africa by your army, allowed to slip out of your hands into Italy. He had been defeated by you,

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vellem—et id tua, non rei publicae solum causa—  
 iter datum victo in Italiam esse. Patere nos omnia  
 quae prospera tibi ac populi Romani imperio evenere  
 tuo consilio adsignare, adversa casibus incertis belli  
 16 et fortunae delegare:<sup>1</sup> quo melior fortiorque es, eo  
 magis tales praesidem sibi patria<sup>2</sup> atque universa  
 Italia retinet. Non potes ne ipse quidem dissimulare,  
 ubi Hannibal sit, ibi caput atque arcem huius belli esse,  
 quippe qui prae te feras eam tibi causam traiciendi in  
 17 Africam<sup>3</sup> esse ut Hannibalem eo trahas. Sive hic  
 igitur<sup>4</sup> sive illic, cum Hannibale est tibi futura res.

“ Utrum tandem ergo firmior eris in Africa solus  
 an hic tuo conlegaeque tui<sup>5</sup> exercitu coniuncto?  
 Ne Claudius quidem et Livius consules tam recenti  
 exemplo quantum id intersit documento sunt?  
 18 Quid: Hannibalem utrum tandem extremus an-  
 gulus agri Brutii, frustra iam diu poscentem ab domo  
 auxilia, an propinqua Carthago et tota socia Africa  
 19 potentiores armis virisque faciet? Quod istud con-  
 silium est, ibi malle decernere ubi tuae dimidio  
 minores copiae sint, hostium multo maiores, quam  
 ubi duobus exercitibus adversus unum tot proeliis et  
 tam diurna ac gravi militia fessum pugnandum sit?  
 20 Quam compar consilium tuum parentis tui consilio  
 sit reputa. Ille consul profectus in Hispaniam, ut

<sup>1</sup> delegare *Gronovius, Eds.* (cf. XXI. xlvi. 10): legare  
*P(1)N Allus, Froben*: relegare *SpA'JK Conway*.

<sup>2</sup> patria, after this *A'N'JK Conway* have tua.

<sup>3</sup> traiciendi in Africam *A'N'JK Allus, Froben, Eds.*: *om. P(1)N, one line.*

<sup>4</sup> hic igitur *P<sup>1</sup>D Eds.*: igitur *P(3)*: igitur hic *C<sup>1</sup>?M<sup>8</sup>ANJK Luchs, Conway*.

you will say ; all the more do I regret—and this for <sup>B.C. 205</sup> your own sake, not merely for that of the state—that a passage into Italy was allowed to the defeated. Permit us to attribute to your strategy all that resulted favourably for you and the empire of the Roman people, to ascribe the unfavourable to the uncertainties of war and to fortune. The better and braver man you are the more do your native city and all Italy keep their hold upon so capable a defender. You are unable even yourself to conceal the fact that where Hannibal is, there is the centre and stronghold of this war, since you declare that your reason for crossing over to Africa is in order to draw Hannibal thither. Therefore, be it here, be it there, you will have Hannibal to deal with.

“ Will you, therefore, be stronger, pray, in Africa when alone, or here, uniting your army with that of your colleague ? Do not Claudius also and Livius, the consuls, by a very recent instance prove how great a difference that makes ? And tell me, pray, will the remote and secluded Bruttian territory make Hannibal stronger in arms and men, when he has long been begging in vain for auxiliaries from home, or rather Carthage near at hand and all Africa her ally ? What is that plan of yours, to prefer to decide the issue just where your forces are reduced by one-half, the forces of the enemy greatly increased, rather than where two armies have to fight against one exhausted by so many battles and a service so long and so hard ? Reflect how different is your plan from that of your father. He as consul had set out for Spain, but he

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<sup>5</sup> tui *CM<sup>4</sup>DA<sup>9</sup>N<sup>6</sup>* Aldus, Eds. : tut *P* (*with obscure correction*) and *R* : tute *MBAN* : om. *Sp<sup>9</sup>N<sup>8</sup>JK* Froben 2, Conway.

Hannibali ab Alpibus descendenti occurreret, in Italia ex provincia rediit: tu, cum Hannibal in Italia sit, relinquere Italiam paras, non quia rei publicae id <sup>1</sup> utile, sed quia tibi <sup>2</sup> amplum et gloriosum censes esse, sicut cum provincia et exercitu relicto sine lege, sine senatus consulto duabus navibus populi Romani imperator fortunam publicam et maiestatem imperii, quae tum in tuo capite periclitabantur, commisisti. Ego <sup>3</sup> P. Cornelium rei publicae nobisque, non sibi ipsi privatim creatum consulem existimo, exercitusque ad custodiam urbis atque Italiae scriptos esse, non quos regio more per superbiam consules quo terrarum velint traiciant."

XLIII. Cum oratione ad tempus parata Fabius, tum auctoritate et inveterata <sup>4</sup> prudentiae fama magnam partem senatus et seniores maxime cum <sup>5</sup> movisset, pluresque consilium senis quam animum adulescentis <sup>6</sup> ferocem laudarent, Scipio ita locutus fertur: "Et ipse Q. Fabius principio orationis, patres conscripti, commemoravit in sententia sua posse obtrectationem suspectam esse; cuius ego rei non tam ipse ausim tantum virum insimulare quam ea suspicio, vitio orationis an rei, haud sane purgata est. Sic enim honores suos et famam rerum gestarum extulit verbis

<sup>1</sup> id *P(1)NJK* Eds. : om. Conway.

<sup>2</sup> tibi *P(1)N Aldus*, Eds. : tibi id *A<sup>4</sup>N<sup>4</sup>JK Conway*.

<sup>3</sup> Ego, after this *A<sup>4</sup>JK* have p.c. or patres conscripti (retained by Alschefski, Conway); and so after *P. Cornelium Aldus*.

<sup>4</sup> inveterata *JK Aldus*, *Froben*, most Eds. : -tae (or -te) *P(1)N*.

<sup>5</sup> cum om. *P(1)NJK* : supplied here by Weissborn, after fama by Madvig, after magnam by Riemann.

<sup>6</sup> adulescentis *A<sup>6</sup>* Eds. : -tia *M<sup>1</sup>(altern.)N<sup>4</sup>JK Aldus*, *Froben*, Conway : -tiae *P(1)N*.

returned to Italy from his province in order to meet Hannibal as he came down from the Alps.<sup>1</sup> You, although Hannibal is in Italy, are preparing to leave Italy, not because you think it to the advantage of the state, but because you hold it great and glorious for yourself. It was thus that leaving province and army, unauthorized by any law or decree of the senate, you, a commanding general of the Roman people, entrusted to two ships the fortune of the state and majesty of the empire, which were at that time endangered in your person. My opinion is that Publius Cornelius was elected consul for the republic and for us, not for himself and his personal ends, and that armies were enlisted for the defence of the city and Italy, not that consuls in the arrogant manner of tyrants may transport them to whatever lands they choose."

XLIII. When Fabius by a speech adapted to the situation, but especially by his prestige and long-established reputation for foresight, had stirred a large part of the senate and in particular the older members, and while more were praising the wisdom of the veteran than the confident spirit of the young man, Scipio is said to have spoken as follows: "Even Quintus Fabius himself at the beginning of his speech, conscript fathers, stated that in his expression of opinion captious criticism might be suspected. Far as I should be from venturing to bring that charge against so great a man, nevertheless such suspicion has certainly not been cleared away, be it the speech or the subject that is at fault. For he has highly extolled his offices and the fame of his achievements

<sup>1</sup> Cf. XXI. xxxii. 1 ff.

## LIVY

A.U.C.  
549

ad extingendum invidiae crimen tamquam mihi ab infimo quoque periculum sit ne mecum aemuletur, et non ab eo qui, quia super ceteros excellat, quo me<sup>1</sup> quoque niti non dissimulo, me sibi aequari nolit.

5 Sic senem se perfunctumque et me infra aetatem fili etiam sui posuit tamquam non longius quam quantum vitae humanae spatium est cupiditas gloriae extendatur maximaque pars eius in memoriam ac 6 posteritatem promineat. Maximo cuique id accidere animo certum habeo ut se non cum praesentibus modo, sed cum omnis aevi claris viris comparent.<sup>2</sup>

7 Evidem haud dissimulo me tuas, Q. Fabi, laudes non adsequi solum velle, sed—bona venia tua dixerim—si 8 possim, etiam exsuperare. Illud nec tibi in me nec mihi in minoribus natu animi sit ut nolimus quemquam nostri similem evadere civem; id enim non eorum modo quibus inviderimus, sed rei publicae et paene omnis generis humani detrimentum sit.<sup>3</sup>

9 “ Commemoravit quantum essem periculi aditus, si in Africam traicerem, ut meam quoque, non solum rei publicae et exercitus vicem videretur 10 sollicitus. Unde haec repente cura de me<sup>4</sup> exorta? Cum pater patruusque meus interfici, cum duo exercitus eorum prope occidione occisi essent, cum amissae Hispaniae, cum quattuor exercitus Poenorū quattuorque duces omnia metu armisque 11 tenerent, cum quaesitus ad id bellum imperator nemo se ostenderet praeter me, nemo profiteri nomen

<sup>1</sup> quo me *A<sup>t</sup>N<sup>t</sup>JK Eds.*: om. *P(1)N Alscheski, M. Müller.*<sup>2</sup> comparent *P Eds.*: -aret *P<sup>2</sup>* or *P<sup>1</sup>(3)NJK Aldus, Froben.*<sup>3</sup> sit *P<sup>2</sup>* or *P<sup>1</sup>(1) Aldus, Froben, Eds.*; st *P*: est *SpJK Conway.*<sup>4</sup> cura de me *P(1)N*: de me cura *JK.*

in order to refute the charge of envy, just as if it were B.C. 205 from men of the lowest rank that there is danger of rivalry for me, and not rather from one who because he rises above all others—a distinction towards which I do not deny that I also am striving—is unwilling to have me compared with himself. He has represented himself as an old man and one who has played his part, and me as younger even than his son, just as if the desire for glory did not reach farther than the span of human life and project in fullest measure into the memory of posterity. Of the greatest minds it is true, I am sure, that they compare themselves not only with the living but with eminent men in every age. For my part I do not deny, Quintus Fabius, that I wish not only to attain to your fame but also—by your good leave—if possible to surpass it. Let us not have such a spirit—you towards me, I towards younger men—that we should be unwilling to have any fellow-citizen come to be like us. For that would be a loss affecting, not only those whom we have envied, but the state also and almost the entire human race.

“He called to mind how great a danger I should encounter if I were to cross over to Africa, so that he seemed concerned for me also, not merely for the state and the army. Whence has come this sudden solicitude about me? When my father and uncle had been slain, when their two armies had been all but annihilated, when the Spanish provinces had been lost, when four armies of Carthaginians and four generals held the whole country in the grip of fear and arms, when, though sought for, no commanding general presented himself for that war except myself, no one had dared to put forward his name, when the

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- v.c.  
542
- ausus esset, cum mihi quattuor et viginti annos nato  
 12 detulisset imperium populus Romanus, quid ita tum  
 nemo aetatem meam, vim hostium, difficultatem belli,  
 patris patruique recentem cladem commemorabat?  
 Utrum maior aliqua nunc in Africa calamitas accepta  
 13 est quam tunc in Hispania erat? An maiores nunc  
 sunt exercitus in Africa et duces plures melioresque  
 quam tunc in Hispania fuerunt? An aetas mea tunc  
 14 maturior bello gerendo fuit quam nunc est? An cum  
 Carthaginiensi hoste in Hispania quam in Africa  
 bellum geri aptius est? Facile est post fusos  
 fugatosque quattuor exercitus Punicos, post tot urbes  
 15 vi captas aut metu subactas in dicionem, post  
 perdomita omnia usque ad Oceanum, tot regulos, tot  
 saevas gentes, post receptam totam Hispaniam ita  
 ut vestigium belli nullum reliquum sit, elevare meas  
 16 res gestas, tam hercule quam, si victor ex Africa  
 redierim, ea ipsa elevare quae nunc retinendi mei  
 causa, ut terribilia eadem videantur, verbis  
 extolluntur.
- 17 "Negat aditum esse in Africam, negat ullos  
 patere portus. M. Atilium captum in Africa com-  
 memorat, tamquam M. Atilius primo accessu ad  
 Africam offenderit, neque recordatur illi ipsi tam  
 infelici imperatori patuisse tamen portus Africæ, et  
 res egregie<sup>1</sup> primo anno gessisse<sup>2</sup> et, quantum ad  
 Carthaginienses duces adtinet, invictum ad ultimum  
 18 permansisse. Nihil igitur me isto exemplo terrueris.  
 Si hoc bello, non priore, si nuper et non annis ante

<sup>1</sup> egregie (*or .iae*) *PJK*: -ias *P<sup>2</sup>(3) Aldus*: gestas ab eo  
*egregias AN* (*om. gessisse*).

<sup>2</sup> gessisse *P(3)ANJK Aldus*: *om. AN Gronovius*.

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<sup>1</sup> The implied exception was the Spartan (mercenary)  
 general presently to be mentioned.

Roman people had bestowed upon me at the age of B.C. 205 twenty-four years its high command, why in such circumstances did no one at that time call to mind my youth, the might of the enemy, the difficulty of the war, the recent disaster to my father and my uncle? Has some greater catastrophe now befallen us in Africa than had been suffered then in Spain? Or are there now larger armies in Africa and more generals and better than there were then in Spain? Or was my age then riper for the conduct of war than it is now? Or is it more suitable to wage war with a Carthaginian enemy in Spain than in Africa? It is easy to disparage my achievements after the rout and flight of four Punic armies, after the storming of so many cities or their subjugation through fear, after a thorough and complete conquest all the way to the Ocean—so many princes, so many warlike nations—after the recovery of all Spain so that no trace of war remains. It will indeed be just as easy if I return as a victor from Africa to disparage precisely the same things which now, in order to hold me back, are magnified by the speaker to make them appear terrible.

"He denies that we have any access to Africa, he denies that any harbours are open to us. He states that Marcus Atilius was captured in Africa, as if Marcus Atilius met disaster upon his first landing in Africa. Also he does not recall that even that unfortunate general found the harbours of Africa nevertheless open to him and conducted a remarkable campaign in his first year, and so far as Carthaginian generals are concerned,<sup>1</sup> remained undefeated to the end. You shall not frighten me, therefore, by the example you give. If that disaster had been incurred in this war, not in the former war, if recently and not

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quadraginta ista<sup>1</sup> clades accepta foret, qui ego  
 minus in Africam Regulo capto quam Scipionibus  
 19 occisis in Hispaniam traicerem? Nec felicius Xan-  
 thippum Lacedaemonium Carthagini quam me patriae  
 meae sinerem natum esse, cresceretque mihi ex eo  
 ipso fiducia quod possit<sup>2</sup> in hominis unius virtute  
 20 tantum momenti esse. At etiam Athenienses  
 audiendi sunt, temere in Siciliam omissa domi bello  
 21 transgressi. Cur ergo, quoniam Graecas fabulas  
 enarrare vacat, non Agathoclem potius Syracusanum  
 regem, cum diu Sicilia Punico bello ureretur, trans-  
 gressum in hanc eandem Africam avertisse eo bellum  
 unde venerat refers?

XLIV. "Sed quid ultro metum inferre hosti et ab  
 se remoto periculo alium in discrimen adducere quale  
 sit, veteribus externisque exemplis admonere opus  
 est? Maius praesentiusve ullum exemplum esse quam  
 2 Hannibal potest?<sup>3</sup> Multum interest alienos populari  
 fines an tuos uri et excendi videas; plus animi est  
 3 inferenti periculum quam propulsanti. Ad hoc maior  
 ignotarum rerum est terror; bona malaque hostium  
 4 ex propinquio ingressus fines aspicias. Non speraverat  
 Hannibal fore ut tot in Italia populi<sup>4</sup> ad se deficerent,

<sup>1</sup> ista *P(1)NJK* Eds., *Johnson*: ista ita *N\*x Conway*.

<sup>2</sup> possit *P(1)N Aldus*, *Froben*, most Eds.: posset *JK Madrig*, *Luchs*, *Riemann*.

<sup>3</sup> Maius . . . potest *A\*N\*JK Weissenborn*, *Luchs*: om. *P(1)N Madrig*.

<sup>4</sup> populi *Sp?A\*N\*JK* Eds. (after deficerent *Riemann*): om. *P(1)N*.

<sup>1</sup> An error for fifty years. In XXIX. xxviii. 5 Livy has *prope quinquaginta* for the actual fifty-two.

forty years ago,<sup>1</sup> why after Regulus' capture should I B.C. 205 hesitate to cross over to Africa any more than to Spain after the Scipios had fallen? I should not admit that the Spartan Xanthippus<sup>2</sup> birth had been more fortunate for Carthage than mine for my native city; and my confidence would be increased by the mere possibility of such weight in the ability of a single man. But we must hear likewise of the Athenians, how neglecting a war at home they crossed rashly to Sicily. Why then, since you have time to tell Greek tales, do you not prefer to relate how Agathocles,<sup>3</sup> King of Syracuse, after Sicily had long been ablaze with a Punic war, crossed over into this same Africa and diverted the war to the country from which it had come?

**XLIV.** “But what is the need of calling to mind by old and foreign examples what it means to make fear an offensive weapon against the enemy, and removing danger from yourself to bring another into peril? Can there be any greater and more effective example than Hannibal? A great difference it makes whether you are seeing the land of others ravaged or your own being burned over and devastated. More spirit has an aggressor than a defender. Besides there is greater dread of things unknown; on entering the territory of the enemy you have a near view of their advantages and disadvantages. Hannibal had not hoped that so many states in Italy would come over to his side as did so after the

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Polybius I. xxxii. ff., xxxvi; *Periocha* 18; Diodorus Sic. XXIII. 14 f.

<sup>3</sup> For the career of this tyrant of Syracuse (died 289 B.C.) and his wars with the Carthaginians both in Sicily and Africa v. Diodorus Sic. XX. 3–18 *et passim*; Justin XXII f.

## LIVY

quot defecerunt<sup>1</sup> post Cannensem cladem: quanto minus quicquam in Africa Carthaginiensibus firmum aut stabile sit,<sup>2</sup> infidis sociis, gravibus ac superbis dominis! Ad hoc nos, etiam deserti ab sociis, viribus nostris, milite Romano stetimus; Carthaginiensi nihil civilis roboris est, mercede paratos milites habent, Afros Numidasque, levissima fidei mutandae ingenia. Hic modo nihil morae sit, una et traiecerisse me audietis et ardere bello Africam et molientem hinc Hannibalem<sup>3</sup> et consideri Carthaginem. Laetiores et frequentiores ex Africa exspectate nuntios quam ex Hispania accipiebatis. Has mihi spes subicit fortuna populi Romani, di foederis ab hoste violati testes, Syphax et Masinissa reges, quorum ego fidei ita innitar ut bene tutus a perfidia sim.

<sup>8</sup> “ Multa quae nunc ex intervallo non apparent bellum aperiet. Id<sup>4</sup> est viri et ducis, non deesse fortunae praebenti se et oblata casu flectere ad consilium. Habebo, Q. Fabi, parem quem das Hannibalem; sed illum ego potius traham quam ille me retineat. In sua terra cogam pugnare eum, et Carthago potius praemium victoriae erit quam semiruta Bruttiorum castella. Ne quid interim, dum traicio, dum expono exercitum in Africa, dum castra ad Carthaginem promoveo, res publica hic detrimenti capiat, quod tu, Q. Fabi, cum vitor tota

<sup>1</sup> quot defecerunt *K Aldus, Eds.*: defecerunt *Sp?A·J Froben 2, Conway* (*after deficerent with a colon*). Most MSS. have the verb but once, e.g. -ficerent *P(3)M<sup>2</sup>N*, for which -fecerunt *P<sup>1</sup>* or *P<sup>2</sup>(-fic-)R<sup>2</sup>MB*.

<sup>2</sup> sit *P(1)NJ(altern.) Aldus, Eds.*: est *JK Froben 2, Conway*.

<sup>3</sup> et molientem hinc Hannibalem *P(1)NJK Aldus*: doubted by Luchs 1889 and bracketed by M. Müller; variously altered; defended by Johnson, Conway.

<sup>4</sup> Id *P(1)N*: et id *A'N'JK Aldus, Froben*.

disaster at Cannae. How much less is anything in B.C. 205 Africa to be strong and steadfast for the Carthaginians, faithless as allies, oppressive and arrogant as masters! Furthermore, even when deserted by our allies, we kept our footing by our own forces, our Roman soldiers. The Carthaginians have no forces of their own citizens. They have mercenaries, Africans and Numidians, very inconstant by nature and ready to change their allegiance. If only there is no delay here, at the same moment you will hear that I have crossed and that Africa is ablaze with war, and Hannibal casting off from here, and Carthage blockaded. Look for more cheering news from Africa and more frequent than you used to receive from Spain. Inspiring these hopes in me are the fortune of the Roman people, the gods who witnessed the treaty violated by the enemy, the kings, Syphax and Masinissa, on whose honour I shall rely—but so as to be well protected against treachery.

“ Many things which, owing to distance, are not now evident the war will reveal. It is the part of a man and a general not to prove wanting when fortune presents herself, and to fit what is offered by chance into his plan. I shall have Hannibal as the antagonist you assign me, Quintus Fabius; but I shall draw him after me, not let him hold me back. In his own land will I compel him to fight, and Carthage is to be the reward of victory, not the half-ruined strongholds of the Bruttians. Meantime, while I am crossing over, while landing my army in Africa, while moving my camp up to Carthage, let the republic suffer no harm here. That service you, Quintus Fabius, were able to guarantee while everywhere in Italy the victorious

## LIVY

.v.c.  
549 11 volitaret Italia Hannibal, potuisti praestare, hoc vide  
 ne contumeliosum sit conusso iam et paene fracto  
 Hannibale negare posse P. Licinium consulem, virum  
 fortissimum, praestare, qui, ne a sacris absit pontifex  
 maximus, ideo in sortem tam longinquae provinciae  
 12 non venit.<sup>1</sup> Si hercules nihilo maturius hoc quo ego  
 censeo modo perficeretur bellum, tamen ad dignita-  
 tem populi Romani famamque apud reges gen-  
 tesque externas pertinebat, non ad defendendam  
 modo Italiam, sed ad inferenda etiam Africae arma  
 13 videri nobis animum esse, nec hoc credi volgarique,  
 quod Hannibal ausus sit neminem ducem Romanum  
 audere, et priore Punico bello tum, cum de Sicilia  
 certaretur, totiens Africam ab<sup>2</sup> nostris exerciti-  
 busque<sup>3</sup> et classibus oppugnatam, nunc, cum de  
 14 Italia certetur, Africam pacatam esse. Requiescat  
aliquando vexata tam diu Italia; uratur evasteturque  
 15 in vicem Africa. Castra Romana potius Carthaginis  
 portis immineant quam nos iterum vallum hostium ex  
moenibus nostris videamus. Africa sit reliqui belli  
 sedes; illuc terror fugaque, populatio agrorum,  
 defectio sociorum, ceterae belli clades, quae in nos  
 per quattuordecim annos ingruerunt, vertantur.  
 16 Quae ad rem publicam pertinent et bellum quod  
 instat et provincias de quibus agitur dixisse satis est;  
 17 illa longa oratio nec ad vos pertinens sit, si, quemad-  
 modum Q. Fabius meas res gestas in Hispania ele-

<sup>1</sup> venit *P(1)NJK Aldus*; veniat *Sp? Froben* 2.

<sup>2</sup> ab *P(3)*: a *AN Aldus*: om. *Sp?JK Froben* 2.

<sup>3</sup> -que om. *Sp?ANJK Aldus, Froben*.

Hannibal flitted about. Would it not be insulting, B.C. 205 with Hannibal now shaken and almost broken, to claim that Publius Licinius, the consul—a very brave man who took no part in the allotment of so distant a province, solely that as pontifex maximus he might not be absent from religious ceremonies—cannot do the same? If in truth the war were not completed any more promptly by the method which I propose, it would nevertheless conduce to the dignity of the Roman people and its reputation among kings and foreign nations to let it be seen that we have the spirit not only to defend Italy but also to invade Africa. Likewise not to have it believed and published abroad that what Hannibal has dared no Roman general dares, and that in the former Punic war, at a time when the stake was Sicily, Africa was attacked so many times by our armies and fleets, but that now, when Italy is the stake, Africa is at peace. Let Italy, so long harried, at length have rest; let Africa in turn be burned over and laid waste. Let Roman camps threaten the gates of Carthage; better so than that we should see the enemy's earthworks from our walls for the second time. Let Africa be the theatre of the remainder of the war. In that direction may terror and flight be diverted, the devastation also of farms, the desertion of allies, and the other calamities of war which for fourteen years have assailed us.

" It is enough to have spoken of matters concerning the state and the war now in progress and the provinces which are in question. A long speech it would be and one of no concern to you senators if, after the manner in which Quintus Fabius has disparaged my achievements in Spain, I on my part should be

vavit, sic ego<sup>1</sup> contra gloriam eius eludere et meam  
 18 verbis extollere velim. Neutrum faciam, patres  
 conscripti, et, si nulla alia re, modestia certe et tem-  
 perando linguae adulescens senem vicero. Ita  
 et vixi et gessi res ut tacitus ea opinione quam  
 vestra sponte conceptam animis haberetis facile  
 contentus essem."

XLV. Minus aequis animis auditus est Scipio,  
 quia volgatum erat, si apud senatum non obtinuissest  
 ut provincia Africa sibi decerneretur, ad populum ex-  
 2 templo laturum. Itaque Q. Fulvius, qui consul qua-  
 ter et censor<sup>2</sup> fuerat, postulavit a consule ut palam in  
 senatu diceret permetteretne patribus ut de pro-  
 vinciis decernerent, statusque eo esset quod cen-  
 3 suissent, an ad populum laturus. Cum Scipio re-  
 spondisset se quod e re publica esset facturum, tum  
 4 Fulvius: "Non ego ignarus quid responsurus  
 facturusve esses quae sive, quippe cum prae te feras  
 temptare te<sup>3</sup> magis quam consulere senatum, et ni  
 provinciam tibi quam volueris extemplo decernamus,  
 5 paratam rogationem habeas. Itaque a vobis, tribuni  
 plebis, postulo" inquit "ut sententiam mihi ideo non  
 dicenti quod, etsi<sup>4</sup> in meam sententiam discedatur,  
 6 non sit ratum habiturus consul, auxilio sitis." Inde  
 altercatio orta, cum consul negaret aequum esse  
 tribunos intercedere quo minus suo quiske loco

<sup>1</sup> ego *P(1)N*: et ego *JK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>2</sup> et censor *A<sup>4</sup>N<sup>4</sup>JK Aldus, Froben*: om. *P(1)N*.

<sup>3</sup> te *P(3)*: om. *ANJK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>4</sup> etsi *Gronovius, Eds.*: est *P(1)N*: si *A<sup>6</sup>N<sup>4</sup>JK Luchs.*

minded to scoff at his fame and to enlarge upon my own. I will do neither, conscript fathers, and if in no other respect, in modesty at least and in control of my tongue I, who am young, will outstrip the older man. Such have been my life and achievements that, although silent, I am quite content with the opinion which of your own accord you have formed and retain."

XLV. Scipio met with a less favourable hearing because it had been generally reported that, if he should not carry his point in the senate and have Africa decreed him as his province, he would at once bring a bill before the people. And so Quintus Fulvius, who had been consul four times and censor, demanded of the consul that he should frankly state in the senate whether he would permit the senators to make a decree in regard to the provinces and would stand by their vote, or was intending to bring a bill before the people. When Scipio replied that he would act for the best interests of the state, Fulvius said: "I was not unaware, when I asked my question, of the answer you would give or of what you would do, since you make it plain that you are sounding the senate rather than consulting it, and since, unless we at once decree for you the province which you have desired, you have a bill ready. Accordingly, tribunes of the people" he said "I demand of you that you come to my defence if I decline to express an opinion for the reason that, even in case our vote by division should favour a motion of mine, the consul will not consider it valid." Then arose a dispute, the consul maintaining that it was not right for the tribunes to use their veto to excuse a senator from stating his opinion when called upon in his regular

## LIVY

7 senator<sup>1</sup> rogatus sententiam diceret. Tribuni ita decreverunt: "Si consul senatui de provinciis permittit, stari eo quod senatus censuerit placet, nec de ea re ferri ad populum patiemur; si non permittit, qui de ea re sententiam recusabit dicere auxilio erimus."

8 Consul diem ad conloquendum cum conlega petit; postero die permissum senatui est. Provinciae ita decretae: alteri consuli Sicilia et triginta rostratae naves quas C. Servilius superiore anno habuisset; permissumque ut in Africam, si id e re publica esse 9 censeret, traiceret; alteri Brutii et bellum cum Hannibale cum eo exercitu, quem<sup>2</sup> *(mallet)*. L. Veturius et Q. Caecilius sortirentur inter se compararentve uter in Bruttii duabus legionibus quas consul reliquisset 10 rem gereret, imperiumque in annum prorogaretur cui ea provincia evenisset. Et ceteris, praeter consules praetoresque,<sup>3</sup> qui exercitibus provincisque praefuturi erant<sup>4</sup> prorogata imperia. Q. Caecilio sorti evenit ut cum consule in Bruttii adversus Hannibalem bellum gereret.

<sup>1</sup> senator *A<sup>6</sup>NJK Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)N.*

<sup>2</sup> quem *P(1)NJK: at least mallet must have followed:* mallet ex duobus qui ibi essent *Madvig: mallet ex duobus quos consules habuissent Weissenborn.*

<sup>3</sup> praeter . . . praetoresque *P(1)NJK Aldus: probably to be rejected as a gloss with Conway, who suspected another lacuna.*

<sup>4</sup> praefuturi erant also corrupt, Conway, who would conj. praefuerant.

<sup>1</sup> This decree so fortified the opposition that Scipio was unable to risk a vote referring the question to the people.

<sup>2</sup> A small fleet in comparison with the hundred ships assigned to Sicily in 208 B.C.; XXVII. xxii. 9. For an invasion a

order. The tribunes made this decree: "If the <sup>B.C. 205</sup> consul permits the senate to assign the provinces, we decide that he must stand by the vote of the senate, and we will not allow a bill touching that matter to be brought before the people. If he does not permit, we will come to the defence of a man who refuses to express an opinion on that matter."<sup>1</sup>

The consul begged for one day to confer with his colleague; on the next day he gave the senate his permission. The provinces were assigned by decree as follows: to one of the consuls Sicily and the thirty war-ships<sup>2</sup> which Gaius Servilius had commanded in the previous year;<sup>3</sup> and permission to cross over to Africa was given, if he should consider that to be to the advantage of the state; to the other consul the land of the Bruttians and the war with Hannibal, together with the army which he preferred.<sup>4</sup> Lucius Veturius and Quintus Caecilius were to decide between them by lot or by arrangement which of them was to wage war in the Bruttian land with the two legions which the consul should leave there, and whichever should have that province assigned to him was to have his command continued for one year. And for the rest who were to command armies and provinces—apart from consuls and praetors—their commands were continued. It fell to Quintus Caecilius by lot to wage war together with the consul in the Bruttian land against Hannibal.

much larger navy would seem to be required. Add the 30 new ships presently to be built (§ 21). But actually only 40 war-ships escorted 400 transports in 204 B.C.; XXIX. xxvi. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. x. 16.

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.* of the two in that region; cf. x. 10; xi. 12; xlvi. 2.

## LIVY

- A.U.C. 549 12 Ludi deinde Scipionis magna frequentia et favore spectantium celebrati. Legati Delphos ad donum ex praeda Hasdrubalis portandum missi M. Pomponius Matho et Q. Catius. Tulerunt coronam auream ducentum pondo et simulacra spoliorum ex<sup>1</sup> mille pondo argenti facta.<sup>2</sup>
- 13 Scipio cum ut dilectum haberet neque impetrasset neque magnopere tetendisset, ut voluntarios  
 14 ducere sibi milites liceret tenuit et, quia impensae negaverat rei publicae futuram classem, ut quae ab sociis darentur ad novas fabricandas naves acciperet. Etruriae primum populi pro suis quisque facultibus consulem adiuturos polliciti: Caerites frumentum sociis navalibus commeatumque omnis generis, Populonenses ferrum, Tarquinienses lintea in vela, Volaterrani interamenta<sup>3</sup> navium et frumentum,  
 16 Arretini tria milia scutorum, galeas totidem, pila gaesa hastas longas, milium quinquaginta summam  
 17 pari cuiusque generis numero expleturos, secures rutra falces alveolos molas, quantum in quadraginta longas naves opus esset, tritici centum et viginti milia modium, et in viaticum decurionibus remigibusque  
 18 conlaturos; Perusini Clusini Rusellani abietem in fabricandas naves et frumenti magnum numerum;

<sup>1</sup> ex *SpD Froben* 2: et *P(3)NJK Aldus*.

<sup>2</sup> facta *SpDJ Froben* 2: facti *P(3)NJK Aldus*.

<sup>3</sup> interamenta *P(3)NJK*: ferramenta x: inceramenta *Gronovius*.

<sup>1</sup> Doubtless in the form of trophies, possibly a pair of them, to flank the golden wreath, presumably to be set up in one of the treasure houses. At XXIII. xi. 3 Apollo had bidden them send a gift when they had preserved their state. So Fabius Pictor, the Roman ambassador, had reported in 216 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. XXX. xxxix. 2; now Piombino, the nearest port to Elba. Usually Populonia, but Polybius and Strabo use the  
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Scipio's games were then held with great crowds B.C. 205 and great approval on the part of the spectators. As ambassadors Marcus Pomponius Matho and Quintus Catius were sent to Delphi to carry a gift from the spoils of Hasdrubal. They took a golden wreath weighing two hundred pounds and representations of spoils<sup>1</sup> made of a thousand pounds of silver.

Although he had neither gained consent to hold a levy, nor had been especially insistent, Scipio obtained permission to take volunteers and to receive whatever should be given by the allies towards the construction of new ships,—this because he had stated that the fleet would not be an expense to the state. First the Etruscan communities promised that they would aid the consul, each according to its own resources. The men of Caere promised grain for the crews and supplies of every kind, the men of Populonium<sup>2</sup> iron, Tarquinii linen for sails, Volaterrae the interior fittings of ships, also grain. Arretium promised three thousand shields, an equal number of helmets; and that they would furnish a total of fifty thousand javelins, short spears and lances, with an equal proportion of each type; also axes, shovels, sickles, baskets and hand-mills, as many as were needed for forty war-ships; a hundred and twenty thousand pecks of wheat also; and that they would contribute allowances<sup>3</sup> for petty officers and oarsmen. Perusia, Clusium and Rusellae<sup>4</sup> promised fir for shipbuilding and a great quantity of grain. He

neuter (P. at XXXIV. xi. 3; S. at V. ii. 5 f., 8). So also the *Itin. Ant.*

<sup>3</sup> In addition to their pay.

<sup>4</sup> Beyond the Umbro and near Vetulonia; X. iv. 5; xxxvii. 3.

l.u.c. 19 abiete et<sup>1</sup> ex publicis silvis est usus. Umbriae populi  
<sup>549</sup> et praeter hos Nursini<sup>2</sup> et Reatini et Amiternini  
 Sabinusque omnis ager milites polliciti. Marsi  
 Paeligni Marrucinique multi voluntarii nomina in  
 20 classem dederunt. Camertes cum aequo foedere  
 cum Romanis essent, cohortem armatam sescentorum  
 21 hominum miserunt. Triginta navium carinae, viginti  
 quinqueremes, decem quadriremes, cum essent  
 positae, ipse ita institit operi ut die quadragesimo  
 quinto quam ex silvis detracta materia erat naves  
 instructae armataeque in aquam deductae sint.

XLVI. Profectus in Siciliam est triginta navibus  
 longis, voluntariorum septem ferme milibus in naves  
 2 impositis. Et P. Licinius in Bruttios ad duos  
 exercitus consulares venit. Ex iis eum sibi sumpsit  
 3 quem L. Veturius consul habuerat; Metello ut,  
 quibus praefuissest legionibus, iis praeesset,<sup>3</sup> facilius  
 cum adsuetis imperio rem gesturum ratus permisit.  
 4 Et praetores diversi in provincias profecti. Et quia  
 pecunia ad bellum deerat, agri Campani regionem  
 a Fossa Graeca ad mare versam vendere quaestores  
 5 iussi, indicio quoque permisso qui ager civis Campani  
 fuissest, uti is publicus populi Romani esset; indici  
 praemium constitutum, quantae pecuniae ager

<sup>1</sup> et conj. Luchs, Walters, adopted by Conway; om. P(1)NJK Eds.

<sup>2</sup> Nursini, SpJK Froben 2 add -que and om. et praeter hos of P(1)N Aldus.

<sup>3</sup> legionibus . . . praeesset A'N'JK Allus, Froben: om. P(1)N.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. just as if they were allies and hence bound to furnish troops.

<sup>2</sup> Near Cumae and probably dug by that city long before to drain marshy lowlands near the sea; cf. XXII. xvi. 4.

used fir also from forests belonging to the state. B.C. 205  
 The communities of Umbria and in addition Nursia and Reate and Amiternum and the whole Sabine district promised soldiers. Marsians, Paelignians and Marrucini in large numbers gave in their names as volunteers for the fleet. Camerinum, although it treated with the Romans on an equal footing, sent an armed cohort of six hundred men.<sup>1</sup> After thirty keels had been laid down, twenty quinqueremes and ten quadriremes, Scipio so pushed the work that on the forty-fifth day after the timber had been brought from the forests the ships, rigged and equipped, were launched.

**XLVI.** He set out for Sicily on thirty war-ships after embarking some seven thousand volunteers. And Publius Licinius came to the two consular armies in the land of the Bruttians. Of these he took the army which Lucius Veturius had commanded as consul. He allowed Metellus to command the same legions which he had previously commanded, for he thought Metellus would more easily carry on the war with men accustomed to his authority. The praetors also set out in different directions to their provinces. And because there was a lack of money for the war the quaestors were ordered to sell a region of Campania extending from the Fossa Graeca<sup>2</sup> to the sea, it being permitted also to give information as to any land which had belonged to a Campanian citizen, so that it might become public land of the Roman people. For the informant one-tenth of the price of the land

Not far away was Liternum, where Scipio Africanus later lived in retirement at his villa, described by Seneca *Ep.* 86, 1-12; cf. Val. Max. II. x. 2; and there was his tomb; Seneca *l.c.*

6 indicatus esset pars decuma. Et Cn. Servilio praetori urbano negotium datum ut Campani cives, ubi cuique<sup>1</sup> ex senatus consulto liceret habitare, ibi<sup>2</sup> habitarent, animadverteretque in eos qui alibi habitarent.

7 Eadem aestate Mago Hamilcaris filius ex minore Baliam insula, ubi hibernarat, iuventute lecta in classem imposita, in Italiam triginta ferme rostratis navibus et multis onerariis duodecim milia peditum, 8 duo ferme equitum traiecit, Genuamque nullis praesidiis maritumam oram tutantibus repentina adventu cepit. Inde ad oram Ligurum Alpinorum, si quos ibi 9 motus facere posset, classem appulit. Ingauni—Ligurum ea gens est—bellum ea tempestate gerebant cum Epanteriis Montanis. Igitur Poenus Savone, oppido Alpino, praeda deposita et decem longis navibus in statione ad praesidium relictis, ceteris Carthaginem missis ad tuendam maritumam 11 oram, quia fama erat Scipionem traiecturum, ipse societate cum Ingaunis, quorum gratiam malebat, composita Montanos instituit oppugnare. Et crescebat exercitus in dies ad famam nominis eius

<sup>1</sup> cuique *P(1)N Aldus*: -cunque *SpN JK*.

<sup>2</sup> habitare, ibi *P(1)N Aldus*: *om. SpJK Froben* 2.

<sup>1</sup> On the Ligurian coast; cf. XXI. xxxii. 5, the first appearance of Genoa in history; XXIX. v. 2. Destroyed by Mago and rebuilt by Spurius Lucretius, XXX. i. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* Western; see note on Savo below.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. XXIX. *l.c.* Their town was a seaport, Album Ingaunum or Albingaunum, now Albenga; Strabo IV. vi. 1; Mela II. 72; Tacitus *Hist.* II. 15 *fin.* The Epanterii were above them on the slopes of the coast range (*Alpes Maritimae*).

reported was established as a reward. And to <sup>B.C. 205</sup> Gnaeus Servilius, the city praetor, was assigned the task of seeing to it that Campanian citizens should dwell only where in accordance with a decree of the senate it was permitted them severally to dwell, and of punishing those who were dwelling elsewhere.

In the same summer Mago the son of Hamilcar embarked upon his fleet picked young men from the smaller of the Balearic Islands, where he had wintered, and brought across to Italy on some thirty war-ships and many transports twelve thousand infantry and about two thousand cavalry. Upon his sudden arrival he also captured Genua,<sup>1</sup> since no forces were guarding the sea-coast. Then he put in with his fleet to the coast belonging to the Alpine<sup>2</sup> Ligurians, in the hope of causing some uprising there. The Ingauni,<sup>3</sup> a Ligurian tribe, were at that time carrying on a war with the Epanterii Montani. Accordingly the Carthaginian, depositing his plunder at Savo,<sup>4</sup> a town at the foot of the Alps, and leaving ten war-ships at anchor to protect it, sent the rest to Carthage to defend the sea-coast, because there was a report that Scipio would cross over. Mago himself made an alliance with the Ingauni, whose friendship he preferred, and set about attacking the Montani. And his army was daily increasing because the Gauls

<sup>1</sup> Now Savona, 27 miles west of Genoa. Though a seaport it is an *oppidum Alpinum* as lying at the foot of the Maritime Alps. Eastward of Savona is another coast range; a part of the Apennines. On the dividing line between the two, cf. Strabo *l.c.* and V. i. 3; also Decimus Brutus writing to Cicero, *Ep.* XI. xiii. 2. For Vada Sabat(i)a, now Vado, west of Savo, cf. XXIX. v. 2, note; Strabo *l.c.*; Mela *l.c.*; Pliny *N.H.* III. 48; *Itin. Ant.* 295.

## LIVY

- 549
- v.c. 12 Gallis undique confluentibus. Ea res<sup>1</sup> litteris cognita Sp. Lucreti, ne frustra Hasdrubale cum exercitu deleto biennio ante forent laetati, si par aliud inde bellum, duce tantum mutato, oreretur, curam  
 13 ingentem accedit<sup>2</sup> patribus. Itaque et M. Livium proconsulem ex Etruria volonum exercitum admoveare Ariminum iusserunt, et Cn. Servilio praetori negotium datum ut, si e re publica censeret esse, duas urbanas legiones, imperio cui videretur dato, ex urbe duci iuberet. M. Valerius Laevinus Arretium eas legiones duxit.
- 14 Eisdem diebus naves onerariae Poenorum ad octoginta circa Sardiniam ab Cn. Octavio, qui provinciae praeerat, captae. Eas Coelius frumento misso ad Hannibalem commeatuque onustas, Valerius praedam Etruscum Ligurumque et<sup>3</sup> Montanorum captivos  
 15 Carthaginem portantes captas tradit. In Bruttiis nihil ferme anno eo memorabile gestum. Pestilentia incesserat pari clade in Romanos Poenosque, nisi quod Punicum exercitum super morbum etiam fames  
 16 adfecit. Propter Iunonis Laciniae templum aestatem Hannibal egit, ibique aram condidit dedicavitque cum ingenti rerum ab se gestarum titulo, Punicis Graecisque litteris insculpto.

<sup>1</sup> res *Rhenanus*, *Eds.* (after litteris *Alscheski*): om.  
*P(1)NSpJK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>2</sup> accedit *P(1)NSpJK Froben* 2 : accedere *x Aldus.*

<sup>3</sup> et *P(1)NJK, Aldus, Weissenborn, Conway*: om. *Froben* 2, *Madrig, Luchs, Riemann, Friedersdorff, unwilling to accept as genuine the statement that there were Ligurian captives also, i.e. Ingauni, § 9.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxxviii. 11, 13; XXX. i. 9 f.

<sup>2</sup> Antias; cf. Vol. VI. p. 492, n. 2; VII. pp. 24, n. 1 and 187. For Coelius cf. VI. p. 183, n. 2; VII. pp. 41, 323.

## BOOK XXVIII. XLVI. 11-16

on hearing his name flocked together from all sides. B.C. 205  
 This fact, when it was made known to the senators through a letter of Spurius Lucretius,<sup>1</sup> kindled great anxiety among them, for fear they had rejoiced in vain two years before over the destruction of Hasdrubal and his army, if another equally serious war with only a change of commander should break out from that quarter. So they ordered Marcus Livius, the pro-consul, to bring his army of slave-volunteers from Etruria to Ariminum. Also they assigned to Gnaeus Servilius, the praetor, if he thought it to the advantage of the state, the duty of appointing at his discretion a commander for the two city legions and ordering them to be brought up from the city. Marcus Valerius Laevinus brought these legions to Arretium.

Just at that time about eighty Carthaginian transports were captured off Sardinia by Gnaeus Octavius, who was in command of that province. Coelius states that they were laden with grain sent to Hannibal and with provisions, Valerius<sup>2</sup> that they were captured while carrying Etrusean booty and captive Ligurians and Montani to Carthage. In the land of the Bruttians virtually nothing notable was done that year. An epidemic, equally disastrous to both, had attacked Romans and Carthaginians, with this difference that in addition to disease hunger also weakened the Carthaginian army. Hannibal spent the summer near the temple of Juno Lacinia,<sup>3</sup> and there he erected an altar and dedicated it together with a great record of his achievements in a Punic and Greek inscription.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Vol. VI. pp. 115, n., 182 f., notes (especially in reference to the inscription); VII. p. 315. The promontory took its name from ναός, temple, and is still Capo Nao (or delle Colonne).

## LIBRI XXVIII PERIOCHA

Res in Hispania prospere gestae a Silano Scipionis legato et ab L. Scipione fratre adversus Poenos, a P. Sulpicio pro-consule socio Attalo rege Asiae adversus Philippum regem Macedonum pro Aetolis referuntur. Cum M. Livio et Claudio Neroni consulibus triumphus decretus esset, Livius, qui in provincia sua rem gesserat, quadrigis invectus est, Nero, qui in collegae provinciam, ut victoriam eius adiuvaret, venerat, equo secutus est, et in hoc habitu plus gloriae reverentiaeque habuit; nam et plus in bello quam collega fecerat. Ignis in aede Vestae neglegentia virginis quae non custodierat extinctus est; caesa est flagro. P. Scipio in Hispania cum Poenis debellavit XIII anno eius belli, quinto post anno quam ierat, paeclusisque in totum possessione provinciae eius hostibus Hispanias recepit; et a Tarracone in Africam ad Syphacem regem Massyliorum transvectus foedus iunxit. Hasdrubal Gisgonis ibi cum eo in eodem lecto cenavit. Munus gladiatorium in honorem patris patruique Carthagine Nova edidit, non ex gladiatoriis, sed ex his qui aut in honorem ducis aut ex provocatione descendebant; in quo reguli fratres de regno ferro contenderunt. Cum Gisia urbs obpugnaretur, oppidanii liberos et coniuges rogo exstructo occiderunt et se insuper praecipitaverunt. Ipse Scipio, dum gravi morbo implicatus est, seditionem in parte exercitus motam confirmatus

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<sup>1</sup> An error for New Carthage; cf. xvii. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Astapa in the text, xxii. 2; xxiii. 5.

## SUMMARY OF BOOK XXVIII

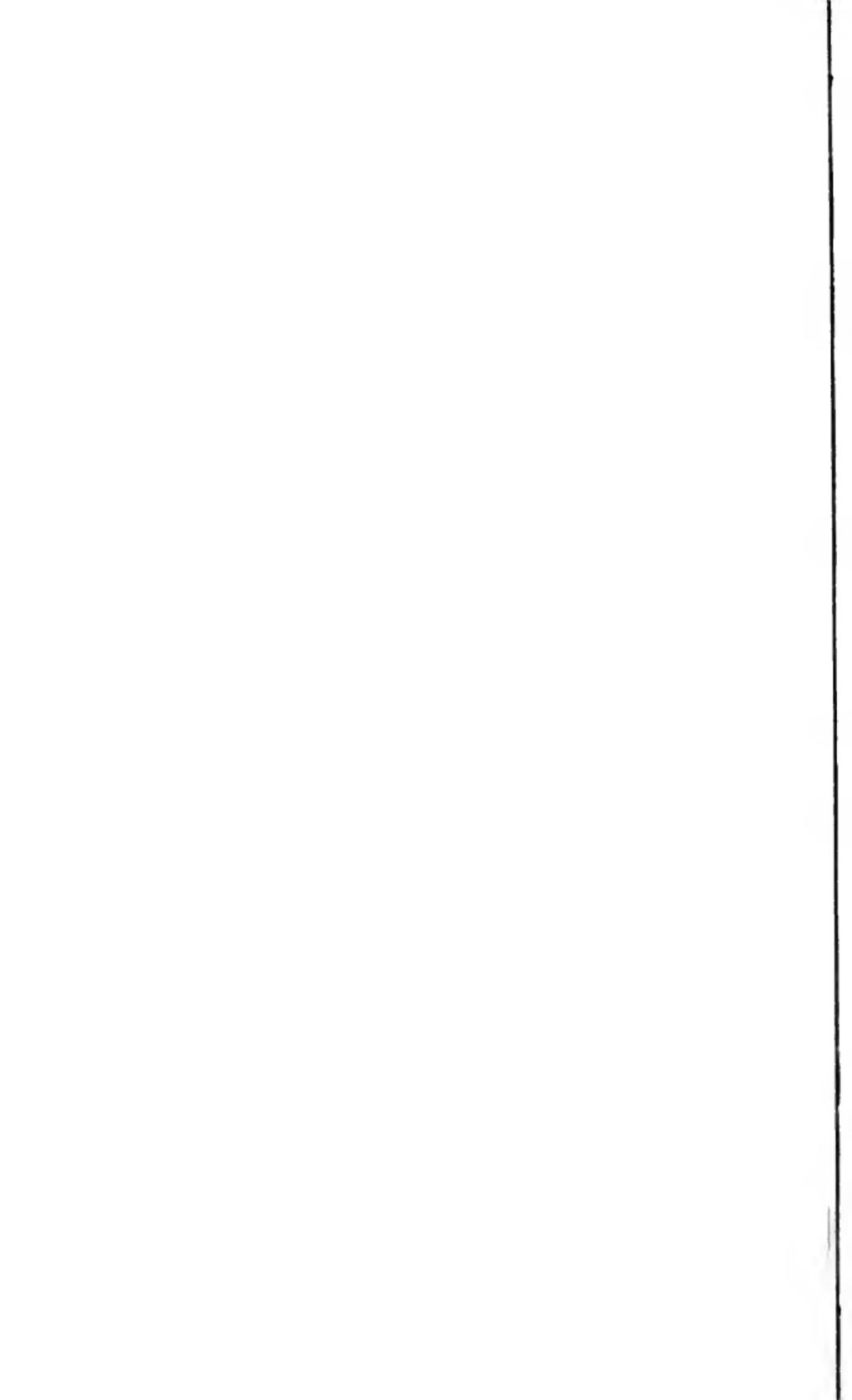
Successes gained in Spain against the Carthaginians by Silanus, Scipio's lieutenant, and by his brother Lucius Scipio are narrated, and those gained by Publius Sulpicius as proconsul with Attalus, King of Asia, as ally against Philip, King of the Macedonians, on behalf of the Aetolians. When a triumph was awarded by decree to Marcus Livius and Claudius Nero, the consuls, Livius, who had commanded in his own province, drove into the city in a four-horse chariot. Nero, who had entered his colleague's province to aid him to victory, followed on horseback; and in this appearance he earned more fame and respect; for he had done more also than his colleague in the war. The fire in Vesta's temple went out owing to the carelessness of the virgin who had failed to keep watch over it. She was scourged. Publius Scipio brought the war with the Carthaginians in Spain to an end in the fourteenth year of the war, the fifth year after his arrival; and he gained possession of Spain after completely shutting the enemy out from occupation of that province. And from Tarraco<sup>1</sup> he crossed over into Africa, to Syphax, King of the Massylians, and made a treaty with him. Hasdrubal son of Gisgo dined with him there, reclining on the same couch. Scipio gave a gladiatorial show at New Carthage in honour of his father and uncle, not by gladiators but by men who went into the arena either to honour the general or in accepting a challenge. In that show princes who were brothers fought for kingship with the sword. During the siege of the city of Gisia<sup>2</sup> the citizens slew their children and wives upon a pyre which they had built and threw themselves upon it. Scipio himself, when a mutiny broke out in one part of the army while he was

## LIBRI XXVIII PERIOCHA

discussit, rebellantesque Hispaniae populos coegit in ditionem venire. Et amicitia facta cum Masinissa rege Numidarum, qui illi auxilium, si in Africam traieciisset, pollicebatur, cum Gaditanis quoque post discessum inde Magonis, cui Carthagine scriptum erat ut in Italiam traiceret, Romam reversus consulque creatus. Africam provinciam petenti contradicente Q. Fabio Maximo Sicilia data est, permissumque ut in Africam traiceret, si id e re publica esse censeret. Mago Hamilcaris filius a minore Biali insula, ubi hiemaverat, in Italiam traiecit.

## SUMMARY OF BOOK XXVIII

seriously ill, upon recovering quelled it and compelled the rebellious peoples in Spain to surrender. And he made friends with Masinissa, King of the Numidians, who promised him assistance if he should cross over to Africa. Having made friends with the men of Gades also after the departure of Mago, who had received written orders from Carthage to cross over to Italy, Scipio returned to Rome and was elected consul. When he begged for Africa as his province, while Quintus Fabius Maximus opposed, Sicily was given to him and he was permitted to cross over to Africa if he thought that for the advantage of the state. Mago son of Hamilcar crossed over to Italy from the smaller of the Balearic Islands, where he had wintered.



## **BOOK XXIX**

## LIBER XXIX

J.C.  
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I. SCIPIO postquam in Siciliam venit, voluntarios  
2 milites ordinavit centuriavitque Ex iis trecentos iu-  
venes. florentes aetate et virium robore insignes,<sup>1</sup>  
inermes circa se habebat, ignorantes quem ad usum  
3 neque centuriati neque armati servarentur. Tum  
ex totius Siciliae iuniorum numero principes genere et  
fortuna trecentos equites qui secum in Africam  
traicerent legit, diemque iis qua equis armisque  
4 instructi atque ornati adessent edixit. Gravis ea  
militia procul domo, terra marique multos labores  
magna pericula allatura videbatur; neque ipsos modo  
sed parentes cognatosque eorum ea cura angebat.  
5 Ubi dies quae edicta<sup>2</sup> erat advenit, arma equosque  
ostenderunt. Tum Scipio renuntiari sibi dixit  
quosdam equites Siculorum tamquam gravem et  
6 duram horrere eam militiam; si qui ita animati  
essent, malle eos sibi iam tum fateri quam postmodo  
querentes segnes atque inutiles milites rei publicae  
esse; expromerent quid sentirent; cum bona venia  
7 se auditurum. Ubi ex iis unus ausus est dicere se

<sup>1</sup> insignes, inermes *Conway*: insignes (or -is),  
*SpA\* N\*(altern.) JK Froben* 2: inermis (or -es *P(1) NH Aldus*,  
*Eds.*

<sup>2</sup> edicta *JK Aldus, Froben, Luchs*: dicta *P(1) NH*.

## BOOK XXIX

I. Scipio, now that he had reached Sicily, assigned B.C. 205 his volunteers to their ranks and centuries. Three hundred of them, young men in the bloom of their youth and conspicuous for their physical strength, he kept about him unarmed and ignorant of the purpose for which they were being reserved without being organized in centuries or furnished with arms. Then he chose out of the number of the younger men of all Sicily three hundred horsemen, men of high rank and of wealth, to cross over with him into Africa. He appointed a day also on which they were to present themselves equipped and furnished with horses and arms. Such service far from home seemed to them formidable and likely to bring many hardships and great dangers on land and sea. And concern on this account troubled not merely the men themselves but also their parents and relations. When the day which had been appointed came the men displayed their arms and horses. Then Scipio said reports were coming to him that some of the Sicilian horsemen shrank from that service as formidable and difficult. If any were of that mind he preferred that they should confess it to him at once, rather than complain later and prove spiritless soldiers and useless for the state. Let them declare what was their mind; he would give them a kindly hearing. When one of them ventured to say that

## LIVY

prorsus, si sibi utrum vellet<sup>1</sup> liberum esset, nolle  
 8 militare, tum Scipio ei: "Quoniam igitur, adulescens,  
 quid sentires non dissimulasti, vicarium tibi expediam  
 cui tu arma equumque et cetera instrumenta militiae  
 tradas et tecum hinc extemplo domum ducas,  
 9 exerceas, docendum cures equo armisque." Laeto  
 condicionem accipienti unum ex trecentis quos  
 inermes habebat tradit. Ubi hoc modo exauktoratum  
 equitem cum gratia imperatoris ceteri viderunt, se  
 10 quisque excusare et vicarium accipere. Ita trecentis  
 Siculis Romani equites substituti sine publica inpensa.  
 Docendorum atque exercendorum<sup>2</sup> curam Siculi ha-  
 buerunt, quai edictum imperatoris erat, ipsum milita-  
 11 turum qui ita non fecisset. Egregiam hanc alam equi-  
 tum evasisse ferunt multisque proeliis rem publicam  
 adiuuisse.

12 Legiones inde cum inspiceret, plurimorum stipen-  
 diorum ex iis milites delegit, maxime qui sub duce  
 13 Marcello militaverant, quos cum optima disciplina  
 institutos credebat, tum etiam ab longa Syracusarum  
 obsidione peritissimos esse urbium oppugnandarum;  
 nihil enim parvum, sed Carthaginis iam excidia  
 14 agitabat animo. Inde exercitum per oppida dispergit;  
 frumentum Siculorum civitatibus imperat, ex Italia

<sup>1</sup> vellet *Sp? JK Froben* 2: velit *P(1) NH*.

<sup>2</sup> atque exercendorum *A'N'H(ac,JK Aldus, Froben*: *om. P,1)N, a line, as they omit multisque proeliis rem publicam just below (supplied as above)*.

<sup>1</sup> A similar method of raising cavalry inexpensively was used by the Spartan King Agesilāus in order to make war upon the Persian King's satrap Tissaphernes near Ephesus, 395

if he was free to choose whichever he wished he did B.C. 205 not wish to serve at all, thereupon Scipio said to him: "Accordingly, since you have not concealed what your mind is, young man, I will furnish a substitute for you, and to him you shall hand over your arms and horse and the other equipment for the service, and forthwith shall take him away with you to your home, train him and see that he is taught horsemanship and the use of arms." As the man gladly accepted the terms Scipio turned over to him one of the three hundred unarmed men that he had. When the others saw the horseman thus discharged with the consent of the commander, every man excused himself and took a substitute. Thus three hundred Sicilians were replaced by Roman horsemen without expense to the state. Of their training and drilling the Sicilians were in charge, because the general's order was that any man who failed to do so should himself serve.<sup>1</sup> They say that this cavalry squadron proved excellent and was of value to the state in many battles.

Then while mustering the legions he chose out of them soldiers who had served for the greatest number of campaigns, especially those who had done so under Marcellus as commander, believing them to have been schooled by the best training and in particular to be most skilled in besieging cities in consequence of the long siege of Syracuse. For he was planning nothing small, but already the destruction of Carthage. Thereupon he distributed his army among the towns, requisitioned grain from the Sicilian cities, spared the grain imported from

B.C.; Xenophon *Hell.* III. iv. 15; *Ages.* I. 24; Plutarch *Ages.* 9.

## LIVY

c.  
advecto parcit; veteres naves reficit et cum iis C. Laelium in Africam praedatum mittit; novas Panhormi<sup>1</sup> subducit, quia ex viridi materia raptim factae erant, ut in secco hibernarent.

- 15 Praeparatis omnibus ad bellum Syracusas, nondum ex magnis belli motibus satis tranquillas, venit.  
 16 Graeci res a quibusdam Italici generis eadem vi qua per bellum ceperant retinentibus, concessas sibi ab  
 17 senatu repetebant. Omnium primum ratus tueri publicam fidem, partim edicto, partim iudiciis etiam in pertinaces ad obtinendam iniuriam redditis suas  
 18 res Syracusanis restituit. Non ipsis tantum ea res, sed omnibus Siciliae populis grata fuit, eoque enixius ad<sup>2</sup> bellum adiuverunt.  
 19 Eadem aestate in Hispania coortum ingens bellum conciente Ilergete Indibili, nulla alia de causa quam per admirationem Scipionis contemptu imperatorum  
 20 aliorum orto. Eum superesse unum ducem Romanis, ceteris ab Hannibale interfectis, rebatur;<sup>3</sup> eo nec in Hispaniam caesis Scipionibus alium quem mitterent habuisse, et postquam in Italia gravius bellum urgueret, adversus Hannibalem eum arcessitum.

<sup>1</sup> Panhormi *P(1)H*: panormi *NK*: -mis *J.*

<sup>2</sup> ad *om.* *NJK* *Froben* 2.

<sup>3</sup> rebatur *Gronovius*: rebantur *PCRM<sup>1</sup>?A<sup>2</sup>N<sup>3</sup>HJK*: *om.* (*as a gloss*) *Duker, Conway*.

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<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* of the previous year at least; cf. XXVIII. xlv. 8, where thirty war-ships are mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> Evidently Laevinus' efforts to remedy abuses had not been altogether successful (XXVI. xl. 1). Syracusans (*Graeci*) had often been unable to recover landed property still occupied and forcibly held by Italians; cf. *ibid.* xxx. 10; xxxii. 6 (the latter implying the senate's promise of compensation).

Italy. He repaired the old ships,<sup>1</sup> and with these B.C. 205 sent Gaius Laelius to Africa for plunder. The new ships he beached at Panormus, that they might winter out of the water, since they had been built in haste of green timber.

Every preparation for the war having been made, he came to Syracuse, which was not yet quite peaceful after the great unsettlement due to the war. The Greeks were making their claims to properties granted them by the senate against certain Italians who were holding on with the same use of force with which they had seized the property during the war.<sup>2</sup> Thinking it of the utmost importance to keep a promise given by the state, Scipio restored their property to the Syracusans, partly by an edict, partly also by granting hearings against those who persisted in maintaining an unlawful possession. This act was acceptable not only to the owners themselves but to all the communities of Sicily as well, and all the more energetically did they render assistance for the war.

In the same summer a great war broke out in Spain, instigated by Indibilis<sup>3</sup> of the Ilergetes for no other reason than because contempt for other generals sprang from admiration for Scipio. He thought that Scipio was the one general left to the Romans, the rest having been killed by Hannibal; that consequently after the slaying of the Scipios they had no one else to send to Spain, and had also, once the war grew more serious in Italy, summoned him to face Hannibal; that, besides

<sup>1</sup> Cf. XXVIII. xxiv ff. and note on xxiv. 3. Indibilis was prince of a north-eastern tribe, the Ilergetes; XXVI. xlvi. 11; cf. XXVIII. xxvii. 5.

c. 21 Praeterquam quod nomina tantum ducum in Hispania  
<sup>9</sup> Romani haberent,<sup>1</sup> exercitum quoque inde veterem  
 deductum; trepida omnia et<sup>2</sup> inconditam turbam  
 22 tironum esse. Numquam talem occasionem libe-  
 23 rrandae Hispaniae fore. Servitum ad eam diem aut  
 Carthaginiensibus aut Romanis, nec in vicem his aut  
 24 illis, sed interdum utrisque simul. Pulsos ab Romanis  
 Carthaginienses; ab Hispanis, si consentirent, pelli  
 Romanos posse, ut ab omni externo imperio<sup>3</sup> soluta  
 in perpetuum Hispania in patrios rediret mores  
 25 ritusque. Haec taliaque dicendo non populares  
 modo, sed Ausetanos quoque, vicinam gentem,  
 concitat et alios finitos sibi atque illis populos.  
 26 Itaque intra paucos dies triginta milia peditum,  
 quattuor ferme equitum in Sedetanum agrum,  
 quo edictum erat, convenerunt.

II. Romani quoque imperatores L. Lentulus et  
 L. Manlius Acidinus, ne gliseret prima neglegendo  
 2 bellum, iunctis et ipsi exercitibus per agrum Ause-  
 tanum hostico tamquam pacato clementer ductis mili-

<sup>1</sup> haberent *SphJK Froben* 2: habeant *Weissenborn*,  
*Conway*: -bant *P(1)NH<sup>2</sup> Aldus*.

<sup>2</sup> et *SphJK Aldus*, *Froben*: ut *P(1)NH*.

<sup>3</sup> externo imperio *AJK Froben* 2: imperio externo  
*P(3)C<sup>4</sup>NH Aldus*. For the *felia* probably misplaced in *P's* archetype and inserted in *P(1)N* between imperio and externo,  
 cf. critical n. on XXVIII. xxii. 14. The correct order is found  
 in *HJK Aldus*, *Froben*. In *P* the passage covers over 33 pp.

<sup>1</sup> Their territory reached from the Pyrenees south-east to the Mediterranean, Gerunda being their chief town (now Gerona). Cf. XXI. xxiii. 2; lxi. 8 (here and in XXXIX. lvi. 1 they even approach the Ebro; not so in Casear *B.C.* I. lx. 2);

having merely nominal commanders in Spain, the <sup>B.C. 205</sup> Romans had taken away the veteran army also. There was nothing but confusion and an untrained mob of recruits. Never would there be such an opportunity for the liberation of Spain. Slaves they had been down to that time, either to Carthaginians or to Romans, and not by turns to the one people or the other but at times to both at once. The Carthaginians had been driven out by the Romans; the Spaniards, if they should agree, were able to drive out the Romans, so that, free from all foreign authority, Spain might return permanently to its ancestral customs and usages. By these and similar utterances he stirred up not only his own countrymen but also the Ausetani,<sup>1</sup> a neighbouring tribe, and other peoples adjoining his territory and theirs. And thus within a few days thirty thousand infantry and about four thousand horse came together in the territory of the Sedetani,<sup>2</sup> in accordance with their instructions.

II. The Roman commanders on their part, Lucius Lentulus and Lucius Manlius Acidinus,<sup>3</sup> for fear the war might grow more serious from neglect of the first hostile acts, likewise united their armies, and leading their soldiers through the Ausetanian territory with restraint on an enemy's soil, as though it

XXVI. xvii. 4 (doubtful reading); XXXIV. xx. 1; below, ii. 5; iii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Often confused with the Edetani, and north of the Ebro, but we do not know their exact location. Cf. XXVIII. xxiv. 4; xxxi. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Cornelius Lentulus and Manlius had been praetors in 211 and 210 B.C. respectively; XXV. xli. 12; XXVI. xxiii. 1; sent to Spain *cum imperio*; cf. XXVIII. xxxviii. 1; styled proconsuls without having held the consulship; below, xiii. 7.

## LIVY

tibus ad sedem hostium pervenere et <sup>1</sup> trium milium  
 spatio procul a castris eorum posuerunt castra.  
 3 Primo per legatos nequ quam temptatum ut dis-  
 cederetur ab armis; dein cum in pabulatores  
 Romanos impetus repente ab equitibus Hispanis  
 factus esset, summisso ab statione Romana equitatu  
 equestre proelium fuit haud sane memorando in  
 4 partem ullam eventu. Sole oriente postero die  
 armati instructique omnes mille ferme passus procul  
 5 a castris Romanis aciem ostendere. Medii Ausetani  
 erant; cornua dextrum Ilergetes, laevum ignobiles  
 tenebant Hispani populi; inter cornua et medium  
 aciem intervalla patentia satis late fecerant <sup>2</sup> qua  
 6 equitatum, ubi tempus esset, emitterent. Et  
 Romani more suo exercitum cum instruxissent, id  
 modo hostium imitati sunt, ut inter legiones et ipsi  
 7 patentes equiti relinquerent vias. Ceterum Lentulus  
 ei parti usum equitis fore ratus quae prior in de-  
 hiscentem intervallis hostium aciem equites emisisset,  
 8 Ser. Cornelio tribuno militum imperat equites per  
 patentes in hostium acie vias permittere equos iubeat.  
 9 Ipse coepta parum prospere pedestri pugna, tantum  
 moratus dum cedenti duodecimae legioni, quae in  
 laevo cornu adversus Ilergetes locata erat, tertiam  
 decumam legionem ex subsidiis in primam aciem fir-  
 10 mamentum dicit, postquam aequata ibi pugna est,  
 ad L. Manlium inter prima signa hortantem ac sub-

<sup>1</sup> pervenere et *M<sup>3</sup>A<sup>4</sup>* Weissenborn: -veneret *PR*: -veniret  
*R<sup>2</sup>(3)*: -venere *N<sup>4</sup>HJK* Aldus, Froben.

<sup>2</sup> fecerant *x* Gronovius: fecerunt *P(1)NHJK*.

were friendly, they reached the place where their <sup>B.C. 205</sup> enemies had concentrated and pitched camp three miles away from their camp. At first a vain effort was made through envoys to make them abandon fighting. Then when an attack was suddenly made upon Roman foragers by Spanish horse and from a Roman outpost horsemen were sent to the rescue, there was a cavalry battle with no success for either side worth mentioning. At sunrise on the following day, under arms and drawn up, all of them displayed their battle-line at a distance of about a mile from the Roman camp. The Ausetani were in the centre; of the wings the Ilergetes occupied the right, unimportant Spanish tribes the left. Between the wings and the centre they had made spaces broad enough to send the cavalry through when the time came. And the Romans, having drawn up their army in the customary fashion, imitated this feature only of the enemy's line, that they likewise left broad spaces between the legions for the passage of cavalry. But Lentulus thought that whichever side should first send its cavalry out into the enemy's line with its gaping intervals would use its cavalry to advantage. He therefore ordered Servius Cornelius, a tribune of the soldiers, to command his cavalry to give their horses free rein through the broad openings in the battle-line of the enemy. Lentulus himself, after the infantry battle had begun without success, delayed only long enough to bring up the thirteenth legion from the reserves into the front line to support the twelfth legion, which had been placed on the left wing facing the Ilergetes and was giving way. Now that the battle was evenly balanced there, he came up to Lucius Manlius, who

11 sidia quibus res postulabat locis inducentem venit;  
 11 indicat tuta ab laevo cornu esse; iam missum ab se  
 Ser.<sup>1</sup> Cornelium procella equestri hostes circum-  
 fusurum.  
 12 Vix haec dicta dederat cum Romani equites in  
 medios invecti hostes simul pedestres acies turbarunt,  
 simul equitibus Hispanorum viam immittendi equos  
 13 clauerunt. Itaque omissa pugna equestri ad pedes  
 Hispani descenderunt. Romani imperatores ut  
 turbatos hostium ordines et trepidationem pavorem-  
 que et fluctuantia viderunt signa, hortantur, orant  
 milites ut percusso invadant neu restituí aciem  
 14 patiantur. Non sustinuissent tam infestum impetum  
 barbari, ni regulus ipse Indibilis cum equitibus ad  
 pedes degressis ante prima signa peditum se obiecis-  
 15 set. Ibi aliquamdiu atrox pugna stetit; tandem,  
 postquam ii qui circa regem seminecem restantem,  
 deinde pilo terrae adfixum pugnabant obruti telis  
 16 occubuerunt, tum fuga passim coepit. Plures caesi,  
 quia equos concendendi equitibus spatum non  
 fuerat, et quia percussis acriter institerunt Romani;  
 nec ante abscessum est quam castris quoque exuerunt  
 17 hostem. Tredecim<sup>2</sup> milia Hispanorum caesa eo die,  
 mille<sup>3</sup> octingenti ferme capti; Romanorum so-  
 ciorumque paulo amplius ducenti, maxime in laevo

<sup>1</sup> Ser. *Froben* 2, *Eds.*: *P(1)NSpHJ* have servium after Cornelium: *Madrig*, *Conway* om. *praenomen*.

<sup>2</sup> tredecim *A'JK Conway* (*cf.* XXVI. xlix. 3 and below, xxxvii. 6): decem tria *P(1)NH*.

<sup>3</sup> mille *P(20,A'JK*: om. *Pz(1)NH Aldus*, *Froben*.

was in the foremost ranks, encouraging the men B.C. 205 and bringing up reserves to such positions as the case required. He informed him that all was secured on the left wing; that he had already sent Servius Cornelius to surround the enemy with a whirlwind attack of cavalry.

Scarcely had Lentulus said this when the Roman horse, charging into the midst of the enemy, threw the infantry lines into confusion and at the same time closed for the Spanish cavalry the route by which they might launch their attack. Accordingly the Spaniards gave up the cavalry battle and dismounted. The Roman generals, on seeing the broken ranks of the enemy, and their fright and alarm and the wavering standards, exhorted and implored their soldiers to attack the discouraged enemy and not allow the line to re-form. The barbarians would have failed to withstand so impetuous an attack, had not even their prince, Indibilis, exposed himself with the dismounted cavalry in front of the first units of the infantry. At that point a fierce battle continued for some time. Finally, when those who kept on fighting round the prince, who resisted though half-dead, but was pinned to the ground by a javelin, were overwhelmed by missile weapons and fell, at that moment began a flight pell-mell. Greater numbers were slain because the horsemen had left no room to mount their horses, and because the Romans made a spirited attack upon the terrified. And they did not withdraw until they had routed the enemy out of his camp as well. Thirteen thousand Spaniards were slain that day, about one thousand eight hundred captured. Of the Romans and their allies little more than two

## LIVY

18 cornu, ceciderunt. Pulsi castris Hispani aut qui ex proelio effugerant, sparsi primo per agros, deinde in suas quiske civitates redierunt.

III. Tum a Mandonio evocati in concilium conquestique ibi clades suas increpitis auctoribus belli legatos mittendos ad arma tradenda deditonemque faciendam censuere. Quibus culpam in auctorem belli Indibilem ceterosque principes, quorum plerique in acie cecidissent, conferentibus tradentibusque arma et dedentibus sese responsum est in deditonem ita accipi eos, si Mandonium ceterosque belli concitores tradidissent vivos; si minus, exercitum se in agrum Ilergetum Ausetanorumque et deinceps aliorum populorum inducturos.<sup>1</sup> Haec dicta legatis renuntiataque in concilium. Ibi Mandonius ceterique principes comprehensi et traditi ad supplicium. Hispaniae populis reddita pax; stipendum eius anni duplex et frumentum sex mensum imperatum sagaue et togae exercitui, et obsides ab triginta ferme populis accepti.

Ita Hispaniae rebellantis tumultu haud magno motu intra paucos dies concito et compresso, in Africam omnis terror versus. C. Laelius nocte ad Hippo Regium cum accessisset, luce prima ad populandum agrum sub signis milites sociosque navales<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> inducturos *N\*JK*: ducturos *P(1)NH Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>2</sup> navales (*or -is*) *P(1)NH Aldus, Froben, Eds.*: *to this in auxilium is added (before navales) by N\* Conway, (after nav.) by A\*JK.*

<sup>1</sup> Livy or his Roman source must have confused Hippo Diarrhȳtus (Bizerte) with Hippo Regius (near Bône), which was ten days' journey from Carthage (so Procopius *Bell. IV* (*Vand. II.*), iv. 26; Mela I. 33; Pliny *N.H. V. 22; VI. 212*). Laelius would not lay waste land claimed by Masinissa. Cf. p. 334 for the real Hippo Regius.

hundred fell, mainly on the left wing. Those of the B.C. 205 Spaniards who were driven out of their camp or had escaped from the battle scattered at first over the country and then returned to their respective communities.

III. Then they were summoned by Mandonius to a council, and there, after lamenting their heavy losses and berating those who were responsible for the war, they voted that envoys should be sent to arrange for a surrender of arms and a capitulation. When the envoys laid the blame upon Indibilis as responsible for the war and upon the rest of their leading men, most of whom, they said, had fallen in the battle, and offered to deliver their arms and surrender, the answer given them was: that their surrender would be accepted only in case they should deliver Mandonius and the other instigators of the war alive. If not, the generals said they would lead their army into the lands of the Ilergetes and Ausetani and the other tribes one after another. Such was the reply given to the legates and reported by them to the council. Thereupon Mandonius and the other leaders were seized and handed over to be punished. For the peoples of Spain peace was restored, a double tribute for that year and grain for six months exacted, also cloaks and togas for the army; and hostages were accepted from about thirty tribes.

Thus a rebellious uprising in Spain was incited and suppressed within a few days with no serious consequences, and alarm was completely shifted to Africa. Gaius Laelius, having reached Hippo Regius<sup>1</sup> by night, led out his soldiers and marines under their standards at daybreak to lay the country

8 duxit. Omnibus pacis modo incuriose agentibus magna clades inlata; nuntiique trepidi Carthaginem terrore ingenti complevere, classem Romanam Scipionemque imperatorem—et fama fuerat iam in  
 9 Siciliam transgressum—advenisse. Nec quot naves vidissent, nec quanta manus agros popularetur satis gnari omnia in maius metu augente accipiebant.  
 Itaque primo terror pavorque, dein<sup>1</sup> maestitia  
 10 animos incessit: tantum fortunam mutasse ut qui modo ipsi exercitum ante moenia Romana habuissent victores stratisque tot hostium exercitibus omnes Italiae populos aut vi aut voluntate in ditionem  
 11 accepissent, ii verso Marte Africae populationes et obsidionem Carthaginis visuri forent, nequaquam pari  
 12 ad patienda ea robore ac Romani fuissent. Illis Romanam plebem, illis Latium iuventutem prae-  
 buisse maiorem semper frequentioremque pro tot  
 13 caesis exercitibus subolescentem; suam plebem imbellem in urbe, imbellem in agris esse; mercede parari auxilia ex Afris, gente ad omnem auram spei  
 14 mobili atque infida. Iam reges, Syphacem post conloquium cum Scipione alienatum, Masinissam aperta defectione infestissimum hostem. Nihil  
 15 usquam spei, nihil auxilii esse. Nec Magonem ex Gallia movere tumultus quicquam nec coniungere

<sup>1</sup> dein *P(1)NH Aldus* (daein *P*): deinde *JK Froben* 2.

<sup>1</sup> The earlier inhabitants, mostly rustics, many of them mercenary soldiers; cf. XXVIII. xiv. 4, 19; xx. 1, etc.; below, iv. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. XXVIII. xviii.

waste. Since everybody was free from concern, as B.C. 205 if in peace-time, great losses were inflicted. And excited messengers filled Carthage with great alarm, reporting that the Roman fleet and Scipio as commander-in-chief had arrived. In fact it had been previously rumoured that he had already crossed over to Sicily. Lacking exact information also as to how many ships the messengers had seen and how large a force was laying waste the country, they exaggerated every report under the stimulus of fear. Accordingly alarm and panic at first, then dejection came over their spirits. So far, they said, had fortune changed that those who as victors had but lately had their own army before the walls of Rome and, after laying low so many armies of the enemy, had by force or by voluntary action received the surrender of all the peoples of Italy, with the shifting fortune of war were now destined to see the devastation of Africa and a siege of Carthage, when they had no such strength as the Romans had possessed to endure all that. For them, they said, the Roman populace, for them Latium had always furnished a greater and more numerous body of young men growing up in place of so many armies slain. As for their own populace, they were unwarlike in the city, unwarlike in the country. Hireling auxiliaries were being recruited from the Africans,<sup>1</sup> a race shifting with every fickle breath of hope and lacking in loyalty. Of the kings, moreover, Syphax had been alienated after his conference with Scipio,<sup>2</sup> they said, and Masinissa by open defection had shown himself their bitterest enemy. Nowhere was there any hope, nowhere any aid. Mago was neither setting in motion any uprising on the part of Gaul,

49  
secese Hannibali, et Hannibalem ipsum iam et fama  
senescere et viribus.

IV. In haec deflenda prolapsos ab recenti nuntio  
animos rursus terror instans revocavit ad consultan-  
dum quonam modo obviam praesentibus periculis  
2 iretur. Dilectus raptim in urbe agrisque haberi  
placet; mittere ad conducenda Afrorum auxilia;  
munire urbem, frumentum convehere, tela arma  
parare; instruere naves ac mittere ad Hippomen  
3 adversus Romanam classem. Iam haec agentibus  
nuntius tandem venit Laelium, non Scipionem,  
copiaisque, quantae ad incursiones agrorum satis  
sint, transvectas; summae<sup>1</sup> belli molem adhuc in  
4 Sicilia esse. Ita respiratum, mittique legationes<sup>2</sup>  
ad Syphacem aliosque regulos firmandae societatis  
causa coepiae. Ad Philippum quoque missi qui  
ducenta argenti talenta pollicerentur, ut in Siciliam  
5 aut in Italiam traiceret. Missi et ad suos imperatores  
in Italiam ut omni terrore Scipionem retinerent;  
6 ad Magonem non legati modo, sed viginti quinque  
longae naves, sex milia peditum, octingenti equites,  
septem elephanti, ad hoc magna pecunia ad con-  
ducenda auxilia, quibus fretus propius urbem  
Romanam exercitum admoveret coniungeretque  
se Hannibali.

7 Haec Carthagine parabant agitabantque cum<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> summae *P*: summam *P<sup>1</sup>* or *P<sup>2</sup>* *Aldus*, *Froben*: summi  
*HJK*.

<sup>2</sup> legationes *here HJK*: after Syphacem *P(1)N?* *Aldus*,  
*Froben*.

<sup>3</sup> cum *SpN<sup>1</sup>HJK* *Froben* 2, *Conway*: tum *A'*; om. *P(1)N*  
*Eds.* beginning a new sentence with Ad.

nor uniting with Hannibal; and Hannibal himself B.C. 205 by this time was on the decline both in repute and in strength.

IV. Such were the laments into which men had fallen in consequence of the recent news when impending alarm roused them again to deliberate how they should meet the dangers of the moment. It was decided to hold levies speedily in city and country; to send men to hire African auxiliaries; to fortify the city, to bring in grain, to provide arms offensive and defensive, to equip ships and send them to Hippo to face the Roman fleet. While they were already thus employed the news at last came that Laelius, not Scipio, had sailed across and only sufficient forces to raid the farms; that the bulk of the main army was still in Sicily. So there was a breathing spell, and they set about sending embassies to Syphax and other princes, to cement an alliance. To Philip also envoys were sent to promise him two hundred talents of silver, on condition that he should cross over into Sicily or Italy.<sup>1</sup> Men were sent likewise to their own commanders in Italy, that by every sort of alarm they should keep Scipio there. Not only envoys were sent to Mago but twenty-five war-ships, six thousand infantry, eight hundred horsemen, seven elephants, and in addition a large sum of money to hire auxiliaries. Relying upon these resources he was to advance nearer to the city of Rome with his army and unite with Hannibal.

Such were their plans and deliberations at Carthage

<sup>1</sup> Instead of doing so Philip made a treaty with the Romans; below, xii. 14. For a previous effort of the king to form an alliance with Carthage cf. XXIII. xxxiii. f.

ad Laelium praedas ingentes ex agro inermi ac nudo  
 praesidiis agentem Masinissa, fama Romanae classis  
 8 excitus, cum equitibus paucis venit. Is segniter rem  
 agi ab Scipione questus, quod non iam exercitum in  
 Africam traieciisset, perculis Carthaginiensibus, Sy-  
 phace impedito finitumis bellis; quem certum habere,  
 si spatium ad sua ut velit componenda detur, nihil  
 9 sincera fide cum Romanis acturum. Hortaretur,  
 stimularet Scipionem ne cessaret; se, quamquam  
 regno pulsus esset, cum haud contempnendis copiis  
 adfuturum peditum equitumque. Nec ipsi Laelio  
 morandum in Africa esse; classem credere pro-  
 fectam a Carthagine, cum qua absente Scipione non  
 satis tutum esset<sup>1</sup> contrahi certamen. V. Ab hoc  
 sermone dimisso Masinissa Laelius postero die naves  
 praeda onustas ab Hippone solvit, revectusque in  
 Siciliam mandata Masinissae Scipioni exposuit.

2 Eisdem ferme diebus naves quae ab Carthagine  
 ad Magonem missae erant inter Albingaunos Ligures  
 3 Genuamque accesserunt. In iis locis tum forte Mago  
 tenebat classem; qui legatorum auditis verbis iuben-  
 tium exercitus quam maximos comparare, extemplo  
 Gallorum et Ligurum<sup>2</sup>—namque utriusque gentis  
 4 ingens ibi multitudo erat—concilium habuit; et

<sup>1</sup> esset N\*(altern.)HJK Aldus, Froben, Conway: esse  
 P(1)N Eds.

<sup>2</sup> et Ligurum A\*N\*HJK: om. P(1)N.

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<sup>1</sup> A different account, followed by Livy in xxxiii. 9, placed  
 Masinissa, at the time of Laelius' landing, in the region of the  
 Emporia, far away to the south-east (cf. xxv. 12 and note).

when Masinissa, aroused by the report of a Roman fleet, came with a few horsemen to Laelius,<sup>1</sup> who was carrying off a vast amount of booty from territory that lacked troops and garrisons. Masinissa complained that Scipio was conducting the war without spirit in not having already transported his army to Africa, while the Carthaginians were panic-stricken and Syphax was entangled in wars with neighbours. He was certain, he said, that if Syphax should be given time to settle his affairs to his own satisfaction, there would be no real loyalty in his dealings with the Romans. Laelius should exhort and spur Scipio on to avoid delay. For himself, although he had been driven out of his kingdom, he would assist with no inconsiderable forces of infantry and cavalry. Laelius also must not tarry in Africa. A fleet, he believed, had sailed from Carthage, and with that fleet it was unsafe to engage in the absence of Scipio. V. Directly after this conversation Laelius sent Masinissa away, and on the following day he weighed anchor at Hippo, his ships booty-laden, and sailing back to Sicily delivered Masinissa's messages to Scipio.

