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## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

II

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## CONTENTS

	PAGE
BOOK VIII.—PART II.—NUMIDIAN AFFAIRS (FRAGMENTS)	1
BOOK IX.—MACEDONIAN AFFAIRS (FRAGMENTS) . . . . .	9
BOOK X.—THE ILLYRIAN WARS . . . . .	53
BOOK XI.—THE SYRIAN WARS . . . . .	103
BOOK XII.—THE MITHRIDATIC WARS . . . . .	239



# **APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY**

**BOOK VIII—PART II**

**NUMIDIAN AFFAIRS**

**FRAGMENTS**

# ΑΠΠΙΑΝΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΙΚΑ

Θ'

ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΝΟΜΑΔΙΚΗΣ

I

"Οτι Βομίλχας κατηγορούμενος ἔφυγε πρὸ δίκης,  
καὶ Ἰογόρθας σὺν αὐτῷ, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ περιφερό-  
μενον ἐς τοὺς δωροδοκοῦντας εἰπών, ὅτι Ῥωμαίων  
ἡ πόλις ἐστὶν ὡνία πᾶσα, εἴ τις ὡνητὴς αὐτῆς  
εὑρεθείη. Mai script. vet. n. coll. t. II p. 367.

II

"Οτι Μέτελλος ἀνεξεύγνυνεν ἐς Λιβύην τὴν ὑπὸ<sup>τ</sup>  
Ῥωμαίοις αἰτίαν ἔχων παρὰ τῷ στρατῷ βραδυ-  
τῆτος ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ἐπὶ σφίσιν ὠμότητος·  
σφόδρα γὰρ τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας ἐκόλαζεν. Val.  
p. 561.

III

"Οτι Μέτελλος Βαγαίων ἀνήρει τὴν βουλὴν  
ὅλην ὡς τὴν φρουρὰν προδόντας Ἰογόρθᾳ, καὶ τὸν  
φρούραρχον Τουρπίλιον, ἄνδρα Ῥωμαῖον οὐκ  
ἀνυπόπτως ἐαυτὸν ἐγχειρίσαντα τοῖς πολεμίοις,

# APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

## BOOK VIII—PART II

### NUMIDIAN AFFAIRS

#### I. FROM THE VATICAN MSS. OF CARDINAL MAI

BOMILCAR being under accusation fled before his trial, and with him Jugurtha, who uttered that famous saying about bribe-takers, that “the whole city of Rome could be bought if a purchaser could be found for it.”<sup>b.c. 110</sup>

#### II. FROM “VIRTUES AND VICES”

METELLUS went back to the African province,<sup>109</sup> where he was accused by the soldiers of dilatoriness in attacking the enemy and of cruelty towards his own men, because he punished offenders severely.

#### III. FROM THE SAME

METELLUS put the whole senate of Vacca to death<sup>108</sup> because they had betrayed the Roman garrison to Jugurtha, and with them Turpilius, the commander of the garrison, a Roman citizen, who had surrendered himself to the enemy under suspicious

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

ἐπαπκέτεινε τῇ βουλῇ. Θρᾶκας δὲ καὶ Λίγυας αὐτομόλους λαβὼν παρὰ Ἰογόρθα, τῶν μὲν τὰς χεῖρας ἀπέτεμνε, τοὺς δὲ ἐς τὴν γῆν μέχρι γαστρὸς κατώρυσσε, καὶ περιτοξεύων ἡ ἐσακοντίζων ἔτι ἐμπνέουσι πῦρ ὑπετίθει. id. ib.

## IV

"Οτι τοῦ Μαρίου ἐς Κίρταν ἀφικομένου πρέσβεις Βόκχου παρῆσαν, οἱ πεμφθῆναι τινας ἐς λόγους Βόκχῳ παρεκάλουν. καὶ ἐπέμφθησαν Αὐλός τε Μάλλιος ὁ πρεσβευτὴς καὶ Κορνήλιος Σύλλας ὁ ταμίας, οἵς ὁ Βόκχος ἐφη Ῥωμαίοις πολεμῆσαι διὰ Μάριου· γῆν γὰρ ἦν αὐτὸς Ἰογόρθαν ἀφείλετο, πρὸς Μαρίου νῦν ἀφηρῆσθαι. Βόκχος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐνεκάλει, Μάλλιος δ' ἐφη τὴν γῆν τήνδε Ῥωμαίους ἀφελέσθαι Σύφακα πολέμου νόμῳ καὶ δοῦναι Μασσανάσση δωρεάν, διδόναι δὲ Ῥωμαίους τὰς δωρεὰς ἔχειν τοῖς λαβοῦσιν ἔως ἂν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ δοκῇ. οὐ μὴν ἀλόγως μεταγνῶναι· Μασσανάσσην τε γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ τοὺς Μασσανάσσους παῖδας Ἰογόρθαν κατακαίνοντα Ῥωμαίοις πολέμιον γενέσθαι. οὐκ οὖν ἔτι εἶναι δίκαιον οὕτε τὸν πολέμιον ἔχειν δωρεὰν ἦν ἔδομεν φίλῳ, οὕτε σὲ δοκεῖν Ἰογόρθαν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὰ Ῥωμαίων. καὶ Μάλλιος μὲν τάδε περὶ τῆς γῆς ἔλεξεν. Urs. p. 370.

## NUMIDIAN AFFAIRS

circumstances. After Jugurtha had delivered up to Metellus certain Thracian and Ligurian deserters, the latter cut off the hands of some, and others he buried in the earth up to their stomachs, and after transfixing them with arrows and darts set fire to them while they were still alive.

### IV. FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

WHEN Marius arrived at Cirta messengers came to him from Bocchus asking that he would send somebody to hold a conference with him. He accordingly sent Aulus Manlius, his lieutenant, and Cornelius Sulla, his quaestor. To them Bocchus said that he fought against the Romans on account of the acts of Marius, who had taken from him the territory which he himself had taken from Jugurtha. To this complaint of Bocchus, Manlius replied that the Romans had taken this territory from Syphax by right of arms, and had made a present of it to Masinissa, and that such gifts were made by the Romans to be kept by those who received them during the pleasure of the Senate and people of Rome. He added that they had not changed their minds without reason, for that Masinissa was dead and that Jugurtha, by murdering his grandchildren, had become an enemy of the Romans. "It is not therefore right," he said, "that an enemy should keep the gift that we made to a friend, nor should you think that you can take from Jugurtha property that belongs to the Romans." These were the words of Manlius concerning the territory in question.

# APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK VIII

## V

"Οτι ο Βόκχος ἑτέρους ἔπεμψε πρέσβεις, οὶ Μαρίου μὲν ἔμελλον περὶ εἰρήνης δεήσεσθαι, Σύλλα δὲ ἵνα συμπράξειεν ἐς τὰς διαλύσεις. ληστευθέντας δ' ἐν ὁδῷ τοὺς πρέσβεις τούσδε ὁ Σύλλας ὑπεδέξατο, καὶ ξενίζει μέχρι Μάριον ἀπὸ Γαιτούλων ἐπανελθεῖν. παρήνει δὲ Βόκχον διδάσκειν ὅτι χρὴ Σύλλᾳ πείθεσθαι περὶ ἀπάντων. ἐνδιδοὺς οὖν ἥδη πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ἰογόρθα προδοσίαν ὁ Βόκχος, ἐς μὲν ὑπόκρισιν ἐπ' ἄλλον στρατὸν περιέπεμπεν ἐς Αἰθίοπας τοὺς γείτονας, οἱ ἐπὶ ἐσπέραν ἀπὸ τῶν ἑώων Αἰθιόπων διήκουσιν ἐς τὸ Μαυρούσιον ὅρος δὲ καλοῦσιν Ἀτλαντα, Μάριον δὲ ἡξίου Σύλλαν οἱ πέμψαι συνελθεῖν ἐς λόγους. καὶ Μάριος μὲν ἔπεμπε τὸν Σύλλαν, "Αφαρα δὲ Ἰογόρθα φίλον, ἐν Βόκχου καταλειμμένον ἐφορᾶν τὰ γιγνόμενα, αὐτός τε Βόρχος καὶ Μαγδάλσης φίλος Βόκχου, καὶ τις ἔξελεύθερος ἀνδρὸς Καρχηδονίου, Κορηγλιος, ἐνήδρευσαν ὁδε.

id. ib.

## NUMIDIAN AFFAIRS

### V. FROM THE SAME

Bocchus sent another embassy to solicit peace <sup>B.C.</sup> <sup>107</sup> from Marius and urge Sulla to assist them in the negotiation. These ambassadors were despoiled by robbers on the road, but Sulla received them kindly and entertained them until Marius returned from Gaetulia. Marius advised them to urge Bocchus to obey Sulla in everything. Accordingly Bocchus, who was by now inclined to betray Jugurtha, sent messengers around to the neighbouring Ethiopians (who extend from eastern Ethiopia westward to the Mauretanian Mount Atlas) under pretence of raising a new army, and then asked Marius to send Sulla to him for a conference, which Marius did. Bocchus himself, and his friend Magdalses, and a certain freedman of Carthage, named Cornelius, deceived Apsar, the friend of Jugurtha, who had been left in Bocchus' camp to keep watch on his doings, in the following way.



BOOK IX  
MACEDONIAN AFFAIRS

FRAGMENTS

## Γ'

## ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΚΗΣ

## I

"Οτι 'Ρωμαῖοι τοῦ Φιλίππου τοῦ Μακεδόνος τοῦ πολεμήσαντος αὐτοῖς πέρι πάμπαν ἐπολυπραγμόνουν οὐδέν, οὐδὲ σφίσιν ἐνθύμιος ἦν ὅλως πονουμένης ἔτι τῆς Ἰταλίας ὑπὸ Ἀννίβου τοῦ Καρχηδονίων στρατηγοῦ, καὶ αὐτοὶ μεγάλοις στρατοῖς Λιβύην καὶ Καρχηδόνα καὶ Ἰβηρίαν περικαθήμενοι, καὶ καθιστάμενοι Σικελίαν. αὐτὸς δὲ Φίλιππος ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμίᾳ μείζονος, οὐδέν τι προπαθών, ἔπειμπε πρὸς Ἀννίβαν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν πρέσβεις, ὃν ἡγεῖτο Ξενοφάνης, ὑπισχνούμενος αὐτῷ συμμαχήσειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, εἰ κάκεῦνος αὐτῷ σύνθοιτο κατεργάσασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα. συμβάντος δ' ἐς ταῦτα τοῦ Ἀννίβου καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ συνθήκῃ ὁμόσαντος, πρέσβεις τε ἀντιπέμψαντος ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρκους τοῦ Φιλίππου, 'Ρωμαίων τριήρης ἔλαβε τοὺς ἑκατέρων πρέσβεις ἀναπλέοντας, καὶ ἐς 'Ρώμην ἐκόμισεν. ἐφ' ὧ Φίλιππος ἀγανακτῶν Κερκύρα προσέβαλεν, ἢ 'Ρωμαίοις συνεμάχει.

U. p. 357.

## BOOK IX

### MACEDONIAN AFFAIRS

#### I. FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

THE Romans paid no attention to Philip, the Macedonian, when he began war against them. They were so busy about other things that they did not even think of him, for Italy was still scourged by Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, and they had large armies in Africa, Carthage, and Spain, and were restoring order in Sicily. Philip himself, <sup>B.C.</sup> 215 moved by a desire of enlarging his dominions, although he had suffered nothing whatever at the hands of the Romans, sent an embassy, the chief of which was Xenophanes, to Hannibal in Italy, promising to aid him in Italy if he would consent to assist him in the subjugation of Greece. Hannibal agreed to this arrangement and took an oath to support it, and sent an embassy in return to receive the oath of Philip. A Roman trireme intercepted the ambassadors of both on their return and carried them to Rome. Thereupon Philip in his anger attacked Coreyra, which was in alliance with Rome.

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK IX

### II

'Οτι ἐνῆγε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τὰ Σιβύλλεια εἰς τὸν Φιλίππου πόλεμον. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα.

αὐχοῦντες βασιλεῦσι Μακηδόνες Ἀργεάδησιν, ὑμῖν κοιρανέων ἀγαθὸν καὶ πῆμα Φίλιππος. ἵητοι ὁ μὲν πρότερος πόλεσιν λαοῖσί τ' ἄνακτας θήσει, ὁ δὲ ὀπλότερος τιμὴν ἀπὸ πᾶσαν ὀλέσσει, δμηθεὶς δὲ ἐσπερίοισιν ὑπ' ἀνδράσιν ἐνθάδ' ὀλεῖται.

Mai p. 368.

### III

1. "Οτι Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλεύοντος Αἰγύπτου πρέσβεις, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἔτεροι παρά τε Χίων καὶ Μιτυληναίων καὶ Ἀμυνάνδρου τοῦ Ἀθαμάνων βασιλέως, δίσ, ἐνθα περ οἱ Αἴτωλοὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐπισκεψομένας ἐκάλουν, συνῆλθον ἐπὶ διαλλαγῇ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Αἴτωλῶν καὶ Φιλίππου. Σουλπικίου δὲ εἰπόντος οὐκ εἶναι κυρίου περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης τι κρῖναι, καὶ ἐς τὴν βουλὴν κρύφα ἐπιστέλλοντος ὅτι Ῥωμαίοις συμφέρει πολεμεῖν Αἴτωλοὺς Φιλίππῳ, ἡ μὲν βουλὴ τὰς συνθήκας ἐκώλυσε, καὶ τοῖς Αἴτωλοῖς ἐπεμπε συμμαχίαν πεζοὺς μυρίους καὶ ἵππεας χιλίους, μεθ' ὧν οἱ Αἴτωλοὶ κατέλαβον Ἀμβρακίαν, ἦν οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον αὐτῶν Φίλιππος ἀποπλευσάντων ἀνέλαβεν. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις αὐθις συνῆλθον, καὶ πολλὰ φανερῶς ἐλεγον, ὅτι Φίλιππος καὶ Αἴτωλοὶ διαφερόμενοι τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐς δουλείαν Ῥωμαίοις ὑποβάλλουσιν, ἐθίζοντες αὐτοὺς τῆς Ἑλλάδος

## MACEDONIAN AFFAIRS

### II. FROM THE VATICAN MSS. OF CARDINAL MAI

THE Sibylline books induced the Romans to make war against Philip by these lines: "The Macedonians boast their descent from Argive kings. Philip will be the arbiter of weal or woe to you. The elder of that name shall give rulers to cities and peoples, but the younger shall lose every honour, and shall die here, conquered by men of the west."<sup>B.C. 215</sup>

### III. FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

1. AMBASSADORS from Ptolemy, king of Egypt, and with them others from Chios and Mitylene, and from Amyntander, king of the Athamanes, assembled at two different times at the place where the Aetolians were accustomed to call their cities together for consultation, to compose the differences between the Romans, the Aetolians, and Philip. But as Sulpicius said that it was not in his power to conclude peace, and wrote privately to the Senate that it was for the advantage of the Romans that the Aetolians should continue the war against Philip, the Senate forbade the treaty and sent 10,000 foot and 1000 horse to assist the Aetolians. With their help the Aetolians took Ambracia, which Philip recovered, not long afterward, on their departure. Again the ambassadors assembled and said openly and repeatedly that Philip and the Aetolians, by their differences, were subjecting the Greeks to servitude to the Romans, because they were accustoming the latter to make

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK IX

θαμινὰ πειρᾶσθαι. ἐφ' οἷς ὁ μὲν Σουλπίκιος ἀντιλέξων ἀνίστατο, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος οὐκ ἥκουσεν, ἀλλ' ἐκεκράγεσαν τοὺς πρέσβεις εὖ λέγειν.

2. Καὶ τέλος Αἰτωλοί τε πρῶτοι κατὰ σφᾶς, ἃνευ Ῥωμαίων, Φιλίππω συνέβησαν, καὶ πρέσβεις αὐτοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ διαλλαγαῖς ἀφίκουντο ἐς Ῥώμην. καὶ ἐγένοντο συνθῆκαι Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Φιλίππῳ, μηδετέρους ἀδικεῖν τοὺς ἐκατέρωθεν φίλους. ἐς μὲν δὴ τοῦτ' ἔληξεν ἡ Φιλίππου καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐς ἀλλήλους πεῖρα πρώτη, καὶ τὰς συνθῆκας οὐδέτεροι βεβαίους, οὐδ' ἀπ' εἰνοίας, ἐδόκουν πεποιῆσθαι. U. p. 357.

## IV

"Οτι μετ' οὐ πολὺ Φίλιππος μὲν τῶν ὑπηκόων τοῖς ἐπὶ θαλάσσης στόλον ἐπαγγείλας, Σάμον καὶ Χίον εἶλε, καὶ μέρος τῆς Ἀττάλου γῆς ἐπόρθησε, καὶ αὐτῆς ἀπεπείρασε Περγάμου, μὴ φειδόμενος ἱερῶν ἢ τάφων, τὴν τε Ῥοδίων περαίαν ἐδήγουν διαλλακτήρων οἱ γεγονότων, καὶ ἐτέρῳ μέρει στρατοῦ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐλυμαίνετο καὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐπολιόρκει, ώς οὐδὲν τῶνδε Ῥωμαίοις προσηκόντων. λόγος τε ἦν ὅτι Φίλιππος καὶ Ἀντίοχος ὁ Σύρων βασιλεὺς ὑπόσχοιντο ἀλλήλοις, Ἀντίοχῳ μὲν ὁ Φίλιππος συστρατεύσειν ἐπί τε Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἐπὶ Κύπρον, ὃν τότε ἥρχεν ἔτι παῖς ὁν Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τέταρτος, φῶ φιλοπάτωρ ἐπώνυμον ἦν, Φιλίππῳ δ' Ἀντίοχος ἐπὶ Κυρήνην καὶ τὰς Κυκλαδας νιγους καὶ Ιωνίαν.

## MACEDONIAN AFFAIRS

frequent attempts upon Greece. When Sulpicius <sup>208</sup>  
rose to reply to them the crowd would not hear him,  
but shouted that the ambassadors had spoken well.

2. Finally the Aetolians took the initiative and <sup>205</sup>  
made peace with Philip by themselves without the  
Romans, and ambassadors were sent to Rome by  
Philip himself and by the commander of the Roman  
forces in order to come to an agreement. Peace was  
made between them on the condition that neither  
party should do any injury to the friends of the  
other. This was the result of the first trial of  
strength between them, and neither of them  
believed that the treaty was a secure one, or based  
on goodwill.

### IV. FROM THE SAME

Not long afterward Philip, having ordered a fleet <sup>200</sup>  
to be prepared by his maritime subjects, took Samos  
and Chios and devastated a part of the territory of  
King Attalus. He even assailed Pergamus itself,  
not sparing temples or sepulchres. He also ravaged  
the Mainland of the Rhodians, who had been  
promoters of the treaty of peace. With another  
part of his army he ravaged Attica and laid siege to  
Athens, on the ground that none of these countries  
concerned the Romans. It was reported also that a  
league had been made between Philip and Antiochus,  
king of Syria, to the effect that Philip should help  
Antiochus to conquer Egypt and Cyprus, of which  
Ptolemy IV., surnamed Philopator,<sup>1</sup> who was still a  
boy, was the ruler; and that Antiochus should help  
Philip to gain Cyrene, the Cyclades islands, and Ionia.