About the same time the ships which had been sent to Mago from Carthage came into port between Ligurian Albingaunum and Genua.<sup>2</sup> In that region, as it happened, Mago had his fleet at the time. On hearing the words of the envoys, who urged him to get together the largest possible armies, he at once held a council of Gauls and Ligurians; for great numbers of both nations were present. And he told

<sup>2</sup> For that coast and its ports cf. XXVIII. xlvi. 8 ff. and notes. Here Savo (Savona), or Vada Sabat(i)a ( $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles farther west), is evidently meant.

missum se ad eos vindicandos in libertatem ait et,  
 ut ipsi cernant, mitti sibi ab domo praesidia; sed  
 quantis viribus, quanto exercitu id bellum geratur, in  
 5 eorum potestate esse. Duos exercitus Romanos,  
 unum in Gallia, alterum in Etruria esse; satis scire  
 Sp. Lucretium se cum M. Livio iuncturum; multa  
 milia armada esse ut duobus ducibus, duobus  
 6 exercitibus Romanis resistatur. Galli summam ad id  
 suam voluntatem esse dicere; sed cum una castra  
 Romana intra fines, altera in finitima terra Etruria  
 prope in conspectu habeant, si palam fiat auxiliis  
 adiutum ab sese<sup>1</sup> Poenum, extemplo infestos  
 utrumque exercitus in agrum suum incursuros.  
 Ea ab Gallis desideraret quibus occulte adiuvari  
 7 posset: Liguribus, quod procul agro urbibusque  
 eorum castra Romana sint, libera consilia esse;  
 illos armare iuventutem et capessere pro parte  
 bellum aequum esse. Ligures haud abnuere, tempus  
 modo duorum mensum petere ad dilectus habendos.  
 8 Interim Mago milites Gallos, dimissis clam per agros  
 eorum, mercede conducere; commeatus quoque  
 omnis generis occulte ad eum a Gallicis populis  
 9 mittebantur. M. Livius exercitum volonum ex  
 Etruria in Galliam traducit,<sup>2</sup> iunctusque Lucretio, si  
 se Mago ex Liguribus proprius urbem moveat,  
 obviam ire parat, si Poenus sub angulo Alpium

<sup>1</sup> ab sese *P(1)N Aldus*: ab (or a) se esse *A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>2</sup>HJK*.

<sup>2</sup> traducit *P(1)N Aldus, Froben*: traiecit *N<sup>2</sup>HJK*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. XXVIII. ix. 1 and note.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ibid.* xlvi. 12 f.; below, xiii. 4.

<sup>3</sup> It was safe to assume that he would follow Hasdrubal's example in making for the Adriatic coast, to enter Italy at Ariminum. The shorter Riviera route was never practicable

them that he had been sent to restore their liberty, <sup>B.C. 205</sup> and that forces were being sent to him from home, as they themselves saw; but with what resources, with how large an army that war was to be waged depended upon themselves. There were two Roman armies, he said, one in Gaul,<sup>1</sup> the other in Etruria. He was sure that Spurius Lucretius would unite with Marcus Livius;<sup>2</sup> that many thousands must be armed for resistance to two generals, two Roman armies. The Gauls said that they were entirely willing to do so, but that since they had almost before their eyes one Roman camp within their borders and another in the neighbouring land of Etruria, if it should become known that they had aided the Carthaginian by furnishing auxiliaries, forthwith hostile armies would invade their territory from both directions. From Gauls he should require such support as could be given in secret. Ligurians were free to act, they said, since Roman camps were far from their land and their cities; it was right that *they* should arm their young men and take their proper share in the war. The Ligurians did not refuse, but simply asked for two months' time to hold levies. Meanwhile Mago by sending men secretly through their territory hired Gauls as soldiers. Supplies also of every kind were coming to him in secret from the Gallic nations. Marcus Livius led his army of slave-volunteers over from Etruria into Gaul and, having united with Lucretius, prepared to confront Mago, should he move out of Liguria towards the city;<sup>3</sup> but should the Cartha-

until 109 B.C., when the Via Aurelia was extended to Pisae, Genua, and Vada Sabatia; Strabo V. i. 11; cf. Mommsen *C.I.L.* V. p. 885.

## LIVY

quietus se contineat, et ipse in eadem regione<sup>1</sup> circa Ariminum Italiae praesidio futurus.

VI. Post redditum ex Africa C. Laeli et Scipione stimulato Masinissae adhortationibus et militibus, praedam ex hostium terra cernentibus tota classe efferri, accensis ad traiciendum quam primum, intervenit maiori minor cogitatio Locros urbem recipiendi, quae sub defectionem Italiae desciverat et ipsa ad 2 Poenos. Spes autem adfectandae eius rei ex minima re adfulsit. Latrociniis<sup>2</sup> magis quam iusto bello in Bruttiis gerebantur res, principio ab Numidis facto et Bruttiis non societate magis Punica quam suopte 3 ingenio congruentibus in eum morem; postremo Romani quoque milites iam<sup>3</sup> contagione quadam rapto gaudentes, quantum per duces licebat, excursiones in 4 hostium agros facere. Ab iis egressi quidam urbe Locrenses circumventi Regiumque abstracti fuerant. In eo captivorum numero fabri quidam fuere, adsueti forte<sup>4</sup> apud Poenos mercede opus in arce Locrorum 5 facere. Hi cogniti ab Locrensum principibus, qui<sup>5</sup> pulsi ab adversa factione, quae Hannibali Locros 6 tradiderat, Regium se contulerant, cum cetera percunctantibus, ut mos est qui diu absunt, quae

<sup>1</sup> regione *P(1)N Aldus, Eds.*: statione *N<sup>2</sup>HJK Froben 2, Conway*.

<sup>2</sup> Latrociniis, before this quia *Sp<sup>2</sup>N<sup>4</sup>(altern.)*: quod *JK Aldus, Froben*.

<sup>3</sup> milites iam *A<sup>4</sup>N<sup>4</sup> Aldus, Froben*: iam *P(1)N*: milites *HJK*.

<sup>4</sup> forte *om. P(1)N*.

<sup>5</sup> qui *P(3) Aldus*: *om. AN*: qui exsulabant Regii *SpA<sup>4</sup>N<sup>4</sup>HJK Froben 2, of which all but A<sup>4</sup>N<sup>4</sup> om.* Regium se contulerant (*P(1)N Aldus*).

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<sup>1</sup> For the broader meaning of *angulus = recessus*, "remote region," cf. XXVIII. xii. 6; xlvi. 18.

ginian quietly remain in a distant region<sup>1</sup> at the b.c. 205 foot of the Alps, he too would remain where he was, near Ariminum, for the defence of Italy.

VI. After the return of Gaius Laelius from Africa Scipio was spurred on by Masinissa's encouragement, and the soldiers seeing booty from the land of the enemy being brought ashore from an entire fleet, were likewise fired with a desire to cross over as soon as possible. The greater design, however, was interrupted by a lesser, that of recovering the city of Locri, which in the rebellion of Italy had also gone over to the Carthaginians.<sup>2</sup> Bright hopes of accomplishing that purpose, moreover, arose from a petty circumstance. There was brigandage rather than normal war operations in the country of the Bruttii, where a beginning had been made by the Numidians, and the Bruttians fell in with that practice not more on account of their Punic alliance than of their own nature. Finally the Roman soldiers also from a kind of infection now delighted in plunder, making raids upon the enemy's farms just as far as their commanders permitted. They had overpowered certain Locrians straying from the city and had carried them off to Regium. In the number of these captives were some artisans who, as it happened, were in the habit of plying their trade for hire among the Carthaginians in the citadel of Locri. These men were recognized by leading Locrians who, on being driven out by the opposing party, which had surrendered Locri to Hannibal, had retired to Regium. On being asked the questions usually put by men long absent, the artisans first

<sup>2</sup> As Livy has twice told : in 216 b.c., at XXIII. xxx. 8, and more fully under 215 in XXIV. i.

domi agerentur exposuissent, spem fecerunt, si  
 redempti ac remissi forent, arcem se iis tradituros;  
 ibi se habitare, fidemque sibi rerum omnium inter  
 7 Carthaginienses esse. Itaque, ut qui simul desiderio  
 patriae angerentur, simul cupiditate inimicos ulci-  
 cendi arderent, redemptis extemplo iis remissisque,  
 8 cum ordinem agendae rei composuissent signaque  
 quae procul edita observarent, ipsi ad Scipionem  
 Syracusas profecti, apud quem pars exsulum erat,  
 referentes ibi promissa captivorum cum spem ab  
 9 effectu haud abhorrentem consuli fecissent, tribuni  
 militum cum iis M. Sergius et P. Matienus missi  
 iussique ab Regio tria milia militum Loberos ducere;  
 et Q. Pleminio propraetori scriptum ut rei agendae  
 adesset.

10 Profecti ab Regio, scalas ad editam altitudinem  
 arcis fabricatas portantes, media ferme nocte ex  
 eo loco unde convenerat signum dedere proditoribus  
 11 arcis; qui parati intentique et ipsi sealas ad id ipsum  
 factas cum demisissent pluribusque simul locis  
 scandentes accepissent, priusquam clamor oreretur,  
 in vigiles Poenorum, ut in nullo tali metu sopitos,  
 12 impetus est factus. Quorum gemitus primo morientium  
 exauditus, deinde<sup>1</sup> subita consternatio ex  
 somno et tumultus, cum causa ignoraretur, postremo

<sup>1</sup> deinde *J. Froben* 2: dein *P<sup>2</sup>(3)R<sup>2</sup>HK Aldus* (*P* having dubita for subita).

<sup>1</sup> *I.e. legatus pro praetore*, representing Scipio. Cf. viii. 5; xvii. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. XXVIII. v. 17 and note.

told them what was going on at home, and then B.C. 205 inspired the hope that, if ransomed and sent back, they would betray the citadel to them. It was there, they said, that they dwelt and among the Carthaginians were trusted in everything. Accordingly the leading men, being tormented by home-sickness and at the same time fired with a desire for vengeance on their enemies, at once ransomed the artisans and sent them back after agreeing upon a plan of action and signals for the display of which in the distance they should be on the watch. They themselves went to Scipio at Syracuse, with whom were some of the exiles. There they reported the promises of the captives and inspired in the consul a hope which gave good prospect of success. Consequently Marcus Sergius and Publius Matienus, tribunes of the soldiers, were sent with them and ordered to take three thousand soldiers from Regium to Locri. And a written order was sent to the propraetor<sup>1</sup> Quintus Pleminius to assist in carrying out the project.

Setting out from Regium, carrying ladders constructed for the height of the citadel as reported, about midnight they set a signal<sup>2</sup> for the betrayers of the citadel from the place agreed upon. These men were ready and alert, and after they on their part also had lowered ladders made for that very purpose and at several different places at the same time had admitted scaling parties, before any outcry could arise came the attack upon the Carthaginian guards, who in the absence of any such fear naturally were asleep. At first it was the groans of the dying indistinctly heard; then sudden terror on awaking, and confused action, since the reason was unknown; finally greater certainty as they awakened

c. 13 certior res aliis excitantibus alios. Iamque ad arma pro se quisque vocabat: hostes in arce esse et caedi vigiles; oppressique forent Romani nequaquam numero pares, ni clamor ab iis qui extra arcem erant sublatus incertum unde accidisset, omnia vana augente  
 14 nocturno tumultu, fecisset. Itaque velut plena iam<sup>1</sup> hostium arce territi Poeni omissa certamine in alteram arcem—duae sunt haud multum inter se distantes—  
 15 confugiunt. Oppidani urbem habebant, victoribus praemium in medio positam; ex arcibus duabus  
 16 proeliis cotidie levibus certabatur. Q. Pleminius Romano, Hamilcar Punico praesidio praeerat. Arcessentes ex propinquis locis subsidia copias  
 17 augebant; ipse postremo veniebat Hannibal; nec sustinuissent Romani, nisi Locrensum multitudo, exacerbata superbia atque avaritia Poenorum, ad Romanos inclinasset.

VII. Scipioni<sup>2</sup> ut nuntiatum est in maiore discrimine Locris rem verti ipsumque Hannibalem adventare, ne praesidio<sup>3</sup> etiam periclitaretur, haud faciliter receptu, et ipse a Messana L. Scipione fratre in praesidio ibi relicto, cum primum aestu fretum inclinatum est. . . .<sup>4</sup> naves mari secundo misit.

<sup>1</sup> iam *N\*(altern.)HJK Allus, Froben*: nam *P*: *om. P<sup>2</sup>(1)N.*

<sup>2</sup> Scipioni *P(1)N Aldus, Froben*: *scipio A<sup>r</sup>HJK Sigonius.*

<sup>3</sup> praesidio *P(1)N<sup>1</sup>*: praesidium *C<sup>4</sup>M<sup>1</sup>?A<sup>r</sup>?JK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>4</sup> *Here a numeral seems to have been omitted*, Weissenborn conj., Conway.

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<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* the so-called “descending” tide, running south into the Ionian Sea; XXIII. xli. 11; Strabo I. iii. 11. This strait

one another. By this time every man was shouting <sup>B.C. 205</sup> his loudest "To arms!" that enemies were on the citadel and guards being cut down. And the Romans, who were by no means equal in numbers, would have been overpowered, had not an outcry raised by the men who were outside the citadel made it uncertain from what quarter the sounds came, while everything they imagined was intensified by the uproar in the dark. Accordingly the Carthaginians, supposing the citadel to be already filled with the enemy, were terrified, gave up fighting and fled to the other citadel; for there are two not far apart. The inhabitants were holding the city, set between combatants as a prize for the victors. From the two citadels came slight engagements every day. Quintus Pleminius commanded the Roman, Hamilcar the Carthaginian garrison. Summoning reinforcements from neighbouring places they kept increasing their numbers. Finally Hannibal himself was on the way, and the Romans would not have held out if the mass of the Locrians, embittered by the arrogance and greed of the Carthaginians, had not taken the side of the Romans.

VII. Scipio, on being informed that the situation at Locri had become more critical and that Hannibal himself was approaching, was afraid to take risks for the garrison as well, since it was not easy to retire from the place. Accordingly he too set out from Messana, after leaving his brother Lucius Scipio there in command of the garrison; and as soon as the strait shifted with the tide, he cast off with . . . ships while the current favoured.<sup>1</sup> And Hannibal

has marked tides—very rare in the Mediterranean. Cf. the Euripus, XXVIII. vi. 10 and note.

3 Et <sup>1</sup> Hannibal a Buloto amni—haud procul is ab urbe Locris abest—nuntio praemisso ut sui luce prima summa vi proelium cum Romanis ac Locrensisibus consererent, dum ipse aversis omnibus in eum tumultum ab tergo urbem incautam adgrederetur,  
 4 ubi luce coeptam invenit pugnam, ipse nec in arcem se includere, turba locum artum impediturus, voluit, neque scalas quibus scanderet <sup>2</sup> muros attulerat.  
 5 Sarcinis in acervum coniectis cum haud procul muris ad terrorem hostium aciem ostendisset, cum equitibus Numidis circumequitat <sup>3</sup> urbem, dum scalae quaeque alia ad oppugnandum opus erant parantur, ad visendum qua maxime parte adgrederetur. Progressus ad murum, scorpione icto qui proximus eum forte steterat, territus inde tam periculoso casu receptui canere cum iussisset, castra procul ab ictu teli  
 7 communit. Classis Romana a Messana Locros aliquot horis die <sup>4</sup> superante accessit; expositi omnes e navibus et ante occasum solis urbem ingressi sunt.  
 8 Postero die coepta ex arce a Poenis pugna, et Hannibal iam scalis aliisque omnibus ad oppugnationem paratis subibat muros, cum repente in eum nihil minus quam tale quicquam timentem patefacta porta  
 9 erumpunt Romani. Ad ducentos, improvidos cum invasissent, occidunt; ceteros Hannibal, ut consulem

<sup>1</sup> Et HJK Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)N.

<sup>2</sup> Both verbs are plural in HJK Froben 2.

<sup>3</sup> -equitat P<sup>2</sup>(3)R<sup>2</sup>: -equitabat HJK Aldus, Froben, Luchs: -equitib. at P.

<sup>4</sup> die C<sup>z</sup> Gronovius: dici or diei P(1)N: multo die Weissenborn conj., Conway: multa die A'HV'JK Aldus, Froben.

sent a messenger from the river Bulotus—it is not far B.C. 205 from the city of Locri—ordering his men to engage in battle with the Romans and Locrians with the utmost violence at daybreak, while, when all eyes were turned in the direction of that conflict, he should himself attack the city unawares from the rear. When he came upon the battle, already begun at daybreak, he did not wish to shut himself in the citadel, where he would have clogged a cramped space by his numbers, and on the other hand he had not brought ladders for scaling city walls. After making a pile of the soldiers' baggage and displaying his line of battle at no great distance from the walls to frighten the enemy, while ladders and other requisites for an assault were being prepared, he rode round the city with his Numidian horsemen, to discover just where to make the attack. He had approached the wall when a man who happened to stand nearest to him was struck by a missile from a scorpion. Frightened away by an occurrence so dangerous, he thereupon ordered the recall to be sounded and fortified a camp beyond the range of missiles. The Roman fleet sailing from Messana reached Locri while several hours of daylight remained. All were landed from the ships and before sunset they entered the city.

On the following day a battle was begun by the Carthaginians from their citadel, and Hannibal, having made ready the ladders and everything else for the assault, was coming close to the walls when suddenly the Romans opened a gate and sallied out against an enemy who feared anything but that. In making this surprise attack they slew about two hundred. As for the rest, Hannibal on

adesse sensit, in castra recipit,<sup>1</sup> nuntioque misso ad eos qui in arce erant ut sibimet ipsi consulerent, 10 nocte motis castris abiit. Et qui in arce erant, igni inieicto tectis quae tenebant, ut is tumultus hostem moraretur, agmen suorum fugae simili cursu ante noctem adsecuti sunt.

VIII. Scipio ut et arcem relictam ab hostibus et vacua vidit castra, vocatos ad contionem Locrenses 2 graviter ob defectionem incusavit; de auctoribus supplicium sumpsit bonaque eorum alterius factionis principibus ob egregiam fidem adversus Romanos 3 concessit. Publice nec dare nec eripere se quicquam Locrensisbus dixit; Romam mitterent legatos; quam senatus aequum censuisset, eam fortunam 4 habituros. Illud satis scire, etsi male de populo Romano meriti essent, in meliore statu sub iratis Romanis futuros quam sub amicis Carthaginiensibus 5 fuerint. Ipse Pleminio legato praesidioque quod arcem ceperat ad tuendam urbem relicto, cum quibus venerat copiis Messanam traiecit.

6 Ita superbe et crudeliter habiti Locrenses ab Carthaginiensibus post defectionem ab Romanis fuerant ut modicas iniurias non aequo modo animo 7 pati sed prope libenti possent; verum enim vero tantum Pleminius Hamilcarem praesidii praefectum, tantum praesidiarii milites Romani Poenos scelere

<sup>1</sup> recipit P(1)N Froben 2: recepit B<sup>2</sup>N<sup>4</sup>HJK Aldus.

learning that the consul was there withdrew them B.C. 205 to his camp, and sending word to the men in the citadel to shift for themselves, he broke camp in the night and marched away. And the men in the citadel set fire to the houses which they were occupying, that the commotion might delay the enemy, and with a speed that resembled flight overtook their own column before nightfall.

VIII. Scipio, seeing that the citadel had been abandoned by the enemy and the site of the camp deserted, summoned the Locrians to an assembly and stoutly upbraided them for their revolt. He punished those who had prompted it and bestowed their property upon the leaders of the other party in view of their conspicuous loyalty towards the Romans. As regards their state, he said he would neither grant the Locrians anything nor take anything away. They should send envoys to Rome; and whatever lot the senate thought it proper for them to have would be theirs. Even though they had deserved ill of the Roman people, of this he was certain, that they would be in a better position under angry Romans than they were under friendly Carthaginians. Leaving Pleminius, his lieutenant, to defend the city with the force which had captured the citadel, Scipio crossed over to Messana with the troops with which he had come.

With such arrogance and cruelty had the Locrians been treated by the Carthaginians after their revolt from the Romans that they could bear minor wrongs not only calmly but almost willingly. In actual fact, however, so far did Pleminius surpass Hamilcar, commandant of the garrison, so far did the Roman soldiers in the garrison surpass the Carthaginians in

atque avaritia superaverunt ut non armis, sed vitiis  
 8 videretur certari. Nihil omnium quae inopi invisas  
 opes potentioris<sup>1</sup> faciunt praetermissum in oppidanos  
 est ab duce aut a militibus; in corpora ipsorum, in  
 liberos, in coniuges infandae contumeliae editae.  
 9 Nam<sup>2</sup> avaritia ne sacrorum quidem spoliatione  
 abstinuit; nec alia modo templa violata, sed Proser-  
 pinae etiam intacti omni aetate<sup>3</sup> thensaui, praeter-  
 quam quod a Pyrrho, qui cum magno piaculo sacrilegii  
 10 sui manubias rettulit, spoliati dicebantur. Ergo  
 sicut ante regiae naves laceratae naufragiis nihil in  
 terram integri praeter sacram pecuniam deae quam  
 11 asportabant<sup>4</sup> extulerant,<sup>5</sup> tum quoque alio genere  
 cladis eadem illa pecunia omnibus contactis ea  
 violatione templi furorem obiecit atque inter se  
 ducem in ducem, militem in militem rabie hostili-  
 vertit.

IX. Summae rei Pleminius praeerat: militum pars  
 sub eo quam ipse ab Regio adduxerat,<sup>6</sup> pars sub tri-  
 2 bunis erat. Rapto poculo argenteo ex oppidani domo  
 Plemini miles fugiens sequentibus quorum erat, ob-  
 vius forte Sergio et Matieno tribunis militum fuit;  
 3 cui cum iussu tribunorum ademptum poculum esset,

<sup>1</sup> potentioris JK Aldus, Froben: -ores P(1)NH.

<sup>2</sup> Nam P(1)N Aldus, Froben: iam Sp?A<sup>6</sup>HJK.

<sup>3</sup> aetate P<sup>2</sup>(3)N Aldus, Froben: ae P: aevo (or evo)  
 N'HJK.

<sup>4</sup> asportabant (or -bat) P(3)CA<sup>2</sup>N<sup>1</sup>? Aldus: -averant  
 Sp<sup>2</sup>HJK Froben 2.

<sup>5</sup> extulerant (or -rat) P(3)NCM<sup>2</sup>A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>2</sup>?HJK Aldus: ex-  
 tulerunt Sp. Froben 2.

<sup>6</sup> adduxerat CA<sup>2</sup>NK Aldus, Froben: ab- P(3)SpHJ.

villainy and greed that they seemed to be competing <sup>B.C. 205</sup>  
 not in arms but in vices. Of all the things that make  
 the power of the stronger odious to the helpless man  
 not one was overlooked by commander and soldiers  
 in dealing with the townspeople. Unutterable in-  
cults were practised upon their own persons, upon  
wives. It goes without  
said not refrain from de-  
And not only were  
it also the treasure-  
untouched in every age  
except that they were said to have been despoiled  
by Pyrrhus, who met with a signal punishment and  
restored the plunder gained by his sacrilege.<sup>2</sup>  
Consequently, just as formerly the king's ships,  
battered and wrecked, had landed nothing intact but  
the goddess' sacred money which they were trying to  
carry away, so on this occasion also, with a different  
kind of disaster that same money visited insanity  
upon all who had shared in that desecration of  
the temple, and mutually turned commander against  
commander, soldier against soldier, with the frenzy  
of enemies.

IX. The chief command belonged to Pleminius. Part of the soldiers whom he had brought from Regium were under him, part under the tribunes. Having stolen a silver cup from the house of a citizen, a fleeing soldier of Pleminius was being pursued by the owners when he chanced to meet Sergius and Matienus, tribunes of the soldiers. By order of the tribunes the cup was taken away from the man.

<sup>1</sup> The chief divinity of Locri was Persephone, her famous temple and rich treasury being just outside the walls and to the north-west. Cf. xviii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xviii. 4-6 and notes.

iurgium inde et clamor, pugna postremo orta inter  
 Plemini milites tribunorumque, ut suis quisque op-  
 portunus advenerat, multitudine simul ac tumultu cre-  
 scente. Victi Plemini milites cum ad Pleminium, cru-  
 orem ac volnera ostentantes, non sine vociferatione  
 atque indignatione concurrissent, probra in eum  
 ipsum iactata in iurgiis ref  
 sese proripuit vocatosque  
 5 expediri iubet. Dum  
 enim militumque fide.  
 tur, repente milites fe  
 omnibus locis, velut adversus hostes ad arma con-  
 6 clamatum esset, concurrerunt; et cum violata iam  
 virgis corpora tribunorum vidissent, tum vero in  
 multo impotentiorem subito rabiem accensi, sine  
 respectu non maiestatis modo sed etiam humanitatis,  
 in legatum impetum lictoribus prius indignum in  
 7 modum mulcatis faciunt. Tum <sup>2</sup> ipsum ab suis inter-  
 ceptum et seclusum hostiliter lacerant et prope  
 exsanguem naso auribusque mutilatis relinquunt.  
 8 His Messanam nuntiatis Scipio post paucos dies  
 Locros hexeri <sup>3</sup> advectus cum causam Plemini et  
 tribunorum audisset, Pleminio noxa liberato relichtoque  
 in eiusdem loci praesidio, tribunis sontibus iudicatis  
 et in vincla coniectis, ut Romam ad senatum mitte-

<sup>1</sup> fidem *Sp?HJK Froben* 2: om. *P(3)*: auxilium (after  
 verb) *M<sup>2</sup>?N Aldus.*

<sup>2</sup> Tum *Aldus. Froben* : tunc *P(1)NHJK.*

<sup>3</sup> hexeri *SpJ Froben* 2: hexere *Madrig* : hexeree *P(3)N?* :  
 om. *H Aldus.*

<sup>1</sup> Pleminius represents Scipio and has *imperium*.

<sup>2</sup> This rare type of vessel had been used in the First Punic War for the flag-ships of Regulus and Manlius; Polybius

Thereupon angry words followed and shouting, <sup>B.C. 205</sup> finally a battle between Pleminius' soldiers and those of the tribunes, while numbers and rioting increased in proportion as one side or the other gained a timely arrival. The soldiers of Pleminius were worsted, and when they came running to him displaying bloody wounds, not without angry shouts as they reported insults that had been heaped even upon him in an altercation, he was inflamed with anger, dashed out of his house, summoned the tribunes and ordered them to be stripped and the rods made ready. While time was being taken to strip them—for they resisted and called upon the soldiers to help them—suddenly soldiers, flushed by their recent victory, came running from every quarter, just as if there had been a call to arms against the enemy. And when they caught sight of the tribunes' backs already welted by the rods, upon that they were indeed suddenly fired to a much more uncontrollable madness, and after roughly handling the lictors in shameful fashion, without regard even for humanity, not to say for the dignity of his rank,<sup>1</sup> they assaulted the legatus. Then, having separated and cut him off from his men, they slashed him as if an enemy and, mutilating his nose and ears, left him almost lifeless.

These acts being reported at Messana, Scipio a few days later sailed to Locri on a *hexēris*.<sup>2</sup> Then having heard the case of Pleminius and the tribunes, he discharged Pleminius as innocent and left him in command of the same place, while the tribunes were adjudged guilty and put in chains, to be sent to the

I. xxvi. 11. It was the next grade above the quinquereme.  
Cf. XXVIII. xxx. 11, note.

549 rentur, Messanam atque inde Syracusas rediit.<sup>1</sup>  
 9 Pleminius impotens irae, neglectam ab Scipione et  
 10 nimis leviter latam suam iniuriam ratus, nec quem-  
 quam aestimare alium eam litem posse nisi qui  
 atrocitatem<sup>2</sup> eius patiendo sensisset, tribunos adtrahi  
 ad se iussit, laceratosque omnibus quae pati corpus  
 ullum potest suppliciis interfecit, nec satiatus  
 11 vivorum poena inseptulos proiecit. Simili crudelitate  
 et in Locrensem principes est usus quos ad con-  
 querendas iniurias ad P. Scipionem profectos audivit;  
 12 et quae antea per lubidinem atque avaritiam foeda  
 exempla in socios ediderat, tunc ab ira multiplicia  
 edere, infamiae atque invidiae non sibi modo sed  
 etiam imperatori esse.

X. Iam comitorum adpetebat tempus cum a P. Licinio consule litterae Romam allatae, se exercitum-  
 que suum gravi morbo afflictari,<sup>3</sup> nec sisti potuisse,  
 ni eadem vis mali aut gravior etiam in hostes in-  
 2 gruisset; itaque, quoniam ipse venire ad comitia non  
 posset, si ita patribus videretur, se Q. Caecilium Me-  
 tellum dictatorem comitorum causa dicturum. Exer-  
 3 citum Q. Caccili dimitti e re publica esse; nam<sup>4</sup> neque  
 usum eius ullum in praesentia esse, cum Hannibal  
 iam in hiberna suos receperit, et tanta incesserit in  
 ea castra vis morbi ut, nisi mature dimittantur, nemo

<sup>1</sup> rediit *P(1)N Aldus*: redit *HJK Froben* 2.

<sup>2</sup> posse . . . atrocitatem *A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>2</sup>HJK Eds.*: om. *P(1)N*,  
*one line*.

<sup>3</sup> afflictari (*or af-*) *A<sup>2</sup>N<sup>2</sup>HJK Eds.*: affectari (*or af-*)  
*P(1) N.*

<sup>4</sup> nam *P(1)NJK Eds.*: bracketed by Conway.

senate at Rome; whereupon he returned to Messana B.C. 205 and thence to Syracuse. Pleminius was beside himself with rage, thinking the wrong done to him had been overlooked by Scipio and treated as too trivial; also that no one else was capable of naming a penalty for the offence except a man who had known its barbarity by suffering. Accordingly he ordered the tribunes to be brought before him, and had them mangled by every torture which any human body can endure and then put to death. Not satisfied with a penalty paid by the living either, he threw them out unburied. The like cruelty was used by him against leading men of the Locrians who, he learned, had gone to Publius Scipio to complain of the outrages. Then in anger he multiplied the shameful acts which, prompted previously by lust and greed, he had perpetrated upon the allies, and brought infamy and odium not only upon himself but also upon his general.

X. The time for the elections was already at hand when a letter from Publius Licinius, the consul, reached Rome, reporting that he and his army were suffering from a serious malady, and that they could not have held out if an equally violent or even more serious disease had not been visited upon the enemy. Accordingly, since he was unable to come in person to the elections, he would name Quintus Caecilius Metellus dictator to hold the elections, if the senators approved. It was to the interest of the state, he said, that the army of Quintus Caecilius should be discharged; for at present his army had nothing to do, since Hannibal had already withdrawn his troops into winter quarters; and so violent a malady had befallen Caecilius' camp that, unless the troops were promptly disbanded, not one man, it

omnium superfuturus videatur. Ea consuli a patribus facienda ut e re publica fideque sua duceret permissa.

4 Civitatem eo tempore repens religio invaserat invento carmine in libris Sibyllinis propter crebrius  
 5 eo anno de caelo lapidatum inspectis, quandoque hostis alienigena terrae Italiae bellum intulisset, eum  
 6 pelli Italia vincique posse, si mater Idaea a Pessinunte Romam advecta foret. Id carmen ab decemviris inventum eo magis patres movit, quod et legati qui donum Delphos portaverant referebant et sacrificantibus ipsis Pythio Apollini laeta exta<sup>1</sup> fuisse et responsum oraculo editum maiorem multo victoriam quam cuius ex spoliis dona portarent adesse populo  
 7 Romano. In eiusdem spei summam conferebant P. Scipionis velut praesagientem animum de fine belli,  
 8 quod depoposcisset provinciam Africam. Itaque quo maturius fatis ominibus<sup>2</sup> oraculisque portentensis sese<sup>3</sup> victoriae compotes fierent, id cogitare atque agitare,<sup>4</sup> quae ratio transportandae Romam deae esset.

XI. Nullas dum in Asia socias civitates habebat populus Romanus; tamen memores Aesculapium

<sup>1</sup> laeta exta *A<sup>4</sup> Eds.*: omnia laeta exta *N<sup>4</sup>HJK Aldus*, *Froben*: laeta *P(1)N*: omnia laeta *Johnson Conway*.

<sup>2</sup> omnibus *Rhenanus*: omnibus *P(1)NSpHJK Allus*.

<sup>3</sup> portentensis sese *Aldus*, *Froben*: -denti sese *P(1)NHJK* : *om. Sp, three or four lines* (port- to trans-).

<sup>4</sup> atque agitare *N<sup>4</sup>HJK* : *om. P(1)N Aldus, Froben*.

<sup>1</sup> Kybele (Cybele), the Phrygian Mother of the Gods; Preller, *Griechische Mythologie* I<sup>4</sup>. 643 ff.; Roscher, *Lex.* II. i. 1638 ff., 1666 ff.; Catullus 63; Lucretius II. 600 ff.; Dio Cass. frag. 57. 61; Strabo XII. v. 3; Appian *Hann.* 56; Cieero *de Harusp. Resp.* 27 f. Ovid's imaginative account should be compared, *Fasti* IV. 247–348 (see Frazer's notes). Pessinus was near the border of Galatia (towards Phrygia), ca. 80 miles south-west of Aneyra (Ankara). Cf. xi. 7, note.

seemed, would survive. The consul was permitted b.c. 205 by the senate to do whatever he thought consistent with the public interest and his own conscience.

At that time religious scruples had suddenly assailed the citizens because in the Sibylline books, which were consulted on account of the frequent showers of stones that year, an oracle was found that, if ever a foreign foe should invade the land of Italy, he could be driven out of Italy and defeated if the Idaean Mother<sup>1</sup> should be brought from Pessinus to Rome. The discovery of that oracle by the decemvirs impressed the senators all the more because the ambassadors also who had carried a gift to Delphi reported that, when they offered sacrifices themselves to Pythian Apollo, the omens had been favourable, and that likewise from the sanctum there had come a response that a much greater victory was in prospect for the Roman people than that from spoils of which they were bringing gifts. To the facts supporting that same hope the senators added Publius Scipio's state of mind, virtually forecasting the end of the war, in that he demanded Africa as his province. And so, that they might the sooner be in possession of the victory which foreshadowed itself in oracles, forecasts<sup>2</sup> and responses, they planned and discussed what should be the method of transporting the goddess to Rome.

XI. In Asia the Roman people had as yet no allied states. They bore in mind, however, that Aesculapius<sup>3</sup> also had been summoned once upon a

<sup>2</sup> Referring mainly to Scipio's confident anticipation, while "oracles" covers the Sibylline prophecy and "responses" that from Delphi (Gronovius).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. X. xlvi. 7; *Periocha* 11; Strabo *l.c.* (cf. n. 1).

## LIVY

quoque ex Graecia quondam haudum ullo foedere  
 2 sociata valetudinis populi causa arcessitum, tunc  
 iam cum Attalo rege propter commune adversus  
 Philippum bellum coeptam amicitiam esse, facturum  
 3 eum quae posset populi Romani causa, legatos ad  
 eum decernunt M. Valerium Laevinum, qui bis  
 consul fuerat ac res in Graecia gesserat, M. Caecilium  
 Metellum praetorium, Ser. Sulpicium<sup>1</sup> Galbam  
 aedilicium, duos quaestorios, Cn. Tremelium Flaccum  
 4 et M. Valerium Faltonem. Iis quinque naves  
 quinqueremes, ut ex dignitate populi Romani  
 adirent eas terras ad quas concilianda maiestas  
 5 nomini Romano esset decernunt. Legati Asiam  
 petentes protinus Delphos cum escendissent, oracu-  
 lum adierunt consulentes ad quod negotium domo  
 missi essent, perficiendi eius quam sibi spem popu-  
 6 loque Romano portenderet. Responsum esse ferunt  
 per Attalum regem compotes eius fore quod peterent;  
 cum Romam deam devexissent, tum curarent ut  
 eam qui vir optimus Romae esset hospitio exciperet.<sup>2</sup>  
 7 Pergamum ad regem venerunt. Is legatos comiter  
 acceptos Pessinuntem in Phrygiam deduxit sacrumque

<sup>1</sup> Metellum . . . Sulpicium N<sup>o</sup>HJK: om. P(I)N, two lines.

<sup>2</sup> exciperet P(3)N: ac- JK Aldus, Froben : re- B.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. XXX. xxiii. 5. One list of the consuls gives Laevinus a first consulship in 220 B.C.; Chronogr. an. 354 in C.I.L. I. p. 524. He may have been a *suffectus* in 208 B.C. (end of the year, both consuls being dead; XXVII. xxxiii. 7). In Livy a new man when elected in 211 B.C.; XXVI. xxii. 12.

<sup>2</sup> See XXVIII. xxx. 11 and note. Whatever may have been the arrangement of the oars on a quinquereme, it is clear that these larger vessels were meant to impress all who saw them with the *dignitas* of the Roman state.

time from Greece on account of an epidemic, while B.C. 205 there was as yet no treaty of alliance; that at present on account of a joint war against Philip they had already entered into friendly relations with King Attalus. Thinking that he would do what he could for the sake of the Roman people, they decided to send ambassadors to him. These were Marcus Valerius Laevinus, who had been twice consul<sup>1</sup> and had held a command in Greece, Marcus Caecilius Metellus, an ex-praetor, Servius Sulpicius Galba, an ex-aedile, and two former quaestors, Gnaeus Tremelius Flaccus and Marcus Valerius Falto. For them they voted five quinqueremes,<sup>2</sup> that in keeping with the dignity of the Roman people they might visit lands where the highest respect for the Roman name was to be won. The ambassadors on the voyage to Asia made their way up to Delphi and consulted the oracle, enquiring what hope of accomplishing the task for which they had been sent from home it foresaw for themselves and the Roman people. The response, they say, was that they should gain what they sought with the help of King Attalus; that after conveying the goddess to Rome they were then to make sure that the best man at Rome should hospitably welcome her. They came to the king at Pergamum. He courteously received the ambassadors and, escorting them to Pessinus in Phrygia,<sup>3</sup> presented them with the sacred stone<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The region was still held by the Gallic invaders, but the temple was favoured and adorned by the kings at Pergamum. That Attalus and the legati actually went to Pessinus, about 240 miles from his capital, is very unlikely.

<sup>2</sup> Probably a meteorite, small enough to be used later as the face of her statue; *Arnobius VII. 49*; cf. *VI. 11*; *Herodian I. 11, 1*; *Appian Hann. 56*. Cp. p. 261, n. 2.

- iis lapidem quam matrem deum esse incolae dicebant  
 8 tradidit ac deportare Romam iussit. Praemissus<sup>1</sup>  
 ab legatis M. Valerius Falto nuntiavit deam adportari;  
 quaerendum virum optimum in civitate esse qui eam  
 rite hospitio acciperet.
- 9 Q. Caecilius Metellus dictator ab consule in  
 Bruttii comitiorum causa dictus exercitusque eius  
 dimissus, magister equitum L. Veturius Philo.  
 10 Comitia per dictatorem habita.<sup>2</sup> Consules facti M.  
 Cornelius Cethegus, P. Sempronius Tuditanus  
 11 absens, cum provinciam Graeciam haberet. Praetores  
 inde creati Ti. Claudius Nero, M. Marcius Ralla,  
 L. Scribonius Libo, M. Pomponius Matho. Comitiis  
 perfectis<sup>3</sup> dictator sese magistratu abdicavit.  
 12 Ludi Romani ter, plebei septiens instaurati. Cu-  
 rules erant aediles Cn. et L. Cornelii Lentuli; Lucius  
 Hispaniam provinciam habebat; absens creatus  
 13 absens eum honorem gessit. Ti. Claudius Asellus et  
 M. Iunius Pennus plebei aediles fuerunt. Aedem  
 Virtutis eo anno ad portam Capenam M. Marcellus  
 dedicavit septimo decimo anno postquam a patre  
 eius primo consulatu vota in Gallia ad Clastidium  
 14 fuerat. Et flamen Martialis eo anno est mortuus M.  
 Aemilius Regillus.

XII. Neglectae eo biennio res in Graecia erant.  
 Itaque Philippus Aetolos desertos ab Romanis,<sup>4</sup> cui

<sup>1</sup> Praemissus *P(3)C<sup>4</sup>JK(-sis CH)*: remissus *Sp? Rhenanus*.

<sup>2</sup> habita here *HJK Aldus, Froben*: before per *P(1)N*.

<sup>3</sup> perfectis *HJK Froben 2*: peractis *P(1)N Aldus, Conway*.

<sup>4</sup> Romanis *Sp? A<sup>4</sup>HJK Froben 2*: romano *P(1)N Aldus*.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Vol. VI. p. 494, note; VII. p. 312 f., notes; Platner-Ashby, *Topogr. Dict.* 258 f. For the younger Marcellus cf. p. 288, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> No abandonment has been previously mentioned, but neglect for many months would have the same effect.

which the inhabitants said was the Mother of the Gods, and bade them carry it away to Rome. Sent on in advance by the ambassadors, Marcus Valerius Falto brought the news that they were bringing the goddess; they must seek out the best man in the state to receive her with due hospitality.

Quintus Caecilius Metellus was named, by the consul who was in the land of the Bruttians, dictator for the purpose of holding the elections, and Metellus' army was disbanded. Lucius Veturius Philo was named master of the horse. The elections were held by the dictator. Marcus Cornelius Cethagus and Publius Sempronius Tuditanus were elected consuls, the latter in his absence, since he had Greece as his province. Then Tiberius Claudius Nero, Marcus Marcius Ralla, Lucius Scribonius Libo, Marcus Pomponius Matho were elected praetors. The elections being completed, the dictator abdicated his office.

The Roman Games were repeated for three of the days, the Plebeian Games for seven. The curule aediles were Gnaeus and Lucius Cornelius Lentulus. Lucius was in charge of the province of Spain; being elected in absence he was aedile in absence. Tiberius Claudius Asellus and Marcus Iunius Pennus were plebeian aediles. The Temple of Valour<sup>1</sup> at the Porta Capena was dedicated that year by Marcus Marcellus, in the seventeenth year after it had been vowed at Clastidium in Gaul by his father in his first consulship. And the flamen of Mars, Marcus Aemilius Regillus, died that year.

XII. In Greece the situation had been ignored in the last two years. Consequently when the Aetolians were abandoned by the Romans,<sup>2</sup> the one defence in

uni fidebant auxilio, quibus voluit condicionibus ad  
 2 petendam et paciscedam subegit pacem. Quod nisi  
 omni vi perficere maturasset, bellantem eum cum  
 Aetolis P. Sempronius proconsul, successor imperii  
 missus Sulpicio cum decem milibus peditum et mille  
 equitibus<sup>1</sup> et triginta quinque rostratis navibus, haud  
 parvum momentum ad opem ferendam sociis, oppres-  
 3 sisset. Vixdum pace facta nuntius regi venit Romanos  
 Dyrrachium venisse, Parthinosque et propinquas  
 gentes alias motas esse ad spem novandi res, Dimal-  
 4 lumque oppugnari. Eo se averterant Romani ab  
 Aetolorum quo missi erant<sup>2</sup> auxilio, irati quod sine  
 auctoritate sua adversus foedus cum rege pacem  
 5 fecissent. Ea cum audisset Philippus, ne qui motus  
 maior in finitimis gentibus populisque oreretur,  
 magnis itineribus<sup>3</sup> Apolloniam contendit, quo  
 Sempronius se receperat, misso Laetorio legato cum  
 parte copiarum et quindecim navibus in Aetoliam  
 ad visendas res pacemque, si posset, turbandam.  
 6 Philippus agros Apolloniatum vastavit et ad urbem  
 admotis copiis potestatem pugnae Romano fecit;  
 7 quem postquam quietum muros tantummodo tueri  
 vidiit, nec satis fidens viribus ut urbem oppugnaret,

<sup>1</sup> decem . . . equitibus *A<sup>4</sup>N<sup>4</sup>HJK*: reduced by *om.*  
*to dem* militibus *in P*: little improved in *P<sup>2</sup>(1)N*.

<sup>2</sup> Eo se averterant . . . erant *A<sup>4</sup>N<sup>4</sup>HJK* *Aldus*, *Froben*:  
*eos verterant P(1)N*, *two lines om.*

<sup>3</sup> populisque . . . itineribus *A<sup>4</sup>N<sup>4</sup>HJK* *Aldus*, *Froben*:  
*om. P(3)*, *another om. of two lines*.

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<sup>1</sup> He had been censor (XXVII. xi. 7), and already proconsul in Greece before his consulship; cf. XXVIII. xxxviii. 1, note.

<sup>2</sup> On the Adriatic, location uncertain, but near the Parthini and Dyrrachium (Durazzo). Cf. XXXIII. xxxiv. 11; XLIII. xxi. 3; Polybius II. xi. 11; III. xviii. 1, 3; VII. ix. 13 (text of a treaty between Hannibal and Philip).

which they trusted, Philip compelled them to sue <sup>B.C. 205</sup> for peace and make a treaty on terms of his own choosing. Had he not used every effort to bring that about promptly, he would have been surprised while still making war upon the Aetolians by Publius Sempronius,<sup>1</sup> the proconsul, who with ten thousand infantry and a thousand cavalry and thirty-five warships had been sent as Sulpicius' successor in command and was no small factor in bringing aid to the allies. Scarcely had peace been made when word came to the king that the Romans had arrived at Dyrrachium, and that the Parthini and other neighbouring tribes were aroused to the hope of revolution and that Dimallum<sup>2</sup> was besieged. To that place the Romans had turned aside from helping the Aetolians, to whom they had been sent. They were angry because without Roman consent and contrary to the treaty<sup>3</sup> the Aetolians had made peace with the king. On hearing of this Philip, fearing some greater disturbance might begin among neighbouring tribes and peoples, hastened by forced marches to Apollonia,<sup>4</sup> to which Sempronius had withdrawn after sending Laetorius, his lieutenant, with a part of his troops and fifteen ships into Aetolia to survey the situation and, if possible, to disturb the peace. Philip laid waste the farms of the Apollonians and, moving his troops up to the city, gave the Roman an opportunity to engage. As soon as he saw that they remained inactive, merely defending the walls, Philip, who had not sufficient confidence in his forces to assault the city and was desirous of peace

<sup>3</sup> Cf. XXVI. xxiv. 8-14.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Vol. VI. p. 303, n. 3; 305, 307; VII. p. 95 *fin.*

et cum<sup>1</sup> Romanis quoque, sicut cum Aetolis, cupiens pacem, si posset, si minus, indutias facere, nihil ultra inritatis novo certamine odiis in regnum se recepit.

8 Per idem tempus taedio diutini belli Epirotae temptata prius Romanorum voluntate legatos de  
9 pace communi ad Philippum misere, satis confidere conventuram eam adfirmantes, si ad conloquium cum  
10 P. Sempronio imperatore Romano venisset. Facile impetratum—neque enim ne ipsius quidem regis ab  
11 horrebat animus—ut in Epirum transiret. Phoenice urbs est Epiri; ibi prius conlocutus rex cum Aëropo et Derda et Philippo, Epirotarum praetoribus, postea  
12 cum P. Sempronio congreditur. Adfuit conloquio Amynander Athamanum rex et magistratus alii Epirotarum et Acarnanum. Primus Philippus praetor verba fecit et petit simul ab rege et ab imperatore Romano ut finem belli facerent darentque eam  
13 Epirotis veniam. P. Sempronius condiciones pacis dixit, ut Parthini et Dimallum et Bargullum et Eugenium Romanorum essent, Atintania, si missis Romam legatis ab senatu impetrasset, ut Macedoniae  
14 accederet.<sup>2</sup> In has<sup>3</sup> condiciones cum pax con-

<sup>1</sup> et cum *Sp? A<sup>1</sup>HJK Froben 2*: cum *P(1)N Aldus*.

<sup>2</sup> Macedoniae accederet *Alschefski*: -niae (or -nie) cederet *P(1)N*: -nia cederet *A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>* (*altern.*) *H(-tur)JK Aldus*: -ni accederent *Froben 2* (-ret *Gronovius*).

<sup>3</sup> has *HJK*: eas *P(1)N Eds.*

<sup>1</sup> In Chaonia (northern Epirus), a few miles from the port of Onchesmos, opposite Corcyra (Corfu); Polybius II. v. 3; Strabo VII. vii. 5.

<sup>2</sup> The Athamanes (in eastern Epirus, close to the Pindus range; Strabo IX. v. 1) had a king, the neighbouring tribes only *στρατηγοί*. A peacemaker in 208 B.C. (XXVII. xxx. 4), Amynander allowed Philip to pass through his territory, and

with the Romans also, if possible, just as with the Aetolians, but if not, of making an armistice, retired to his own kingdom without provoking any further animosities by a fresh conflict.

About the same time the Epirotes, weary of the protracted war, first sounding the disposition of the Romans, sent ambassadors to Philip in regard to a general peace, asserting their confidence that it would be agreed upon if he should come to a conference with Publius Sempronius, the Roman general. The king was easily prevailed upon to cross over into Epirus, for he himself was not disinclined to peace. Phoenice<sup>1</sup> is a city in Epirus; there the king first conferred with Aëropus and Derdas and Philip, chief magistrates of the Epirotes, and later met Publius Sempronius. Present at the conference were Amynander,<sup>2</sup> King of the Athamanians, and in addition magistrates of the Epirotes and Acarnanians. The first to speak was Philip, the magistrate, begging the king and at the same time the Roman general to make an end of the war and grant that favour to the Epirotes. Publius Sempronius stated as terms of the peace that the Parthini and Dimallum and Bargullum<sup>3</sup> and Eugenium<sup>3</sup> should fall to the Romans; that Atintania<sup>4</sup> should be annexed to Macedonia, if the king, sending ambassadors to Rome, should obtain the senate's consent. Peace being agreed upon on these terms,

thus the Aetolians were obliged to make a separate peace with Macedonia (§ 1).

<sup>1</sup> Small places, unknown; probably near Dimallum.

<sup>2</sup> In north-western Epirus, in the upper valley of the Aōus river; XXVII. xxx. 13. Allied with Rome in the Illyrian War of 219 B.C., but now subject to Philip.

## LIVY

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veniret, ab rege foederi adscripti Prusia Bithyniae rex, Achaei, Boeoti, Thessali, Acarnanes, Epirotae, ab Romanis Ilienses, Attalus rex, Pleuratus, Nabis Lacedaemoniorum tyrannus, Elei, Messenii, Athenienses. Haec conscripta consignataque sunt, et in duos menses indutiae factae, donec Romam mitterentur legati, ut populus in has condiciones pacem iuberet; iusseruntque omnes tribus, quia verso in Africam bello omnibus aliis in praesentia levari bellis volebant. P. Sempronius pace facta ad consultum Romam decessit.

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XIII. M. Cornelio P. Sempronio consulibus—quintus decimus is annus belli Punici erat—provinciae Cornelio Etruria cum vetere exercitu, Sempronio Bruttii, ut novas scriberet legiones, decretae. Praetoribus M. Marcio urbana, L. Scribonio Liboni peregrina et eidem Gallia, M. Pomponio Mathoni Sicilia, Ti. Claudio Neroni Sardinia evenit. P.<sup>1</sup> Scipioni cum eo exercitu, cum ea classe quam habebat, prorogatum in annum imperium est; item P. Licinio, ut Bruttios duabus legionibus obtineret, quoad eum in provincia cum imperio morari consuli<sup>4</sup> e re publica visum esset. Et M. Livio et Sp. Lucretio

<sup>1</sup> P. P(1) A<sup>2</sup> N: proconsuli SpHJK.

<sup>1</sup> As progenitors of the Romans. Cf. their statement when Lucius Scipio visited Ilium in 190 B.C.: XXXVII. xxxvii. 1 ff.; cf. XXXVIII. xxxix. 10; Herodian I. 11. 3. Early evidence for the Aeneas legend.

<sup>2</sup> A king of the Thracians; XXVI. xxiv. 9; XXVII. xxx. 13; XXVIII. v. 7.

<sup>3</sup> From 207 to 192 B.C. Successor of Machanidas, who fell in battle three years before this; Polybius XI. xviii. Fre-

Prusias, King of Bithynia, the Achaeans, Boeotians, <sup>B.C. 205</sup>  
 Thessalians, Acarnanians and Epirotes were included  
 on the king's side of the treaty; on the side of the  
 Romans, the Ilians,<sup>1</sup> King Attalus, Pleuratus,<sup>2</sup>  
 Nabis, tyrant of the Lacedaemonians,<sup>3</sup> also the  
 Eleans, Messenians and Athenians. These pro-  
 visions were reduced to writing and sealed, and an  
 armistice was made for two months, that meanwhile  
 ambassadors might be sent to Rome, so that the  
 people might order peace to be made on these terms.  
 And all the tribes so ordered, since, now that the  
 war had shifted to Africa, they wished for the  
 present to be relieved of all other wars. Publius  
 Sempronius, after the peace had been made, left his  
 province for Rome to enter upon his consulship.

XIII. In the consulship of Marcus Cornelius and <sup>B.C. 204</sup>  
 Publius Sempronius, this being the fifteenth year  
 of the Punic war, the province of Etruria was assigned  
 by decree to Cornelius with the old army, the land  
 of the Bruttii to Sempronius, with orders to enrol  
 new legions. As for the praetors, the city jurisdiction  
 fell to Marcus Marcius, that over strangers and also  
 the province of Gaul to Lucius Scribonius Libo,  
 Sicily to Marcus Pomponius Matho, Sardinia to  
 Tiberius Claudius Nero. Publius Scipio's command  
 was continued for one year with the army and the  
 fleet which he then had. The same was done in the  
 case of Publius Licinius, who was to hold the Bruttian  
 territory with two legions so long as the consul  
 should judge it to the public interest for him to re-  
 main in the province with a high command. Marcus  
 Livius also and Spurius Lucretius had their com-  
 quently mentioned by Livy in subsequent books; his death  
 XXXV. xxxv. 19.

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cum binis legionibus quibus adversus Magonem Galliae praesidio fuissent prorogatum imperium est,  
 5 et Cn. Octavio, ut cum Sardiniam legionemque Ti. Claudio tradidisset, ipse navibus longis quadraginta maritimam oram, quibus finibus senatus censuisset,  
 6 tutaretur. M. Pomponio praetori in Sicilia Cannensis exercitus, duae legiones decretae; T. Quinctius Tarentum, C. Hostilius Tubulus Capuam pro praetoribus, sicut priore anno, cum vetere uterque  
 7 praesidio obtinerent. De Hispaniae imperio, quos in eam provinciam duos pro consulibus mitti placeret latum ad populum est. Omnes tribus eosdem L. Cornelium Lentulum et L. Manlium Acidinum pro consulibus, sicut priore anno tenuissent, obtainere eas  
 8 provincias iusserunt. Consules dilectum habere instituerunt et ad novas scribendas in Bruttios legiones et in ceterorum—ita enim iussi ab senatu erant—exercituum supplementum.

XIV. Quamquam nondum aperte Africa provincia decreta erat, occultantibus id, credo, patribus, ne praesciscerent Carthaginenses, tamen in eam spem erecta civitas erat in Africa eo anno bellatum iri  
 2 finemque bello Punico adesse. Impleverat ea res

<sup>1</sup> Frequently mentioned in these books; cf. esp. XXV. v. 10 and the speech following; XXIII. xxxi. 2, 4; XXIV. xviii. 9; XXVI. ii. 14; XXVII. ix. 4; XXVIII. x. 13; below, xxiv. 11 f.

<sup>2</sup> Better known as Flamininus (his cognomen). Elected consul for 198 B.C., though he had not been aedile and in spite of his youth. Cf. XXXI. xlix. 12; XXXII. vii. 8-12. His province as consul was Macedonia (*ibid.* viii. 4). In the next year he vanquished Philip at Cynoscephalae, near Scotussa; XXXIII. vii-x. Cf. Polybius XVIII. xxii ff.; Plutarch's *Flamininus* 7 f.

mands continued, with two legions each to defend Gaul against Mago. So Gnaeus Octavius also, with the order that, after turning over Sardinia and the legion to Tiberius Claudius, his duty should be the defence of the sea-coast with forty war-ships within an area to be defined by the senate. To Marcus Pomponius, the praetor in Sicily, was assigned the army<sup>1</sup> from Cannae, two legions. Titus Quinetius<sup>2</sup> was to have Tarentum, Gaius Hostilius Tubulus to have Capua, both as propraetors, as in the preceding year, with the old garrison in each case. As for the command in Spain, the question what two men it wished to send to that province as proconsuls was brought before the people. The tribes unanimously ordered that the same men, Lucius Cornelius Lentulus and Lucius Manlius Acidinus should hold these provinces<sup>3</sup> as proconsuls, as they had done in the preceding year. The consuls began the conduct of a levy both for the enrolment of new legions for the Bruttian territory and to fill the ranks of the other armies; for so they had been ordered by the senate.

XIV. Although Africa had not been openly assigned as a province, while the senators kept the matter dark, I believe, for fear the Carthaginians might know in advance, nevertheless the people were aroused to hope that the war would be waged that year in Africa, and that the end of the Punic war was at hand. That situation had filled men's

<sup>1</sup> Formal organization as Hispania Citerior and Hispania Ulterior did not come until seven years later, 197 B.C., with the dividing line at the Saltus Castulonensis (Sierra Morena); XXXII. xxviii. 11; XXXIII. xxi. 6 f.; xxv. 9; XXXIV. xvii. 1.

superstitutionum<sup>1</sup> animos, pronique et ad nuntianda et  
 3 ad credenda prodigia erant. Eo plura volgabantur:  
 duos soles visos, et nocte interluxisse, et facem  
 Setiae ab ortu solis ad<sup>2</sup> occidentem porrigi visam;  
 Tarracinae portam, Anagniae et portam et multis  
 locis murum de caelo tactum; in aede Iunonis Sos-  
 pitae Lanuvi cum horrendo fragore strepitum editum.  
 4 Eorum procurandorum causa diem unum supplicatio  
 fuit, et novendiale sacrum, quod de caelo lapidatum  
 5 esset, factum. Eo accessit consultatio de matre  
 Idaea accipienda, quam, praeterquam quod M.  
 Valerius, unus ex legatis, praegressus<sup>3</sup> actutum in  
 Italia fore nuntiaverat, recens nuntius aderat  
 6 Tarracinae iam esse. Haud parvae rei iudicium  
 senatum tenebat qui vir optimus in civitate esset;  
 7 veram certe victoriam eius rei sibi quisque mallet  
 quam ulla imperia honoresve suffragio seu patrum seu  
 8 plebis delatos. P. Scipionem Cn. filium eius qui in  
 Hispania ceciderat, adulescentem nondum quaes-  
 torium, iudicaverunt in tota civitate virum bonorum<sup>4</sup>  
 9 optimum esse. Id quibus virtutibus inducti ita iudi-

<sup>1</sup> superstitionum *P(3)R<sup>1</sup>N*: -nem *RN<sup>4</sup>J*: -ne *A<sup>1</sup>K Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>2</sup> ad *P(1)N Aldus*: in *SpHJK Froben* 2.

<sup>3</sup> praegressus *P(1)N Aldus*: re. *Sp<sup>2</sup>HJK Froben* 2.

<sup>4</sup> bonorum *Gronovius, Eds.* (*cf. C.I.L. I. ii. 9*): bonum *P(1)N* (*genitive?*) *Alschesfki*: om. *N<sup>2</sup>HJK Luterbacher.*

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<sup>1</sup> Again an aurora probably, as rare in Italy; cf. XXVIII. xi. 3, Fregellae; XXXII. xxix. 2, Frusino, 197 B.C. An earlier instance, 223 B.C. at Ariminum, Zonaras VIII. xx. 4; more in Iulius Obsequens, e.g. 44 and 70 (102 and 42 B.C.), from lost books of Livy. Cf. Cicero *de Div.* I. 97 (Pease).

<sup>2</sup> Meteors were often reported among the prodigies; XXX. ii. 11; XLI. xxi. 13; XLIII. xiii. 3; XLV. xvi. 5; Cicero *de Div.* (Pease) I. 18 and 97; II. 60; *N.D.* II. 14.

minds with superstitious fears and they were inclined both to report and to believe portents. All the greater was the number of them in circulation: that two suns had been seen, and that at night there had been light for a time;<sup>1</sup> and that at Setia a meteor<sup>2</sup> had been seen shooting from east to west; that at Tarracina a city-gate had been struck by lightning, at Anagnia a gate and also the wall at many points; that in the temple of Juno Sospita at Lanuvium a noise was heard with a dreadful crash. To expiate these there was a single day of prayer, and on account of the shower of stones nine days of rites<sup>3</sup> were observed. In addition they deliberated on the reception of the Idaean Mother,<sup>4</sup> in regard to whom not only had Marcus Valerius, one of the ambassadors, arriving in advance, reported that she would be in Italy very soon, but also there was recent news that she was already at Tarracina. It was no unimportant decision that occupied the senate—the question who was the best man in the state. At any rate every man would have preferred a real victory in that contest to any high commands or magistracies, whether conferred by vote of the senators or of the people. Publius Scipio, son of the Gnaeus who had fallen in Spain, was the young man not yet of an age to be quaestor,<sup>5</sup> whom they judged to be the best of good men among all the citizens. If writers who lived nearest in time to men who

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Vol. VII. p. 90, note.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. p. 244, n. 1; George F. Moore, *Hist. of Religions* I. 556 f.

<sup>5</sup> There was still no law fixing a minimum age—not until 24 years later. Cf. Vol. VI. p. 344, n. 3. In 191 b.c. this Scipio Nasica reached the consulship; XXXV. xxiv. 5; XXXVI. i. 1.

carint, sicut traditum a proximis memoriae temporum  
 illorum scriptoribus libens posteris traderem,<sup>1</sup> ita  
 meas opiniones coniectando rem vetustate obrutam  
 10 non interponam. P. Cornelius cum omnibus matronis  
 Ostiam obviam ire deae iussus, isque eam de nave  
 accipere<sup>2</sup> et in terram elatam tradere<sup>3</sup> ferendam<sup>4</sup>  
 11 matronis. Postquam navis ad ostium amnis Tiberini  
 accessit, sicut erat iussus, in salum nave evectus ab  
 sacerdotibus deam accepit extulitque in terram.  
 12 Matronae primores civitatis, inter quas unius  
 Claudio Quintae insigne est nomen, accepere;  
 cui dubia, ut traditur, antea fama clariorem ad  
 posteros tam religioso ministerio pudicitiam fecit.  
 13 Eae per manus, succedentes deinde aliae aliis, omni  
 obviam effusa civitate, turibulis ante ianuas positis  
 qua praeferebatur atque accenso ture, precantibus<sup>5</sup>  
 14 ut volens propitiaque urbem Romanam iniret, in  
 aedem Victoriae quae est in Palatio, pertulere deam  
 pridie idus<sup>6</sup> Apriles; isque dies festus fuit. Populus

<sup>1</sup> traderem *P(3)B<sup>2</sup>N Aldus*: -diderim *SpA<sup>4</sup>N<sup>8</sup>HJK Froben* 2.

<sup>2</sup> accipere *P(1)NJK Aldus, Eds.*: -ret *N<sup>8</sup>H Froben* 2, *Conway*.

<sup>3</sup> tradere *P(1)NHJK Aldus, Eds.*: -ret *x Froben* 2, *Conway*.  
<sup>4</sup> ferendam *C<sup>4</sup>M<sup>7</sup>? Froben* 2: referendam *A<sup>8</sup>N<sup>8</sup>HJK Aldus*: ferenda (-dam *MAN*) cum *P(3)N*.

<sup>5</sup> precantibus *P(1)NHJK Alscheski*: precantes *Ussing*.

<sup>6</sup> idus *P(1)NHJK Aldus, Froben, most Eds.*: nonas *Pighius, Weissenborn*.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A Phrygian man and woman, Dion. Hal. II. xix. 4 f. Romans were excluded by a decree of the senate, but the

remembered those days had handed down by what <sup>B.C. 204</sup> virtues the senate was led to make that judgment, I should indeed gladly hand it on to posterity. But I shall not interject my own opinions, reached by conjecture in a matter buried by the lapse of time. Publius Cornelius was ordered to go to Ostia with all the matrons to meet the goddess, and himself to receive her from the ship, and carrying her to land to turn her over to the matrons to carry. After the ship had reached the mouth of the river Tiber, in compliance with the order he sailed out into open water on a ship, received the goddess from her priests<sup>1</sup> and carried her to land. The foremost matrons in the state, among whom the name of one in particular, that of Claudia Quinta,<sup>2</sup> is conspicuous, received her. Claudia's repute, previously not unquestioned, as tradition reports it, has made her purity the more celebrated among posterity by a service so devout. The matrons passed the goddess from hand to hand in an unbroken succession to each other, while the entire city poured out to meet her. Censers had been placed before the doors along the route of the bearers, and kindling their incense, people prayed that gracious and benignant she might enter the city of Rome. It was to the Temple of Victory, which is on the Palatine, that they carried the goddess on the day before the Ides of April, and that was a holy day. The people thronged to the

restriction was later removed (2nd century A.D.). Cf. XXXVII. ix. 9; XXXVIII. xviii. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Her statue was later placed in the temple of the Magna Mater dedicated in 191 B.C., the consulship of Nasica. Cf. XXXVI. xxxvi. 3 f.; Tacitus *Ann.* IV. 64; Val. Max. I. viii. 11. Between 204 B.C. and 191 the black stone remained in the Temple of Victory, § 14.

## LIVY

frequens dona deae in Palatium tulit, lectisterniumque et ludi fuere, Megalesia appellata.

XV. Cum de supplemento legionum quae in provinciis erant ageretur, tempus esse a quibusdam senatoribus subiectum est, quae dubiis in rebus utcumque tolerata essent, ea dempto iam tandem deum  
 2 benignitate metu non ultra pati. Erectis exspectatione patribus subiecerunt colonias Latinas duodecim quae Q. Fabio et Q. Fulvio consulibus abnuiissent milites dare, eas annum iam ferme sextum vacationem militiae quasi honoris et beneficii causa  
 3 habere, cum interim boni oboedientesque socii pro fide atque obsequio in populum Romanum continuis  
 4 omnium annorum dilectibus exhausti essent. Sub hanc vocem non memoria magis patribus renovata rei prope iam oblitteratae quam ira irritata<sup>1</sup> est.  
 5 Itaque nihil prius referre consules passi, decreverunt ut consules magistratus denosque principes Nepete, Sutrio, Ardea, Calibus, Alba, Carsiolis, Sora,<sup>2</sup> Suessa, Setia, Circeis, Narnia, Interamna—hae namque  
 6 coloniae in ea causa erant—Romam excirent; iis imperarent, quantum quaeque earum coloniarum militum plurimum dedisset populo Romano, ex quo hostes in Italia essent, duplicatum eius summae

<sup>1</sup> quam ira irritata (or in-) A<sup>t</sup>N<sup>t</sup>HJK Froben 2: om. P(1)N, one line.

<sup>2</sup> Sora A<sup>t</sup>N<sup>t</sup>HJK Aldus, Froben (cf. XXVII. ix. 7): om. P(1)N.

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<sup>1</sup> Later the festival was shifted to *pridie nonas*, the 4th of April in place of the 12th. Its name came from her Megalesion at Pergamum, the temple from which she was brought to Rome according to Varro *L.L.* VI. 15.

Palatine bearing gifts for the goddess, and there was a banquet of the gods, and games also, called the Megalesia.<sup>1</sup>

XV. While they were discussing the men needed to recruit the legions in the provinces, certain senators suggested that, since now by favour of the gods fear had at last been removed, it was time for them no longer to tolerate what had been endured as best they could in critical circumstances. As the senate was alert and in suspense, they added that the twelve Latin colonies<sup>2</sup> which had refused to furnish soldiers in the consulship of Quintus Fabius and Quintus Fulvius had been exempt from service for now about five years, as though it were an honour and a favour bestowed upon them, whereas in the meantime good and obedient allies, in return for their loyalty and submission to the Roman people, had been exhausted by successive levies every year. These words revived the memory of an affair almost obliterated and correspondingly inflamed the anger of the senators. Accordingly, allowing the consuls to bring up no other question first, they decreed that the consuls should summon to Rome the magistrates<sup>3</sup> and ten leading citizens in each case from Nepete, Sutrium, Ardea, Cales, Alba, Carsioli, Sora, Suessa, Setia, Circeii, Narnia, Interamna, for these were the colonies concerned; that they should order them to furnish double the maximum number of infantry that each of those colonies had ever furnished to the Roman people since the enemy was

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vol. VII. pp. 242 f. and notes; below, § 5.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. the two *duumviri iure dicendo*, two *duumviri aediles*, and two quaestors of each colony. The leading citizens are *decuriones*, members of a local senate.

numerum peditum daret et equites centenos vicenos ;  
 7 si qua eum numerum equitum explere non posset, pro equite uno tres pedites liceret dare; pedites equitesque quam locupletissimi legerentur mitterenturque ubicumque extra Italiam supplemento opus  
 8 esset. Si qui ex iis recusarent, retineri eius coloniae magistratus legatosque placere, neque, si postularent,  
 9 senatum dari priusquam imperata fecissent. Stipendium praeterea iis coloniis in milia aeris asses singulos imperari exigique quotannis, censumque in iis<sup>1</sup> coloniis agi ex formula ab Romanis censoribus  
 10 data—dari autem placere eandem quam populo Romano—deferrique Romam ab iuratis censoribus coloniarum priusquam magistratu abirent.  
 11 Ex hoc senatus consulto accitis Romam magistribus primoribusque earum coloniarum consules cum milites<sup>2</sup> stipendumque imperassent, alii aliis magis  
 12 recusare ac reclamare; negare tantum militum effici posse; vix, si simplum ex formula imperetur,  
 13 enisuros; orare atque obsecrare ut sibi senatum adire ac deprecari liceret; nihil se quare perire merito deberent admisisse; sed si pereundum etiam foret, neque suum delictum neque iram populi Romani ut plus militum darent quam haberent posse

<sup>1</sup> iis *PCR* : his *R<sup>2</sup>MBDANH* : *om. JK.*

<sup>2</sup> milites *ANHJK* : -tem *P(3)N.*

<sup>1</sup> To such a statement of property was prefixed a questionnaire to establish identity of the tax-payer. Cf. Caesar's Lex Iulia municipalis 146 f. (Bruns, *Fontes*<sup>7</sup> p. 109 f.).

<sup>2</sup> Complied with in xxxvii. 7.

<sup>3</sup> A quite different sense of the term *formula* from that in § 9. Explained in Vol. VII. p. 245, note.

in Italy, and also one hundred and twenty horsemen B.C. 204 in each case. If any colony should be unable to make up that number of horsemen, it should be permitted to give three foot-soldiers for one horseman. Men having the largest means should be chosen for infantry and cavalry and sent to any place outside of Italy where supplements were needed. If any delegation should refuse, it was decided that the magistrates and envoys of that colony should be detained, and that if they asked for a hearing in the senate, it should be refused until they had done what was required of them. It was further ordered that a tax of one *as* for each thousand be laid upon those colonies and exacted every year, and that a census be taken in those colonies on the basis of a census-list <sup>1</sup> furnished by the Roman censors. They resolved also that it be the same which was given to the Roman people—and that it be sworn to by the censors of the colonies and brought to Rome before they laid down their office.<sup>2</sup>

In accordance with this decree of the senate the consuls summoned the magistrates and leading citizens of those colonies to Rome and required of them soldiers and the tax. Thereupon they outdid each other in refusing and loudly protesting. They said that such a number of soldiers could not be made up; that even if the normal number were required according to the original compact,<sup>3</sup> they could hardly reach it. They begged and implored that they be permitted to go before the senate and make their plea. No such offence, they said, had been committed that they deserved to perish. But even if perish they must, neither their crime nor the anger of the Roman people could enable them to

A.U.C. 14 efficere. Consules obstinati legatos manere Romae  
 550 iubent, magistratus ire domos<sup>1</sup> ad dilectus habendos :  
 nisi summa militum quae imperata esset Romam  
 15 adducta, neminem iis senatum daturum. Ita  
 praecisa spe senatum adeundi deprecandique dilectus  
 in iis duodecim coloniis, per longam vacationem  
 numero iuniorum aucto, haud difficulter est perfectus.

XVI. Altera item res prope aequo longo neglecta  
 silentio relata a M. Valerio Laevino est, qui privatis  
 conlatas pecunias se ac M. Claudio consulibus reddi  
 2 tandem aequum esse dixit ; nec mirari quemquam de-  
 bere in publica obligata fide suam praecipuam curam  
 esse ; nam praeterquam quod aliquid proprie ad con-  
 sulem eius anni quo conlatae pecuniae essent per-  
 tineret, etiam se auctorem ita conferendi fuisse inopi  
 3 aerario nec plebe ad tributum sufficiente. Grata ea  
 patribus admonitio fuit ; iussisque referre consulibus  
 decreverunt ut tribus pensionibus ea pecunia solvere-  
 tur ; primam praesentem ii qui tum essent, duas tertii  
 et quinti consules numerarent.

4 Omnes deinde alias curas una occupavit, post-  
 quam Locrensum clades, quae ignoratae<sup>2</sup> ad eam

<sup>1</sup> domos A<sup>4</sup>HJK Aldus, Froben : -mum P(1)N.

<sup>2</sup> ignoratae (or -te) P(3) Eds. : ignotae (or -te) ANHK  
 Aldus, Froben : ingnote J.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. XXVI. xxxvi, including Laevinus' speech on that occasion and the generous response (§§ 11 f.). It was in 210 B.C., a year before the refusal of the colonies named in xv. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. XXVI. xxxv. 4 ff., 9.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. biennial payments. See Vol. IX. p. 40, note (200 B.C.). Final settlement, however, was not made until 196 B.C.; XXXIII. xlvi. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. ix, esp. §§ 11 f.

furnish more soldiers than they had. The consuls, <sup>B.C. 204</sup> disinclined to yield, ordered the envoys to remain at Rome, the magistrates to go to their homes in order to conduct levies, adding that unless the number of soldiers demanded of them was first brought to Rome, no one would give them a hearing in the senate. Thus, after their hopes of appearing before the senate and of making their plea had been shattered, a levy was carried out in those twelve colonies without difficulty, since owing to long exemption the number of younger men had increased.

XVI. In like manner another matter which had been passed over in silence for about the same length of time was broached by Marcus Valerius Laevinus, who said it was proper that the sums contributed <sup>1</sup> when he and Marcus Claudius were consuls should at last be repaid to private citizens; and that no one ought to be astonished that a matter in which the credit of the state was involved should especially concern himself. For in addition to the responsibility that in a way belonged peculiarly to a consul of the year in which the moneys had been contributed, he had also been the first to suggest such contribution, since the treasury was empty and the common people unable to pay a tax.<sup>2</sup> This reminder was welcomed by the senators, and bidding the consuls to introduce the measure, they decreed that the money should be paid in three instalments; that the consuls who were then in office should pay the first in ready money, that the consuls of the third and fifth years should pay two instalments.<sup>3</sup>

Thereafter all other concerns yielded place to a single one, when the atrocities suffered by the Locrians <sup>4</sup> but up to that time unknown were spread

diem fuerant, legatorum adventu volgatae sunt.  
 5 Nec tam Plemini scelus quam Scipionis in eo aut  
 ambitio aut neglegentia iras hominum irritavit.  
 6 Decem legati Locrensum, obsiti squalore et sordibus,  
 in comitio sedentibus consulibus velamenta sup-  
 plicum, ramos oleae, ut Graecis mos est, porgentes<sup>1</sup>  
 ante tribunal cum flebili vociferatione humi pro-  
 7 cubuerunt. Quaerentibus consulibus Locrenses se  
 dixerunt esse, ea passos a Q. Pleminio legato Roma-  
 nisque militibus quae pati ne Carthaginienses quidem  
 velit populus Romanus; orare<sup>2</sup> uti sibi patres  
 adeundi deplorandique aerumnas suas potestatem  
 facerent.

XVII. Senatu dato maximus natu ex iis: "Scio,  
 quanti aestimentur nostrae apud vos querellae, patres  
 conscripti, plurimum in eo momenti esse si probe  
 sciatis et quo modo proditi Locri Hannibali sint et  
 quo modo pulso Hannibalis praesidio restituti in di-  
 2 cionem vestram; quippe si et culpa defectionis procul  
 a publico consilio absit, et redditum in vestram dicio-  
 nem appareat non voluntate solum, sed ope etiam ac  
 virtute nostra, magis indignemini bonis ac fidelibus  
 sociis tam indignas<sup>3</sup> iniurias ab legato vestro militi-  
 3 busque fieri. Sed ego causam utriusque defectionis  
 nostrae in aliud tempus differendam arbitror esse  
 4 duarum rerum gratia; unius ut coram P. Scipione, qui  
 Locros recepit et<sup>4</sup> omnium nobis recte perperamque

<sup>1</sup> porgentes *P(3)*: porrigentes *BD(pori-)ANJK*.

<sup>2</sup> orare *N<sup>2</sup>HJK Froben 2*: rogare *P(3)R<sup>1</sup>N Aldus*.

<sup>3</sup> tam indignas *P(I)N*: tam atroces *Sp<sup>2</sup>A<sup>1</sup>(altern.)N<sup>4</sup>*  
*(altern.)HJK*: tam indignas tam atroces *Johnson, Conway*.

<sup>4</sup> et *Alscheski*: om. *P(1)NS<sub>1</sub>H*: quiique *A'JK Aldus, Froben*.

abroad by the arrival of their envoys. And it was B.C. 204 not so much the crime of Pleminius that provoked men to anger as Scipio's partiality for him or else indifference. The ten envoys of the Locrians, in soiled and neglected clothing and holding out the woollen bands of suppliants and olive branches, as is the custom of the Greeks, towards the consuls seated in the Comitium, fell to the ground before the tribunal as they raised a mournful plaint. In answer to the consuls' question they said that they were Locrians who had suffered from Quintus Pleminius, the legatus, and the Roman soldiers such things as the Roman people would not wish even the Carthaginians to suffer; that they begged the consuls to give them permission to go before the senate and complain of their sufferings.

XVII. A hearing in the senate being granted, the eldest of them said: "I know, conscript fathers, that in determining what weight is to be given to our complaints in your presence very much depends upon your being well informed both as to how Lōcri was betrayed to Hannibal, and how by driving out Hannibal's garrison it was restored to your authority. For if it prove that no guilt for the revolt attaches to our council of state, and if it be at the same time evident that we returned to your authority not by our consent only but also by our effort and our courage, you will be all the more indignant that good and faithful allies are receiving such outrageous treatment from your legatus and his soldiers. But in my opinion enquiry into our revolts should be put off in both cases to another time for two reasons. The first is in order that the hearing may be in the presence of Publius Scipio, who recovered Lōcri and

factorum est testis, agatur;<sup>1</sup> alterius quod, qualescumque sumus, tamen haec quae passi sumus<sup>2</sup>  
 5 pati non debuimus. Non possumus dissimulare, patres conscripti, nos, cum praesidium Punicum in arce nostra haberemus, multa foeda et indigna et a praefecto praesidii Hamilcare et ab Numidis Afrisque passos esse; sed quid illa sunt, conlata cum iis quae  
 6 hodie patimur?<sup>3</sup> Cum bona venia, quaeso, audiatis, patres conscripti, id quod invitus eloquar.<sup>3</sup> In discrimine est nunc humanum omne genus, utrum vos an Carthaginienses principes orbis<sup>4</sup> terrarum  
 7 videat. Si ex iis quae Locrenses aut ab illis passi sumus aut a vestro praesidio nunc cum maxime patimur aestimandum Romanum ac Punicum imperium sit, nemo non illos sibi quam vos dominos praeoptet.  
 8 Et tamen videte quem ad modum in vos Locrenses animati sint. Cum a Carthaginiensibus iniurias tanto<sup>5</sup> minores acciperemus, ad vestrum imperatorem confugimus; cum a vestro praesidio plus quam hostilia patiamur, nusquam alio quam ad vos querellas de-  
 9 tulimus. Aut vos respicietis perditas res nostras, patres conscripti, aut ne ab diis quidem immortalibus quod precemur quicquam superest.

10 Q. Pleminius legatus missus est cum praesidio ad recipiendos a Carthaginiensibus Locros et cum eodem  
 11 ibi relictus est praesidio. In hoc legato vescodant enim animum ad loquendum libere ultimae

<sup>1</sup> est testis, agatur *A<sup>4</sup>N<sup>4</sup>(altern.)HJK Aldus, Froben*: est testigatur *P(1)N*: teste agatur *Rhenanus* (*om. et above*).

<sup>2</sup> tamen haec quae passi sumus *A<sup>4</sup>N<sup>4</sup>(marg.)HJK Aldus, Froben*: *om. P(1)N*.

<sup>3</sup> eloquar *N<sup>4</sup>HJK Aldus, Froben, Conway*: dicam *P(1)N Eds.*

<sup>4</sup> orbis *A<sup>4</sup>N<sup>4</sup>HJK*: *om. P(1)N*.

is our witness for every act, the good and the bad. B.C. 204  
 The second reason is because, whatever our character is, we nevertheless did not deserve to suffer these things that we have suffered. We cannot conceal the truth, conscript fathers, that when we had a Punic garrison in our citadel we suffered many shameful outrages both at the hands of Hamilcar, commandant of the garrison, and from the Numidians and Africans. But what are they in comparison with the things we are suffering today? With kind indulgence, conscript fathers, give ear, I pray, to what I shall reluctantly say. The entire human race is now in suspense as to whether it is to see you, or the Carthaginians, lords of the whole world. If one must judge Roman and Carthaginian rule from what we Locrians either have suffered from them, or are at this very moment suffering from your garrison, no one would fail to prefer them rather than you as his masters. And yet observe how the Locrians are disposed towards you. Although from the Carthaginians we were suffering wrongs so much less serious, we sought refuge with your general. Although from your garrison we are suffering acts worse than those of an enemy, we have brought our complaints nowhere else than to you. Either you will have regard for our ruin, conscript fathers, or else no help remains for us to pray for even from the immortal gods.

“Quintus Pleminius was sent as legatus with a military force to recover Locris from the Carthaginians, and with that same force he was left there. In this legatus of yours—for the depths of misery

<sup>5</sup> tanto *B<sup>2</sup>A<sup>3</sup>HJK* : manto *P(1)(C?)N* : multo *C<sup>4</sup>M<sup>7</sup>N<sup>2</sup>* : tam multo *A<sup>4</sup>*.

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miseriae—nec hominis quicquam est, patres conscripti, praeter figuram et speciem neque Romani civis praeter habitum vestitumque<sup>1</sup> et sonum  
 12 Latinae linguae: pestis ac belua inmanis, quales fretum quondam quo ab Sicilia dividimur ad perniciem  
 13 navigantium circumsedisse fabulae ferunt. Ac si scelus libidinemque et avaritiam solus ipse exercere in socios vestros satis haberet, unam profundam quidem voraginem tamen patientia nostra explere-  
 14 mus; nunc omnes centuriones militesque vestros— adeo in promiscuo licentiam atque improbitatem esse  
 15 voluit—Pleminios fecit; omnes rapiunt, spoliant, verberant, volnerant, occidunt; constuprant matronas, virgines, ingenuos raptos ex complexu parentium.  
 16 Cotidie capitur urbs nostra, cotidie diripitur; dies noctesque omnia passim mulierum puerorumque qui rapiuntur atque asportantur ploratibus sonant.  
 17 Miretur qui sciatur,<sup>2</sup> quo modo aut nos ad patiendum sufficiamus, aut illos qui faciunt nondum tantarum iniuriarum satietas ceperit. Neque ego exequi possum nec vobis operae est audire singula<sup>3</sup> quae  
 18 passi sumus; communiter omnia amplectar. Nego domum ullam Locris, nego quemquam hominem expertem iniuriae esse; nego ullum genus sceleris, lubidinis, avaritiae superesse quod in ullo qui pati  
 19 potuerit praetermissum sit. Vix ratio iniri potest

<sup>1</sup> vestitumque *P(1)(vestitum habitumque D)N Aldus: om. SpHJK Froben 2.*

<sup>2</sup> sciatur *P(1)N Aldus, Froben: nesciat A<sup>z</sup>N<sup>z</sup>HJK.*

<sup>3</sup> singula *CA<sup>z</sup>N<sup>z</sup>JK Eds., Conway: singuli P(1)N Alschesfski, most recent Eds.*

embolden me to speak freely—there is nothing of a <sup>b.c. 204</sup> human being, conscript fathers, except his form and outward appearance, nothing of a Roman citizen except his bearing and garments and the sound of the Latin language. He is a pest-bringing monster, like those of which myths say that, in order to destroy mariners, they once had their abode on this side and that of the strait by which we are separated from Sicily. And if he were content to be the only man to practise his criminal passion and greed upon your allies, we in our long-suffering should still be filling up a single whirlpool however deep. As it is, he has made every centurion and every soldier of yours a Pleminius; so universal has he wished licence and dishonour to be. They all rob, plunder, beat, wound, slay. They defile matrons, maidens and free-born boys, dragged from the embrace of parents. Every day our city is captured, every day it is plundered. Day and night every part of it re-echoes the wailing of women and children who are being seized and carried off. Knowing that, any one would wonder either how we have the patience to endure, or how those who commit such outrages are not yet sated with them. Neither can I retail them all, nor is it worth your while to hear each thing that we have suffered. In a general statement I shall embrace everything.<sup>1</sup> I tell you there is not a house at Locri, not a man that has not suffered a wrong. I tell you there remains no kind of crime, lust, avarice that has been overlooked in the case of any possible victim. It is all but impossible to decide

<sup>1</sup> Here and in the following statement one finds an obvious reminiscence of Cicero *in Verr.* IV. 1; cf. *ibid.* 57.

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uter casus civitati<sup>1</sup> sit detestabilior, cum hostes bello urbem cepere, an cum exitiabilis tyrannus vi atque 20 armis oppressit. Omnia quae captae urbes patiuntur passi sumus et cum maxime patimur, patres conscripti; omnia quae crudelissimi atque importunissimi tyranni scelera in oppressos cives edunt Pleminius in nos liberosque nostros et coniuges edidit.

XVIII. “ Unum est de quo nominatim et nos queri religio infixa animis cogat et vos audire et exsolvere rem publicam vestram religione, si ita vobis videbitur, 2 velimus, patres conscripti. Vidimus<sup>2</sup> enim cum quanta caerimonia non vestros solum colatis deos, sed 3 etiam externos accipiatis. Fanum est apud nos Proserpinae, de cuius sanctitate templi credo aliquam 4 famam ad vos pervenisse Pyrrhi bello, qui cum ex Sicilia rediens Locros classe praetervehheretur, inter alia foeda quae propter fidem erga vos in civitatem nostram facinora edidit, thensauros quoque Proserpinae intactos ad eam diem spoliavit; atque ita 5 pecunia in naves inposita, ipse terra est profectus. Quid ergo evenit, patres conscripti? Classis postero die foedissima tempestate lacerata, omnesque naves quae sacram pecuniam habuerunt in litora nostra 6 electae sunt. Qua tanta clade edoctus tandem deos esse, superbissimus rex pecuniam omnem con-

<sup>1</sup> Civitati *Forchammer*: -tatis *P(1)NHJK*.

<sup>2</sup> Vidimus *P(1)NHJK*: videmus *Madrig.*

<sup>1</sup> Livy represents the speaker as actually having witnessed the stately ceremonial when the Magna Mater was welcomed; xiv. 5-14.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. viii. 9 f.

which of the two is the more revolting lot for a state <sup>B.C. 204</sup>—when the enemy have captured the city in war, or when a death-dealing tyrant has overpowered it by force of arms. All things that captured cities suffer we have suffered and at this very moment are suffering, conscript fathers. All the crimes that the most cruel and despotic tyrants inflict upon their helpless citizens Pleminius has inflicted upon us and our children and our wives.

XVIII. “There is one thing in regard to which conscientious scruples implanted in our minds compel us to complain in particular, and at the same time we would have you, conscript fathers, give us your attention and, if you approve, free your state from impiety. For we have seen with what punctiliose ness you worship, not your own gods merely, but even welcome them from abroad.<sup>1</sup> We have in our city a sanctuary of Proserpina, a temple of whose sanctity I believe some report reached you in the war with Pyrrhus.<sup>2</sup> When on his return from Sicily he was passing Locris in his fleet, among other shameful acts which he visited upon our state for its loyalty to you, he despoiled the treasury of Proserpina<sup>3</sup> as well, which had been untouched down to that time. And, that done, he put the money on shipboard, setting out himself by land. What happened, conscript fathers, in consequence? On the following day the fleet was shattered by a terrible storm, and all the ships which had the sacred money on board were cast upon our shores. Having at last learned from this great disaster that the gods do exist, the haughtiest

<sup>1</sup> Appian *Samn.* 12 tells the story of Pyrrhus' sacrilege. Plutarch omits it. Cf. Diodorus Sic. XXVII. iv. 3; Val. Max. I. i. Ext. 1.

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quisitam<sup>1</sup> in thensauros Proserpinae referri iussit. Nec tamen illi umquam postea prosperi quicquam evenit, pulsusque Italia ignobili atque inhonesta morte temere nocte ingressus Argos occubuit.

7 Haec cum audisset legatus vester tribunique militum et mille alia quae non augendae religionis causa, sed praesenti deae numine saepe conperta nobis maiori-  
 8 busque nostris referebantur, ausi sunt nihilo minus sacrilegas admovere manus intactis illis thensaurois et nefanda praeda se ipsos ac demos contaminare suas  
 9 et milites vestros. Quibus, per vos fidem<sup>2</sup> vestram, patres conscripti, priusquam eorum scelus expietis neque in Italia neque in Africa quicquam rei<sup>3</sup> gesseritis, ne quod piaculi commiserunt non suo solum sanguine sed etiam publica clade luant.

10 "Quamquam ne nunc quidem, patres conscripti, aut in ducibus aut in militibus vestris cessat ira deae. Aliquotiens iam inter se signis conlatis concu-  
 11 rurerunt;<sup>4</sup> dux alterius partis Pleminius, alterius duo tribuni militum erant. Non acerius cum Cartha-  
 giniensibus quam inter se ipsi ferro dimicaverunt,  
 12 praebuissentque occasionem furore suo Locros recipiendi Hannibali, nisi accitus ab nobis Scipio intervenisset. At hercule milites contactos sacrilegio furor agitat; in ducibus ipsis puniendis nullum deae

<sup>1</sup> conquisitam P(1)N Aldus: in. *SpHJK Froben* 2.

<sup>2</sup> fidem Gronovius, Madvig: fidemque P(1)NHJK Weissenborn, Conway.

<sup>3</sup> eorum scelus . . . rei A'N'HJK Eds.: eo P(1)N, om. probably three lines.

<sup>4</sup> concucurrerunt PCR Eds.: concurrerunt MBDANHJK Conway (*thirteen long syllables at end of sentence in a speech!*).

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<sup>1</sup> For Pyrrhus' death v. Plutarch, *Pyrrhus* 34; Strabo VIII. vi. 18 (before the walls); Justin XXV. 5.

of kings ordered that all the money should be sought B.C. 204  
 out and restored to the treasure-chambers of Proserpina. And yet never thereafter did he meet with any success, and having been driven out of Italy, he rashly entered Argos by night and died an inconspicuous and inglorious death.<sup>1</sup> Although your legatus and the tribunes had heard all this and a thousand other occurrences which were repeated to them, not merely to increase religious feeling but as facts repeatedly confirmed for us and our ancestors by the evident intervention of the goddess, they nevertheless dared to lay sacrilegious hands upon those treasure-chambers that were not to be touched, and by that unspeakable plunder to bring pollution upon themselves and their homes and upon your soldiers. With such men, conscript fathers, I beg of you for conscience' sake not to undertake any action either in Italy or in Africa until you first atone for their crime, lest for the sacrilege committed they make amends not only by their own blood but also by a disaster to the state.

"Even now, however, the wrath of the goddess is not idle, conscript fathers, as regards either your commanders or your men. Several times already have they clashed with each other in actual battle. Pleminius was in command of the one faction, of the other faction two tribunes of the soldiers. They have fought each other with the sword as fiercely as against the Carthaginians, and by their madness would have given Hannibal a chance to regain Locri, had not Scipio forestalled that in answer to our call for help. True, you may say, the soldiers polluted by sacrilege are indeed frenzied, but the power of the goddess has not been manifest in punishing the

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550

- numen apparuit. Immo ibi praesens maxime fuit.
- 13 Virgis caesi tribuni ab legato sunt; legatus deinde insidiis tribunorum interceptus, praeterquam quod toto corpore laceratus, naso quoque auribusque
- 14 decisus exsanguis est relictus; recreatus dein legatus ex volneribus tribunos militum in vincla coniectos, dein verberatos servilibusque<sup>1</sup> omnibus suppliciis cruciatos<sup>2</sup> occidit, mortuos deinde prohibuit sepeliri.
- 15 Has dea poenas a templi sui spoliatoribus habet, nec ante<sup>3</sup> desinet omnibus eos agitare furiis quam reposita sacra pecunia in thensauro fuerit. Maiores quondam nostri gravi Crotoniensium bello, quia extra urbem templum est, transferre in urbem eam pecuniam voluerunt. Noctu audita ex delubro vox est: abstinerent manus; deam sua tempла<sup>4</sup> defensuram.
- 17 Quia movendi inde thensauros religio incussa erat, muro circumdare<sup>5</sup> templum voluerunt. Ad<sup>6</sup> aliquantum iam altitudinis excitata erant moenia cum
- 18 subito conlapsa ruina sunt. Sed et nunc et tunc<sup>7</sup> et saepe alias dea suam sedem suumque templum aut tutata est aut a violatoribus gravia piacula exegit; nostras iniurias nec potest nec possit aliis ulcisci

<sup>1</sup> servilibusque *P(1)NJK Aldus, Froben, Eds.* -ibus *Rhenanus, Conway.*

<sup>2</sup> cruciatos *JK Eds.* : -ando *Sp Froben 2, Conway* : -andos *Hx* : trucidatos cruciando *P(1)N Aldus.*

<sup>3</sup> nec ante *A'N'HJK Eds.* : *om. P(1)N* : non *C<sup>4</sup>.*

<sup>4</sup> tempла *P(3)B<sup>1</sup>NHJK Eds.* : bracketed by *Madvig*, *om. Conway.*

<sup>5</sup> circumdare *A'HJK Aldus, Froben, Eds.* : -dari *P(1)N Conway.*

<sup>6</sup> ad *A'N'HJK Aldus, Froben* : *om. P(1)N.*

<sup>7</sup> et tunc *N'HJK Aldus, Froben* : *om. P(1)N* : (tunc) et nunc *A'.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, ix. 4 ff.

commanders themselves. On the contrary, it is <sup>B.C. 204</sup> there that it was most evident. The tribunes were scourged by the legatus;<sup>1</sup> whereupon the legatus was isolated by a ruse of the tribunes, and besides receiving wounds in every part of his body, he was left half-dead after even his nose and ears had been mutilated. Then when the legatus had recovered from his wounds and the tribunes of the soldiers had been thrown into chains, then, after scourging them and racking them with all the torments applied to slaves, he put them to death, then forbade burial of the dead.

" Such are the penalties the goddess has exacted of those who despoil her temple, nor will she cease to drive them on by every form of madness until the consecrated money has been replaced in her treasury. Our ancestors once in a serious war with the Crotonians<sup>2</sup> desired to bring that money over into the city, since the temple is outside the city. In the night a voice from the sanctuary was heard: let them keep their hands off; the goddess will defend her temples. Since conscientious scruples were raised against moving the treasure away, they planned to surround the temple with a wall of defence. The walls had already been raised to a considerable height when suddenly they fell in ruins. But both at this time and at that, and often on other occasions, the goddess has either defended her abode and her temple, or else has exacted heavy penalties from those who profaned them. To avenge wrongs done to us, however, no one but you, conscript fathers,

<sup>2</sup> For Croton cf. XXIV. iii. 1 ff., and for the disastrous battle at the Sagra river (near Caulonia) v. Strabo VI. i. 10; Justin XX. 3.

A.U.C. 19 quam vos, patres conscripti. Ad vos vestramque  
 550 fidem supplices confugimus. Nihil nostra interest  
 utrum sub illo legato, sub illo praesidio Locros esse  
 sinatis, an irato Hannibali et Poenis ad supplicium  
 dedatis. Non postulamus ut extemplo nobis, ut de  
 absente, ut indicta causa credatis; veniat, coram  
 20 ipse audiat, ipse diluat. Si quicquam sceleris quod  
 homo in homines edere potest in nos praetermisit,  
 non recusamus quin et nos omnia eadem iterum, si  
 pati possumus, patiamur, et ille omni divino humano-  
 que liberatur scelere."

XIX. Haec cum ab legatis dicta essent, quae-  
 sissetque ab iis Q. Fabius detulissentne eas querellas  
 ad P. Scipionem, responderunt missos legatos esse,  
 sed eum belli apparatu occupatum esse et in Africam  
 aut iam traiecerisse aut intra paucos dies traiecturum;  
 2 et legati gratia quanta esset apud imperatorem ex-  
 pertos esse, cum inter eum et tribunos cognita causa  
 tribunos<sup>1</sup> in vincla coniecerit, legatum aequem sontem  
 aut magis etiam in ea potestate reliquerit.

3 Iussis exceedere templo legatis, non Pleminius  
 modo, sed etiam Scipio principum orationibus lacerari.  
 Ante omnes Q. Fabius natum eum<sup>2</sup> ad conrum-  
 4 pendam disciplinam militarem arguere; sic et in  
 Hispania plus prope per<sup>3</sup> seditionem militum quam

<sup>1</sup> cognita causa tribunos *A<sup>8</sup>N<sup>4</sup>HJK* Eds.: *om. P(1)N*,  
*one line.*

<sup>2</sup> eum *P(1)N Aldus*: *om. Sp<sup>2</sup>HJK Froben* 2.

<sup>3</sup> prope per *Sp<sup>2</sup>N<sup>4</sup>H Froben* 2: proter *PCR*: propter  
*MBDAN*: prope *JK Aldus*.

<sup>1</sup> As *princeps senatus* he speaks first; cf. XXVII. xi. 12  
 and below, xxxvii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The Curia had been inaugurated as a temple, that decrees  
 of the senate might be valid; so Varro in Gellius XIV. vii.  
 7. Cf. XXVI. xxx. 11; xxxi. 11.

has the power—and may no one else have it! To <sup>B.C. 204</sup> you and your protection we have come for refuge as suppliants. It makes no difference to us whether you allow Locri to remain under that legatus, under that garrison, or surrender it to angry Hannibal and the Carthaginians for punishment. We do not demand that you at once believe us in regard to an absent defendant, his case unheard. Let him come, let him hear in person, in person let him disprove. If there is any crime which a man can perpetrate upon human beings that he has failed to commit upon us, we do not refuse to endure all the same wrongs again, if that is possible for us, while he is to be acquitted of every crime against gods and men.”

XIX. After the envoys had thus spoken and Fabius<sup>1</sup> asked them whether they had carried such complaints to Publius Scipio, they replied that emissaries had been sent, but that he was occupied with preparations for war and had either already crossed over to Africa, or was about to do so within a few days; and they had learned what partiality for his legatus was felt by the general-in-command when, after hearing the charges of Pleminius and those of the tribunes, he put the tribunes in chains and, though the legatus was equally guilty or even more so, left him in that command.

When the envoys had been ordered to retire from the Senate House,<sup>2</sup> not Pleminius only but also Scipio was savagely attacked in the speeches of leading men. First and foremost Quintus Fabius charged that he was by nature adapted to corrupt his soldiers’ discipline. Thus even in Spain, he said, almost more soldiers had been lost in a mutiny than

## LIVY

bello amissum. Extero et regio more et indulgere  
 5 licentiae militum et saevire in eos. Sententiam  
 deinde aequa trucem orationi adiecit: Pleminium  
 legatum vincitum Romam deportari placere et ex  
 vinculis causam dicere ac, si vera forent quae  
 Locrenses quererentur, in carcere necari bonaque  
 6 eius publicari; P. Scipionem, quod de provincia  
 decessisset iniussu senatus, revocari, agique cum tri-  
 bunis plebis ut de imperio eius abrogando ferrent ad  
 populum; Locrensibus coram senatum respondere  
 quas iniurias sibi factas quererentur, eas <sup>1</sup> neque sena-  
 7 tum neque populum Romanum <sup>2</sup> factas velle; viros  
 bonos sociosque et amicos eos appellari; liberos,<sup>3</sup>  
 coniuges quaeque alia erepta essent restitui; pecu-  
 niam quanta ex thensauris Proserpinae sublata esset  
 conquiri, duplamque pecuniam in thensauros reponi,  
 8 et sacrum piaculare fieri ita <sup>4</sup> ut prius ad conlegium  
 pontificum referretur, quod sacri thensauri moti,  
 aperti,<sup>5</sup> violati essent, quae piacula, quibus deis,  
 9 quibus hostiis fieri placeret: milites qui <sup>6</sup> Locris  
 essent omnes in Siciliam transportari; quattuor  
 cohortes sociorum Latini nominis in praesidium  
 Locros adduci.

10 Perrogari eo die sententiae accensis studiis pro

<sup>1</sup> eas *P(1)NJK Aldus*: *om. Sp?H Froben* 2.

<sup>2</sup> Romanum (*or r.*) *B<sup>1</sup> Aldus, Froben*: *om. P(1)NHJK*.

<sup>3</sup> liberos *A'N'HJK*: *om. P(1)N*.

<sup>4</sup> et sacrum . . . ita *P(1)NJK Aldus, Froben*: *om. SpHx*.

<sup>5</sup> aperti *Sp(probably)A'N'HJK Aldus, Froben*: *om. P(1)N*.

<sup>6</sup> qui *P<sup>2</sup>(1)NHJK*: *qui qui P.*

by war;<sup>1</sup> that after the manner of a foreign tyrant he B.C. 204 gave free rein to the excesses of his soldiers and was also cruel to them. He then appended to his speech an equally ruthless resolution: that it was the will of the senate that Pleminius, the legatus, be brought to Rome bound and plead his cause in chains, and if the complaints of the Locrians should prove true, that he be put to death in the prison and his property confiscated; that Publius Scipio, having left his province without orders of the senate, be recalled, and that the tribunes of the plebs be urged to bring before the people a bill to annul his command; that the senate should make answer to the Locrians face to face that neither the senate nor the Roman people approved of the wrongs which they complained had been inflicted upon them; that they be declared good men and good allies and friends; that their children, their wives and whatever else had been taken away by violence be restored to them; that all the money removed from the treasure-chambers of Proserpina be sought out and twice that amount be restored to her treasury; and that expiatory rites be performed, with the provision that the question be first laid before the college of pontiffs, in view of the removal, opening and profanation of the sacred treasure, what expiations they would order to be made, to what divinities, with what victims; that all the soldiers who were at Locri be transported to Sicily; that four cohorts of Latin allies be brought to Locri as a garrison.

Not all the senators could be asked their opinion on that day owing to the heat of party feeling for

<sup>1</sup> An exaggerated statement, of course, for which *prope* is half-apologetic. Cf. XXVIII. xxvi. 2.

Scipione et adversus Scipionem<sup>1</sup> non potuere.  
 11 Praeter Plemini facinus Locrensumque cladem ipsius  
 etiam imperatoris non Romanus modo sed ne militaris  
 12 quidem cultus iactabatur: cum pallio crepidisque  
 inambulare in gymnasio; libellis eum palaestraeque  
 operam dare; aeque segniter molliterque<sup>2</sup> cohortem  
 13 totam Syracusarum amoenitate frui; Carthaginem  
 atque Hannibalem excidisse de memoria; exercitum  
 omnem licentia corruptum, qualis Sucrone in Hispania  
 fuerit, qualis nunc Locris, sociis magis quam hosti  
 metuendum.

XX. Haec quamquam partim vera partim mixta  
 eoque similia veris iactabantur, tamen vicit Q. Metelli  
 sententia, qui de ceteris Maximo adsensus de Scipio-  
 2 nis causa dissensit: qui enim convenire quem modo  
 civitas iuvenem admodum unum<sup>3</sup> recuperandae Hispaniae  
 delegerit ducem, quem recepta ab hostibus Hispania ad imponendum Punico bello finem creaverit  
 consulem, spe destinaverit Hannibalem ex Italia re-  
 3 tracturum,<sup>4</sup> Africam subacturum, eum repente,  
 tamquam Q. Pleminium, indicta causa prope damna-  
 tum, ex provincia revocari, cum ea quae in se nefarie  
 facta Locrenses quererentur ne praesente quidem  
 Scipione facta dicerent, neque aliud quam patientia

<sup>1</sup> et adversus Scipionem *P(1)N Aldus, Froben: om. SpHJK.*

<sup>2</sup> -que *AyJK Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)NH Conway (bracketing segniter).*

<sup>3</sup> unum *Sp(probably)A\* N\*HJK: om. P(1)N.*

<sup>4</sup> retracturum *Sp?HJK Froben 2: de- P(1)N, which have Africam subacturum before Hannibalem.*

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch makes Cato, as quaestor to Scipio, complain that the general was extravagant, pampering his troops and giving too much time to palaestra and theatre; *Cat. Mai. iii. 5 ff.* Cf. below, p. 307 and note 2.

Scipio and against Scipio. In addition to the crime <sup>B.C. 204</sup> of Pleminius and the sufferings of the Locrians, they kept censuring even the personal appearance of the general-in-chief, as not even soldierly, not to say un-Roman; that wearing a Greek mantle and sandals he strolled about in the gymnasium, giving his attention to books in Greek and physical exercise;<sup>1</sup> that with equal indolence and self-indulgence his entire retinue<sup>2</sup> was enjoying the charms of Syracuse; that Carthage and Hannibal had been forgotten; that the entire army, being spoiled by lack of restraint and, like the army formerly at Suero in Spain, like the troops now at Locri, was more to be feared by allies than by the enemy.

XX. Although some of these taunts were true, some half-true and hence plausible, nevertheless the motion of Quintus Metellus<sup>3</sup> carried the day. In agreement with Maximus on the other points, he disagreed with him so far as concerned Scipio, the man whom the state chose not long before, he said, in spite of his youth as sole general to recover Spain; then, after Spain had been rewon from the enemy, elected him consul to put an end to the Punic war, and counted upon him to draw Hannibal out of Italy and to conquer Africa. How then was it logical for him, as if he were a Quintus Pleminius, suddenly to be all but condemned without a hearing, recalled from his province, although the Locrians said that the criminal acts against them of which they complained had been committed when Scipio was not even present, and nothing else could be charged

<sup>2</sup> This would include such high officers as legati, as well as friends.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. x. 2; xi. 9 f. Consul in 206 B.C.; XXVIII. x. 2, 8.

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- aut pudor, quod legato pepercisset, insimulari posset?
- 4 Sibi placere M. Pomponium praetorem, cui Sicilia provincia sorti evenisset, triduo proximo in provinciam profici; consules decem legatos, quos iis videretur, ex senatu legere quos cum praetore mitterent, et duos tribunos plebei atque aedilem;
- 5 cum eo consilio praetorem cognoscere; si ea quae Locrenses facta quererentur iussu aut voluntate P. Scipionis facta essent, ut eum de provincia decadere iuberent; si P. Scipio iam in Africam traieisset,
- 6 tribuni plebis atque aedilis cum duobus legatis, quos maxime idoneos praetor censuisset, in Africam pro-
- 7 ficerentur, tribuni atque aedilis qui reducerent inde Scipionem, legati qui exercitui preeissent donec
- 8 novus imperator ad eum exercitum venisset; si M. Pomponius et decem legati comperissent neque iussu neque voluntate P. Scipionis ea facta esse, ut ad exercitum Scipio maneret bellumque ut proposuisset
- 9 gereret. Hoc facto senatus consulto, cum tribunis plebis actum est aut compararent inter se aut sorte legerent<sup>1</sup> qui duo cum praetore ac legatis irent;
- 10 ad conlegium pontificum relatum<sup>2</sup> de expiandis quae Locris in templo Proserpinæ tacta ac violata elataque<sup>3</sup> inde essent.
- 11 Tribuni plebis cum praetore et decem legatis

<sup>1</sup> inter . . . legerent A<sup>8</sup>N<sup>8</sup>HJK Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)N.<sup>2</sup> relatum, P(3)N add et (for which est M<sup>2</sup>?x Alscheski).<sup>3</sup> ac violata elataque A<sup>8</sup>(om. ac)N<sup>8</sup>HJK Aldus: violataque P(1)N.

against him than slowness to anger, or else reluctance in sparing his legatus? His proposal, he said, was that Marcus Pomponius, the praetor, to whom Sicily had been allotted as his province, should within three days leave for the province; that the consuls should choose ten legati at their discretion from the senate, to be sent with the praetor, as also two tribunes of the plebs and an aedile;<sup>1</sup> that with these men as assessors the praetor should conduct an examination; if the offences of which the Locrians complained had been committed by the command or with the consent of Publius Scipio, they should order him to retire from his province; if Publius Scipio should have already crossed over into Africa, the tribunes of the plebs and the aedile should go to Africa with two of the legati—those whom the praetor should judge most competent—the tribunes and aedile to bring Scipio away, the legati to be in command of the army until a new general-in-command should reach that army; if Marcus Pomponius and the ten legati should find that the acts had been committed neither by order of Publius Scipio nor with his consent, that Scipio should remain with the army and carry on the war as he had planned. A decree of the senate to this effect having been passed, the tribunes of the plebs were requested either to arrange among themselves or to choose by lot which two of them should go with the praetor and legati. The matter of expiation for all that in the temple of Proserpina at Locri had been touched and profaned and carried away was referred to the college of pontiffs.

The tribunes of the plebs, Marcus Claudius

<sup>1</sup> A plebeian aedile (§ 11), to carry out the orders of the tribunes.

profecti M. Claudius Marcellus et M. Cincius Ali-  
mentus; aedilis plebis datus est quem, si aut in  
Sicilia praetori dicto audiens non esset Scipio aut  
iam in Africam traieciisset, prendre tribuni iuberent,  
ac iure sacrosanctae potestatis reducerent. Prius  
Locros ire quam Messanam consilium erat.

XXI. Ceterum duplex fama est quod ad Plemin-  
ium attinet. Alii, auditis quae Romae acta essent in  
exilium Neapolim euntem forte in Q. Metellum, unum  
ex legatis, incidisse et ab eo Regium vi retractum  
2 tradunt; alii ab ipso Scipione legatum cum triginta  
nobilissimis equitum missum qui Q. Pleminium in cate-  
3 nas et cum eo seditionis principes conicerent. Ii om-  
nes, seu ante Scipionis seu tum praetoris iussu, tra-  
diti in custodiam Reginis sunt.<sup>1</sup>

4 Praetor legatique Locros profecti primam, sicuti  
mandatum erat, religionis curam habuere: omnem  
enim sacram pecuniam quaeque apud Pleminium  
quaeque apud <sup>2</sup> milites erat conquisitam, cum ea  
quam <sup>3</sup> ipsi secum attulerant, in thensauro reposu-  
erunt ac piacularē sacrum fecerunt. Tum vocatos ad  
contionem milites praetor signa extra urbem efferre  
iubet castraque in campo locat cum gravi edicto, si  
quis miles aut in urbe restitisset aut secum extulisset

<sup>1</sup> sunt A<sup>4</sup>HJK Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)N.

<sup>2</sup> Pleminium . . . apud A<sup>4</sup>N<sup>4</sup>JK Eds.: om. P(1)N.

<sup>3</sup> cum ea quam A<sup>4</sup>N<sup>4</sup>HJK Eds.: om. P(1)N.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. xi. 13; XXVII. xxvi. 12; xxvii. 7. Consul in  
196 B.C.; censor 189 B.C.; XXXIII. xxiv. 1; XXXVII.  
lviii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Almost certainly a brother of Lucius, the historian (frequently mentioned in XXVI-XXVII). As tribune in this year he proposed the Lex Cincia to limit gifts; cf. Cicero *Cat. Mai.* 10. Livy fails to mention the law until XXXIV. iv. 9, in a speech of Cato as consul, 195 B.C.

Marcellus<sup>1</sup> and Marcus Cincius Alimentus<sup>2</sup> de- B.C. 204 parted with the praetor and ten legati. A plebeian aedile was added to their number, and either in case Scipio in Sicily should fail to obey the praetor, or if he should have crossed already into Africa, the tribunes were to order the aedile to arrest him, and by virtue of their inviolable authority they were to bring him back. It was their plan to go to Locri first and then to Messana.

XXI. But so far as Pleminius is concerned we have two reports. Some authorities relate that, on hearing what had been done at Rome, he was on his way into exile at Neapolis when he happened to encounter Quintus Metellus, one of the legati, and that he was forcibly brought back by him to Regium. Others say that Scipio himself sent a legatus with thirty horsemen of the first order, to throw Quintus Pleminius into chains and with him the leaders of the outbreak. All of them, whether by Scipio's order earlier or at this time by that of the praetor, were delivered into the custody of the men of Regium.

The praetor and legati went to Locri and, as they had been instructed, made religion their first concern. For they sought out and restored to the treasure-chambers all the sacred money, both what was in the hands of Pleminius and what was in the possession of the soldiers, together with what they had themselves brought with them; and they performed the rite of expiation. Then the praetor summoned the soldiers to an assembly, ordered their units to march out of the city, and assigned a site in the plain for their camp, with a threatening edict in case any soldier should either remain in the

quod suum non esset;<sup>1</sup> Locrensibus se permettere ut quod sui<sup>2</sup> quisque cognosset prenderet, si quid non 6 compareret, repeteret.<sup>3</sup> Ante omnia libera corpora placere sine mora Locrensibus restitui; non levi defuncturum poena qui non restituisset.

7 Locrensum deinde contionem habuit atque iis libertatem legesque suas populum Romanum senatumque restituere dixit; si qui Pleminium aliumve 8 quem accusare vellet, Regium se sequeretur; si de P. Scipione publice queri vellent ea quae Locris nefarie in deos hominesque facta essent iussu aut voluntate P. Scipionis facta esse, legatos mitterent 9 Messanam; ibi se cum consilio cognitum. Locrenses praetori legatisque, senatui<sup>4</sup> ac populo Romano gratias egerunt; se ad Pleminium accusandum 10 ituros; Scipionem, quamquam parum iniuriis civitatis suae doluerit, eum esse virum quem amicum sibi quam inimicum malint esse; pro certo se habere neque iussu neque voluntate P. Scipionis tot tam nefanda commissa, sed aut Pleminio nimium, sibi<sup>5</sup> 11 parum creditum, aut natura insitum quibusdam esse ut magis peccari nolint quam satis animi ad vindicanda peccata habeant.

Et praetori et consilio haud mediocre onus demp-

<sup>1</sup> quod . . . esset *A<sup>4</sup>N<sup>4</sup>HJK Aldus, Froben*: *om. P(1)N.*

<sup>2</sup> sui *P(3)C<sup>1</sup>N*: suum *A<sup>4</sup>?JK Aldus, Froben* (*H after quisque*).

<sup>3</sup> repeteret *Ta<sup>2</sup>A<sup>4</sup>N<sup>4</sup>HJK Eds.*: unde *P(1)N*: repetendum *Gronovius*: unde vellet, repeteret *Madvig.*

<sup>4</sup> senatui, before this *HJK Aldus, Froben* have et (retained by *Luchs, Riemann*).

<sup>5</sup> sibi *Forchhammer*: aut sibi *P(1)NHJK.*

city or carry out with him what was not his own. b.c. 204  
In this he stated that he gave permission to the Locrians to seize any possession a man should recognize as his; and if anything was not produced he should demand its restitution. Above all, he said, he ruled that free persons should be restored to the Locrians without delay; that a heavy penalty would be paid by the man who did not restore them.

Thereupon he held an assembly of the Locrians and said that the Roman people and senate restored to them their independence and their own laws; that if anyone desired to bring charges against Pleminius or any other man, let him follow him to Regium. As regarded Publius Scipio, should they wish, he said, to make complaint in the name of their state, claiming that such wicked deeds as had been committed at Locri against gods and men had been done by command of Publius Scipio or with his consent, let them send envoys to Messana; there with his assessors he would conduct the inquiry. The Locrians thanked the praetor and his legati, the senate and the Roman people. They would go, they said, to prefer charges against Pleminius. As for Scipio, although he was not sufficiently pained by the wrongs done to their state, he was such a man as they would prefer to have as their friend rather than as an enemy. They had definitely ascertained that the many unspeakable crimes had not been committed either by order or consent of Publius Scipio; but either he had trusted Pleminius too much and themselves too little; or else for some men it was natural to disapprove of misdoing but to lack sufficient spirit to punish the misdeeds.

Both the praetor and his assessors were relieved of

A.U.C. 550 12 tum erat de Scipione cognoscendi. Pleminium et ad  
 duo et triginta homines cum eo damnaverunt atque  
 13 in catenis Romam miserunt. Ipsi ad Scipionem  
 profecti sunt, ut ea quoque quae volgata sermonibus  
 erant de cultu ac desidia imperatoris solutaque  
 disciplina militiae comperta oculis referrent<sup>1</sup> Romam.

XXII. Venientibus iis Syracusas Scipio res, non  
 verba ad purgandum sese paravit. Exercitum  
 omnem eo convenire, classem expediri iussit, tam  
 quam dimicandum eo die terra marique cum Car-  
 thaginiensibus esset. Quo die venerunt hospitio  
 comiter acceptis,<sup>2</sup> postero die terrestrem navalemque  
 exercitum, non instructos modo, sed hos decurrentes,  
 classem in portu simulacrum et ipsam edentem navalis  
 3 pugnae ostendit; tum circa armamentaria et horrea  
 bellique alium apparatum<sup>3</sup> visendum praetor lega-  
 4 tique ducti. Tantaque admiratio singularum uni-  
 versarumque rerum incussa ut satis crederent aut  
 illo duce atque exercitu vinci Carthaginensem  
 5 populum aut alio nullo<sup>4</sup> posse, iuberentque, quod di-  
 bene verterent, traicere<sup>5</sup> et spei conceptae quo die  
 illum omnes centuriae priorem consulem dixissent  
 primo quoque tempore compotem populum Romanum

<sup>1</sup> referrent (*or* -erent) *P(1)N Aldus*: per- *Sp?HK*: prae- *J.*

<sup>2</sup> acceptis *Ta<sup>2</sup>(apparently)P(1)N*: -cepti *N<sup>2</sup>?HJK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>3</sup> horrea bellique alium apparatum *C<sup>2</sup>A<sup>8</sup>N<sup>8</sup>HJ Eds.*: reduced in *P(1)(A?)* to horratum by *om. of some twenty letters (one line)*: horrea ad bellum apparatum *Madrig, Emend. Conway would insert ad before armentaria, but does not so read. Weissenborn<sup>3</sup> assumed a lacuna before aliumque bellum of Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>4</sup> alio nullo *P(1)N Aldus*: nullo alio *HJK Froben 2.*

<sup>5</sup> traicere *P(3)MHJK Aldus*: -rent *N*: -ret *Rhenanus, Froben 2.*

the burden—no slight one either—of a court of inquiry concerning Scipio. Pleminius and with him some thirty-two men they found guilty<sup>1</sup> and sent in chains to Rome. They themselves went to Scipio with the further intention to see for themselves what had been common talk in regard to the dress and indolent habits of the general and lax discipline of his soldiers, and to report back to Rome.

XXII. While they were on their way to Syracuse Scipio prepared tangible evidence, not words, in his defence. He ordered the entire army to be concentrated there, and the fleet to be cleared for action, as if on that day he must fight on land and sea with the Carthaginians. On the day of their arrival they were hospitably entertained, and the next day he showed them his land and naval forces, not merely drawn up in line, but the soldiers in manœuvres<sup>2</sup> and the fleet likewise manœuvring in mimicry of a naval battle in the harbour. Then the praetor and the legati were conducted on a tour of inspection of arsenals and magazines and other equipment for war. And so much was their admiration aroused for particular things and for the sum total that they fully believed the Carthaginian people could be defeated either by that general and army or by no other, and bade him with the blessing of the gods to cross over, and at the first possible moment to bring to the Roman people the fulfilment of the hope inspired on the day on which all the centuries

<sup>1</sup> I.e. at a preliminary hearing; cf. xxii. 7 ff. The charge would be treason, *perduellio*.

<sup>2</sup> It is a sham battle, as *et ipsam* proves. No parade here; no more than in XXVI. li. 4.

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- 6 facere; <sup>1</sup> adeoque laetis inde animis profecti sunt,  
 tamquam victoriam, non belli magnificum apparatus  
 nuntiatur Romam essent.
- 7 Pleminius quique in eadem causa erant, post-  
 quam Romam est ventum, extempsit in carcerem con-  
 diti. Ac primo producti ad populum ab tribunis apud  
 praeoccupatos Locrensum clade animos nullum  
 8 misericordiae locum habuerunt; postea cum saepius  
 producerentur, iam senescente invidia molliebantur  
 irae, et ipsa deformitas Plemini memoriaque absentis  
 9 Scipionis favorem ad volgum conciliabat. Mortuus  
 tamen prius in vincis est quam iudicium de eo  
 populi <sup>2</sup> perficeretur.
- 10 Hunc Pleminium Clodius Licinus in libro tertio  
 rerum Romanarum refert ludis votivis quos Romae  
 Africanus iterum consul faciebat conatum per  
 quosdam, quos pretio corruperat, aliquot locis urbem  
 incendere, ut effringendi <sup>3</sup> carceris fugiendique

<sup>1</sup> facere *MK Gronorius*: faceret *P(3)N Aldus, Froben*: -rent *A<sup>4</sup>N<sup>2</sup>HJ*.

<sup>2</sup> populi *P(1)N Aldus*: om. *Sp<sup>2</sup>HJK Froben* 2.

<sup>3</sup> effringendi *Weissenborn*: re- *Luchs*: fringendi *P*: frangendi *P<sup>2</sup>(1)NJK*.

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<sup>1</sup> A defendant charged with *perduellio* was brought before a *contio* in the Forum three times, not on successive days. At the close of the third *contio* the tribunes pronounced judgment, repeating their demand for a penalty or changing it in either direction. Then they announced a final hearing 28 days later

had named him consul first. So happy also were they <sup>B.C. 204</sup> on leaving the city, it was if they were to carry to Rome the news of a victory, not of a magnificent preparation for war.

Pleminius and those who were involved in the same charge, upon their arrival in Rome, were at once put in the prison. And when first brought before the people by the tribunes, while men's minds were already filled with the sufferings of the Locrians, they found no room left for pity. Later, as they were brought out repeatedly,<sup>1</sup> men's anger was subsiding as animosity now waned, and even Pleminius' disfigurement and the memory of the absent Scipio won them support among the populace. He died, however, in prison before his trial in the assembly of the people could be completed.

Clodius Licinus<sup>2</sup> in the third book of his Roman History relates of this Pleminius that during the votive games which Africanus was conducting at Rome in his second consulship,<sup>3</sup> he made an attempt, with the aid of certain men whom he had bribed, to set fire to the city in a number of places, in order to have a chance to break out of prison and escape;

(*quarta accusatio*). On that date the case would be finally decided by vote of the *comitia tributa* (if a fine was demanded), or of the *centuriata* (if a death penalty). Cf. XXVI. iii. 9 ff. (Vol. VII. pp. 13 ff. and notes p. 12); Mommsen, *Staatsrecht III.* 354 ff. Confinement was in the Carcer, § 7; cf. p. 296, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> A younger contemporary of Livy, consul suffectus in A.D. 4. His history must have begun with the end of the Second Punic War. Cf. Suet. *de Gram.* 20. Rare in Livy is so precise a reference to any authority.

<sup>3</sup> 194 B.C.; XXXIV. xliv. 6 ff., the same story under a different date and with omission of the source.

haberet occasionem; patefacto dein scelere delegatum<sup>1</sup> in Tullianum ex senatus consulto.

- 11 De Scipione nusquam nisi in senatu actum, ubi omnes legatique et tribuni, classem,<sup>2</sup> exercitum ducemque verbis extollentes, effecerunt<sup>3</sup> ut senatus censeret primo quoque tempore in Africam traicien-  
 12 dum Scipionique permitteretur ut ex iis exercitibus qui in Sicilia essent ipse eligeret quos in Africam secum traiceret, quos provinciae relinquenter praesidio.

XXIII. Dum haec apud Romanos geruntur, Carthaginenses quoque, cum speculis per omnia promunturia positis percunctantes paventesque ad singulos  
 2 nuntios sollicitam hiemem egissent, haud parvum et ipsi tuendae Africae momentum adiecerunt societatem Syphacis regis, cuius maxime fiducia traiec-  
 3 turum in Africam Romanum crediderant.<sup>4</sup> Erat Hasdrubali Gisgonis filio non hospitium modo cum rege, de quo ante dictum est, cum ex Hispania forte in idem tempus Scipio atque Hasdrubal convenerunt sed mentio quoque incohata adfinitatis, ut rex  
 4 duceret filiam Hasdrubalis. Ad eam rem consummandam tempusque nuptiis statuendum—iam enim<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> delegatum *P(1)NJK(-lig-)* *Aldus*, *Froben*: re- conj. *Conway*: deiectum *Madvig*.

<sup>2</sup> classem, after this *P<sup>2</sup>(1)N Aldus* have eam (meam *P*).

<sup>3</sup> effecerunt *A<sup>4</sup>HJK*: fecerunt *P(1)N*.

<sup>4</sup> crediderant *Ta<sup>2</sup>H*: -runt *P(1)N Aldus*, *Froben*.

<sup>5</sup> enim *Sp<sup>2</sup>HJK Froben* 2: enim et *P(1)N Aldus*.

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<sup>1</sup> The older underground chamber beneath the Carcer. Mere mention of it implies that Pleminius was executed there, as is explicitly stated *I.c. xliv. 8. Cf. xix. 5; Val. Max. I. i. 21.*

that then, when his crime was revealed, he was <sup>B.C. 204</sup> consigned to the Tullianum<sup>1</sup> in accordance with a decree of the senate.

In regard to Scipio no action was taken anywhere except in the senate, in which both legati and tribunes united in praise of the fleet, army and general. Consequently the senate voted that at the earliest possible moment the crossing to Africa must take place, and that out of the armies then in Sicily Scipio should be permitted to choose for himself what forces he would transport with him to Africa, and what he would leave as a garrison for the province.

XXIII. While these events were in progress among the Romans, the Carthaginians on their part, placing watch-towers on all the promontories, had passed an anxious winter, gathering information and alarmed by each fresh report. And then, as no small factor in the defence of Africa, they added an alliance of their own with King Syphax, in reliance chiefly upon whom the Roman, they had believed, intended to cross over to Africa. Hasdrubal the son of Gisgo had not merely a guest-friendship with the king, of which mention has been made above<sup>2</sup>—when Scipio and Hasdrubal coming from Spain arrived, as it happened, at the same time—but also the first proposal of a marriage tie was made, in which the king was to marry Hasdrubal's daughter. To carry the matter through and to fix a time for the wedding, Hasdrubal went to him; for the maiden was already of marriageable age. On perceiving that he was

<sup>2</sup> The formal bond of a *hospitium* with Hasdrubal was implied in XXVIII. xviii but not exactly mentioned. As for Scipio, cf. below, xxiv. 3.

nubilis erat virgo—profectus Hasdrubal ut accensum cupiditate—et sunt ante omnes barbaros Numidae effusi in Venerem—sensit, virginem a Carthagine 5 arcessit maturatque nuptias; et inter aliam gratulationem, ut publicum quoque foedus privato adiceretur, societas inter populum Carthaginensem <sup>1</sup> regemque, data ultro citroque fide eosdem amicos inimicosque habituros, iure iurando adfirmatur.

6 Ceterum Hasdrubal, memor et cum Scipione initae regi societatis et quam vana et mutabilia 7 barbarorum ingenia essent, veritus ne, si traiecerisset in Africam Scipio, parvum vinculum eae nuptiae essent, dum accensum recenti amore Numidam habet, perpellit blanditiis quoque puellae adhibitis ut legatos in Siciliam ad Scipionem mittat per quos moneat eum ne prioribus suis promissis fretus in Africam 8 traiciat; se et nuptiis civis Carthaginiensis, filiae Hasdrubalis quem viderit apud se in hospitio, et publico etiam foedere cum populo Carthaginiensi iunctum 9 optare primum ut procul ab Africa, sicut adhuc fecerint, bellum Romani cum Carthaginiensibus gerant, ne *s'bi* interesse certaminibus eorum armaque aut haec aut illa, abnuentem alteram societatem, sequi 10 necesse sit; si non abstineat Africa Scipio et Carthagini exercitum admoveat, sibi necessarium fore et pro terra Africa, in qua et ipse sit genitus, et pro

<sup>1</sup> Carthaginensem *C<sup>1</sup>HJK*: -sum *C*: -sium *P(1)N*.

fired with passion—and more than all barbarians B.C. 204  
 the Numidians are prone to sensuality—he summoned the maiden from Carthage and hastened the wedding. And in the midst of congratulations on other grounds, in order that a public compact might be added to the private, an alliance between the Carthaginian people and the king was cemented by an oath, while a pledge was given by both sides that they would have the same friends and enemies.

Hasdrubal, however, remembered not only the alliance with Scipio into which the king had entered, but also how naturally characterless and fickle are barbarians. He feared that if Scipio should cross over to Africa this marriage would be a slender bond. Consequently while the Numidian, fired by his new-found love, was in his power, with the help also of the young woman's allurements, Hasdrubal prevailed upon him to send ambassadors to Scipio in Sicily, and through these men he was to warn Scipio not to cross over to Africa in reliance upon his previous promises. They were to say that he was linked with the Carthaginian people both by his marriage to a citizen of Carthage, daughter of the Hasdrubal whom Scipio had seen received as a guest in his own house, and by a public treaty as well; that in the first place he wished that the Romans would carry on war with the Carthaginians, a they had done hitherto, far from Africa, making it unnecessary for him to be involved in their conflicts and to follow the arms of this side or that, rejecting alliance with the other side; that if Scipio did not keep away from Africa and moved his army up to Carthage, it would be necessary for him to fight both for the land of Africa, in which he too had

patria coniugis suae proque parente ac penatibus  
dimicare.

XXIV. Cum his <sup>1</sup> mandatis ab rege legati ad Scipionem missi Syracusis eum convenerunt. Scipio quamquam magno momento rerum in Africa gerendarum magna spe destitutus erat, legatis propere, priusquam res volgaretur, remissis in Africam litteras dat ad regem, quibus etiam atque etiam monet eum ne iura hospitii secum neu cum populo Romano initiae societatis neu fas, fidem, dexteras, deos testes atque arbitros conventorum fallat. Ceterum quando neque celari adventus Numidarum poterat—vagati enim in urbe obversatique praetorio erant—et, si sileretur quid petentes venissent, periculum erat ne vera eo ipso quod celarentur sua sponte magis emanarent, timorque in exercitum incederet <sup>2</sup> ne simul cum rege et Carthaginiensibus foret bellandum, avertit a vero falsis praeoccupando mentes hominum, et vocatis ad contionem militibus non ultra esse cunctandum ait; instare ut in Africam quam primum traiciat socios reges. Masinissam prius ipsum <sup>3</sup> ad C. Laelium venisse querentem quod cunctando tempus tereretur; nunc Syphacem mittere legatos idem admirantem, quae tam diurnae morae

<sup>1</sup> his *CR<sup>3</sup>MBDANK*: hiis *J*: iis *PR*.

<sup>2</sup> incederet *P* (*probably (1)N, not reported by Conway*): incideret *P<sup>4</sup>?M<sup>7</sup>HJK Aldus, Froben*: insideret *Madvig* (*with in exercitu from P*).

<sup>3</sup> prius ipsum *N<sup>8</sup>HJK Froben 2*: ipsum prius *P(3)N Aldus*.

<sup>1</sup> Formerly the palace of King Hiero II; Cicero *in Verr.* IV. 118; V. 80.

been born, and for the native city of his wife and for B.C. 204 her father and her home.

XXIV. With these instructions ambassadors were sent to Scipio by the king, and they met him at Syracuse. Scipio had lost, to be sure, an important factor for the campaign in Africa and a high hope; nevertheless, sending the messengers back to Africa promptly, before the matter should be widely reported, he gave them a letter to the king. In this he insistently admonished him not to prove false to the claims of a guest-friendship entered into with himself, nor to those of an alliance contracted with the Roman people, nor to divine law, to honour, to the clasped hands, to the gods as witnesses and arbiters of compacts. But the arrival of the Numidians could not be kept secret, for they had roamed about the city and had showed themselves at headquarters;<sup>1</sup> and if the object of their mission was passed over in silence there would be danger that the facts might of themselves transpire, all the more from the very attempt to conceal them, and that the fear of having to fight at the same time with the king and the Carthaginians might overtake the army. For that reason Scipio diverted men's attention from the truth by preoccupation with false statements, and summoning the soldiers to an assembly, he told them that there must be no further delay; that the kings, their allies, were insisting that he cross over to Africa as soon as possible. Masinissa, he said, had previously come in person to Gaius Laelius complaining because they were wasting time in hesitation; and now Syphax was sending ambassadors, stating that he also was at a loss to explain what was the reason for a delay so protracted, and

sit causa postulantemque<sup>1</sup> ut aut traiciatur tandem  
 in Africam exercitus aut, si mutata consilia sint,  
 certior fiat, ut et ipse<sup>2</sup> sibi ac regno suo possit<sup>3</sup>  
 7 consulere. Itaque satis iam omnibus instructis  
 apparatusque<sup>4</sup> et re iam non ultra recipiente  
 cunetationem, in animo sibi esse, Lilybaeum classe  
 traducta eodemque omnibus peditum equitumque  
 copiis contractis, quae prima dies cursum navibus  
 daret, deis bene iuvantibus in Africam traicere.  
 8 Litteras ad M. Pomponium mittit ut, si ei videretur,  
 Lilybaeum veniret, ut communiter consulerent quas  
 potissimum legiones et<sup>5</sup> quantum militum numerum  
 9 in Africam traiceret. Item circum oram omnem<sup>6</sup>  
 maritimam misit ut naves onerariae comprehensae  
 Lilybaeum omnes contraherentur.  
 10 Quidquid militum naviumque<sup>7</sup> in Sicilia erat cum  
 Lilybaeum convenisset, et nec urbs multitudinem  
 11 hominum neque portus naves caperet, tantus  
 omnibus ardor erat in Africam traiciendi ut non ad  
 bellum duci viderentur, sed ad certa victoriae prae-  
 mia. Praecipue qui superabant ex Cannensi exercitu  
 milites illo, non alio duce credebant navata rei pu-  
 blicae opera finire se militiam ignominiosam posse.  
 12 Et Scipio minime id genus militum aspernabatur, ut

<sup>1</sup> quae . . . postulantem- om. *P(1)N*, *two lines supplied from A<sup>4</sup>N<sup>4</sup>HJK*.

<sup>2</sup> ipse om. *P(1)N*.

<sup>3</sup> possit *P<sup>4</sup>* and (om. suo)*Sp<sup>2</sup>HJK Froben 2*: posset *P(1)N Aldus*.

<sup>4</sup> instructis apparatusque *N<sup>4</sup>HJK Aldus, Froben, Conway* (*with* paratisque *Weissenborn, Madrig*): instructisque *P(1)N*.

<sup>5</sup> et *P(1)N<sup>2</sup>* or *N<sup>4</sup> Aldus*: om. *Sp<sup>2</sup>HJK Froben 2*.

<sup>6</sup> omnem om. *P(1)N Aldus*.

<sup>7</sup> naviumque om. (1)N: *P has only quae deleted.*

demanding either that the army be at last trans-<sup>B.C. 20</sup> ported to Africa, or, if their plans had been changed, that he be informed, so that he on his part might take measures for himself and his kingdom. Accordingly, since now everything had been duly fitted out and made ready and the situation admitted of no further delay, Scipio said it was his intention to shift his fleet to Lilybaeum and concentrate there all his infantry and cavalry forces, then on the first day that offered a passage to his ships to cross over with the blessing of the gods to Africa. He sent a letter to Marcus Pomponius,<sup>1</sup> requesting him, if he approved, to come to Lilybaeum, so that they might jointly decide which particular legions to transport to Africa and how large a number of men. He likewise sent orders round the entire coastline to have all merchantmen pressed into the service and concentrated at Lilybaeum.

When all the soldiers and ships in Sicily had been brought together at Lilybaeum and the city could not contain the multitude of men nor the harbour the ships, such was the ardour of every man for the passage to Africa that it seemed as though they were being led, not to a war but to assured rewards of victory. Especially the soldiers who were left of the army at Cannae believed that under that general and no other, by active duty for the state they could bring their ignominious service to an end.<sup>2</sup> And Scipio did not in the least scorn soldiers of that kind,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xx. 4, 8; xiii. 2, 6 : XXVIII. xlv. 12 (his mission to Delphi).

<sup>2</sup> Their appeals, such as that in XXV. vi. 2-23 (eight years before), had been of no avail. They saw no service as combat troops in Sicily, not even in the long siege of Syracuse.

qui neque ad Cannas ignavia eorum cladem acceptam  
 sciret neque ullos aequa veteres milites in exercitu  
 Romano esse expertosque non variis proeliis modo  
 13 sed urbibus etiam oppugnandis. Quinta et sexta Can-  
 nenses erant legiones. Eas se traiecturum in Africam  
 cum dixisset, singulos milites inspexit, relictisque  
 quos non idoneos credebat, in locum eorum subiecit  
 14 quos secum ex Italia adduxerat, supplevitque ita eas  
 legiones ut singulae sena milia et ducentos pedites,  
 trecenos<sup>1</sup> haberent equites. Sociorum item Latini no-  
 minis pedites equitesque de exercitu Cannensi legit.

XXV. Quantum militum in Africam transporta-  
 tum sit non parvo numero inter auctores discrepat.  
 2 Alibi decem milia peditum, duo milia et ducentos  
 equites, alibi sedecim milia peditum, mille et sescen-  
 tos<sup>2</sup> equites, alibi parte plus dimidia rem auctam,  
 3 quinque et triginta milia peditum equitumque in  
 naves imposita invenio.<sup>3</sup> Quidam non adiecere  
 numerum, inter quos me ipse in re dubia ponit malim.  
 Coelius ut abstinet numero, ita ad inmensum multi-  
 4 tudinis speciem auget: volucres ad terram delapsas  
 clamore militum ait, tantamque<sup>4</sup> multitudinem  
 concendisse naves ut nemo mortalium aut in Italia  
 aut in Sicilia relinqui videretur.

<sup>1</sup> trecenos *Glareanus*: tricenos *P(1)N*: trecentos *P<sup>5</sup>*:  
*ccc HJK*.

<sup>2</sup> sescentos (*dc*) *P(3)N Eds.*: quingenti (*or -tos*) *A<sup>4</sup>HJK*.

<sup>3</sup> invenio *z*: *om. P(1)NJK*.

<sup>4</sup> ait, tantamque *A<sup>4</sup>HJK*: aitque tantam *P(3)N* (*with*  
*atque CAN*: *ait atque N<sup>4</sup>*).

<sup>1</sup> Here Scipio had personal knowledge, having been a tribune  
 of the soldiers at Cannae; XXII. liii. 2; Val. Max. V. vi. 7.

as he knew that the disaster at Cannae had not been incurred by their cowardice,<sup>1</sup> and that there were no soldiers in the Roman army who were such veterans and as highly trained not only in battles of different kinds but also in besieging cities. The fifth and sixth legions were those from Cannae. Having said he would transport these legions to Africa, he inspected the soldiers one by one, and leaving those whom he believed to be unfit, he substituted for them men whom he had brought with him from Italy, and recruited the legions to such an extent that each had six thousand two hundred infantry<sup>2</sup> and three hundred cavalry. In like manner he chose foot-soldiers and horse from the Latin allies out of the army which fought at Cannae.

XXV. As to the number of soldiers transported to Africa the authorities differ by no small figure. In some I find that ten thousand infantry, two thousand two hundred cavalry were embarked; in others sixteen thousand infantry, sixteen hundred cavalry; in others the total is more than doubled—thirty-five thousand infantry and cavalry. Some authorities have not introduced the figures, and it is among these that I should myself prefer to be counted in view of the uncertainty. Coelius, while he gives no figures, nevertheless immensely increases the impression of great numbers.<sup>3</sup> He says that birds fell to the ground owing to the shouts of the soldiers, and that such a multitude boarded the ships that not a human being seemed to be left either in Italy or Sicily.

<sup>2</sup> This is the maximum known for a legion.

<sup>3</sup> Another example of Coelius' rhetorical exaggeration is found in xxvii. 14 f.

## LIVY

A.U.C.  
550

5 Milites ut naves ordine ac sine tumultu conser-  
derent, ipse eam sibi curam sumpsit; nauticos C.  
Laelius, qui classis praefectus erat, in navibus,<sup>1</sup>  
6 ante condescendere coactos, continuit; commeatus  
imponendi M. Pomponio praetori cura data: quinque  
et quadraginta dierum cibaria, e quibus quindecim  
7 dierum cocta, imposita. Ut omnes iam in navibus  
erant, scaphas circummisit ut ex omnibus<sup>2</sup> navibus  
gubernatoresque et magistri navium et bini milites  
8 in forum convenirent ad imperia accipienda. Post-  
quam convenerunt, primum ab iis quaesivit si aquam  
hominibus iumentisque in totidem dies quot frumen-  
9 tum imposuissent. Ubi responderunt<sup>3</sup> aquam dierum  
quinque et quadraginta in navibus esse, tum edixit  
militibus ut silentium quieti, nautis sine certamine ad  
ministeria exsequenda bene oboedientes, praestarent.  
10 Cum viginti rostratis se ac L. Scipionem ab dextro  
cornu, ab laevo totidem rostratas et C. Laelium  
praefectum classis cum M. Porcio Catone—quaestor  
11 is tum erat—onerariis futurum praesidio. Lumina in  
navibus singula rostratae, bina onerariae haberent;  
in praetoria nave insigne nocturnum trium luminum

<sup>1</sup> in navibus *P(1)N*: navibus *Sp?* *Froben* 2: et navibus  
*N·H*: in naves *A·?JK Aldus.*

<sup>2</sup> omnibus *om.* *P(1)N.*

<sup>3</sup> responderunt *P(3)HJK*: responsum est *AN Aldus,*  
*Froben.*

That the soldiers should board the ships in good <sup>B.C. 204</sup> order and without confusion the general took upon himself. As for the crews, Gaius Laelius, who was admiral of the fleet, ordered them to go on board first, and kept them there. The duty of loading supplies was assigned to Marcus Pomponius, the praetor. Rations for forty-five days—of these cooked rations for fifteen days—were placed on board. When now they had all embarked, Scipio sent ships' boats round with orders that pilots and masters from all the ships and two soldiers from each should assemble before the headquarters to receive commands. When they were assembled he first asked them if they had put on board water for men and beasts for just as many days as they had grain. When they replied that there was water for forty-five days on board, he thereupon gave orders to the soldiers to remain quiet and ensure silence in proper obedience to the seamen and without interference, that these might perform their duties. With twenty warships, he said, he and Lucius Scipio<sup>1</sup> on the right wing would protect the transports; on the left wing the same number of war-ships and Gaius Laelius, admiral of the fleet, with Marcus Porcius Cato, who was at that time quaestor;<sup>2</sup> that war-ships should have one lantern for each ship, transports two for each; that on the flagship the designation at night

<sup>1</sup> He had been with his older brother in Spain (XXVIII. iii. 2 ff.; iv. 2 ff.; xvii. 1) and in Sicily (above, vii. 2); consul in 190 B.C. with Laelius; XXXVI. xlv. 9.

<sup>2</sup> His quaestorship in this year is attested by Cicero *Cat. Mai.* 10; *Brutus* 60; not in 205 B.C., as Nepos *Cato* i. 3. Plutarch has him return in protest from Sicily to Rome, iii. 7.

A.U.C. 12 fore. Emporia ut peterent gubernatoribus edixit;  
 550 fertilissimus ager eoque abundans omnium copia  
 rerum est regio, et inbelles, quod plerumque in  
 uberi agro evenit, barbari sunt, priusque quam ab<sup>1</sup>  
 Carthagine subveniretur opprimi videbantur posse.  
 13 Iis editis imperiis redire ad naves iussi et postero die  
 deis bene iuvantibus signo dato solvere naves.

XXVI. Multae classes Romanae e Sicilia atque  
 ipso illo portu profectae erant; ceterum non eo bello  
 solum—nec id mirum: praedatum enim tantummodo  
 pleraeque classes ierant—sed ne priore quidem ulla  
 2 profectio tanti spectaculi fuit: quamquam, si magni-  
 tudine classis<sup>2</sup> aestimares, et<sup>3</sup> bini consules cum binis  
 exercitibus ante traiecerant et prope totidem rostra-  
 tae in illis classibus fuerant quot onerariis Scipio  
 3 tum traiciebat; nam praeter quadraginta longas naves  
 quadringentis ferme onerariis exercitum travexit.  
 4 Sed et bellum bello secundum priori<sup>4</sup> ut atrocius

<sup>1</sup> ab om. P(3)R<sup>2</sup>N.

<sup>2</sup> classis P(1)N Aldus: classes Sp?A<sup>4</sup>HJK Froben 2.

<sup>3</sup> aestimares, et Sp(probably)A<sup>4</sup>N<sup>4</sup>: extimares et HJK : es. (or aes-) timaret sed si P (3)C<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> priori P(1)N: priore A<sup>4</sup>HJK Conway.

<sup>1</sup> Trading centres (*emporia*) along the western shore of the Gulf of Gabès (Syrta Minor) gave this name to an entire region. It extended southward from Leptis Minor (100 miles from Carthage) and Thapsus. Cf. xxxiii. 9; XXXIV. lxii. 3; Polybius III. xxiii. 2; XXXI. xxi; Pliny *N.H.* V. 25. So public an announcement of a distant beachhead forces us to suspect that Scipio really intended to land near Utica, after misleading the enemy. Before the great convoy reached Africa spies could easily bring to Carthage news of the order. Cf. note on xxvii. 9; Gsell, *op. cit.* III. 213; Zielinski in *Riv. di storia antica* III. 74 f.

<sup>2</sup> But remoteness from Carthage would mean a greatly increased distance from Sicily, and on the long passage south-

would be three lanterns. He ordered the pilots to steer for the Emporia.<sup>1</sup> There the soil is very fertile and for that reason the region supplies everything in abundance; and the natives are unwarlike, as is usually the case in a fertile country, and it seemed that they could be overpowered before aid could be sent from Carthage.<sup>2</sup> After he had issued these commands they were ordered to return to their ships and on the following day, with the blessing of the gods, to cast off at the given signal.

XXVI. Many Roman fleets had sailed from Sicily and out of that very harbour. Yet not only during that war was there never a sailing so spectacular—and no wonder, since most of the fleets had sailed out merely to plunder—but there had been nothing similar even in the previous war. And yet if one had based his comparison upon the size of the fleet, more than once<sup>3</sup> before had two consuls with two armies made the passage, and there had been almost as many war-ships in those fleets as now transports with which Scipio was crossing over. For in addition to forty war-ships only, he carried his army across on about four hundred transports. But the second war was made to appear to the Romans more terrible

ward Roman ships would be in constant danger of attack, with few ports in which they might seek even a temporary refuge. The *fertilissimus ager* was little more than a strip—one more reason to believe that no Roman general would seriously propose to launch a campaign against Carthage from such a coast.

<sup>3</sup> Exactly twice: in 256 B.C. L. Manlius Vulso and M. Atilius Regulus (xxviii. 5) with 330 war-ships (Polybius I. xxv. 7; xxix. 1); in 255 B.C. M. Aemilius Paulus and Ser. Fulvius Nobilior with 350, but no army, and shipwrecked on their return; *ibid.* xxxvi. 10 ff.

Romanis videretur, cum quod in Italia bellabatur,  
 tum ingentes strages tot exercituum simul caesis  
 5 ducibus effecerant, et Scipio dux partim factis  
 fortibus partim suapte fortuna quadam, ingenti ad  
 incrementa gloriae re,<sup>1</sup> celebratus converterat animos,  
 6 simul et mens ipsa traiciendi, nulli ante eo bello duci  
 temptata, quod ad Hannibalem<sup>2</sup> detrahendum ex  
 Italia transferendumque et finiendum in Africa  
 7 bellum se transire volgaverat. Concurrerat ad  
 spectaculum in portum omnis turba non habitantium  
 modo Lilybaei, sed legationum omnium ex Sicilia,  
 quae et ad prosequendum Scipionem officii causa  
 convenerant et praetorem provinciae M. Pomponium  
 8 secutae fuerant; ad hoc legiones quae in Sicilia  
 relinquebantur ad prosequendos commilitones pro-  
 cesserant; nec classis modo prospectantibus e  
 terra, sed terra ctiam omnis circa referta turba  
 spectaculo navigantibus erat.

XXVII. Ubi illuxit, Scipio e praetoria nave si-  
 2 lentio<sup>3</sup> per praecomenem facto "Divi divaeque" inquit  
 "qui<sup>4</sup> maria terrasque colitis, vos precor quaeisque  
 uti quae in meo imperio gesta sunt, geruntur, postque  
 gerentur,<sup>5</sup> ea mihi, populo plebique Romanae, sociis  
 nominique Latino qui populi Romani quie meam

<sup>1</sup> re inserted by Harant, Riemann (momento by M. Müller),  
 to relieve a desperate situation in which ingenti would have to  
 agree with fortuna. For ingenti ad (all MSS., but corrupt  
 according to Conway) there are several unsatisfactory emenda-  
 tions.

<sup>2</sup> temptata . . . Hannibalem A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>(marg.)HJK Aldus,  
 Froben: om. (and de- also) P(1)N; temptata probably corrupt,  
 Conway.

<sup>3</sup> navigantibus erat . . . silentio A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>HJK: om. P(1)N,  
 probably three lines,

<sup>4</sup> qui om. P(3).

than the first both by being carried on in Italy and <sup>B.C. 204</sup> by the immense losses which befell so many armies, with the death of their generals at the same time. Furthermore Scipio, whom men praised as a general partly because of his brave deeds, partly because of a good fortune peculiarly his own—a matter of the greatest importance to his growing celebrity—had commanded attention, as had also the very thought, not hazarded by any previous general in this war, of crossing the sea. For he had spread the report that he was making the passage in order to draw Hannibal out of Italy and, shifting its scene, to bring the war to an end in Africa. To see that sight there had flocked to the harbour a crowd made up, not only of all the inhabitants of Lilybaeum, but of all the delegations from Sicily which had arrived to show their respect as an escort to Scipio, and of those that had followed the praetor of the province, Marcus Pomponius. In addition the legions that were being left behind in Sicily had turned out to escort their fellow-soldiers. And not only was the fleet a spectacle for those who viewed it from the shore, but also the whole densely crowded shore on this side and that was a sight for those who were sailing.

XXVII. When the day dawned Scipio on his flagship, after silence had been secured by a herald, prayed: “Ye gods and goddesses who inhabit seas and lands, I pray and beseech you that whatever under my authority has been done, is being done, and shall henceforth be done, may prosper for me, for the Roman people and the commons, for allies and Latins who by land, by sea, and by rivers follow the

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<sup>5</sup> postque gerentur *A<sup>4</sup>H* (-untur) *JK* Eds. : *om. P(1)N.*

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sectam, imperium auspiciumque terra mari amnibusque<sup>1</sup> secuntur, bene verruntur, eaque vos omnia bene iuvetis, bonis auctibus auxitis; salvos incolumesque victis perduellibus victores, spoliis decoratos, praeda onustos<sup>2</sup> triumphantesque mecum domos reduces sistatis; inimicorum hostiumque ulciscendorum copiam faxitis; quaeque populus Carthaginiensis in civitatem nostram facere molitus est, ea ut mihi populoque Romano in civitatem Carthaginiensium exempla edendi facultatem detis."

Secundum has preces cruda exta caesa<sup>3</sup> victima, uti mos est, in mare proiecit tubaque signum dedit proficisciendi. Vento secundo vehementi satis profecti<sup>4</sup> celeriter e conspectu terrae ablati sunt; et a meridie nebula occipit<sup>5</sup> ita vix ut concursus navium inter se vitarent; lenior ventus in alto factus. Noctem insequentem eadem caligo obtinuit; sole orto est discussa, et addita vis vento. Iam terram cernebant. Haud ita multo post gubernator Scipioni ait non plus quinque milia passuum Africam abesse; Mercuri promunturum se cernere; si iubeat eo dirigi, iam in portu fore omnem classem. Scipio, ut in conspectu terra fuit, precatus deos<sup>6</sup> uti bono rei

<sup>1</sup> amnibusque *P(1) except D, which om.) NHJK Conway (retaining the antique flavour suited to a formal prayer)*: amnibus rejected by Held, Madvig and most recent Eds.

<sup>2</sup> praeda onustos *om. SpHJK.*

<sup>3</sup> caesa *JK Aldus, Froben*: cesam (with victimam) *A\*N\*H*: *om. P(1)N.*

<sup>4</sup> profecti *P(1)NHJK Eds.*: proiecti conj. Weissenborn, Conway.

<sup>5</sup> occipit *PRSpJK*: occuperat *Aldus*: accepit *C*: ex-B *Eds.*: cepit *MAN.*

<sup>6</sup> deos *om. P(1)N.*

lead, authority and auspices of the Roman people B.C. 204 and of myself; and that ye lend your kind aid to all those acts and make them bear good fruit; that when the foe has been vanquished, ye bring the victors home with me safe and sound, adorned with spoils, laden with booty, and in triumph; that ye grant power to punish opponents and enemies; and that ye bestow upon the Roman people and upon me the power to visit upon the state of the Carthaginians the fate that the people of Carthage have endeavoured to visit upon our state.”

Immediately after this prayer a victim was slain and Scipio threw the organs raw into the sea, as is customary,<sup>1</sup> and by a trumpet gave the signal to sail. A favouring wind sufficiently strong quickly carried them out of sight of land. And after mid-day they encountered a fog, so that with difficulty could they avoid collisions between the ships. In the open sea the wind was gentler. Through the following night the same fog held; and when the sun was up, it was dispersed and the wind increased in force. Already they were in sight of land. Not very long afterwards the pilot told Scipio that Africa was not more than five miles away; that they sighted the Promontory of Mercury;<sup>2</sup> if he should order him to steer for that, the entire fleet would soon be in port. Scipio, now that the land was visible, after a prayer to the gods that his sight of Africa might be a

<sup>1</sup> For this practice when ships were setting sail with ceremony v. Cicero *N.D.* III. 51 *fin.*; cf. Servius on *Aeneid* V. 238; Macrobius *Sat.* III. ii. 2 ff.

<sup>2</sup> This headland, now Cap Bon (Ras Adar), marks the eastern entrance to the Bay of Tunis. It is 45 miles from Carthage, and is the nearest point to Sicily. Cf. Pliny *N.H.* V. 23 f.; Strabo XVII. iii, 13, 16; Mela I. 34.

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publicae suoque Africam viderit,<sup>1</sup> dare vela et alium  
 10 infra navibus accessum petere iubet. Vento eodem  
 ferebantur; ceterum nebula sub idem ferme tempus  
 quo pridie exorta conspectum terrae ademit, et ventus  
 11 premente nebula cecidit. Nox deinde incertiora  
 omnia fecit; itaque ancoras, ne aut inter se con-  
 currerent naves aut terrae<sup>2</sup> inferrentur, iecere.  
 12 Ubi inluxit, ventus idem coortus nebula disiecta  
 aperuit omnia Africae litora. Scipio, quod esset  
 proximum promunturium percunatus, cum Pulchri  
 promunturium id vocari audisset. "Placet omen"  
 13 inquit; "huc dirigite naves." Eo classis decurrit,  
 copiaeque omnes in terram expositae sunt.

Prosperam navigationem sine terrore ac tumultu  
 fuisse permultis Graecis Latinisque auctoribus credidi.

14 Coelius unus,<sup>3</sup> praeterquam quod non mersas fluctibus  
 naves, ceteros omnes caelestes maritosque terrores,  
 postremo abreptam tempestate ab Africa classem ad  
 insulam Aeginiurum inde aegre correctum cursum ex-

<sup>1</sup> viderit *P(1)N Eds.* : videret *A'HJK*.

<sup>2</sup> inter se . . . aut terrae *N'HJK* (*and A'*, *om.* *aut*)  
*interrae P(3)*, *om. 25 letters*.

<sup>3</sup> Coelius (*or cael-*) unus *M<sup>3</sup>A'HJK* : caecilius (*or cec-*  
*P(1)N*.

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* farther along the coast. Cf. Caesar *B.G.* IV. 36 *fin.*  
 He meant *inside* the Bay (not towards the Emporia), there  
 being no harbour on either side of the Cape. His order to the  
 helmsmen (at Lilybaeum, xxv. 12) to steer for the Emporia  
 was probably a ruse (cf. note there); or it merely named a  
 rendezvous in case the convoy should be scattered. A com-  
 plete change in his plan for the campaign could not be made  
 suddenly.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* of Apollo, translating Polybius' τοῦ Καλοῦ ἀκροτήρου  
 (III. xxii. 5), who in the same passage has τὸ Καλὸν ἀκροτήρου

blessing to the state and to himself, gave orders to make sail and to seek another landing-place for the ships farther down.<sup>1</sup> They were running before the same wind; but at about the same time as on the preceding day a fog appeared cutting off the sight of land, and under the weight of fog the wind dropped. Then night added to all their uncertainties; so they cast anchor, that the ships might not collide or drift onto the shore. When day dawned the same wind sprang up and by dispelling the fog revealed the whole African coast. Scipio inquired what the nearest promontory was, and upon being told it was called Cape of the Fair God,<sup>2</sup> he said "A welcome omen! steer your ships this way!" There the fleet came into port and all the troops were disembarked.<sup>3</sup>

That the passage was successful and free from alarm and disorder I have accepted on the authority of many Greek and Latin writers. Coelius<sup>4</sup> alone describes all the terrors of weather and waves—everything short of saying that the ships were overwhelmed by the seas. He relates that finally the fleet was swept by the storm away from Africa to the island of Aegimurus,<sup>5</sup> and that from there the proper

(xxiii. 1). Cf. *Apollinis*, XXX. xxiv. 8; Pliny *N.H.* *l.c.*; Mela I. 34; Ἀπολλώνιον, Dio Cass. (Zonaras) IX. xii. 3 and Strabo XVII. *l.c.* The modern name is Ras Sidi Ali el Mekki.

<sup>3</sup> Inside the Cape, probably near modern Porto Farina, not far from Utica; Appian *Pun.* 13 *fin.*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. xxv. 3. We may, however, suspect a slip of Livy's memory, or an error in verification of a source. See p. 316, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> North-west of the Prom. Mercurii (Hermaeum) and about 30 miles north-east of Carthage, now el Djamur (also called Zembra); XXX. xxiv. 9, 11 *f.*; Strabo II. v. 19 *fin.*; VI. ii. 11 *fin.* Pliny has two Aegimoeroe, V. 42.

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A.U.C. 15 ponit, et prope obrutis navibus iniussu imperatoris  
 550 scaphis, haud secus quam naufragos, milites sine ar-  
 mis cum ingenti tumultu in terram evasisse.

XXVIII. Expositis copiis Romani castra in pro-  
 2 ximis tumulis metantur. Iam non in maritimos modo  
 agros conspectu primum classis, dein tumultu egre-  
 dientium in terram pavor terrorque pervenerat, sed  
 3 in ipsas urbes. Neque enim hominum modo turba,  
 mulierum puerorumque agminibus immixta, omnes  
 passim compleverat vias, sed pecora quoque prae se  
 agrestes agebant, ut relinqui subito Africam diceres.  
 4 Urbibus vero ipsis maiorem quam quem secum attu-  
 lerant terrorem inferebant; praecipue Carthagini<sup>1</sup>  
 5 prope ut captae tumultus fuit. Nam post M. Atilium  
 Regulum et L. Manlium<sup>2</sup> consules, annis prope  
 quinquaginta, nullum Romanum exercitum viderant  
 praeter praedatorias classes, quibus escensiones in  
 6 agros maritimos<sup>3</sup> factae erant, raptisque quae obvia  
 fors fecerat prius recursum semper ad naves quam  
 7 clamor agrestes conciret fuerat. Eo maior tum fuga  
 pavorque in urbe fuit. Et hercule neque exercitus  
 domi validus neque dux quem opponerent erat.  
 Hasdrubal Gisgonis filius genere, fama, divitiis, regia  
 tum etiam adfinitate longe primus civitatis erat;

<sup>1</sup> Carthagini *M<sup>1</sup>* or *M<sup>2</sup>A<sup>4</sup>N<sup>1</sup>HJK* Aldus, *Froben*: -nis  
*P(1)M<sup>2</sup>N*.

<sup>2</sup> Regulum . . . Manlium *om.* *P(1)N*, supplied from  
*A<sup>4</sup>N<sup>4</sup>HJK*.

<sup>3</sup> maritimos *om.* *P(1)N*.

<sup>1</sup> This entire statement about storm and wreck is disproved by a fragment (41) of Coelius' Book VI preserved by Nonius *s.v. metari*, p. 199 L. The fragment unquestionably refers to this landing. Cf. H. Peter, *Hist. Rom. Rell.* I. 159; Gsell *op. cit.* 212.

course was regained with difficulty; and that as the b.c. 204 ships were all but sinking the soldiers, without waiting for an order from the general, made their way to the shore in small boats, as though they had been shipwrecked, with no arms and in the greatest disorder.<sup>1</sup>

XXVIII. After landing their troops the Romans laid out a camp on the nearest heights. By this time, first from the sight of the fleet, and then from the commotion produced as they were disembarking, apprehension and panic had reached not only the farms near the coast but even into the cities. For it was not merely the massed humanity that, interspersed with columns of women and children, had filled all the roads in every direction, but cattle also driven before them by the farmers, so that one would have said Africa was suddenly being deserted. But even in the cities they inspired greater alarm than that which they had brought with them. Especially at Carthage the uproar was almost like that of a captured city. For since the consulship of Marcus Atilius Regulus and Lucius Manlius, for almost fifty years<sup>2</sup> they had seen no Roman forces except only predatory fleets, by means of which descents had been made on farms near the sea; and seizing whatever chance had put in their way, the men had always raced back to their ships before the outcry should arouse the farmers. All the greater at this time was the flight and alarm in the city. They lacked also, to be sure, both a strong army at home and a general to confront the enemy. Hasdrubal the son of Gisgo was far the foremost man of the state in family, reputation, wealth, and at that time also by reason

<sup>2</sup> In reality just 52 years (256-204 b.c.); cf. xxvi. 2, note.

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8 sed eum ab ipso<sup>1</sup> illo Scipione aliquot proeliis fusum  
 pulsumque in Hispania meminerant, nec magis  
 ducem duci<sup>2</sup> parem quam tumultuarium exercitum  
 suum Romano exercitui esse. Itaque, velut si urbem  
 extemplo adgressurus Scipio foret, ita conclamatum  
 ad arma est, portaeque raptim clausae et armati in  
 muris vigiliaeque et stationes dispositae, ac nocte  
 10 insequenti vigilatum est. Postero die quingenti<sup>3</sup>  
 equites, speculatum ad mare turbandoque egre-  
 dientes ex navibus missi, in stationes Romanorum  
 11 inciderunt. Iam enim<sup>4</sup> Scipio, classe Uticam missa,  
 ipse haud ita multum progressus a mari tumulos  
 proximos ceperat; equites et in stationibus locis  
 idoneis posuerat et per agros miserat praedatum.

XXIX. Hi cum Carthaginiensi equitatu proelium  
 cum commisissent, paucos in ipso certamine, plerosque  
 fugientes persecuti, in quibus praefectum quoque  
 2 Hannonem, nobilem iuvenem, occiderunt. Scipio non  
 agros modo circa vastavit, sed urbem etiam proximam  
 3 Afrorum satis opulentam cepit; ubi praeter cetera,  
 quae extemplo in naves onerarias imposita missaque  
 in Siciliam erant, octo milia liberorum servorumque  
 capitum<sup>5</sup> sunt captata.

4 Laetissimus tamen Romanis<sup>6</sup> in principio rerum

<sup>1</sup> ipso om. *P(1)N*.

<sup>2</sup> duci *A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>HJK*: om. *P(1)N*: duci credebant *Madvig.*  
*Emend.*

<sup>3</sup> quingenti (*i.e.* d) *A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>HJK Aldus, Froben*: om. (*after*  
*die*) *P(1)N*.

<sup>4</sup> Iam enim *A<sup>1</sup>HJK Eds.*: tamenim *P*: tamen *P<sup>2</sup>(1)N*.

<sup>5</sup> capitum *P(1)N Eds.*: om. *SpHJK*.

<sup>6</sup> Romanis *A<sup>5</sup>* or *A<sup>9</sup>N<sup>1</sup>HJK Aldus, Froben*: omnis  
*P(1)(C?)N*: omnibus *Gronovius*.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxxiv. 14 ff., where this engagement may appear to be  
 repeated with the same result for a commander of the same

of his relationship to a king. But they recalled that <sup>B.C. 204</sup> in a number of battles in Spain he had been routed and beaten by the self-same Scipio, and that the one general was no more a match for the other than was their own irregular army for the Roman army. Accordingly they sounded the alarm, as if Scipio were intending forthwith to attack the city. The gates were hastily closed also and armed men posted on the walls, sentries and outposts stationed, while the following night no one slept. Next day five hundred horsemen, sent to the coast to reconnoitre and to break up the disembarkation, encountered Roman outposts. For already Scipio, after sending the fleet towards Utica, had himself advanced not very far from the sea and taken the nearest heights. He had stationed cavalry on outpost duty in suitable positions and had sent others to plunder the countryside.

XXIX. These horsemen, having engaged in battle with the Carthaginian cavalry, slew a few in the actual engagement, many more as they pursued them in flight, among the number Hanno<sup>1</sup> also, the commander, a young man of rank. Scipio not only did waste the farms all around but also captured the nearest city of the Africans, quite a prosperous place. There, in addition to the other spoils which had been at once loaded on transports and sent to Sicily, eight thousand free persons and slaves were taken captive.

What brought the greatest joy, however, to the Romans at the beginning of the campaign was the

<sup>1</sup>ame, a common name, however, at Carthage. But v. p. 343 and notes.

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gerendarum adventus fuit Masinissae; quem quidam cum ducentis haud amplius equitibus, plerique cum 5 duum milium equitatu tradunt venisse. Ceterum cum longe maximus omnium aetatis suae regum hic fuerit plurimumque rem Romanam iuverit, operaे pretium videtur exceedere paulum<sup>1</sup> ad enarrandum quam varia fortuna usus sit in amittendo recuperandoque paterno regno.

6 Militanti pro Carthaginiensibus in Hispania pater ei moritur; Galae nomen erat. Regnum ad fratrem regis Oezalcen pergrandem natu—ita mos apud 7 Numidas est—pervenit. Haud multo post Oezalce quoque mortuo maior ex duobus filiis eius Capussa, puero admodum altero, paternum imperium accepit. 8 Ceterum cum magis iure gentis quam auctoritate inter suos aut viribus obtineret regnum, exstitit quidam Mazaetullus nomine, non alienus sanguine<sup>2</sup> regibus, familiae semper inimicæ ac de imperio varia fortuna 9 cum iis qui tum obtinebant certantis. Is concitatis popularibus, apud quos invidia regum magnæ auctoritatis erat, castris palam positis descendere regem in 10 aciem ac dimicare de regno coegit. In eo proelio Capussa cum multis principum cecidit. Gens Maesuliorum omnis in dicionem imperiumque Mazae 11 tulli concessit. Regio tamen nomine abstinuit contentusque nomine modico tutoris puerum Lacumazen, qui stirpis regiae supererat, regem appellat. 12 Carthaginiensem nobilem feminam, sororis filiam

<sup>1</sup> paulum *P(1)N*: paululum *HJK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>2</sup> sanguine, *N<sup>1</sup> or N<sup>2</sup>HJK* have a sanguine.

<sup>1</sup> The long digression (4½ chapters) is probably from a lost portion of Polybius, who had a personal acquaintance with Masinissa; for in his IX. xxv. 4 a conversation with him is reported.

arrival of Masinissa. Some authorities relate that <sup>b.c. 204</sup> he came with no more than two hundred horsemen, the majority say with two thousand cavalry. But since he was far the greatest of all the kings of his time and gave the greatest aid to the Roman state, it seems worth while to digress a little to tell how checkered was the fortune he met with in losing and recovering his father's kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

While he was serving on the side of the Carthaginians in Spain his father died; Gala was his name. The kingdom came to the king's brother, Oezalces, a very aged man, such being the custom among the Numidians. Not long after, upon the death of Oezalces also, the elder of his two sons, Capussa, succeeded to his father's throne, the other son being a mere boy. But inasmuch as he held the kingship more by customary law of his people than by prestige among his countrymen or by his might, a man came forward named Mazaetullus, not unconnected by blood with the royal house and member of a family that had always been hostile and had contested the throne with different results against the house which was then in possession. After rousing his countrymen, among whom he had great influence because of the unpopularity of the royal family, and openly pitching his camp, he compelled the king to go out into battle-line and fight for his kingdom. In that battle Capussa fell with many of the leading men. The entire tribe of the Maesulii submitted to the sway and authority of Mazaetullus. Nevertheless he refrained from using the kingly title and, contented with the modest style of guardian, he gave the royal title to the boy Lacumazes, who also belonged to the royal line. He married a noble Carthaginian lady,

Hannibal, quae proxime Oezalci regi nupta fuerat, matrimonio sibi iungit spe Carthaginiensium societatis, et cum Syphace hospitium vetustum legatis missis renovat, omnia ea auxilia praeparans adversus Masinissam.

XXX. Et Masinissa, audita morte patrui, dein nece fratris patruelis, ex Hispania in Mauretaniam —Baga ea tempestate rex Maurorum erat—traiecit. Ab eo supplex infimis precibus auxilium itineri, quoniam bello non poterat, quattuor milia Maurorum impetravit. Cum iis,<sup>1</sup> praemisso nuntio ad paternos suosque amicos, cum ad fines regni pervenisset, quingenti ferme Numidae ad eum convenerunt. Igitur Mauris inde, sicut convenerat, retro ad regem remissis, quamquam aliquanto minor spe multitudo nec cum qua tantam rem adgredi satis auderet convenerat,<sup>2</sup> ratus agendo ac moliendo vires quoque ad agendum aliquid conlecturum, proficiscenti ad Syphacem Lacumazae regulo ad Thapsum occurrit. Trepidum agmen cum in urbem refugisset, et<sup>3</sup> urbem Masinissa primo impetu capit et ex regiis alios tradentes se recipit,<sup>4</sup> alios vim parantes occidit; pars maxima cum ipso puero inter tumultum ad

<sup>1</sup> iis *PRM Aldus, Froben*: hiis *J*: his *CR<sup>2</sup>BDANHK*.

<sup>2</sup> convenerat *Alschefski, Madvig, Eds.*: -venera *P*: -venere *P<sup>2</sup>(3)*; -venire *AN*: -veniret (*but after multitudo*) *AJK*; (*after auderet*) *Aldus, Froben*: *om. N'H*: *Conway considers it an intrusion.*

<sup>3</sup> et *om. P(1)N Aldus, as also et in next line.*

<sup>4</sup> recipit *P(1)N*: recipit *Sp(apparently)HJK Aldus.*

daughter of Hannibal's sister and lately wedded to King Oezalces. He did so in the hope of an alliance with the Carthaginians, and with Syphax he renewed a guest-friendship of long standing, sending envoys for the purpose. All these advantages he was preparing against Masinissa.

XXX. And Masinissa having heard of the death of his uncle, and then that his cousin had fallen, crossed over from Spain into Mauretania, Baga being at that time king of the Mauri. From Baga with the most abject entreaties as a suppliant he obtained four thousand Mauri as an escort on his journey, being unable to obtain aid for the war. When with that escort, after first sending word to his father's friends and his own, he had reached the frontier of the kingdom, about five hundred Numidians joined him. Therefore from that point he sent back the Mauri to their king, as it had been agreed, and although the numbers that had joined him were considerably smaller than he had hoped for, and not such that he quite dared to attempt so great a venture with them, he thought that by vigorous action he would also gather up the forces needed for some success. Hence as Lacumazes, the prince, was on his way to Syphax, Masinissa encountered him near Thapsus.<sup>1</sup> When the frightened column had sought refuge in the city, Masinissa not only took the city by the first assault but received the surrender of some of the royal escort and slew others attempting resistance. The majority together with the boy himself in the midst of the commotion made

<sup>1</sup> Unknown; probably a corruption of the name. Not to be confused with the distant city famous for Julius Caesar's victory, on the coast south of Hadrumetum (Sousse).

Syphacem, quo primum intenderant iter, pervenerunt.

7 Fama huius modicae rei in principio rerum prospere actae convertit ad Masinissam Numidas, adfluebantque undique ex agris vicisque veteres milites Galae et incitabant iuvenem ad reciperandum paternum regnum.

8 Numero militum aliquantum Mazaetullus superabat; nam et ipse eum exercitum quo Capussam vicerat et ex receptis post caedem regis aliquot habebat, et puer Lacumazes ab Syphace auxilia 9 ingentia adduxerat. Quindecim milia peditum Mazaetullo, decem milia equitum erant, quibus cum Masinissa nequaquam tantum peditum equitumve <sup>1</sup> habente acie conflixit. Vicit tamen et veterum militum virtus et prudentia inter Romana et Punica 10 arma exercitati ducis; regulus cum tutore et exigua Masaesuliorum manu in Carthaginiensem agrum perfugit. Ita recuperato regno paterno Masinissa, quia sibi adversus Syphacem <sup>2</sup> haud paulo maiorem restare dimicationem cernebat, optimum ratus cum fratre pa- 11 truele gratiam reconciliare, missis qui et puero spem facerent, si in fidem Masinissae sese permisisset, futurum eum in eodem honore quo apud Galam Oezalces 12 quondam fuisse, et <sup>3</sup> Mazaetullo praeter inpun- tatem sua omnia cum fide restitui sponderent, ambo 13 praecoptantes exilio modicam domi fortunam, omnia,

<sup>1</sup> -ve P(1)N Aldus: -que Sp?HJK Froben 2.