<sup>1</sup> This should be Ptolemy V., surnamed Epiphanes, the son  
of Ptolemy Philopator. The latter died in B.C. 203.

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK IX

Καὶ τήνδε τὴν δόξαν, ἐκταράσσουσαν ἄπαντας Ῥόδιοι μὲν Ῥωμαίοις ἐμήνυσαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς Ῥοδίων Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις ἥτιωντο Φίλιππον τῆς πολιορκίας. καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ μεταγιγνώσκοντες κατηγόρουν ὡς καὶ περὶ σφᾶς ἀπίστου γεγονότος, ἡξίουν τε αὖθις ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων συμμάχους ἐγγραφῆναι. Ῥωμαῖοι δ' Αἰτωλοῖς ἐμέμψαντο τῆς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ μεταβολῆς, πρέσβεις δ' ἐς τοὺς βασιλέας ἔπεμπον, οἱ προηγόρευον αὐτοῖς Ἀντίοχον μὲν Αἰγύπτῳ μὴ ἐπιχειρεῖν, Φίλιππον δὲ μηδὲν ἐς Ῥοδίους ἢ Ἀθηναίους ἢ Ἀτταλον ἢ ἐς ἄλλον τινὰ Ῥωμαίων φίλον ἀμαρτάνειν. τούτοις ὁ Φίλιππος ἀπεκρίνατο Ῥωμαίοις ἔξειν καλῶς, ἀν ἐμμένωσιν ἢ συνέθεντο πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰρήνῃ. οὕτω μὲν αἱ γενόμεναι σπουδαὶ ἐλέλυντο, καὶ στρατὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἤπειρετο, στρατηγοῦντος Ποπλίου καὶ ναυαρχοῦντος Λευκίου. U. p. 358.

## V

"Οτι δ Φίλιππος ό Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς τῷ Φλαμινίῳ . . . σητει, συναγόντων αὐτοὺς Ἡπειρωτῶν πρέσβεων. ὡς δὲ δ Φλαμινῖος Φίλιππον ἐκέλευσεν ἐκστῆναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ Ῥωμαίοις ἀλλὰ ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐταῖς, καὶ τὰς βλάβας ταῖς προειρημέναις ἀποδοθῆναι, ό μὲν Φίλιππος τὰ μὲν . . . Mai p. 368.

## VI

Ποιμὴν ὑπέσχετο στρατὸν εὔζωνον ἔξειν ὁδὸν ἀτριβῆ τρισὶν ἡμέραις. Suid. v. εὔζωνοι.

## MACEDONIAN AFFAIRS

This rumour, which caused universal dismay, the Rhodians communicated to Rome. After the Rhodians, ambassadors of Athens came complaining of the siege instituted by Philip. The Aetolians also had repented of their treaty, and they complained of Philip's bad faith toward them and asked to be inscribed again as allies. The Romans reproached the Aetolians for their recent defection, but they sent ambassadors to the kings ordering Antiochus not to invade Egypt, and Philip not to molest the Rhodians, or the Athenians, or Attalus, or any other ally of theirs. To them Philip made answer that it would be well if the Romans would abide by the treaty of peace they had entered into with him. Thus was the treaty dissolved and a Roman army hastened to Greece, Publius commanding the land forces and Lucius the fleet.

## V. FROM THE VATICAN MSS. OF CARDINAL MAI

PHILIP, king of Macedon, had a conference with Flamininus, which had been brought about by the ambassadors of the Epirots. When Flamininus ordered Philip to evacuate Greece, in favour, not of the Romans, but of the Greek cities themselves, and to make good the damage he had done to these cities, Philip partly. . .

## VI. FROM SUIDAS

A SHEPHERD promised to guide a lightly equipped army by a little used path in three days.

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK IX

### VII

"Οτι Λεύκιος Κοίντιος ἐσ τὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν σύλλογον ἀπέστειλε πρέσβεις, οἱ μετὰ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ῥοδίων ἔπειθον αὐτοὺς μεταθέσθαι πρὸς σφᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου, διεπρεσβεύετο δὲ καὶ Φίλιππος αἵτῶν βοήθειαν ὡς συμμάχους. οἱ δὲ ἐνοχλούμενοι μὲν οἰκείῳ καὶ γείτονι πολέμῳ Νάβιδος τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων τυράννου, διεστώτες δὲ ταῖς γυνώμαις ἡπόρουν, καὶ οἱ πλείοις ὥροῦντο τὰ Φιλίππου καὶ ἀπεστρέφοντο Ῥωμαίους διά τινα ἐσ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Σουλπικίου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ παρανομήματα. ἐγκειμένων δὲ βιαίως τῶν ῥωμαϊζόντων, οἱ πολλοὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπεχώρουν δυσχεραίνοντες, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα ἐκβιασθέντες συνέθεντο τῷ Λευκίῳ, καὶ εὐθὺς ἡκολούθουν ἐπὶ Κόρινθον μηχανήματα φέροντες.  
U. p. 359.

### VIII

"Οτι Φλαμινῖος αὖθις συνῆλθεν ἐσ λόγους Φιλίππῳ κατὰ τὸν Μηλιέα κόλπον, ἔνθα κατηγορούντων τοῦ Φιλίππου Ῥοδίων καὶ Αἰτωλῶν καὶ Ἀμυνάνδρου τοῦ Ἀθαμάνος ἐκέλευσε Φίλιππον ἐξάγειν τὰς φρουρὰς ἐκ Φωκίδος, καὶ πρέσβεις ἐσ Ῥώμην ἀμφοτέρους ἀποστεῖλαι. γενομένων δὲ τούτων, οἱ μὲν Ἑλληνες ἐν τῇ βουλῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἡξίουν τὸν Φίλιππον ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὰς τρεῖς φρουρὰς ἀσ αὐτὸς πέδας ἐκάλει τῆς Ἑλλάδος, τὴν μὲν ἐν Χαλκίδι Βοιωτοῖς καὶ Εὐβοεῦσι καὶ Λοκροῖς ἐπικειμένην, τὴν δὲ ἐν

## MACEDONIAN AFFAIRS

### VII. FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

Lucius Quintius [Flamininus] sent envoys to the Achaean League to persuade them, together with the Athenians and Rhodians, to abandon Philip and join the Romans. Philip also sent ambassadors, asking assistance from them as allies. But they, being troubled by a war on their own borders with Nabis, the tyrant of Lacedaemon, were divided in mind and hesitated. The greater part of them preferred the alliance of Philip and sided against the Romans on account of certain outrages against Greece committed by Sulpicius, the former commander. When the Roman faction urged their views with vehemence, most of their opponents left the assembly in disgust, and the remainder, being forced to yield by the smallness of their number, entered into an alliance with Lucius and followed him at once to the siege of Corinth, bringing engines of war with them.

### VIII. FROM THE SAME

FLAMININUS came into conference with Philip a second time at the Malian gulf. When the Rhodians, the Aetolians, and Amyntander the Athamanian made their complaints against Philip, Flamininus ordered him to remove his garrisons from Phocis, and required both parties to send ambassadors to Rome. When this was done the Greeks asked the Roman Senate to require Philip to remove from their country the three garrisons which he called "the fetters of Greece"; the one at Chalcis, which threatened the Boeotians, the Euboeans, and the Locrians;

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK IX

Κορίνθῳ καθάπερ πύλαις τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἀποκλείουσαν, καὶ τρίτην ἐν Δημητριάδι τὴν Αἰτωλοῖς καὶ Μάγνησιν ἐφεδρεύουσαν· ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τοὺς Φιλίππου πρέσβεις ἥρετο τί φρονοίη περὶ τῶνδε τῶν φρουρῶν ὁ βασιλεύς, ἀποκριναμένων δὲ ἀγνοεῖν, Φλαμινῖνον ἔφη κρινεῖν, καὶ πράξειν ὅ τι ἀν δίκαιον ἡγῆται. οὕτω μὲν οἱ πρέσβεις ἐκ Ρώμης ἐπανήσαν, Φλαμινῖος δὲ καὶ Φίλιππος ἐς οὐδὲν συμβαίνοντες ἀλλήλοις αὖθις ἐς πόλεμον καθίσταντο. U. p. 360.

## IX

1. "Οτι ἡττηθεὶς πάλιν ὁ Φίλιππος περὶ συμβάσεων ἐπεκηρυκεύετο πρὸς Φλαμινῖνον, ὁ δ' αὖθις αὐτῷ συνελθεῖν ἐς λόγους συνεχώρει, πολλὰ μὲν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν δυσχεραινόντων, καὶ διαβαλλόντων αὐτὸν ἐς δωροδοκίαν, καὶ καταγιγνωσκόντων τῆς ἐς ἄπαντα εὐχεροῦς μεταβολῆς, ἥγονύμενος δ' οὔτε Ρωμαίοις συμφέρειν οὔτε τοῖς "Ελλησι Φιλίππου καθαιρεθέντος ἐπιπολάσαι τὴν Αἰτωλῶν βίαν. τάχα δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ παράδοξον τῆς νίκης ἀγαπᾶν ἐποίει. συνθέμενος δὲ χωρίον οἱ τὸν Φίλιππον ἐπελθεῖν ἔδει τοὺς συμμάχους ἐκέλευσε γνώμην προαποφήνασθαι κατὰ πόλεις. τὰ μὲν δὴ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων φιλάνθρωπα ἦν, τό τε τῆς τύχης ἄδηλον ἔξ ὅν ἐπαθεν ὁ Φίλιππος ὑφορμένων, καὶ τὸ πταῖσμα τοῦτο οὐ κατ' ἀσθένειαν ἀλλὰ πλέον ἐκ συντυχίας αὐτὸν παθεῖν ἥγονυμένων. Αλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν πρόεδρος ἀγνοεῖν ἔφη τὸν Φλαμινῖον ὅτι μηδὲν ἄλλο μήτε

## MACEDONIAN AFFAIRS

the one at Corinth, which closed the door of the Peloponnesus; and the third at Demetrias, which, as it were, kept guard over the Aetolians and the Magnesians. The Senate asked Philip's ambassadors what the king's views were respecting these garrisons. When they answered they did not know, the Senate said that Flamininus should decide the question and do what he considered just. So the ambassadors took their departure from Rome, but Flamininus and Philip, being unable to come to any agreement, resumed hostilities.

### IX. FROM THE SAME

1. PHILIP, after being defeated again, sent a herald to Flamininus to sue for peace, and again Flamininus granted him a conference, whereat the Aetolians were greatly displeased and accused him of being bribed by the king, and complained of his facile change of mind as to all these matters. But he thought that it would not be to the advantage of the Romans, or of the Greeks, that Philip should be deposed and the Aetolian power made supreme. Perhaps, also, the unexpected victory made him satisfied. Having agreed upon a place where Philip should come, he directed the allies to deliver their opinions first city by city. The others were disposed to be moderate, viewing suspiciously the uncertainties of fortune as evinced in the calamities of Philip, and considering this disaster that had befallen him due not so much to weakness as to bad luck. But Alexander, the presiding officer of the Aetolians, said, "Flamininus is ignorant of the fact that nothing else

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK IX

‘Ρωμαίοις μήθ’ “Ελλησι συνοίσει πλὴν ἔξαιρεθῆναι τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Φιλίππου.

2. ‘Ο δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀγνοεῖν ἔφη τὴν ‘Ρωμαιων φύσιν, οἱ οὐδένα πω τῶν ἐχθρῶν εὐθὺς ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς ἀνέτρεψαν, ἀλλὰ πολλῶν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀμαρτόντων, καὶ Καρχηδονίων ἔναγχος, ἐφείσαντο, τὰ σφέτερα αὐτοῖς ἀποδόντες καὶ φίλους ποιησάμενοι τους ἡδικηκότας. “ἀγνοεῖς δ”,” ἔφη, “καὶ τοῦθ”, ὅτι τοῖς “Ελλησιν ἔθνη πολλά, ὅσα βάρβαρα τὴν Μακεδονίαν περικάθηται, εἴ τις ἔξελοι τοὺς Μακεδόνων βασιλέας, ἐπιδραμεῖται ρᾳδίως. ὅθεν ἐγὼ δοκιμάζω τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἐᾶν τῶν Μακεδόνων προπολεμεῖν ὑμῶν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους, Φίλιππον δὲ ἐκστῆναι τοῖς “Ελλησιν ὡν πρότερον ἀντέλεγε χωρίων, καὶ ‘Ρωμαίοις ἐς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου δαπάνην ἐσενεγκεῖν τάλαντα δακόσια, ὅμηρά τε δοῦναι τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα καὶ τὸν νιὸν αὐτοῦ Δημήτριου, μέχρι δὲ ταῦθ’ ἡ σύγκλητος ἐπικυρώσει, τετραμήνους ἀνοχὰς γενέσθαι.”