<sup>2</sup> adversus Syphacem P<sup>2</sup>(1)N Aldus: cum -ee Sp?HJK Froben 2.

<sup>3</sup> et, after this P(1)NHJK have qui; but et qui does not balance missis qui et above: qui is rejected by most Editors, retained by Conway.

their way to Syphax, towards whom they had originally directed their march. The report of this modest success at the beginning of the campaign brought the Numidians over to Masinissa, and from farms and villages on all sides old soldiers of Gala flocked to him; and they spurred the young man on to recover the kingdom of his father.

In the number of his soldiers Mazaetullus was considerably superior; for not only did he himself have the army with which he had defeated Capussa, and a number of men whom he had taken over after the slaying of the king, but also the young Lacumazes had brought up very large auxiliary forces from Syphax. Fifteen thousand infantry Mazaetullus had and ten thousand cavalry; and with these he engaged in battle with Masinissa, who was far from having so great a number of infantry or cavalry. Nevertheless victory was won by the courage of the veteran soldiers and the sagacity of a general who had been trained in the war between Roman and Carthaginian armies. The prince with his guardian and a very small band of Masaesulians sought refuge in the territory of Carthage. So, having recovered his father's kingdom, Masinissa, seeing that his remaining conflict against Syphax would be considerably more serious, thought it best to be reconciled with his cousin. Accordingly he sent men to encourage the boy to hope that, if he should put himself in the hands of Masinissa, he would be held in the same honour as Oezalces had formerly been in the house of Gala. To Mazaetullus also they were to pledge, besides impunity, the faithful restoration of all his property. By this means, as they preferred a modest fortune at home to exile, Masinissa won

## LIVY

ne id fieret, Carthaginiensibus de industria agentibus,  
ad sese perduxit.

XXXI. Hasdrubal tum forte, cum haec gerebantur, apud Syphacem erat; qui Numidae, haud sane multum ad se pertinere credenti utrum penes Lacumazen an Masinissam regnum Maesuliorum esset, 2 falli eum magnopere ait, si Masinissam eisdem contentum fore quibus patrem Galam aut patrum eius Oezalceen credit: multo maiorem indolem in eo animi ingeniique esse quam in ullo gentis eius um- 3 quam fuisse; saepe eum in Hispania rarae inter homines virtutis specimen dedisse sociis pariter hostibusque. Et Syphacem et Carthaginienses, nisi orientem illum ignem oppressissent, ingenti mox incendio, cum iam nullam opem ferre possent, arsuros; 4 adhuc teneras et fragiles vires eius esse, vixdum coalescens foventis regnum. Instando stimulandoque pervincit<sup>1</sup> ut exercitum ad fines Maesuliorum 5 admoveat atque in agro de quo saepe cum Gala non verbis modo disceptatum, sed etiam armis certatum fuerat, tamquam haud dubie iuris sui, castra locet. Si quis arceat, quod<sup>2</sup> maxime opus sit, acie dimica- 6 turum; sin per metum agro cedatur, in medium regnum<sup>3</sup> eundum. Aut sine certamine concessuros in dicionem eius Maesulios aut nequaquam pares futuros armis.

<sup>1</sup> pervincit *P(1)NH*; -vicit *JK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>2</sup> quod *N<sup>1</sup> or N<sup>2</sup>HK Aldus, Froben*: id quod *x most Eds.*: ut quod *P(1)N*.

<sup>3</sup> regnum *P(1)N Aldus, Eds.*: regni *SpN'JK Froben 2, Conway.*

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<sup>1</sup> For a previous visit, presumably at Siga (west of Oran), cf. XXVIII. xvii *fin.* and xviii.

them both over, although the Carthaginians pur- B.C. 204  
posely did everything to prevent it.

XXXI. Hasdrubal happened to be with Syphax<sup>1</sup> all the time that these events were in progress. And when the Numidian said he believed it was of no great importance to him whether the kingdom of the Maesulians was in the hands of Lacumazes or of Masinissa, Hasdrubal said he was very much mistaken if he believed that Masinissa would be content with what had satisfied his father Gala or his uncle Oezalces; that he had in him a far greater gift of spirit and talent than had ever been found in any man of his tribe; that often in Spain he had given allies and enemies alike evidence of a courage rare among men. He added that unless Syphax and the Carthaginians should put out that incipient flame, they would be consumed later by a mighty conflagration when they could no longer cope with it; that Masinissa's strength was still slight and frail, while he was nursing a kingdom whose wounds had barely begun to heal. By insisting and goading him on Hasdrubal brought him to the point of advancing his army to the frontier of the Maesulians and pitching his camp as though upon soil to which he was unquestionably entitled—land concerning which he had not only argued with Gala repeatedly but had contended also in arms. If anyone should try to drive him away he would fight a regular battle, which would be greatly to his advantage. But if Masinissa in fear should withdraw from that region they must advance into the interior of the kingdom. Either the Maesulians would submit without resistance to the rule of Syphax, or they would be no match for him in arms.

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- 7 His vocibus incitatus Syphax Masinissae bellum infert, et primo certamine Maesulios fundit fugatque. Masinissa cum paucis equitibus ex acie in montem—  
 8 Bellum<sup>1</sup> incolae vocant—perfugit. Familiae aliquot cum mapalibus pecoribusque suis—ea pecunia illis est—persecuti<sup>2</sup> sunt regem; cetera Maesuliorum  
 9 multitudo in dicionem Syphacis concessit. Quem ceperant exsules montem herbidus aquosusque est; et quia pecori bonus alendo erat, hominum quoque carne ac lacte vescentium abunde sufficiebat alimentis.  
 10 Inde nocturnis primo ac furtivis incursionibus, deinde aperto latrocinio infesta omnia circa esse; maxime uri Carthaginiensis ager, quia et plus praedae quam  
 11 inter Numidas et latrocinium tutius erat. Iamque adeo licenter eludebant ut ad mare devectam praedam venderent mercatoribus appellentibus naves ad id ipsum, pluresque quam iusto saepe in bello Carthaginienses<sup>3</sup> caderent caperenturque.  
 12 Deplorabant ea apud Syphacem Carthaginienses infensumque et ipsum ad reliquias belli persequendas instigabant. Sed vix regium videbatur latronem vagum in montibus consecitari; XXXII. Bucar ex praefectis regis,<sup>4</sup> vir acer et inpiger, ad id delectus. Ei data quattuor milia peditum, duo equitum;

<sup>1</sup> Bellum *P(1)N*: balbum *HJK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>2</sup> persecuti *P(3)SpHJ Froben* 2: pro- *AN Aldus.*

<sup>3</sup> Carthaginienses *P(1)N Aldus*: -sium *Sp?A\*HJK Froben* 2.

<sup>4</sup> regis *P(1)NH*: regiis *JK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>1</sup> No Mount Bellus is known.

<sup>2</sup> Thatched huts that were portable, often resembling an overturned ship, as Sallust describes them; *Jug. xviii. 8.*

Aroused by these words Syphax made war upon <sup>B.C. 204</sup> Masinissa and in the first engagement routed the Maesulians and put them to flight. Masinissa with a few horsemen fled from the battle-field to a mountain called Bellus by the natives.<sup>1</sup> A considerable number of households followed the king with their portable huts<sup>2</sup> and their flocks, the latter being their only wealth. But the rest, the mass of the Maesulians, submitted to the rule of Syphax. The mountain which the fugitives had occupied is well supplied with grass and water and being suitable for the support of cattle, it was quite capable of sustaining men also who lived on flesh and milk. From it they rendered all the surrounding country unsafe, first by stealthy raids in the night and later by open brigandage. Most of all it was Carthaginian territory that was ravaged, because there was more plunder than among the Numidians, and also brigandage was safer. By this time they played their game so openly as to bring their booty down to the sea and sell it to traders who put in with their vessels for that very purpose; and more Carthaginians fell or were captured than occurred often in regular warfare.

The Carthaginians complained of all this to Syphax and, as he also was enraged, they spurred him on to complete what was left of the war. But it seemed hardly becoming for a king to pursue a nomad bandit in the mountains. XXXII. One of the king's officers, Bucar, a man of spirit and energy, was chosen for the purpose. Four thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry were given to him; and he

Cf. *ibid.* xlvi. 5; Pliny *N.H.* V. 22 (carried on wagons); Vergil *Georg.* III. 340.

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A.U.C.  
550

praemiorumque ingentium<sup>1</sup> spe oneratus, si caput  
 Masinissae rettulisset aut vivum—id vero in aesti-  
 mabile gaudium fore—cepisset. Palatos incurio-  
 seque<sup>2</sup> agentes improviso adortus, pecorum homi-  
 numque ingenti multitudine a praesidio armatorum  
 exclusa, Masinissam ipsum cum paucis in verticem  
 montis compellit. Inde prope ut iam<sup>3</sup> debellato, nec  
 praeda modo pecorum hominumque captorum missa  
 ad regem, sed copiis etiam, ut aliquanto maioribus  
 quam pro reliquiis belli, remissis, cum quingentis<sup>4</sup>  
 haud amplius peditibus ducentisque equitibus de-  
 gressum iugis Masinissam persecutus in valle arta  
 faucibus utrimque obsessis inclusit. Ibi<sup>5</sup> ingens  
 caedes Maesuliorum facta; Masinissa cum quin-  
 quaginta haud amplius equitibus per anfractus  
 montis ignotos sequentibus se eripuit. Tenuit tamen  
 vestigia Bucar adeptusque eum patentibus prope  
 Clupeam urbem campis ita circumvenit ut praeter  
 quattuor equites omnes ad unum interficerit.<sup>6</sup>  
 Cum iis ipsum quoque Masinissam saucium prope e-  
 manibus inter tumultum amisit. In conspectu erant  
 fugientes; ala equitum dispersa lato campo, quibus-  
 dam, ut occurrerent, per obliqua tendentibus,  
 quinque hostes sequebatur.<sup>7</sup> Amnis ingens fugientes

<sup>1</sup> ingentium *Sp? A\*HJK Froben* 2: -ti<sup>1</sup> *PR<sup>2</sup>* or *R<sup>1</sup>*: -ti  
*CMB DAN Aldus.*

<sup>2</sup> -que *Sp*(apparently) *C<sup>2</sup>HJK Aldus*: si *P(3)*: se *AN*: -que  
 se *CN<sup>2</sup>*.

<sup>3</sup> ut iam *HJK Aldus, Froben*: iam ut *P(1)N*.

<sup>4</sup> quingentis *om. P(1)N* (*i.e. loss of d*).

<sup>5</sup> Ibi *A\*HJK Froben*: ubi *P(1)N*.

<sup>6</sup> interficerit *Sp? HJK Froben* 2: -ficeret *P(1)N Aldus.*

<sup>7</sup> sequebatur *P(1)*: -bantur *C<sup>2</sup>NJK Aldus*: frequenta-  
 batur *A\*H*.

was laden with immense rewards in anticipation, if B.C. 204 he should bring back the head of Masinissa, or—and this would be a joy beyond price—should capture him alive. While they were scattered and off their guard Bucar unexpectedly attacked them, and separating the great number of cattle and men from their armed escort, he drove Masinissa himself with a few of his men up to the top of the mountain. Then, just as though the war had been already finished, he sent not only the booty in cattle and captives to the king but returned his troops also, as much too many for the remainder of the war. With not more than five hundred foot-soldiers and two hundred horsemen he pursued Masinissa (who had come down from the heights), and penned him in a gorge with both entrances blocked. There a great slaughter of the Maesulians took place; but Masinissa with no more than fifty horsemen following him through the unknown recesses of the mountain made his escape. Bucar, however, kept on the trail and overtaking him in an open plain near the city of Clupea<sup>1</sup> so overwhelmed him that he slew every one of his horsemen except four. With these men, in the midst of the uproar he let the wounded Masinissa himself slip away when almost in his hands. The fugitives were in sight; a squadron of cavalry, scattering over the breadth of the plain, while some, in order to head them off, pushed on obliquely, was pursuing five enemies. A broad stream<sup>2</sup> was the refuge of the

<sup>1</sup> Unknown, the name perhaps confused with that of the city on Cap Bon (XXVII. xxix. 7), now Kelibia. The place meant here was probably in north-western Tunisia or north-eastern Algeria.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the Bagradas (Medjerda), as streams of size are rare in the region.

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accepit—neque enim cunctanter, ut quos maior metus  
 urgeret, immiserant equos—raptique gurgite<sup>1</sup> in  
 obliquum praelati. Duobus in conspectu hostium in  
 praerapidum gurgitem haustis, ipse perisse creditus  
 ac duo reliqui equites cum eo inter virgulta ulterioris  
 ripae emerserunt.<sup>2</sup> Is finis Bucari sequendi fuit, nec  
 ingredi flumen auso nec habere credenti se iam quem  
 sequeretur. Inde vanus auctor absumpti Masinissae  
 ad regem rediit, missique qui Carthaginem gaudium  
 ingens nuntiarent; totaque Africa fama mortis  
 Masinissae repleta<sup>3</sup> varie animos adfecit.

Masinissa in spelunca occulta cum herbis curaret  
 volnus, duorum equitum latrocino per dies aliquot  
 vixit. Ubi primum ducta cicatrix, patique posse  
 visus<sup>4</sup> iactationem, audacia ingenti pergit ire ad  
 regnum repetendum; atque in ipso itinere haud plus  
 quadraginta<sup>5</sup> equitibus conlectis cum in Maesulios  
 palam iam quis esset ferens venisset, tantum motum  
 cum favore pristino tum gaudio insperato, quod quem  
 perisse crediderant incolumem cernebant, fecit ut  
 intra paucos dies sex milia peditum armatorum,  
 quattuor equitum ad eum convenienter,<sup>6</sup> iamque<sup>7</sup>  
 non in possessione modo paterni regni esset, sed  
 etiam socios Carthaginiensium populos Masaesu-  
 liorumque fines—id Syphacis regnum erat—vastaret.

<sup>1</sup> gurgite *P(3)*: *adding* et *AN Aldus, Froben*: *adding*  
 atque *HJK*.

<sup>2</sup> emerserunt *P(1)N Aldus*: tenuerunt (*om. inter*)  
*Sp?N\*HJK Froben 2.*

<sup>3</sup> repleta *P(1)NHJK Eds.*: perlata *Allen, Luchs*: repens  
 allata *M. Müller*: *om. Crévier, Madvig.*

<sup>4</sup> visus *SpA\*HJK Froben 2*: visa *P(1)N*: est visa *Aldus.*

<sup>5</sup> quadraginta (*in numerals*) *P(1)N*: xxx *SpHJK.*

<sup>6</sup> convenienter *P(1)N Aldus, Froben, Eds.*: confluenter  
*HJK Conway.*

<sup>7</sup> iamque *P(1)N Aldus*: atque *SpHJK Froben 2.*

fleeing; for without hesitation, under the pressure B.C. 204 of a greater fear, they put their horses into it; and swept by the whirling current, they were borne obliquely past the enemy. When two of them had been drowned in the swiftly whirling waters before the eyes of the enemy, Masinissa himself, whom they believed to have perished, and the two remaining horsemen with him made their way out among the bushes of the farther bank. That was the end of pursuit for Bucar, as he did not dare enter the river and believed he had no one left to pursue. Then he returned to the king, falsely reporting that Masinissa had been drowned; and messengers were sent to bring tidings of great joy to Carthage. And all Africa was filled with the story of Masinissa's death, producing different emotions.

While Masinissa in a hidden cave was nursing his wound with herbs, he lived for some days on booty brought in by the two horsemen. As soon as the wound had closed and it seemed possible for him to endure jolting, with great audacity he set out to reclaim his kingdom. And after picking up not more than forty horsemen as he rode along, he came among the Maesulians, openly announcing now who he was; thereupon he caused a great stir, owing to their old-time favour and especially to their unexpected joy because they saw a man safe and sound whom they had believed to have perished. The results were that within a few days six thousand armed foot-soldiers and four thousand horsemen flocked to him, and that now he was not merely in possession of his father's kingdom but was even laying waste lands of allies of the Carthaginians and those of the Masaesulians, the kingdom, that is, of

Inde irritato ad bellum Syphace, inter Cirtam Hippo nemque in iugis opportunorum ad omnia montium consedit.

XXXIII. Maiorem igitur iam rem Syphax ratus quam ut per praefectos ageret, cum filio iuvene—nomen Vermina erat—parte exercitus missa imperat ut circumducto agmine in se intentum hostem ab 2 tergo invadat. Nocte profectus Vermina, qui ex occulto adgressurus erat; Syphax autem interdiu aperto itinere, ut qui signis conlatis acie dimicaturus 3 esset, movit castra. Ubi tempus visum est quo pervenisse iam circummissi videri poterant, et ipse leni clivo ferente ad hostem, cum multitudine fretus tum praeparatis ab tergo insidiis, per adversum 4 montem erectam aciem dicit. Masinissa fiducia maxime loci, quo multo aequiore pugnaturus erat, et ipse dirigit suos. Atrox proelium et diu anceps fuit, loco et virtute militum Masinissam, multitudine 5 quae nimio maior erat Syphacem iuvante. Ea multitudo divisa, cum pars a fronte urgeret, pars ab tergo se circumfudisset, victoriam haud dubiam Syphaci de- dit, et ne effugium quidem patebat hinc a fronte, 6 hinc ab tergo inclusis. Itaque ceteri pedites equites que caesi aut capti;<sup>1</sup> ducentos ferme equites Masinissa circa se congregatos divisosque turmatim in

<sup>1</sup> aut capti *P(1)NJK Aldus*: *om. SpHx Froben* 2.

<sup>1</sup> This was Syphax' capital; XXX. xii. 3 7 f. Given to Masinissa, *ibid.* xliv. 12. Formidably defended by great cliffs. Later it was the city of Fronto, teacher of Marcus Aurelius. Rebuilt by Constantine, whose name it still bears. Cf. Appian *Pun.* 27; Strabo XVII. iii. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* Hippo Regius (Bône), not the Hippo meant on p. 218.

Syphax. Consequently, having provoked Syphax to <sup>B.C. 204</sup> war, he established himself between Cirta <sup>1</sup> and Hippo <sup>2</sup> on a mountain range that in every way was favourable.

XXXIII. Therefore Syphax, thinking the affair was now too serious to be conducted by his officers, sent a part of the army under his young son, Vermina by name, with orders to lead his column round and attack the rear of the enemy, whose eyes would be upon the king himself. Vermina, who was to make a secret attack, set out by night. But Syphax broke camp and marched by day along an open road, since he intended to engage in battle formation, standards against standards. When the interval seemed to be such that the flanking party might be thought to have reached their objective already, the king on his part, relying both on numbers and on the ambuscade prepared in the rear, led his line up along the face of the mountain over a gentle slope leading in the direction of the enemy. Masinissa also, relying chiefly upon the much more favourable ground on which he was to fight, led his men out into line. The battle was fierce and long indecisive, while position and the courage of his soldiers aided Masinissa and numbers that were far superior favoured Syphax. That great army in its two sections—since the one pressed the enemy hard in front, while the other had accomplished its flanking movement in the rear—gave no uncertain victory to Syphax; and there was not even a way of escape open to men enclosed both in front and in the rear. Accordingly the rest, infantry and cavalry, were slain or captured; but some two hundred horsemen were ordered by Masinissa to mass about him, divide into

tres partes erumpere iubet, loco praedicto in quem ex  
 7 dissipata convenienter fuga. Ipse qua intenderat inter  
 media tela hostium evasit; duae turmae haesere;  
 altera metu dedita hosti, pertinacior<sup>1</sup> in repugnando  
 8 telis obruta et confixa est. Verminam prope vestigiis  
 instantem in alia atque alia flectendo itinera eludens,  
 taedio et desperatione tandem fessum absistere  
 sequendo coegit; ipse cum sexaginta equitibus ad  
 9 minorem Syrtim pervenit. Ibi cum conscientia  
 egregia saepe repetiti regni paterni inter Punica  
 Emporia gentemque Garamantum omne tempus  
 usque<sup>2</sup> ad C. Laeli classisque Romanae adventum in  
 10 Africam consumpsit. Haec animum inclinant ut  
 cum modico potius quam cum magno praesidio  
 equitum ad Scipionem quoque postea venisse  
 Masinissam credam; quippe illa regnanti<sup>3</sup> multitudo,  
 haec paucitas exsulis fortunae conveniens est.

XXXIV. Carthaginiensesala equitum cum praefecto amissa, alio<sup>4</sup> equitatu per novum dilectum comparato, Hannonem Hamilcaris filium praeficiunt.  
 2 Hasdrubalem subinde ac Syphacem per litteras nuntiosque, postremo etiam per legatos arcessunt;

<sup>1</sup> pertinacior *P(1)NSp*(apparently) *Eds.*: after this *Conway adds* altera (*before it Aldus, Froben*: after repugnando *K*).

<sup>2</sup> Garamantum omne tempus usque *A'N'HJK* *Eds.*: *cm. P(1)N*.

<sup>3</sup> regnanti *P(3)JK* *Aldus, Froben*: -ntis *AN* *Gronovius*.

<sup>4</sup> alio *P(1)N*: alioque *HJK* *Aldus, Froben*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxv. 12 and notes.

<sup>2</sup> Their land, south of modern Tripolitania, is now Fezzan, reaching back into the Sahara; Herodotus IV. 174, 183; Strabo II. v. 33; XVII. iii. 19, 23; Pliny *N.H.* V. 36; VI. 209; Mela I. 23, 45; Tacitus *Ann.* III. 74.

<sup>3</sup> In agreement with Polybius XXI. xxi. 2.

three troops, and so to break their way through, a b.c. 204 place being assigned in advance at which they should meet after their flight in different directions. He himself escaped in the direction he had chosen through the midst of the enemies' weapons. Two of the squadrons were held fast; one in fear surrendered to the enemy, while the other, offering a more stubborn resistance, was overwhelmed by missiles and slain. Vermina, who was almost at his heels, Masinissa evaded by turning now into this road and now into that, and compelled him at last to abandon pursuit when he was weary and had given up hope. He himself made his way with sixty horsemen to the Lesser Syrtis. There, with the proud consciousness of having repeatedly made claim to his father's kingdom, in the region between the Punic Emporia<sup>1</sup> and the tribe of the Garamantes<sup>2</sup> he spent the whole time until the arrival in Africa of Gaius Laelius and the Roman fleet. These circumstances incline me to believe that Masinissa came to Scipio also later with a small force<sup>3</sup> of cavalry rather than with a large one. For such great numbers are suited to a monarch, while my small figures match the plight of an exile.

XXXIV. The Carthaginians, having lost a squadron of cavalry with its commander<sup>4</sup> and acquired other horse by a fresh levy, placed Hanno the son of Hamilcar<sup>5</sup> in command. Again and again they summoned Hasdrubal and Syphax by letters and messengers, finally even by envoys. They bade

<sup>4</sup> I.e. the Hanno named in xxix. 1 without further description than *nobilem iuvenem*.

<sup>5</sup> According to Dio Cassius this Hanno was the son of Hasdrubal son of Gisgo; frag. 57. 65 f. See below, p. 343, n. 2.

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Hasdrubalem opem ferre prope circum sessae patriae iubent; Syphacem orant ut Carthagini, ut<sup>1</sup> universae 3 Africae subveniat. Ad Uticam tum castra Scipio mille ferme passus ab urbe habebat, translata a mari, ubi paucos dies stativa coniuncta classi fuerant. 4 Hanno nequaquam satis valido non modo ad laces sendum hostem, sed ne ad tuendos quidem a populationibus agros equitatu accepto, id omnium primum egit ut per conquisitionem numerum<sup>2</sup> equitum 5 augeret; nec aliarum gentium aspernatus, maxime tamen Numidas—id longe primum equitum in Africa 6 est genus—conducit. Iam ad quattuor milia equitum habebat, cum Salaecam nomine urbem occupavit 7 quindecim ferme milia ab Romanis castris. Quod ubi Scipioni relatum est, “Aestiva sub tectis<sup>3</sup> equitatus!” inquit. “Sint vel plures, dum talem 8 ducem habeant.” Eo minus sibi cessandum ratus, quo illi segnius rem agerent, Masinissam cum equitatu praemissum portis obequitare atque hostem ad pugnam elicere iubet; ubi omnis multitudo se effudisset graviorque iam in certamine esset quam ut facile sustineri posset, cederet<sup>4</sup> paulatim; se in 9 tempore pugnae obventurum.<sup>5</sup> Tantum moratus quantum satis temporis praegresso visum ad elicien-

<sup>1</sup> ut  $P(1)N$ : et  $N^2HJK$  *Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>2</sup> egit . . . numerum  $A'N'HJK$ : erum  $P$ : numerum  $P^1$  or  $P^2(1)N$ .

<sup>3</sup> tectis  $P(1)N$ : tectis agere  $A'N'HJK$  *Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>4</sup> cederet  $P(1)N$  *Aldus*: cedere  $Sp?N^1HJK$  *Froben* 2.

<sup>5</sup> obventurum  $P(1)N$ : venturum  $HJK$  *Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>1</sup> Evidently south-west of Utica and on the same long ridge. Not the same situation as that in xxxv. 7. Cf. Veith, *op. cit.* 579 f.

Hasdrubal bring aid to his native city, now almost B.C. 204 invested; they entreated Syphax to come to the rescue of Carthage, to the rescue of all Africa. Scipio at that time had his camp near Utica, about a mile from the city,<sup>1</sup> having shifted it from the sea-shore, where for a few days the camp had been established close to the fleet. Hanno, who had received a cavalry force not strong enough even to prevent the devastation of farms, to say nothing of attacking the enemy, made it his very first task to increase the number of his horsemen by recruiting. And though he did not reject men from other tribes, it was nevertheless especially Numidians that he hired, they being easily the foremost type of cavalry in Africa. Already he had about four thousand horsemen when he seized a city named Salaeca,<sup>2</sup> some fifteen miles from the Roman camp. When this was reported to Scipio, he said "Cavalry summing under roofs! Let them be even more numerous, provided they have that kind of a commander!" Thinking that the more spiritless they were the less must he delay, he sent Masinissa forward with cavalry, ordering him to ride up to the gates and draw the enemy out into battle. When the whole multitude should have sallied out and in battle should then prove too powerful for them to withstand easily, he was gradually to retire. He would himself come into the battle at the right moment. After delaying only long enough to give time, as it seemed, for Masinissa, who had preceded him, to draw out the enemy, Scipio followed with the

<sup>2</sup> Mentioned only here and xxxv. 4. Possibly Henchir el Bey, west-south-west of Utica. Appian names a large town called Locha; *Pun.* 15.

dos hostes, cum Romano equitatu secutus, tegentibus tumulis, qui peropportune<sup>1</sup> circa viae flexus oppositi<sup>2</sup> erant, occultus processit.

10 Masinissa ex composito nunc terrentis, nunc timentis modo aut ipsis obequitabat portis aut cedendo, cum timoris simulatio audaciam hosti  
 11 faceret, ad insequendum temere eliciebat. Nondum omnes egressi erant, varieque dux fatigabatur alios vino et somno graves arma capere et frenare equos cogendo, aliis, ne sparsi et inconditi sine ordine, sine signis omnibus portis excurrerent, obsistendo.  
 12 Primo<sup>3</sup> incaute se invehentes Masinissa excipiebat; mox plures simul conferti porta effusi aequaverant certamen; postremo iam omnis equitatus proelio  
 13 cum adesset, sustineri ultra nequiere. Non tamen effusa fuga Masinissa, sed cedendo sensim impetus eorum excipiebat,<sup>4</sup> donec ad tumulos tegentes  
 14 Romanum equitatum pertraxit. Inde exorti equites et ipsi integris viribus et recentibus equis Hannoni Afrisque pugnando ac sequendo fessis se circumfudere: et Masinissa flexis subito equis in pugnam  
 15 rediit. Mille fere<sup>5</sup> qui primi agminis fuerant, quibus<sup>6</sup> haud facilis receptus fuit, cum ipso duce Hannone  
 16 interclusi atque imperfecti sunt; ceteros, ducis praeципue territos caede, effuse fugientes per triginta milia passuum victores secuti ad duo praeterea milia

<sup>1</sup> peropportune, *Sp?H Froben* 2 (*om. per-*).

<sup>2</sup> flexus oppositi *Sp?HJK Froben* 2 (*with suppositi AN Aldus*): flexu suppositi *P(3)*.

<sup>3</sup> Primo *P(1)NHJK Eds.*: primos *Perizonius, Riemann*.

<sup>4</sup> excipiebat *K Aldus, Froben, Eds.*: ac. *P(1)NHJK Alscheski, Conway*.

<sup>5</sup> fere *P(3)B<sup>2</sup>N*: ferme *BSp(apparently)HJK Aldus*.

<sup>6</sup> quibus *P(1)N Aldus*: ut quibus *SpA'HJK Froben* 2.

Roman cavalry and advanced unseen under cover of B.C. 204  
the hills, which were most conveniently placed on  
both sides of a winding road.

Masinissa according to plan, now as inspirer of terror, now as the terror-stricken, would either ride up to the very gates, or retiring would tempt them to reckless pursuit whenever his pretence of fear added to the enemy's boldness. Not yet had all sallied out, and the commander was exerting himself in various ways, as he compelled some men heavy with wine and sleep to take up their arms and bridle their horses, and stood in the way of others, to prevent their dashing out of all the gates, scattering and unformed, with no order, no standards. At first, as they rashly charged, Masinissa would meet their attack. Later larger numbers, dashing out of a gate in a mass, had made it an even combat. Finally, when all their cavalry was engaged, they could no longer be withstood. Yet Masinissa did not flee in disorder, but retiring gradually would meet their attacks until he drew them to the hills which concealed the Roman cavalry. Thereupon the horsemen dashing out, themselves with undiminished strength and their horses fresh, surrounded Hanno and the Africans, who were exhausted by fighting and pursuit; and Masinissa, suddenly turning his horses about, went into battle again. About a thousand men who had been at the head of the column, finding retreat difficult, were cut off and slain along with Hanno himself, their commander. As for the rest, who were terrified especially by the death of their commander, the victors pursuing them in headlong flight for thirty miles either captured or slew about two thousand more horse-

A.U.C. 17 equitum aut ceperunt aut occiderunt. Inter eos satis  
 550 constabat non minus ducentos Carthaginiensium  
 equites fuisse, et divitiis quosdam et genere inlustres.

XXXV. Eodem forte quo haec gesta sunt die  
 naves quae praedam in Siciliam vixerant cum com-  
 meatu rediere, velut ominatae ad praedam alteram  
 2 repetendam sese venisse. Duos eodem nomine  
 Carthaginiensium duces duobus equestribus proeliis  
 interfectos non omnes auctores sunt, veriti, credo, ne  
 falleret bis relata eadem res; Coelius quidem et  
 Valerius captum etiam<sup>1</sup> Hannonem tradunt.

3 Scipio praefectos equitesque, prout cuiusque opera  
 fuerat,<sup>2</sup> ante<sup>3</sup> omnes Masinissam insignibus donis  
 4 donat; et firmo praesidio Salaecae imposito ipse cum  
 cetero exercitu profectus, non agris modo quacumque  
 incedebat populatis, sed urbibus etiam quibusdam  
 5 vicisque expugnatis, late fuso terrore belli, septimo  
 die quam profectus erat magnam vim hominum et  
 pecoris et omnis generis praedae trahens in castra  
 redit, gravesque<sup>4</sup> iterum hostilibus<sup>5</sup> spoliis naves  
 6 dimittit. Inde omissis expeditionibus parvis popu-

<sup>1</sup> etiam *P(3)N Aldus*: *om. HJK Froben* 2.

<sup>2</sup> fuerat *P(3)JK*: fuerant *CANSpH*.

<sup>3</sup> ante *P(1)N Eds.*: et ante *N'HJK Aldus, Froben, Conway*.

<sup>4</sup> in . . . gravesque *A\*N'HJK Aldus, Froben*: -que  
*P(3)N, om. one line.*

<sup>5</sup> hostilibus *P(3)R<sup>2</sup>N*: hostium *HJK Aldus, Froben*.

<sup>1</sup> Livy appears to have followed a lost part of Polybius. Two annalists only are mentioned (next sentence) who accepted but one encounter with cavalry commanded by a Hanno. Cf. Appian *I.c.* 14; Dio Cass. *I.c.* (= Zonaras IX. xii. 4 f.). These tell the story quite differently. Modern historians are divided, some insisting that one of the battles is a doublet, *e.g.* De Sanctis III. 2. 581 f.; C.A.H. VIII. 100, n. 2. Not so Gsell, *op. cit.* 216, n. 4; Neumann, *Das Zeitalter*

men. Among these it was well established that b.c. 204 there were not less than two hundred Carthaginian horsemen, some of them distinguished both for wealth and noble blood.

XXXV. On the same day on which these events took place the ships which had carried booty to Sicily happened to return with supplies, as though with a presentiment that they had come for booty a second time. Not all the historians vouch for the slaying of two Carthaginian commanders of the same name in two cavalry battles, fearing, I suppose, unwittingly to tell the same story twice.<sup>1</sup> Coelius and Valerius, to be sure, relate that Hanno too was captured.<sup>2</sup>

Scipio bestowed conspicuous rewards upon the commanders and the horsemen according to the service each had rendered, and above all on Masinissa. And having posted a strong garrison at Salaeca, he set out himself with the rest of the army. Laying waste not merely the farms wherever he went, but storming certain cities also and villages, while the alarm of the war was spread far and wide, on the seventh day after his departure he returned to camp bringing a great number of men and cattle and much booty of every kind; and again he sent away the ships loaded down with spoils of the enemy. Then, giving up small raids and petty pillaging, he applied

*der punischen Kriege* 522; Karstedt, *Gesch. der Karthager* III. 337 f., 545.

<sup>2</sup> This is the statement of Appian also and Dio Cass. (Zon.), who add (*ll. cc.*) that the prisoner was exchanged for Masinissa's own mother. So much detail seems to establish the historicity of the second engagement reported. As for the first (xxix. 1), something more than identity of a name (especially of a common name) is needed to stamp it as necessarily fictitious.

## LIVY

lationibusque<sup>1</sup> ad oppugnandam Uticam omnes belli vires convertit, eam deinde, si cepisset, sedem ad 7 cetera exsequenda habiturus. Simul et a classe navales socii, qua ex parte urbs mari adluitur, et<sup>2</sup> terrestris exercitus ab<sup>3</sup> imminente prope ipsis 8 moenibus tumulo est admotus. Tormenta machinasque et advexerat secum, et ex Sicilia missa cum commeatu erant, et nova in armamentario, multis talium operum artificibus de industria inclusis, fiebant.

9 Uticensibus tanta undique mole circumcessis in Carthaginiensi populo, Carthaginiensibus in Hasdrubale ita, si is movisset Syphacem, spes omnis erat; sed desiderio indigentium auxilii tardius cuncta 10 movebantur. Hasdrubal intentissima conquisitione cum ad triginta milia peditum, tria equitum confecisset,<sup>4</sup> non tamen ante adventum Syphacis 11 castra proprius hostem movere est ausus. Syphax cum quinquaginta milibus peditum, decem equitum advenit, confestimque motis a Carthagine castris haud procul Utica munitionibusque Romanis consedit. 12 Quorum adventus hoc tamen momenti fecit ut

<sup>1</sup> parvis populationibusque, *P(3)N* *om. all but -que, one line.*

<sup>2</sup> et, before this *P(1)NHJK* have a repeated *simul*, rejected by Madvig, *Emend.*, retained by Conway.

<sup>3</sup> ab with abls. *SphJK* *Froben* 2, *Luchs*, *Conway*: ad with accusatives *P(1)N* *Aldus*, *Madvig*, *Weissenborn*<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> confecisset *P(1)N* *Aldus*: cf. *SpN<sup>4</sup>H<sup>2</sup>JK* *Froben* 2.

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<sup>1</sup> At the north-east end of a long ridge. Just beyond there was a small island on which lay the oldest quarter of the city, at least 200 years older than Carthage (cf. Gades, p. 141, n. 1). The Medjerda (Bagradas) has since changed its winding course far to the west, and coming within less than half a mile of the ridge, has brought down alluvial deposits so

all his military resources to the siege of Utica, with <sup>B.C. 204</sup> the intention of having that city, if captured, as a base henceforth for all remaining operations. From the fleet marines were brought up to the city on the side where it is washed by the sea,<sup>1</sup> and at the same time land forces on the side where a height almost overhung the very walls. Artillery and engines he had not only brought with him but they had also been sent from Sicily with the supplies, and new ones were being made in an arsenal where many makers of such devices had been interned for the purpose.<sup>2</sup>

For the people of Utica, completely beset by so great a force, all their hope was in the Carthaginian people; for the Carthaginians it was in Hasdrubal, provided he should prevail upon Syphax. But everything was moving more slowly than people in need of help desired. Although Hasdrubal by most intensive recruiting had made up a total of about thirty thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry, it was not before the arrival of Syphax, however, that he dared to move his camp nearer to the enemy. Syphax came with fifty thousand foot-soldiers and ten thousand horsemen, whereupon Hasdrubal, at once moving his camp away from Carthage, established himself not far from Utica and the Roman fortifications. Their arrival had this effect at any

extensive that the ruins of Utica are now about 7 miles from the nearest coast-line. Cf. Caesar *B.C.* II. xxiv. 1, 3; Polybius I. lxxv. 5; XV. ii. 8 (his name for the river is Macaras); Strabo XVII. iii. 13 *fin.*; Pliny *N.H.* V. 24. Appian *Pun.* 75 errs as to the distance from Carthage, which was 27 miles (*Itin. Ant.* 22).

<sup>2</sup> The artisans as captives had become public slaves of the Roman people. Cf. those taken at New Carthage, XXVI. xlvi. 2; Polybius X. xvii. 6, 9.

Scipio, cum quadraginta ferme dies nequiquam omnia  
 experiens obsedisset Uticam, abscederet inde inrito  
 13 incepto. Et—iam enim<sup>1</sup> hiems instabat—castra  
 hiberna in promunturio, quod tenui iugo continent  
 adhaerens in aliquantum maris spatium extenditur,  
 14 communit. Uno vallo et navalia<sup>2</sup> castra amplectitur;  
 iugo medio legionum castris inpositis, latus<sup>3</sup> ad  
 septentrionem versum subductae naves navalesque  
 socii tenebant, meridianam vallem ad alterum litus  
 15 devexam equitatus.<sup>4</sup> Haec in Africa usque ad  
 extremum autumni gesta.

XXXVI. Praeter convectum undique ex populatis  
 circa agris frumentum commeatusque ex Sicilia atque  
 Italia advectos, Cn. Octavius propraetor ex Sardinia  
 ab Ti. Claudio praetore, cuius ea provincia erat, in-  
 2 gentem vim frumenti advexit; horreaque non solum  
 ea<sup>5</sup> quae iam facta erant repleta, sed nova aedificata.  
 Vestimenta exercitui deerant; id mandatum Octavio  
 ut cum praetore ageret, si quid ex ea provincia com-  
 3 parari ac mitti posset. Ea quoque haud segniter cu-  
 rata res; mille ducentae togae brevi spatio et<sup>6</sup> duo-  
 decim milia tunicarum missa.

<sup>1</sup> Et iam (*or* etiam) enim *P(1)NHSp?*: iam enim *JK*  
*Froben* 2: etenim *Aldus*.

<sup>2</sup> navalia *Sp?HJK Froben* 2, *Eds.*: -lium *P(1)N Aldus*:  
 navalia et *Gronovius, Malvig, Conway*.

<sup>3</sup> latus *P(1)NHJK*: litus *Sp? Froben* 2: in litus *Aldus*.

<sup>4</sup> devexam equitatus *Sp?A\*N\*HJK Froben* 2: *om. P(1), one line.*

<sup>5</sup> ea *om. P(1)N*.

<sup>6</sup> et *P(3)R<sup>2</sup>N Aldus, Eds.*: *om. RHJK Froben* 2, *Conway*.

rate, that Scipio, after besieging Utica for about <sup>B.C. 204</sup>  
 forty days to no purpose in spite of all his attempts,  
 retired from the place, having failed in his under-  
 taking. And as winter was now at hand, he fortified  
 a winter camp on a promontory which is connected  
 with the mainland by a narrow ridge, but extends for  
 a considerable distance into the sea.<sup>1</sup> By a single  
 earthwork he enclosed the naval camp as well.  
 The camp of the legions being placed on the middle  
 of the ridge, its northern side was occupied by the  
 beached ships and the men to man them, its southern  
 slope, descending to the other shore, by the cavalry.  
 Such were the events in Africa down to the end of  
 autumn.

XXXVI. Besides the grain brought in on all sides  
 from ravaged farms of the whole region and supplies  
 transported from Sicily and Italy, Gnaeus Octavius,  
 the propraetor, brought a large amount of grain sent  
 from Sardinia by Tiberius Claudius, the praetor in  
 charge of that province. And not only were the  
 granaries filled which had been built already, but  
 also new granaries were built. Clothing was in-  
 sufficient for the army. Octavius was ordered to  
 obtain from the praetor whatever could be assembled  
 and sent from that province. This charge also was  
 carried out without delay. Twelve hundred togas  
 were sent in a short time and twelve thousand tunics.

<sup>1</sup> Caesar describes the site, still called Castra Corneli(an)a in his time and much later; *B.C.* II. xxiv; cf. Appian *B.C.* II. 44; Pliny *N.H.* V. 29; Ptolemy IV. 3. It was at the north-east end of a long ridge projecting into the sea (a cape Polybius calls it, XIV. vi. 7), and parallel to the ridge on which lay Utica, nearly two miles farther west, with a broad marsh between them. Caesar's text gives half the actual distance.

4 Aestate ea qua haec in Africa gesta sunt P. Sempronius consul cui Bruttii provincia erat in agro Crotonensi cum Hannibale in ipso itinere tumultuario proelio conflixit. Agminibus magis quam acie pugnatum est. Romani pulsi, et tumultu verius quam pugna ad mille et ducenti de exercitu consulis interfecti; in castra trepide redditum,<sup>1</sup> neque oppugnare tamen ea hostes ausi. Ceterum silentio proximae noctis profectus inde consul, praemisso nuntio ad P. Licinium proconsulem ut suas legiones admoveret, copias coniunxit. Ita duo duces, duo exercitus ad Hannibalem redierunt; nec mora dimicandi facta<sup>2</sup> est, cum consuli duplicatae vires, Poeno recens Victoria animos faceret.<sup>3</sup> In primam aciem suas legiones Sempronius induxit; in subsidiis locatae P. Licinii legiones. Consul principio pugnae aedem Fortunae Primigeniae vovit, si eo die hostes fudisset; composque eius voti fuit. Fusi ac fugati Poeni; supra quattuor milia armatorum caesa, paulo minus trecenti vivi capti et<sup>4</sup> equi quadraginta<sup>5</sup> et undecim militaria signa. Perculsus adverso proelio Hannibal Crotonem exercitum reduxit.<sup>6</sup>

10 Eodem tempore M. Cornelius consul in altera

<sup>1</sup> trepide redditum *P(1)N*: trepidi (-de *N'*) rediere *N'HJK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>2</sup> facta *P(1)N*: facta est *N'HJK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>3</sup> animos faceret *A<sup>5?</sup>(altern.)N<sup>4</sup>(altern.)HJK Aldus, Froben, Eds. (with fecisset Madvig, Riemann)*: animo esset *P(1)N*.

<sup>4</sup> et *P(1)N Aldus*: om. *SpHJK Froben 2.*

<sup>5</sup> quadraginta (*numeral*) *P(1)N*: quinquaginta *SpA'HJK.*

<sup>6</sup> reduxit *P(1)N Aldus*: ab- *Sp<sup>2</sup>HJK Froben 2.*

In the summer in which these events occurred in b.c. 204 Africa Publius Sempronius, the consul who had the land of the Bruttii as his province, engaged with Hannibal in the territory of Croton in an unorganized battle while actually on the march. They fought in columns rather than in battle-line. The Romans were worsted, and in what was in fact a confused struggle rather than a battle about twelve hundred of the consul's army were slain. There was a panic-stricken retreat to the camp, and yet the enemy did not venture to attack it. But in the silence of the following night the consul set out, and after despatching a messenger to Publius Licinius, the proconsul, urging him to bring up his legions, he united their forces. Thus two generals and two armies once more confronted Hannibal, and there was no delay in engaging, since doubled forces emboldened the consul, as his recent victory did the Carthaginian. Sempronius led his legions into the first line, while Publius Licinius' legions were posted in reserve. At the beginning of the battle the consul vowed a temple to Fortuna Primigenia,<sup>1</sup> if he should rout the enemy that day; and he had his wish. The Carthaginians were routed and put to flight. Over four thousand armed men were slain, a little less than three hundred were captured alive, and forty horses and eleven military standards taken. Discouraged by defeat, Hannibal led his army back to Croton.

At the same time Marcus Cornelius, the consul, in

<sup>1</sup> The temple, dedicated in 194 b.c., stood on the Quirinal inside the Porta Collina; cf. XXXIV. liii. 5 f. The worship of this goddess came from Praeneste (Palestrina). She was so named as Jupiter's first-born daughter.

parte Italiae non tam armis quam iudiciorum terrore Etruriam continuit, totam ferme ad Magonem ac 11 per eum ad spem novandi res versam. Eas quaestiones ex senatus consulto minime ambitiose habuit; multique nobiles Etrusci qui aut ipsi ierant aut miserant ad Magonem de populorum suorum 12 affectione, primo praesentes erant condemnati, postea conscientia sibimet ipsi exsilium consicentes, cum absentes damnati essent, corporibus subtractis bona tantum quae publicari poterant pigneranda poenae praebebant.

XXXVII. Dum haec consules diversis regionibus agunt, censores interim Romae M. Livius et C. Claudius senatum recitaverunt. Princeps iterum lectus<sup>1</sup> Q. Fabius Maximus; notati septem, nemo tamen qui 2 sella curuli sedisset. Sarta tecta acriter et cum summa fide exegerunt. Viam e foro bovario<sup>2</sup> ad Veneris circa foros publicos et aedem Matris Magnae 3 in Palatio faciendam locaverunt. Vectigal etiam novum ex salario annonae statuerunt. Sextante sal et Romae et per totam Italiam erat. Romae pretio

<sup>1</sup> lectus *Sp?HJK Froben* 2: delectus *C<sup>2</sup>AN Aldus*: di-  
*P(3).*

<sup>2</sup> bovario, after this *P(1)NJK Aldus* add an impossible et, deleted by Madvig.

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<sup>1</sup> Begun in 206 B.C. under M. Livius Salinator for the punishment of Etruscan and Umbrian disloyalty; p. 43 *med.* Fugitives who escaped execution suffered confiscation of property (§ 12).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. XXVIII. xi. 12.

<sup>3</sup> The *nota* of the censors was a mark or stigma affixed (in the revised list of citizens) to the names of such men as had been degraded by the censors, who added the reason in each case. Cf. XXIV. xviii. 2 ff., esp. 9.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. Venus Obsequens. Built 295 B.C., near the east end of the Circus Maximus, and on the side toward the Aventine;

the north of Italy held Etruria in check not so much by arms as by the alarm produced by the trials,<sup>1</sup> while almost the whole land was inclined towards Mago and through him to the hope of a political change. In accordance with a decree of the senate he conducted these cases with no respect of persons. And at first many noble Etruscans who either had gone in person to Mago or had sent others to him reporting on the disloyalty of their communities, had appeared and had been condemned. Later on men who from a guilty conscience went into voluntary exile, on being condemned in absence, eluded bodily punishment, merely exposing their property instead to possible confiscation.<sup>1</sup>

XXXVII. While the consuls were thus employed in opposite regions, the censors Marcus Livius and Gaius Claudius at Rome meanwhile publicly read the list of senators. Quintus Fabius Maximus was chosen *princeps* for the second time.<sup>2</sup> Seven men received their "mark,"<sup>3</sup> but no one who had occupied a curule chair. Repairs to public buildings and their roofs they enforced strictly and with the greatest fidelity. They let the contract for the making of a street leading out of the Cattle Market, on both sides of the spectators' stands, as far as the Temple of Venus,<sup>4</sup> also for the erection of a Temple of the Great Mother<sup>5</sup> on the Palatine. They also established a new revenue from the yearly production of salt. Both at Rome and throughout Italy salt was then sold at one-sixth of an *as.* The censors let

X. xxxi. 9. The stands for spectators were of wood, as the upper tiers of the Circus always continued to be.

<sup>5</sup> For thirteen years longer she was to remain in the Temple of Victory; cf. xiv. 14; XXXVI. xxxvi. 3 f.

eodem, pluris in foris et conciliabulis et alio alibi  
 4 pretio praebendum locaverunt. Id vectigal com-  
 mentum alterum ex censoribus satis credebant,  
 populo iratum, quod iniquo iudicio quondam damna-  
 tus esset, et<sup>1</sup> in pretio salis maxime oneratas tribus  
 quarum opera damnatus erat.<sup>2</sup> Inde Salinatori<sup>3</sup>  
 Livio inditum cognomen.

5 Lustrum conditum serius quia per provincias  
 dimiserunt censores, ut civium Romanorum in  
 exercitibus quantus ubique esset referretur numerus.  
 6 Censa cum iis ducenta quattuordecim<sup>4</sup> milia homi-  
 7 num. Condidit lustrum C. Claudius Nero. Duodecim  
 deinde coloniarum, quod numquam antea<sup>5</sup> factum  
 erat, deferentibus ipsarum coloniarum censoribus,  
 censum acceperunt, ut quantum numero militum,  
 quantum pecunia valerent in publicis tabulis monu-  
 8 menta exstarent. Equitum deinde census agi coeptus  
 est; et ambo forte censores equum publicum habe-  
 bant. Cum ad tribum Polliam ventum est,<sup>6</sup> in qua M.

<sup>1</sup> et HJK Eds.: om. P(1)N.

<sup>2</sup> erat, P(1)NHJK Eds. add credebant (repeated): rejected by Madvig, Conway.

<sup>3</sup> Salinatori N<sup>2</sup> or N<sup>4</sup>HJK: -tor P(1)N.

<sup>4</sup> quattuordecim Conway (cf. ii. 17): decem quattuor P(1)N Eds. (cf. Periocha fin.): LXV SpA<sup>4</sup>N<sup>4</sup>HJK.

<sup>5</sup> antea HJK Froben 2: ante P(1)N Aldus.

<sup>6</sup> est P(1)NJK Eds.: esset Siesbye, Madvig, Conway: om. H.

<sup>1</sup> On these petty localities v. Vol. VI. p. 356, n. 1. In the Lex Iulia municipalis (45 B.C.) they are repeatedly mentioned as the lowest grades of communities, inferior to *municipia*, *coloniae* and *praefecturae*, which are implied here in *alibi*, as we cannot believe that any towns however small escaped the higher price. In Rome alone was the previous "ceiling" continued.

<sup>2</sup> How to reconcile this statement with the status of Livius' own Maecia (§ 13) as one of the rustic tribes and hence bound to

contracts for the sale of salt at the same price at B.C. 204 Rome, at a higher price even in market-towns and local centres,<sup>1</sup> and at prices which varied from place to place. This source of revenue was generally believed to have been devised by only one of the censors, who was angry with the people because he had formerly been condemned by an unjust verdict; and that in the price of salt those tribes by whose efforts he had been condemned were most heavily burdened.<sup>2</sup> Hence the cognomen Salinator was bestowed upon Livius.

The ceremony of purification was completed later than usual because the censors had sent men to the various provinces to report the number of Roman citizens in each of the armies. Including these, 214,000 men<sup>3</sup> were listed. Gaius Claudius Nero concluded the rite of purification. Then they received the census lists of the twelve colonies<sup>4</sup> presented by their own censors, as had never been done before. The purpose was that documents, to show what was their strength in the number of soldiers and what in money, might be found in the public records. Then they began to take the census of the knights; and it happened that both of the censors had horses from the state. When they had reached the Pollia tribe, in which stood the name of

pay the higher price is a futile question, since the whole story bears the stamp of fiction. The state owned all salt works, but they were operated by contractors, who with prices raised could now pay more for their concessions. This amounted to putting a tax on salt except in Rome. Cf. Dio Cassius frag. 57. 70.

<sup>1</sup> Compared with 137,108 four years before; Vol. VII. p. 355, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xv. 5 ff., esp. 10.

Livi nomen erat, et praeco cunctaretur citare ipsius  
 9 censorem, "Cita" inquit Nero "M. Livium"; et si  
 ex residua vetere simultate sive intempestiva iacta  
 tione severitatis inflatus M. Livium, quia popu-  
 licio esset damnatus, equum vendere iussi-  
 10 Item M. Livius, cum ad tribum Arniensem et nome  
 conlegae ventum est, vendere equum C. Claudium  
 iussit duarum rerum causa, unius quod falsum  
 adversus se testimonium dixisset, alterius quod no-  
 11 sincera fide secum in gratiam redisset. Aequo  
 foedum certamen inquinandi famam alterius cur-  
 suae famae damno factum est exitu censurae  
 12 Cum in leges iurasset C. Claudius et in aerarium  
 escendisset, inter nomina eorum quos aerarios relin-  
 13 quebat dedit conlegae nomen. Deinde M. Livius i-  
 aerarium venit et <sup>2</sup> praeter Maeciam tribum, quae si  
 neque condemnasset neque condemnatum aut consu-  
 lem aut censorem fecisset, populum Romanum  
 omnem, quattuor et triginta tribus, aerarios reliqui-  
 14 quod et innocentem se condemnassent et condem-  
 natum consulem et censorem fecissent, neque  
 inficiari possent aut iudicio semel aut comitiis bis a-  
 15 se peccatum esse: inter <sup>3</sup> quattuor et triginta tribus  
 et C. Claudium aerarium fore; quod si exemplum

<sup>1</sup> Aequo N<sup>x</sup>(probably) Gronovius, Eds.: neque P(1)N  
 neque ibi HN<sup>?</sup>: itaque ibi A<sup>4</sup>JK Aldus, Froben.

<sup>2</sup> venit et N<sup>4</sup>HJK Aldus, Froben, Luchs: venit P(1)I  
 Eds., Conway.

<sup>3</sup> inter Aldus, Froben: in HJK: om. P(1)N.

<sup>1</sup> The horse had been bought out of an allowance (*aeque*  
*equestre*) from the state, but was not public property; Mommsen,  
*Staatsrecht* III. 256, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> In the trial before the popular assembly; cf. Vol. VII  
 p. 347 and note 1.

Marcus Livius, and while the herald was hesitating <sup>B.C. 204</sup> to summon the censor himself, Nero said, "Summon Marcus Livius!" And whether as still nursing their ancient quarrel, or priding himself on an ill-timed display of strictness because he had been condemned by a verdict of the people, he ordered Marcus Livius to sell his horse.<sup>1</sup> Likewise Marcus Livius, when they had reached the Arniensis tribe and the name of his colleague, ordered Gaius Claudius to sell his horse for two reasons: one because he had given false testimony<sup>2</sup> against Livius, the other that he had not honestly been reconciled with him. Equally shameful at the close of their censorship was their contest in besmirching each the other's reputation to the detriment of his own. When Gaius Claudius had taken the oath that he had complied with the laws, upon going up into the Treasury and giving the names of those whom he was leaving as mere tax-payers,<sup>3</sup> he gave the name of his colleague. Then Marcus Livius came into the Treasury, and except for the Maecia tribe, which had neither condemned him nor after his condemnation voted for him either for consul or for censor, he left the entire Roman people, thirty-four tribes, as mere tax-payers, alleging that they had both condemned him, an innocent man, and after his condemnation had made him consul and censor, and could not deny that they had erred either once in their verdict or twice in the elections. He said that among the thirty-four tribes Gaius Claudius also would be a mere tax-payer; and that if he had a precedent

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Vol. VI. p. 231. Any action taken by a censor without approval of his colleague was void; Mommsen *op. cit.* II.<sup>3</sup> 358; cf. e.g. XLV. xv. 8.

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550

haberet bis eundem aerarium relinquendi, C. Claudium nominatim se inter aerarios fuisse relic-  
 16 turum. Pravum certamen notarum inter censores;  
 castigatio inconstantiae populi censoria et <sup>1</sup> gravitate  
 17 temporum illorum digna. In invidia censores cum  
 essent, crescendi ex iis ratus esse occasionem Cn. Baebius tribunus plebis diem ad populum utrisque <sup>2</sup>  
 dixit. Ea res consensu patrum discussa est, ne postea obnoxia populari aurae censura esset.

XXXVIII. Eadem aestate in Bruttiis Clampetia a consule vi capta, Consentia et Pandosia et ignobiles 2 aliae civitates voluntate in dicionem venerunt. Et cum comitiorum iam adpeteret tempus, Cornelium potius ex Etruria, ubi nihil belli erat, Romam acciri 3 placuit. Is consules Cn. Servilium Caepionem et C. 4 Servilium <sup>3</sup> Geminum creavit. Inde praetoria comitia habita. Creati P. Cornelius Lentulus, P. Quintilius 5 Varus, P. Aelius Paetus, P. Villius Tappulus; hi duo cum aediles plebis essent, praetores creati sunt. Consul comitiis perfectis ad exercitum in Etruriam reddit.

6 Sacerdotes eo anno mortui atque in locum eorum

<sup>1</sup> et *P(1)N* (*after gravitate JK*): *om. z Aldus, Froben 2.*

<sup>2</sup> utrisque *P(1)N* *Eds.*: *utrique H Aldus, Froben, Conway before ad JK.*

<sup>3</sup> Caepionem . . . Servilium *A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>2</sup>JK Eds.*: *om. P(1)N, one line.*

<sup>1</sup> Baebius Tamphilus reached the consulship in 182 B.C.; XXXIX. lvi. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Chief town of the Brutii, modern Cosenza, captured by the Carthaginians in 216 B.C. It returned to the Romans in 213, but had changed sides once more; cf. XXIII. xxx. 5; XXV. i. 2; XXX. xix. 10 (a repetition). Later an important

for twice leaving the same man a mere tax-payer, <sup>B.C. 204</sup> he would have left Gaius Claudius among them with express mention of his name. A perverted contest between the censors in regard to their “marks”; but to the fickleness of the people it was a rebuke worthy of a censor and in keeping with the earnestness of those times. Since the censors were unpopular, Gnaeus Baebius, a tribune of the plebs,<sup>1</sup> thinking it an opportunity to advance himself at their expense, named a day for both to appear before the people. That procedure was quashed by unanimity among the senators, lest the censorship should be subject thereafter to the caprice of the populace.

XXXVIII. During the same summer in the land of the Bruttii Clampetia was taken by storm by the consul. Consentia<sup>2</sup> together with Pandosia and other cities of no importance voluntarily submitted to his authority. And since the time for elections was now at hand, it was decided to summon Cornelius to Rome from Etruria, where there was no war. He announced the election of Gnaeus Servilius Caepio and Gaius Servilius Geminus as consuls. Then elections for the praetorships were held. Elected were Publius Cornelius Lentulus, Publius Quinctilius Varus, Publius Aelius Paetus, Publius Villius Tappulus, the last two being made praetors while they were plebeian aediles. The consul after the elections were over returned to the army in Etruria.

Priests who died that year and successors appointed point on the great inland road, Via Popilia, from Capua to Reggio (Regium); *C.I.L.* X. 6950 (= I. ii, ed. 2, 638). Clampetia was on the coast south-west of Consentia.

## LIVY

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suffecti: Ti. Veturius Philo flamen Martialis in locum  
 M. Aemili Regilli, qui priore anno mortuus erat,  
<sup>7</sup> creatus inaugurusque; in M. Pomponi Mathonis au-  
 guris et decemviri locum creati decemvir M. Aurelius  
 Cotta, augur Ti. Sempronius Gracchus admodum  
<sup>8</sup> adulescens, quod tum perrarum in mandandis  
 sacerdotiis erat. Quadrigae aureae eo anno in  
 Capitolio positae ab aedilibus curulibus C. Livio et  
 M. Servilio Gemino, et ludi Romani biduum in-  
 staurati, item per biduum plebei ab aedilibus P.  
 Aelio, P. Villio; et Iovis epulum fuit ludorum causa.

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<sup>1</sup> Immediately correcting the opening words of the para-  
 graph. Cf. xi. 14 for Regillus' death in 205 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Pomponius, probably praetor in 216 B.C., had held two  
 priesthoods concurrently, as did Otacilius in XXVII. vi. 15.

## BOOK XXIX. xxxviii. 6-8

in their places were: Tiberius Veturius Philo,<sup>b.c. 204</sup> elected and installed flamen of Mars in place of Marcus Aemilius Regillus, who had died in the preceding year;<sup>1</sup> in succession to Marcus Pomponius Matho, augur and decemvir,<sup>2</sup> were elected Marcus Aurelius Cotta as decemvir, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus as augur, being a mere youth, which was then a very unusual thing in the assignment of priesthoods. A gilded four-horse chariot was set up in that year on the Capitol by the curule aediles Gaius Livius and Marcus Servilius Geminus. And the Roman Games were repeated for two days, as were the Plebeian Games also for two days by the aediles Publius Aelius and Publius Villius; and on account of the festival there was a banquet for Jupiter.

## LIBRI XXIX PERIOCHA

EX SICILIA C. LAELIUS in Africam a Scipione missus ingentem praedam reportavit et mandata Masinissae Scipioni exposuit querentis quod nondum exercitum in Africam traieciisset. Bellum in Hispania finitum victore Romano quod Indibilis excitaverat; ipse in acie occisus, Mandonius exposcentibus Romanis a suis deditus. Magoni, qui Albingauni in Liguribus erat, ex Africa et militum ampla manus missa et pecuniae quibus auxilia conduceret, preeceptumque ut se Hannibali coniungeret. Scipio a Syracusis in Bruttios traiecit et Locros pulso Punico praesidio fugatoque Hannibale recepit. Pax cum Philippo facta est. Mater Idaea deportata est Romam a Pessinunte oppido Phrygiae, carmine in libris Sibyllinis invento, pelli Italia alienigenam hostem posse, si mater Idaea deportata Romam esset. Tradita est autem Romanis per Attalum regem Asiae. Lapis erat quem matrem deum incolae dicebant. Excepit P. Scipio Nasica Cn. filius eius qui in Hispania perierat, vir optimus a senatu iudicatus, adulescens nondum quaestorius, quoniam ita responsum iubebat ut id numen ab optimo viro exciperetur consecrareturque. Locrenses legatos Romam miserunt qui de inpotentia<sup>1</sup> Plemini legati quererentur qui pecuniam Proserpinæ sustulerat et liberos eorum ac coniuges stupraverat. In catenis Romam perductus in carcere est mortuus. Cum falsus rumor de P. Scipione

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<sup>1</sup> inpotentia *Froben*: inpuidentia *MSS.*

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. pp. 283 (xix. 5) and 296, n. 1.

## SUMMARY OF BOOK XXIX

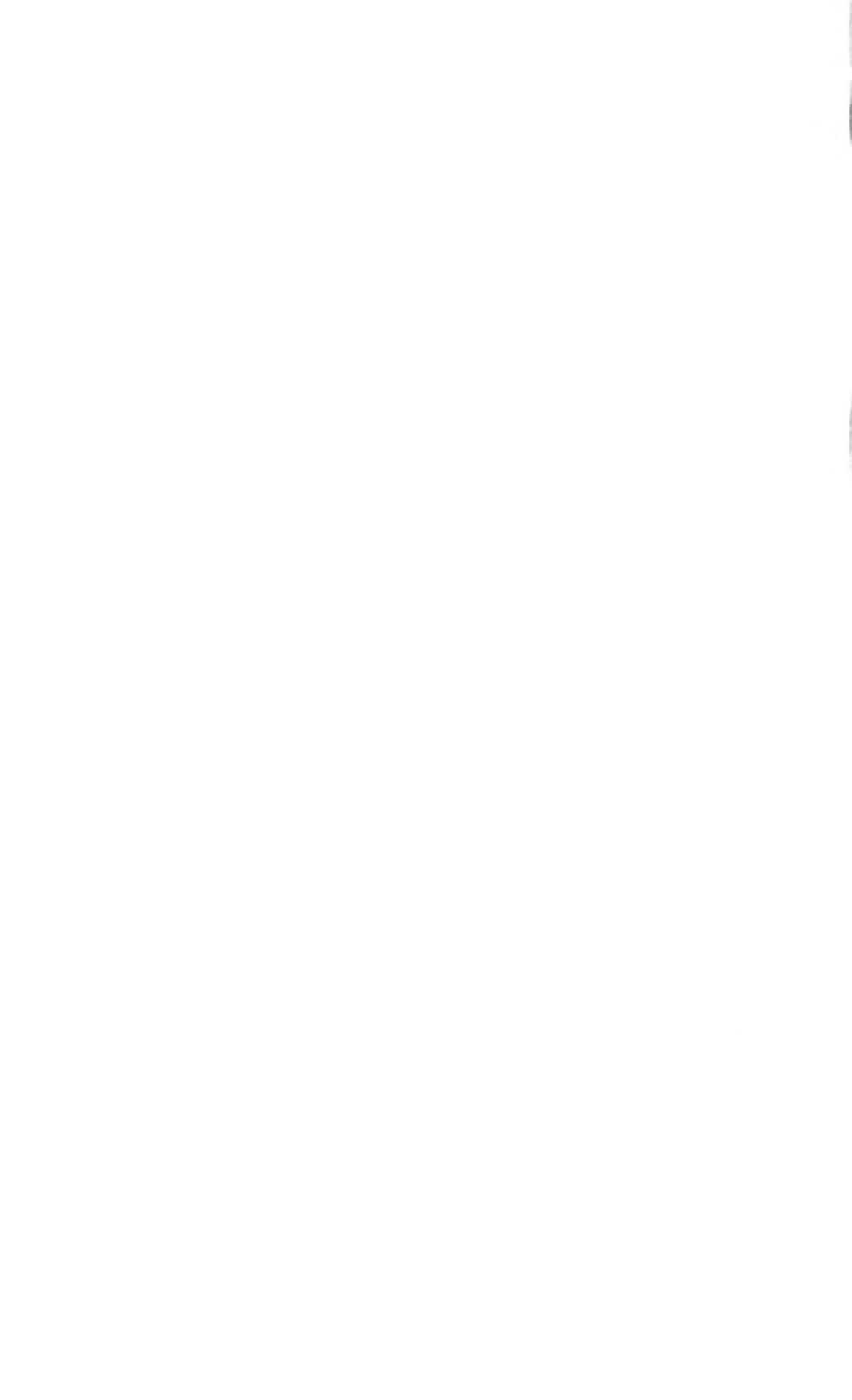
GAIUS LAELIUS, having been sent by Scipio from Sicily to Africa, brought back immense booty and delivered to Scipio Masinissa's messages, complaining because he had not yet transported his army to Africa. The war which Indibilis had stirred up in Spain was brought to an end with the Roman as victor. He himself was slain in battle; Mandonius was surrendered by his own people to the Romans in response to their demand. To Mago, who was at Albingaunum, among the Ligurians, a large contingent was sent from Africa and also funds with which to hire auxiliaries; and he was ordered to unite with Hannibal. Scipio crossed over from Syracuse into the Bruttian territory and recovered Locri by defeating the Punic garrison and putting Hannibal to flight. Peace was made with Philip. The Idaean Mother was brought to Rome from Pessinus, a town in Phrygia, since in the Sibylline books verses had been found, saying that a foreign enemy could be driven out of Italy if the Idaean Mother should be brought to Rome. And she was delivered to the Romans by Attalus, King of Asia. It was a stone which the natives said was the Mother of the gods. She was received by Publius Scipio Nasica, son of that Gnaeus who had perished in Spain. He was adjudged the best man by the senate, because, although he was a young man who had not yet been quaestor, the oracle commanded that that divinity should be received and consecrated by the best man. The Locrians sent envoys to Rome to complain of the lawless conduct of Pleminius, the legatus, who had carried off the money of Proserpina and had outraged their children and their wives. He was taken in chains to Rome and died in the prison.<sup>1</sup> When an unfounded report

## LIBRI XXIX PERIOCHA

proconsule, qui in Sicilia erat, in urbem perlatus esset, tamquam ibi luxuriaretur, missis ob hoc legatis a senatu qui explorarent an ea vera essent, purgatus infamia Scipio in Africam permissu senatus traiecit. Syphax accepta in matrimonium filia Hasdrubalis Gisgonis amicitiam quam cum Scipione iunxerat renuntiavit. Masinissa rex Massyliorum, dum pro Carthaginiensibus in Hispania militat, amisso patre Gala de regno exciderat. Quo per bellum saepe repetito aliquot proeliis a Syphace rege Numidarum victus in totum privatus est, et cum ducentis equitibus exsul Scipioni se iunxit et cum eo primo statim bello Hannonem Hamilcaris filium cum ampla manu occidit. Scipio adventu Hasdrubalis et Syphacis, qui prope cum centum milibus armatorum venerant, ab obsidione Uticae depulsus hiberna communivit. Sempronius consul in agro Crotoniensi prospere adversus Hannibalem pugnavit. Inter censores M. Livium et Claudium Neronem notabilis discordia fuit. Nam et Claudius Livio collegae equum ademit, quod a populo damnatus actusque in exsilium fuerat, et Livius Claudio, quod falsum in se testimonium dixisset et quod non bona fide secum in gratiam redisset. Idem omnes tribus extra unam aerarias reliquit, quod et innocentem se damnassent et posthac consulem censoremque fecissent. Lustrum a censoribus conditum est. Censa sunt civium capita  
CCXIII.

## SUMMARY OF BOOK XXIX

had been brought to the city in regard to Publius Scipio, the proconsul, who was in Sicily, alleging that he was leading a life of indulgence there, representatives were for this reason sent by the senate to discover whether the charges were true. Being cleared of evil repute Scipio crossed over to Africa by permission of the senate. Syphax, having received in marriage the daughter of Hasdrubal son of Gisgo, renounced the friendship which he had made with Scipio. Masinissa, King of the Massylians, while serving in Spain for the Carthaginians, after losing his father Gala, had been excluded from the kingship. When he repeatedly sought to regain it by war, he was defeated by Syphax, King of the Numidians, in a number of battles and was completely dispossessed. And as an exile with two hundred horsemen he joined Scipio and with him at the very beginning of the campaign he slew Hanno son of Hamilcar, together with his large force. Scipio, on the arrival of Hasdrubal and Syphax, who had come with almost a hundred thousand armed men, was forced to raise the siege of Utica and fortified a winter camp. Sempronius, the consul, fought successfully against Hannibal in the territory of Croton. Between the censors, Marcus Livius and Claudius Nero, there was a memorable quarrel. For Claudius took away his colleague Livius' horse because he had been condemned by the people and driven into exile, and Livius did the same for Claudius because the latter had borne false witness against him and because he had not been sincere in being reconciled with him. Likewise Livius left all the tribes but one mere tax-payers, because they had both condemned him, though innocent, and had later made him consul and censor. The rite of purification was completed by the censors. The number of citizens listed was 214,000.



**BOOK XXX**

## LIBER XXX

I. Cn. SERVILIUS et C. Servilius consules—sextus decimus is annus belli Punici erat—cum de re publica belloque et provinciis ad senatum rettulissent,  
 2 censuerunt patres ut consules inter se compararent sortienturve uter Bruttios adversus Hannibalem, uter  
 3 Etruriam ac Ligures provinciam haberet; cui Brutii evenissent exercitum a P. Sempronio acciperet;  
 P. Sempronius—ei quoque enim pro consule<sup>1</sup> imperium in annum prorogabatur—P. Licinio suc-  
 4 cederet. Is Romam reverteretur, bello quoque bonus habitus ad cetera, quibus nemo ea tempestate instructior civis habebatur, congestis omnibus  
 5 humanis ab natura fortunaque bonis. Nobilis idem ac dives erat; forma viribusque corporis excellebat; facundissimus habebatur seu causa oranda, seu in senatu et apud<sup>2</sup> populum suadendi ac dissuadendi

<sup>1</sup> pro consule *H. Luchs, Riemann, Conway*: proconsuli *P(1)NVJK Eds.*

<sup>2</sup> et apud *SpHVJK*: et ad *N<sup>o</sup> Aldus, Froben*: ad *P(1)N*: aut ad *conj. Weissenborn*.

<sup>1</sup> Omission of cognomina at the beginning of a new book would be striking if their full names had not just been given in XXIX. xxxviii. 3; cf. below, § 8 (cognomina only).

<sup>2</sup> This addition to Etruria as one consul's province (and for the first time) was in view of Mago's activity on the Ligurian coast; cf. § 10; XXIX. v.

## BOOK XXX

I. GNAEUS SERVILIUS and Gaius Servilius,<sup>1</sup> the B.C. 203 consuls, whose year was the sixteenth of the Punic war, having laid before the senate the condition of the state and the war and the assignments, the senators voted that the consuls should arrange between them, or determine by lot, which of them should have as his assignment the land of the Bruttii, confronting Hannibal, and which of them Etruria and Liguria ;<sup>2</sup> that the consul to whom the Bruttii should fall was to take over an army from Publius Sempronius ; that Publius Sempronius—for he also had his command prolonged for one year as proconsul—should succeed Publius Licinius ;<sup>3</sup> that the latter should return to Rome. In war also Licinius was now highly rated, in addition to the other fields in which no citizen was at that time considered more fully equipped, since all the advantages possible to man had been heaped upon him by nature and fortune. Of noble birth he was at the same time wealthy. Conspicuous for a handsome figure and physical strength, he was considered a very eloquent speaker, whether a legal case was to be conducted, or when there was occasion in the senate and before the people

<sup>1</sup> The first Crassus to be called Dives ; Dio Cass. frag. 57. 52. Before his consulship in 205 B.C. he had been censor in 210; XXVII. vi. 17.

6 locus esset; iuris pontificii peritissimus; super haec  
 bellicae quoque laudis consulatus compotem fecerat.  
 Quod in Bruttiis provincia, idem in Etruria ac  
 7 Liguribus decretum: M. Cornelius novo consuli  
 tradere exercitum iussus; ipse prorogato imperio  
 Galliam provinciam obtineret<sup>1</sup> cum legionibus  
 8 iis quas L. Scribonius priore anno habuisset. Sortiti  
 deinde provincias: Caepioni Bruttii, Gemono<sup>2</sup>  
 9 Etruria evenit. Tum praetorum provinciae in sortem  
 coniectae: iuris dictionem urbanam Paetus Aelius,  
 Sardiniam P. Lentulus, Siciliam<sup>3</sup> P. Villius, Ariminum  
 cum duabus legionibus—sub Sp. Lucretio eae fuerant  
 10 —Quinctilius Varus est sortitus. Et Lucretio proro-  
 gatum imperium, ut Genuam oppidum a Magone  
 Poeno dirutum exaedificaret. P. Scipioni non  
 temporis, sed rei gerendae fine, donec debellatum in  
 11 Africa foret, prorogatum imperium est; decretumque  
 ut supplicatio fieret, quod is in Africam provinciam  
 traieisset, ut ea res salutaris populo Romano ipsi-  
 que duci atque exercitui esset.

II. In Siciliam tria milia militum sunt scripta,  
 quia<sup>4</sup> quod roboris ea provincia habuerat in Africam

<sup>1</sup> obtineret *A·N·HVJK* Froben 2, *Luchs*, *Luterbacher*:  
 -ere *P(1)N Aldus*, *Eds.*, *Conway*.

<sup>2</sup> Gemono, before this *P(1)NHJK* *Eds.* have Servilio (*om.*  
 by *V*), rejected by *Madrig*, *Conway* as the nomen of both consuls.

<sup>3</sup> P. Lentulus, Siciliam *A·N·HVJK*: *om. P(1)N*, one line.

<sup>4</sup> quia, before this *P(1)NSp(prob.)HVJK* *Aldus* have et,  
 rejected by *Gronovius*, *Madrig*, *Riemann*, *Conway*: retained  
 by those who put a period after oram, p. 370.

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<sup>1</sup> No important victory of Crassus is known. Elected  
 pontifex maximus in 212 B.C. (XXV. v. 3 f.), he held that  
 office for 29 years down to his death in 183 B.C. His funeral  
 was marked by many gladiatorial combats, games and a public

to persuade or dissuade. In the pontifical law he was B.C. 203 accounted a master; and now, to crown these distinctions, his consulship had brought him military laurels as well.<sup>1</sup> The decision taken in regard to the land of the Brutii as a province was repeated in the case of Etruria and Liguria. Marcus Cornelius was ordered to turn over his army to the new consul, and himself, with his command continued, to hold Gaul as his assignment, having the legions which Lucius Scribonius had held the year before. Thereupon they drew their assignments by lot, the Brutian country falling to Caepio, Etruria to Geminus. Lots were then cast for the praetors' assignments. Aelius Paetus<sup>2</sup> drew the city praetorship, Publius Lentulus Sardinia, Publius Villius Sicily, Quintilius Varus Ariminum with two legions which had been under the command of Spurius Lucretius. Lucretius' command also was continued, that he might build up the town of Genua,<sup>3</sup> destroyed by Mago the Carthaginian. Publius Scipio's command was prolonged, not for a fixed time but to the completion of his task, until the war in Africa should be over. And it was decreed that there should be a season of prayer that his crossing over to Africa as his province might be beneficial to the Roman people and to the commander himself and his army.

II. For Sicily three thousand soldiers were enrolled because all the best troops that province used to have

feast in the Forum; XXXIX. xlvi. 2 ff. Livy's portrait reads like a *laudatio funebris*, and it would seem more in place in Book XXXIX than here. Cf. Cicero *de Orat.* III. 134.

<sup>2</sup> Elected at XXIX. xxxviii. 4; consul in 201 B.C.; below, xl. 5; censor with Scipio Africanus in 199 B.C.; XXXII. vii. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. XXVIII. xlvi. 8 and note.

transvectum fuerat; et quia,<sup>1</sup> ne qua classis ex Africa traiceret, quadraginta navibus custodiri placuerat Siciliae maritumam oram, tredecim novas naves Villius secum in Siciliam duxit, ceterae in Sicilia veteres refectae. Huic classi M. Pomponius, prioris anni praetor, prorogato imperio praepositus novos milites ex Italia advectos in naves imposuit. ¶ Parem navium numerum Cn. Octavio, praetori item prioris anni, cum pari iure imperii ad tuendam Sardiniae oram patres decreverunt; Lentulus praetor duo milia militum dare in naves iussus. Et Italiae ora, quia incertum erat quo missuri classem Carthaginenses forent—videbantur autem quidquid nudatum praesidiis esset petituri—M. Marcio, praetori prioris anni, cum totidem navibus tuenda data est. Tria milia militum in eam<sup>2</sup> classem ex decreto patrum consules scripserunt et duas legiones urbanas ad incerta belli. ¶ Hispaniae cum exercitibus imperioque veteribus imperatoribus, L. Lentulo et L. Manlio Acidino, decretae. Viginti omnino legionibus et centum sexaginta navibus longis res Romana eo anno gesta. ¶ Praetores in provincias ire iussi. Consulibus imperatum ut,<sup>3</sup> priusquam ab urbe proficiscerentur,

<sup>1</sup> quod roboris . . . et quia *om.* *SpHV.*

<sup>2</sup> eam *P(3) Eds.*: *eandem JK.*

<sup>3</sup> ut *HVJK Aldus, Froben*: *om. P(1)N.*

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<sup>1</sup> Octavius was really propraetor in 204 B.C., having been praetor in 205; XXVIII. xxxviii. 11, 13; XXIX. xiii. 5.

had been transported to Africa. Furthermore,<sup>B.C. 203</sup> because it had been decided to defend the sea-coast of Sicily with forty ships, in order to prevent any fleet from crossing over from Africa, Villius took with him thirteen new ships to Sicily, while the rest in Sicily were old ships repaired. Placed in charge of this fleet, with his command continued, was Marcus Pomponius, praetor in the preceding year, who provided the ships with new soldiers brought from Italy. The same number of ships were by decree of the senate assigned, with the same extension of his command, to Gnaeus Octavius, who likewise had been praetor<sup>1</sup> in the preceding year, in order to defend the coast of Sardinia. Lentulus, the praetor, was ordered to furnish two thousand soldiers for the ships. As for the defence of the coast of Italy, since it was not known to what point the Carthaginians would send their fleet—while they seemed likely to attack any part of it that was left unguarded—that task with the same number of ships was entrusted to Marcus Marcius, praetor in the previous year. Three thousand soldiers were enrolled by the consuls for that fleet in accordance with a decree of the senate, and two city legions for emergency duty. The Spanish provinces were assigned by a decree of the senate to their veteran commanders, Lucius Lentulus and Lucius Manlius Acidinus with the armies and military authority. The Roman state was administered that year with a total of twenty legions and a hundred and sixty war-ships.<sup>2</sup>

The praetors were ordered to go to their provinces, while the consuls were bidden, before their departure

<sup>2</sup> Including another fleet of 40 ships which sailed with Scipio to Africa; XXIX. xxvi. 3; below, xli. 7.

ludos magnos facerent quos T. Manlius Torquatus dictator in quintum annum vovisset, si eodem statu  
 9 res publica staret. Et novas religiones excitabant in animis hominum prodigia ex pluribus locis nuntiata. Aurum in Capitolio corvi non lacerasse tantum  
 10 rostris crediti sed etiam edisse; mures Antii coronam auream adrosere;<sup>1</sup> circa Capuam omnem agrum locustarum vis ingens, ita ut unde advenissent  
 11 parum constaret, complevit; eculeus Reate cum quinque pedibus natus; Anagniae sparsi primum  
 12 ignes in caelo, dein fax ingens arsit; Frusinone arcus solem tenui linea amplexus est, circulum deinde ipsum maior solis orbis extrinsecus inclusit; Arpini terra campestri agro<sup>2</sup> in ingentem sinum consedit;  
 13 consulum alteri primam hostiam immolanti caput iocineris defuit. Ea prodigia maioribus hostiis procurata; editi a collegio pontificum dei quibus sacrificaretur.

III. His transactis consules praetoresque in provincias profecti. Omnibus tamen, velut eam sortitis, Africæ cura erat, seu quia ibi summam rerum belli-

<sup>1</sup> adrosere *P(1)N Aldus* (arr-): -roserunt *HVJ Froben* 2 : -rant *K.*

<sup>2</sup> agro *P(3)Sp?HVJK Froben* 2 : in agro *AN Aldus.*

<sup>1</sup> Torquatus had made the vow 208 B.C., after presiding at the games vowed by Marcus Aemilius, praetor in 217 B.C.; XXVII. xxxiii. 8. They were actually postponed until 202 B.C.; below, xxvii. 11 f. Inclusive reckoning accounts for *quintum*.

<sup>2</sup> For meteors see p. 258, n. 2. Cf. also *Aeneid* II. 694 ff.; Lucretius II. 206 ff.; Pliny *N.H.* II. 96.

<sup>3</sup> Greek ἄλως = *arcus* in Pliny *l.c.* 98 (*corona* also and *circulus*); *corona* in Seneca *N.Q.* I. ii. 1 (*area* also *ibid.* § 3).

from the city, to conduct the great games which Titus <sup>B.C. 203</sup> Manlius Torquatus<sup>1</sup> as dictator had vowed for the fourth year, if the state should remain as it was before. And new religious fears were aroused in men's minds by portents reported from a number of places. On the Capitol ravens were believed not only to have torn away gilding with their beaks but even to have eaten it. At Antium mice gnawed a golden wreath. The whole region around Capua was covered by an immense number of locusts, while there was no agreement as to whence they had come. At Reate a colt with five feet was foaled. At Anagnia there were at first shooting-stars at intervals and then a great meteor blazed out.<sup>2</sup> At Frusino a halo<sup>3</sup> encircled the sun with its slender circumference, and then the ring itself had a greater circle bright as the sun circumscribed about it. At Arpinum in an open meadow the earth settled into a huge depression. One of the consuls on sacrificing his first victim found the "head" of the liver lacking.<sup>4</sup> These prodigies were expiated by full-grown victims; the gods to whom sacrifices should be offered were announced by the college of the pontiffs.

III. Having completed these tasks the consuls and praetors set out for their provinces. All of them, however, turned their attention to Africa, just as though that had been allotted to them, either because they saw it was there that the main issue and the

<sup>1</sup> In divination the liver, being variable in form, was considered of great importance, particularly a protuberance known as the "head." If the *caput* was large the omen was favourable (XXVII. xxvi. 14), if small or misshapen, unfavourable. Nothing was accounted more ominous than its absence (*ibid.* § 13); cf. Cicero *de Div.* II. 32 *fin.* and Pease's notes; VIII. ix. 1; George F. Moore, *History of Religions* I. 559.

que verti cernebant seu ut Scipioni gratificarentur, in  
 2 quem tum omnis versa civitas erat. Itaque non ex  
 Sardinia tantum, sicut ante dictum est, sed ex Sicilia  
 quoque et Hispania vestimenta frumentumque, et ar-  
 ma etiam ex Sicilia<sup>1</sup> et omne genus commeatus eo  
 3 portabantur. Nec Scipio ullo tempore hiemis belli  
 opera remiserat, quae multa simul undique eum cir-  
 cumstabant: Uticam obsidebat; castra in conspectu  
 4 Hasdrubalis erant; Carthaginienses deduxerant  
 naves, classem paratam instructamque ad com-  
 meatus intercipiendos habebant. Inter haec ne  
 Syphacis quidem reconciliandi curam ex animo  
 miserat,<sup>2</sup> si forte iam satias<sup>3</sup> amoris in uxore ex  
 5 multa copia eum<sup>4</sup> cepisset. Ab Syphace magis pacis  
 cum Carthaginiensibus condiciones, ut Romani  
 Africa, Poeni Italia excederent, quam, si bellaretur,  
 6 spes ulla desciturum adferebatur. Haec per nuntios  
 acta magis equidem crediderim—et ita pars maior  
 auctores sunt—quam ipsum Syphacem, ut Antias  
 Valerius prodit, in castra Romana ad conloquium  
 7 venisse. Primo eas condiciones imperator Romanus  
 vix auribus admisit; postea, ut causa probabilis suis  
 commeandi foret in castra hostium, mollius eadem illa

<sup>1</sup> etiam ex Sicilia *P(3)SpHVJ Froben* 2, *Eds.*: *om. ANK Aldus*, *prob. with good reason*.

<sup>2</sup> miserat *P(3)A²N Aldus*: dimiserat *Sp?HVJK Froben* 2.

<sup>3</sup> satias *z Aldus*: satis *P(1)NHVJK*: *satis A⁵?*

<sup>4</sup> eum *HV Aldus, Frcken*: *om. P(1)NJK*.