3. Δεξαμένου δὲ πάντα τοῦ Φιλίππου, τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην ἡ βουλὴ μαθοῖσα ἐπεκύρωσε, τὰς δὲ προτάσεις τὰς Φλαμινίνου σμικρύνασα καὶ φαυλίσασα, ἐκέλευσε τὰς πόλεις ὅσαι ἥσαν ‘Ελληνίδες ὑπὸ Φίλιππῳ, πάσας ἐλευθέρας εἶναι, καὶ τὰς φρουρὰς ἀπ’ αὐτῶν Φίλιππον ἔξαγαγεῖν πρὸ τῶν ἐπιόντων Ἰσθμίων, ναῦς τε ὅσας ἔχει, χωρὶς ἔξήρους μιᾶς καὶ σκαφῶν πέντε καταφράκτων, παραδοῦναι τῷ Φλαμινίῳ, καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ‘Ρωμαίοις ἐσενεγκεῖν πεντακόσια μὲν αὐτίκα πεντακόσια δὲ ἔτεσι δέκα, ἐκάστου τὸ μέρος ἔτους ἐς ‘Ρώμην ἀναφέροντα, ἀποδοῦναι δὲ καὶ αἰχμάλωτα καὶ αὐτόμολα αὐτῶν

## MACEDONIAN AFFAIRS

but the destruction of Philip's empire will benefit <sup>a.c.</sup> <sub>197</sub> either the Romans or the Greeks."

2. Flamininus replied that Alexander was ignorant of the character of the Romans, who had never yet destroyed an enemy at once, but had spared many offenders, as recent'y the Carthaginians, restoring their property to them and making allies of those who had done them wrong. " You also," he said, " are ignorant of the fact that there are many barbarous tribes on the border of Macedonia, who would make easy incursions into Greece if the Macedonian kings were taken away. Wherefore, I think that the Macedonian government should be left to protect you against the barbarians, but Philip must retire from those Greek places that he has hitherto refused to give up, and must pay the Romans 200 talents for the expenses of the war, and give hostages of the most noble families, including his own son, Demetrius. Until the Senate ratifies these conditions there shall be an armistice of four months."

3. Philip accepted all these conditions, and the <sup>196</sup> Senate, when it learned of the peace, ratified it, but considering that the terms demanded by Flamininus were poor and inadequate it decreed that all the Greek cities that had been under Philip's rule should be free, and that he should withdraw his garrisons from them before the next celebration of the Isthmian games ; that he should deliver to Flamininus all his ships, except one with six benches of oars and five small vessels with decks ; that he should pay the Romans 500 talents of silver down, and remit to Rome 500 more in ten years, in annual instalments ; and that he should surrender all prisoners and de-

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK IX

ὅσα ἔχοι. τάδε μὲν ἡ βουλὴ προσέθηκε, καὶ Φίλιππος ἐδέξατο ἄπαντα· ω̄ καὶ μάλιστα ἡ σμικρολογία Φλαμινίνου καταφανῆς ἐγένετο. συμβούλους δ' ἔπειμπον αὐτῷ, καθάπερ εἰώθεσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς λιγούσι πολέμοις, δέκα ἄνδρας, μεθ' ὧν αὐτὸν ἔδει τὰ εἰλημμένα καθίστασθαι.

4. Καὶ τάδε μὲν διετίθετο σὺν ἑκείνοις, αὐτὸς δ' ἐσ τὸν τῶν Ἰσθμίων ἀγῶνα ἐπελθών, πληθύοντος τοῦ σταδίου, σιωπήν τε ἐσήμηνεν ὑπὸ σάλπιγγι, καὶ τὸν κίρυκα ἀνειπεῖν ἐκέλευσεν “ό δῆμος ὁ Ρωμαίων καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος καὶ Φλαμινῖος ὁ στρατηγός, Μακεδόνας καὶ Βασιλέα Φίλιππον ἐκπολεμήσαντες, ἀφιᾶσι τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀφρούρητον ἀφορολόγητον ἵδιοις ἥθεσι καὶ νόμοις χρῆσθαι.” πολλῆς δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ βοῆς καὶ χαρᾶς γενομένης θόρυβος ἥδιστος ἦν, ἔτέρων μεθ' ἔτέρους τὸν κίρυκα καὶ παρὰ σφᾶς ἀνειπεῖν μετακαλούντων. στεφάνους τε καὶ ταινίας ἐπέβαλλον τῷ στρατηγῷ, καὶ ἀνδριάντας ἐψηφίζοντο κατὰ πόλεις. πρέσβεις τε μετὰ χρυσῶν στεφάνων ἔπειμπον ἐσ τὸ Καπιτώλιον, οἱ χάριν ὡμολογουν, καὶ ἐσ τοὺς Ρωμαίων συμμάχους ἀνεγράφοντο. καὶ δεύτερος ὅδε πόλεμος Ρωμαίοις τε καὶ Φιλίππῳ ἐσ τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα.

5. Οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ συνεμάχησε Ρωμαίοις ὁ Φίλιππος ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι κατ' Αντίοχου Βασιλέως, περῶντάς τε ἐπὶ Αντίοχον ἐσ τὴν Ασίαν διὰ Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας ὁδὸν οὐκ εὔμαρῇ παρέπεμπεν οἰκείοις τέλεσι καὶ τροφαῖς, ὁδοποιῶν καὶ ποταμοὺς δυσπόρους ζευγνὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐπικειμένους Θράκας

## MACEDONIAN AFFAIRS

serters in his hands. These conditions were added <sup>B.C.</sup> <sup>196</sup> by the Senate and Philip accepted them all, which proved more strongly than anything how inadequate Flamininus' terms were. They sent to the latter as counsellors ten men (as was customary at the end of a war), with whose aid he should regulate the new acquisitions.

4. When he had arranged these things with them he himself went to the Isthmian games, and, the stadium being full of people, he commanded silence by trumpet and directed the herald to make this proclamation : "The Roman people and Senate, and Flamininus, their general, having vanquished the Macedonians and Philip, their king, leave Greece free from foreign garrisons and not subject to tribute, to live under her own customs and laws." Thereupon there was great shouting and rejoicing and a scene of rapturous tumult ; and groups here and there called the herald back in order that he might repeat his words for them. They threw wreaths and fillets upon the general and voted statues for him in their cities. They sent ambassadors with golden crowns to the Capitol at Rome to express their gratitude, and inscribed themselves as allies of the Roman people. Such was the end of the second war between the Romans and Philip.

5. Not long afterwards Philip even lent aid in <sup>190</sup> Greece to the Romans in their war against King Antiochus, and as they were moving against Antiochus in Asia, passing through Thrace and Macedonia by a difficult road, he escorted them with his own troops, supplied them with food and money, repaired the roads, bridged the unfordable streams, and dispersed the hostile Thracians, until he had conducted them

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK IX

διακόπτων, ἔως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον ἥγαγεν.  
ἔφ' οἷς ἡ μὲν βουλὴ τὸν νίὸν αὐτῷ Δημήτριον  
παρὰ σφίσιν ὁμηρεύοντα ἀπέλυσε, καὶ τῶν  
χρημάτων ἀφῆκεν ὃν ἔτι ὥφειλεν· οἱ δὲ Θρᾷκες  
οἵδε Ῥωμαίους ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπ' Ἀντιόχῳ νίκης,  
ἐπανιόντας, οὐκέτι Φιλίππου παρόντος, τὴν τε  
λείαν ἀφείλοντο καὶ πολλοὺς διέφθειραν, φῦ καὶ  
μάλιστα ἐπεδείχθη ὅσον αὐτοὺς ἀνιόντας ὤνησεν  
ὁ Φίλιππος.

6. Ἐκτελεσθέντος δὲ τοῦ κατ' Ἀντιόχου  
πολέμου πολλοὶ κατηγόρουν τοῦ Φιλίππου, τὰ  
μὲν ἀδικεῖν αὐτόν, τὰ δὲ οὐ ποιεῖν ὃν ὥρισε  
Φλαμινῖος, ὅτε διετίθετο τὴν Ἐλλάδα. καὶ  
Δημήτριος ἐς ἀντιλογίαν ἐπρέσβευεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ,  
κεχαρισμένος μὲν ἔκπαλαι Ῥωμαίοις ἀπὸ τῆς  
ὁμηρείας, Φλαμινίου δὲ αὐτὸν τῇ βουλῇ γνωρί-  
ζοντος ἵσχυρῶς. νεώτερον δ' ὅντα καὶ θορυβού-  
μενον ἐκέλευσαν τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπομνήματα  
ἀναγνῶναι, ἐν οἷς ἦν ἔφ' ἔκάστου, τὰ μὲν ἦδη  
γεγονέναι, τὰ δὲ γενήσεσθαι, καίπερ ἀδίκως ὥρι-  
σμένα· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο προσέκειτο πολλοῖς. ἡ δὲ  
βουλὴ τὴν ὑπόγυον αὐτοῦ ἐς Ἀντιόχου προθυμίαν  
αἰδουμένη, συγγιγνώσκειν τε ἔφη, καὶ προσεπεῖπε  
διὰ Δημήτριον. ὁ δ' ὁμολογουμένως αὐτοῖς  
ἐς τὸν Ἀντιόχου πόλεμον χρησιμώτατός τε  
γεγονώς, καὶ βλαβερώτατος ἀν φανεὶς εἰ Ἀντιόχῳ  
παρακαλοῦντι συνέπραξε, πολλὰ ἐλπίσας ἐπὶ  
τῷδε, καὶ ὅρων αὐτὸν ἀπιστούμενον καὶ κατηγο-  
ρούμενον καὶ συγγνώμης ἀντὶ χαρίτων ἀξιούμενον,

## MACEDONIAN AFFAIRS

to the Hellespont. In return for these favours the <sup>B.C.</sup> <sub>190</sub> Senate released his son Demetrius, who had been held by them as a hostage, and remitted the payments of money still due from him. But these Thracians fell upon the Romans when they were returning from their victory over Antiochus, when Philip was no longer with them, carried off their booty and killed many—by which it was plainly shown how great a service Philip had rendered them when they were advancing.

6. The war with Antiochus being ended, many of the <sup>188</sup> Greeks charged Philip with doing or omitting various things in disregard of the orders given by Flamininus when he settled the affairs of Greece. To answer these charges Demetrius went as an envoy to Rome in his father's behalf, the Romans being well pleased with him aforetime, when he had been a hostage, and Flamininus strongly recommending him to the Senate. As he was rather young and somewhat flustered, they directed him to read his father's memorandum in which it was severally entered that certain things had already been done, and that others should be done, although decided upon contrary to justice; for this observation was appended to many of the clauses. Nevertheless, the Senate, having regard to his late zeal in the matter of Antiochus, said that it would pardon him, and added that it did so on account of Demetrius. But Philip, having been confessedly most useful to them in the war with Antiochus, when he might have done them the greatest damage if he had co-operated with Antiochus, as the latter asked him to, expecting much on this account and now seeing himself discredited and accused, and considered worthy of pardon rather than of gratitude,

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK IX

καὶ τῆσδε διὰ Δημήτριον, ἥχθετο καὶ ἡγανάκτει,  
καὶ ἐπέκρυπτεν ἄμφω. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἐν δίκῃ τινὶ<sup>1</sup>  
Ῥωμαῖοι πολλὰ τῶν Φιλίππου πρὸς Εὔμενη  
μετέφερον, ἀσθενοποιοῦντες ἀεὶ τὸν Φίλιππον, ἐς  
πόλεμον ἥδη λανθάνων ἡτοιμάζετο. id. ib.

## X

Ο δὲ Φίλιππος τοὺς ἐπιπλέοντας διέφθειρεν, ἵνα  
μὴ Ῥωμαίοις λέγοιεν τὰ Μακεδόνων ἐκτετρῦσθαι.  
Suid. v. τετρῦσθαι.

## XI

1. "Οτι Ῥωμαῖοι ταχέως αὐξανόμενον τὸν  
Περσέα ὑφεωρῶντο· καὶ μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἡρέθιζεν  
ἡ τῶν Ἑλλήνων φιλία καὶ γειτνίασις, οἷς ἔχθος ἐς  
Ῥωμαίους ἐπεποιήκεσαν οἱ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοί.  
ώς δὲ καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ ἐς Βαστέρνας ἀπεσταλ-  
μένοι τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἔφασκον ἴδεν ἀσφαλῶς  
ῳχυρωμένην καὶ παρασκευὴν ἰκανὴν καὶ νεότητα  
γεγυμνασμένην, Ῥωμαίους καὶ τάδε διετάρασσεν.  
αἰσθόμενος δ' ὁ Περσεὺς ἐτέρους ἔπειμπε πρέσβεις,  
τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἐκλύων. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ Εὔμενης ὁ  
τῆς περὶ τὸ Πέργαμον Ἀσίας βασιλεύς, ἀπὸ τῆς  
πρὸς Φίλιππον ἔχθρας δεδιὼς Περσέα ἤκει ἐς  
Ῥώμην, καὶ κατηγόρει φανερῶς αὐτοῦ, παρελθὼν  
ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὅτι Ῥωμαίοις δυσμενῆς γένοιτο  
ἀεί, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν οἰκείως ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔχοντα

## MACEDONIAN AFFAIRS

and even this merely on account of Demetrius, was <sup>B.C.</sup> <sub>183</sub> indignant and angry, but concealed his feelings. When afterwards, in a certain arbitration before the Romans, they transferred much of his territory to Eumenes, seeking all the time to weaken him, he at last began secretly preparing for war

### X. FROM SUIDAS

PHILIP utterly destroyed all forces that sailed against him, lest the Romans should say that the Macedonian power had been crushed.