<sup>1</sup> Resuming early in the spring (iv. 10) the siege abandoned in the previous autumn; XXIX. xxxv. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* would denounce his agreement with Carthage and renew previous relations with Scipio.

outcome of the war were centred, or in order to show Scipio favour, on whom the eyes of all the citizens were then fixed. Accordingly not only from Sardinia, as has been said above, but also from Sicily and Spain clothing and grain were being transported thither, and arms as well and supplies of every kind from Sicily. And at no time in the winter had Scipio lessened his military operations, which were many and all around him at the same time. He was besieging Utica;<sup>1</sup> the camp of Hasdrubal could be seen; the Carthaginians had launched their ships; they kept their fleet ready and equipped, in order to intercept supplies. In the midst of all this he had also not forgotten his effort to recover the support of Syphax, in case by that time, after much indulgence, satiety might have overtaken him in his love for his wife. From Syphax came rather terms of peace with the Carthaginians under which the Romans should withdraw from Africa, the Carthaginians from Italy, than any hope that in the event of war he would change sides.<sup>2</sup> That these dealings went on through messengers<sup>3</sup> I am more inclined to believe—and for this a majority of the historians vouch—than that Syphax came in person into the Roman camp for a conference, as Valerius Antias relates. At first the Roman general scarcely listened to such terms. Later, that his men might have a plausible reason for visiting the enemy's camp, he was less firm in rejecting the same offers, and encouraged

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Polybius XIV. i. 6, who also seems to think Scipio began by sending messengers (*i.e.* envoys, below, iv. 2, 4) to Syphax. Others represent Syphax as beginning the negotiations; Zonaras IX. xii. 2; Appian *Pun.* 17, representing him as pretending friendship for both sides.

abnuere ac spem facere saepius ultro citroque agitantibus rem conventuram.

- 8 Hibernacula Carthaginiensium,<sup>1</sup> congesta temere ex agris materia exaedificata, lignea ferme tota erant.  
 9 Numidae praecipue harundine textis storeaque pars maxima tectis passim nullo ordine, quidam, ut sine imperio occupatis locis, extra fossam etiam vallumque  
 10 habitabant. Haec relata Scipioni spem fecerant castra hostium per occasionem incendendi.

IV. Cum legatis quos mitteret ad Syphacem calonum loco primos ordines spectatae virtutis atque 2 prudentiae servili habitu mittebat, qui, dum in colloquio legati essent, vagi per castra alius alia aditus exitusque omnes, situm formamque et universorum castrorum et partium, qua Poeni, qua Numidae haberent,<sup>2</sup> quantum intervalli inter Hasdrubalis ac regia 3 castra esset, specularentur moremque simul noscerent stationum vigiliarumque, nocte an interdiu opportuniiores insidianti<sup>3</sup> essent; et inter crebra conloquia alii atque alii de industria, quo pluribus omnia nota 4 essent, mittebantur. Cum saepius agitata res certiorem spem pacis in dies et Syphaci et Carthaginiensibus per eum faceret, legati Romani vetitos se reverti ad imperatorem aiunt, nisi certum re-

<sup>1</sup> Carthaginiensium *P(1)NK Aldus, Froben*: -ibus *SpHVJ*.

<sup>2</sup> haberent *P(1)N<sup>4</sup>HVJK Eds.*: tenderent *Gronovius, H. J. Müller.*

<sup>3</sup> insidianti *P(1)N(-ati D) most Eds., Conway*: -antibus *N<sup>4</sup>HVJK Aldus, Froben, Luchs.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Polybius *l.c.* §§ 6 f.; Zonaras § 8. Note that Roman *hibernacula* were always much less inflammable; XXVII. iii. 3 (outside the walls of Capua); Hirtius *B.G.* VIII. v. 2; *Bell. Hisp.* xvi. 2. No representations of them are known.

the hope that, if they repeatedly discussed the matter B.C. 203 from both sides, agreement would be reached.

The winter quarters of the Carthaginians, being constructed of building material gathered at random from the farms, were almost entirely of wood.<sup>1</sup> In particular the Numidians were dwelling in huts of plaited reeds, most of them under thatched roofs, and scattered without a plan, some of their number even outside the fosse and earthwork—the natural result of seizing upon a site without waiting for orders. This was reported to Scipio and had inspired the hope of setting fire to the camp of the enemy when opportunity should offer.

IV. With the legates whom he kept sending to Syphax he would send some first centurions of attested courage and discretion as servants and garbed as slaves, that while the legates were in conference they might roam about the camp in different directions and take note of all entrances and exits, the situation and plan both of the camp as a whole and of its divisions, where the Carthaginians and where the Numidians had their quarters. They were to discover what was the distance between Hasdrubal's camp and that of the king, also to learn their practice as regards outposts and sentries, whether they were more exposed to an unexpected attack by night or by day. And in the course of numerous conferences other men and again others were purposely sent, that a larger number might acquaint themselves with everything. When repeated discussions were giving Syphax, and through him the Carthaginians, a daily surer hope of peace, the Roman legates announced that they were forbidden to return to their general unless a definite

5 sponsum detur : proinde, seu ipsi staret iam sententia,  
 . . .<sup>1</sup> seu consulendus Hasdrubal et Carthaginienses  
 essent, consuleret ; tempus esse aut pacem componi  
 6 aut bellum naviter geri. Dum consultur Hasdrubal  
 ab Syphace, ab<sup>2</sup> Hasdrubale Carthaginienses, et  
 speculatores omnia visendi et Scipio ad comparanda  
 7 ea<sup>3</sup> quae in rem erant tempus habuit. Et ex  
 mentione ac spe pacis neglegentia, ut fit, apud  
 Poenos Numidamque<sup>4</sup> orta cavendi ne quid hostile  
 8 interim paterentur. Tandem relatum responsum,  
 quibusdam, quia nimis cupere Romanus pacem  
 videbatur, inquis per occasionem adiectis, quae  
 peropportune cupienti tollere indutias Scipioni  
 9 causam praebuere. Ac nuntio regis, cum relaturum  
 se ad consilium dixisset, postero die respondit se uno  
 frustra tendente nulli alii pacem placuisse ; renun-  
 tiaret igitur nullam aliam spem pacis quam<sup>5</sup> relictis  
 10 Carthaginiensibus Syphaci cum Romanis esse. Ita  
 tollit indutias, ut libera fide incepta exsequeretur ;  
 deductisque navibus—et iam veris principium erat—  
 machinas tormentaque, velut a mari adgressurus  
 11 Uticam, imponit, et duo milia militum ad capiendum  
 quem antea tenuerat tumulum super Uticam mittit,

<sup>1</sup> The lacuna may be filled by promeret sententiam (Johnson, prob. one line of P's archetype); by eam promeret, or promeret alone (Madvig); by pronuntiaret (Stöcker, 1833) or expromeret (Riemann), a verb being required to balance consuleret.

<sup>2</sup> Hasdrubal ab (or a) Syphace, ab A<sup>4</sup>HVJK Eds. : om. P(1)N, a line.

<sup>3</sup> ea om. SpHVJK Froben 2.

<sup>4</sup> Numidamque PCM<sup>2</sup> : -umquae RMBD : -asque ANHVJK Allus, Froben.

<sup>5</sup> pacis quam A<sup>4</sup>N<sup>4</sup>HVJK : om. P(1)N.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Polybius l.c. ii. 11.

answer was made to them. Therefore, if his own decision was already made, *<let him declare it>*; if on the other hand Hasdrubal and the Carthaginians had to be conferred with, let him confer with them. It was time, they said, either to agree upon peace or to wage war in earnest. While Hasdrubal was being conferred with by Syphax, and the Carthaginians by Hasdrubal, the spies had time to observe everything, as had Scipio to get together whatever was needful. And out of the talk of peace and the hope of it, as usually happens, there sprang a neglect on the part of the Carthaginians and the Numidian to guard against any attack which might be made upon them in the meantime. At last the answer was returned, including certain unreasonable terms adroitly added just because the Roman seemed extremely desirous of peace. These furnished Scipio, who was eager to denounce the truce, a very timely pretext.<sup>1</sup> And after stating to the king's messenger that he would lay the matter before his council, on the next day he reported that, while he alone strove in vain to bring about peace, no one else had favoured it.<sup>1</sup> The messenger therefore, he said, should report that Syphax had no other hope of peace with the Romans except by abandoning the Carthaginians. His purpose in denouncing the truce was that, being no longer bound by promises, he might carry out his undertaking. And launching his ships—it was now the beginning of spring—he mounted engines of war and artillery upon them, as though intending to attack Utica from the sea. He also sent two thousand soldiers to seize the hill he had previously held,<sup>2</sup> looking down upon Utica, both

<sup>2</sup> See XXIX. xxxv. 7; Polybius §§ 3 f.

simul ut ab eo quod parabat in alterius rei curam  
 12 converteret hostium animos, simul ne qua, cum  
 ipse ad Syphacem Hasdrubalemque profectus esset,  
 eruptio ex urbe et impetus in castra sua relicta cum  
 levi praesidio fieret.

V. His praeparatis advocatoque consilio et dicere  
 exploratoribus iussis quae conperta adferrent Masinissaque, cui omnia hostium nota erant, postremo  
 ipse quid pararet in proximam noctem proponit;  
 2 tribunis edicit ut, ubi praetorio dimisso signa con-  
 cinnissent, extemplo educerent castris legiones.  
 3 Ita ut imperaverat signa sub occasum solis efferri sunt  
 copta. Ad primam ferme vigiliam agmen explicave-  
 runt; media nocte—septem enim milia itineris erant  
 —modico gradu ad castra hostium perventum est.  
 4 Ibi<sup>1</sup> Scipio partem copiarum Laelio Masinissamque ac  
 Numidas adtribuit et castra Syphacis invadere ignes-  
 5 que conicere iubet. Singulos deinde separatim  
 Laelium ac Masinissam seductos<sup>2</sup> obtestatur ut,  
 quantum nox providentiae adimat, tantum diligentia<sup>3</sup>  
 6 expleant curaque: se Hasdrubalem Punicaque castra  
 adgressurum; ceterum non ante coepitrum quam  
 7 ignem in regiis castris conspexisset. Neque ea res  
 morata diu est; nam ut primis<sup>4</sup> casis iniectus ignis  
 haesit, extemplo proxima quaeque et deinceps

<sup>1</sup> est. Ibi *P(1)N Aldus*: et ibi *HVJK*: *om. Froben* 2.

<sup>2</sup> seductos *HVJK Aldus, Froben, Eds.*: de- *P(1)N*.

<sup>3</sup> diligentia *P(3)Sp?HV Froben* 2: -nti (*with cura et*)  
*ANJK Aldus*.

<sup>4</sup> primis *Gronovius*: proximis *P(1)N HVJK* (*from proxima just below*).

<sup>1</sup> Obviously some of the centurions of iv. 1-3 appeared before the *consilium*.

in order to divert the attention of the enemy from his real purpose to anxiety about a different attack, and at the same time that, when he should himself set out to meet Syphax and Hasdrubal, there should be no sally from the city and no attack upon his camp when left with only a small garrison.

V. After these preparations, summoning the council, he ordered the spies<sup>1</sup> to set forth what information they had to report, and Masinissa as well, who knew everything about the enemy. Finally he laid before them his plan for the following night. To the tribunes he gave orders that, when the council had been dismissed and the trumpets had sounded, they should at once lead their legions out of the camp. In accordance with the orders he had given the standards were first set in motion just before sunset; at about the first watch the column was deployed. At midnight—for it was a march of seven miles—proceeding at a moderate speed they reached the enemy's camp. There Scipio assigned to Laelius a part<sup>2</sup> of the forces and Masinissa with his Numidians, and bade them burst into the camp of Syphax and set fire to it. He then led Laelius and Masinissa aside separately and implored each of them to make up by their diligence and alertness for all the foresight of which night deprived them. He was about to attack Hasdrubal, he said, and the Carthaginian camp; but he would not begin until he should see fire in the king's camp. Nor did that delay him long; for as soon as fire was thrown upon the first huts it caught, and then at once laying hold of everything

<sup>1</sup> One-half according to Polybius iv. 2, to which Livy's *partem* is not meant as a correction. The whole passage should be read, being more detailed than in the Latin version.

## LIVY

A.U.C.  
551

continua amplexus<sup>1</sup> totis se passim dissipavit  
 8 castris. Et trepidatio quidem, quantam<sup>2</sup> necesse  
 erat in nocturno effuso tam late incendio, orta est;  
 ceterum fortuitum, non hostilem ac bellicum ignem  
 rati esse, sine armis ad restinguendum incendium  
 9 effusi in armatos incidere hostes, maxime Numidas  
 ab Masinissa notitia regiorum castrorum ad exitus  
 10 itinerum idoneis locis dispositos. Multos<sup>3</sup> in ipsis  
 cubilibus semisomnos hausit flamma; multi<sup>4</sup> pree-  
 cipiti fuga ruentes super alios alii in angustiis porta-  
 rum obtriti sunt.

VI. Relucentem flamمام primo vigiles Cartha-  
 giniensium, deinde excitati alii nocturno tumultu  
 cum conspexissent, ab eodem errore credere et ipsi  
 2 sua sponte incendium ortum; et clamor inter  
 caedem et volnera sublatus an ex trepidatione  
 nocturna esset confusis<sup>5</sup> sensum veri adimebat.  
 3 Igitur pro se quisque inermes, ut quibus nihil hostile  
 suspectum esset, omnibus portis, qua cuique proxim-  
 um erat, ea modo quae restinguendo igni forent  
 4 portantes, in agmen Romanum ruebant. Quibus  
 caesis omnibus praeterquam hostili odio, etiam ne  
 quis nuntius refugeret,<sup>6</sup> exemplo Scipio neglectas ut  
 5 in tali tumultu portas invadit; ignibusque in proxima  
 tecta coniectis, effusa flamma primo velut sparsa plu-  
 ribus locis reluxit, dein per continua serpens uno re-

<sup>1</sup> amplexus, here *R* comes to an end.

<sup>2</sup> quantam *A<sup>v</sup> Gronovius*: quanta *P(3)NHVJK*.

<sup>3</sup> Multos *Sp(prob.)A<sup>t</sup>VJK Aldus*: -tis *H*: om. *P(3)V*.

<sup>4</sup> multi, after this *P(3)A<sup>t</sup>NHVJK* have in (ex *A*): rejected by *Alschefski, Madvig, Conway*.

<sup>5</sup> confusis *Rhenanus*: -sus *P(3)NVJK Aldus, Froben*.

<sup>6</sup> refugeret *HVJK*: ef. *P(3)N Aldus, Froben*.

that was near, and so on in unbroken succession, it B.C. 203 spread hither and thither through the entire camp. Great was the alarm, to be sure, as was inevitable in a fire so widespread in the night; but they thought the blaze accidental, not due to an enemy and war. Pouring out without arms to extinguish the flames, they encountered armed enemies, particularly Numidians posted in suitable places at the ends of the streets by Masinissa, familiar as he was with the king's camp. Many even in their beds and half-asleep were burned to death; many rushing pell-mell in headlong flight were trodden down in the narrow gateways.

VI. When the light of the fire had been seen, first by sentries of the Carthaginians and then by others whom the uproar in the night aroused, they likewise made the same mistake in believing the fire to be spontaneous. And outcries raised in the midst of slaughter and wounds made men unable to grasp the real situation, being half-inclined to think it due to a disturbance in the night. Accordingly, having no suspicion of any attack, they outdid one another in dashing out of all the gates unarmed, each taking the nearest way, carrying only what would be of use to extinguish the fire, and suddenly encountered the Roman column. When they had all been slain, not only because of an enemy's hatred, but also that no man might escape to tell the tale, Scipio at once burst into the gates, naturally unguarded in such a commotion. And then as firebrands were thrown upon the nearest roofs, the flames pouring out at first seemed to blaze at a number of scattered points; and then creeping along without a break they promptly consumed

## LIVY

A.U.C.  
551

6 pente omnia<sup>1</sup> incendio hausit. Ambusti homines  
 iumentaque foeda primum fuga, dein strage obrue-  
 bant<sup>2</sup> itinera portarum. Quos non oppresserat  
 ignis ferro absumpti, binaque castra clade<sup>3</sup> una  
 7 deleta. Duces tamen ambo et ex tot milibus arma-  
 torum duo milia peditum et quingenti equites semer-  
 mes, magna pars saucii adflatique incendio effugerunt.  
 8 Caesa aut hausta flammis ad<sup>4</sup> quadraginta milia  
 hominum sunt, capta supra quinque milia, multi  
 9 Carthaginiensium nobiles, undecim senatores; signa  
 militaria centum septuaginta quattuor, equi Numidici  
 supra duo milia septingentos<sup>5</sup>; elephanti sex capti,  
 octo ferro flammatique absumpti. Magna vis armorum  
 capta; ea omnia imperator Volcano sacrata incendit.

VII. Hasdrubal ex fuga cum paucis Afrorum ur-  
 bem proximam petierat, eoque omnes qui supererant  
 vestigia ducis sequentes se contulerant; metu deinde  
 2 ne dederetur Scipioni urbe excessit. Mox eodem pa-  
 tentibus portis Romani accepti, nec quicquam hostile,  
 quia voluntate concesserant in dicionem, factum.  
 Duae subinde urbes captae direptaeque. Ea praeda  
 et quae castris incensis ex igne rapta erat militi

<sup>1</sup> serpens uno repente omnia *P(3)NJK* *Eds.*: *om. SpHV*.

<sup>2</sup> obruebant *P(1)N* *Aldus*: -erant *SpHJK* *Froben* 2: obtruebant *Madvig*.

<sup>3</sup> clade *SpA<sup>4</sup>N<sup>4</sup>HVJK* *Froben* 2: de *P*: die *P<sup>2</sup>(3)A<sup>5</sup>N* *Aldus*.

<sup>4</sup> ad *HVJK* *Eds.*: *om. P(3)N*.

<sup>5</sup> septingentos *A<sup>4</sup>J*: -genti *A(decti)HK*; numerals *P(3)NV*.

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<sup>1</sup> The figures are taken from Polybius vi. 3, whose text gives none for the slain. But his editors indicate a lacuna after ch. v, to account for the omission. He was much impressed by the brilliance of Scipio's exploit (*ibid. fin.*). Appian has no fire in Syphax' camp, but gives 30,000 for the slain in Hasdrubal's army; *Pun.* 23.

everything in one conflagration. Men and beasts <sup>B.C. 203</sup> of burden that had suffered burns blocked streets leading to the gates, at first by their panic-stricken flight and then by their fallen bodies. Those whom the fire had not overtaken were destroyed by the sword, and two camps were wiped out in a single disaster. Both of the generals, however, made their escape, and out of so many thousand armed men two thousand infantry and five hundred<sup>1</sup> horsemen escaped half-armed, many of the men wounded and scorched by the flames. Slain or burned to death were some forty thousand men, more than five thousand captured, many Carthaginian nobles, eleven senators. Of military standards a hundred and seventy-four were taken, of Numidian horses over two thousand seven hundred. Six elephants were captured, eight destroyed by sword or by fire. A great number of arms were captured, and all of these the general-in-command dedicated to Vulcan and burned.<sup>2</sup>

VII. Hasdrubal after fleeing had made his way with a few men to the nearest city<sup>3</sup> of the Africans; and to it had come all the survivors, following the trail of their general. Then for fear that it might surrender to Scipio he left the city. Soon after the gates were opened and the Romans admitted to the same city. And since they had voluntarily submitted no hostile step was taken. Thereafter two cities were captured and plundered. Their booty and what had been rescued from the flames when the camps

<sup>2</sup> Cf. XXIII. xlvi. 5 (Marcellus at Nola).

<sup>3</sup> Anda according to Appian *op. cit.* 24; not elsewhere mentioned. In Polybius the town appears to have been named in the lacuna before ch. vi.

## LIVY

A.U.C.  
551

3 concessa est. Syphax octo milium ferme inde spatio  
 loco munito<sup>1</sup> consedit; Hasdrubal Carthaginem  
 contendit, ne quid per metum ex recenti clade  
 4 mollius consuleretur. Quo tantus primo terror est  
 adlatus ut omissa Utica Carthaginem crederent  
 5 extemplo Scipionem obsessurum.<sup>2</sup> Senatum itaque  
 sufetes, quod velut consulare imperium apud eos  
 6 erat, vocaverunt. Ibi tribus sententiis certatum<sup>3</sup>; una de pace legatos ad Scipionem decernebat,  
 altera Hannibalem ad tuendam ab exitiabili bello  
 patriam revocabat, tertia Romanae in adversis rebus  
 7 constantiae erat; reparandum exercitum Syphacemque  
 hortandum ne bello absisteret censebat. Haec  
 sententia, quia Hasdrubal praesens Barcinaeque  
 8 omnes factionis bellum malebant, vicit. Inde  
 dilectus in urbe agrisque haberri coepitus, et ad  
 Syphacem legati missi, summa ope et ipsum reparan-  
 tem bellum, cum uxor non iam ut ante blanditiis,  
 9 satis potentibus ad animum amantis, sed precibus et  
 misericordia valuisse, plena lacrimarum obtestans  
 ne patrem suum patriamque proderet isdemque  
 flammis Carthaginem quibus castra conflagrassent  
 10 absumi sineret. Spem quoque opportune oblatam  
 adferebant legati: quattuor milia Celtiberorum

<sup>1</sup> munito *SpHVJK* *Froben* 2: com. *P(3)N Aldus*.

<sup>2</sup> ob- (*or op-*)sessurum *P(3)AN HVJK*: oppressurum *AN Aldus, Froben*.

<sup>3</sup> sententiis certatum *Madrig, Conway* (*M. Müller added est*): *om. P(3)NHVJK*, one line: dictis sententiis *Aldus, Froben*.

<sup>1</sup> The town of Abba in Polybius § 12; vii. 5. Obba, below, § 10, cannot be the same. Cf. p. 389, n. 2; 550 f.

<sup>2</sup> For the two *sufetes* cf. XXVIII. xxxvii. 2; XXXIV. lxi. 15.

were burned was granted to the soldiers. Syphax <sup>B.C. 203</sup> established himself in a fortified place <sup>1</sup> at a distance of about eight miles. Hasdrubal hastened to Carthage, that no weak action might be taken in the fear induced by the recent disaster. At first the news brought such alarm to the city that they believed Scipio would leave Utica to itself and forthwith besiege Carthage. The senate was accordingly convened by the *sufētes*, whose authority corresponded to that of consuls.<sup>2</sup> There it was a conflict between three proposals : one favoured peace envoys to Scipio ; the second was for recalling Hannibal to defend their city from a war which meant destruction ; the third showed a Roman steadfastness in adversity. This proposal was that they should repair the losses to the army and urge Syphax not to give up the war.<sup>3</sup> This motion was carried because Hasdrubal in person and all of the Barcine party supported the war. Then they began to conduct a levy in the city and in the country, and emissaries were sent to Syphax, who on his part also was making every effort to renew the war, since his wife had influenced him—no longer, as before, by caresses, effectual enough for the temper of a lover—but by prayers and moving entreaty, imploring him, as her eyes filled with tears, not to betray her father and her city and allow Carthage to be destroyed by the same flames with which the camps had been consumed. Hope also at the right moment was brought by the emissaries in the news that four thousand Celti-

<sup>3</sup> The three proposals are from Polybius vi. 10 ff. Not so the following reference to Hasdrubal and the party of Hannibal. In one version Hasdrubal's loss of an army was to be punished by execution; Appian *Pun.* 24, 36; cf. 38.

## LIVY

A.U.C.  
551

circa urbem nomine Obbam, ab conqueritoribus suis  
 conducta in Hispania, egregiae iuventutis, sibi  
 occurrisse; et Hasdrubalem propediem adfore cum  
 11 manu haudquaquam contemnenda. Igitur non  
 benigne modo legatis respondit, sed ostendit etiam<sup>1</sup>  
 multitudinem agrestium Numidarum, quibus per  
 eosdem<sup>2</sup> dies arma equosque dedisset, et omnem  
 12 iuventutem adfirmat ex regno exciturum; scire  
 incendio, non proelio cladem acceptam; eum bello  
 13 inferiorem esse qui armis vineatur. Haec legatis  
 responsa, et post dies paucos rursus Hasdrubal et  
 Syphax copias iunxerunt. Is omnis exercitus fuit  
 triginta ferme milium<sup>3</sup> armatorum.

VIII. Scipionem, velut iam debellato quod ad  
 Syphacem Carthaginensesque attineret, Uticae oppu-  
 gnandae intentum iamque machinas admoventem  
 2 muris avertit fama redintegrati belli; modicisque  
 praesidiis ad speciem modo obsidionis terra marique  
 relictis ipse cum robore exercitus ire ad hostes  
 3 pergit. Primo in tumulo quattuor milia ferme distante  
 ab castris regiis consedit; postero die cum equitatu in

<sup>1</sup> etiam *P(3)NH*: eam *VJK*.

<sup>2</sup> eosdem *P(3) N Aldus, Froben*: eos *HVJK*.

<sup>3</sup> milium *HVJ Froben* 2: millium *K*: milia (-ll- *P*) *P(3)N Aldus*.

berians, the flower of their youth, had met them near B.C. 203 a city named Obba, having been hired in Spain by their own recruiting-officers; and Hasdrubal, they said, would soon arrive with a force by no means to be despised. In consequence he not only gave a favourable answer to the legates but also showed them a large number of Numidian rustics to whom he had just been furnishing arms and horses, and assured them that he would call out all the young men from his kingdom. He was aware, he said, that the disaster had been due to fire, not to battle; that a war is lost only by the man who is defeated in battle. Such was his answer to the legates, and after a few days Hasdrubal and Syphax again united their forces. The total strength of that army was about thirty thousand armed men.<sup>1</sup>

VIII. Scipio, as though the war was already over so far as concerned Syphax and the Carthaginians, was intent upon the siege of Utica and already bringing up his engines to the walls when news of renewed hostilities turned his attention in another direction. And leaving sufficient land and sea forces merely to keep up the appearance of a blockade, he himself at once advanced with the main body of his army against the enemy.<sup>2</sup> At first he established himself upon a hill about four miles from the king's camp. On the following day with his cavalry he

<sup>1</sup> Polybius' figures, including Numidians and the Celtiberian mercenaries; *l.c.* vii. 9.

<sup>2</sup> This and the next sentence would lead us to suppose the advance to have been for a short distance only. But Livy, condensing Polybius, omits to mention a five-days' march. The battle-field then will be some 80 miles south-west of Utica. Syphax and Hasdrubal had removed to that distance in order to gain time and to receive reinforcements from Numidia.

Magnos—ita vocant—Campos subiectos ei tumulo  
 degressus, succedendo ad stationes hostium laces-  
 4 sendoque levibus proeliis diem absumpsit. Et per  
 insequens biduum tumultuosis hinc atque illinc  
 excursionibus in vicem nihil dictu satis dignum  
 fecerunt; quarto die in aciem utrimque descensum  
 5 est. Romanus principes post<sup>1</sup> hastatorum prima  
 signa, in subsidiis triarios constituit; equitatum  
 Italicum ab dextro cornu, ab laevo Numidas Masinis-  
 6 samque opposuit. Syphax Hasdrubalque Numidis  
 adversus Italicum equitatum, Carthaginiensibus  
 contra Masinissam locatis Celtiberos in medium  
 7 aciem adversus signa legionum accepere. Ita  
 instructi concurrunt. Primo<sup>2</sup> impetu simul utraque  
 cornua, et Numidae et Carthaginienses, pulsi;  
 nam neque<sup>3</sup> Numidae maxima pars agrestes, Roma-  
 num equitatum neque Carthaginienses, et ipse novus  
 miles, Masinissam recenti super cetera victoria  
 8 terribilem sustinuere. Nudata utrimque cornibus  
 Celtiberum acies stabat, quod nec in fuga salus ulla  
 ostendebatur locis ignotis, neque spes veniae ab  
 Scipione erat, quem bene meritum de se et gente sua

<sup>1</sup> principes post *Victorius*, *Eds.*: post principes *P(3)M<sup>2</sup>?NHVJK Allus*, *Froben*.

<sup>2</sup> Primo *P(3)NH Allus*, *Froben*: igitur primo *A·VJK*.

<sup>3</sup> nam neque *A·VJK Eds.*: namque *P(3)NH*: nam *M.*

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<sup>1</sup> La Dakhla, the broad central valley of the Medjerda (Bagradas), the granary of Tunisia. In geological times a broad lake 25 miles long. Spaces so ample make it impossible to identify the field of battle. Ennius in a fragment represents Scipio as addressing the *patria*: she has no reason for fear in view of his victories: *Testes sunt Campi Magni*; Vahlen<sup>3</sup> p. 213; Cicero *de Orat.* III. 167; Warmington, *Remains of Old Latin* I. p. 398; cf. Polybius vii. 9; viii. 2; Appian *Pun.*

went down into the so-called Great Plain,<sup>1</sup> at the foot B.C. 203 of that hill, and spent the day in light engagements, advancing against the enemy's outposts and challenging them. And on the next two days by irregular charges, now from one side and now from the other by turns, they accomplished nothing worthy of mention. On the fourth day both went down into battle-line. The Roman placed his *principes* behind the front line maniples, made up of the *hastati*, and as reserves the *triarii*.<sup>2</sup> The Italic cavalry he posted on the right wing, on the left the Numidians and Masinissa. Syphax and Hasdrubal opposed the Numidians to the Italic cavalry, the Carthaginians to Masinissa, and then placed the Celtiberians in the centre of the battle-line facing the maniples<sup>3</sup> of the legions. In this formation they clashed. By the first attack both wings, Numidians and Carthaginians alike, were beaten back at the same time. For neither could the Numidians, most of them rustics, withstand the Roman cavalry, nor could the Carthaginians, who were likewise raw recruits, hold out against Masinissa, a foe to be feared for other reasons and also on account of his recent victory. Stripped of both wings the line of the Celtiberians made a stand because they could see no safety in flight since they did not know the country, and they had no hope of pardon from Scipio since they had come to Africa

68 fin.; Veith, *Antike Schlachtfelder* III. 2. 589 ff.; Gsell, *Hist. ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* III. 229 ff.; Scullard, *Scipio Africanus* 209 ff.

<sup>2</sup> This was the customary formation, as Polybius observes; viii. 5; cf. below, xxxii. 11; XXII. v. 7.

<sup>3</sup> For Polybius' terms for the maniple cf. p. 62, n. 2. In the passage used by Livy here both *σημαῖα* and *σπεῖρα* occur; viii. 5, 7; cf. XV. ix. 7.

mercennariis armis in Africam oppugnatum<sup>1</sup> venis-  
9 sent. Igitur circumfusis undique hostibus alii super  
alios cadentes obstinate moriebantur; omnibusque  
in eos versis aliquantum ad fugam temporis Syphax  
et Hasdrubal paeceperunt. Fatigatos caede diutius  
quam pugna victores nox oppressit.

IX. Postero die Scipio Laelium Masinissamque  
cum omni Romano et Numidico equitatu expeditis-  
que<sup>2</sup> militum ad persequendos Syphacem atque Has-  
2 drubalem mittit; ipse cum robore exercitus urbes  
circa, quae omnes Carthaginiensium dicionis erant,  
3 partim spe, partim metu, partim vi subigit. Cartha-  
gini erat quidem ingens terror, et circumferentem  
arma Scipionem omnibus finitimis raptim perdomitis  
ipsam Carthaginem repente adgressorum credebant.  
4 Itaque et muri reficiebantur propugnaculisque arma-  
bantur, et pro se quisque quae diutinae obsidionis<sup>3</sup>  
5 tolerandae sunt ex agris convehebat.<sup>4</sup> Rara mentio  
est pacis, frequentior legatorum ad Hannibalem  
6 arcessendum mittendorum; pars maxima classem  
quae ad commeatus excipiendos parata erat mittere  
iubent ad opprimendam stationem navium ad Uticam  
incaute agentem; forsitan etiam navalia castra,  
7 reicta cum levi praesidio, oppressuros. In hoc

<sup>1</sup> in Africam oppugnatum *P(3)N Aldus, Froben*: oppugna-  
tum in Africam *HVJK*.

<sup>2</sup> expeditisque *P(3)N Aldus*; -tissimisque *A HVJK*  
*Froben* 2.

<sup>3</sup> obsidionis (*or ops-*) *P(3)N*: -oni *Sp A HVJK Aldus*.

<sup>4</sup> convehebat *Sp Froben* 2 (-bant *JK*: -bantur *HV*):  
convehit *P(3)N Aldus*.

<sup>1</sup> Hasdrubal fled to Carthage. In the hope of overtaking  
Syphax the pursuit was mainly to the west; Polybius § 14.

as mercenaries to attack him in spite of his kind treatment of them and their tribe. Therefore when the enemy had completely encircled them, falling one above another they were resolute in dying. And while all the enemy were intent upon them Syphax and Hasdrubal took advantage of a considerable interval for flight. Nightfall surprised the victors exhausted by a slaughter outlasting the battle.

IX. On the following day Scipio sent Laelius and Masinissa with all the Roman and Numidian cavalry and light-armed soldiers to pursue Syphax and Hasdrubal.<sup>1</sup> He himself with the main body of the army, partly by inspiring hope, partly by arousing fear, partly by the use of force, gained possession of neighbouring cities, all of which were subject to the Carthaginians. At Carthage there was a veritable panic, and they believed that Scipio, whose forces were circling about them, after swiftly vanquishing all their neighbours would suddenly assail Carthage itself. Accordingly they were repairing the walls and providing them with battlements; and men also each for himself brought in from the country what was needed in order to endure a long siege. Seldom was mention made of peace, more frequently they spoke of sending messengers to summon Hannibal. The majority urged that they should take the fleet, which had been made ready to intercept supplies, and send it to surprise the ships at anchor before Utica while off their guard. Perhaps, men said, they would surprise the naval camp<sup>2</sup> as well, which had been left with a small garrison. To this

<sup>2</sup> A part of the Castra Cornel(i)an(a), as it was later named, on the promontory; XXIX, xxxv. 13 and note.

consilium maxime inclinant; legatos tamen ad Hannibalem mittendos censem: quippe classi ut felicissime geratur<sup>1</sup> res, parte aliqua levari Uticae obsidionem; Carthaginem ipsam qui tueatur<sup>2</sup> neque imperatorem alium quam Hannibalem neque exercitum alium quam Hannibal superesse. Deductae ergo postero die naves, simul et legati in Italiam profecti; raptimque omnia stimulante fortuna agebantur, et in quo quisque cessasset prodi ab se salutem omnium rebatur.

10 Scipio gravem iam spoliis multarum urbium exercitum trahens, captivis aliaque praeda in vetera castra ad Uticam missis, iam in Carthaginem intentus occupat relictum fuga custodum Tyneta. Abest ab Carthagine quindecim milia ferme passuum locus, 11 cum operibus tum suapte natura tutus,<sup>3</sup> et qui et ab Carthagine conspici et praebere ipse prospectum cum ad urbem tum ad circumfusum<sup>4</sup> mare urbi possit.<sup>5</sup>

X. Inde, cum maxime vallum Romani iacerent, conspecta classis hostium est Uticam a Carthagine 2 petens. Igitur omisso opere pronuntiatum iter signaque raptim ferri sunt coepta, ne naves in terram et obsidionem versae ac minime navalii proelio aptae

<sup>1</sup> geratur *Sp?HVJK Froben* 2 : -rantur *P(3)N Aldus*.

<sup>2</sup> tueatur *P(3)NK Aldus* : -antur *SpA<sup>z</sup>N<sup>z</sup>VJ Froben* 2.

<sup>3</sup> locus . . . tutus *P(3)N Aldus*, Eds.: locum . . . tutum *Sp<sup>z</sup>A<sup>z</sup>HJK Froben* 2, Riemann, Conway (with abest . . . passuum as parenth.).

<sup>4</sup> cum (tum *VJK*) ad urbem tum ad circumfusum *A<sup>z</sup>N<sup>z</sup>VJK*: circumfusum *P(3)N*, om. one line: confusum *BD*.

<sup>5</sup> possit *P(3)N*: posset *A<sup>z</sup>HVJK Aldus, Froben*.

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<sup>1</sup> The scene in the Carthaginian senate is repainted after Polybius ix. 6-11.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. note on § 6.

plan they were particularly inclined, but voted to send messengers to Hannibal.<sup>1</sup> For, they said, even supposing a great victory gained by the fleet, the siege of Utica would indeed be partially relieved; but for the defence of Carthage itself there remained no other general than Hannibal, no other army than that of Hannibal. Consequently ships were launched next day and at the same time the messengers sailed for Italy. There was also haste in all that they did under the goad of misfortune, while every one felt that if he should relax any effort he would be betraying the safety of all.

Scipio, who was slowly leading an army laden now with the spoils of many cities, sent captives and the rest of the spoils to the old camp<sup>2</sup> before Utica, and being now intent upon Carthage, took possession of Tynes,<sup>3</sup> abandoned by a fleeing garrison. The place is about fifteen miles from Carthage and defended by fortifications and particularly by its natural situation. It can also be seen from Carthage, at the same time itself affording a view both towards that city and towards the sea around the city. X. From that point, just as they were throwing up an earthwork, the Romans sighted the enemy's fleet making towards Utica from Carthage. Accordingly work was dropped, marching orders given and the standards hastily set in motion, that the ships, headed towards land and the besieged city, also in no condition for a naval battle, might not be taken by

<sup>1</sup> Tunis, on a narrow tongue of land, nowhere higher than 190 feet, between the Lac de Tunis and the lagoon, now a salt lake. Cf. Strabo XVII. iii. 16. The distance from Carthage agrees with Polybius (120 stades; x. 5), but it is in fact 10 miles.

3 opprimerentur: qui enim restitissent agili et nautico instrumento aptae et armatae classi<sup>i</sup> naves tormenta machinasque portantes et aut in onerariarum usum versae aut<sup>1</sup> ita ad pulsae muris ut pro aggere ac pontibus praebere ascensum<sup>2</sup> possent?

4 Itaque Scipio, postquam eo ventum est, contra quam<sup>3</sup> in navali certamine solet, rostratis quae praesidio aliis esse poterant<sup>4</sup> in postremam aciem receptis 5 prope terram, onerariarum quadruplicem ordinem pro muro adversus hostem opposuit, easque ipsas, ne in tumultu pugnae turbari ordines possent, malis antemnisque de nave in navem traiectis ac validis funibus velut uno inter se vinculo inligatis comprehendit, tabulas- 6 que superinstravit,<sup>5</sup> ut pervium in totum navium<sup>6</sup> ordinem esset,<sup>7</sup> et sub ipsis pontibus intervalla fecit, qua 7 procurrere speculatoriae naves in hostem ac tuto re- cipi possent. His raptim pro tempore instructis mille ferme delecti propugnatores onerariis imponuntur; telorum maxime<sup>8</sup> missilium, ut quamvis longo 8 certamini<sup>9</sup> sufficerent, vis ingens congeritur. Ita parati atque intenti hostium adventum opperiebantur.

<sup>1</sup> in onerariarum . . . aut om. *SpHV*: supplied from *P(3)N* and (om. aut) *JK*.

<sup>2</sup> ascensum *SpA'VJK* *Froben* 2, *Conway*: ascensus *P(3)NH* *Eds.*: accessum *Allus*.

<sup>3</sup> eo . . . quam om. *P(3)N*: supplied by *Sp?A'N'HVJK*.

<sup>4</sup> poterant *P(3)NHVJK* *Eds.*: potuerant *Madvig*, *Emend.*: non poterant *conj.* *Weissenborn*.

<sup>5</sup> superinstravit *P(3)NJK* *Aldus*: in- *M*: super- *Sp?HV* *Froben* 2.

<sup>6</sup> in totum navium *SpA'N'VJK* *Froben* 2: om. *P(3)N*.

<sup>7</sup> esset *SpV* *Froben* 2: faceret *A'J* *Aldus*: -rent *K*: fecisset *P(3)N*.

<sup>8</sup> maxime om. *P(3)N*.

<sup>9</sup> certamini *K* *Madvig*, *Emend.*: -ine *P(3)NHVJK* *Conway*.

surprise. For how could an easily manœuvred fleet, <sup>B.C. 203</sup> properly rigged with ship's gear and armed, have been resisted by ships carrying artillery and engines, and either converted now into transports or lying so close to the walls as to make scaling possible as if from an embankment and drawbridges?

Consequently Scipio, on reaching the place, gave those war-ships<sup>1</sup> which might have defended the others a place in the rear line near the land, contrary to the usual practice in a naval battle. On the other hand he placed four lines of transports as a bulwark against the enemy. To prevent the lines from being broken in the confusion of the battle he also held these transports together by placing masts and yards crosswise from ship to ship and lashing them with stout ropes as if by a single cable. In addition he laid down planks above to make a gangway the whole length of the line of ships; and beneath these bridges he left openings where scouting vessels could dash out against the enemy and return in safety. These preparations having been hastily completed as best the circumstances permitted, about a thousand picked fighting men were placed on board the transports. A vast number of weapons, chiefly missiles, were assembled, that they might be sufficient for a battle no matter how long-continued. Thus equipped and alert they were awaiting the approach of the enemy.

<sup>1</sup> Not mentioned again in the account of the battle. They would be perfectly helpless if the barrier of transports should be broken through. No figures are given here by Polybius, whose text breaks off abruptly after XIV. x. Appian, recording a different attack upon Scipio's naval base, has 100 Carthaginian war-ships against 20 Roman triremes; *Pun.* 24 *fin.*

Carthaginienses, qui, si maturassent, omnia  
 permixta turba trepidantium primo impetu oppres-  
 sissent,<sup>1</sup> perculti terrestribus cladibus atque inde  
 ne<sup>2</sup> mari quidem, ubi ipsi plus poterant, satis  
 fidentes, die segni navigatione absumpto sub occasum  
 solis in portum—Rusucmona Afri vocant—classem  
 adpulere. Postero die sub ortum solis instruxere ab  
 alto naves velut ad iustum proelium navale et tam-  
 quam exituris contra Romanis. Cum diu stetissent,  
 postquam nihil moveri ab hostibus viderunt, tum  
 demum onerarias adgrediuntur. Erat res minime  
 certamini navalii similis, proxime speciem muros  
 oppugnantium navium. Altitudine aliquantum  
 onerariae superabant; ex rostratis Poeni vana plera-  
 que, utpote supino iactu, tela in locum superioremittebant; gravior ac pondere ipso libratori superne  
 ex onerariis ictus erat. Speculatoriae naves ac levia  
 alia<sup>3</sup> navigia, quae sub constratis pontium per inter-  
 valla excurrebant, primo ipsae tantum<sup>4</sup> impetu ac  
 magnitudine rostratarum obruebantur; deinde pro-  
 pugnatoribus quoque incommodae erant, quod per-  
 mixtae cum hostium navibus inhibere saepe tela coge-  
 bant metu ne ambiguo ictu suis inciderent. Postremo

<sup>1</sup> oppressissent *P*<sup>2</sup>(3) *N Aldus*: pressissent *P*: deprehendis-  
 sent (*or* -prend-) *Sp N*<sup>4</sup> (*alt.*) *HVJK* *Froben* 2.

<sup>2</sup> ne *A*<sup>6</sup>? *Alschefski*: ne in *N JK* *Aldus*, *Froben*: in  
*P* 3 *B NV*: *om. BH*.

<sup>3</sup> alia *N HVJK*: ipsa *P(3)N Aldus*, *Froben*: *om. JK*.

<sup>4</sup> ipsae tantum *H*<sup>1</sup>: ipso tantum *A JK* *Aldus*, *Froben*:  
 ipsae tanto *P(3)*.

The Carthaginians, whose first attack, had they made it in good time, would have been overpowering when everything was confused by the mass of men dashing about, were discouraged by their disastrous defeats on the land. And having in consequence no sufficient confidence on the sea either, where lay their own superiority, after spending the day in sailing slowly, they put in with their fleet about sunset into a harbour called Rusucemon<sup>1</sup> by the Africans. On the next day about sunrise they drew up their ships in the open sea, as if for a regular naval battle and anticipating that the Romans would come out against them. After keeping their position for a long time and observing no movement on the part of the enemy, then only did they attack the transports. It was not in the least like a naval battle, but had almost the appearance of ships attacking the walls of a city. The transports were considerably higher. From their war-ships the Carthaginians generally hurled their weapons to no purpose against a higher position, since they did so leaning backwards, while a hit from the transports above was heavier and from its mere weight had more force. Scouting vessels and other light craft, which kept dashing out through openings underneath the bridges, were at first themselves sunk by the mere momentum and mass of the war-ships. Later they interfered with the fighting men as well because, as they mingled with the enemy's vessels, they often compelled the soldiers to withhold their missiles for fear in their uncertain aim they might hit their own men. Finally poles with an iron hook

<sup>1</sup> West of the Promontory of Apollo, it was inside the bay but had no real harbour. Its modern successor is Porto Farina.

asseres ferreo unco praefixi—harpagones vocat<sup>1</sup>  
 miles<sup>2</sup>—ex Punicis navibus inici in Romanas coepti.  
 17 Quos cum neque ipsos neque catenas quibus suspensi  
 iniciebantur incidere possent, ut quaeque retro in-  
 hibita rostrata onerariam haerentem unco traheret,  
 18 scindi videres vineula quibus aliis<sup>3</sup> innexa erat,  
 19 seriem etiam<sup>4</sup> simul plurium navium trahi. Hoc  
 maxime modo lacerati primi quidem ordinis<sup>5</sup> pontes,  
 et vix transiliendi in secundum ordinem navium  
 20 spatium propugnatoribus datum est. Sexaginta<sup>6</sup>  
 ferme onerariae puppis abstractae Carthaginem  
 sunt. Maior quam pro re laetitia, sed<sup>7</sup> eo gratior  
 quod inter adsiduas clades ac lacrimas unum quan-  
 21 tumcumque ex insperato gaudium adfulserat, cum  
 eo ut appareret haud procul exitio fuisse Romanam  
 classem, ni cessatum a praefectis suarum navium foret  
 et Scipio in tempore subvenisset.

XI. Per eosdem forte dies cum Laelius et Masi-

<sup>1</sup> vocat *Px Gronovius*: -ant *CMBDANHVKJK*.

<sup>2</sup> miles *B<sup>2</sup>NHV Gronovius*: mil *PCMDA*: mille *C*: milex *BN*: milites *M<sup>7</sup> Aldus, Froben*; *om. A<sup>1</sup>JK*.

<sup>3</sup> aliis *CHVJK Froben* 2: alia aliis *P(3)N Aldus*.

<sup>4</sup> etiam *Ussing, Madvig, Luchs*: aliam *P(3)NJK Aldus, Froben, Eds., Conway*: alias (*adv.*) *Riemann*.

<sup>5</sup> *(primi)* quidem ordinis *M. Müller* (*with ordinis for MSS. omnes*): *Riemann* (*retains omnes*): quidem *P(3)NHWJK* (*bracketed by Conway*): tandem *Madvig*.

<sup>6</sup> Sexaginta *H*: ex (*for lx*) *P*: sex *P<sup>2</sup>N Aldus, Froben*: *XL* (*or in full*) *A<sup>1</sup>VJK*.

<sup>7</sup> sed *P(3)NSp(app.)HVKJK Aldus, Eds.*: fuit et *Madvig, Emend.* Most *Eds.* begin a new sentence at *Maior*. Hence *Madvig's demand for fuit*. *Riemann would insert ubi fuit before maior*. Others understand *maior laetitia* to be in appos. with the previous statement.

at the end—grappling-irons<sup>1</sup> the soldiers call them B.C. 203  
 —began to be thrown from the Carthaginian ships upon the Roman. Since the crews were unable either to cut off these poles or the chains by which they were hanging when thrown, whenever a warship was propelled astern, dragging a transport grappled by the hook, one might have seen men breaking up the links by which it had been bound to others, and even several of the vessels being towed away together. Much after this fashion the bridges in the first line were broken down and hardly enough time was given the fighting men to spring across to the second line of ships. About sixty transports<sup>2</sup> were towed away by the stern to Carthage. Rejoicing for that was excessive, but all the more acceptable because, in the midst of uninterrupted defeats and sorrows, one ray of joy however small had unexpectedly beamed upon them. In addition it was clear to them that the Roman fleet had narrowly escaped destruction, and would have been destroyed if the captains<sup>3</sup> of their own ships had not loitered, and if Scipio had not come to its aid in the nick of time.

XI. About the same time, as it happened, after

<sup>1</sup> Exaggerated boathooks. Cf. Vol. VII. p. 149 and note; Caesar *B.G.* VII. lxxxii. 1; *Bell. Hisp.* xvi. 2; Curtius IV. ii. 12; Vegetius II. 25; IV. 44 (in the navy); Zonaras IX. xii. 10.

<sup>2</sup> On the voyage across from Lilybaeum he had 400 transports; XXIX. xxvi. 3. Their number by this time may have been considerably increased.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. XXI. lxi. 4; XXXVI. xliv. 1; *magistri navium* in XXIX. xxv. 7. The admiral was a Hamilcar according to Appian *Pun.* 24. Cf. Laelius as *praefectus classis*, XXVI. xlvi. 7; XXIX. xxv. 10.

nissa quinto decimo ferme die in Numidiam per-  
 venissent, Maesulii, regnum paternum Masinissae,  
 laeti ut ad regem diu<sup>1</sup> desideratum concessere.  
 2 Syphax pulsis inde praefectis praesidiisque suis  
 vetere se continebat regno, neutquam quieturus.  
 3 Stimulabat<sup>2</sup> aegrum amore uxor socerque, et ita  
 viris equisque abundabat ut subiectae oculis regni  
 per multos florentis annos vires etiam minus barbaro  
 atque inpotenti animo spiritus possent facere.  
 4 Igitur omnibus qui bello apti erant in unum coactis  
 equos, arma, tela dividit; equites in turmas, pedites  
 in cohortes, sicut quondam ab Romanis centurionibus  
 5 didicerat, distribuit. Exercitu haud minore quam  
 quem prius habuerat, ceterum omni prope novo  
 6 atque incondito, ire ad hostes pergit. Et castris in  
 propinquo positis primo pauci equites ex tuto  
 speculantes ab stationibus progredi, dein iaculis  
 summoti recurrere ad suos; inde excursiones in  
 vicem fieri et, cum pulsos indignatio accenderet,  
 7 plures subire, quod inritamentum certaminum  
 equestrium est, cum aut vincentibus spes aut pulsis  
 ira adgregat suos.  
 8 Ita tum a paucis proelio accenso omnem utrimque  
 postremo equitatum certaminis studium effudit.  
 Ac dum sincerum<sup>3</sup> equestre proelium erat, multitudo

<sup>1</sup> diu *P(3)NJK Aldus, Froben*: *om. SpHV.*

<sup>2</sup> Stimulabat *P(3)N Aldus*: -bant *SpN\*HVJK Froben* 2.

<sup>3</sup> sincerum *P(3)N(-re AN)*: *om. HVJK Aldus, Froben.*

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<sup>1</sup> Ten years before; XXIV. xlviij. 11 f.

Laelius and Masinissa had reached Numidia in about B.C. 203 fifteen days, the Maesulians, that is, the kingdom of Masinissa's father, joyfully submitted to his rule, as that of a long-wished-for king. Syphax, when his commanders and garrisons had been driven out, confined himself to his old kingdom with no intention of remaining inactive. Love-sick, he was spurred on by his wife and father-in-law, and he had men and horses in such abundance that, when the forces of a kingdom that had flourished for many years were before his eyes, they could have roused a spirit that was even less barbarous and uncontrollable. Therefore, concentrating all the men fit for war, he assigned them horses, arms and missile weapons. He organized cavalry in troops, infantry in cohorts, in the manner he had formerly<sup>1</sup> learned from Roman centurions. With an army no smaller than that which he had had before, but almost entirely raw and untrained, he at once advanced against the enemy. And after a camp had been pitched not far away, at first a few horsemen rode forth from the outposts, scouting from a safe distance; then being driven away by lances they dashed back to their own men. Next in order came attacks made from both sides and, as men beaten back were inflamed by anger, more and more came to help them—the usual provocation in cavalry engagements, when either hope adds reinforcements to the successful or anger to those who have been repulsed.

So on this occasion, the battle having been begun by a few, all the cavalry of both sides in the end were sent pouring out by their zest for the fray. And so long as it was purely a cavalry battle, the great

Masaesuliorum, ingentia agmina Syphace emittente,  
 9 sustineri vix poterat; deinde, ut pedes Romanus  
 repantino per turmas suas<sup>1</sup> viam dantes inter-  
 cursu stabilem aciem fecit absterruitque effuse in-  
 hentem sese hostem, primo barbari segnius permettere  
 10 equos, dein stare ac prope turbari<sup>2</sup> novo genere  
 pugnae, postremo non pediti solum cedere, sed ne  
 equitem quidem sustinere peditis praesidio audentem.  
 11 Iam signa quoque legionum adpropinquabant. Tum  
 vero Masaesulii non modo primum impetum, sed ne  
 conspectum quidem signorum atque armorum tule-  
 runt; tantum seu memoria priorum clodium seu  
 praesens terror valuit.

XII. Ibi Syphax, dum obequitat hostium turmis,  
 2 si pudore, si periculo suo fugam sistere posset, equo  
 graviter icto effusus opprimitur capiturque et vivus,  
 laetum ante omnes Masinissae praebiturus specta-  
 3 culum, ad Laelium pertrahitur.<sup>3</sup> Caedes<sup>4</sup> in eo  
 proelio minor quam victoria fuit, quia equestri  
 4 tantummodo proelio certatum fuerat. Non plus  
 quinque milia occisa, minus dimidium eius hominum  
 captum est impetu in castro facto, quo perculta rege  
 amissso multitudo se contulerat.

<sup>1</sup> suas CHVJK Aldus, Froben, Eds.: suis A<sup>6</sup> Conway: suam P(3).

<sup>2</sup> prope turbari K Aldus, Froben, Eds.: propere turbari A(-are J): propere turbati P(3)N: prope torpere turbati Novik (with stupere M. Müller).

<sup>3</sup> pertrahitur P(3)N Aldus: at- (or ad-) HJK Froben 2.

<sup>4</sup> Caedes, etc., this sentence and the following in the MSS. and most eds. follow Cirta . . vis (§ 3, p. 406): transferred to this position, as logical order requires, by Madvig, Conway.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. XXVIII. xvii. 5; XXIX. xxx. 10; xxxii. 14.

numbers of the Masaesulians,<sup>1</sup> while Syphax was b.c. 203 sending out huge columns, could hardly be withstood. Then when Roman infantry<sup>2</sup> by a sudden movement into the openings made for them by troops of their own cavalry had steadied the battle-line and checked the wild charge of the enemy, the barbarians at first gave their horses less rein, then were at a standstill and all but confounded by the strange tactics. Finally they not only gave way before the infantry but did not withstand the cavalry either, who were emboldened by the protection of infantry. And now the units of legionaries<sup>3</sup> also were approaching. Then indeed the Masaesulians failed to sustain not only the first attack but even the sight of the standards and arms. Such was the effect either of remembering former defeats or of their present alarm.

XII. Then Syphax, while riding up to the enemy's troops of cavalry in the hope that by putting his men to shame, by exposing himself, he might be able to stem their flight, was thrown from a horse which had been seriously wounded, was overpowered, captured and brought alive to Laelius, a welcome sight presently to Masinissa above all others. The slaughter in that battle was not in proportion to the scale of the victory, since only a cavalry battle had been fought. Not more than five thousand men were slain; less than half of that number were captured in an attack upon the camp, to which very many men, losing heart with the loss of their king, had retreated.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., only the light-armed (*velites*). The legionaries enter first in § 11.

<sup>3</sup> Doubtless detachments, since in ix. 1 no mention was made of an entire legion.

5 Cirta caput regni Syphacis erat, eoque se<sup>1</sup> ingens  
 6 hominum ex fuga<sup>2</sup> contulit vis.<sup>3</sup> Masinissa sibi  
 quidem dicere nihil esse in praesentia pulchrius quam  
 victorem recuperatum tanto post intervallo patrium  
 invisere regnum; sed tam secundis quam adversis  
 7 rebus non dari spatium ad cessandum. Si se Laelius  
 cum equitatu vinetoque<sup>4</sup> Syphace Cirtam praecedere  
 sinat, trepida omnia metu se oppressurum; Laelium  
 cum peditibus subsequi modicis itineribus posse.  
 8 Adsentiente Laelio praegressus Cirtam evocari ad  
 conloquium principes Cirtensium iubet. Sed apud  
 ignaros regis casus nec quae acta essent promendo  
 nec minis nec suadendo ante valuit quam rex vinctus  
 9 in conspectum datus est.<sup>5</sup> Tum ad spectaculum tam  
 foedum comploratio orta, et partim pavore moenia  
 sunt deserta, partim repentina consensu gratiam  
 apud victorem quaerentium patefactae portae.  
 10 Et Masinissa praesidio circa portas opportunaque  
 moenium dimisso, ne cui fugae pateret exitus, ad  
 regiam occupandam citato vadit equo.  
 11 Intranti vestibulum in ipso limine Sophoniba,<sup>6</sup>  
 uxor Syphacis, filia Hasdrubalis Poeni, occurrit; et

<sup>1</sup> se *AHVJK Allus*, *Froben*: *om.* *P(3)N*: placed after hominum by Conway.

<sup>2</sup> ex fuga *HVJK Aldus*, *Froben*: *om.* *P(3)N*.

<sup>3</sup> contulit vis *P(3)N*: vis contulit *AN*: vis . . . contulerat *AHVJK Allus*, *Froben*: contulerat vis Conway.

<sup>4</sup> vinetoque *A<sup>2</sup> Gronorius*, *Eds.*: victoque *P(3)NJK*.

<sup>5</sup> est *HVJK Froben* 2: esset *P(3)N Aldus*.

<sup>6</sup> Sophoniba *P<sup>2</sup>(3)N*: Sophonisba *VJK Aldus*, *Froben*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. XXIX. xxxii. 14 and note.

<sup>2</sup> Crossing the open court Masinissa and his men approach the door. Cf. the *vestibulum curiae* below, xxi. 4 and (at Carthage) xxiv. 10.

Cirta<sup>1</sup> was the capital of the kingdom of Syphax, B.C. 203 and to that city came a vast number of men from the rout. Masinissa said that, while for himself nothing was at that moment more attractive than to visit as victor his ancestral kingdom, recovered after so long an interval, nevertheless in success as well as in misfortune no time is allowed for loitering. If Laelius should permit him to go on in advance to Cirta with the cavalry and with Syphax in chains, he would surprise everybody in the excitement due to alarm. Laelius, he said, could follow with the infantry in short marches. With Laelius' assent he went to Cirta in advance and ordered that the leading Cirtensians be called out of the city to a conference. But with men who were unaware of the king's misadventure he accomplished nothing by revealing what had taken place, nor by threats nor by persuasion, until the king was placed before their eyes in chains. Then before a sight so grievous wailing began, and in alarm some deserted the walls, others with the sudden agreement of men who curry favour with the victor threw open the gates. And Masinissa, first sending detachments to all the gates and to favourable points on the walls, that no one might have a way of escape open to him, rode at full speed to take possession of the palace.

As he was entering the forecourt<sup>2</sup> Sophoniba,<sup>3</sup> the wife of Syphax, daughter of Hasdrubal the Carthaginian, met him at the very threshold. And

<sup>1</sup> Probably married to Syphax in 205 B.C. Cf. Polybius i. 4; vii. 6; Diodorus Sic. XXVII. 7; Dio Cass. frag. 57. 51 (enlarging on her cultivation in letters and music); Zonaras IX. xi. 1 f.: xiii. 2 ff.; Appian *Pun.* 27 f.

cum in medio agmine armatorum Masinissam insignem cum armis tum cetero habitu conspexisset, regem esse, id quod erat, rata, genibus advoluta eius  
 12 "Omnia quidem ut posses "<sup>1</sup> inquit "in nobis <sup>2</sup> di dederunt virtusque et felicitas tua; sed si captivae apud dominum vitae necisque suae vocem supplicem mittere licet, si genua, si victricem attingere dextram,  
 13 precor quaesoque per maiestatem regiam, in qua paulo ante nos quoque fuimus, per gentis Numidarum nomen, quod tibi cum Syphace commune fuit, per huiusc regiae deos, qui te melioribus omnibus  
 14 accipient quam Syphacem hinc miserunt, hanc veniam supplici des ut ipse quodecumque fert <sup>3</sup> animus de captiva tua <sup>4</sup> statuas neque me in cuiusquam Romani  
 15 superbum et crudele arbitrium venire sinas. Si nihil aliud quam Syphacis uxor fuisse, tamen Numidae atque in eadem tecum Africa geniti quam alienigenae et externi fidem experiri mallem;  
 16 quid Carthaginiensi ab Romano, quid filiae Has drubalis timendum sit vides. Si nulla ~~re~~ alia potes, morte me ut vindices ab Romanorum arbitrio oro  
 17 obtestorque." Forma erat insignis et florentissima aetas. Itaque cum modo genua modo <sup>5</sup> dextram amplectens in id ne cui Romano traderetur fidem exposceret, propiusque blanditias iam <sup>6</sup> oratio esset  
 18 quam preces, non in misericordiam modo prolapsus

<sup>1</sup> posses *P(3)N* *Allus*, *Froben*: possis *A<sup>1</sup>HVJK Conway*.

<sup>2</sup> in nobis (omitting inquit) *P(3)N*: in nos *A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>2</sup>(alt.)HVJK Aldus, Froben*.

<sup>3</sup> fert *P(3)B<sup>2</sup>N*: feret *HJK Aldus, Froben*: ferret *V*: *om. B.*

<sup>4</sup> tua *N<sup>1</sup>* or *N<sup>2</sup>HVJK*: *om. P(3)N* *Aldus, Froben*.

<sup>5</sup> modo genua modo *Gronovius*: modo *A<sup>1</sup>?(alt.)N<sup>1</sup>HJK Aldus, Froben*: domo *P(3)N*.

<sup>6</sup> iam *A<sup>1</sup>HVJK Aldus, Froben*: *om. P(3)*.

when in the midst of the column of armed men she B.C. 203  
 caught sight of Masinissa, conspicuous both by his  
 arms and the rest of his dress, thinking it was the  
 king, as was the fact, she clasped his knees and said :  
 “ All power over us has indeed been given you by  
 the gods and by your courage and good fortune.  
 But if a captive is permitted in the house of the master  
 of her life and death to lift the voice of a suppliant,  
 if she may touch his knees, his victorious right hand,  
 I pray and entreat you by the royal state in which we  
 too have lived a short time ago, by the name of the  
 Numidian race, which you have shared with Syphax,  
 by the gods of this palace here—and may they receive  
 you under better auspices than those under which  
 they sent Syphax away !—I beg you to grant this  
 favour to a suppliant, that, whatever your inclination,  
 you yourself decide in regard to your captive and  
 do not suffer me to be subjected to the haughty and  
 cruel decision of any Roman. If I had been nothing  
 else than the wife of Syphax, still I should have  
 preferred to trust the word of a Numidian and a  
 man born in the same Africa as myself rather than  
 that of a foreigner by birth and nationality. What  
 a Carthaginian woman, what a daughter of Hasdrubal  
 has to fear from a Roman you see. If by no other  
 means you are able to do so, I beg and implore you to  
 save me by death from the decision of Romans.”  
 Her beauty was conspicuous and her age at full  
 bloom. Consequently while she was clasping now  
 his knees and now his right hand, begging for his  
 promise not to surrender her to any Roman, and her  
 words were now more nearly those of a charmer than  
 of a suppliant, the heart of the victor was quickly  
 moved not to pity only, but with the amorous sus-

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est animus victoris, sed, ut est genus Numidarum in Venerem praeceps, amore captivae victor captus. Data dextra in id quod petebatur obligandae fidei in 19 regiam concedit. Institit deinde reputare<sup>1</sup> secum ipse quem ad modum promissi fidem praestaret. Quod cum expedire non posset, ab amore temerarium 20 atque impudens mutuatur consilium; nuptias in eum ipsum diem parari repente iubet, ne quid relinqueret integri<sup>2</sup> aut Laelio aut ipsi Scipioni consulendi velut in captivam quae Masinissae iam 21 nupta foret. Factis nuptiis supervenit Laelius, et adeo non dissimulavit improbare se factum ut primo etiam cum Syphace et ceteris captivis detractam eam lecto<sup>3</sup> geniali mittere ad Scipionem conatus sit. 22 Victus deinde precibus Masinissae orantis ut arbitrium utrius regum duorum fortunae accessio Sophoniba esset ad Scipionem reiceret, misso Syphace et captivis ceteras urbes Numidiae quae praesidiis regiis tenebantur adiuvante Masinissa recipit.<sup>4</sup>

XIII. Syphacem in castra adduci cum esset nuntiatum, omnis velut ad spectaculum triumphi multitudine effusa est. Praecedebat ipse vinetus; sequebatur grex nobilium Numidarum. Tum quantum quisque plurimum poterat<sup>5</sup> magnitudini Syphacis famaeque<sup>6</sup> gentis victoriam suam augendo addebat:

<sup>1</sup> Institit deinde reputare *A'N HVJK* *Eds.*: *P*, omitting a line, has only -re: confusion in *P<sup>2</sup>(3)N*.

<sup>2</sup> relinqueret integri *P(3)N* *Aldus, Froben*: -eret integrum *HVJK*: -eretur integrum *Sp.*

<sup>3</sup> lecto *Madrig*: om. *P(3)NHVJK*: thoro *Aldus, Froben*.

<sup>4</sup> recipit *P(3)B<sup>2</sup>NSpHJK* *Froben* 2: recepit *B Aldus*.

<sup>5</sup> poterat *P(3)N* *Aldus*: posset *SpVJK* *Froben* 2: posse *H.*

<sup>6</sup> -que *SpA'HVJK* *Froben* 2: om. *P(3)N*.

ceptibility of the Numidian race the victor was b.c. 203 captivated by love of the captive. He gave her his right hand as a pledge for the fulfilment of her request and withdrew into the palace. Then he began by himself to consider how he could guarantee that the promise would be kept. As he was unable to solve that problem he borrowed from love a plan that was reckless and unbecoming. He promptly ordered preparations to be made for a wedding the very same day, in order not to leave any decision open either to Laelius or to Scipio himself in regard to her as a captive when she should be already married to Masinissa. After the wedding Laelius arrived, and so far was he from concealing his disapproval of the act that at first he even attempted to tear her away from the marriage couch and send her to Scipio with Syphax and the rest of the captives. He was then persuaded by the entreaties of Masinissa, who begged him to refer to Scipio the decision which of the two kings was to have Sophoniba share his lot. Whereupon, after sending Syphax and the captives away, he with Masinissa's aid subdued the remaining cities of Numidia which were held by the king's garrisons.

XIII. When it was announced that Syphax was being brought into the camp<sup>1</sup> all the rank and file poured out, as though they were to witness a triumph. First came Syphax himself in chains, followed by a company of noble Numidians. Then all the soldiers in enlarging upon their own victory did their best to magnify Syphax and the fame of his race, saying

<sup>1</sup> Scipio's camp; cf. § 8. Although soldiers only are meant, Livy's comparison is with the populace witnessing a triumph and impressed by a victory over a worthy foe.

3 illum esse regem cuius tantum maiestati duo potentissimi in terris tribuerint populi, Romanus Carthaginensisque, ut Scipio imperator suus ad amicitiam eius petendam, reicta provincia Hispania exercituque, duabus quinqueremibus in Africam navigaverit, Hasdrubal Poenorum imperator non ipse modo ad eum in regnum venerit, sed etiam filiam eius nuptum dederit. Habuisse eum uno tempore in potestate duos imperatores, Poenum Romanumque.

6 Sicut ab his immortalibus pars utraque hostiis macrandis pacem petisset, ita ab eo utrimque pariter amicitiam petitam. Iam tantas habuisse opes ut Masinissam regno pulsum eo redegerit ut vita eius fama mortis et latebris, ferarum modo in silvis rapto viventis, tegeretur.

8 His sermonibus circumstantium celebratus rex in praetorium ad Scipionem est perductus. Movit et Scipionem cum<sup>1</sup> fortuna pristina viri praesenti fortunae conlata, tum recordatio hospitii dextraeque datae et foederis publice ac privatim iuncti. Eadem haec et Syphaci animum dederunt in adloquendo victore. Nam cum Scipio quid sibi voluisset quaereret qui non societatem solum abnuiisset Romanam, sed 10 ultro bellum intulisset, tum ille peccasse quidem sese atque insanisse fatebatur, sed non tum demum cum arma adversus populum Romanum cepisset; exitum sui furoris eum<sup>2</sup> fuisse, non principium;

<sup>1</sup> cum *P(3)NHJ Froben* 2: tum *A<sup>y</sup>NVK Aldus*.

<sup>2</sup> eum *A<sup>y</sup>HJK*: cum *V*: om. *P(3)N Aldus, Froben*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. XXVIII. xvii. 11 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* xviii. 1 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. XXIX. xxxii. 10 f.

that he was the king to whose majesty the two most powerful peoples in the world, the Roman and the Carthaginian, paid such honour that Scipio, their own general, left his province of Spain and his army and with two quinqueremes sailed to Africa to court his friendship,<sup>1</sup> while Hasdrubal, a general of the Carthaginians, not only came himself to him in his kingdom but also gave him his daughter in marriage. They said that he had at the same time had two generals,<sup>2</sup> a Carthaginian and a Roman, in his power; that just as both sides had sought the favour of the immortal gods by offering sacrifices, so had his friendship been sought at the same time by both sides. Moreover, so great, they said, had been his power that when Masinissa had been driven out of his kingdom, Syphax brought him so low that his life was protected only by the report of his death and by hiding-places where he lived in the forest like wild animals on what they caught.<sup>3</sup>

Honoured by such utterances of the bystanders the king was brought before Scipio at headquarters. Even Scipio was moved by the comparison of the man's former estate with his present condition, but especially by the memory of their guest-friendship and the clasp of hands, and of the compact made for the state and of that made in his own name. The same considerations gave Syphax also spirit in addressing the victor. For when Scipio repeatedly asked him what he had meant by not only rejecting a Roman alliance but also taking the aggressive in war, he would admit that he had indeed done wrong and lost his reason, but not then for the first time when he had taken up arms against the Roman people. That had been the culmination, not the beginning,

A.U.C. 11 tum se insanisse, tum hospitia privata et publica  
 551 foedera omnia ex animo eiecssisse,<sup>1</sup> cum Cartha-  
 12 giniensem matronam domum acceperit. Illis nuptiali-  
 bus facibus regiam conflagrasse suam; illam furiam  
 pestemque omnibus delenimentis animum suum  
 avertisse atque alienasse, nec conquiesce donec  
 ipsa manibus suis nefaria sibi arma adversus hospitem  
 13 atque amicum induerit. Perditio tamen atque  
 adfictio sibi hoc in miseriis solatii esse, quod in  
 omnium hominum inimicissimi sibi domum ac penates  
 14 eandem pestem ac furiam transisse videat. Neque  
 prudentiorem<sup>2</sup> neque constantiorem Masinissam  
 quam Syphacem esse, etiam<sup>3</sup> iuventa incautorem;  
 certe stultius illum atque intemperantius<sup>4</sup> eam quam  
 se duxisse.

XIV. Haec<sup>5</sup> non hostili modo odio, sed amoris  
 etiam stimulis, amatam<sup>6</sup> apud aemulum cernens,  
 cum dixisset, non medioeri cura Scipionis animum  
 2 pepulit. Et fidem criminibus raptae<sup>7</sup> prope inter  
 arma nuptiae neque consulto neque exspectato  
 Laelio faciebant tamque praeceps festinatio ut quo  
 die captam hostem<sup>8</sup> vidisset, eodem matrimonio

<sup>1</sup> tum (hospitia) . . . eiecssisse *P(3)N* : cum . . . eieccisset  
*A<sup>6</sup>* and *A<sup>7</sup>H VJK*, *Eds.* before *Gronovius*.

<sup>2</sup> Neque prudentiorem *P(3)N Aldus*, *Froben* : *om. SpHVJK*.

<sup>3</sup> etiam *P(3)N* : iam ab *SpHV* : etiam ab *A<sup>8</sup>JK Aldus*,  
*Froben*.

<sup>4</sup> illum atque intemperantius *P(3)A<sup>2</sup>N Aldus*, (-atus with  
*A<sup>1</sup>*, *Froben* : *om. SpHVJK*.

<sup>5</sup> Haec *P(3)NSpJK* : hanc *N<sup>2</sup>H V Aldus*.

<sup>6</sup> amatam *P(3)A<sup>1</sup>NSpJK* : armatam *A<sup>2</sup> Aldus*.

<sup>7</sup> raptae *P(3)N* : facte (or -ae) *A VJK Aldus*, *Froben* :  
 facere *H*.

<sup>8</sup> captam hostem *Gronovius*, *Eds.* : captum hostem  
*P(3)N Luterbacher* (*cf. his appendix*) : captam reginam  
*A<sup>8</sup>(alt.)N<sup>1</sup>(alt.)HJK early Eds.*

of his madness. The time when he lost his reason, B.C. 203 when he put out of his head all private guest-friendships and public treaties, was when he admitted a noble Carthaginian lady to his house. From those nuptial torches his palace had taken fire; that baneful fury by all her blandishments had unbalanced and unhinged his mind, and she had never rested until with her own hands she had herself put on him guilt-stained arms against a guest-friend and a personal friend. Yet for himself, ruined and crushed, there was this consolation in his misfortunes, to see that the same baneful fury had passed into the house and home of the greatest enemy he had in the world. Masinissa was neither wiser, he said, nor more steadfast than Syphax; he was even more imprudent owing to his youth. Certainly there had been more folly and lack of self-control in Masinissa's marriage to her than in his own.<sup>1</sup>

XIV. By speaking thus, not only out of hatred as an enemy but also under the goad of jealousy, as he saw his beloved in the possession of his rival, he aroused no slight anxiety in the mind of Scipio.<sup>2</sup> The charges against her were substantiated both by the marriage hastily celebrated, almost on the battle-field, without either seeking the advice of Laelius or waiting for his arrival, and by such precipitate haste that on the very day on which he saw her as a captured enemy he took her to wife and performed

<sup>1</sup> This indirect speech is probably based upon a lost passage in Polybius, whose narrative fails us here; for the conclusion of his XIVth book has been lost (beginning after x. 14 above). Cf. Appian *Pun.* 27.

<sup>2</sup> Who had reason to fear that Sophoniba would persuade Masinissa to go over to the Carthaginian side.

iunctam acciperet et ad penates hostis sui nuptiale  
 3 sacrum conficeret; et<sup>1</sup> eo foediora haec videbantur  
 Scipioni, quod ipsum in Hispania iuvenem nullius  
 forma pepulerat captivae. Haec secum volutanti  
 Laelius ac Masinissa supervenerunt. Quos cum  
 pariter ambo et benigno voltu excepisset et egregiis  
 4 laudibus frequenti praetorio celebrasset, abductum  
 in secretum Masinissam sic adloquitur: "Aliqua te,  
 Masinissa, existimo<sup>2</sup> intuentem in me bona et  
 principio in Hispania ad iungendam mecum ami-  
 citiam venisse et postea in Africa te ipsum spesque  
 5 omnes tuas in fidem meam commisisse. Atqui nulla  
 earum virtus est propter quas tibi adpetendus visus  
 sim qua ego aequa ac temperantia et continentia  
 6 libidinum gloriatus fuerim. Hanc te quoque ad  
 ceteras tuas eximias virtutes, Masinissa, adiecissem  
 velim. Non est, non—mihi crede—tantum ab  
 hostibus armatis aetati nostrae periculi<sup>3</sup> quantum ab  
 7 circumfusis undique voluptatibus. Qui eas tem-  
 perantia sua frenavit ac domuit multo maius decus  
 maioremque victoriam sibi peperit quam nos Syphace  
 8 victo habemus. Quae me absente strenue ac fortiter  
 fecisti libenter et commemoravi et memini; cetera te  
 ipsum tecum reputare quam me dicente erubescere  
 malo. Syphax populi Romani auspiciis victus cap-  
 9 tusque est. Itaque ipse, coniunx, regnum, ager,  
 oppida, homines qui incolunt, quidquid denique

<sup>1</sup> et *SpHVJK Froben* 2: *om. P(3)N.*

<sup>2</sup> existimo, *here HVJK*: *after te P(3)N Aldus, Froben,*  
*most Eds.*

<sup>3</sup> periculi *Sp?A?HVJK Froben* 2: *-lum P(3)N Aldus.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. XXVI. xlix. 11 ff. and chap. I.

the nuptial rites before the household gods of his b.c. 203 foe. Again, all this seemed the more repulsive to Scipio because in Spain, in spite of his youth, he had himself never been smitten by the beauty of any captive.<sup>1</sup> Such thoughts were in his mind when Laelius and Masinissa arrived.<sup>2</sup> Scipio welcomed them both alike with kindly expression and lauded them in distinguished terms before a crowded council, and then leading Masinissa to a place apart thus addressed him : “ Some good qualities you saw in me, I suppose, Masinissa, and so came to me first in Spain, to cement a friendship with me, and later in Africa entrusted yourself and all your hopes to my protection. But of those virtues on account of which my friendship might seem to you desirable there is none on which I might have prided myself so much as on self-restraint and continence. This virtue I would have you also, Masinissa, add to your other remarkable excellences. There is no danger—believe me, there is none—so great to our time of life from armed enemies as from pleasures all about us. Whoever has checked and mastered them by his self-control has gained for himself a far greater distinction and a greater victory than is ours by the defeat of Syphax. All that you in my absence have done with energy and courage I was glad to mention and gladly remember. Upon the rest of your acts I prefer to have you reflect inwardly yourself, rather than blush at my recital. Syphax has been defeated and captured under the auspices of the Roman people. In consequence he himself, his wife, his kingdom, territory, towns, the people who inhabit

<sup>2</sup> Some time has elapsed during which Numidian cities were recovered; xii. 22.

- A.U.C. 10 Syphacis fuit praeda populi Romani est; et regem  
 551 coniugemque eius, etiamsi non civis Carthaginiensis  
 esset, etiamsi non patrem eius imperatorem hostium  
 videremus, Romam oporteret mitti, ac senatus popu-  
 lique Romani de ea iudicium atque arbitrium esse  
 quae regem socium nobis alienasse atque in arma  
 11 egiisse<sup>1</sup> praecepitem dicatur. Vince animum; cave<sup>2</sup>  
 deformes multa bona uno vitio et tot meritorum  
 gratiam maiore culpa quam causa culpae est con-  
 rumpas.”

XV. Masinissae haec audienti non rubor solum suffusus, sed lacrimae etiam obortae; et cum se quidem in potestate futurum imperatoris dixisset orassetque eum ut quantum res sineret fidei suae 2 temere obstrictae consuleret—promisisse enim se in nullius potestatem eam traditurum—ex praetorio in 3 tabernaculum suum confusus concessit. Ibi arbitris remotis cum crebro suspiritu<sup>3</sup> et gemitu, quod<sup>4</sup> facile ab circumstantibus tabernaculum exaudiri 4 posset, aliquantum temporis consumpsisset, ingenti ad postremum edito gemitu fidum e servis vocat,<sup>5</sup> sub cuius custodia regio more ad incerta fortunae venenum erat, et<sup>6</sup> mixtum in poculo ferre ad Sopho- 5 nibam iubet ac simul nuntiare Masinissam libenter

<sup>1</sup> egiisse *P(3)HVJK*: coegisse *A<sup>4</sup>N Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>2</sup> cave *P(3)NHVJ Froben 2*: cave ne *K Aldus.*

<sup>3</sup> suspiritu *P(3)N*: spiritu *N<sup>2</sup>H*: suspirio *P<sup>4</sup>CM<sup>7</sup>A<sup>6</sup>JK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>4</sup> quod *P(3)Sp<sup>2</sup>HVJK Froben 2*: quo *A<sup>4</sup>N Aldus.*

<sup>5</sup> vocat *PCM HV*: vo *BD*: uno accito (*with fido*) *A<sup>4</sup>N JK Aldus, Froben*: unum vocat *Johnson, Conway.*

<sup>6</sup> et *P(3)*: ei *N<sup>4</sup>HJK Aldus, Froben*: eum *V*: om. *M<sup>2</sup>A<sup>4</sup>N.*

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<sup>1</sup> Livy understands her to have been brought to Scipio's camp; so Diodorus Sic. XXVII. 7. Other authorities laid

them, in short whatever has belonged to Syphax, is <sup>B.C. 203</sup> booty of the Roman people. And as for the king and his wife, even if she were not a Carthaginian citizen, even if we did not see in her father a high commander of the enemy, they would have to be sent to Rome, and the senate and the Roman people would properly have the right to judge and decide the case of her who is alleged to have estranged from us an allied king and driven him headlong into war. Conquer yourself; do not disfigure many good qualities by one defect and forfeit the favour earned by so many services through a fault out of all proportion to its cause."

XV. On hearing these words not only did Masinissa blush, but tears also came. And after saying that he on his part would be under the orders of the general and imploring him to have such regard as the case permitted for the promise he had rashly given, namely that he would not hand her over to any man's power, he withdrew from headquarters to his own tent a distracted man. There, with no witnesses present, he spent considerable time, with frequent sighs and groans, so that they could easily be heard by those who stood about the tent. Then at last, after one very loud groan, he called the faithful slave in whose keeping was the poison, against the uncertainties of fortune, as usual with kings, and bade him mix it and carry it in a cup to Sophoniba.<sup>1</sup> He also ordered him at the same time to tell her that Masinissa would gladly have fulfilled the most

the scene at Cirta and made Masinissa hurry back from the camp; cf. Appian *Pun.* 28; Zonaras IX. xiii. 2 ff. A pertinent passage in Polybius is lacking.

primam ei fidem praestaturum fuisse quam vir uxori debuerit; quoniam eius arbitrium qui possint adimant, secundam fidem praestare ne viva in 6 potestatem Romanorum veniat. Memor patris imperatoris patriaeque et duorum regum quibus nupta fuisset, sibi ipsa consuleret.

Hunc nuntium ac simul venenum ferens minister 7 cum ad Sophonibam venisset, "Accipio" inquit "nuptiale munus, neque ingratum, si nihil maius vir uxori praestare potuit. Hoc tamen nuntia, melius me morituram fuisse, si non in funere meo nupsisset." 8 Non locuta est ferocius quam acceptum poculum nullo trepidationis signo dato inpavide hausit.

9 Quod ubi nuntiatum est Scipioni, ne quid aeger animi<sup>1</sup> ferox iuvenis gravius consuleret, accitum 10 eum extemplo nunc solatur, nunc, quod temeritatem temeritate<sup>2</sup> alia luerit tristiorumque rem quam 11 necesse fuerit fecerit, leniter castigat. Postero die, ut a praesenti motu averteret animum eius, in tribunal escendit et contionem advocari iussit. Ibi Masinissam, primum regem appellatum eximiisque ornatum laudibus, aurea corona, aurea patera, sella curuli et scipione eburneo, toga picta et 12 palmata tunica donat. Addit verbis honorem: neque magnificentius quicquam triumpho apud Romanos neque triumphantibus<sup>3</sup> ampliorem eo

<sup>1</sup> animi P(3)N : -mo C<sup>2</sup>A<sup>4</sup>H<sup>1</sup>VJK Aldus, Froben.

<sup>2</sup> temeritate P(3)A<sup>4</sup>NJK Aldus, Froben : om. A<sup>4</sup>S<sup>1</sup>H<sup>1</sup>V.

<sup>3</sup> triumphantibus P(3)N Aldus, Froben : -tis SpA<sup>4</sup>H<sup>1</sup>V : -ti JK.

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<sup>1</sup> All of these were worn or used by a general in his triumph except the *patera*, or bowl. Cf. X. vii. 9. Similar gifts to kings in XXVII. iv. 8-10 (Vol. VII. p. 214, n. 2).

important promise which as husband he was bound B.C. 203 to keep for a wife; that since the freedom to do so was taken away by those who had the power, he was keeping the promise next to it in importance, namely, that she should not come into the Romans' power alive. Mindful of her father the general, and of her native city, and of the two kings to whom she had been married, she was to decide for herself.

When the slave bearing this message together with the poison had reached Sophoniba she said, "I receive the wedding gift, and it is not unwelcome if my husband has been able to bestow nothing better upon his wife. But tell him this, that it would have been easier for me to die if I had not married at my funeral." No less high-spirited than her words was her acceptance of the cup, fearlessly drained without a sign of wavering.

As soon as this was reported to Scipio he at once summoned Masinissa, for fear the high-spirited young man in his distress of mind might do something desperate. He offered now consolation, now gentle rebuke because he atoned for one reckless act by another and made the matter more deplorable than was necessary. On the following day, in order to divert Masinissa's thoughts from the emotion of the moment, Scipio mounted the tribune and ordered that an assembly be called. There for the first time he addressed Masinissa as king, bestowing upon him the highest terms of praise, and presented him with a golden wreath, a golden *patera*, a curule chair and ivory sceptre, an embroidered toga and a tunic adorned with palms.<sup>1</sup> He added this tribute: that there was no higher distinction among the Romans than a triumph, and that those who triumphed had

ornatum<sup>1</sup> esse quo unum<sup>2</sup> omnium externorum  
 13 dignum Masinissam populus Romanus ducat. Lae-  
 lium deinde et ipsum conlaudatum aurea corona  
 donat; et alii militares viri, prout a quoque navata  
 14 opera erat, donati. His honoribus mollitus regis  
 animus erectusque in spem propinquam sublato  
 Syphace omnis Numidiae potiundae.

XVI. Scipio C. Laelio cum Syphace aliisque cap-  
 tivis Romam misso, cum quibus et Masinissae legati  
 profecti sunt, ipse ad Tyneta rursus castra refert et  
 2 quae munimenta incohaverat permunit. Cartha-  
 ginienses non brevi solum, sed prope vano gaudio ab  
 satis prospera in praesens oppugnatione classis  
 perfusi, post famam capti Syphacis, in quo plus prope  
 quam in Hasdrubale atque exercitu suo spei repo-  
 3 suerant, perculti, iam nullo auctore belli ultra auditio  
oratores ad pacem petendam mittunt triginta  
 seniorum principes; id erat sanctius apud illos  
 consilium maximaque ad ipsum senatum regendum  
 4 vis. Qui ubi in castra Romana et in praetorium  
 pervenerunt, more adulantium—accepto, credo, ritu  
 ex ea regione ex qua oriundi erant—procubuerunt.  
 5 Conveniens oratio tam humili adulationi fuit, non  
 culpam purgantium, sed transferentium initium  
 culpae in Hannibalem potentiaeque eius fautores.

<sup>1</sup> ornatum *M<sup>1</sup>* or *M<sup>2</sup>VJK*: -tu *P(3)NH Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>2</sup> unum *K Froben*: uno *P(3)NVJ Aldus*: *om. H.*

<sup>1</sup> For previous fortifications cf. ix. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. below, xxxvi. 9. They formed a separate body, the *γερουσία*; Polybius I. lxxxvii. 3; X. xviii. 1 (this at New Carthage).

no more magnificent array than that of which B.C. 203  
 Masinissa alone of all foreigners was accounted worthy by the Roman people. He then warmly praised Laelius also and presented him with a golden wreath. Other officers also and men were rewarded, each according to the service he had performed. By these distinctions the king was appeased and roused to the hope, soon to be fulfilled, that with Syphax removed he would gain possession of all Numidia.

XVI. Scipio, having sent Gaius Laelius with Syphax and other captives to Rome, while with these went Masinissa's legates also, himself moved his camp back again to Tynes and completed the fortifications he had already begun.<sup>1</sup> The Carthaginians, on account of their attack upon the fleet with considerable success for the moment, had been filled with a joy not only short-lived but almost unfounded. But on hearing of the capture of Syphax, on whom they had rested their hopes almost more than on Hasdrubal and their own army, they were disengaged. No longer listening to any advocate of war, they sent their thirty elder statesmen to plead for peace. This was their privy council,<sup>2</sup> and it had great influence even in guiding the senate. When they reached the Roman camp and headquarters they fell to the ground after the custom of courtiers, having derived that ceremony, I suppose, from the region from which they sprang.<sup>3</sup> Such humble obeisance was matched by their discourse, as they did not try to clear themselves of blame, but shifted the original blame to Hannibal and to those who

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.* as being of Phoenician (Tyrian) origin. Cf. XLII. xxiii. 10; Polybius XV. i. 6.

## LIVY

A.U.C.  
551

6 Veniam civitati petebant civium temeritate bis iam <sup>1</sup>  
 eversae, incolumi futurae iterum hostium beneficio;  
 7 imperium ex victis hostibus populum Romanum,  
 non perniciem petere; paratis oboedienter servire  
 imperaret quae vellet.  
 8 Scipio et venisse ea spe in Africam se ait, et spem  
 suam prospero belli eventu auctam, victoram se,  
 9 non pacem domum reportaturum esse; tamen, cum  
 victoram prope in manibus habeat, pacem non  
 abnuere, ut omnes gentes sciant populum Romanum  
 10 et suscipere iuste bella et finire. Leges pacis se has  
 dicere: captivos et perfugas et fugitivos restituant;  
 exercitus ex Italia et Gallia ducant; Hispania  
 abstineant: insulis omnibus quae inter Italianam  
 11 atque <sup>2</sup> Africam sint, <sup>3</sup> decadant; naves longas  
 praeter viginti <sup>4</sup> omnes tradant, tritici quingenta,  
 12 hordei trecenta milia modium. Pecuniae summam  
 quantam imperaverit parum convenit; alibi quinque  
 milia talentum, <sup>5</sup> alibi quinque <sup>6</sup> milia pondo argenti,  
 alibi duplex stipendum militibus imperatum invenio.

<sup>1</sup> iam, after this AN Aldus, Froben have ante where P(3) have te.

<sup>2</sup> atque P(3)HVJ: et ANK Aldus, Froben.

<sup>3</sup> sint P(3)HJK: sunt AN Aldus, Froben: essent V.

<sup>4</sup> viginti (xx) P(3)NHVJK: xxx Siganus from Eutrop. III. 21.

<sup>5</sup> alibi . . . talentum P(3)NJ<sup>1</sup>: om. DHVJK.

<sup>6</sup> quinque, for v Weissenborn conj. D from Eutrop. l.c., 5000 being too small a sum.

<sup>1</sup> Cisalpine Gaul; cf. xviii. 1. Mago was to abandon the Ligurian coast as well; cf. xix. 2, 4, 12; and for his death at sea off Sardinia cf. *ibid.* § 5.

<sup>2</sup> Since the large islands in these waters were already held by the Romans, the Baleares, Pityusae and Malta are probably meant here, possibly Pantelleria and Lampedusa also.

supported his power. They craved pardon for a state now twice overthrown by the rashness of its citizens, to be saved a second time by the favour of its foes. It was power, they said, that the Roman people sought from vanquished enemies, not their destruction. They were ready to be obedient servants; let him give them whatever commands he pleased.

Scipio said he had come to Africa in the hope that he would carry home a victory, not a treaty of peace; that his hope had been also confirmed by a successful issue of the war. Nevertheless, although he had victory almost within his grasp, he was not rejecting<sup>3</sup> a peace, in order that all nations might know that the Roman people acted fairly both in beginning and ending wars. He said that he announced the following terms of peace: that they restore captives and deserters and fugitive slaves; that they withdraw their armies from Italy and Gaul;<sup>1</sup> that they have nothing to do with Spain; that they give up ownership of all the islands lying between Italy and Africa;<sup>2</sup> that they deliver all their war-ships except twenty, and 500,000 pecks of wheat, 300,000 pecks of barley.<sup>3</sup> —As for money, there is no agreement as to the sum which he imposed. In one source I find that 5,000 talents<sup>4</sup> were imposed, in another 5,000 pounds of silver, in another double the pay of his soldiers.—

<sup>3</sup> This would be for the use of the Roman army during an armistice lasting until the treaty of peace was ratified. Double pay for the army (below) would be for the same length of time.

<sup>4</sup> So Polybius XV. viii. 7; 1600 talents, Appian *Pun.* 32. Cf. Dio Cass. frag. 57. 74 (no figures); Zonaras IX. xiii. 8 (do.). These were not the final terms, for which see xxxvii. 1 ff.; Polybius xviii. *fin.*

- A.U.C. 13 "His condicionibus" inquit "placeatne pax triduum ad  
 551 consultandum dabitur. Si placuerit, mecum indurias  
 14 facite, Romam ad senatum mittite legatos." Ita  
 dimissi Carthaginienses nullas recusandas condiciones  
 pacis cum censuerent, quippe qui moram temporis  
 quaererent, dum Hannibal in Africam traiceret,  
 15 legatos alios ad Scipionem, ut indurias facerent, alios  
 Romam ad pacem petendam mittunt, ducentes  
 paucos in speciem captivos perfugasque et fugitivos,  
 quo impetrabilior pax esset.

XVII. Multis ante diebus Laelius cum Syphace  
 primoribusque Numidarum captivis Romam venit,  
 quaeque in Africa gesta essent omnia ordine exposuit  
 patribus, ingenti hominum et in praesens laetitia et  
 2 in futurum spe. Consulti inde patres regem in custo-  
 diam Albam mittendum censuerunt, Laelium retinen-  
 3 dum, donec legati Carthaginienses venirent. Suppli-  
 catio in quadriduum decreta est. P. Aelius praetor  
 senatu misso et contione inde advocata cum C.  
 4 Laelio in rostra escendit. Ibi vero audientes fusos  
 Carthaginiensium exercitus, devictum et captum  
 ingentis nominis regem, Numidiā omnem egregia  
 5 victoria peragratam, tacitum continere gaudium non  
 poterant quin clamoribus quibusque aliis multitudo  
 6 solet laetitiam inmodicam significarent. Itaque

<sup>1</sup> They had previously voted to recall him; ix. 7 f.

<sup>2</sup> In Polybius, Scipio's terms had been embodied in a treaty which was duly ratified by the Roman senate and people after Hannibal was out of Italy; XV. i. 3, 9, 11; iv. 8; viii. 9. Livy has the senate summarily rejecting a peace embassy from Carthage; below, xxii. f. This was surely the invention of some Roman annalist. See De Sanctis III. ii. 544.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. Alba Fucens; pp. 262, 538. A Roman colony since 304 B.C., it was on the Via Valeria, 47 miles beyond Tibur (Tivoli), 67 from Rome. Cf. Vol. VII. p. 41, note; Appian *Hann.* 39. Here Perseus of Macedon was later interred; XLV. xlii. 4.

“ Whether on these terms,” said he, “ you are disposed to make peace, on that point three days will be given you for deliberation. If that shall be your decision, make an armistice with me, send your embassy to the senate at Rome.” Dismissed with these words, the Carthaginians agreed that no peace terms should be rejected, since they were seeking to gain time for Hannibal to cross over to Africa.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly they sent one embassy to Scipio to arrange an armistice and another to Rome to sue for peace,<sup>2</sup> taking with them a few captives and deserters and fugitive slaves for appearance’ sake, that they might more readily obtain peace.

XVII. Many days before this, together with Syphax and the leading Numidian captives, Laelius reached Rome and set forth to the senate in order everything that had been done in Africa, in the midst of great rejoicing for the present and high hopes for the future. Thereupon the senate after deliberation voted that the king should be sent to Alba<sup>3</sup> to be interred; that Laelius should be detained until the Carthaginian embassy arrived.<sup>4</sup> A thanksgiving for four days was decreed. Publius Aelius, the praetor, having dismissed the senate, then summoned an assembly and with Gaius Laelius mounted the Rostra. Thereupon, hearing that the Carthaginian armies had been routed, a famous king conquered and captured, all Numidia overrun in a series of extraordinary victories, they were unable to keep their joy to themselves, but expressed their unbounded delight by shouting and such other means as the multitude commonly employs. Accordingly the

<sup>4</sup> This conflicts with xxi. 11.

## LIVY

praetor extemps edixit uti aeditui aedes sacras omnes<sup>1</sup> tota urbe aperirent, circumeundi salutandique deos agendique grates per totum diem populo potestas fieret.

7 Postero die legatos Masinissae in senatum introduxit. Gratulati primum senatui sunt quod P.  
 8 Scipio prospere res in Africa gessisset; deinde gratias egerunt quod Masinissam non appellasset modo regem, sed fecisset restituendo in paternum regnum, in quo post Syphacem sublatum, si ita patribus visum esset, sine metu et certamine esset  
 9 regnaturus, dein conlaudatum<sup>2</sup> pro contione amplissimis decorasset donis, quibus ne indignus esset et dedissem<sup>3</sup> operam Masinissam et porro daturum  
 10 esse. Petere ut regium nomen ceteraque Scipionis  
 11 beneficia et munera senatus decreto confirmaret; et, nisi molestum esset, illud quoque petere Masinissam, ut Numidas captivos qui Romae in custodia essent remitterent; id sibi amplum apud<sup>4</sup> populares futurum esse. Ad ea responsum legatis rerum gestarum prospere in Africa communem sibi cum rege gratulationem esse; Scipionem recte atque ordine videri fecisse, quod eum regem appellaverit, et quidquid aliud fecerit<sup>5</sup> quod cordi<sup>6</sup> foret Masinissae, id<sup>7</sup>  
 13 patres comprobare ac laudare. Munera quoque<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> omnes HVJK Aldus, Froben: om. P(3)N.

<sup>2</sup> conlaudatum (or coll-) P(3)H Aldus, Froben: quod (cum AN) laudatum A\*NVJK.

<sup>3</sup> donis . . . dedissem om. P(3)N, two lines supplied by A\*N\*HVJK Aldus, Froben.

<sup>4</sup> apud P(3)N Aldus, Froben: ad HVJK.

<sup>5</sup> appellaverit . . . fecerit P(3)N Aldus: -visset . . . -cisset HVJK Froben 2.

<sup>6</sup> cordi P(3)N: honori A\*HVJK Allus, Froben 2.

<sup>7</sup> id C Alsciefski, Eds.: ea C<sup>2</sup>M<sup>2</sup> Aldus, Froben, Luchs: eis PMB: ei DAN: eaque HJK: et V.

praetor at once gave orders that the temple wardens <sup>B.C. 203</sup> should open all the shrines throughout the city, and that people should have all day long the opportunity to make the rounds and pay their respects to the gods and return thanks to them.

On the next day he introduced Masinissa's envoys into the senate. They began by congratulating the senate on Publius Scipio's successful campaign in Africa. They then thanked the senators because he had not only saluted Masinissa as king but had made him king in restoring him to his father's kingdom, in which he would reign without fear and without contest since the removal of Syphax, if that should be the mind of the senators; also because, after warmly praising him before an assembly, he had conferred upon him the highest decorations, of which Masinissa had striven and would continue to strive to be not unworthy. He begged the senate, they said, by a decree to confirm the kingly title and the rest of Scipio's favours and gifts; and unless objection was made, another request of Masinissa's was this, that they return the Numidian captives who were interred at Rome. That would bring him great credit, he felt, among his countrymen. The response to these words of the envoys was that the senators reciprocated the king's congratulations on successes in Africa; that Scipio in their opinion had been entirely correct in saluting him as king, and that they approved and commended all else that he had done which gave pleasure to Masinissa. In addition gifts were decreed,

<sup>8</sup> munera quoque *Ay?HVJK Conway*: munera *P(3)N Aldus, Froben, Eds.*

quae legati ferrent regi decreverunt, sagula purpurea duo cum fibulis aureis<sup>1</sup> singulis et lato clavo tunicis, equos duo phaleratos, bina equestria arma cum loricis, et tabernacula militaremque supellectilem  
 14 qualem praeberi consuli mos esset.<sup>2</sup> Haec regi praetor mittere iussus. Legatis in singulos dona ne minus quinum milium, comitibus eorum milium<sup>3</sup> aeris, et vestimenta bina legatis, singula comitibus Numidisque qui ex custodia emissi redderentur regi; ad hoc aedes liberae, loca, lautia legatis decreta.

XVIII. Eadem aestate qua haec decreta Romae et in Africa gesta sunt P. Quinctilius Varus praetor et M. Cornelius proconsul in agro Insubrum Gallicum cum Magone Poeno signis conlatis pugnarunt.  
 2 Praetoris legiones in prima acie fuerunt; Cornelius suas in subsidiis tenuit, ipse ad prima signa equo advectus; proque duobus cornibus praetor ac proconsul milites ad inferenda in hostes signa summa vi  
 3 hortabantur. Postquam nihil commovebant, tum Quinctilius Cornelio: "Lentior, ut vides, fit pugna, et

<sup>1</sup> aureis *A·N·HVJK*: om. *P(3)N*.

<sup>2</sup> esset *P(3)JK*: est *ANHV Aldus, Froben*.

<sup>3</sup> milium (or -ll-) *P(3) Eds.*: milli *AN*: mille *A· Aldus;* milibus (or -ll-) *N·HVJK Froben 2*: singulorum milium *Conway*.

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<sup>1</sup> Special seats in the Circus and at theatrical performances were reserved for them.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 160, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> The battle which follows is evidently taken from one of the Roman annalists and can be accepted only with reservations. To reject the whole passage as unhistorical, as has been done, is virtually to claim that Mago could remain on the Ligurian coast for three summers without ever penetrating to the plains

to be carried to the king by the envoys: two purple <sup>B.C. 203</sup> military cloaks, each with a golden brooch, and tunics having the broad stripe, two horses with their trappings, two sets of arms with cuirasses for a horseman, and tents and field furniture such as were customarily furnished to a consul. These things the praetor was ordered to send to the king. For the envoys gifts were decreed, not less than five thousand *asses* for each of them, for their attendants one thousand each; and two garments apiece for the envoys, one each for their attendants, and for the Numidians who were ordered to be released from internment and restored to the king. In addition dwellings were ordered to be placed at the envoys' disposal, and places of honour,<sup>1</sup> and hospitable entertainment<sup>2</sup> were provided.

XVIII. In the same summer in which these measures were taken at Rome and these operations carried on in Africa, Publius Quinctilius Varus, a praetor, and Marcus Cornelius, the proconsul, fought a pitched battle with Mago the Carthaginian in the territory of the Insubrian Gauls.<sup>3</sup> The praetor's legions were in the first line. Cornelius kept his legions in reserve while he himself rode up to the front. And from in front of the two wings praetor and proconsul kept urging the soldiers to advance their ranks against the enemy with all their strength. When they failed to drive the enemy back, Quinctilius then said to Cornelius: "The battle is slowing down, of the Po. He may not have advanced so far as Mediolan(i)um (Milan), chief town of the Insubrians (V. xxxiv. 9; XXXIV. xlvi. 1). Cf. C.A.H. VIII. 102 f.; De Sanctis 540 f. and note; Neumann 536 f.; but also Ehrenberg in Pauly-Wissowa s.v. Mago 503; Kahrstedt 555 f.; G. Hesselbarth, *Untersuchungen z. dritten Dekade d. Livius* 572 f.

induratur<sup>1</sup> praeter spem resistendo hostium timor, ac  
 4 ne vertat in audaciam periculum est. Equestrem pro-  
 cellam excitemus oportet, si turbare ac statu movere<sup>2</sup>  
 volumus. Itaque vel tu ad prima signa proelium sus-  
 tine, ego inducam in pugnam equites; vel ego hic in  
 prima acie rem geram, tu quattuor legionum equites  
 5 in hostem emitte.” Utram vellet praetor muneric part-  
 tem proconsule accipiente, Quinctilius praetor cum  
 filio, cui Marco praenomen erat, in pigro iuvene, ad  
 equites pergit iussosque escendere in equos repente  
 6 in hostem emittit. Tumultum equestrem auxit  
 clamor ab legionibus additus, nec stetisset hostium  
 acies, ni Mago ad primum equitum motum paratos  
 7 elephantes extemplo in proelium induxisset. Ad  
 quorum stridorem odoremque et aspectum territi  
 equi vanum equestre auxilium fecerunt. Et ut . . .<sup>3</sup>  
 permixtus, ubi cuspipe uti et comminus gladio posset,  
 roboris maioris Romanus eques erat, ita in ablatum  
 paventibus procul equis melius ex intervallo Numidae  
 8 iaculabantur. Simul et peditum legio duodecima,  
 magna ex parte caesa, pudore magis quam viribus  
 9 tenebat locum: nec diutius tenuisset, ni ex subsidiis  
 tertia decuma legio in primam aciem inducta proelium  
 dubium excepisset.<sup>4</sup> Mago quoque<sup>5</sup> ex subsidiis

<sup>1</sup> induratur *x Madrig, Conway: -atus P(3)NHVJK Aldus, Froben, Gronorius, Madrig 1863.*

<sup>2</sup> movere *P<sup>1</sup>M<sup>2</sup>HVJK Aldus, Froben: -eri P(3)N.*

<sup>3</sup> *Something has been lost here or reduced to the unintelligible rem of P(3)N: om. A<sup>1</sup>HVJ Froben 2, most Eds. A missing dative is supplied, turmae Madrig 1886, or turbae M. Müller. J<sup>1</sup>K emend to in rem (peritus), Aldus to in rem (permistis).*

<sup>4</sup> excepisset *A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>HVJK Aldus, Froben; -petisset P(3)N.*

<sup>5</sup> quoque *N<sup>1</sup>HVJK: que P(3)N Aldus, Froben.*

as you see, and their unexpected resistance is hardening the enemy against fright, and the danger is that fear may turn into daring. We must rouse our cavalry to a sudden charge if we wish to confuse and dislodge them. Accordingly, either do you in the front line keep up the fight, and I will lead the cavalry into the fray. Or I will command here at the front, and you shall send out the horse of four legions into the enemy." As the proconsul was ready to accept whichever part of the task the praetor wished him to take, Quintilius, the praetor, with his son, an active youth whose praenomen was Marcus, made his way to the cavalry and ordering them to mount suddenly sent them out against the enemy. The confusion wrought by the cavalry was heightened also by the shouting of the legions, and the enemy's line would not have kept its position if Mago at the first movement of the cavalry had not at once led the elephants, which were kept in readiness, into battle. Terrified by their roar and odour and by the sight of them the horses made the assistance of the cavalry useless. And although, so long as they were in the thick of the fight, where they could make use of the lance and, at close quarters, of the sword, the Roman horsemen were the stronger, still when they were carried to a distance by frightened horses, the Numidians were the more successful in hurling javelins from a longer range. Of the infantry also the twelfth legion at the same time was largely cut to pieces and holding its ground more from a sense of honour than by its strength. And it would not have held on long if the thirteenth legion, brought up from the reserves into the front line, had not taken over the indecisive battle. Mago likewise

A.U.C. 551 10 Gallos integrae legioni opposuit. Quibus haud magno certamine fusis hastati legionis undecimae conglobant sese atque elephantes iam etiam peditum  
 11 aciem turbantes invadunt. In quos cum pila confertos conieciissent, nullo ferme frustra emissio, omnes retro in aciem suorum averterunt; quattuor  
 12 gravati volneribus conruerunt. Tum primum<sup>1</sup> commota hostium acies, simul omnibus equitibus,<sup>2</sup> ut aversos videre elephantes, ad augendum pavorem ac tumultum effusis. Sed donec stetit ante signa Mago, gradum sensim referentes, ordines et<sup>3</sup> tenorem  
 13 pugnae servabant; postquam femine transfixo cadentem auferrique ex proelio prope exsanguem videre, extemplo in fugam omnes versi. Ad quinque milia hostium eo die caesa et signa militaria duo et  
 14 viginti capta. Nec Romanis incruenta victoria fuit; duo milia et trecenti de exercitu praetoris, pars multo maxima ex legione duodecima, amissi; inde et tribuni militum duo, M. Cosconius et M. Maevius;  
 15 tertiae decimae quoque legionis, quae postremo proelio adfuerat. C. Helvius tribunus militum in restituenda pugna cecidit; et duo et viginti ferme equites inlustres,<sup>4</sup> obtriti ab elephantis, cum centurionibus aliquot perierunt. Et longius certamen fuisset, ni volnere ducis concessa victoria esset.

<sup>1</sup> primum *Daker*: prima *P(3)NHVJK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>2</sup> equitibus *Alschefski, Eds.*: peditibus *P(3)NHVJK Lüterbacher.*

<sup>3</sup> et *P(3)N*: *om. HVJK Allus, Froben.*

<sup>4</sup> inlustres, before the noun in *HVJK*,

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brought up Gauls from his reserves to face the fresh B.C. 203 legion. After these had been routed with no great effort, the *hastati* of the eleventh legion massed together and attacked the elephants, which by this time were bringing disorder even to the infantry line. When the legionaries had hurled javelins against them in their close order, scarcely one missile being without effect, they drove all the elephants back into their own battle-line. Four of them, hampered by wounds, fell to the ground. Then for the first time the enemy's line was driven back, since all the cavalry, on seeing the elephants in flight, dashed out to increase the panic and confusion. But so long as Mago stood before the standards, his men as they slowly retired kept their ranks and continued to fight. After they saw him falling with his thigh pierced, and then borne almost lifeless from the battlefield, at once they all took to flight. About five thousand of the enemy were slain that day and twenty-two military standards were captured. Nor was it a bloodless victory for the Romans. Two thousand three hundred were lost from the army of the praetor, much the larger part of them from the twelfth legion; from it also two tribunes of the soldiers, Marcus Cosconius and Marcus Maevius. Of the thirteenth legion also, which had taken part in the last phase of the battle, Gaius Helvius, tribune of the soldiers, fell while rallying the men. And about twenty-two knights of the upper class were trampled by the elephants and perished together with a number of centurions. Also the engagement would have lasted even longer, had not victory been conceded because of the general's wound.

## LIVY

XIX. Mago proximae silentio noctis profectus,  
 quantum pati viae per volnus poterat itineribus ex-  
 2 tentis, ad mare in Ligures Ingaunos pervenit. Ibi  
 eum legati ab Carthagine paucis ante diebus in  
 sinum Gallicum ad pulsis navibus adierunt, iubentes  
 3 primo quoque tempore in Africam traicere;<sup>1</sup> id et  
 fratrem eius Hannibalem—nam ad eum quoque isse  
 legatos eadem iubentes—facturum; non in eo esse  
 Carthaginiensium res ut Galliam atque Italiam armis  
 4 obtineant. Mago non imperio modo senatus peri-  
 culoque patriae motus, sed metuens etiam ne victor  
 hostis moranti instaret, Liguresque ipsi, relinquī  
 Italiam a Poenis cernentes, ad eos quorum mox in  
 5 potestate futuri essent deficerent, simul sperans  
 leniorem<sup>2</sup> in navigatione quam in via iactationem  
 volneris fore et curationi omnia commodiora, im-  
 positis copiis in naves profectus, vixdum superata  
 Sardinia ex volnere moritur. Naves quoque aliquot  
 6 Poenorum disiectae in alto a classe Romana quae  
 circa Sardiniam erat capiuntur. Haec terra marique  
 in parte Italiae quae<sup>3</sup> iacet ad Alpes gesta.

Consul C. Servilius, nulla memorabili re in pro-  
 vincia Etruria Galliaque—nam eo quoque proces-

<sup>1</sup> traicere *VJK Eds.* : -iecere *A<sup>1</sup>H* : -eret *P(3)N*.

<sup>2</sup> leniorem *P(3)N Aldus* : leviorem *A<sup>2</sup>VJK Froben* 2.

<sup>3</sup> quae *M<sup>7</sup>B<sup>2</sup>A<sup>1</sup>HVJK Aldus, Froben*; qua *P(3)N*.

<sup>1</sup> Presumably he followed a road leading down to Vada Sabat(i)a, which belonged to the Ingauni, as did Savo (Savona). Cf. pp. 197, n. 3 f.; 225, n. 2. The wounded Mago may have been carried on an elephant. Cf. Hannibal in the Arno valley, XXII. ii. 10 f. Nothing is said of any Roman pursuit.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* Gulf of Genoa.

<sup>3</sup> No further authority for this statement can be cited. Other sources vary so much that their statements are of no value: that Mago was still in Liguria after Zama (Appian

XIX. Mago set out in the stillness of the following night and, lengthening the day's marches as much as he could endure by reason of his wound, he reached the sea in the country of the Ligurian Ingauni.<sup>1</sup> There envoys from Carthage came to him, having put in a few days before into the Gallic Gulf,<sup>2</sup> bringing him orders to cross over to Africa as soon as possible. His brother Hannibal, they said, would do the same; for to him also envoys had gone bearing the same command; that the Carthaginian state was in no position to hold Gaul and Italy by armed forces. Mago was not only swayed by the command from the senate and the danger of his city, but also feared that if he delayed the victorious enemy might be upon him, and the Ligurians themselves, seeing that the Carthaginians were abandoning Italy, might go over to the side of those in whose power they would presently be. Hoping at the same time that motion would be less painful to his wound on shipboard than on the road and everything more convenient for treatment, he embarked his troops and sailed, but had hardly passed Sardinia when he died of his wound.<sup>3</sup> In addition a considerable number of the Carthaginian ships, being scattered in the open sea, were captured by the Roman fleet which was off Sardinia. Such were the events on land and sea in that part of Italy which borders upon the Alps.

The consul Gaius Servilius, who had accomplished nothing that deserves mention in his province of Etruria and in Gaul—for he had advanced into that

*Pun.* 49; cf. 59); that after reaching Africa he was sent back to Italy (*Zonaras* IX. xiii. 10); that ten years later he perished either in a shipwreck or by the hands of his slaves (*Nepos Hann.* viii. 1 f.).

## LIVY

A.U.C.  
551

7 serat—gesta, patre C. Servilio et C. Lutatio<sup>1</sup> ex servitute post sextum decimum annum receptis, qui ad  
 8 vicum Tannetum a Boiis capti fuerant, hinc patre,  
 hinc Catulo<sup>2</sup> lateri circumdatis privato magis quam  
 9 publico decore insignis Romam rediit. Latum ad populum est ne C. Servilio fraudi esset quod patre, qui  
 sella curuli sedisset, vivo, cum id ignoraret, tribunus  
 plebis atque aedilis plebis fuisse contra quam sanctum legibus erat. Hac rogatione perlata in provinciam rediit.

10 Ad Cn. Servilium consulem, qui in Bruttiis erat, Consentia, Aufugum, Bergae, Baesidiae, Oriculum, Lymphaeum, Argentanum, Clampetia multique alii ignobiles populi, senescere Punicum bellum cernentes,  
 11 defecere. Idem consul cum Hannibale in agro Crotonensi acie conflixit. Obscura eius pugnae fama est. Valerius Antias quinque milia hostium caesa ait; quae tanta res est ut aut impudenter facta  
 12 sit aut neglegenter praetermissa. Nihil certe ultra rei in Italia ab Hannibale gestum. Nam ad eum quoque legati ab Carthagine revocantes<sup>3</sup> in Africam,

<sup>1</sup> Lutatio. *Ablus, Froben add. patruo.*

<sup>2</sup> Catulo *P(3)N*: patruo *N<sup>4</sup>HJK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>3</sup> revocantes *A<sup>6</sup>HJK*: vocantes *P(3)N Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>1</sup> Son of the victor in 242, he had been consul in 220 B.C.; Zonaras VIII. xx. 10.

<sup>2</sup> They were seized, as Livy himself has it, near Mutina (Modena), but their Gallic captors were unsuccessfully pursued northwestward as far as Tannetum (half-way between Parma and Reggio Emilia). Cf. XXI. xxv. 3, 13; xxvi. 2; XXVII. xxi. 10; Polybius III. xl. 9–13.

<sup>3</sup> He had held the praetorship; Polybius *l.c.* § 9.

country as well—rescued from slavery after fifteen years his father Gaius Servilius and Gaius Lutatius,<sup>1</sup> who had been captured near the village of Tannetum<sup>2</sup> by the Boii. Upon that he returned to Rome escorted by his father on one side and Catulus on the other, gaining distinction for an act that was personal rather than official. A bill was brought before the people that it should not be a ground for charges against Gaius Servilius that while his father, who had occupied a curule chair,<sup>3</sup> was still alive—a fact of which he was unaware—he had been tribune of the plebs and plebeian aedile, contrary to provisions of the laws.<sup>4</sup> This bill became a law, whereupon he returned to his province.

As for Gnaeus Servilius, the consul, who was in the land of the Brutii, Consentia,<sup>5</sup> Aufugum, Bergae, Baesidia, Oericulum, Lymphaeum, Argentanum, Clampetia and many other unimportant communities, came over to his side, seeing that the Punic war was failing. The same consul engaged in battle with Hannibal in the territory of Croton. The story of that battle is not clear. Valerius Antias<sup>6</sup> says five thousand of the enemy were slain—a victory on such a scale as to have been either shamelessly fabricated or else carelessly passed over. What is certain is that nothing further was accomplished by Hannibal in Italy. For to him also came emissaries from Carthage to recall him to Africa just at the time, it

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Vol. VII. p. 301, n. 1 for one explanation of this restriction placed upon patrician candidates who were under *patria potestas*. The purpose of the consul's return from his province was that his acts as a magistrate might be legalized.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 357, n. 2 (for Clampetia also).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. XXVIII. xlvi. 14 and note; XXIX. xxxv. 2; above, iii. 6; below, xxix, 7; xliii. 12 n.

iis forte diebus quibus ad Magonem venerunt.

XX. Frendens gemensque ac vix lacrimis temperans  
 2 dicitur legatorum verba audisse. Postquam edita  
 sunt mandata, "Iam non perplexe" inquit, "sed  
 3 palam revocant qui vetando supplementum et  
 pecuniam mitti iam pridem retrahebant.<sup>1</sup> Vicit ergo  
 Hannibalem non populus Romanus totiens caesus  
 fugatusque, sed senatus Carthaginiensis obtrecta-  
 4 tione atque invidia. Neque hac deformitate reditus  
 mei tam P. Scipio exsultabit atque efferet sese quam  
 Hanno, qui domum nostram, quando alia re non po-  
 tut, ruina Carthaginis oppressit."

5 Iam hoc ipsum praesagiens animo praeparaverat  
 ante naves. Itaque inutili militum turba praesidii  
 specie in oppida Bruttii agri quae pauca metu magis  
 quam fide continebantur dimissa, quod roboris in  
 6 exercitu erat in Africam transvexit, multis Italici

? generis, quia<sup>2</sup> in Africam secuturos abnuentes  
 concesserant in Iunonis Laciniae delubrum inviolatum  
 ad eam diem, in templo ipso foede interfectis.

7 Raro quemquam alium patriam exsiliī causa relin-  
 quentem tam<sup>3</sup> maestum abisse ferunt quam Hanni-  
 balem hostium terra excedentem. Respexisse  
 saepe Italiae litora, et deos hominesque accusantem

<sup>1</sup> retrahebant *H. Aldus, Froben*: trahebant *P(3)N*: retrahunt *VJK*.

<sup>2</sup> quia *P(3)N VJK*: qui *Madvig, Emend.*

<sup>3</sup> tam *A·VJK*: om. *P(3)N*.

<sup>1</sup> Formerly leader of the opposition party; cf. XXI. iii.  
 2 ff.; x. 2-xi. 1; XXIII. xii. 6-xiii. 6 (216 B.C.). Still prominent according to Appian *Pun.* 34. At xliv. 5, if not at xlvi. 12, another Hasdrubal (Haedus) has taken his place.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 441, n. 3.

chanced, that others came to Mago. XX. Gnashing <sup>B.C. 203</sup> his teeth and groaning—so they say—and scarcely keeping back the tears he listened to the words of the emissaries. After they had delivered their message he said: “It is no longer obscurely but openly that I am being recalled by men who, in forbidding the sending of reinforcements and money, were long ago trying to drag me back. The conqueror of Hannibal is therefore not the Roman people, so often cut to pieces and put to flight, but the Carthaginian senate by carping and envy. And over this inglorious return of mine it will not be Publius Scipio who wildly exults, so much as Hanno,<sup>1</sup> who, unable to do so by any other means, has ruined our family by the downfall of Carthage.”

Already foreboding this very thing he had previously put his ships in readiness. Accordingly, after distributing the mass of useless troops, nominally as garrisons, among the few Bruttian towns that were being held rather by fear than by loyalty, he transported the flower of his army to Africa. Many men of Italic race refusing to follow him to Africa had retired to the shrine of Juno Lacinia,<sup>2</sup> never desecrated until that day, and had been cruelly slain actually within the temple enclosure.<sup>3</sup> They say that rarely has any other man leaving his country to go into exile departed so sorrowfully as Hannibal on withdrawing from the enemy’s land; that he repeatedly looked back upon the shores of Italy and, accusing gods and men, called down a curse

<sup>3</sup> The temple itself would have room for no more than a small number fleeing for refuge. Diodorus Sic. XXVII. 9 makes the number 20,000. Cf. Appian *Hann.* 59 (no mention of the temple). The whole story seems to be fictitious.

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8 in se quoque ac suum ipsius caput exsecratum, quod  
 non cruentum ab Cannensi victoria militem Romam  
 duxisset. Scipionem ire ad Carthaginem ausum, qui  
 9 consul hostem Poenum in Italia non vidisset; se, cen-  
 tum milibus armatorum ad Trasumenum, ad Cannas  
 caesis, circa Casilinum Cumasque et Nolam conse-  
 nuisse. Haec accusans querensque ex diutina posses-  
 sione Italiae est detractus.

XXI. Romam per eosdem dies et Magonem et  
 Hannibalem profectos adlatum est. Cuius duplicitis  
 gratulationis minuit laetitiam et quod parum duces in  
 retinendis iis, cum id mandatum ab senatu esset, aut  
 2 animi aut virium habuisse videbantur, et quod solli-  
 citi erant, omni belli mole in unum exercitum ducem-  
 3 que inclinata quo evasura esset res. Per eosdem dies  
 legati Saguntini venerunt comprehensos cum pecunia  
 adducentes Carthaginienses qui ad conducenda  
 4 auxilia in Hispaniam traiecerint. Ducenta et  
 quinquaginta auri, octingenta pondo argenti in  
 5 vestibulo curiae posuerunt. Hominibus acceptis et  
 in carcerem conditis, auro argentoque reddito gratiae  
 legatis actae, atque insuper munera data ac naves  
 quibus in Hispaniam reverterentur.

6 Mentio deinde ab senioribus<sup>1</sup> facta est segnissus  
 homines bona quam mala sentire; transitu in Italiam

<sup>1</sup> senioribus *P(3)N Aldus, Froben*: senatoribus *N<sup>1</sup>(alt.) HVJK.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. XXII. li. 1-4; XXVI. vii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mago's summary in XXIII. xi. 8 f.

upon himself also and his own head because he had <sup>B.C. 203</sup> not led his soldiers blood-stained from the victory of Cannae to Rome.<sup>1</sup> Scipio had dared, he said, to approach Carthage—a man who in his consulship had not seen a Carthaginian enemy in Italy—whereas he himself, after a hundred thousand armed men<sup>2</sup> had been slain at Trasumennus, at Cannae, had grown old round Casilinum and Cumae and Nola. Such were his accusations and laments as he was dragged away from his long occupation of Italy.

XXI. At Rome the news of Mago's departure and that of Hannibal were received about the same time. Rejoicing over this two-fold ground for congratulation was tempered by two circumstances: that men thought the generals had lacked either the spirit or the strength to detain them, although this had been ordered by the senate; and that they were concerned for the outcome, now that the whole burden of the war came down upon one army and one commander. About the same time envoys arrived from Saguntum bringing Carthaginians alleged to have crossed over into Spain to hire auxiliaries, having been seized together with the money. They set down two hundred and fifty pounds of gold and eight hundred pounds of silver in the forecourt<sup>3</sup> of the Senate House. After accepting the captives, remanding them to prison and returning the gold and silver, the senate thanked the envoys; and in addition presents were made to them and ships furnished for their return to Spain.

The older members thereupon observed that men are slower to recognize blessings than evils; that

<sup>3</sup> For *vestibulum curiae* cf. I. xlvi. 1; II. xlvi. 10; xlix. 3; at Carthage, below, xxiv. 10.

Hannibal quantum terroris pavorisque esset<sup>1</sup>  
meminisse. Quas deinde clades, quos luctus in-  
cidisse! Visa castra hostium e muris urbis; quae  
vota singulorum universorumque fuisse! Quotiens  
in conciliis voces manus ad caelum porrigentium<sup>2</sup>  
auditas, en umquam ille dies futurus esset quo  
vacuam hostibus Italiam bona pace florentem visuri  
essent! Dedisse tandem id deos<sup>3</sup> sexto decimo  
demum anno, nec esse qui deis grates agendas  
censeat; adeo ne advenientem quidem gratiam  
homines benigne accipere, nedum ut praeteritiae  
satis memores sint. Conclamatum deinde ex omni  
parte curiae est uti referret P. Aelius praetor;  
decreturnque ut quinque dies circa omnia pulvinaria  
supplicaretur, victumaeque maiores immolarentur  
centum viginti.

Iam dimisso Laelio legatisque Masinissae cum  
Carthaginiensium legatos de pace ad senatum ve-  
nientes Puteolis visos, inde terra venturos adlatum  
esset, revocari C. Laelium placuit, ut coram eo de  
pace ageretur. Q. Fulvius Gillo, legatus Scipionis,  
Carthaginienses Romam adduxit. Quibus vetus in-  
gredi urbem hospitium in Villa Publica, senatus ad  
aedem Bellonae datus est.

<sup>1</sup> esset *CM<sup>2</sup>A Madvig, Conway*: esse *PMBAN Eds.*:  
sese *HVJ*.

<sup>2</sup> porrigentium *CMBANHVJK*: porgentium *P.*

<sup>3</sup> tandem id deos *HVJK Froben* 2: id deos tandem  
*P(3)N.*

<sup>1</sup> On festal couches in temples cf. Vol. VI. p. 208, n. 1;  
VII. p. 217, n. 3; Book V. xiii. 6 (the first at Rome).

<sup>2</sup> This, taken from a different source, conflicts with xvii. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Temple and Villa Publica were in the Campus Martius,  
near the Flaminian Circus; X. xix. 17; XXVI. xxi. 1;

upon Hannibal's passage into Italy they remembered B.C. 203 what alarm and panic there had been. Since that time what disasters, what sorrows had befallen them! The enemy's camp had been visible from the walls of the city; what prayers had been said by individuals and by the entire people! How often in their deliberations had men been heard to say, as they lifted their hands to heaven, Would the day ever come when they should see Italy cleared of the enemy and prospering in a blessed peace! At last, they said, but not before the sixteenth year, the gods had granted that prayer; and yet there was no one to propose a vote of thanks to the gods; so true was it that men did not gratefully receive a blessing upon its coming, much less duly remember it when past. Upon that shouts came from every part of the Senate House that Publius Aelius, the praetor, should bring up the question. And it was voted that for five days thanks should be offered at all the *pulvinaria*,<sup>1</sup> also that a hundred and twenty full-grown victims should be sacrificed.

After Laelius and the envoys of Masinissa had been dismissed, word came that the Carthaginian envoys, on their way to the senate to sue for peace, had been seen at Puteoli and would proceed thence by land. Whereupon it was decided that Gaius Laelius should be recalled,<sup>2</sup> in order that the discussion of peace might be in his presence. Quintus Fulvius Gillo, Scipio's lieutenant, conducted the Carthaginians to Rome. Being forbidden to enter the city, they were entertained in the Villa Publica and a hearing in the senate was granted them in the Temple of Bellona.<sup>3</sup>

XXVIII. ix. 5; xxxviii. 2; below, xl. 1; and for the Villa, IV. xxii. 7; XXXIII. xxiv. 5; XXXIV. xliv. 5.

XXII. Orationem eandem ferme quam apud Scipionem habuerunt, culpam omnem belli a publico  
 2 consilio in Hannibalem vertentes: eum iniussu  
 senatus non Alpes modo sed Hiberum quoque trans-  
 gressum, nec Romanis solum sed ante etiam Sagun-  
 3 tinis privato consilio bellum intulisse; senatui ac  
 populo Carthaginiensi, si quis vere aestimet, foedus  
 4 ad eam diem inviolatum esse cum Romanis. Itaque  
 nihil aliud sibi mandatum esse uti peterent quam ut  
 in ea pace quae postremo cum C. Lutatio facta esset  
 5 manere liceret. Cum more tradito<sup>1</sup> patribus potes-  
 tatem interrogandi, si quis quid vellet, legatos  
 praetor fecisset, senioresque qui foederibus inter-  
 fuerant alia alii interrogarent, nec meminisse se<sup>2</sup>  
 per aetatem—etenim omnes ferme iuvenes erant—  
 6 dicerent legati, conclamatum ex omni parte curiae  
 est Punica fraude electos qui veterem pacem repe-  
 terent cuius ipsi non meminissent.

XXIII. Emotis deinde curia legatis sententiae  
 interrogari coepit. M. Livius C. Servilium consulem,  
 qui propior esset, arcessendum, ut coram eo de pace  
 2 ageretur, censebat; cum de re maiore quam quanta

<sup>1</sup> tradito, *P(3)NVJK add a, rejected by Eds.*  
<sup>2</sup> se *VJK Allus, Froben: om. P(3)N.*

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<sup>1</sup> As in XXI. xix. 2 f. Livy connects the treaty of 241 B.C., ratified in the consulship of Quintus Lutatius Cerco, logically with the naval victory won by his brother Gaius Lutatius Catulus at the very end of his year of office (242). Polybius does the same, I. lxii. 7. Below, xliv. 1 is more exact. The brothers shared in the organization of this first province; Zonaras VIII. xvii. 7.

XXII. They made substantially the same plea <sup>B.C. 203</sup> as they had done before Scipio, shifting all blame for the war from public responsibility to Hannibal: that he had crossed not merely the Alps but even the Ebro without orders from the senate, and on his own responsibility had waged war not only on the Romans but before that upon the Saguntines also. The senate and the Carthaginian people, they claimed, had a treaty with the Romans which in any fair judgment was to that day unbroken; consequently they had no other instructions than to beg permission to abide by the last peace-treaty, made with Gaius Lutatius.<sup>1</sup> When the praetor, following traditional practice, had given the senators permission to ask any question of the envoys if any one was so disposed, and older members, who had been present when action was taken on the treaties, were asking various questions, the envoys kept saying that on account of their age they did not remember—nearly all of them being young men. Upon that there were shouts from every part of the house that Punic trickery had led them to choose men who did not themselves remember it, to ask that the old treaty should be revived.

XXIII. Then after the envoys had been ushered out of the house,<sup>2</sup> opinions began to be called for. Marcus Livius<sup>3</sup> moved that Gaius Servilius, the consul, being the nearer, should be summoned, in order that discussion of peace might be in his presence. Since there could be no more important

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* the temple serving as a curia for this occasion.

<sup>3</sup> Consul in 219 and 207 B.C., and lately censor (204 B.C.). Fabius Maximus, *princeps senatus*, was probably ill, or had already died; xxvi. 7.

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ea<sup>1</sup> esset consultatio incidere non posset, non videri sibi absente consulum altero ambobusve eam rem agi satis ex dignitate populi Romani esse. Q. Metellus, qui triennio ante consul dictatorque fuerat: cum P. Scipio caedendo exercitus, agros populando in eam necessitatem hostes compulisset ut supplices pacem peterent, et nemo omnium verius existumare posset, qua mente ea pax peteretur quam qui<sup>2</sup> ante portas Carthaginis bellum gereret, nullius alterius consilio quam Scipionis accipiendam abnuendamve pacem esse. M. Valerius Laevinus, qui bis consul fuerat, speculatores, non legatos venisse arguebat, iubendosque Italia excedere et custodes cum iis usque ad naves mittendos, Scipionique scribendum ne bellum remitteret. Laelius Fulviusque adiecerunt et Scipionem in eo positam habuisse spem pacis, si Hannibal et Mago ex Italia non<sup>3</sup> revocarentur; ceterum<sup>4</sup> omnia simulaturos Carthaginenses, duces eos exercitusque exspectantes; deinde quamvis recentium foederum et deorum omnium oblitos bellum gesturos. Eo magis in Laevini sententiam discessum. Legati pace infecta ac prope sine responso dimissi.

<sup>1</sup> ea *P(3)N*: *om. VJK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>2</sup> qui *Alschefski, Eds.*: is qui *K Aldus, Froben*: eum qui *P(3)NJ.*

<sup>3</sup> non *N<sup>2</sup>VJK Aldus, Froben*: *om. P(3)N.*

<sup>4</sup> ceterum *N<sup>4</sup>VJK Aldus, Froben*: *om. P(3)N.*

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 246, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> This conflicts with Polybius' positive statement that the treaty was duly ratified at Rome, and that the three envoys

subject for deliberation than that, it did not seem to b.c. 203 him, he said, that debate on the question in the absence of one or both of the consuls was quite in keeping with the dignity of the Roman people. Quintus Metellus, who had been consul three years before and also dictator, said that, whereas Publius Scipio by slaying their armies and ravaging their lands had reduced the enemy to such straits that as suppliants they were suing for peace, and whereas no man in the world could more correctly judge of the spirit in which they were seeking that peace than he who was conducting a war at the gates of Carthage, peace must be accepted or rejected according to the advice of none other than Scipio. Marcus Valerius Laevinus, who had twice been consul,<sup>1</sup> contended that spies, not envoys, had come to them, and that they should be ordered to depart from Italy, and guards sent with them all the way to their ships, and that a written order should be sent to Scipio not to relax effort in the war. Laelius and Fulvius added that Scipio also had based his hope of peace only upon the supposition that Hannibal and Mago were not to be recalled from Italy. But while waiting for those generals and their armies, they said, the Carthaginians would use every pretence, and then, forgetful of treaties however recent and of all the gods, would carry on the war. Consequently a still larger number voted for Laevinus' motion. The envoys were sent away without securing peace and almost without an answer.<sup>2</sup>

named in xxv. 2 had so notified the Carthaginians; XV. i. 3, 9. Livy's view is repeated in xxx. 28; xxxi. 9; cf. xvi. 15 and note.

XXIV. Per eos dies Cn. Servilius consul, haud dubius quin pacatae Italiae penes se gloria esset, velut pulsum ab se Hannibalem persequens, in Siciliam, inde in <sup>1</sup> Africam transiturus, traiecit. Quod ubi Romae volgatum est, primo censuerant patres ut praetor scriberet consuli senatum aequum censere in Italiam reverti eum; dein, cum praetor spreturum eum litteras suas diceret, dictator ad id ipsum creatus P. Sulpicius pro iure [maioris imperii] consulem in Italiam revocavit. Reliquum anni cum M. Servilio magistro equitum circumdeundis Italiae <sup>2</sup> urbibus quae bello alienatae fuerant noscendisque singularum causis consumpsit.

5 Per indutiarum tempus ex <sup>3</sup> Sardinia a P. Lentulo praetore centum onerariae naves cum commeatu viginti rostratarum praesidio, et ab hoste et ab tempestatis mari tuto, in Africam transmiserunt. Cn. Octavio ducentis onerariis, triginta <sup>4</sup> longis navibus ex Sicilia traicienti non eadem fortuna fuit. In conspectum ferme Africae prospero cursu evectum <sup>5</sup> primo destituit ventus, dein versus in Africum turbavit ac passim naves disiecit. Ipse cum rostratis per adversos fluctus ingenti remigum labore enitus Apollinis promunturium tenuit; onerariae pars

<sup>1</sup> inde in JK Aldus, Froben: inde et P(3)N.

<sup>2</sup> Italiae P(3)N Aldus, Eds.: in Italia A<sup>x</sup>JK Froben 2, Conway: in italicam V.

<sup>3</sup> ex Madvig, Luchs, Conway: et ex P(3)NVJK.

<sup>4</sup> triginta (xxx) P(3)N Aldus, Froben: xx VJK.

<sup>5</sup> evectum A<sup>y</sup>VJK: vectum P(3)N Aldus, Froben.

<sup>1</sup> The city praetor Aelius Paetus (i. 9), presiding in the senate. But he lacked authority to give orders to a consul. Hence the resort to a dictator, whose *maius imperium* must be respected by the consul.

XXIV. About that time Gnaeus Servilius, the <sup>B.C. 203</sup> consul, who had no doubt that to him belonged the glory of giving peace to Italy, as if in pursuit of a Hannibal whom he had driven out himself, crossed over to Sicily, intending to cross from there to Africa. When this was noised abroad at Rome, at first the senators had voted that the praetor <sup>1</sup> should write to the consul that the senate thought it proper for him to return to Italy. Then, as the praetor said that Servilius would disregard his letter, Publius Sulpicius <sup>2</sup> was made dictator for that very purpose; and by virtue of his higher authority he recalled the consul to Italy. The rest of the year he spent with his master of the horse, Marcus Servilius,<sup>3</sup> in making the rounds of such cities in Italy as had been estranged by the war and in hearing their cases one after another.

During the armistice a hundred transports sent from Sardinia by the praetor Publius Lentulus <sup>4</sup> with supplies and convoyed by twenty war-ships crossed to Africa over a sea safe from the enemy and safe from storms. Gnaeus Octavius, crossing over from Sicily with two hundred transports and thirty war-ships, was not so fortunate. When he had almost come in sight of Africa after a favourable passage, the wind at first failed him; then shifting into a southwester, it damaged and scattered the ships far and wide. He himself with the war-ships battled against head seas by great efforts on the part of the oarsmen and reached the Promontory of Apollo.<sup>5</sup> Most of the transports were carried to the island of

<sup>2</sup> Consul in 211 and 200 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> Brother of the consul Gaius Servilius Geminus and himself consul in the following year; xxvi. 1; xxvii. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. i. 9; ii. 4; xxxvi. 2 f.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 315, n. 2.

maxima ad Aegimurum—insula ea<sup>1</sup> sinum ab alto claudit in quo sita Carthago est, triginta ferme milia ab urbe—, aliae adversus urbem ipsam ad Calidas Aquas delatae sunt. Omnia in conspectu Carthaginis erant. Itaque ex tota urbe in forum concursum est; magistratus senatum vocare; populus in curiae vestibulo fremere ne tanta ex oculis manibusque amitteretur praeda. Cum quidam pacis petitae, alii indutiarum—necdum enim dies exierat—fidem opponerent, permixto<sup>2</sup> paene senatus populique concilio consensum est ut classem<sup>3</sup> quinquaginta navium Hasdrubal Aegimurum traiceret, inde per litora portusque dispersas Romanas naves colligeret.

12 Desertae fuga nautarum primum ab Aegimuro, deinde ab Aquis onerariae Carthaginem pupibus tractae sunt.

XXV. Nondum ab Roma reverterant legati,<sup>4</sup> neque sciebatur quae senatus Romani de bello aut pace sententia esset, necdum indutiarum dies exierat; eo indignorem iniuriam ratus Scipio ab iis qui petissent pacem et indutias et spem pacis et fidem indutiarum violatam esse, legatos Carthaginem L. Baebium, L. Sergium, L. Fabium extemplo misit.

<sup>1</sup> insula ea *P(3)N?JK* Eds.: insulam ea *A·N?* Aldus, *Froben, Conway (with dash before ea): -lam eam V.*

<sup>2</sup> permixto, preceded by postremo *V* Aldus, *Froben.*

<sup>3</sup> classem *P(3)N*: classe *VJK* Aldus, *Froben.*

<sup>4</sup> ab Roma reverterant legati *PCM'B<sup>x</sup>*: reverterant ab Roma legati *AN* Aldus, *Froben.*

<sup>1</sup> Zembra (Djamur); cf. p. 315, n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Across the bay from Carthage and to the south-east (near Carpis), now Hammam Kourbes. The hot springs are mentioned by Strabo XVII. iii. 16, and the *Tabula*

Aegimurus<sup>1</sup>—which on the seaward side closes the bay upon which lies Carthage, about thirty miles from the city—the rest of them to Aquae Calidae,<sup>2</sup> opposite the city itself. Everything could be seen from Carthage; and so from all parts of the city people ran to the market-place. The magistrates summoned the senate; the people before the entrance of the Senate House protested against letting go so much booty out of their sight and reach. While some objected, pleading the sanctity of peace negotiations, others that of the armistice—for its term had not yet expired—the meeting of the senate was all but merged with that of the people. It was agreed that Hasdrubal should sail over to Aegimurus with his fleet of fifty ships, and then gather up the Roman ships scattered along the shore and in the harbours. Deserted by the flight of their crews the transports were towed by the stern to Carthage, first from Aegimurus and then from Aquae.

XXV. Not yet had the envoys returned from Rome, nor was it known what had been the decision of the Roman senate in regard to war or peace;<sup>3</sup> not yet had the term of the armistice expired. For that reason Scipio thought it an even more shameful outrage that both the hope of peace and the sanctity of an armistice had been treated with disrespect by men who had sued for peace and an armistice. At once he sent Lucius Baebius, Lucius Sergius and Lucius Fabius as envoys to Carthage.

Peutingeriana. They are still frequented by the people of Tunis.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xvi. 15 and note; also Appian *Pun.* 34; Dio Cass. frag. 57. 74 f.; Zonaras IX. xiii. 8. All these place ratification of the treaty after Hannibal had left Italy. Cf. Gsell III. 248.

3 Qui cum multitudinis concursu prope violati essent  
 nec redditum tutiorem futurum cernerent, petierunt  
 a magistratibus quorum auxilio vis prohibita erat ut  
 4 naves mitterent quae se prosequerentur. Datae  
 triremes duae cum ad Bagradam flumen pervenissent,  
 unde castra Romana conspiciebantur, Carthaginem  
 5 rediere. Classis Punica ad Uticam stationem habebat.  
 Ex ea tres quadriremes, seu clam misso a Carthagine  
 nuntio ut id fieret, seu Hasdrubale, qui classi praeerat,  
 6 sine publica fraude auso facinus, quinqueremem  
 Romanam superantem promunturium ex alto repente  
 adgressae sunt. Sed neque rostro ferire celeritate  
 subterlabentem<sup>1</sup> poterant, neque transilire armati ex  
 humilioribus in altiorem navem, et defendebatur  
 7 egregie, quoad tela suppeditarunt. Quis deficientibus  
 iam nulla alia res eam quam propinquitas terrae  
 multitudoque a castris in litus effusa tueri potuit.<sup>2</sup>  
 8 Concitatam enim remis quanto maximo impetu  
 poterant in terram cum immisissent, navis tantum  
 iactura facta, incolumes ipsi evaserunt.  
 9 Ita alio super aliud scelere cum haud dubie  
 induitiae ruptae essent, Laelius Fulviusque ab Roma  
 10 cum legatis Carthaginiensibus supervenerunt. Qui-

<sup>1</sup> subterlabentem *NVVJK Aldus, Froben*: super- *P(3)N*:  
*sua praeter- Weissenborn*: sua praeter- *M. Müller*.

<sup>2</sup> potuit *Drakenborch*: potuisset *P(3)VVJK Aldus, Froben*.

<sup>1</sup> Now the Medjerda, principal river of Tunisia, 300 miles long but not navigable. See p. 344, n. 1 for the great changes in its lower course as the bay has silted up. The ancient mouth was half-way between Carthage and Utica.

<sup>2</sup> At the north-east end of the long ridge upon which lay the camp, later called Castra Cornelia. Cf. p. 347, n. 1. Perhaps Livy is wrong in thinking the ship was beached on the less

These narrowly escaped injury at the hands of a mob and foresaw that their return would be no safer. Accordingly they begged the magistrates whose help had prevented violence to send ships to escort them. Two triremes were furnished, and having reached the river Bagradas,<sup>1</sup> from which the Roman camp was visible, they returned to Carthage. The Carthaginian fleet was lying at anchor near Utica. Three quadriremes from that fleet, just as the Roman quinquereme was rounding the promontory,<sup>2</sup> suddenly attacked her from the seaward side, perhaps because a secret order to do so had been sent from Carthage, possibly because Hasdrubal, who was in command of the fleet, made bold to act without complicity on the part of the government. But they were unable to ram her as she eluded them by her speed, and the marines could not spring across from the lower vessels to the higher one. Also she was brilliantly defended so long as their missiles held out. When these failed them there was nothing else which could protect the ship but nearness to the land and the great numbers that poured out to the shore from the camp. For propelled at full speed by the oars, they ran her on the shore with all possible momentum. Consequently the ship only was lost, and the men themselves<sup>3</sup> escaped.

Thus the armistice beyond doubt had been broken by one crime after another when Laelius and Fulvius arrived from Rome with the Carthaginian

favourable west side; Gsell III. 250, n. 1. The Punic fleet was no farther away than Rusucmon (Porto Farina; x. 9); Appian *Pun.* 34.

<sup>3</sup> Primarily the envoys, but also some of the crew; Polybius XV. ii. 15; cf. Appian *l.c. fin.*

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bus Scipio, etsi non indutiarum fides modo a Carthaginensibus, sed ius etiam gentium in legatis violatum esset, tamen se nihil nec institutis populi Romani nec suis moribus indignum in iis facturum esse cum dixisset, dimissis legatis bellum parabat.

11 Hannibali iam terrae adpropinquanti iussus e nauticis unus<sup>1</sup> descendere in malum, ut specularetur  
 12 quam tenerent regionem, cum dixisset sepulchrum di-  
 rutum proram spectare, abominatus praetervehi iusso  
 gubernatore ad Leptim adpulit classem atque ibi  
 copias exposuit.

XXVI. Haec eo anno in Africa gesta; insequen-  
 tia excedunt in eum annum quo M. Servilius Gemi-  
 nus,<sup>2</sup> qui tum magister equitum erat, et Ti. Claudius  
 2 Nero consules facti sunt. Ceterum exitu superioris  
 anni cum legati sociarum urbium ex Graecia questi-  
 essent vastatos agros ab regiis praesidiis profectos-  
 que in Macedoniam legatos ad res repetendas non  
 3 admissos ad Philippum regem, simul nuntiassent quat-  
 tuor milia militum cum Sopatro duce traiecta in Afri-  
 cam dici, ut essent Carthaginiensibus praesidio, et  
 4 pecuniae aliquantum una missum, legatos ad regem  
 qui haec adversus foedus facta videri patribus nun-

<sup>1</sup> e nauticis unus *B<sup>2</sup>A<sup>6</sup>*? *Crévier*, *Eds.*: e nautis unus  
*N<sup>2</sup>VJK Aldus, Froben*: enuticusunus *P.*

<sup>2</sup> Geminus *om. P(3)N.*

<sup>1</sup> In Polybius iv. 9 Scipio was absent, and Baebius, being left in command, carried out orders from the general.

<sup>2</sup> On the east coast of Tunisia; Leptis Minor (or Lepti Minus) to distinguish it from Leptis Magna in Tripolitania. Cf. p. 308, n. 1. It was now probably autumn.

envoys. Scipio informed these men that, although B.C. 203 not only the sanctity of an armistice had been violated by the Carthaginians, but also the law of nations in regard to his envoys, nevertheless he would not in their case do anything unworthy of the established usages of the Roman people or of his own character. Whereupon he dismissed the envoys<sup>1</sup> and made preparations for war.

As Hannibal was already nearing land, one of the sailors was ordered to go aloft, in order to make out what region they were approaching. When he reported that the bow was headed toward a ruined tomb, Hannibal with a prayer to avert such an omen ordered the pilot to sail on, brought his fleet in at Leptis,<sup>2</sup> and there disembarked his troops.

XXVI. Such were the events of that year in Africa. What follows runs over into the year in which Marcus Servilius Geminus, who at that time was master of the horse, and Tiberius Claudius Nero<sup>3</sup> became consuls. But at the end of the previous year envoys from Greece representing allied cities had complained that their territories had been ravaged by the king's forces, and that envoys who had gone into Macedonia to claim damages were not admitted to King Philip's presence. They had at the same time brought word that four thousand soldiers under the command of Sopater were alleged to have crossed over to Africa to defend the Carthaginians, and that a considerable sum of money was said to have been sent with them. Consequently the senate voted to send envoys to the king to report that in the opinion

<sup>1</sup> A first cousin of Gaius, consul in 207 B.C.

tiarent mittendos censuit senatus. Missi C. Terentius Varro, C. Mamilius, M. Aurelius; iis<sup>1</sup> tres quinqueremes datae.

5 Annus insignis incendio ingenti, quo Clivus Publicius ad solum exustus est, et aquarum magnitudine, sed et<sup>2</sup> annonae vilitate fuit, praeterquam quod pace  
6 omnis Italia erat aperta, etiam quod magnam vim frumenti ex Hispania missam M. Valerius Falto et M. Fabius Buteo aediles curules quaternis aeris vicatim populo discriperunt.

7 Eodem anno Q. Fabius Maximus moritur, exactae aetatis, si quidem verum est augurem duos et sexaginta<sup>3</sup> annos fuisse, quod quidam auctores sunt. Vir certe fuit dignus tanto cognomine, vel si novum ab eo inciperet. Superavit paternos honores, avitos aequavit. Pluribus victoriis et maioribus proeliis avus insignis Rullus; sed omnia aequare unus hostis  
9 Hannibal potest. Cautior tamen quam promptior hic habitus; et sicut dubites utrum ingenio cunctator fuerit an quia ita bello proprie quod tum gerebatur aptum erat, sic nihil certius est quam unum hominem nobis cunctando rem restituisse, sicut Ennius ait.

<sup>1</sup> iis *P Aldus, Froben*: his *CMBANVK*: hiis *J.*

<sup>2</sup> sed et *AN Aldus*: sed *x Conway*: et *A'VJK Froben* 2: *siP(3)*.

<sup>3</sup> sexaginta (*LX P(3)NJ<sup>1</sup>*: *XL CVK Aldus, Froben*: *xx J.*

<sup>1</sup> Consul in 216 B.C.; XXII. xxxv. 2; escaped from Cannae, XXII. xlix. 14; lxi. 13 ff. Mamilius Atellus had been praetor, Aurelius Cotta an aedile. Cf. xlvi. 2, 5, 10.

<sup>2</sup> See Vol. VII. p. 36, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. one sesterce. Cf. XXXI. l. 1 (grain even cheaper).

<sup>4</sup> Quintus Fabius Maximus Gurges, three times consul, last in 265 B.C.

<sup>5</sup> Quintus Fabius Maximus Rullianus, five times, last in 295 B.C. Plutarch *Fab.* 1. makes him great-grandfather of Delayer.

## BOOK XXX. xxvi. 4-9

of the senators these acts had violated the treaty. B.C. 203  
 The men sent were Gaius Terentius Varro,<sup>1</sup> Gaius Mamilius, Marcus Aurelius; three quinqueremes were furnished them.

The year was marked by a great conflagration in which the Clivus Publicius<sup>2</sup> was burned to the ground, and by floods, but also by the low price of grain, because not only was all Italy open by reason of peace, but also a great quantity of grain had been sent from Spain; and Marcus Valerius Falto and Marcus Fabius Buteo, the curule aediles, distributed this to the populace by precincts at four *asses*<sup>3</sup> a peck.

In the same year Quintus Fabius Maximus died at a very advanced age, if indeed it is true that he had been an augur for sixty-two years, as some authorities say. He certainly was a man who deserved such a surname, even if it had been first applied to him. He surpassed the number of magistracies held by his father<sup>4</sup> and equalled those of his grandfather.<sup>5</sup> A larger number of victories and greater battles made the fame of his grandfather Rullus; but all of them can be balanced by a single enemy, Hannibal. Nevertheless Fabius has been accounted a man of caution rather than of action. And while one may question whether he was the "Delayer" by nature, or because that was especially suited to the war then in progress, still nothing is more certain than that one man by delaying restored our state,<sup>6</sup> as Ennius says. In his place as

<sup>6</sup> A famous line of the *Annales* (Vahlen<sup>3</sup> v. 370; Warmington, *Remains of Old Latin* I. p. 132), so often cited or imitated that it became proverbial; e.g. Cicero *Cato Mai.* 10; Virgil *Aen.* VI. 846.

## LIVY

A.U.C. 551 10 Augur in locum eius inauguratus Q. Fabius Maximus filius; in eiusdem locum pontifex—nam duo sacerdotia habuit—Ser. Sulpicius Galba.

11 Ludi Romani diem unum, plebei ter toti instaurati ab aedilibus M. Sextio Sabino et Cn. Tremelio Flacco. Hi<sup>1</sup> ambo praetores facti et cum iis<sup>2</sup> C.

12 Livius Salinator et C. Aurelius Cotta. Comitia eius anni utrum C. Servilius consul habuerit an, quia eum res in Etruria tenuerint quaestiones ex senatus consulto de coniurationibus principum habentem, dictator ab eo dictus P. Sulpicius incertum ut sit diversi auctores faciunt.

A.U.C. 552 XVII. Principio insequentis anni M. Servilius et Ti. Claudius senatu in Capitolium vocato de pro-<sup>2</sup>vinciis rettulerunt. Italiam atque Africam in sortem conici, Africam ambo cupientes, volebant. Ceterum Q. Metello maxime adnitente neque negata neque<sup>3</sup> data<sup>3</sup> est Africa. Consules iussi cum tribunis plebis agere ut, si iis<sup>4</sup> videretur, populum rogarent quem<sup>4</sup> vellent<sup>5</sup> in Africa bellum gerere. Omnes tribus P. Scipionem iusserunt. Nihilo minus consules provin-

<sup>1</sup> Hi VK H. J. Müller: hii A·N·J: ti PCBN: ii x Aldus, Froben, Eds., Conway.

<sup>2</sup> iis P Aldus, Froben, Eds.: his CBANVK Conway: hiis J.

<sup>3</sup> negata neque data PCBVJK Eds.: data neque negata AN Aldus, Froben.

<sup>4</sup> iis Aldus, Froben: is PC: his BA: hiis N: eis A·VJK.

<sup>5</sup> vellent P(3)NV Aldus, Eds.: vellet VJK Froben 2, Conway.

<sup>1</sup> An error for grandson, since the son of the same name (consul 213 b.c.) died before the Cunctator; *Cato Mai.* 12.

<sup>2</sup> Son of the consul of 207 b.c. Cf. XXIX. xxxviii. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Scipio's command had been given him for the duration; i. 10. That, however, would not prevent the assignment of a colleague; cf. § 5 *sub fin.*

augur his son<sup>1</sup> Quintus Fabius Maximus was in- B.C. 203 stalled; likewise in his place as pontifex—for he held two priesthoods—Servius Sulpicius Galba.

The Roman Games were repeated for a single day, the entire Plebeian Games three times over by the aediles Marcus Sextius Sabinus and Gnaeus Tremelius Flaccus. Both of them were made praetors, and with them Gaius Livius Salinator<sup>2</sup> and Gaius Aurelius Cotta. As for the elections of that year, conflicting authorities make it uncertain whether Gaius Servilius as consul conducted them or Publius Sulpicius as dictator, appointed by Servilius because business detained him in Etruria, where in accordance with a decree of the senate he was conducting trials for conspiracy among the leading citizens.

XXVII. At the beginning of the following year B.C. 202 Marcus Servilius and Tiberius Claudius summoned the senate to the Capitol and raised the question of the provinces. They wished that lots should be cast for Italy and Africa, both of them being eager to have Africa.<sup>3</sup> But chiefly owing to the efforts of Quintus Metellus<sup>4</sup> Africa was not refused nor yet given them. The consuls were instructed to arrange with the tribunes of the plebs that, with their approval, they should bring before the people the question whom they wished for the conduct of the war in Africa. All the tribes voted for Publius Scipio.<sup>5</sup> In spite of that the consuls cast lots for Africa as a

<sup>4</sup> Cf. xxiii. 3.

<sup>5</sup> This of course settled any controversy as to the term of his command, until contention was renewed a year later. Cf. p. 518, § 12, where the province of one consul for 201 B.C. is defined as command of the fleet, while the other was to have Italy.

ciam Africam—ita enim senatus decreverat—in  
 5 sortem coniecerunt. Ti. Claudio Africa evenit, ut  
 quinquaginta navium classem, omnes quinqueremes,  
 in Africam traiceret parique imperio cum P. Scipione  
 imperator<sup>1</sup> esset; M. Servilius Etruriam sortitus.  
 6 In eadem provincia et C. Servilio prorogatum im-  
 perium, si consulem manere<sup>2</sup> ad urbem senatui<sup>3</sup>  
 7 placuisset. Praetores M. Sextius Galliam est sortitus,  
 ut duas legiones provinciamque traderet ei P.  
 Quinctilius Varus; C. Livius Bruttios cum duabus  
 legionibus quibus P. Sempronius proconsul priore  
 8 anno<sup>4</sup> praefuerat; Cn. Tremelius Siciliam, ut a P.  
 Villio Tappulo praetore prioris anni provinciam et  
 duas legiones acciperet; Villius pro praetore viginti  
 9 navibus longis, militibus<sup>5</sup> mille oram Siciliae tutare-  
 tur; M. Pomponius viginti navibus reliquis mille et  
 quingentos milites Romam deportaret; C. Aurelio  
 Cottae urbana evenit. Ceteris ita uti quisque  
 obtinebant provincias exercitusque prorogata imperia.  
 10 Sedecim non amplius eo anno legionibus defensum

<sup>1</sup> imperator *P(3)NJK Aldus*, *Froben*: rejected by *Crévier*, *Madvig*: imperatore *V Luchs*, *H. J. Müller*, *Johnson*.

<sup>2</sup> manere *P(3)N Aldus*: remorari *N<sup>4</sup>(alt.)VJK Froben* 2.

<sup>3</sup> senatui *A<sup>4</sup>N<sup>4</sup>VJK Aldus*, *Froben*, *Conway*: -tu *Alschefski*, *Madvig*: -tum *P(3)N*.

<sup>4</sup> priore anno *VJK Froben* 2: prioris anni *P(3)N*.

<sup>5</sup> militibus, before this *A<sup>4</sup>VJK add* et, for which *P* has si: om. by *P<sup>x</sup>(3)N Aldus*, *Froben*.

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<sup>1</sup> But not to command an army in addition to his fleet; probably not to sail over to Africa except in an emergency. In fact Claudio never reached African waters; xxxix. 3.

province, for so the senate had decreed. Africa fell B.C. 202 to Tiberius Claudius, with the provision that he should take a fleet of fifty ships, all of them quinqueremes, over to Africa, and that he should be commanding general with an authority equal to that of Scipio.<sup>1</sup> Marcus Servilius received Etruria by lot. In the same province Gaius Servilius' command was also continued, in case the senate decided that the consul should remain near the city. Of the praetors Marcus Sextius received Gaul by lot, with the understanding that Publius Quinctilius Varus should turn over to him the two legions with the province; Gaius Livius received the land of the Brutti with the two legions which Publius Sempronius had commanded in the previous year as proconsul; Gnaeus Tremelius was allotted Sicily, to take over the province from Publius Villius Tappulus, praetor of the previous year, and the two legions. Villius as propraetor was to defend the coast of Sicily with twenty war-ships and a thousand soldiers. Marcus Pomponius with the remaining twenty ships was to transport fifteen hundred soldiers back to Rome. The city praetorship fell to Gaius Aurelius Cotta. For the rest of the praetors<sup>2</sup> their commands were continued just as they then held their several provinces and armies. With no more than sixteen legions<sup>3</sup> the empire was

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* Lucretius at Genua, in Sardinia Publius Lentulus, in Spain Lucius Lentulus and Manlius Acidinus (these two as proconsuls); cf. i. 9 f.; ii. 7; XXIX. xiii. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Compared with 20 in the previous year; ii. 7. The maximum had been 25 in 212-211 B.C. In the first year of the war (218 B.C.) the number was only 6. The average number in the next three years was 12.7; in following eight years, 22.5 (214-207 B.C.); in the last six years, 17.8 (206-201 B.C.). Cf. De Sanctis' table, p. 633; *C.A.H.* VIII. 104.

A.U.C. 552 11 imperium est. Et ut placatis dis omnia inciperent  
 agerentque, ludos quos M. Claudio Marcello, T.  
 Quinetio consulibus T. Manlius dictator quasque  
 hostias maiores voverat, si per quinquennium<sup>1</sup>  
 res publica eodem statu fuisse, ut eos ludos consules,  
 priusquam ad bellum proficiscerentur, facerent.  
 12 Ludi in circulo per quadriduum facti hostiaeque quibus  
 votae erant dis caesae.

XXVIII. Inter haec simul spes simul cura in dies  
 crescebat, nec satis certum constare apud animos<sup>2</sup>  
 poterat utrum gaudio dignius<sup>3</sup> esset Hannibalem  
 post sextum decimum annum ex Italia decedentem  
 vacuam possessionem eius reliquisse populo Romano,  
 an magis metuendum quod incolumi exercitu in  
 2 Africam transisset: locum nimirum, non periculum  
 mutatum; cuius tantae dimicationis vatem, qui nuper  
 decessisset, Q. Fabium haud frustra canere solitum  
 graviorem in sua terra futurum hostem Hannibalem  
 3 quam in aliena fuisse. Nec Scipioni aut cum Syphace,  
 inconditae barbariae rege, cui Statorius semilixa  
 ducere<sup>4</sup> exercitus solitus sit, aut cum socero eius  
 Hasdrubale, fugacissimo duce, rem futuram aut cum<sup>5</sup>  
 tumultuariis exercitibus ex agrestium semermi turba

<sup>1</sup> quinquennium, *AN Aldus*, *Froben* add illud.

<sup>2</sup> animos *A VJK Froben* 2: -mum *P(3)N Aldus*.

<sup>3</sup> dignius *V Froben* 2: dignum *P(3)NJK Aldus*.

<sup>4</sup> ducere *PCVJK*: ad- *BAN*: docere conj. *Putsche*, *Luchs*.

<sup>5</sup> cum *Riemann*, *Conway*: om. *P(3)NVJK*.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 373, n. 1.

defended that year. And that they might begin <sup>B.C. 202</sup> everything and carry it on with the favour of the gods, inasmuch as in the consulship of Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Titus Quinctius the dictator Titus Manlius had vowed games<sup>1</sup> and full-grown victims if the state should remain for four years as it was before, it was ordered that the consuls should celebrate those games before they set out for the war. The games were celebrated in the Circus for four days, and victims were sacrificed to the gods to whom they had been vowed.

XXVIII. Meanwhile hope and anxiety alike were increasing from day to day, and men could not quite make up their minds whether it was a fit subject for rejoicing that Hannibal, retiring from Italy after sixteen years, had left the Roman people free to take possession<sup>2</sup> of it, and not rather a ground for apprehension that he had crossed over to Africa with his army intact. The place doubtless had been changed, they thought, not the danger. Foretelling that mighty conflict Quintus Fabius, recently deceased, had often predicted, not without reason, that in his own land Hannibal would be a more terrible enemy than in a foreign country. And Scipio would have to deal neither with Syphax, king of a land of untrained barbarians, for whom Statorius,<sup>3</sup> who was little more than a sutler, commonly commanded his armies, nor with the father-in-law of Syphax, Hasdrubal, a general very swift in flight, nor with irregular armies suddenly raised from a half-armed mob of rustics. Rather

<sup>2</sup> I.e. to recover that title to Italian soil which Hannibal had in a way acquired by occupying it for more years than were needed to acquire a title by *usucapio*. Cf. XXII. xliv. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. XXIV. xlvi. 9, 11 f.

## LIVY

4 subito conlectis, sed cum Hannibale, prope nato in praetorio patris, fortissimi ducis, alito atque educato inter arma, puero quondam milite, vixdum iuvene  
 5 imperatore, qui senex vincendo factus Hispanias, Gallias, Italiam ab Alpibus ad fretum monumentis ingentium rerum complesset. Ducere<sup>1</sup> exercitum aequalem stipendiis suis, duratum omnium rerum patientia quas vix fides fiat homines passos, perfusum miliens crux Romano, exuvias non militum tantum,<sup>2</sup>  
 6 sed etiam imperatorum portantem. Multos oc- cursuros Scipioni in acie qui praetores, qui imperatores,<sup>3</sup> qui consules Romanos sua manu<sup>4</sup> occidissent, muralibus vallaribusque insignes coronis, pervagatos  
 7 capta castra, captas urbes Romanas. Non esse hodie tot fasces magistratibus populi Romani, quot captos ex caede imperatorum p[ro]ae se ferre posset Hannibal.  
 8 Has formidines agitando animis ipsi curas et metus augebant, etiam quod, cum adsuissent per aliquot annos bellum ante oculos aliis atque aliis in Italiae partibus lenta spe in nullum propinquum debellandi finem gerere, erexerant omnium animos Scipio et Hannibal, velut ad supremum certamen comparati

<sup>1</sup> *Ducere P(3)NVJK* : duceret *Gronorius* : ducente *Allen*.

<sup>2</sup> *tantum PCBVJK* : modo *AN Aldus, Froben*.

<sup>3</sup> qui imperatores *P(3)N Aldus* : om. *VJK Froben* 2.

<sup>4</sup> *sua manu P(3)N Aldus, Froben* : *manu sua VJK*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. XXI. xlivi. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Slightly exaggerated, as in xxx. 10, but for the sake of a climax. He was only 45 (*senior* strictly, rather than *senex*); xxxvii. 9; over 45 says Polybius, XV. xix. 3.

<sup>3</sup> For the *corona muralis* cf. Vol. VI. p. 60, n. 2; XXVI. xlvi. 5. The *corona vallaris* (or *castrensis*) represented earthworks of a camp. Cf. X. xlvi. 3; Gellius V. vi. 16 f.

would he have to do with Hannibal, who had been born, one might almost say, at the headquarters of his father, the bravest of generals, had been reared and brought up in the midst of arms;<sup>1</sup> who even in boyhood was a soldier, in earliest manhood a general; who, ageing<sup>2</sup> as a victor, had filled the Spanish and Gallic lands and Italy from the Alps to the Straits with the evidence of his mighty deeds. He was in command of an army whose campaigns equalled his own in number; was toughened by enduring such hardships as one could scarcely believe human beings had endured; had been spattered with Roman blood a thousand times and carried the spoils, not of soldiers only but also of generals. Many men who would encounter Scipio in battle had with their own hands slain Roman praetors, generals-in-command, consuls; had been decorated with crowns for bravery in scaling city-walls and camp defences;<sup>3</sup> had wandered through captured camps, captured cities of the Romans. All the magistrates of the Roman people did not at that time have so many fasces as Hannibal was able to have borne before him, having captured them from fallen generals.<sup>4</sup>

By brooding over such terrifying thoughts men were adding to their own anxieties and fears, for another reason too: whereas year after year it had been their habit to carry on a war before their eyes in one part and then in another of Italy, with hope deferred and looking to no immediate end of the conflict, all men's interest was now intensified by Scipio and Hannibal, as it were, pitted against each

<sup>1</sup> Coelius pretended to know the exact number of fasces captured by Hannibal, viz. 72; Nonius X. p. 818 L.

9 duces. Eis quoque quibus erat ingens in Scipione fiducia et victoriae spes, quo magis in propinquam eam imminebant animis, eo curae intentiores erant.<sup>1</sup>  
 10 Haud dispar habitus animorum Carthaginiensibus erat, quos modo petisse pacem, intuentes Hannibalem ac rerum gestarum eius magnitudinem, paenitebat,  
 11 modo, cum respicerent bis sese acie victos, Syphacem captum, pulsos se Hispania, pulsos Italia, atque ea omnia unius virtute et consilio Scipionis facta, velut fatalem eum ducem in exitium suum natum horrebat.

XXIX. Iam Hadrumetum pervenerat<sup>2</sup> Hannibal; unde, ad reficiendum ex iactatione maritima militem paucis diebus sumptis, excitus pavidis nuntiis omnia circa Carthaginem obtineri armis adferentium, magnis 2 itineribus Zamam contendit. Zama quinque dierum

<sup>1</sup> erant *A·N·VJK* and so (but with intentioris) Aldus, Froben: om. P(3)N: volvabant Weissenborn (with curas) found in P(3)N: agebant Madvig, Riemann (with curas).

<sup>2</sup> pervenerat *VJK* Aldus, Froben: venerat P(3)N.

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<sup>1</sup> One defeat was obviously that on the Campi Magni; viii. 3-9; the other may be that of Hanno's cavalry in XXIX. xxxiv. 8-17. The surprise attack on two camps (v. 7-vi. 9) made no use of an *acies*.

<sup>2</sup> A Tyrian colony and the most important town in the region, now Sousse, 20 miles north-west of Leptis Minor (Lemta), where Hannibal had landed. But he immediately established his winter camp at Hadrumetum. Polybius cannot have failed to give the time and place of Hannibal's landing in lost chapters from the beginning of Book XV.; for he is in Africa already at iii. 5, if not at i. 10 f. It was now autumn, 203 B.C. He would not have risked a winter passage. Cf. De Sanctis 545 ff., 586 f.; Scullard 326 f.

<sup>3</sup> If we could follow Livy here we should place the final battle within an incredibly short time after Hannibal's landing. That this was the case no one can believe after comparing the

other for the final combat. Even in the case of those <sup>B.C. 202</sup> who had great confidence in Scipio and high hope of victory, the more their minds were bent upon immediate victory the more intense were their anxieties. Not unlike were the feelings of the Carthaginians, who at one moment, when they thought of Hannibal and the greatness of his achievements, regretted having sued for peace, at another moment, on reflecting that they had been twice defeated in battle,<sup>1</sup> that Syphax had been captured, that they had been driven out of Spain, driven out of Italy, and all this accomplished by the courage and strategy of Scipio alone, they dreaded him as a predestined commander, born to work their destruction.

XXIX. By this time Hannibal had reached Hadrumetum.<sup>2</sup> From there, after he had spent a few days that his soldiers might recuperate from sea-sickness, he was called away by alarming news brought by men who reported that all the country round Carthage was occupied by armed forces, and he hastened<sup>3</sup> to Zama by forced marches. Zama<sup>4</sup>

passage Livy must have had before him, or tried to recall, as he wrote our sentence. For Polybius' "after a few days" (v. 3) makes no connection with the landing, but merely with the receipt of an urgent message from Carthage. That may have come to him many months—even a year—after disembarkation. Hannibal would be the last to shorten the long preparation indispensable to the making of an army out of his heterogeneous forces.

<sup>4</sup> Probably Zama Regia, ca. 90 m.p. due west of Hadrumetum (Sousse). An old Numidian city, it is now Seba Biar, on the edge of a plain just west of the long dorsal ridge extending from Cap Bon south-west some distance beyond Kasserine and Tebessa. Lying north of Maktar this city was a residence of Jugurtha (Sallust 56–61); strongly fortified by King Juba I.; *Bell. Afr.* 91 f., 97 (Caesar leaves Sallust

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iter ab Carthagine abest. Inde praemissi speculatores cum excepti ab custodibus Romanis deducti ad Scipionem essent, traditos eos tribuno<sup>1</sup> militum, iussosque omisso metu visere omnia, per castra qua 3 vellent circumduci iussit; percunctatusque satin<sup>2</sup> per commodum<sup>3</sup> omnia explorassent, datis qui 4 prosequerentur, retro ad Hannibalem dimisit. Hannibal nihil quidem eorum quae nuntiabantur—nam et Masinissam cum sex milibus peditum, quattuor equitum venisse eo ipso forte die adferebant—, laeto animo audivit,<sup>4</sup> maxime hostis fiducia, quae<sup>5</sup> non de nihilo profecto concepta esset, percultus.<sup>6</sup> Itaque quamquam et ipse causa belli erat et adventu suo turbaverat et pactas inducias et spem foederum, tamen, si integer quam si victus peteret pacem, aequiora<sup>7</sup> impetrari posse ratus, nuntium ad Scipionem misit, ut conloquendi secum potestatem faceret.

6 Id utrum sua sponte fecerit an publico consilio, 7 neutrum cur adfirmem habeo. Valerius Antias

<sup>1</sup> tribuno *A'VJK* (*cf. Polyb. XV. v. 5*) : -nis *P(3)N Allus*, *Froben*.

<sup>2</sup> satin *A'JK Allus*, *Froben* : satin si *V* : statim *P(3)N* : statim si *N'*.

<sup>3</sup> per commodum *P(3)NV* : -mode *N'JK Allus*, *Froben*.

<sup>4</sup> audivit *VJK Allus*, *Froben* : audit *P(3)N*.

<sup>5</sup> fiducia, quae *Allus*, *Froben*, *Gronovius*, *Conway* : -ciaque *P(3)NVJK* (*P(3)N* having si before hostis) : fiducia audaciaque *Weissenborn*, *Madvig*.

<sup>6</sup> esset, percultus *Gronovius*, *Conway* : est percultus *VJK Allus*, *Froben* : percussus est *P(3)N Weissenborn*, *Madvig* : percultus est *C<sup>5</sup>A' Luchs*.

<sup>7</sup> aequiora *P(3)N Allus* : -orem *A'VJK Froben* 2.

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there as proconsul); Vitruvius VIII. iii. 24. Captured by Sextius in 41 B.C. (*Dio Cass. XLVIII. xxiii. 4*), it long lay desolate (*Strabo XVII. iii. 9, 12*). Absence of ruins from

is distant five day's marches from Carthage. Scouts <sup>B.C. 202</sup> who had been sent in advance from that position were captured and brought before Scipio by their Roman guards. Thereupon he turned them over to a tribune of the soldiers, and bidding them go and see everything without fear, he ordered them to be led about the camp wherever they wished to go; and after questioning them as to whether they had examined everything quite at their leisure, he sent them back to Hannibal, furnishing men to escort them.<sup>1</sup> Hannibal did not indeed hear with joy any of the reports of his scouts, for they reported that Masinissa had also arrived that very day, as it happened, with six thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry. But he was particularly dismayed by the enemy's confidence, which surely seemed to be not without foundation. Consequently, although he was himself at once the cause of the war and by his coming the breaker of a truce already arranged and of a prospective treaty as well, nevertheless, thinking that fairer terms could be obtained if he should sue for peace while his army was intact, rather than after defeat, he sent a messenger to Scipio, requesting that he grant the privilege of a conference with him. Whether he did so on his own responsibility or that of the state, I have no means of deciding either this way or that. Valerius Antias<sup>2</sup> relates

the Empire shows that the city was not rebuilt. Polybius plainly indicates that the battle was considerably farther inland than Hannibal's first position at Zama (v. 14; vi. 2). Cf. p. 472, n. 1. For modern works and the controverted questions see Appendix.

<sup>1</sup> The story of the scouts is from Polybius XV. v. 4-7, as also the following figures for Masinissa's forces (§ 12).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xix. 11.

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primo proelio victum eum ab Scipione, quo duodecim milia armatorum in acie sint<sup>1</sup> caesa, mille et septingenti capti, legatum cum aliis decem legatis tradit in castra ad Scipionem venisse.

- 8 Ceterum Scipio cum conloquium haud abnusset, ambo ex composito duces castra protulerunt, ut coire ex propinquo possent. Scipio haud procul Naraggara<sup>2</sup> urbe, cum ad cetera loco opportuno tum quod aquatio intra teli coniectum erat, consedit.  
 10 Hannibal tumulum a quattuor milibus inde, tutum commodumque alioqui, nisi quod longinquae aquationis erat, cepit. Ibi in medio locus conspectus undique, ne quid insidiarum esset, delectus.

XXX. Summotis pari<sup>3</sup> spatio armatis, cum singulis interpretibus congressi sunt, non suae modo aetatis maximi duces, sed omnis ante se memoriae, omnium gentium cuilibet regum imperatorumve pares. Paulisper alter alterius conspectu, admiratione mutua prope attoniti, conticuere. Tum Hannibal prior:  
 3 "Si hoc ita fato datum erat, ut qui primus bellum intuli populo Romano quique totiens prope in manibus victoriam habui, is ultiro ad pacem petendam venirem, laetor te mihi sorte<sup>4</sup> potissimum datum a quo pete-  
 4 rem. Tibi quoque inter multa egregia non in ultimis

<sup>1</sup> sint *VJK*: sunt *P(3)N*.

<sup>2</sup> Naraggara *P(3)N*; naggara *N<sup>1</sup>*; narcara *VJK*: (*Mάργαρον* Polybius XV, v. 14).

<sup>3</sup> pari *A<sup>v</sup>VJK Aldus*, *Froben*: par in *P(3)N* (with spatium *BAN*).

<sup>4</sup> sorte *P(3)N Aldus*: om. *VJK Froben* 2.

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<sup>1</sup> Polybius' name for the place is Margaron, occurring nowhere else. It is accordingly altered by his editors to correspond with the better class of Livy MSS.—a bold correction, it must be admitted. The site of Naraggara is thought to be occupied by Sidi Youssef, on the boundary between Tunisia

that he was defeated by Scipio in their first engagement, in which twelve thousand soldiers were slain in battle and seventeen hundred captured; and that as an envoy with ten other envoys Hannibal came to Scipio in his camp.

To resume, once Scipio had assented to the conference, both generals by agreement advanced the position of their camps, so that their meeting might be at a short distance. Scipio established himself not far from the city of Naraggara,<sup>1</sup> in a situation otherwise favourable, but particularly because water was to be had within the range of a javelin. Hannibal occupied a hill four miles away, safe and convenient otherwise, except that one had to go far for water. Half-way between them a spot was chosen which was visible from all sides, that there might be no ambuscades.

XXX. Keeping their armed men at the same distance the generals, each attended by one interpreter, met, being not only the greatest of their own age, but equal to any of the kings or commanders of all nations in all history before their time. For a moment they remained silent, looking at each other and almost dumbfounded by mutual admiration. Then Hannibal was the first to speak: "If it was foreordained by fate that I, who was the first to make war upon the Roman people and who have so often had the victory almost in my grasp, should come forward to sue for peace, I rejoice that destiny has given me you, and no one else, to whom I should bring my suit. For you also, among your many distinctions, it will prove not the least of your honours

and Algeria. It was ca. 52 Roman miles west of Zama Regia. Cf. Appendix, esp. p. 547.

laudum hoc fuerit, Hannibalem, cui tot de Romanis  
 ducibus victoriam di dedissent, tibi cessisse, teque  
 huic bello, vestris prius<sup>1</sup> quam nostris cladibus in-  
 signi, finem imposuisse. Hoc quoque ludibriū casus  
 ediderit fortuna,<sup>2</sup> ut, cum patre tuo consule ceperim  
 arma, cum eodem primum Romano imperatore signa  
 contulerim, ad filium eius inermis ad pacem petendam  
 veniam. Optimum quidem fuerat eam patribus  
 nostris mentem datam ab dis esse ut et vos Italiae et  
 nos Africae imperio contenti essemus; neque enim  
 ne vobis quidem Sicilia ac Sardinia satis digna pretia  
 sunt pro tot classibus, tot exercitibus, tot tam egregiis  
 amissis ducibus. Sed praeterita magis reprehendi  
 possunt quam corrigi. Ita aliena adipetivimus ut de  
 nostris dimicaremus, nec in Italia solum nobis  
 bellum, vobis<sup>3</sup> in Africa esset, sed et vos in portis  
 vestris prope ac moenibus signa armaque hostium  
 vidistis et nos ab Carthagine fremitum castrorum  
 Romanorum exaudimus. Quod igitur nos maxime  
 abominaremur,<sup>4</sup> vos ante omnia optaretis,<sup>5</sup> in meliore  
 vestra fortuna de pace agitur. Agimus ei quorum et  
 maxime interest pacem esse, et qui quodcumque  
 egerimus, ratum civitates nostrae habiturae sunt.  
 Animo tantum nobis opus est non abhorrente a  
 quietis consiliis.

10 "Quod ad me attinet, iam aetas senem in patriam  
 revertentem, unde puer profectus sum, iam secundae,

<sup>1</sup> prius VJK Froben 2: plus P(3)N Aldus.

<sup>2</sup> fortuna, A·N·VJK Froben 2 have fortunae casus ediderit,  
*for which Aldus reads* fortuna an casus ediderit.

<sup>3</sup> nobis bellum, vobis Elsperger, recent Eds., Conway: vobis  
 bellum nobis A·N·VJK Froben, Eds., Weissenborn: vobis  
 PCAN: nobis B.

<sup>4</sup> abominaremur A·N·VJK: -namur PCBAN.

<sup>5</sup> optaretis P(3)N: optare debetis Madvig, Emend.

that Hannibal, to whom the gods have given the <sup>B.C. 202</sup> victory over so many Roman generals, has submitted to you, and that you have made an end of this war, which was memorable at first for your disasters and then for ours. This also may prove to be Fortune's mocking sport, that having taken up arms when your father was consul, and having fought with him my first battle with a Roman general, I come to his son unarmed to sue for peace. It would indeed have been best if the gods had given our fathers the disposition to be contented, you with rule over Italy and us in turn with ruling Africa.<sup>1</sup> For even for you Sicily and Sardinia have been no adequate compensation for the loss of so many fleets, so many armies, so many remarkable generals. But the past is sooner disapproved than changed for the better. In grasping at what was not ours we fell to fighting for our own; and for us Carthaginians it came to be a war not in Italy alone, nor for you entirely in Africa. On the contrary you have seen the enemy's standards and arms almost at your gates and walls, just as we can hear from Carthage the noise of a Roman camp. Consequently we discuss terms of peace while Fortune is favouring you—a situation most ominous for us, while you could pray for nothing better. We who are treating have the most to gain by peace, and furthermore, whatever terms *we* are to make our states will ratify. We need only a temper not averse to measures calmly considered.

"As for myself, age has at last taught me, returning as an old man to my native city, from

<sup>1</sup> With this thought begins the speech in Polybius vi. 4. What precedes in Livy is his exordium, designed to produce a favourable impression according to rhetorical rule.

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- A.U.C. iam adversae res ita erudierunt ut rationem sequi  
 552 11 quam fortunam malim; tuam et adulescentiam et  
 perpetuam felicitatem, ferociora utraque quam  
 quietis opus est consiliis, metuo. Non temere incerta  
 casuum reputat quem fortuna numquam decepit.<sup>1</sup>  
 12 Quod ego fui ad Trasumenum, ad Cannas, id tu  
 hodie es.<sup>2</sup> Vixdum militari aetate imperio accepto  
 omnia audacissime incipientem nusquam<sup>3</sup> fecerit  
 13 fortuna. Patris et patrui persecutus mortem ex  
 calamitate vestrae domus decus insigne virtutis pie-  
 tatisque eximiae cepisti; amissas Hispanias reci-  
 perasti quattuor inde Punicis exercitibus pulsis;  
 14 consul creatus, cum<sup>4</sup> ceteris ad tutandam Italiam  
 parum animi esset, transgressus in Africam, duobus  
 hic exercitibus caesis, binis eadem hora captis simul  
 incensisque castris, Syphace potentissimo rege capto,  
 tot urbibus regni eius, tot nostri imperii ereptis, me  
 sextum decimum iam annum haerentem in posses-  
 15 sione Italiae detrxisti. Potest victoriam malle quam  
 pacem animus. Novi spiritus magnos magis quam  
 utiles; et mihi talis aliquando fortuna adfulsit.  
 16 Quodsi in secundis rebus bonam quoque mentem  
 darent dei, non ea solum quae evenissent, sed etiam  
 ea quae evenire possent reputaremus. Ut omnium  
 17 casus sum, quem, modo castris inter Anienem atque  
 urbem vestram positis signa inferentem ac iam prope

<sup>1</sup> decepit *A'N'VJK Aldus, Froben*: decipit *P(3)N.*

<sup>2</sup> es *A'N'VJK Aldus, Froben*: om. *P(3)N.*

<sup>3</sup> nusquam *P(3)N*: nunquam *N'VJK.*

<sup>4</sup> cum, after this word *P* is lost to us up to xxxvii. 3.

<sup>1</sup> Similar is Polybius vii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. XXVI. xix. 9.

<sup>3</sup> In 211 B.C.; three miles from the city; XXVI. x. 3.

which I set out as a boy, success and failure have at B.C. 202 last so schooled me that I prefer to follow reason rather than chance. In your case I am apprehensive alike of your youth and of your unbroken success, both of them too refractory for the demands of calmly considered measures. It is not easy for a man whom fortune has never deceived to weigh uncertain chances.<sup>1</sup> What I was at Trasumennus, at Cannae, that you are today. Although you had received a command when hardly of an age to serve,<sup>2</sup> and undertook everything with the greatest boldness, nowhere has fortune deluded you. By avenging the death of your father and uncle you won from the disaster to your family signal honour for courage and extraordinary devotion. You recovered the lost Spanish provinces by driving out of them four Punic armies. Elected consul, while the rest lacked courage to defend Italy, you crossed over to Africa; and by destroying two armies here, by taking and at the same time burning two camps in the same hour, by capturing Syphax, a most powerful king, by seizing so many cities of his kingdom, so many in our domain, you dragged me away when now for sixteen years I had clung to the possession of Italy. It is possible for the heart to prefer victory to a peace. I know those aspirations that soar but are ineffectual; on me too such fortune as yours once shone. But if in prosperity the gods blessed us with sound reason also, we should be reflecting not merely upon what has happened but also upon what can happen. Though you forget everything else, I am a sufficient warning against all that may chance. For it was I that, pitching my camp not long ago<sup>3</sup> between the Anio and your city, was advancing my standards

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scendantem<sup>1</sup> moenia Romana,<sup>2</sup> hic cernas duobus  
fratribus, fortissimis viris, clarissimis imperatoribus  
orbatum ante moenia prope obsessae patriae quibus  
terrui vestram urbem, ea pro mea deprecantem.

- 18   “Maximae cuique fortunae minime credendum  
est. In bonis tuis rebus, nostris dubiis, tibi ampla<sup>3</sup>  
ac speciosa danti est pax, nobis potentibus magis  
19 necessaria quam honesta. Melior tutiorque est certa  
pax quam sperata victoria: haec in tua, illa in deorum  
manu est. Ne tot annorum felicitatem in unius horae  
20 dederis discimen. Cum tuas vires, tum vim Fortunae Martemque belli communem propone animo.  
Utrumque ferrum, utrumque<sup>4</sup> corpora humana erunt;  
nusquam minus quam in bello eventus respondent.  
21 Non tantum ad id quod data pace iam habere potes,  
si proelio vinecas,<sup>5</sup> gloriae adieceris, quantum dem-  
pseris,<sup>6</sup> si quid adversi eveniat. Simul parta ac  
sperata decora unius horae fortuna evertere potest.  
22 Omnia in pace iungenda tuae potestatis sunt, P.  
Corneli; tunc ea habenda fortuna erit quam di-  
23 dederint. Inter pauca felicitatis virtutisque exempla  
M. Atilius quondam in hac eadem terra fuisse, si<sup>7</sup>  
victor pacem potentibus dedisset patribus nostris;

<sup>1</sup> ac iam (acie *AJK*) prope scendantem *A\*VJK* *Froben* 2:  
*om. CBDAN* *Allus*.

<sup>2</sup> Romana *CBDANV*: Romana videras *A\*N\*JK* *Aldus*,  
*Froben* (*with* videris *Conway*).

<sup>3</sup> tibi ampla *A\*N\*VJK* *Eds.*: iam apta *CBDAN?*

<sup>4</sup> ferrum, utrumque *CA*: ferrum *N\*VJK* *Aldus*, *Froben* :  
*om. BDAN*.

<sup>5</sup> vinecas *Aldus*, *Froben*, *Eds.*: -ces *D Conway*: -cens  
*CBA*: -cis *A\*N\*VJK*: viceris *x*: vinceris *N*.

<sup>6</sup> dempseris *Madvig*, *recent Eds.*: ademeris *Aldus*, *Froben* :  
*om. CBDANVJK*.

<sup>7</sup> fuisse, si *DVJK* *Froben* 2: fuisse et si *CB*: fuisse  
fertur qui sic (si *AN*) *AN* *Aldus*.

and now almost scaling the walls of Rome. But here <sup>B.C. 202</sup> bereft of my two brothers, the bravest of men, the most eminent of generals, you see me before the walls of my native city, already almost invested, and I am praying that she may be spared the terrors which I brought to yours.

"The greatest good fortune is always the least to be trusted. In your favourable circumstances, in our uncertain situation, peace, if you grant it, will bring you honour and glory;<sup>1</sup> for us who sue it is necessary rather than honourable. Better and safer is an assured peace than a victory hoped for. The one is in your own power, the other in the hands of the gods. Do not commit the success of so many years to the test of a single hour. Bear in mind not only your own resources but also the might of Fortune and the impartial god of war. On both sides will be the sword, on both sides human bodies. Nowhere less than in war do results match men's hopes. You will not add so much glory, if victorious in battle, to what you can now have by granting peace, as you will lose in case of any reverse.<sup>2</sup> The fortune of a single hour can lay low honours already won, and with them those in prospect. In making peace, Publius Cornelius, you have everything in your own power. In the other case you will have to bear the lot which the gods may give. Among the foremost examples of success and courage would have been Marcus Atilius<sup>3</sup> formerly in this same land, if as victor he had granted the peace which our fathers

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the closing words of Hannibal in Polybius vii. 9.

<sup>2</sup> The thought of Polybius vii. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Regulus had been used as an *exemplum deterrens* in a speech by Fabius in XXVIII. xlvi. 1; cf. *ibid.* xlvi. 17 in Scipio's reply.

sed non statuendo felicitati modum nec cohibendo  
efferentem se fortunam, quanto altius elatus erat, eo  
foedius conruit.

24 "Est quidem eius qui dat, non qui petit, condiciones  
dicere pacis; sed forsitan non indigni simus qui  
25 nobismet ipsi<sup>1</sup> multam inrogemus. Non recusamus  
quin omnia propter quae ad bellum itum<sup>2</sup> est vestra  
sint, Sicilia, Sardinia, Hispania, quidquid insularum  
toto inter Africam Italianamque continetur mari.  
26 Carthaginenses inclusi Africae litoribus vos, quando  
ita dis placuit, externa etiam terra marique videamus  
27 regentes imperio.<sup>3</sup> Haud negaverim propter non  
nimis sincere petitam aut exspectatam nuper pacem  
suspectam esse vobis Punicam fidem. Multum per  
quos petita sit ad fidem tuendae pacis pertinet,  
28 Scipio. Vestri quoque, ut audio, patres non nihil  
etiam ob hoc, quia parum dignitatis in legatione  
29 erat, negaverunt pacem: Hannibal peto pacem, qui  
neque peterem, nisi utilem crederem, et propter ean-  
30 dem utilitatem tuebor eam propter quam petii. Et  
quem ad modum, quia a me bellum coeptum est, ne  
quem eius paeniteret, quoad ipsi invidere dei,  
praestiti, ita admittar ne quem pacis per me partae  
paeniteat."

XXXI. Adversus haec imperator Romanus in

<sup>1</sup> ipsi *CBD*: ipsis *ANVJK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>2</sup> itum *CBDN·VJK*: initum (*om. ad*) *AN Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>3</sup> imperio *Madrig, Eds.*: -ia *CBDANVJK.*

<sup>1</sup> Sicily had been lost by Carthage in the peace of 241 B.C., Sardinia three years later. Unsuccessful attempts to recover them in the present war, however, justify mention of both here.

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requested. But by setting no limit to his success <sup>B.C. 20-</sup> and not reining in an unruly fortune, the higher he had climbed the more terribly did he fall.

" It belongs, to be sure, to the giver of peace, not to the suitor, to name the terms. But possibly we may not be unworthy to impose a penalty upon ourselves. We do not reject the condition that all the possessions for which we went to war shall be yours—Sicily, Sardinia,<sup>1</sup> Spain, and any islands existing in all the sea between Africa and Italy. Let us Carthaginians, confined by the coasts of Africa, behold you ruling under your authority even foreign countries by land and sea,<sup>2</sup> since that has been the will of the gods. I would not deny that, on account of a lack of sincerity in our recent suit for peace, and because we did not wait for it, Punic honour for you Romans is now tainted with suspicion. For the faithful observance of a peace much depends, Scipio, on the persons by whom the suit is presented. Your senators also have refused the peace,<sup>3</sup> I hear, partly for the reason that the embassy was lacking in dignity. I, Hannibal, am suing for peace, I who should not be so doing if I did not think it an advantageous peace; and I shall uphold it because of the same advantage on account of which I have sued for it. And just as I, having begun the war, therefore made sure—until the gods themselves became envious—that no one should regret it, so will I strive to prevent any man from regretting the peace obtained through me."

XXXI. To these pleas the Roman general replied

<sup>2</sup> Nothing is said of Scipio's other demands in xvi. 10 ff., including a heavy indemnity.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 449 and n. 2.

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hanc fere sententiam respondit: “Non me fallebat, Hannibal, adventus<sup>1</sup> tui spe Carthaginenses et praesentem indutiarum fidem et spem pacis turbasse; 2 neque tu id sane dissimulas, qui de condicionibus superioribus<sup>2</sup> pacis omnia subtrahas praeter ea quae iam 3 pridem in nostra potestate sunt. Ceterum ut<sup>3</sup> tibi curae est sentire cives tuos quanto per te onere leventur, sic mihi laborandum est ne<sup>4</sup> quae tum<sup>5</sup> pepigerunt hodie subtracta ex condicionibus pacis 4 praemia perfidiae habeant. Indigni quibus eadem pateat condicio, etiam ut prosit vobis fraus petitis. Neque patres nostri priores de Sicilia, neque nos de Hispania fecimus bellum; et tunc<sup>6</sup> Mamertinorum sociorum periculum et nunc Sagunti excidium nobis 5 pia ac iusta induerunt arma. Vos lacessisse et tu ipse fateris et dei testes sunt, qui et illius belli exitum secundum ius fasque dederunt et huius dant et dabunt.

6 “Quod ad me attinet, et humanae infirmitatis memini et vim Fortunae reproto et omnia quaecumque 7 agimus subiecta esse mille casibus scio; ceterum, quem ad modum superbe et violenter me faterer facere, si, priusquam in Africam traiecissem, te tua voluntate cedentem Italia et inposito in naves exercitu ipsum venientem ad pacem petendam 8 aspernarer, sic nunc, cum prope manu conserta<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> adventus *A·N·VJK Allus*, *Froben*, *Eds.*: avere (habere *CBDAN*) adventus *CBDAN*: ab adventus *Alschefski*: aura adventus *conj. Madvig*.

<sup>2</sup> superioribus *CBDAN Aldus*, *Froben*, *Eds.*: superioris *N·VJK* (“perhaps correct” *Conway*).

<sup>3</sup> ut *CBDVJK*: sicut *AN Aldus*, *Froben*.

<sup>4</sup> ne *Aldus*, *Froben*: ne si *CBDANVJK*.

<sup>5</sup> tum *CBDAN*: tunc *N<sup>2</sup> or N·VJK Aldus*, *Froben*.

<sup>6</sup> tunc *N·VJK Froben* 2: tum *CBDAN Aldus*.

<sup>7</sup> conserta z: -tum (*supine*) *CBDANVJK*.

somewhat to this effect: "I was not unaware, <sup>B.C. 202</sup> Hannibal, that the Carthaginians, anticipating your arrival, showed no respect either for present obligations to the armistice or for the peace in prospect; and you surely make no concealment of that fact when you omit from the earlier terms of peace everything except what has long been in our possession.<sup>1</sup> But just as you are concerned to have your citizens appreciate how great is the burden of which they are relieved by you, so I must exert myself that they do not have as the reward of perfidy any relaxation of the terms of peace to which they at that time agreed. Unworthy to have the same terms open to you as before, you Carthaginians are asking to have your dishonesty profit you. Our fathers were not aggressors in making war for Sicily; no more were we for Spain. In the former case the peril of our allies, the Mamertines, as in the latter instance the destruction of Saguntum, armed us with the weapons of duty and justice. That your people were the aggressors you yourself admit, and the gods as well are our witnesses, who gave for that war and are giving and will give for this one an outcome in accordance with justice and the right.

" So far as I am concerned, I am mindful of human weakness, and I reflect upon the might of Fortune and know that everything that we do is exposed to a thousand chances. But, just as I should admit that I were acting with arrogance and violence if, before I had crossed over to Africa, I were to reject you when you were voluntarily withdrawing from Italy and, while your army was already on shipboard, you were coming in person to sue for peace, so now,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xvi. 10.

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- restitantem ac tergiversantem in Africam adtraxerim,<sup>1</sup> nulla sum tibi verecundia obstrictus.
- 9 Proinde si quid ad ea in quae tum pax conventura videbatur, quasi<sup>2</sup> multa navium cum commeatu per inducias expugnatarum<sup>3</sup> legatorumque violatorum, adicitur, est quod referam ad consilium; sin illa quoque gravia videntur, bellum parate, quoniam pacem pati non potuistis."
- 10 Ita infecta pace ex conloquio ad suos cum se recepissent, frustra verba iactata<sup>4</sup> renuntiant: armis decernendum esse habendamque eam fortunam quam dei dedissent. XXXII. In castra ut est ventum, pronuntiant ambo arma expedirent milites animosque ad supremum certamen, non in unum diem sed in perpetuum, si felicitas adisset, victores. Roma an Carthago iura gentibus daret ante crastinam noctem scituros; neque enim Africam aut Italiam, sed orbem terrarum victoriae praemium fore; par periculum praemio quibus adversa<sup>5</sup> pugnae fortuna fuisse.
- 3 Nam neque Romanis effugium ullum patebat in aliena ignotaque terra, et Carthagini, supremo<sup>6</sup> auxilio effuso, adesse videbatur praesens excidium.

<sup>1</sup> adtraxerim (*or at-*) *CBDAN Aldus, Froben*: traduxerim *N\*VJK Froben 2.*

<sup>2</sup> quasi *A<sup>5</sup> conj. Gronovius, Eds.*: quae si *CBA?*: que si *A<sup>7</sup>N*: quae sit *Alschefski*: que sunt *A<sup>4</sup>VJK*: si *D.*

<sup>3</sup> expugnatarum *BDAN Aldus, Froben, Eds.*: -gnarum *C*: oppugnatarum (*or ob-*) *A<sup>4</sup>VJK Riemann*.

<sup>4</sup> iactata *Gronovius, many Eds.*: temptata *x Conway*: praelata *Alschefski*: praecata (*prec-*) *BD*: peccata *CN?*: peccata *A*: pacata *A<sup>7</sup>N<sup>4</sup>VJK Aldus, Froben*.

<sup>5</sup> adversa *K J.Perizonius, Eds.*: adversae *CBDANVJ Aldus, Froben*.

<sup>6</sup> -que . . . supremo *om. CBDAN* (*evidently P had om. two lines of the archetype*): supplied from *A<sup>4</sup>N<sup>4</sup>VJK*.

when I have dragged you to Africa, resisting and shifting ground as we almost came to blows, I am under no obligation to respect you. Therefore, if to the terms upon which peace was formerly about to be made,<sup>1</sup> as it seemed, you are adding some kind of compensation for the ships loaded with supplies that were taken by force during the armistice, and for violence done to my envoys, I have reason to bring it before the council. But if that addition also seems too severe, prepare for war, since you have been unable to endure a peace."

Accordingly without making peace they returned from the conference to their armies, reporting that words had been of no avail; that arms must decide the issue and they must accept whatever lot the gods should give them. XXXII. Arrived at their camps, they both ordered their soldiers to have arms and their spirits in readiness for the final conflict to make them victors, if success attended them, not for one day but forever. Whether Rome or Carthage should give laws to the nations they would know the next day before nightfall. For not Africa, they said, or Italy but the whole world would be the reward of victory<sup>2</sup>—a reward matched by the danger for those whom the fortune of battle should not favour. In fact the Romans had no way of escape open in a foreign and an unknown land,<sup>3</sup> and for Carthage, once it had poured out its last resources, immediate destruction seemed impending.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxx. 28.

<sup>2</sup> So Polybius ix. 5 and again x. 2, in a later speech of Scipio to his troops. The suspense of a great historical moment deeply impressed both historians. Cf. §§ 4 f.

<sup>3</sup> This statement added by Livy reflects what Scipio says to his men in Polybius x. 4. Cf. Appian *Pun.* 42 *fin.*

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4 Ad hoc discrimen procedunt postero die duorum opulentissimorum populorum duo longe clarissimi duces, duo fortissimi exercitus, multa ante parta  
 5 decora aut cumulaturi eo die aut eversuri. Anceps igitur spes et metus miscebant animos; contemplantibusque modo suam modo hostium aciem, cum 1 oculis magis quam ratione pensarent vires, simul laeta, simul tristia obversabantur. Quae ipsis sua sponte non succurrebant, ea duces admonendo atque  
 6 hortando subiciebant.<sup>2</sup> Poenus sedecim annorum in terra Italia<sup>3</sup> res gestas, tot duces Romanos, tot exercitus occidione occisos et sua cuique decora, ubi ad insignem alicuius pugnae memoria militem  
 7 venerat, referebat: Scipio Hispanias et recentia in Africa proelia et confessionem hostium, quod neque non petere pacem propter metum neque manere in ea  
 8 prae insita animis perfidia potuissent. Ad hoc conloquium Hannibal is in secreto habitum ac  
 9 liberum fingenti qua<sup>4</sup> volt fleetit.<sup>5</sup> Ominatur, quibus quondam auspiciis patres eorum ad Aegates pugnaverint insulas, ea illis exeuntibus in aciem portendisse  
 10 deos. Adesse finem belli ac laboris; in manibus esse praedam Carthaginis, redditum domum in patriam ad

<sup>1</sup> cum *C D A N V J K* *Aldus*, *Froben*, *Conway*: cum non *Weissenborn*, *Madrig*, most recent Eds.: cui *B*.

<sup>2</sup> subiciebant *N V J K*: -iciunt *AN Aldus*, *Froben*.

<sup>3</sup> Italia, *AN have* *italiam with intra for* in terra.

<sup>4</sup> qua *A N V J K* *Aldus*, *Froben*: quae *C B D A N*.

<sup>5</sup> fleetit, *V Aldus*, *Froben have flecti*.

<sup>1</sup> Even the month is much debated. Those who place the "battle of Zama" in the spring or early summer are unable to explain such delay in making the peace (spring of 201 B.C.). Against the summer is the heat of a Tunisian sun, both for European troops and African elephants in action. More probable is October. Cf. Appendix, pp. 551-554.

For this decision on the following day<sup>1</sup> two generals B.C. 202  
 far and away the most distinguished and two of the  
 bravest armies of the two wealthiest nations went  
 forth,<sup>2</sup> on that day either to crown the many dis-  
 tinctions heretofore won, or to bring them to naught.  
 Consequently a wavering between hope and fear con-  
 fused their spirits; and as they surveyed now their  
 own battle-line, now that of the enemy, while weigh-  
 ing their strength more by the eye than by cal-  
 culation, the bright side and at the same time the  
 dark was before their minds. What did not occur to  
 the men themselves of their own accord the generals  
 would suggest in admonition and exhortation.  
 The Carthaginian kept recalling to their minds the  
 achievements of sixteen years in the land of Italy, so  
 many Roman generals, so many armies wiped out  
 completely, and brave deeds of individuals, whenever  
 he came to a soldier distinguished in the record  
 of some battle. Scipio would recall the Spanish  
 provinces and recent battles in Africa and the  
 enemy's admission, in that on account of fear  
 they could but sue for peace, and yet had been  
 unable to abide by the peace on account of their  
 ingrained perfidy. Furthermore, as his conference  
 with Hannibal had been in private and could be freely  
 altered, he gave it the direction he desired. He  
 divined that as the Carthaginians went out into  
 battle-line, the gods had given them the same omens  
 as when their fathers fought at the Aegates Islands.  
 The end of the war and hardship was at hand, he said,  
 the spoils of Carthage within reach, and the return  
 home to their native city, to parents, children,

<sup>2</sup> At daybreak; Polybius ix. 2.

A.E.C. 11 parentes, liberos, coniuges penatesque deos. Celsus  
 552 haec corpore voltuque ita laeto ut viciisse iam cre-  
 deres dicebat.

Instruct deinde primos hastatos, post eos principes; triariis postremam aciem clausit. XXXIII. Non confertas autem cohortes ante sua quamque signa instruebat, sed manipulos aliquantum inter se distantes, ut esset spatium qua elephanti hostium 2 acti<sup>1</sup> nihil ordines turbarent. Laelium, cuius ante legati, eo anno quaestoris extra sortem ex senatus consulto opera utebatur, cum Italico equitatu ab sinistro cornu, Masinissam Numidasque ab dextro 3 opposuit. Vias patentes inter manipulos antesignanorum velitibus—ea tunc leveis armatura erat— complevit, dato praecepto ut ad impetum elephantorū aut post directos<sup>2</sup> refugerent ordines aut in dextram laevamque discursu applicantes se antesignanis<sup>3</sup> viam qua inruerent in ancipitia tela beluis darent. 4 Hannibal ad terrorem primos<sup>4</sup> elephantes— octoginta autem erant, quot nulla umquam in acie 5 ante habuerat—instruxit, deinde auxilia Ligurum

<sup>1</sup> acti *CBDAN*: capti *N*<sup>4</sup>(alt.): rapti *V*: accepti *JK*  
*Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>2</sup> directos *Alschefski, Eds.*: in rectos *CBDANVJK*: rectos *A*? *Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>3</sup> se antesignanis, *for this CBDAN have signis.*

<sup>4</sup> primos *CBD Eds.*: -mum *ANVJK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>1</sup> This is confused. Polybius does not mention cohorts, but is merely using both of his terms for maniple in the same sentence, ix. 7; cf. pp. 62 f., n. 2. Novel was the formation with *principes* directly behind *hastati*, instead of behind the normal intervals between front line maniples. This was Scipio's device to reduce losses in the charge of the elephants.

wives and household gods. So erect did he stand <sup>B.C. 202</sup> as he spoke these words, and with so happy a look on his face that one would have believed him already the victor.

Thereupon he drew up in the first line the *hastati*, behind them the *principes*, in the rear the *triarii* closing the formation. XXXIII. However, he did not form cohorts<sup>1</sup> in close contact, each in advance of its standards, but rather maniples at a considerable distance from each other, so that there should be an interval where the enemy's elephants might be driven through without breaking up the ranks. Laelius, whom he had previously had in his service as lieutenant, but in the present year as quaestor,<sup>2</sup> assigned not by lot but by decree of the senate,<sup>3</sup> was posted with the Italic cavalry on the left wing, Masinissa and the Numidians on the right. The open passages between the maniples of the front line troops Scipio filled with *velites*,<sup>3</sup> the light-armed of that day, under orders that, upon the charge of the elephants, they should either flee behind the ranks in the line, or else dashing to right and left and closing up to the maniples in the van, should give the beasts an opening through which they might rush among missiles hurled from both sides.

Hannibal in order to create a panic drew up his elephants in front, and there were eighty of them, a number he had never before had in any battle. Next in order he placed the Ligurian and Gallic

Cf. Frontinus *Strat.* II. iii. 16; E. Meyer, *Kleine Schriften* II. 206 f.

<sup>2</sup> A rare procedure. His election is passed over by both of our authorities.

<sup>3</sup> So Polybius §§ 9 f.; Frontinus *l.c.*

Gallorumque Baliliaribus Maurisque admixtis; in secunda acie Carthaginienses Afrosque et Macedonum 6 legionem; modico deinde intervallo relicto subsidiariam aciem Italicorum militum—Bruttii plerique erant, vi ac necessitate plures quam sua voluntate 7 decedentem ex Italia securi—instruxit. Equitatum et ipse<sup>1</sup> circumdedit cornibus; dextrum Carthaginenses, sinistrum Numidae tenuerunt.

8 Varia adhortatio erat in exercitu inter tot homines, quibus non lingua, non mos, non lex, non arma, non vestitus habitusque, non causa militandi eadem esset.

9 Auxiliaribus et praesens et multiplicata ex praeda merces ostentatur; Galli proprio atque insito in Romanos odio accenduntur; Liguribus campi uberes Italiae deductis ex asperrimis montibus in spem 10 victoriae ostentantur: Mauros Numidasque Masinissae inpotenti futuro<sup>2</sup> dominatu terret; aliis aliae 11 spes ac metus iactantur. Carthaginiensibus moenia patriae, di penates, sepultra maiorum, liberi cum parentibus coniugesque pavidae, aut excidium servitiumque aut imperium orbis terrarum, nihil aut in metum aut in spem medium, ostentatur.

12 Cum maxime haec imperator apud Carthaginienses, duces suarum gentium inter populares, pleraque per interpretes inter immixtos<sup>3</sup> alienigenis<sup>4</sup> agerent,

<sup>1</sup> ipse *CBDAN*: ipsum *VJK Allus, Froben*: om. *N*<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> futuro *NV Froben* 2: -ros *CBDAN JK Aldus*.

<sup>3</sup> inter immixtos, *for this JK Aldus, Froben have intermixtos*.

<sup>4</sup> alienigenis *CBDAN V Allus, Froben, Eds.*: -generis *JK*: -genas *Freinsheim, M. Müller*.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxvi. 3. Not mentioned by Polybius, but by Frontinus; doubted or rejected by modern historians.

<sup>2</sup> More than a furlong in Polybius xi. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. XXVIII. xii. 3 f. and note.

auxiliaries in combination with Balearic and Mauretanian troops; in the second line Carthaginians and Africans and the legion of Macedonians.<sup>1</sup> Then, leaving a moderate interval,<sup>2</sup> he drew up a reserve line of Italic soldiers, most of these Bruttians, more of whom had followed him under compulsion and of necessity than of their own consent as he retired from Italy. As for the cavalry, he also placed them on the wings; the Carthaginians held the right wing, the Numidians the left.

In an army made up of so many men who had no language, no custom, no law, no arms, no clothing and general appearance in common,<sup>3</sup> nor the same reason for serving, exhortation took various forms. To the auxiliaries was offered pay in cash and greatly increased by a share in the booty. The Gauls had their own inbred hatred of the Romans fanned into flame. Ligurians were offered as an incentive to victory the rich plains of Italy, once they were brought down from their rugged mountains. Mauretanians and Numidians were frightened by Hannibal with the prospect of Masinissa's tyrannical rule. To different nations different hopes and fears were displayed. The Carthaginians' attention was called to the walls of their city, to household gods, tombs of ancestors, children and parents and terror-stricken wives, to destruction and servitude on the one hand, on the other to rule over the world, to the absence of any ground between the extremes of fear and hope.

Just as the general was thus speaking among the Carthaginians, and the national leaders among their countrymen, mainly through interpreters, since foreigners were intermingled, trumpets and horns

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13 tubae cornuaque ab Romanis cecinerunt, tantusque  
 clamor ortus ut elephanti in suos, sinistrum maxime  
 cornu, verterentur.<sup>1</sup> Mauros ac Numidas. Addidit  
 facile Masinissa perculis terrorem nudavitque ab  
 14 ea parte aciem equestri auxilio. Paucae tamen  
 bestiarum intrepidae<sup>2</sup> in hostem actae inter velitum  
 ordines cum multis suis vulneribus ingentem stragem  
 15 edebant. Resilientes enim ad manipulos velites,  
 cum viam elephantis, ne obtererentur, fecissent, in  
 ancipites ad ictum utrumque coniciebant hastas, nec  
 16 pila ab<sup>3</sup> antesignanis cessabant, donec undique  
 incidentibus telis exacti ex Romana acie hi quoque in  
 suos dextrum<sup>4</sup> cornu, ipsos Carthaginienses equites,  
 in fugam verterunt. Laelius ut turbatos vidi hostes  
 addidit perculis terrorem.

XXXIV. Utrumque nudata equite erat Punica  
 acies cum pedes concurrit, nec spe nec viribus iam  
 par. Ad hoc dictu parva sed magna eadem in re  
 gerenda momenta:<sup>5</sup> congruens clamor ab Romanis  
 eoque maior et terribilior, dissonae illis, ut gentium  
 2 multarum discrepantibus linguis, voces; pugna  
 Romana stabilis et suo et armorum pondere incum-

<sup>1</sup> verterentur *CBDAN*: con- *V* (cor-) *JK Aldus*: ver-  
 terent *Froben* 2.

<sup>2</sup> intrepidae *CBDAN* *Froben* 2: trepide *VJK*: intrepide:  
*Aldus*.

<sup>3</sup> hastas, nec pila ab, *these words and also an-* of the next  
*were probably omitted by P, as is shown by the same omission* in *CBDAN*.

<sup>4</sup> suos dextrum *VJK*: suo dextro (or -ero) *CBDAN*  
*Allus, Froben*.

<sup>5</sup> magna . . . momenta *CBDAN* *V* (adding res *AJ*):  
 magni . . . momenti res *K Aldus, Froben, Madvig* (om. res).

<sup>1</sup> The account of the battle should be compared throughout  
 with that of Polybius XV. xii.-xvi. Cf. Frontinus II. iii.

sounded on the Roman side, and such shouts were <sup>B.C. 202</sup> raised that the elephants turned against their own men, especially against the left wing, the Mauretanians and Numidians.<sup>1</sup> Masinissa easily increased their panic and stripped that end of the line of its cavalry support. A few of the beasts, however, being fearlessly driven into the enemy, caused great losses among the ranks of the light-armed, though suffering many wounds themselves. For springing back to the maniples the light-armed made way for the elephants, to avoid being trampled down, and then would hurl their lances from both sides against the beasts doubly exposed to missiles. Nor was there any slackening in the javelins of the men in the front lines until these elephants also, driven out of the Roman line and into their own men by missiles showered upon them from all sides, put the right wing, even the Carthaginian cavalry, to flight. Laelius, on seeing the enemy in confusion, increased their panic.

XXXIV. On both sides the Punic battle-line had been stripped of its cavalry when the infantry clashed, now no longer matched either in their hopes or in their strength. In addition there were what seem small things to mention, but at the same time were highly important in the battle: a harmony in the shouting of the Romans, which consequently was greater in volume and more terrifying; on the other side discordant voices, as was natural from many nations with a confusion of tongues; for the Romans a battle of little movement, as they pressed on into the

16; Zonaras IX. xiv. 7 ff. Appian's narrative includes much fiction, with single combats in the epic manner; *Pun.* 45. Cf. Scullard 237 ff.; Veith 645 ff.; Kahrstedt 564 ff.; De Sanctis 552 ff., 604 ff.; *C.A.H.* VIII. 105 ff.

bentium in hostem, concursatio et velocitas illinc  
 3 maior quam vis. Igitur primo impetu extemplo  
 movere loco hostium aciem Romani. Ala deinde et  
 umbonibus<sup>1</sup> pulsantes, in summotos gradu inlato,  
 aliquantum spatii velut nullo resistente incessere,  
 4 urgentibus et novissimis primos ut semel motam  
 aciem sensere, quod ipsum vim magnam ad pellendum  
 5 hostem addebat. Apud hostes auxiliares cedentes  
 secunda acies, Afri et Carthaginienses, adeo non  
 sustinebant ut contra etiam, ne resistentes pertina-  
 citer primos<sup>2</sup> caedendo ad se perveniret hostis,  
 6 pedem referrent. Igitur auxiliares terga dant  
 repente, et in suos versi partim refugere in secundam  
 aciem, partim non recipientes caedere, ut et paulo  
 7 ante non adiuti et tunc exclusi. Et prope duo iam  
 permixta proelia erant, cum Carthaginienses simul  
 cum hostibus, simul cum suis cogerentur manus  
 8 conserere. Non tamen ita percusos iratosque in  
 aciem accepere, sed densatis ordinibus in cornua  
 vacuumque circa campum extra proelium eiecere,<sup>3</sup>  
 ne pavido<sup>4</sup> fuga volneribusque<sup>5</sup> milite sinceram et  
 integrum aciem miscerent.

<sup>1</sup> umbonibus *A·VJK Aldus, Froben*: umboni *CBDA*: -one *A<sup>6</sup>*.

<sup>2</sup> primos *A·VJK Aldus, Froben*: primo *CBDA*.

<sup>3</sup> eiecere *N·VJK Aldus, Froben*: eicere *CBDA*.

<sup>4</sup> pavido *CBD*: -dos *ANVJK Aldus, Froben* (*with milites below, as have DANVJK*).

<sup>5</sup> -que *N Aldus, Froben, Madvig, Conway*: om. *CBDA*: *VJK have et before noun*.

<sup>1</sup> Livy here departs from Polybius' statements (xiii. 1), which probably had already suffered a text corruption still remaining in our MSS. and some editions. If the enemy were at once dislodged there would seem to be no need of

enemy by their own weight and that of their arms ; on <sup>B.C. 202</sup> the other side repeated charges at high speed but with less power. Consequently by the first attack the Romans at once dislodged the enemy's line. Then beating them back with their shoulders and the bosses of their shields,<sup>1</sup> being now in close contact with men forced from their position, they made considerable progress, as no one offered any resistance, while as soon as they saw that the enemy's line had given way, even the rear line pressed upon the first, a circumstance which of itself gave them great force in repulsing the enemy. Among the enemy so far was their second line, the Africans and Carthaginians, from supporting the auxiliaries as they gave way, that on the contrary they even drew back for fear the enemy, by slaying the men of the first line if these stoutly resisted, should reach themselves. Accordingly the auxiliaries suddenly retreated and facing their own men, some found refuge in the second line, others, having been refused aid shortly before, and also admission now to the ranks, slashed at those who would not make place for them. And by this time there were almost two battles in one, since the Carthaginians were forced to engage with the enemy and at the same time with their own men. Nevertheless even so they did not admit the panic-stricken, angry men into the line, but closing up their ranks, they forced them out upon the wings and into the empty plain on this side and that outside of the battle, in order not to contaminate their own line, still intact and fresh, with soldiers alarmed by the flight and their wounds.

pushing, instead of continuing to use their weapons. Cf. Meyer *l.c.* 408 f.; De Sanctis 607.

9 Ceterum tanta strages<sup>1</sup> hominum armorumque  
 locum in quo steterant paulo ante auxiliares com-  
 pleverat ut prope difficilior transitus esset quam per  
 10 confertos<sup>2</sup> hostes fuerat. Itaque qui primi erant,  
 hastati, per cumulos corporum armorumque et  
 tabem<sup>3</sup> sanguinis, qua quisque poterat, sequentes  
 hostem et signa et ordines confuderunt. Principum  
 quoque signa fluctuari coeperant vagam ante se  
 11 cernendo aciem. Quod Scipio ubi vidit, receptui  
 propere canere hastatis iussit et sauciis in postremam  
 aciem subductis principes triariosque in cornua  
 inducit, quo tutior firmiorque media hastatorum acies  
 12 esset. Ita novum de integro proelium ortum est;  
 quippe ad veros hostes perventum erat, et armorum  
 genere et usu militiae et fama rerum gestarum et  
 13 magnitudine vel spei vel periculi pares. Sed et  
 numero superior Romanus erat et animo, quod iam  
 equites, iam elephantes fuderat, iam prima acie  
 pulsa in secundam pugnabat.

XXXV. In tempore Laelius ac Masinissa pulsos<sup>4</sup>  
 per aliquantum spatii secuti equites, revertentes in  
 aversam hostium aciem incurrere. Is demum equi-  
 2 tum impetus percudit<sup>5</sup> hostem. Multi circumventi

<sup>1</sup> strages *N<sup>2</sup>* or *N<sup>4</sup>* alt.) *VJK* *Froben* 2 : strage *CBDAN* *Aldus*.

<sup>2</sup> confertos *CBD*<sup>1</sup> *VJK* *Froben* 2 : -tissimos *AN* *Aldus*.

<sup>3</sup> tabem *Aldus*, *Eds.* : tabe *C* : tabes *BDAN* : labem  
*AJK* *Froben* 2 : luem *V*.

<sup>4</sup> pulsos *CBDAN* *Aldus*, *Froben* : fusos *A<sup>4</sup>N<sup>4</sup>VJK*.

<sup>5</sup> percudit *A<sup>4</sup>N<sup>4</sup>JK* *Froben* 2 : pertulit *V* : fudit *CBDAN* *Aldus*.

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<sup>1</sup> After a pause, while Hannibal also was reforming his lines, in what manner we are not told. For Scipio's reorganization of his front—a notable feat—see Polybius xiv. 3 ff.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. the Carthaginians in the second line, together with the Libyan and Macedonian mercenaries; xxxiii. 5. In Polybius

But such heaps of bodies and arms had covered the place where the auxiliaries had stood shortly before that to make their way across was almost more difficult than it had been through the dense mass of the enemy. Accordingly the men of the front line, the *hastati*, pursuing the enemy wherever they could over heaps of bodies and arms and through pools of blood, broke up both their own maniples and their ranks. The maniples of the *principes* also began to waver, as they saw the unsteady line in front of them. When Scipio saw this he ordered the recall to be sounded at once for the *hastati*, and after withdrawing the wounded to the rear line, he led the *principes* and *triarii* to the wings, in order that the centre, composed of *hastati*, might be safer and steadier. Thus began an entirely new battle.<sup>1</sup> For they had reached the real enemy,<sup>2</sup> their equals in the character of their weapons and their experience in war and the celebrity of their deeds and the greatness whether of their hopes or of their danger. But the Roman was superior both in numbers and in spirit, because he had already routed the cavalry, had already routed the elephants, and was already fighting against the second line, having repulsed the first.

XXXV. At the right moment Laelius and Masinissa, who had pursued the routed cavalry for a considerable distance, returned and dashed into the rear of the enemy's line. That charge of the cavalry finally worsted the enemy. Many were overpowered

xiv. 6 the new battle begins when Hannibal's third line (Italians so far held in reserve) is at last engaged. Of these troops as veterans Polybius had a much higher opinion than Livy and Frontinus *l.c.*; cf. xxxiii. 6 and xxxv. 9 *fin.*

in acie caesi; multi<sup>1</sup> per patentem circa campum fuga sparsi tenente omnia equitatu passim interierunt. Carthaginiensium sociorumque caesa eo die supra viginti milia; par ferme numerus captus cum signis militaribus centum triginta duobus,<sup>2</sup> elephantis undecim; victores ad mille et quingenti<sup>3</sup> cecidere.

4 Hannibal cum paucis equitibus inter tumultum elapsus Hadrumetum perfugit, omnia et ante aciem et in proelio,<sup>4</sup> priusquam excederet pugna, expertus, 5 et confessione etiam Scipionis omniumque peritorum militiae illam laudem adeptus, singulari arte aciem eo 6 die instruxisse: elephantos in prima fronte, quorum fortuitus impetus atque intolerabilis vis signa sequi et servare ordines, in quo plurimum spei ponerent, 7 Romanos prohiberent; deinde auxiliares ante Carthaginiensium aciem, ne homines mixti ex<sup>5</sup> conluvione omnium gentium, quos non fides teneret, 8 sed merces, liberum receptum fugae haberent, simul primum ardorem atque impetum<sup>6</sup> hostium excipientes fatigarent ac, si nihil aliud, volneribus suis ferrum

<sup>1</sup> multi *Froben* 2: *om. CBDANVJK Aldus.*

<sup>2</sup> cxxxii *CBDAN*: cxxxiii *Aldus, Froben*: xxxii (or in full) *VJK*.

<sup>3</sup> mille et quingenti *C* (cō et d), cf. *Polyb.* XV. xiv. 9: mille et cū *V*: x et *BD*: x *B<sup>1</sup>AN*: decem milia *JK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>4</sup> et ante aciem et in proelio *conj. Duker, Drakenborch, Eds.*: *phrases are reversed in CBDANVJK* : et in proelio et labante acie *Madvig, Emend.*: et ante proelium et in acie *Weidner*: et integro proelio et inclinante acie *M. Müller.*

<sup>5</sup> ex *A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>2</sup>VJK Aldus*: et *CBDAN*: *om. Froben* 2.

<sup>6</sup> atque impetum *CBDAN Aldus*: *om. VJK Froben* 2.

<sup>1</sup> His base (Sousse), xxix. 1. His ships were there. The distance from Zama is greatly exaggerated by Nepos *Hann.* 6. 3 (300 miles, he says), while Appian *Pun.* 47 makes it even 375. Both claim that he covered the distance in two days

and slain in the battle-line, many were scattered in flight over the open plain all around, and as the cavalry were in complete possession, they perished everywhere. Over twenty thousand of the Carthaginians and their allies were slain on that day. About the same number were captured, together with one hundred and thirty-two military standards and eleven elephants. Of the victors about fifteen hundred fell.

Hannibal, escaping with a few horsemen in the midst of the confusion, fled to Hadrumetum,<sup>1</sup> having tried every expedient both before the battle and during the engagement before he withdrew from the fray. And even by Scipio's admission and that of all the military experts he had achieved this distinction, that he had drawn up his line that day with extraordinary skill: the elephants in the very front, that their haphazard charge and irresistible strength might prevent the Romans from following their standards and keeping their ranks, upon which tactics they based most of their hopes; then the auxiliaries in front of the line of Carthaginians, that men who were brought together from the offscouring of all nations and held not by loyalty but by their pay might have no way of escape open to them; that at the same time, as they met the first fiery attack of the enemy, they might exhaust them, and if they could do no more, might blunt the enemy's swords

and two nights. In reality Zama Regia is about 90 miles due west of Hadrumetum. Naraggara would be ca. 170 Roman miles from that seaport, if the shorter and less rugged southerly route was taken. Every probability, however, favours the supposition that the battle was fought much nearer to Sicca Veneria, and not more than 120 miles from Hadrumetum; cf. p. 547 ff.

9 hostile<sup>1</sup> hebetarent; tum, ubi omnis spes esset,<sup>2</sup>  
 milites Carthaginienses Afrosque, ut, omnibus rebus  
 aliis pares, eo quod integri cum fessis ac sauciis pugna-  
 rent superiores essent; Italicos intervallo quoque di-  
 remptos,<sup>3</sup> incertos socii an hostes essent, in postre-  
 10 mam aciem summotos. Hoc edito velut ultimo vir-  
 tutis opere, Hannibal cum Hadrumetum refugisset,<sup>4</sup>  
 accitusque inde Carthaginem sexto ac tricesimo post  
 11 anno quam puer inde profectus erat redisset, fassus in  
 curia est non proelio modo se sed<sup>5</sup> bello victum, nec  
 spem salutis alibi quam in pace impetranda<sup>6</sup> esse.

XXXVI. Scipio confestim a proelio expugnatis  
 hostium castris direptisque cum ingenti praeda ad  
 2 mare ac naves rediit, nuntio allato P. Lentulum cum  
 quinquaginta rostratis, centum onerariis cum omni  
 3 genere commeatus ad Uticam accessisse. Ad-  
 movendum igitur undique terrorem percussae Car-  
 thagini ratus, misso Laelio Romam cum victoriae  
 nuntio, Cn. Octavium terrestri itinere ducere legiones  
 Carthaginem iubet; ipse, ad suam veterem nova  
 Lentuli classe adiuncta, profectus ab Utica portum  
 4 Carthaginis petit. Haud procul aberat cum velata  
 infulis ramisque oleae Carthaginiensium occurrit  
 navis. Decem legati erant, principes civitatis,

<sup>1</sup> hostile VJK Froben 2: hostium CBDAN Aldus.

<sup>2</sup> esset AJK Aldus, Froben: essent N: erat V: om.  
 CBDAN.

<sup>3</sup> intervallo quoque direemptos A<sup>2</sup>N<sup>1</sup>VJK, Aldus, Froben,  
 most Eds.: transposed to follow summotos Conway; to follow  
 hostes essent Harant, Riemann: om. CBDAN Alscheski,  
 Madvig 1872.

<sup>4</sup> refugisset CBDAN Froben 2: fugisset VJK: per- Aldus.

<sup>5</sup> se sed VK Froben 2: si sed J: sese .d. C: ×se ×se B:  
 (modo s esse D: se esse sed (set N) AN Aldus.

<sup>6</sup> impetranda CBA<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>V Aldus: -trande B<sup>2</sup>DAN: -trata  
 JK Froben 2.

by their own wounds; next in order the soldiers in whom lay all his hopes, the Carthaginians and Africans, that being equal to the Romans in everything else, they might have the advantage in fighting with strength undiminished against the weary and the wounded; then, removed to the last line and separated by an open space as well, the Italic troops, of whom it was uncertain whether they were allies or enemies. Having produced this as his last masterpiece Hannibal after his flight to Hadrumetum was called away, returning to Carthage in the thirty-sixth year after he had left it as a boy. Thereupon in the Senate House he admitted that he had been defeated not only in a battle but also in the war, and that there was no hope of safety except in successfully suing for peace.

XXXVI. Scipio immediately after the battle stormed and plundered the enemy's camp and with immense booty returned to the sea and his ships, having received word that Publius Lentulus,<sup>1</sup> in command of fifty war-ships and a hundred transports with supplies of every kind, had arrived near Utica. Thinking therefore that he must bring terror to bear from every side against disheartened Carthage, after sending Laelius to Rome with a report of the victory, he ordered Gnaeus Octavius to bring the legions to Carthage by land. He himself went to his old fleet, now enlarged by the new fleet of Lentulus, and then sailed from Utica towards the harbour of Carthage. He was not far away when a Carthaginian ship bedecked with fillets and olive branches met him. There were ten envoys, leading

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ii. 4; xxiv. 5; xxvii. 9. The same passages apply to Octavius, § 3, commanding a fleet.

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- auctore Hannibale missi ad petendam pacem.
- 5 Qui cum ad puppim praetoriae navis accessissent velamenta supplicum porrigentes, orantes implo-  
6 rantesque fidem ac misericordiam Scipionis, nullum  
iis aliud responsum datum quam ut Tynetem veni-  
rent; eo se moturum castra. Ipse ad contemplan-  
dum Carthaginis situm<sup>1</sup> non tam noscendi in praesen-  
tia quam deprimendi<sup>2</sup> hostis causa proiectus<sup>3</sup>  
Uticam, eodem et Octavio revocato, rediit.
- 7 Inde procedentibus ad Tynetem nuntius allatus Verminam Syphacis filium cum equitibus pluribus quam peditibus venire Carthaginiensibus auxilio.
- 8 Pars exercitus cum omni equitatu<sup>4</sup> Saturnalibus<sup>5</sup> primis agmen adgressa Numidarum<sup>6</sup> levi certamine fudit. Exitu quoque fugae intercluso ab omni parte circumdati equitibus quindecim milia hominum caesa, mille et ducenti vivi capti, et equi Numidici mille et quingenti, signa militaria duo et septuaginta; regulus ipse inter tumultum cum paucis effugit.
- 9 Tum ad Tynetem eodem quo antea<sup>7</sup> loco castra posita, legatique triginta ab Carthagine ad Scipionem venerunt.

<sup>1</sup> situm, after this Johnson, Conway insert proiectus in portum as omitte line. Froben emended ad contemplandum . . . situm to ab contemplato . . . situ (-ando Gronovius); Alscheski to contemplatus . . . situm.

<sup>2</sup> deprimendi (varied spellings) CBDAN: terrendi A<sup>4</sup>VJK Froben: deterrendi x.

<sup>3</sup> proiectus Alscheski, most Eds.: om. all MSS., Conway.

<sup>4</sup> equitatu, after this A<sup>4</sup>N<sup>4</sup>VJK Aldus, Froben, Conway have missa: om. CBDAN Eds.

<sup>5</sup> Saturnalibus CBDANVJK Eds.: turmalibus Aldus, Froben: maturantibus Madvig: om. (primis also) Riemann.

<sup>6</sup> Numidarum CBDAN Aldus, Eds.: numidas A<sup>4</sup>JK Conway: with in agmine V Froben 2.

<sup>7</sup> antea VJK Aldus, Froben: ante CBDAN,

citizens, sent at the instance of Hannibal to sue for peace. When they approached the stern of the flagship, holding out the symbols of suppliants, begging and beseeching the help and pity of Scipio, no other answer was given them than that they should come to Tynes;<sup>1</sup> that thither he would move his camp. Scipio sailed near in order to view the situation of Carthage, not so much for the purpose of an immediate reconnaissance as to humiliate the enemy, and returned to Utica, recalling Octavius also to the same place.

While proceeding from there to Tynes they received news that Vermina,<sup>2</sup> the son of Syphax, commanding more cavalry than infantry was coming to the help of the Carthaginians. Part of the infantry and all the cavalry attacked the column of the Numidians on the first day<sup>3</sup> of the Saturnalia, and routed it after a slight engagement. As even the way of escape was cut off, with the cavalry surrounding them on all sides, fifteen thousand men were slain, twelve hundred captured alive, fifteen hundred Numidian horses taken and seventy-two military standards. The prince himself in the midst of the confusion escaped with a few men. Then camp was pitched near Tynes on the same site as before, and thirty envoys from Carthage came to Scipio.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ix. 10; xvi. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. XXIX. xxxiii. 1 f., 8. Still ruling a large part of his father's kingdom; Appian *Pun.* 33.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. a.d. XIV Kal. Ian., or 17th December. Uncommon is so exact a date for a minor event. It suggests one of the annalists as a source; hence rejected by those who place the greater battle in spring or summer. Other examples, however, are: XLI. xxii. 1; XLIV. xx. 1; XLV. ii. 3. See Macrobius *Sat.* I. x. 1 ff. Cf. Appendix, p. 552 f.

Et illi quidem multo miserabilius quam antea, quo magis cogebat fortuna, egerunt; sed aliquanto minore cum misericordia ab recenti memoria perfidiae 10 audit sunt. In consilio quamquam iusta ira omnes ad delendam stimulabat Carthaginem, tamen cum et quanta res esset et<sup>1</sup> quam longi temporis obsidio tam 11 munitae et tam<sup>2</sup> validae urbis reputarent, et ipsum Scipionem exspectatio successoris venturi ad paratam<sup>3</sup> alterius labore ac periculo finiti belli famam sollicitaret, ad pacem omnium animi versi sunt.

XXXVII. Postero die revocatis legatis et cum multa castigatione perfidiae monitis ut tot cladibus edocti tandem deos et ius iurandum esse crederent, condiciones pacis dictae, ut liberi legibus suis viverent; 2 quas urbes quosque agros quibusque finibus ante bellum tenuissent tenerent, populandique finem eo die 3 Romanus faceret; perfugas fugitivosque et captivos omnes redderent Romanis,<sup>4</sup> et naves rostratas praeter decem triremes traderent elephantosque quos haberent domitos, neque domarent<sup>5</sup> alios;

<sup>1</sup> et *N<sup>o</sup>VJK Aldus*, *Froben*: *om. CBDAN*.

<sup>2</sup> tam *A Aldus*: iam *CBDN*: *om. VJK Froben* 2.

<sup>3</sup> paratam *CBDAJK Aldus*, *Froben*, *Eds.*: paratum *NN<sup>o</sup>V Conway*, adding victoriae fructum, which he thinks made a line omitted by *P* and hence by the rest, except that *VN<sup>o</sup>?x* have movere fructum.

<sup>4</sup> redderent Romanis *CBDAN Aldus*: *om. VJK Froben* 2.

<sup>5</sup> neque domarent, here *P* resumes (*cf. xxx. 14 and xxxviii. 2.*

<sup>1</sup> But the consul (Claudius Nero) who aspired to succeed Scipio never reached Africa. Cf. xxvii. 1 f.; xxxviii ff.; xxxix. 1-3; xliv. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Condensing Polybius xvii. 3. The following peace terms (with minor differences) are taken from his ch. xviii. Cf. above xvi. 10 ff. for terms previously proposed. See Appian

Their pleading was, to be sure, much more piteous <sup>B.C. 202</sup> than before, in proportion as misfortune was more compelling; but they were heard with much less pity owing to the memory, still fresh, of their treachery. In the council, although righteous indignation spurred them all to the destruction of Carthage, nevertheless they reflected how serious a matter and how protracted also was the siege of a city so well fortified and so strong. Scipio himself was also troubled as he looked forward to a successor<sup>1</sup> who would come into what had been won by the hardship and danger of another—the glory of finishing the war. Consequently they all were inclined to peace.

N.B.

XXXVII. On the following day the envoys were recalled and with repeated upbraiding for their treachery<sup>2</sup> were advised that, being taught at last by so many disasters, they should believe that the gods and an oath mean something. Whereupon the peace terms were stated to them: they were to live as free men under their own laws; to hold the cities and territories<sup>3</sup> which they had held before the war, with the same boundaries; and the Roman was on that day to make an end of devastation. They were to deliver all deserters and runaway slaves and captives to the Romans, and to surrender their war-ships except ten triremes, and the trained elephants<sup>4</sup> in their possession, and not to train

*Pun.* 54; *Dio Cass.* frag. 57. 82; *De Sanctis* 616 ff.; *Scullard* 254 ff.

<sup>3</sup> In Africa, that is, as Livy's source (xviii. 1) takes care to make clear.

<sup>4</sup> The most were sent to Rome, the rest given to Masinissa; *Zonaras* IX. xiv. 11. Some of them were used by the Romans (first instance) in Macedonia, 200 B.C.; XXXI. xxxvi. 4.

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4 bellum neve in Africa neve extra Africam iniussu  
 populi Romani gererent; Masinissae res redde-  
 5 rent foedusque cum eo facerent; frumentum stipen-  
 diumque auxiliis, donec ab Roma<sup>1</sup> legati redissent,  
 praestarent; decem milia talentum argenti, di-  
 scripta pensionibus aequis in annos quinquaginta,  
 6 solverent; obsides centum arbitratu Scipionis darent,  
 ne minores quattuordecim annis neu triginta maiores.  
 Indutias ita se<sup>2</sup> daturum, si per priores indutias  
 naves onerariae captae quaeque fuissent in navibus  
 restituerentur; aliter nec indutias nec spem pacis  
 ullam esse.

7 Has condiciones legati cum domum referre<sup>3</sup> iussi  
 in contione ederent et Giso ad dissuadendam pacem  
 processisset audireturque a multitudine inquieta  
 8 eadem<sup>4</sup> et inbelli, indignatus Hannibal dici ea in  
 tali tempore audirique, arreptum Gisgonem manu  
 sua ex superiore loco detraxit. Quae insueta liberae  
 civitati species cum fremitum populi movisset,  
 9 perturbatus militaris vir urbana libertate "Novem"  
 inquit "annorum a vobis profectus post sextum et  
 tricesimum annum redii. Militares artes, quas me  
 a puero fortuna nunc privata nunc publica docuit,  
 probe videor scire; urbis ac fori iura, leges, mores  
 10 vos me oportet doceatis." Excusata imprudentia de

<sup>1</sup> ab Roma *A<sup>x</sup>N<sup>y</sup>VJK*: ab romanis *P(3)N*.

<sup>2</sup> se *P.3 NVJK Aldus, Froben, Eds.*: om. Conway.

<sup>3</sup> referre, here *VJK Froben 2 have ferre.*

<sup>4</sup> eadem om. *AN Allus.*

<sup>1</sup> In Polybius xviii. 6 grain for the entire army for three months and pay until a reply from Rome came.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny *N.H.* XXXIII. 51 (16,000 lbs. of silver a year for 50 years).

others; to wage war neither in Africa nor outside of Africa without consent of the Roman people. They were to make restitution to Masinissa and frame a treaty with him; to furnish grain and pay to the auxiliaries<sup>1</sup> until the envoys should return from Rome; to pay ten thousand silver talents,<sup>2</sup> divided into equal payments for fifty years; to give a hundred hostages selected by Scipio, not younger than fourteen nor older than thirty years. He would grant an armistice, he said, provided the transports captured during the previous armistice and whatever was on board the ships should be returned; otherwise there would be no armistice nor any hope of a peace.

Such terms the envoys were bidden to carry home, and as they announced them in the assembly Gisgo<sup>3</sup> came forward to oppose the peace. While the multitude was listening, equally incapable of keeping a peace and of carrying on a war, Hannibal, indignant that such things should be said and heard at so critical a moment, seized Gisgo and with his own hand dragged him down from the platform. When this novelty for a free state called forth protests from the people, the man of arms, confounded by freedom in the city, said "At nine years of age I left you, and after thirty-six years I have returned. With the soldier's arts, in which from boyhood first my own lot, and then a public exigency gave me training, I may pass as well acquainted. In the rights, laws, usages of the city and the marketplace it is you who should train me." Having apologized for his ignorance, he discoursed at length

<sup>1</sup> Unknown. Polybius is here the main source, but he mentions no name; xix. 2 ff.

pace multis verbis<sup>1</sup> disseruit, quam nec iniqua et  
 11 necessaria esset. Id omnium maxime difficile erat,  
 quod ex navibus per indutias captis nihil praeter  
 ipsas comparebat naves; nec inquisitio erat facilis,  
 12 adversantibus paci qui<sup>2</sup> arguerentur. Placuit naves  
 reddi et homines utique inquire; cetera quae abessent  
 aestimanda Scipioni permitti atque ita pecunia luere  
 13 Carthaginienses.—Sunt qui Hannibalem ex acie ad  
 mare pervenisse, inde praeparata nave ad regem An-  
 tiochum extemplo profectum tradant, postulantique  
 ante omnia Scipioni ut Hannibal sibi traderetur re-  
 sponsum esse Hannibalem in Africa non esse.

XXXVIII. Postquam redierunt ad Scipionem le-  
 gati, quae publica in navibus fuerant ex publicis de-  
 scripta rationibus quaestores,<sup>3</sup> quae privata profiteri  
 2 domini iussi; pro ea summa pecuniae viginti quinque<sup>4</sup>  
 milia pondo argenti praesentia exacta; induti-  
 aeque Carthaginiensibus<sup>5</sup> datae in tres menses.  
 3 Additum ne per indutiarum tempus alio usquam quam  
 Romam mitterent legatos, et quicumque legati  
 Carthaginem venissent, ne ante dimitterent eos quam  
 Romanum imperatorem qui et quae<sup>6</sup> petentes

<sup>1</sup> de pace multis verbis *A'N'(marg.)VJK* Eds.: *om.*  
*P(3)N*, one line.

<sup>2</sup> adversantibus paci qui *P(3)N* (*om.* qui *DAN*): cum  
 adversantes paci *A'VJK* *Aldus, Froben*: adversantes paci  
 qui *N'(alt.)*.

<sup>3</sup> quaestores *P(3)NVJK* Eds.: *quaestor Forchhammer*.

<sup>4</sup> xxv *P(3)N* Eds.: xv *VJK*.

<sup>5</sup> Carthaginiensibus, *in this word P comes to an end*.

<sup>6</sup> qui et quae *A'N'VJK* Eds.: qui ita *CBDAN*.

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<sup>1</sup> Livy condenses Hannibal's plea for a treaty of peace;  
*Polyb.* xix. 5-7.

upon the peace, showing how far from unjust it was <sup>B.C. 202</sup>  
and how inevitable.<sup>1</sup> The most troublesome point  
of all was that of the ships captured during the  
armistice nothing was to be seen except the ships  
themselves, and investigation was not easy since  
the accused were opponents of the peace. It was  
decided that the ships should be returned and the  
men at all costs traced; that appraisal of whatever  
else was lacking be committed to Scipio, and that  
thus the Carthaginians should pay the amount in  
cash.—There are some historians<sup>2</sup> who relate that  
Hannibal leaving the battle made his way to the  
sea and then on a ship prepared for him at once  
sailed to King Antiochus; and that when Scipio  
demanded above all things that Hannibal be sur-  
rendered to him, the answer was that Hannibal was  
not in Africa.

XXXVIII. After his envoys had returned to Scipio  
the quaestors were ordered from entries in the  
public accounts to make a declaration of what public  
property had been on the ships, and owners were to  
do the same for private property. In place of that  
sum total twenty-five thousand pounds of silver were  
exacted in immediate payment.<sup>3</sup> And an armistice  
for three months was granted the Carthaginians.  
In addition they were not to send envoys during the  
period of the armistice to any other place than to  
Rome, and in case any envoys should come to Car-  
thage they were not to let them go until they in-  
formed the Roman commander who they were and

<sup>2</sup> Unknown. For his escape, 195 B.C., to Tyre, and so to Antiochus at Ephesus cf. XXXIII. xlviif.

<sup>3</sup> It must have been quite impossible to complete a list of individual claims.

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4 venissent certiores facerent. Cum legatis Carthaginiensibus Romam missi L. Veturius Philo et M. Marcius Ralla et L. Scipio imperatoris frater. 5 Per eos dies commeatus ex Sicilia Sardiniaque tantam vilitatem annonae effecerunt<sup>1</sup> ut pro vectura frumentum nautis mercator relinqueret. 6 Romae ad nuntium primum rebellionis Carthaginiensium trepidatum fuerat, iussusque erat Ti. Claudius mature classem in Siciliam ducere atque inde in Africam traicere, et alter consul M. Servilius ad urbem morari, donec quo statu res in Africa 7 essent sciretur. Segniter omnia in comparanda deducendaque classe ab Ti. Claudio consule facta erant, quod patres de pace P.<sup>2</sup> Scipionis potius arbitrium esse quibus legibus daretur quam consulis 8 censuerant. Prodigia quoque nuntiata sub ipsam famam<sup>3</sup> rebellionis terrorem<sup>4</sup> adulterant: Cumis solis orbis minui visus et pluit lapideo imbri, et in Veliterno agro terra ingentibus cavernis consedit, 9 arboresque in profundum haustae; Ariciae forum et circa tabernae, Frusinone murus aliquot locis et porta de caelo tacta; et in Palatio lapidibus pluit. Id prodigium more patrio novemdiali sacro, cetera

<sup>1</sup> effecerunt *VJK* *Froben* 2, *Luchs*: fecerunt *CBDAN* *Aldus*, *Eds.*, *Conway*.

<sup>2</sup> *P. A'VJK Luchs*: *om. CBDAN* many *Eds.*, *Conway*.

<sup>3</sup> famam *CN<sup>2</sup>* *Aldus*, *Froben*: *om. BDA*N: fama (with ipsa) *A<sup>5</sup>VJK*.

<sup>4</sup> terrorem, before the verb *DANV* *Aldus*, *Froben*, *Eds.*, but after, *CBJK* *Conway*.

<sup>1</sup> Veturius had been consul in 206 B.C. (XXVIII. x.); Marcius, city praetor in 204 B.C. (XXIX. xiii. 2). Lucius Scipio reached the consulship with Laelius in 190 B.C. (XXXVII. i.).

for what purpose they had come. With the Carthaginian envoys Lucius Veturius Philo and Marcus Marcius Ralla and Lucius Scipio, brother of the general-in-command, were sent to Rome.<sup>1</sup> About that time supplies from Sicily and Sardinia lowered the price of grain so much that the merchant would leave his grain to the mariners to cover the freight.

At Rome upon the first news of the Carthaginians' renewed hostilities there had been alarm, and Tiberius Claudius had been ordered to take his fleet promptly to Sicily and then to cross to Africa, and the other consul, Marcus Servilius, to remain near the city until it should be known what was the state of affairs in Africa. Everything in the assembling and launching of his fleet had been carried on without spirit by Tiberius Claudius, the consul, because the senate had voted that authority over the terms on which peace should be granted belonged to Scipio rather than to the consul.<sup>2</sup> Reports of prodigies also at the very time when there were rumours of fresh hostilities had inspired alarm. At Cumae the sun was partially eclipsed and it rained stones, and in the district of Velitrae<sup>3</sup> the ground settled in huge cavities and trees were swallowed in the depths. At Aricia the forum and shops round it, at Frusino<sup>4</sup> the city wall at a number of places and a gate were struck by lightning; and on the Palatine there was a shower of stones. That portent was atoned for by nine days of rites according to ancestral custom,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xxiii. 3 f.; xxvii. 1-4.

<sup>3</sup> Now Velletri, just beyond the Alban Hills and 8 miles from Aricia.

<sup>4</sup> Now Frosinone; on the Via Latina, while Aricia lay on the Appia, 16 m.p. from Rome.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Vol. VII. p. 90, note.

A.C. 10 hostiis maioribus expiata. Inter quae etiam aquarum  
 552 insolita magnitudo in religionem versa; nam ita  
 abundavit Tiberis ut ludi Apollinares circō inundato  
 extra portam Collinam ad aedem Erycinae Veneris  
 11 parati sint. Ceterum ludorum ipso die subita  
 serenitate orta pompa duci coepta ad portam Collinam  
 revocata deductaque<sup>1</sup> in circum est cum decessisse<sup>2</sup>  
 12 inde aquam nuntiatum esset; laetitiamque populo et  
 ludis celebritatem addidit sedes sua sollemni specta-  
 culo redditā.

XXXIX. Claudium consulem, profectum tandem  
 ab urbe, inter portus Cosanum Loretanumque atrox  
 vis tempestatis adorta in metum ingentem adduxit.  
 2 Populonium inde cum pervenisset stetissetque ibi,  
 dum reliquum tempestatis exsaeviret, Ilvam insulam  
 et ab Ilva Corsicam, a Corsica in Sardiniam traiecit.  
 Ibi superantem Insanos montes multo et<sup>3</sup> saevior et  
 infestioribus locis tempestas adorta disiecit classem.  
 3 Multae quassatae armamentisque spoliatae naves,  
 quaedam fractae. Ita vexata ac lacerata classis  
 Carales tenuit. Ubi dum subductae reficiuntur naves,  
 hiems oppressit circumactumque anni tempus, et  
 nullo prorogante imperium privatus Ti. Claudius  
 4 classem Romanam reduxit. M. Servilius, ne comitiorum

<sup>1</sup> deductaque *A·VJK Aldus, Froben*: ductaque *CBDAN*.

<sup>2</sup> decessisse *A·N·VJK Aldus, Froben, Eds.*: cessisse  
*CDA* : re- *Alschesfski, Madvig*.

<sup>3</sup> et *CBDAN·VJK Froben* 2: *om. AN Aldus*.

<sup>1</sup> On the Via Salaria outside (but near) the Porta Collina.  
 Not built until 181 B.C. Livy uses it here merely as a landmark; XL. xxxiv. 4; Strabo VI. ii. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Mentioned in XXII. xi. 6; cf. XXVII. x. 8. Portus Loretanus is unknown.

<sup>3</sup> Now Piombino; cf. XXVIII. xlvi. 15.

the rest by full-grown victims. Meanwhile the unusual height of rivers was also interpreted as a portent. For the Tiber so far overflowed that, as the Circus was flooded, preparations for the Games of Apollo were made outside the Porta Collina, near the Temple of Venus of Eryx.<sup>1</sup> On the very day of the games, however, after a sudden clearing the procession, already on its way to Porta Collina, was recalled and directed into the Circus when word was received that the water had retired from it. Restoration of its normal scene to the customary spectacle also added to the delight of the people and to the throngs who attended the games.

XXXIX. Claudio<sup>s</sup>, the consul, had at last left the city when a very violent storm, which he encountered between the harbour of Cosa<sup>2</sup> and the Portus Loretanus, caused him great alarm. Then after reaching Populonium<sup>3</sup> and lying at anchor there until the rest of the storm should abate, he crossed over to the Island of Elba and from Elba to Corsica, from Corsica to Sardinia. There as he was passing the Raving Mountains, a much more savage storm, descending upon him in a much more dangerous situation, scattered the fleet. Many of the ships were leaking and had lost their rigging, some were wrecked. In this storm-tossed, damaged condition the fleet reached Carales.<sup>4</sup> There, while the beached ships were undergoing repairs, winter overtook him, and as the turn of the year came while no one sought to prolong his command, it was as a private citizen that Tiberius Claudio<sup>s</sup> brought the fleet back to Rome. Marcus Servilius, to avoid being recalled to

<sup>1</sup> Cagliari; several times in XXIII. xl. f.; cf. Vol. VII. p. 226, note.

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causa ad urbem revocaretur, dictatore dicto C. Servilio Geminus, in provinciam est profectus. Dictator magistrum equitum P. Aelium Paetum dixit.

5 Saepe comitia indicta perfici tempestates prohibuerunt; itaque cum pridie idus Martias veteres magistratus abissent,<sup>1</sup> novi suffecti non essent, res publica sine curulibus magistratibus erat.

6 T. Manlius Torquatus pontifex eo anno mortuus; in locum eius suffectus C.<sup>2</sup> Sulpicius Galba. Ab L. Licinio Lucullo et Q. Fulvio aedilibus curulibus ludi

7 Romani ter toti<sup>3</sup> instaurati. Pecuniam ex aerario scribae viatoresque aedilicij clam egressisse per indicem<sup>4</sup> damnati sunt, non sine infamia Luculli

8 aedilis. P. Aelius Tubero et L. Laetorius aediles plebis vitio creati magistratu se abdicaverunt, cum ludos ludorumque causa epulum Iovi fecissent et signa tria<sup>5</sup> ex multaticio argento facta in Capitolio posuissent. Cerialia ludos dictator et magister equitum ex senatus consulto fecerunt.

XL. Legati ex Africa Romani simul Carthaginensesque cum venissent Romam, senatus ad aedem

2 Bellonae habitus est. Ubi<sup>6</sup> cum L. Veturius Philo pugnatum cum Hannibale esse suprema Carthaginien-

<sup>1</sup> abissent *CBDANJK Allus*, *Froben*: -essent *N<sup>2</sup>V*.

<sup>2</sup> C. *CA<sup>4</sup>JK Froben* 2: Cn. *N<sup>2</sup>V*: om. *BDAN Allus*.

<sup>3</sup> ter toti *CBDAN Allus*: tertio *A<sup>4</sup>N<sup>2</sup>VJK Froben* 2.

<sup>4</sup> indicem, after this *z Allus*, *Froben*, *Eds. add comperti*; om. by *CBDANVJK Alscheski, Conway*.

<sup>5</sup> tria *A<sup>6</sup> Allus*, *Froben*: aerea *C*: (*signa*)ria *BDAN*: militaria *A<sup>4</sup>JK*.

<sup>6</sup> Ubi *CBDAN Allus*, *Froben*: ibi *VJK*.

<sup>1</sup> Consul in 203 B.C.; xix. 6 ff.; XXIX. xxxviii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> The stern defender of every ancient custom; cf. especially XXII. lx ff., after Cannae, 19 years after his first consulship; XXIII. xxii. 7; above, ii. 8.

## BOOK XXX. XXXIX. 4-XL. 2

the city to hold the elections, named Gaius Servilius <sup>B.C. 202</sup> Geminus <sup>1</sup> dictator and went to his province. The dictator named Publius Aelius Paetus master of the horse. Repeatedly a date for the elections was announced, but storms prevented them from taking place. Consequently, since the old magistrates had left office on the eve of the Ides of March and new men had not been elected in their places, the state had no curule magistrates.

Titus Manlius Torquatus,<sup>2</sup> the pontiff, died that year and Gaius Sulpicius Galba was named in his place. The Roman Games were repeated three times throughout by Lucius Licinius Lucullus and Quintus Fulvius, the curule aediles. For having secretly abstracted money from the Treasury, clerks and messengers of the aediles were condemned on evidence of an informer, not without disgrace for Lucullus as aedile. Publius Aelius Tubero and Lucius Laetorius, owing to a defect in their election as plebeian aediles, abdicated their office after they had conducted the games and in connexion with them a banquet for Jupiter, and had placed on the Capitol three statues of which the cost was met by money paid in fines. The festival of Ceres was under the direction of the dictator and master of the horse by decree of the senate.

XL. Upon the arrival at Rome of the envoys from Africa, the Roman and the Carthaginian at the same time, the senate sat in the Temple of Bellona.<sup>3</sup> There Lucius Veturius Philo <sup>4</sup> to the great joy of the senators set forth how they had fought with Hannibal in a battle that was for the Carthaginians their last,

<sup>3</sup> Cf. xxi. 12 and note.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. xxxviii. 4.

## LIVY

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sibus pugna finemque tandem lugubri bello inpositum  
 3 ingenti laetitia patrum exposuisset, adiecit Verminam  
 etiam Syphacis filium, quae parva bene gestae rei  
 accessio erat, devictum. In contionem inde <sup>1</sup> prodire  
 4 iussus gaudiumque id populo inpertire. Tum pate-  
 facta <sup>2</sup> gratulationi <sup>3</sup> omnia in urbe templa suppli-  
 cationesque in triduum decretae. Legatis Cartha-  
 giniensium et Philippi regis—nam hi <sup>4</sup> quoque vene-  
 rant—petentibus ut senatus sibi daretur responsum  
 iussu patrum ab dictatore est consules novos iis  
 senatum daturos esse.

5 Comitia inde habita. Creati consules Cn. Cornelius  
 Lentulus, P. Aelius Paetus; praetores M. Iunius  
 Pennus, cui sors urbana evenit, M. Valerius Falto  
 Bruttios, M. Fabius Buteo Sardiniam, P. Aelius  
 6 Tubero Siciliam est sortitus. De provinciis consulum  
 nihil ante placebat agi quam legati Philippi regis et  
 Carthaginiensium auditи essent; belli finem alterius,  
 alterius principium prospiciebant animis.

7 Cn. Lentulus consul cupiditate flagrabat provinciae  
 Africæ, seu bellum foret, facilem <sup>5</sup> victoriam,<sup>6</sup>  
 seu iam finiretur, finiti tanti belli se <sup>7</sup> consule gloriam  
 8 petens. Negare itaque prius quicquam agi passurum  
 quam sibi provincia <sup>8</sup> Africa decreta esset, concedente

<sup>1</sup> inde *A·N·VJK Allus*, *Froben*: *om. CBDAN*.

<sup>2</sup> patefacta *C·B·A·N·VJK* *Froben* <sup>2</sup>: paterfacta *CBD*:  
*patuere facta AN Aldus* (*facienda Gronovius*).

<sup>3</sup> gratulationi *Gronovius*: -ne *CBDANVJK*.

<sup>4</sup> hi *BANV*: hii *CDA·J*: ii *K Allus*, *Froben*.

<sup>5</sup> facilem *CBDANVJK*: facile *AN*.

<sup>6</sup> victoriam *N·VJK* *Froben* <sup>2</sup>: victoriam fore *CBDAN*  
*Allus*.

<sup>7</sup> se *CBDANVJK Allus*, *Froben*, *Alschefski*, *Conway*: a  
 se *J. Perizonius*, *Eds.*

<sup>8</sup> provincia *A·N·VJK*: -iam *C*: *om. BDAN Aldus*,  
*Froben*.

and that at length an end had been made of a war <sup>B.C. 202</sup> of grievous losses. He then added that Vermina also, the son of Syphax, had been defeated—a small supplement to a victorious campaign. Upon that he was bidden to go out into the assembly and share the joyful news with the people. Then all the temples in the city were opened for the offering of thanks, and three days of thanksgiving were ordered. When the Carthaginian envoys and those of King Philip—for these also had arrived—requested that a hearing in the senate be granted them, by order of the senate the dictator replied that the new consuls would grant them a hearing in the senate.<sup>1</sup>

Thereupon the elections were held. As consuls Gnaeus Cornelius Lentulus and Publius Aelius Paetus were elected, as praetors Marcus Iunius Pennus, to whom fell the city praetorship, Marcus Valerius Falto, to whom the land of the Bruttii, Marcus Fabius Buteo, to whom Sardinia, Publius Aelius Tubero, to whom Sicily was allotted. As for the consuls' provinces, the senators were not disposed to take up the matter until the envoys of King Philip and those of the Carthaginians had been heard. They foresaw the end of one war, the beginning of another.

Gnaeus Lentulus, the consul, was fired with the <sup>B.C. 201</sup> desire to have Africa as his province, aspiring to an easy victory if the war continued, or if it were already ending, to the glory of having so great a war end in his consulship. Accordingly he declared that he would allow nothing to be taken up before Africa had been assigned him by decree as his province.

<sup>1</sup> An embassy had been sent to Philip the year before; xxvi. 4. Cf. xlvi. 1 ff.

conlega, moderato viro et prudenti, qui gloriae eius certamen cum Scipione, praeterquam quod iniquum 9 esset, etiam inpar futurum cernebat. Q. Minucius Thermus et M'. Acilius Glabrio tribuni plebis rem priore anno<sup>1</sup> nequ quam temptatam ab Ti. Claudio 10 consule Cn. Cornelium temptare aiebant; ex auctoritate patrum latum ad. populum esse cuius vellent imperium in Africa esse; omnes quinque et triginta 11 tribus P. Scipioni id imperium decrevisse.<sup>2</sup> Multis contentionibus et in senatu et ad populum acta res postremo eo deducta est ut senatui permetterent. 12 Patres igitur iurati—ita enim convenerat—censuerunt uti consules provincias inter se compararent sortirenturve uter Italiam, uter classem navium quinquaginta haberet; cui classis obvenisset in Siciliam 13 navigaret; si pax cum Carthaginiensibus componi nequisset, in Africam traiceret; consul mari, Scipio eodem quo adhuc iure imperii terra rem gereret; si condiciones convenirent pacis, tribuni plebis populum rogarent utrum consulem an P. Scipionem iuberent pacem dare, et quem, si deportandus exercitus viceret 14 ex Africa esset, deportare; si pacem per P. Scipionem dari atque ab eodem exercitum deportari iussissent, 15 ne consul ex Sicilia in Africam traiceret. Alter con-

<sup>1</sup> priore anno A•N•VJKx Aldus, Froben: anno C: om. BDAN.

<sup>2</sup> decrevisse CB<sup>1</sup>?DA<sup>5</sup>: -cresse BANJK: -cretum N\*.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxvii. 2 ff.

He had the consent of his colleague, a moderate man and wise who saw that a contest with Scipio for that glory not only was unfair but also would prove unequal. Quintus Minucius Thermus and Manius Acilius Glabrio, tribunes of the plebs, declared that Gnaeus Cornelius was attempting what had been vainly attempted in the preceding year by Tiberius Claudius, the consul;<sup>1</sup> that by authority of the senators the question whom they wished to have the high command in Africa had been brought before the people; that all thirty-five tribes had awarded that command to Scipio. After many disputes, while the matter was before the senate and the people as well, the decision was ultimately left to the senate. The senators therefore under oath<sup>2</sup>—for such had been the agreement—decided that the consuls should determine their provinces by mutual agreement or by lot, which of them was to have Italy and which the fleet of fifty ships; that he to whom the fleet fell should sail to Sicily, and if peace could not be arranged with the Carthaginians, he should cross over to Africa; that the consul should conduct operations on the sea and Scipio on the land, with the same authority to command as heretofore; that if the peace terms should be agreed upon, the tribunes of the plebs should bring before the people the question whether to order the consul or Publius Scipio to grant peace, and, if the victorious army was to be brought back from Africa, who was to bring it back. If the people should order that peace be granted through Publius Scipio, and that the army should be brought back by him as well, the consul should not cross over from Sicily to Africa. The other

<sup>2</sup> An exceptional practice; XXVI. xxxiii. 14; XLII. xxi. 5.

sul, cui Italia evenisset, duas legiones a M. Sextio praetore acciperet.

XLI. P. Scipioni cum exercitibus quos haberet in provincia Africa prorogatum imperium. Praetoribus<sup>1</sup> M. Valerio Faltoni duae legiones in Bruttiis quibus<sup>2</sup> C. Livius priore anno praefuerat decretae; P. Aelius<sup>2</sup> duas legiones in Sicilia ab Cn. Tremelio acciperet; legio una M. Fabio in Sardiniam quam P. Lentulus<sup>3</sup> pro praetore habuisset decernitur. M. Servilio prioris anni consuli cum suis duabus item legionibus in<sup>4</sup> Etruria<sup>3</sup> prorogatum imperium est. Quod ad Hispanias attineret, aliquot annos iam ibi<sup>4</sup> L. Cornelium Lentulum et L. Manlium Acidinum esse; uti<sup>5</sup> consules cum tribunis agerent ut,<sup>6</sup> si iis videretur, plebem rogarent cui iuberent in Hispania imperium<sup>5</sup> esse; is ex duobus exercitibus<sup>7</sup> in unam legionem conserberet Romanos milites et in quindecim cohortes socios Latini nominis, quibus provinciam obtineret; veteres milites L. Cornelius et L. Manlius in Italiam<sup>6</sup> deportarent. Consuli quinquaginta navium classis ex duabus classibus,<sup>8</sup> Cn. Octavi quae in Africa esset,

<sup>1</sup> Praetoribus *BDANV*: -torio *C*: -tori *AJK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>2</sup> Aelius, *after this praetor (or pr)* *CBDANVJK Aldus, Froben, Eds.*: rejected by Conway as probably a gloss.

<sup>3</sup> Etruria, *with this D comes to an end.*

<sup>4</sup> annos iam ibi *CAVJK*: iam annos ibi *x Aldus, Froben*: *om. BAN.*

<sup>5</sup> uti *C*: ut *K*: ut *hi A N V(hi J*: ut *ii x Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>6</sup> ut *CBA**N*: *after videretur A N VJK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>7</sup> ex duobus exercitibus *CA N VJK Eds.*: *om. BA.*

<sup>8</sup> classibus, *here AN* *desert us, but missing text is supplied by A N.*

consul, to whom Italy should fall, was to receive two B.C. 201 legions from Marcus Sextius, the praetor.<sup>1</sup>

XLI. Publius Scipio's command in his province of Africa was continued with the armies which he already had. Of the praetors Marcus Valerius Falto was assigned in the land of the Bruttians two legions which Gaius Livius had commanded in the preceding year; Publius Aelius was to receive two legions in Sicily from Gnaeus Tremelius; Marcus Fabius was assigned for Sardinia the one legion which Publius Lentulus had held as propraetor. For Marcus Servilius, consul in the previous year, his command in Etruria was continued, likewise with his own two legions. As for the Spanish provinces, they said that for some years already Lucius Cornelius Lentulus and Lucius Manlius Acidinus had been there;<sup>2</sup> that the consuls should urge the tribunes, if it met with their approval, to bring before the people the question who by their decree should be commander in Spain. Out of the two armies the general was to enrol Roman soldiers in a single legion and Latin allies in fifteen cohorts, in order that with these he might hold the province. As for the veterans, Lucius Cornelius and Lucius Manlius were to bring them back to Italy.<sup>3</sup> The consul<sup>4</sup> was assigned a fleet of fifty ships, made up from two fleets, that of Gnaeus Octavius, which was in African waters, and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxvii. 7.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. since 206 B.C. (late in the year); XXVIII. xxxviii. 1; XXIX. xiii. 7; above, ii. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Lentulus returned to Rome in 200 B.C., Manlius in 199; XXXI. xx. 1 and XXXII. vii. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. xl. 12 ff.; here also the same absence of a name, since the allotment of provinces was still to be made; see xlivi. 1.

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et<sup>1</sup> P. Villi quae Siciliae oram tuebatur, decreta, ut  
 7 quas vellet naves deligeret. P. Scipio quadraginta<sup>2</sup>  
 naves longas quas habuisset haberet;<sup>3</sup> quibus si  
 Cn. Octavium, sicut praefuisset, praeesse vellet,  
 Octavio pro praetore in eum annum imperium  
 8 esset; si Laelium praeficeret, Octavius Romam dece-  
 deret reduceretque naves quibus consuli<sup>4</sup> usus non  
 esset. Et M. Fabio in Sardiniam decem longae naves  
 9 decretae. Et consules duas urbanas legiones scribere  
 iussi, ut quattuordecim legionibus eo anno, centum  
 navibus longis res publica administraretur.

XLII. Tum de legatis Philippi et Carthaginien-  
 2 sium actum. Piores Macedonas introduci placuit;  
 quorum varia oratio fuit, partim purgantium quae  
 questi erant missi ad regem ab Roma legati de popu-  
 latione sociorum, partim ultro accusantium quidem et  
 3 socios populi Romani, sed multo infestius M. Aure-  
 lium, quem ex tribus ad se missis legatis dilectu  
 habito substitisse et se bello lacessisse contra foedus et  
 saepe cum praefectis suis signis conlatis pugnasse,  
 4 partim<sup>5</sup> postulantum ut Macedones duxque eorum  
 Sopater, qui apud Hannibalem mercede militassent,

<sup>1</sup> et *Cx*: om. *BA•N•VJK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>2</sup> quadraginta (or numerals) *BA•N•VJK: xxx C: l Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>3</sup> haberet, here *CB:* before quas habuisset *A•N•VJK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>4</sup> consuli z *Eds.:* cons̄ *C:* eos *B:* consulibus *A•N•VJK: proconsuli Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>5</sup> partim *Froben, Eds.:* om. *CBA•N•VJK Aldus.*

that of Publius Villius, which was defending the coast B.C. 201  
 of Sicily, the consul being free to select such ships  
 as he pleased. Publius Scipio was to have the forty  
 war-ships which he had before,<sup>1</sup> and if he desired  
 that Gnaeus Octavius should command them, as he  
 had done, Octavius was to have military authority as  
 propraetor for that year. If he should name Laelius  
 commander, Octavius was to leave the province for  
 Rome and to bring back such ships as the consul  
 did not need. Ten war-ships also were assigned to  
Marcus Fabius for Sardinia. And the consuls were  
 ordered to enrol two city legions, so that in that year  
 the state was carried on with fourteen legions<sup>2</sup>  
 and a hundred war-ships.

**XLII.** Then the senate deliberated concerning  
 the embassies of Philip and the Carthaginians.  
 It was decided that the Macedonians should be  
 brought in first. Their speeches were in different  
 veins, as some of them tried to excuse acts of which  
 envoys who were sent from Rome to the king in  
 regard to the ravaging of allied territory had com-  
 plained. Others actually turned accuser, attacking  
 allies of the Roman people, to be sure, but Marcus  
Aurelius with much more violence, alleging that,  
 being one of three envoys<sup>3</sup> sent to them, he had  
 conducted a levy, had remained and made war upon  
 them in violation of the treaty, and had repeatedly  
 engaged in regular battles with their commanders.  
 Still others demanded that the Macedonians and  
 their general, Sopater, who as mercenaries had

<sup>1</sup> For Scipio's original fleet (30 ships) cf. XXVIII. xlv. 21;  
 then 40, XXIX. xxvi. 3. Fifty more from Sardinia (above,  
 xxxvi. 2 f.), now under the command of Octavius.

<sup>2</sup> Including the two in Gaul; xl. 16; xxvii. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. xxvi. 4.

tum capti<sup>1</sup> in vinclis essent, sibi restituerentur.  
 5 Adversus ea M. Furius, missus ad id ipsum ab Aurelio  
 ex Macedonia, disseruit Aurelium relictum, ne socii  
 populi Romani fessi populationibus vi atque iniuria ad  
 regem deficerent; finibus sociorum<sup>2</sup> non excessisse;  
 6 dedisse operam ne impune in agros eorum populatores  
 transeenderent. Sopatrum ex purpuratis et pro-  
 pinquis regis esse; eum cum quattuor milibus Mace-  
 donum et pecunia missum nuper in Africam esse  
 7 Hannibali et Carthaginiensibus auxilio. De his rebus  
 interrogati Macedones cum perplexe responderent,  
 nequaquam ipsi simile<sup>3</sup> responsum tulerunt: bellum  
 quaerere regem et, si perget, propediem inventurum.  
 8 Dupliciter ab eo foedus violatum, et quod sociis  
 populi Romani iniurias fecerit ac<sup>3</sup> bello armisque  
 lacesciverit, et quod hostes auxiliis et pecunia iuverit.  
 9 Et P. Scipionem recte atque ordine fecisse videri et  
 facere, quod eos qui arma contra populum Romanum  
 ferentes capti sint hostium numero in vinclis habeat,  
 10 et M. Aurelium e re publica facere, gratumque id  
 senatui esse quod socios populi Romani, quando iure  
 foederis non possit,<sup>4</sup> armis tueatur.

11 Cum hoc tam tristi responso dimissis Macedonibus,

<sup>1</sup> tum capti *CB*: capti *A·N·VJ*: captique *K Aldus, Froben*.

<sup>2</sup> nequaquam ipsi simile *Norák*, *most recent Eds.*: nequaquam ipsi mite *Conway*: neq. ipsi mite *C Alschefski* (neque): *om. B (lacuna)*: ipsi ante *A·N·VJK Aldus, Froben*: ipsi non anceps *Madvig*: ipsi apertum *Weissenborn*.

<sup>3</sup> ac *CB Eds.*: *om. A·N·VJK Aldus, Froben*.

<sup>4</sup> possit *CB<sup>1</sup>K*: posset *A·N·VJK Aldus, Froben*.

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<sup>1</sup> As being mercenaries, not really belligerents.

<sup>2</sup> No doubt still disputed, so that *ex Macedonia* just above is only an apparent conflict.

## BOOK XXX. XLII. 4-II

served with Hannibal and at the time were captives <sup>B.C. 201</sup> in chains, be restored to them.<sup>1</sup> In reply Marcus Furius, who had been sent for the very purpose from Macedonia by Aurelius, maintained that Aurelius had been left behind in order to prevent allies of the Roman people from being exhausted by raids and forced by acts of violence to go over to the king's side; that he had not gone beyond the boundaries <sup>2</sup> of the allies; that he had exerted himself that raiders should not come over into the allies' lands with impunity. He said that Sopater was one of the king's high officials and of his kin; that he had been sent recently to Africa with four thousand Macedonians <sup>3</sup> and money to bring aid to Hannibal and the Carthaginians. Inasmuch as the Macedonians, when questioned in regard to these matters, gave ambiguous answers, they in turn received an answer of a very different sort: that the king was looking for war and if he kept on would soon find it; that he had twice violated the treaty, in that he wronged allies of the Roman people and harried them with war and arms, and in that he aided the enemy by reinforcements and money; that not only had Scipio acted and was now acting in their opinion with perfect propriety in keeping in chains as enemies men who had been captured while bearing arms against the Roman people, but also that Marcus Aurelius was acting in conformity with the interest of the state, and that the senate was grateful that he was defending allies of the Roman people by arms, since he was unable to do so by the obligations of a treaty.

With so stern an answer as this the Macedonians

<sup>3</sup> Cf. xxxiii. 5.

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legati Carthaginienses vocati. Quorum aetatibus dignitatibusque conspectis—nam longe primi civitatis erant—tum pro se quisque dicere vere de pace agi. Insignis tamen inter ceteros Hasdrubal erat —Haedum populares cognomine appellabant—, pacis semper auctor adversusque factioni Barcinae. Eo tum plus illi auctoritatis fuit belli culpam in paucorum cupiditatem ab re publica transferenti. Qui cum varia oratione usus esset, nunc purgando crimina, nunc quaedam fatendo, ne impudenter certa negantibus difficilior<sup>1</sup> venia esset, nunc monendo etiam patres conscriptos ut rebus secundis modeste ac moderate uterentur—si se atque Hannonem audissent Carthaginienses et tempore uti voluisserent, datus fuisse pacis condiciones quas tunc peterent. Raro simul hominibus bonam fortunam bonamque mentem dari; populum Romanum eo invictum esse quod in secundis rebus sapere et consulere meminerit. Et hercule mirandum fuisse, si aliter faceret.<sup>2</sup> Ex insolentia quibus nova bona<sup>3</sup> fortuna sit inpotentes laetitiae insanire; populo Romano usitata ac prope iam obsoleta ex victoria gaudia esse, ac plus paene parcendo victis quam vincendo imperium auxisse. Ceterorum miserabilior oratio fuit, commemorantium<sup>4</sup> ex quantis opibus quo reccidissent Carthaginiensium res:

<sup>1</sup> difficilior *CB Froben* 2: difficilis *A•N•VJK Aldus*.<sup>2</sup> faceret *CB Aldus*: -rent *A•N•VJK Froben*.<sup>3</sup> bona *CBA<sup>6</sup>JK Eds.*: *om. A•N•V*(nova also).<sup>4</sup> commemorantium *A•N•VJK Eds.*: -ratio *CB*.<sup>1</sup> Cf. xliv. 5; Appian *Pun.* 49 *fin.*, 53, but the occasion is different.<sup>2</sup> See p. 440, n. 1.

were dismissed and the Carthaginian ambassadors summoned. When the senators observed the age and high station of each—for these were the very first of the citizens—thereupon all agreed that they were really treating for peace. Most conspicuous among them, however, was Hasdrubal surnamed Haedus<sup>1</sup> among his people, always a supporter of peace and an opponent of the Barcine party. Hence he had all the more weight then, as he shifted the blame for the war from the state to the greed of the few. His speech was in different keys, now excusing what was charged, now making some admissions, lest pardon should be harder to obtain if they shamelessly denied known facts, and now even admonishing the conscript fathers to make a moderate and restrained use of their good fortune. He said that if the Carthaginians had listened to him and to Hanno<sup>2</sup> and had been minded to take advantage of the right moment, the Romans would have given the terms of peace which they were at that time seeking; that seldom were men given good fortune and good judgment at the same time; that the Roman people was invincible for the reason that in its good fortune it remembered to be wise and to take counsel. And certainly, he said, it would have been wonderful if its practice were different. Men whose good fortune was new because of its strangeness went wild, unable to control their rejoicing; for the Roman people the joys of victory were familiar and now all but threadbare, and they had enlarged their empire almost more by sparing the vanquished than by conquest. The rest of the speakers employed more pathos as they stated from what wealth the Carthaginians' situation had fallen to what depths; that men who,

nihil iis qui modo orbem prope terrarum obtinuerint<sup>1</sup> armis superesse praeter Carthaginis moenia;  
 his inclusos non terra, non mari quicquam sui iuris cernere; urbem quoque ipsam ac penates ita habituros,<sup>2</sup> si non in ea<sup>3</sup> quoque, quo nihil ulterius sit,  
 saevire populus Romanus velit.<sup>4</sup> Cum flecti misericordia patres appareret, senatorum<sup>5</sup> unum infestum perfidiae Carthaginiensium suclamassee ferunt  
 per quos deos foedus icturi essent, cum eos per quos ante ictum esset fefellissent. "Per eosdem"<sup>6</sup> inquit Hasdrubal, "quoniam tam infesti sunt foedera vio-  
 lantibus".

XLIII. Inclinatis omnium ad pacem animis Cn. Lentulus consul, cui classis provincia erat, senatus<sup>2</sup> consulto intercessit. Tum M'. Acilius et Q. Minucius tribuni plebis ad populum tulerunt vellent iuberentne senatum decernere ut cum Carthaginiensibus pax fieret; et quem eam pacem dare, quemque ex Africa exercitum deportare iuberent. De pace 'Uti rogas'<sup>6</sup> omnes tribus iusserunt; pacem dare<sup>4</sup> P. Scipionem, eundem exercitum deportare. Ex hac rogatione senatus decrevit ut P. Scipio ex decem legatorum sententia pacem cum populo Cartha-

<sup>1</sup> obtinuerint *CB(-runt)*: -uisserent *A'N'VJK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>2</sup> habituros *CBK Aldus, Froben*: -tatuos *A'N'VJ.*

<sup>3</sup> ea, *CA<sup>6</sup>? add* moenia: *Aldus, reads ea quoque moenia.*

<sup>4</sup> velit *A'N'VJK Aldus, Froben*: vellet *CB.*

<sup>5</sup> senatorum *CBA<sup>6</sup> Aldus, Froben*: -rem *A'N'VJK.*

<sup>6</sup> rogas *C Siganus*: rogatae erant *B Froben 2*: -asset *A<sup>5</sup>*: -assent *Aldus*: rogant *C<sup>5</sup>?*: the entire sentence is om. by *A'N'VJK.*

<sup>1</sup> A relative of Lentulus the consul according to Appian *Pun.* 62.

recently held almost the whole world by their arms had nothing left but the walls of Carthage.<sup>1</sup> Shut up within these walls, they said, they saw nothing on land or sea subject to their rule. Even the city itself and their homes they would hold only in case the Roman people did not choose to vent its animosity upon those possessions also, the last possible step. When it was clear that the senators were inclining to pity, one of their number,<sup>1</sup> outraged by the perfidy of the Carthaginians, is said to have called out to them, asking who were the gods in whose name they were to make the treaty, inasmuch as they had proved false to the gods in whose name the former treaty had been made. "The same" said Hasdrubal, "since they are so hostile to treaty-breakers."

XLIII. When all were now disposed to make peace the consul Gnaeus Lentulus, to whom the fleet had been assigned,<sup>2</sup> vetoed a decree of the senate. Thereupon Manius Acilius and Quintus Minucius, tribunes of the plebs,<sup>3</sup> brought before the people the question whether it was their will and command that the senate should decree that peace be made with the Carthaginians; and whom they should command to grant that peace, and whom to bring the army back from Africa. In regard to the peace all the tribes voted affirmatively: that Publius Scipio should grant the peace, that he also should bring back the army. In accordance with this enactment the senate decreed that Publius Scipio on the advice of ten envoys should make peace with the Carthaginian

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xl. 12 f.; xli. 6. Consuls rarely exercised their right of veto. They could not veto a plebiscite.

<sup>3</sup> Supporting Scipio, as in xl. 9 ff.

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5 giniensi quibus legibus ei videretur faceret. Gratias  
 deinde patribus egere Carthaginienses et petierunt  
 ut sibi in urbem introire et colloqui cum civibus suis  
 6 liceret qui capti in publica custodia essent; esse in iis  
 partim propinquos amicosque suos, nobiles homines,  
 partim ad quos mandata a propinquis haberent.  
 7 Quibus conventis cum rursus peterent ut sibi quos  
 vellent ex iis redimendi potestas fieret, iussi nomina  
 8 edere; et cum ducenta<sup>1</sup> ferme ederent, senatus  
 consultum factum est ut legati Romani ducentos ex  
 captivis, quos Carthaginienses vellent, ad P. Corne-  
 lium<sup>2</sup> in Africam deportarent, nuntiarentque ei  
 ut, si pax convenisset, sine pretio eos Cartha-  
 9 giniensibus redderet. Fetiales cum in Africam ad foe-  
 dus feriendum ire iuberentur, ipsis postulantibus  
 senatus consultum in haec verba factum est, ut pri-  
 vos<sup>3</sup> lapides silices privasque<sup>4</sup> verbenas secum  
 ferrent, ut, ubi<sup>5</sup> praetor Romanus iis imperaret ut  
 foedus ferirent, illi praetorem sagmina poscerent.  
 Herbae id genus ex arce sumptum fetialibus dari  
 solet.

10 Ita dimissi ab Roma Carthaginienses cum in  
 Africam venissent ad Scipionem, quibus ante dictum

<sup>1</sup> ducenta Hertz: -tos JK Aldus: in numerals CBA•N•V  
 Froben 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cornelium, to this A'JK Aldus, Froben add Scipionem.

<sup>3</sup> privos A'J Eds.: primos A'N•VJK (alt.): prius C'•B.

<sup>4</sup> privasque x Aldus, Froben: -masque CBA•N•JK:  
 -mas V.

<sup>5</sup> ut, ubi Madrig: et uti C: et, ubi Riemann: uti A'N•BV  
 Aldus, Froben: ubi JK apparently.

people upon such terms as he saw fit. The Carthaginians thereupon thanked the senators and begged permission to enter the city and to converse with fellow-citizens who as captives were in prison, saying that among them some were their own relatives and friends, men of rank, and others men for whom they had messages from their relatives. When this was arranged and they made a further request that they might have the opportunity of ransoming such of them as they desired, they were bidden to furnish the names. And when they furnished some two hundred names a decree of the senate was passed that the Roman envoys should carry to Publius<sup>I</sup> Cornelius in Africa two hundred selected by the Carthaginians from the number of the captives, and should report to him that, if the peace should be agreed to, he was to deliver the captives to the Carthaginians without ransom. When orders were being given to the fetial priests<sup>1</sup> to go to Africa in order to make the treaty, at their own request a decree of the senate was passed in these terms: that they should each take one flint knife and one tuft of foliage with them, in order that when the Roman general<sup>2</sup> ordered them to make the treaty they should demand of the general the sacred tufts. It is customary to gather foliage of this kind from the Citadel and give it to the fetials.

Under these circumstances the Carthaginians were sent away from Rome, and having presented themselves to Scipio in Africa, they made peace upon the

<sup>1</sup> For the fetials and their ceremonial see I. xxiv. 4 ff.; xxxii. 5 ff.; Servius on *Aen.* IX. 52; X. 14; Varro *L.L.* V. 86; Festus 424 ff. L.; Polybius III. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Conservative religious usage retained this older meaning of *praetor*.

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A.U.C. 11 est legibus pacem fecerunt. Naves longas, elephantes, perfugas, fugitivos, captivorum quattuor milia tradiderunt, inter quos Q. Terentius Culleo senator  
 553 12 fuit. Naves proiectas in altum incendi iussit. Quingentas fuisse omnis generis quae remis agerentur quidam tradunt; quarum conspectum repente incendium tam lugubre fuisse Poenis quam si <sup>1</sup> ipsa  
 13 Carthago arderet. De perfugis gravius quam de fugitivis <sup>2</sup> consultum; nominis Latini qui erant securi percussi, Romani in crucem sublati.

XLIV. Annis ante quadraginta pax cum Carthaginiensibus postremo facta erat, Q. Lutatio, A. Manlio consulibus. Bellum initum annis post tribus et vinti, P. Cornelio, Ti. Sempronio consulibus, finitum est septimo decimo anno, Cn. Cornelio, P. Aelio 3 consulibus.<sup>3</sup> Saepe postea ferunt Scipionem dixisse Ti. Claudi primum cupiditatem, deinde Cn. Cornelii fuisse in mora, quo minus id bellum exitio Carthaginis finiret.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> si *C<sup>1</sup>?C<sup>5</sup>B<sup>4</sup>N<sup>8</sup>VJK* Froben 2: si tum *Cx Aldus*.

<sup>2</sup> quam de fugitivis *CBA<sup>4</sup>N<sup>8</sup>VJK* Aldus, Froben, Eds.: corrupt according to Koehler, Conway, comparing Val. Max. II. vii. 12, who imitated Livy, perhaps from a text already corrupted (since captured slaves could hardly fail to be mentioned here): follows a lacuna, Weissenborn: tamquam de fugitivis coni. Johnson.

<sup>3</sup> consulibus, preceded by a cognomen Paeto (peto) *BA<sup>4</sup>N<sup>8</sup>JV* Froben 2, Eds.: om. by CK Aldus, Conway.

<sup>4</sup> finiret *CA<sup>8</sup>N<sup>8</sup>VJ* Froben 2, Eds.: -retur *BN<sup>8</sup>K* Aldus.

<sup>1</sup> With all the traditional formalities, these (and nothing else) being in the hands of the fetials.

<sup>2</sup> He had been captured in Africa. Cf. xlv. 5. In 195 B.C. he returned to Carthage on an embassy; XXXIII. xlvi. 7; again in 171 B.C.; XLII. xxxv. 7.

terms above mentioned.<sup>1</sup> They surrendered war- b.c. 201. ships, elephants, deserters, runaway slaves, and four thousand captives, among whom was Quintus Terentius Culleo,<sup>2</sup> a senator. The ships Scipio ordered to be put to sea and to be burned. Some historians<sup>3</sup> relate that there were five hundred of them—every type of vessel propelled by oars;<sup>4</sup> and that when the Carthaginians suddenly caught sight of the fire it was as doleful for them as if Carthage itself were in flames. The deserters were more severely treated than the runaway slaves, Latin citizens being beheaded, Romans crucified.

XLIV. Forty years before, in the consulship of Quintus Lutatius<sup>5</sup> and Aulus Manlius, peace had last been made with the Carthaginians. The war which began twenty-three years later, in the consulship of Publius Cornelius and Tiberius Sempronius, was brought to an end in the seventeenth year, the consulship of Gnaeus Cornelius and Publius Aelius. Later Scipio often stated, so they say, that first Tiberius Claudius' thirst for fame,<sup>6</sup> and then that of Gnaeus Cornelius had hindered him from ending that war with the destruction of Carthage.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Chiefly Valerius, as we may infer from the large figures. Livy expressly condemns his exaggerations, e.g. at XXVI. xlix. 3. Cf. above, xix. 11 and XXXIII. x. 8.

<sup>2</sup> The annalists wished to include not only *rostratae* or *longae* of our extant sources, but also smaller vessels such as *pentekontors* (cargo vessels with 50 oars) and lesser craft.

<sup>3</sup> Not to be confused with his brother Gaius, victor off the Aegates Islands shortly before. See p. 446 and n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. xxvii. 4 f.; and for Cornelius Lentulus xl. 7 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. xxxvi. 10. According to Appian *Pun.* 65 Cato in his speech for the Rhodians declared that Scipio wished Carthage to remain as a stimulus to Roman discipline. So Nasica in St. Augustine *C.D.* I. 30.

4 Carthagini<sup>1</sup> cum prima conlatio pecuniae diutino bello exhaustis difficilis videretur, maestitiaque et fletus in curia esset, ridentem Hannibalem ferunt conspectum. Cuius cum Hasdrubal Haedus risum increparerat in publico fletu, cum ipse lacrimarum causa esset, "Si, quem ad modum oris habitus cernitur oculis," inquit, "sic et animus intus cerni posset,<sup>2</sup> facile vobis appareret non laeti, sed prope amentis malis cordis hunc quem increpatis risum esse; qui tamen nequaquam adeo est intempestivus quam vestrae istae absurdae atque abhorrentes lacrimae sunt.

7 Tunc flesse decuit cum adempta sunt nobis arma, incensae naves, interdictum externis bellis; illo enim volnere concidimus. Nec est cur<sup>3</sup> vos otio<sup>4</sup>

8 vestro consultum ab Romanis credatis. Nulla magna civitas diu<sup>5</sup> quiescere potest; si foris hostem non habet, domi invenit, ut praevalida corpora ab externis causis tuta videntur, sed<sup>6</sup> suis ipsa viribus

9 onerantur. Tantum nimirum ex publicis malis sentimus quantum ad privatas res pertinet, nec in iis quicquam acerius quam pecuniae damnum stimulat.

10 Itaque cum spolia victae Carthagini detrahebantur, cum inermem iam ac nudam destitui inter tot armatas

11 gentes Africae cerneretis,<sup>7</sup> nemo ingemuit; nunc,

<sup>1</sup> Carthagini *BAN* Eds.: -ne *C*: -niensibus *A<sup>6</sup>VJK* (-nens-) *Allus, Froben.*

<sup>2</sup> posset *CBV Froben* 2: potuisset *A<sup>4</sup>N<sup>4</sup>JK Aldus.*

<sup>3</sup> Nec est cur *Madvig, recent* Eds.: nec est causa cur *Weissenborn*: necesse est ne *CB*: necesse in *B<sup>1</sup>?A<sup>4</sup>N<sup>4</sup>VJK*: nec esse in *Allus, Froben.*

<sup>4</sup> otio *C* Eds.: odio *BAN<sup>4</sup>VJK Allus, Froben.*

<sup>5</sup> diu *Cx Allus, Froben*: om. *BAN<sup>4</sup>VJK*.

<sup>6</sup> sed *BAN<sup>4</sup>VJK* Eds.: *Johnson would delete: Conway placed Sed at beginning of next sentence, following C, which however om. suis . . . onerantur.*

At Carthage when raising money for the first b.c. 201 payment seemed difficult to men whose resources were drained by the long war, and in the Senate House there was mourning and weeping, they say that Hannibal was seen laughing. When Hasdrubal Haedus<sup>1</sup> upbraided him for laughing while the people wept, he being himself the cause of their tears, he said: "If the mind within us could be seen, just as expression of face is seen by our eyes, it would readily be clear to you that this laughter which you upbraid is not that of a happy spirit but of one almost beside itself through misfortunes. Nevertheless it is by no means so untimely as are those senseless, misplaced tears of yours. The time for us to weep was when our arms were taken from us, our ships burned, foreign wars forbidden; for that wound was fatal to us. And you have no reason to believe that the Romans had regard for your domestic peace. No great state can long be in peace. If it lacks an enemy abroad it finds one at home, just as powerful bodies seem protected against infection from without, but are of themselves weighed down by their very strength. Of course we feel only so much of the public misfortunes as bears upon our private concerns, and in these nothing has so painful a sting as the loss of money. Hence when the spoils were being stripped from vanquished Carthage, although you saw her placed, now unarmed and naked, in the midst of so many armed tribes of Africa, no one moaned,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xlvi. 12.

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<sup>7</sup> cerneretis *BA<sup>s</sup>N<sup>s</sup>VJK*: -netis *A<sup>s</sup>*: -natis *C*: -nebatis  
*Schenkl.*

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quia tributum ex privato conferendum est, tamquam in publico funere comploratis. Quam vereor ne propediem sentiatis levissimo in malo vos hodie lacrimasse." Haec Hannibal apud Carthaginienses.

12 Scipio contione advocata Masinissam ad regnum paternum Cirta oppido et ceteris urbibus agrisque quae ex regno Syphacis in populi Romani potestatem 13 venissent adiectis donavit. Cn. Octavium classem in Siciliam ductam Cn. Cornelio consuli tradere iussit, legatos Carthaginiensium Romam proficisci, ut quae ab se ex decem legatorum sententia acta essent, ea patrum auctoritate populique iussu confirmarentur. XLV. Pace terra marique parta, exercitu in naves in- 2 posito, in Siciliam Lilybaeum traiecit. Inde magna parte militum navibus<sup>1</sup> missa ipse per<sup>2</sup> laetam pace non minus quam victoria Italiam, effusis non urbibus modo ad habendos honores, sed agrestium etiam turba obsidente vias, Romam pervenit triumphoque omnium 3 clarissimo urbem est invectus. Argenti tulit in aerarium pondo centum viginti tria milia.<sup>3</sup> Militibus

<sup>1</sup> navibus *B*: in navibus *A•N•VJ Aldus, Froben*: in naves *K*.

<sup>2</sup> militum . . . per *om. C.*

<sup>3</sup> centum viginti tria milia (*or in numerals*) *BA•N•VJK Aldus, Froben, Madvig, Conway*: *cxxxiii milia C Luchs, H.J. and M. Müller, Luterbacher.*

<sup>1</sup> See p. 334, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> He may have landed at Puteoli. The time is probably the autumn of 201 B.C.

while now because tribute must be raised from private <sup>B.C. 201</sup> property you are mourners, as it were, at a public funeral. How much I fear you will very soon be aware that today you have wept over a very slight misfortune!" So spoke Hannibal to the Carthaginians.

Scipio summoned an assembly and assigning to him his father's kingdom, presented Masinissa with the city of Cirta<sup>1</sup> in addition and the rest of the cities and lands which, he said, had passed from the kingdom of Syphax into the power of the Roman people. He ordered Gnaeus Octavius to take the fleet to Sicily and turn it over to Gnaeus Cornelius, the consul; also the Carthaginian envoys to go to Rome, in order that all his acts on the advice of his ten *legati* might be confirmed by the authority of the senate and command of the people.

XLV. When peace had been secured by land and sea, Scipio embarked his army and crossed over to Lilybaeum in Sicily. Then after sending a large part of the army by sea, he himself, making his way through Italy,<sup>2</sup> which was exulting in peace no less than in the victory, while not cities only poured out to do him honour, but crowds of rustics also were blocking the roads, reached Rome and rode into the city in the most distinguished of all triumphs.<sup>3</sup> He brought into the treasury one hundred and twenty-three thousand pounds weight of silver. To

<sup>1</sup> No details are furnished by Polybius either; XVI. xxiii (one exception below, § 5). For picturesque descriptions see Appian *Pun.* 66; Silius Ital. XVII. 625-654, at the very end of the poem. So dramatic an arrangement had not commended itself to Livy as he wrote the final paragraph of his ten books on the Hannibalic War.

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4 ex praeda quadringenos aeris divisit. Morte subtractus spectaculo magis hominum quam triumphantis gloriae Syphax est, Tiburi haud ita multo ante mortuus, quo ab Alba traductus fuerat. Conspecta tamen mors eius fuit, quia publico funere est  
 5 elatus. Hunc regem in triumpho ductum Polybius, haudquaquam spernendus auctor, tradit. Secutus Scipionem triumphantem est pilleo capiti inposito Q. Terentius Culleo, omniq[ue] deinde vita, ut dignum  
 6 erat, libertatis auctorem coluit. Africani cognomen militaris prius favor an popularis aura celebraverit an, sicuti Felicis Sullae Magnique Pompei patrum memoria, coeptum ab adsentatione familiari sit  
 7 parum compertum habeo. Primus certe hic imperator nomine victae ab se gentis est nobilitatus; exemplo deinde huius nequaquam Victoria pares insignes imaginum titulos claraque cognomina familiarum<sup>1</sup> fecerunt.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> familiarum *C.A?* Eds.: familiae (*or -ie*) *B.A<sup>1</sup>?N<sup>1</sup>VJK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>2</sup> fecerunt *C Conway*: -cere *A<sup>1</sup>JK Aldus, Froben*: lique-  
*runt B Alschesfski, Weissenborn*: sunt *V*: ceperunt *Madvig, Emend.*, most recent Eds.: asciverunt *Leo, M. Müller*: om. *A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>*.

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<sup>1</sup> Alba Fucens; xvii. 2 and note.

<sup>2</sup> So Val. Max. V. i. 16.

<sup>3</sup> And so (from a different source) Val. Max. VI. ii. 3; Polybius *l.c.* § 6; Tacitus *Ann.* XII. 38; Silius Ital. *l.c.* 629 f. Officially the triumph was over Hannibal, the Poeni and Syphax; XXXVIII. xlvi. 10. Here for the very first time

## BOOK XXX. XLV. 3-7

his soldiers he distributed four hundred *asses* apiece [B.C. 201] out of the booty. The death of Syphax withdrew him rather from the eyes of spectators than from the glory of the triumphing general. He had died not long before at Tibur, to which he had been transferred from Alba.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless his death attracted attention because he was given a state funeral.<sup>2</sup> Polybius, an authority by no means to be despised, relates that this king was led in the triumphal procession.<sup>3</sup> Following Scipio as he triumphed was } Quintus Terentius Culleo<sup>4</sup> wearing the liberty cap; } and for all the rest of his life, as was fitting, he honoured in Scipio the giver of his freedom. As for the surname Africanus, whether his popularity among the soldiers, or fickle favour of the people first gave it currency I am unable to state, or whether it began with the flattery of his intimates, as did the surname Felix for Sulla and Magnus for Pompey in the time of our fathers. What is certain is that he was the first general to be distinguished by the name of a nation conquered by him. Later, following his example men who were by no means his equals in their victories gained outstanding inscriptions for their masks<sup>5</sup> and glorious surnames for their families.

Livy mentions Polybius. Cf. XXXIII. x. 10 (*non incertum auctiorem*), where a statement of his is preferred.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 533 and n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> In wall-cases (*armaria*) usually, each mask provided with its own *titulus*.

## LIBRI XXX PERIOCHA

SCIPIO in Africa Carthaginenses et eundem Syphacem Numidiae regem Hasdrubalemque pluribus proeliis vicit adiuvante Masinissa; bina hostium castra expugnavit, in quibus quadraginta milia hominum ferro ignique consumpta sunt. Syphacem per C. Laelium et Masinissam cepit. Masinissa Sophonibam, uxorem Syphacis, filiam Hasdrubalis, captam statim adamavit et nuptiis factis uxorem habuit. Castigatus a Scipione venenum ei misit, quo illa hausto decessit. Effectumque multis Scipionis victoriis ut Carthaginenses in desperationem acti in auxilium publicae salutis Hannibalem revocarent. Isque anno sexto decimo Italia decedens in Africam traiecit temptavitque per conloquium pacem cum Scipione conponere, et cum de conditionibus pacis non convenisset, acie victus est. Pax Carthaginiensibus potentibus data est. Hannibal Cisgonem pacem dissuadentem manu sua detraxit: excusata deinde temeritate facti ipse pacem suasit. Masinissae regnum restitutum est. Reversus in urbem Scipio amplissimum nobilissimumque egit triumphum, quem Q. Terentius Culleo senator pilleatus secutus est. Scipio Africanus incertum militari prius favore an populari aura ita cognominatus sit; primus certe hic imperator victae a se nomine gentis nobilitatus est. Mago bello quo in agro Insubrium cum Romanis confluxerat volneratus, dum in Africam per legatos revocatus revertitur, ex volnere mortuus est.

## SUMMARY OF BOOK XXX

Scipio in Africa defeated the Carthaginians and the same Syphax, King of Numidia, and Hasdrubal in a number of battles with the aid of Masinissa. He took by assault two camps of the enemy, in which forty thousand men were wiped out by sword and fire. He captured Syphax by the help of Gaius Laelius and Masinissa. Masinissa, having captured Sophoniba, wife of Syphax and daughter of Hasdrubal, at once fell in love and after marrying her had her to wife. When rebuked by Scipio he sent her poison, and upon drinking it she died. The consequence of Scipio's many victories was that the Carthaginians, driven to despair, recalled Hannibal to the defence of the state. And he, withdrawing from Italy in the sixteenth year, crossed over to Africa and endeavoured by a conference to make peace with Scipio; and as there was no agreement on the peace terms, he was vanquished in battle. The Carthaginians sued for peace and it was granted them. When Gisgo argued against a peace, Hannibal with his own hand dragged him down. Then after apologizing for the rashness of his act, he himself argued in favour of peace. Masinissa's kingdom was restored to him. Returning to the city Scipio celebrated a most splendid and distinguished triumph, followed by Quintus Terentius Culleo, a senator, wearing a liberty cap. Whether Scipio Africanus received that cognomen first from his popularity with the soldiers or from fickle favour of the people is not known. Certainly he was the first commander-in-chief to be distinguished by the name of a nation he had conquered. Mago was wounded in a war in which he had come in conflict with Romans in the land of the Insubrians, and while returning to Africa, having been recalled by envoys, he died of his wound.



## APPENDIX

### THE ZAMA PROBLEM

THE so-called battle of Zama is unique in that efforts to localize its field have ranged between two points more than eighty miles apart.<sup>1</sup> Today historical and military critics in all their disagreements are convinced that Hannibal was defeated neither in the vicinity of Zama to the east nor in that of Naraggara to the west.

For the former we have only the authority of Cornelius Nepos, who in his brief sketch of Hannibal says the battle was fought at Zama; *Hann.* 6. Annalists whom the biographer presumably consulted must have rested content to mention the first place named in their sources. Polybius, for example, names Zama merely as a town near to which Hannibal placed his camp after removing from the coast at Hadrumetum (Sousse); XV. v. 3. He adds that it was five day's journeys from Carthage, an item which Livy repeats without attaching to it any special importance; XXX. xxix. 2. Both have other names for a town which to their minds was near the field of the final battle; v. 14 and xxix. 9 respectively (p. 472, n. 1). Appian also mentions Zama only in connection with a cavalry engagement several days beforehand;

<sup>1</sup> Now that the eastern Zama (No. 2 below) is no longer considered, the span of controversy is reduced to about fifty miles.

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Pun. 36. None of these three intimates that Hannibal's camp remained near Zama.

Merely as marking a first stage on Hannibal's westward march to meet Scipio Zama would claim our attention, even if tradition had not clung to that name for the field of his defeat.

We have first to weigh the claims of two different Zamas some thirty miles apart and separated by mountain ridges:

(1) The city later called Zama Regia, on a site now occupied by Seba Biar, west of the long dorsal range running north-east and south-west; see p. 469, n. 4, and authorities there cited. It was a royal residence for this part of Numidia in the time of Jugurtha. Juba I. provided his capital, on the edge of a plain and devoid of natural defences, with stout walls which made it necessary for Titus Sextius to starve Zama out after a long siege in 41 b.c. Much building material must have been available for the subsequent restoration years afterward on a different site. The extant remains of Zama Regia are therefore wholly Numidian, for under Roman rule no attempt seems ever to have been made to rebuild on the same spot. The distance from Carthage was less than 100 m. p. Cf. Kromayer-Veith, *Antike Schlachtfelder* III. 626; IV. 630; Mommsen, *Roman History* I. and *Historische Schriften* I. 36 ff.; Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* III. 255 ff.; De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani* III. ii. 549 ff.; 589 ff.; Scullard, *Scipio Africanus* 310 ff.; Pais, *Guerre puniche*<sup>2</sup> II. 523 f., 670 ff.; Gianelli, *Roma nell' Età delle Guerre puniche* 323 f.; Cagnat et Merlin, *Atlas archéologique de la Tunisie*, 2nd series, No. XXX (upper left for Seba Biar); Poinssot in *Rev. Africaine* 1928, 163 ff. (map)

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It is probable that long after the abandonment of the desolate site of this Zama a new city on a much smaller scale was built in a far stronger situation nine miles to the north-east of what is now Seba Biar. At that distance the modern village of Jama<sup>1</sup> preserves essentially the ancient name, and there an inscription was discovered which has since ceased to be quite legible, if it is indeed still extant. This (*C.I.L.* VIII. 16442; Dessau 7689) identifies the place as Zama M(aior), probably Ptolemy's Ζάμα μείζων (IV. 3). The site is commanding and the remains are of the time of the Empire, none earlier. Obviously it did not exist in the age of Hannibal. The new city, which was much smaller, assumed the style of Zama from its predecessor, but was also called Zama Maior presumably to distinguish it from the following city.

(2) Another Zama, later known as *Colonia Zamensis*, identified with Sidi Abd-el-Djedidi.<sup>2</sup> Upon this site has been found an inscription not earlier than the time of Antoninus Pius and in honour of a magistrate of the colony who was also a flamen of the Deified Hadrian. This is *C.I.L.* VIII. 12018; *Eph. Epigr.* V. p. 281, with map: Dessau 4454; a photograph in *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. Inscr.* 1883, p. 262.

The site is about 33 miles to the east of Seba Biar (Zama Regia), in a region where there are no plains. It is some 35 miles north-west of Kairouan and only about 55 miles from the coast at Sousse (Hadrumetum). Some have held this eastern Zama to be the city in question, e.g. J. Schmidt in *Rhein. Museum*

<sup>1</sup> Cagnat, *op. cit.* No. XXV.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* No. XXXI (upper left corner).

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XLIV. 397 ff. and in *C.I.L.* VIII. pp. 210, 1240; and Meltzer-Kahrstedt, *Geschichte der Karthager* III. 562. But that view no longer finds a supporter. No one now believes that this eastern Zama was meant by any of our sources; cf. Veith III. 628 ff.; Mommsen, *Hist. Schr.* I. 46 ff. Proof that it was called Zama as early as the Second Punic War has not been furnished.

Historians who located the battle near Zama could not possibly have meant this town if they paid the least attention to the dorsal range which played so important a part in the strategy of the Tunisian campaign of 1943. The place lay on the eastern side of the first range and in a strong situation where cavalry would be useless. It is unthinkable that Scipio should risk his connections with Utica, his distant base, by crossing over mountain ridges. On the other hand if the battle took place somewhere between Zama Regia and Naraggara, or anywhere west of the same chain, even a Nepos would not have localized the scene by naming a town on the eastern slopes.

Which of two Zamas existing under the Empire became a colony in the time of Hadrian cannot be determined from the oft-quoted inscription found at Rome, in which stands the official name *Colonia Aelia Hadriana Augusta Zama Regia*; *C.I.L.* VI. 1686; Dessau 6111 c. In Pliny's time there was an *oppidum Zamense*, last in his alphabetical list of thirty such *oppida libera* (*N.H.* V. 30), but whether he meant what is now Jama, or what today is Sidi Abd-el-Djedidi, we have no means of deciding. Probably Jama was intended, since a third century inscription has the *coloni* of Zama Regia under the

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same *curator* as those of Mactaris (Maktar),<sup>1</sup> which is only 20 miles from Jama. This justifies the inference that the latter was meant in the words *curatori reip. col. Mactaritanorum Zamensium regiorum*. The inscription, dating from the first half of the third century A.D., was found a few miles south of Maktar, the stone having evidently been carried from the ruins of that town; *C.I.L.* VIII. 23601; P. Gauckler in *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. Inscr.* 1898, pp. 275 ff. It is not to be connected with the old Numidian Zama of Jugurtha and Juba (No. 1, above), for that site shows no trace of occupation under the Empire. Possibly there were special reasons why Hadrian's *coloni* should be established in both of the Zamas then in existence.

As for the final battle-field, we have the conflicting statements of our two leading authorities. Livy names Naraggara, over fifty miles west of Zama Regia, as the nearest town; XXX. xxix. 9. Sidi Youssef, on the western boundary of Tunisia, has been generally accepted as its modern successor. Unimportant in Livy's time, Naraggara became a city of some consequence on one of the roads connecting Hippo Regius (Bône) with Carthage; *Itin. Anton.* 44; cf. Ptolemy IV. 3. The distance from Hadrumetum (Sousse), to which Hannibal fled post haste, would be ca. 170 to 180 Roman miles according to the route taken.<sup>2</sup> Modern authorities, however, who find

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cagnat, *op. cit.* No. XXX.

<sup>2</sup> Veith thought the southerly route via modern Maktar and Kairouan was chosen (III. 600 ff., 645). Appian *Pun.* 47 fin. and Nepos *Hannibal* 6 agree that escape to Hadrumetum was accomplished within 48 hours, but in giving the distance they wildly exaggerate, the former making it 3,000 stades (375 Roman miles). Even Nepos' 300 miles would carry us

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no plain suitable for this battle near that site, accept Naraggara as merely a rough indication of the general region, and place the battlefield as much as 20–25 miles farther to the east or south-east; cf. De Sanctis *l.c.* 588 ff.

Pareti in *Atti Accad. di Torino* XLVI. 302 ff. (1911, with map) put the battle five miles south of Sicca Veneria (Le Kef) and east of the river Muthul (modern Mellègue), between its tributary, the Remel, and a branch of the latter, the Tine.<sup>1</sup> But Sicca was an important centre already in 241 b.c. (Polybius I. lxvi f.), and if the victory of Scipio was won on a field so near a well-known place the battle would surely have been named from that town, and not from Naraggara, insignificant as it then was and distant some 30 miles by road from Sicca; *Itin. Anton.* 41.

Kromayer, revising his collaborator's opinion, follows Pareti in general, but avoiding so close a proximity to Sicca Veneria, puts the field about ten miles south of that town, south also of the Remel, in a plain known as Draa-el-Meinan. That would be some 20 miles south-east of Naraggara, about 30 miles west of Zama Regia (Seba Biar). See *Antike Schlachtfelder* IV. 626 ff.; cf. III. 637 and map 11a; also the *Schlachtenatlas, Röm. Abt.* No. 8, 6 and text cols. 38 ff.; Liddell Hart, *A Greater than Napoleon* 176 (plan).

The site finally accepted by Kromayer is particularly

well to the west of Lambèse and Timgad. If the field of battle is to be placed not far from Sicca Veneria the distance covered by Hannibal in flight would be about 120 miles. Cf. p. 498, n. 1.

<sup>1</sup> See a large scale map also in *Atlas archéol.*, 1st series No. 57, *Environs du Kef*.

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commended by the presence of two elevations suitable for the camps, one having a spring and abundance of water, the other waterless, just as Polybius XV. vi. 2 and Livy XXX. xxix. 9-10 require, while the distance between them ( $5\frac{1}{2}$  km.) agrees substantially with the statements of the same passages (30 stades and 4 m.p. respectively). This possible field, chosen by a leading military expert as meeting all the requirements, has more recently been visited and found suitable by Scullard; *History of the Roman World*, Appendix 461 ff.

Turning to Polybius, Livy's prime source and ours as well, we find that his best MSS. name Margaron as the town near which Scipio encamped just before the battle; v. 14. No place so named is elsewhere mentioned. Hence a presumption that the name may have been corrupted by copyists. Accordingly Schweighäuser (1790) boldly substituted Ναράγαρα, "ex eodem Livio . . . pro mendoso Μάργαρον." So generally was this brilliant, but now far from convincing, emendation adopted that most recent editors and translators of Polybius give no intimation that their reading is in fact an XVIIIth century correction. A geographical proper name, however, especially in a region almost unknown to the outside world, is not necessarily corrupt because it occurs but once. Polybius' strange name otherwise unsupported may after all stem from Africanus himself, with whose adoptive grandson, the Younger Scipio, this particular writer lived on intimate terms. We may well imagine a family tradition in protest against the absurdity of naming the victory from either Zama or Naraggara, as current misnomers calling for correction in view of distance from the scene of Han-

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nibal's defeat. It is quite possible that they insistently reiterated their Margaron to any who used a different name.

Naraggara may have been mentioned in early sources merely as a temporary position from which Scipio and Masinissa advanced eastward to confront Hannibal moving westward from Zama. In that case Livy must be as culpable in fixing the actual field of battle there as was Nepos in naming Zama, and by a similar carelessness in omitting the marches which brought the combatants face to face. Masinissa may well have objected to linking the victory itself with the name of Naraggara, as implying that his Numidians and his Roman allies were hesitating to advance farther east to meet Hannibal in open country. In any case Polybius had conceivably heard from the lips of the aged king the name used by him in alluding to the battle. We know at least that the historian had actually conversed with Masinissa (cf. p. 320, n. 1).

It is certainly unsafe to assume that in his text of Polybius Livy found Naraggara or something closely similar. For Livy's handling of foreign place names, particularly in the Spanish campaigns of the Second Punic War, is most untrustworthy. The reprehensible habit of substituting for unfamiliar names in his best sources others presumably better known to his readers from the annalists has been the subject of pointed comment by recent critics, e.g. Eduard Meyer, to whom Livy's Naraggara in place of Polybius' Margaron is a senseless correction; *Kleine Schriften* II. 407 f.

An African example cited by Meyer is Obba in XXX. vii. 10 for Polybius' Abba in XIV. vi. 12, a

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town which he says was near, while Livy makes Syphax retreat after the burning of his camp to a quite different town far away in the interior, a dozen miles south of Sicca and in Carthaginian territory at that. Cf. p. 387 and n. 1; 389, n. 2.

From such arbitrary substitutions we return to the text of Polybius and find that his best MSS. give only Margaron as the name of a town near the scene of the final conflict. Until further light shall some day make a real solution possible we need not hesitate to speak of the Battle of Margaron, or to use Zama-Margaron as a concession to practical convenience.

Slight as is available evidence for the location of the battle, its date has long remained even more unsettled.<sup>1</sup> Every season from early spring to late autumn has been named by one or more of our modern authorities. A total eclipse of the sun alleged by Dio Cassius (*Zonaras* IX. xiv. 7) to have occurred on the very day of the battle seemed at first likely to solve the problem in favour of 19th October, 202 b.c., when astronomers over sixty years ago proved that there actually was an eclipse on that date, but that it was total only in Senegambia and Central Africa; that in North Africa on that day it was very partial, incapable of exciting alarm among the combatants, as described by Dio.<sup>2</sup> Calculations in fact have disclosed that in the October eclipse less than one-tenth of the sun's disc was obscured for possible observers in Numidian and Carthaginian territory; further, that the time was two hours before noon, the sun 32 degrees above the horizon.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 469, n. 3 and p. 486, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Another partial eclipse on the 25th April of the same year was visible only in Central Africa and at sunset.

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Consequently it is safe to assert positively that in the midst of the fray no one could conceivably have noticed a diminution of sunlight so immaterial. The astronomers report also that in 202 b.c. there was no total eclipse visible in North Africa. (Cf. Oppolzer in *Hermes* XX. 318 ff. (1885) and Mommsen, *Hist. Schr.* I. 45, n. 5; Ginzel, *Spezieller Kanon*, etc. 189; Bruhns in Zielinski, *Die letzten Jahre des 2ten punischen Krieges* 73 ff., 1880).

Accordingly Dio's alleged total eclipse has been reduced to pure fiction, of no value in determining a date which historians have sought to obtain approximately by weighing plausibilities in a more or less conjectural succession of events leading up to Scipio's victory. At the very earliest the battle has been placed in the spring of 202 b.c. As it is known, however, that the peace was not made until the spring of 201, this theory puts an entire year between the decisive battle and the granting of peace, an improbable interval for that age.

Objection to any part of the summer is raised on account of the heat both for elephants in action and for troops brought over from a less torrid climate. Yet not a few historians have ventured to decide upon that season. Autumn is commended to others especially by the brief interval between Zama-Margaron and the lesser victory over Vermina the son of Syphax.

For this, the last engagement in a war which had lasted sixteen years, Livy saw fit to give an exact date, viz. 17th December, the first day of the Saturnalia (XXX. xxxvi. 8). So rarely, however, does he give a precise date for an event relatively insignificant that *Saturnalibus primis* has been rejected by many

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editors from Aldus down to Madvig and Riemann, as by Mommsen and other historians. On the other hand the MSS. reading is defended by Conway and Johnson. Rejection of an exact date for that event, of small importance in itself yet marking the end of all resistance, was certainly hasty, since similar instances in Livy are cited.

Thus in 174 b.c. Roman emissaries return from Carthage on the Nones of June, with nothing to account for such precision, unless the historian found it so in his source, presumably an annalist (XLI. xxii. 1). In 168 b.c., more than five months before the victory at Pydna, Roman ambassadors returned from Macedonia on the last day of the festival of Quinquatrus (23rd March)—again a minor event exactly dated (XLIV. xx. 1). Similarly, 21 days after Pydna, and nine days after a courier had brought the good news, the arrival of the legati of Paulus is mentioned with the day (25th September) and even the hour of their entry into the city (XLV. ii. 3). There remains therefore no sufficient reason to dispute a precise date for Vermina's defeat.

Accepting the 17th December as its date, we first apply a necessary correction due to the disordered Roman calendar, a month at least in advance of the actual season at the time. Thus we are brought back to mid-November, while the date of the demonstrably partial eclipse has been fixed by modern astronomers as 19th October (corrected calendar). Not that this can at once be set down as the actual day of the battle. For in dealing with a wild exaggeration, which made a terrifying total eclipse out of one so partial that in the excitement of battle no one could possibly have noticed anything

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ominous, identification with the precise date of Hannibal's disaster would be palpably unsound procedure. It is quite possible, however, that about the date of the battle someone at a safe distance from the field may have noted the partial eclipse, perhaps employing the method described by Seneca (*Nat. Quaest.* I. xii. 1). In such actual observation, possibly some days before or after the fatal day, we may find a plausible origin for a popular report which by repetition spread the myth of totality, arbitrarily fixed the date, and added a consequent panic in the Carthaginian ranks.

Adopted by local narrators of the downfall of Carthage as a dressing for her wounded pride, the story passed, apparently, into the work of a Roman annalist. If Valerius of Antium gave an exact date for Zama-Margaron, as was still customary even for minor events, Dio or his abridger Zonaras neglected to include its mention. Had not Polybius and Livy done the same? The latter not unreasonably contented himself with a date that marked the cessation of all hostilities, not long after the historic victory, which recent opinion now inclines to place in October. (Cf., for example, De Sanctis 598 ff.; Cavaignac. *Klio* XIV. 41; Piganiol, *Hist. de Rome* 102).

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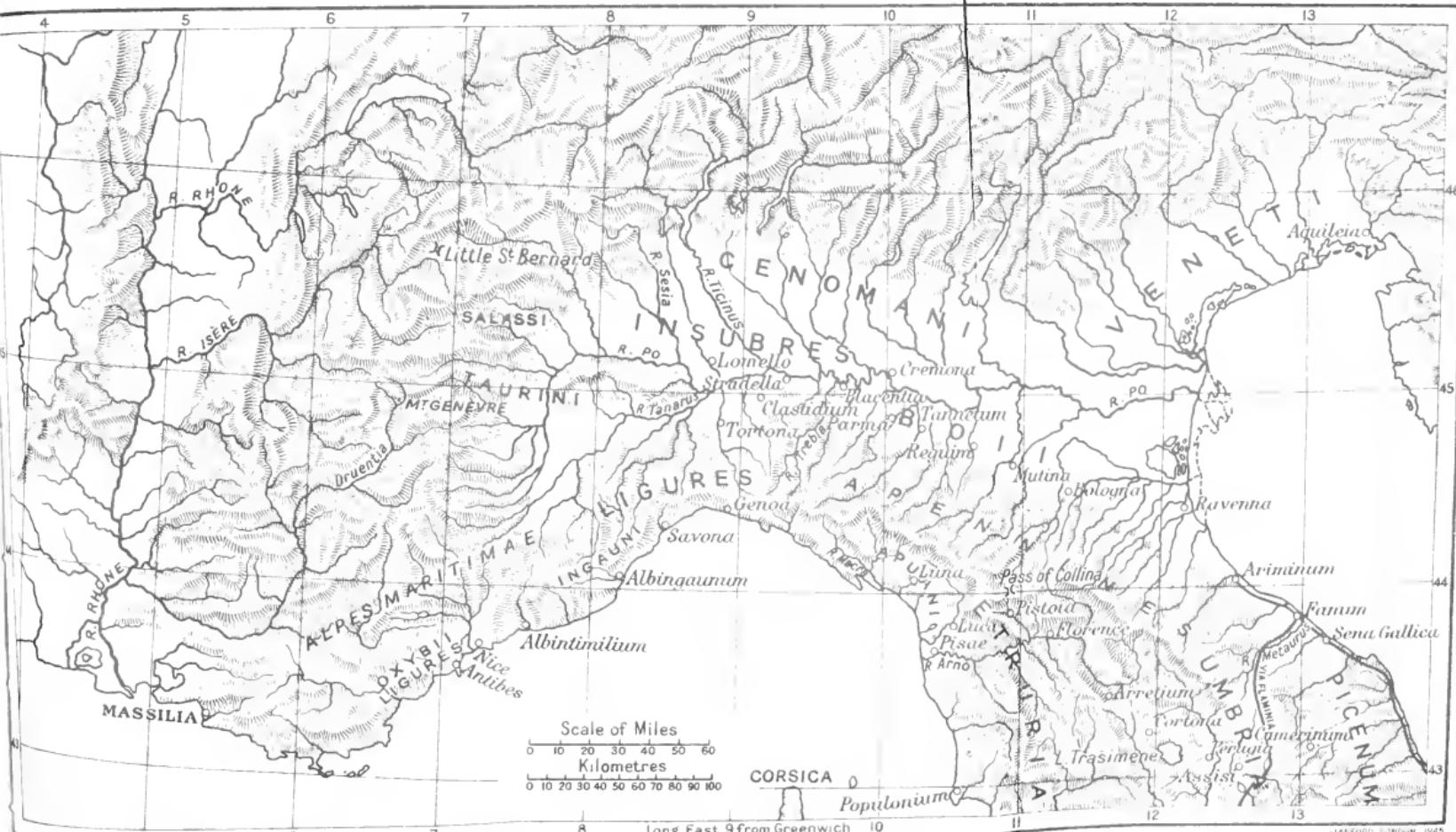
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# NORTH ITALY





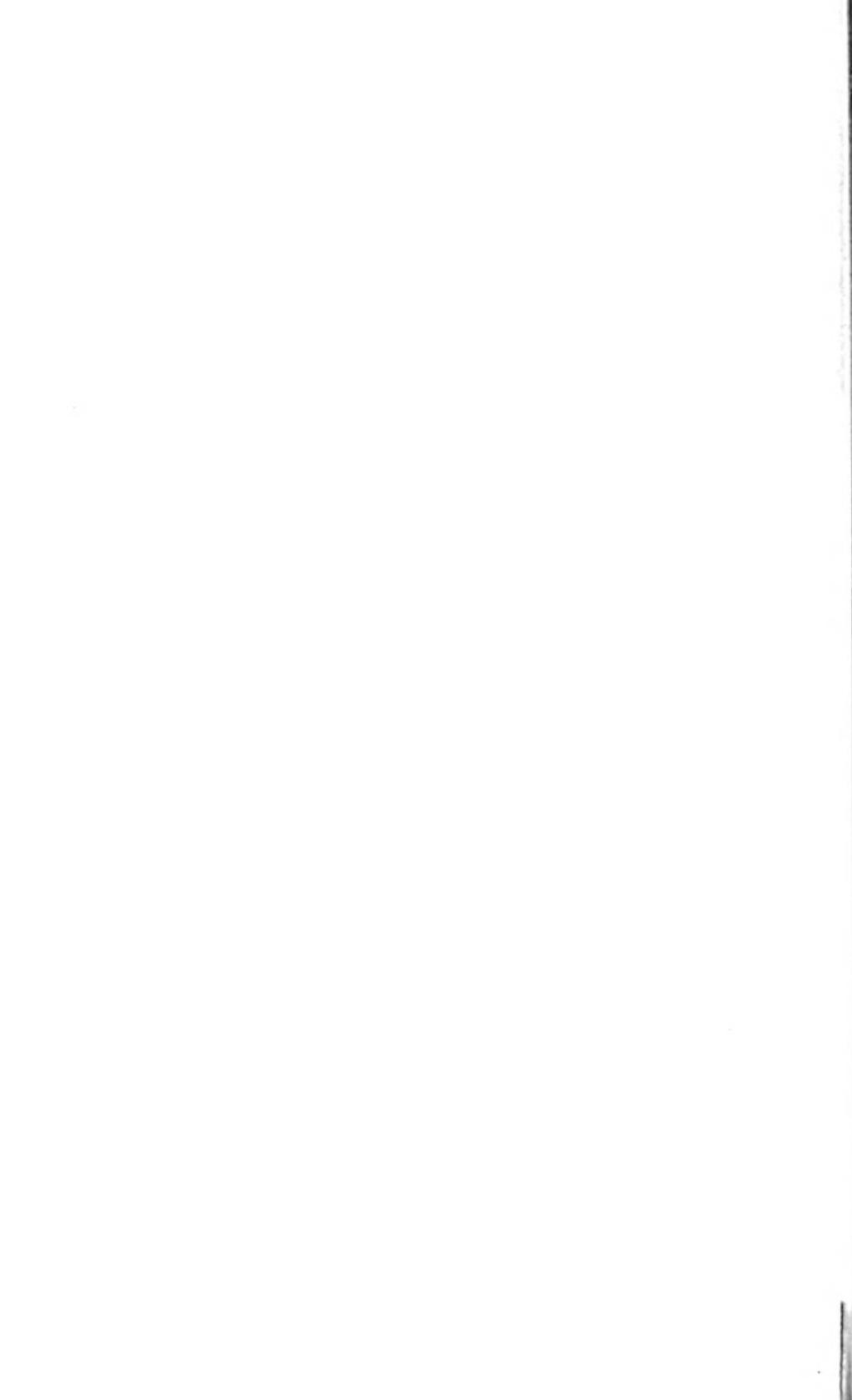
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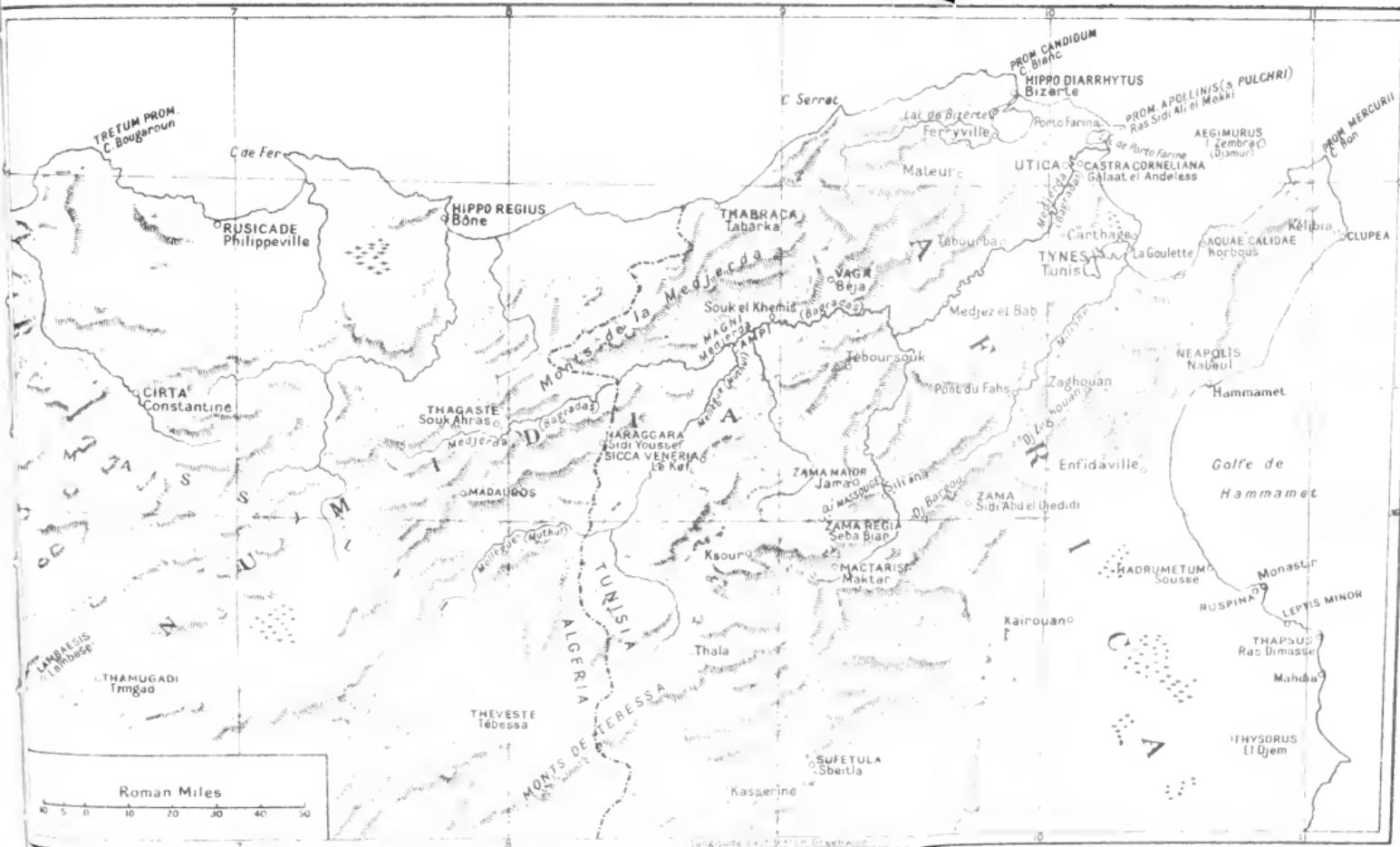


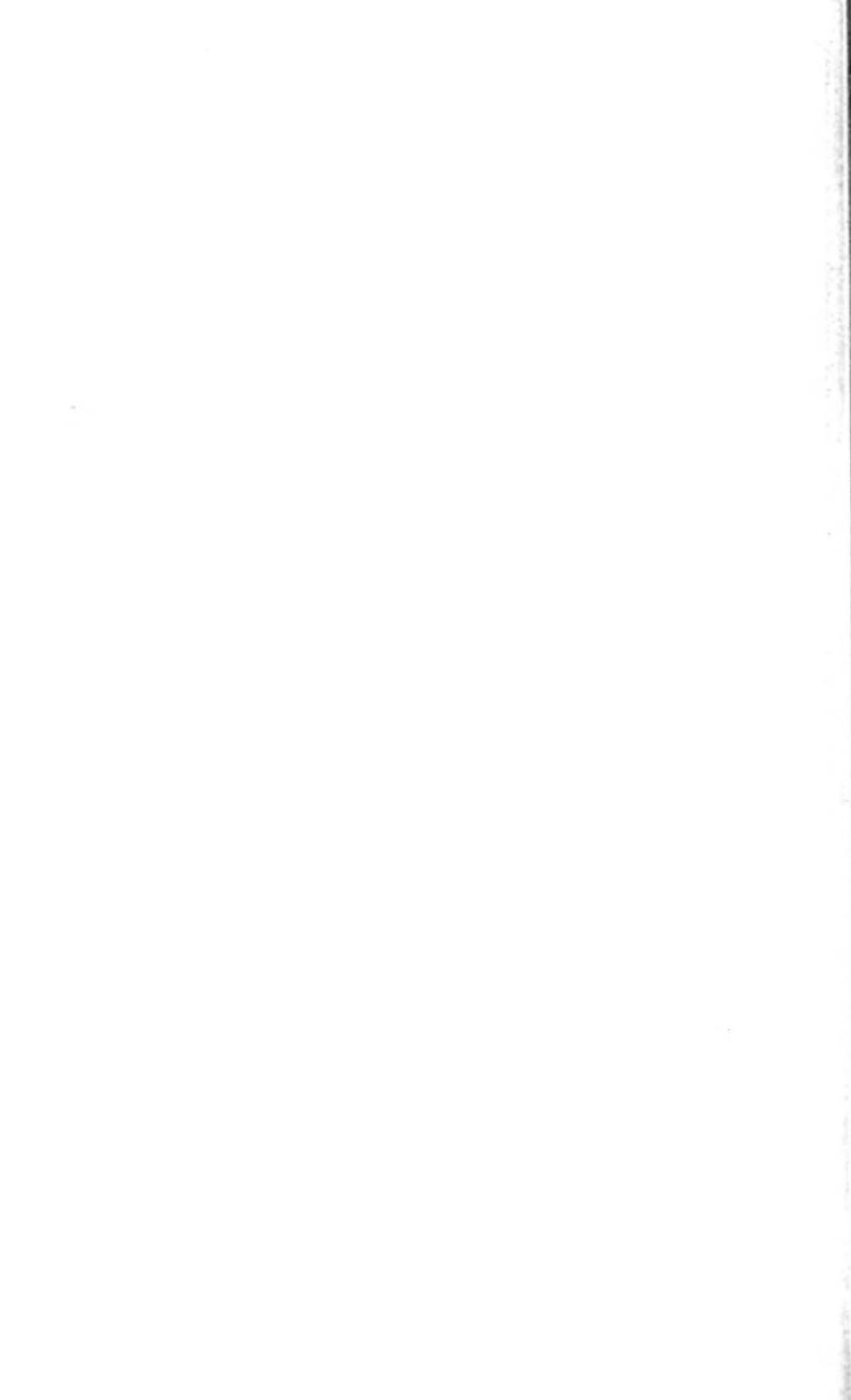
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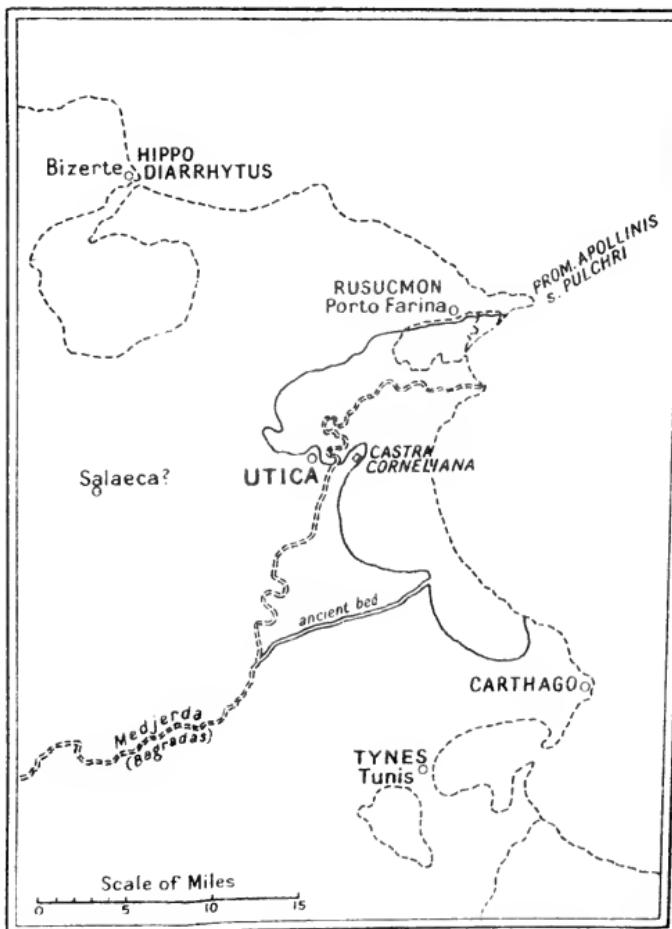




# UTICA AND CARTHAGE

Utica, a Tyrian colony considerably older than Carthage, was a seaport for more than 1200 years. A gradual change in the lower course of the Bagradas river, however, brought its mouth from a distance of ten miles southeast of the city to an immediate proximity, just west of the promontory on which had stood the camp of Scipio Africanus. Since alluvial deposits steadily continued, by the second century after Christ the harbour had silted up so that there was left merely an open roadstead. Mariners were warned of the danger, e.g. in the Stadiasmus (*Geographi Graeci Minores* I.472). The island, lying a short distance beyond the end of the ridge on which was the greater part of the city, could give no further protection to shipping. Utica thus lost all its commercial importance, and the site is now six miles from the sea at the nearest point and ten miles from the river-mouth.

Babelon-Cagnat-Reinach, *Atlas archéologique de la Tunisie*, map No. VII, Porto Farina (with a plan of the ruins as they were in 1875 to 1893); also No. XJII; Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* III. 109 (map); Kromayer-Veith, *Antike Schlachtfelder* III.2, map 13a; De Sanotis, *Storia dei Romani* III.2, map VII.





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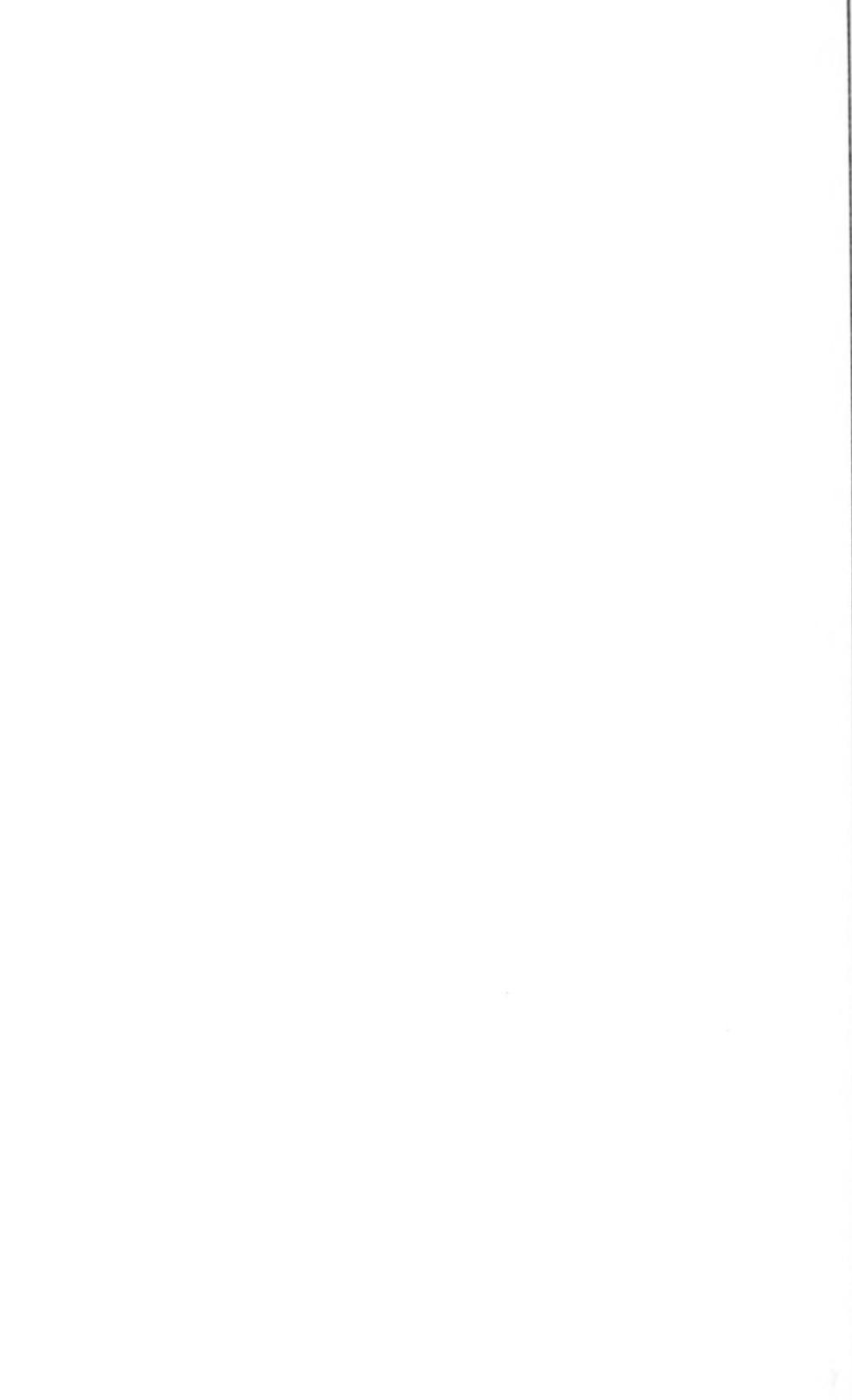
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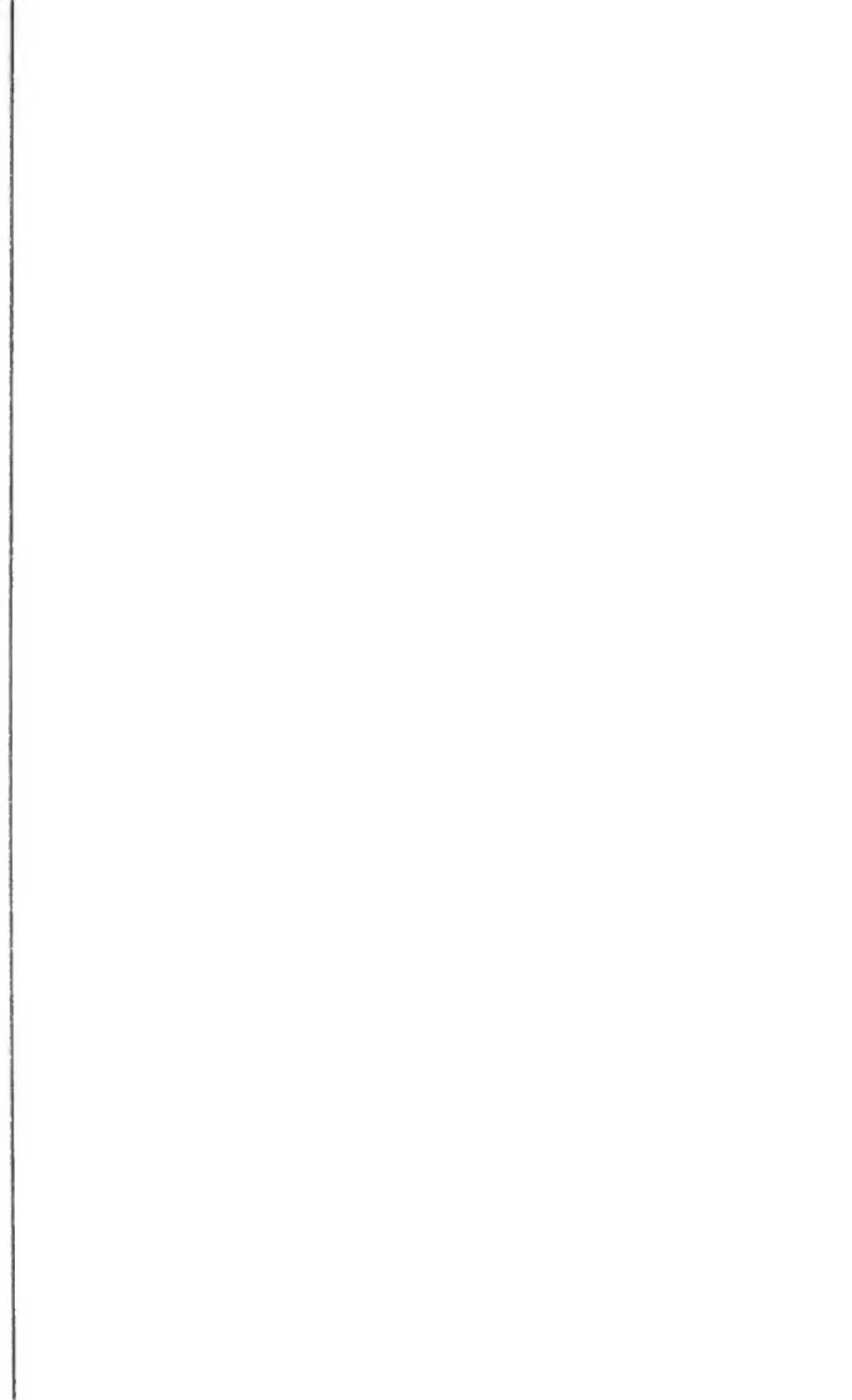
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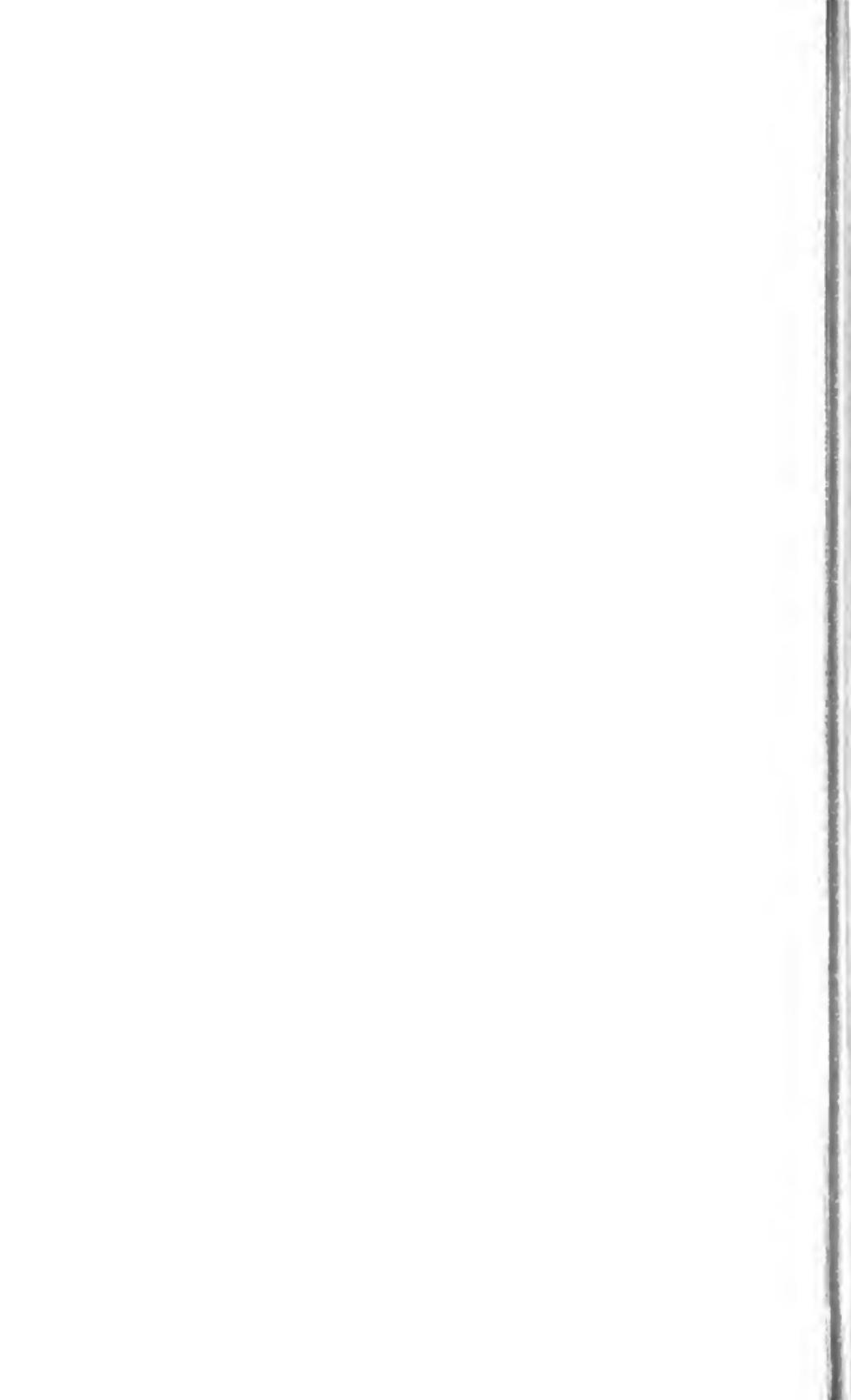
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