### XI. FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

1. THE Romans were suspicious of Perseus (the son of Philip) on account of his rapidly growing power, and they were especially disturbed by his nearness to the Greeks and his friendship for men whom the Roman generals had filled with hatred of the Roman people. Afterward the ambassadors, who were sent to the Bastarnae, reported that they had observed that Macedonia was strongly fortified and had abundant war material, and that its young men were well drilled; and these things also disturbed the Romans. When Perseus perceived this he sent other ambassadors to allay the suspicion. At this time also Eumenes, king of that part of Asia <sup>172</sup> lying about Pergamus, fearing Perseus on account of his own former enmity to Philip, came to Rome and accused him publicly before the Senate, saying that he had always been hostile to the Romans; that he had killed his brother for being friendly to them;

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK IX

ἀνέλοι, καὶ Φιλίππω τε παρασκευὴν τοσήνδε κατ' αὐτῶν συναγαγόντι συμπράξειε, καὶ βασιλεὺς γενόμενος οὐδὲν ἐκλύσειεν αὐτῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ προσεξεργάσαιτο ἔτερα, καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀμέτρως θεραπεύοι, Βυζαντίοις τε καὶ Αἰτωλοῖς καὶ Βοιωτοῖς συμμαχήσας, καὶ Θράκην κατακτῷτο, μέγα ὄρμητήριον, καὶ Θετταλοὺς καὶ Περραιβοὺς διαστασιάσειε βουλομένους τι πρεσβεῦσαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

2. “Καὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων,” ἔφη, “φίλων καὶ συμμάχων Ἀβρούπολιν μὲν ἀφήρηται τὴν ἀρχὴν, Ἀρθέταυρον δὲ ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς δυνάστην καὶ ἔκτεινεν ἐπιβουλεύσας, καὶ τοὺς ἐργασαμένους ὑποδέδεκται.” διέβαλλε δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐπιγαμίας βασιλικὰς ἄμφω γενομέγας, καὶ τὰς υυμφαγωγίας ὅλῳ τῷ Ῥοδίῳ στόλῳ παραπεμφθείσας. ἔγκλημα δὲ ἐποίει καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ νηφάλιον τῆς διαίτης, ὃντος οὕτω νέον, καὶ ὅτι πρὸς πολλῶν ὁξέως ἐν ὀλίγῳ ἀγαπῷτο καὶ ἐπαινοῦτο. ζήλου τε καὶ φθόνου καὶ δέους μᾶλλον ἡ ἔγκλημάτων οὐδὲν ὁ Εὔμενης ἀπολιπών, ἐκέλευε τὴν σύγκλητον ὑφορᾶσθαι νέον ἐχθρὸν εὐδοκιμοῦντα καὶ γειτονεύοντα.

3. Ἡ δὲ ἐργῷ μὲν οὐκ ἀξιοῦσα βασιλέα σώφρονα καὶ φιλόπονον καὶ ἐς πολλοὺς φιλάνθρωπον, ἀθρόως οὕτως ἐπαιρόμενον καὶ πατρικὸν δόντα σφίσιν ἐχθρόν, ἐν πλευραῖς ἔχειν, λόγῳ δὲ προύτεινεν ὁ Εὔμενης αἰτιωμένη, πολεμεῖν ἔκρινε τῷ Περσεῖ. καὶ τοῦτ' ἀπόρρητον ἔτι ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ποιούμενοι, “Αρπαλόν τε πεμφθέντα παρὰ

## MACEDONIAN AFFAIRS

that he had aided Philip in collecting his great armament against them, an armament which, when he became king, he actually increased instead of diminishing; that he was conciliating the Greeks in every possible way and furnishing military aid to the Byzantines, the Aetolians, and the Boeotians; that he had possessed himself of the great stronghold of Thrace and had stirred up dissensions among the Thessalians and the Perrhaebi when they wanted to send an embassy to Rome.

2. "And of your two friends and allies," he said, "he drove Abrupolis out of his kingdom and conspired to kill Arthetaurus, the Illyrian chief, and gave shelter to his murderers." Eumenes also slandered him on account of his foreign marriages, both of which were with royal families, and for his bridal processions escorted by the whole fleet of Rhodes. He even made into an accusation the industry and sobriety of life which he shewed at such an early age, and the widespread popularity and praise which he had quickly attained. Of the things that could excite their jealousy, envy, and fear even more strongly than direct accusations, Eumenes omitted nothing, and he urged the Senate to beware of a youthful enemy so highly esteemed and so near to them.

3. The Senate, in reality because they did not choose to have on their flank a sober-minded, laborious, and benevolent king, an hereditary enemy to themselves, attaining eminence so suddenly, but ostensibly on the ground of Eumenes' allegations, decided to make war against Perseus. This intention they at present kept secret among themselves, and when Harpalus, who had been sent by Perseus

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK IX

Περσέως ἐς ἀντιλογίαν Εὔμένους, καὶ Ῥοδίων τινὰ πρεσβευτήν, βουλομένους ἐς ὅψιν τὸν Εὔμένη διελέγχειν, παρόντος μὲν ἔτι τοῦ Εὔμένους οὐ προσήκαντο, μεταστάντος δὲ ἐδέξαντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷδε πρῶτον ἀγανακτοῦντές τε καὶ παρρησίᾳ χρώμενοι πλέον πολεμεῖν βουλομένους ἥδη Ῥωμαίους Περσεῖ καὶ Ῥοδίοις μᾶλλον ἔξηγρίωσαν· τῶν δὲ βουλευτῶν πολλοὶ τὸν Εὔμένη δι' αἰτίας εἶχον ὑπὸ φθόνου καὶ δέους αἴτιον τοσοῦτον πολέμου γενόμενον. καὶ Ῥόδιοι τὴν θεωρίαν αὐτοῦ, μόνου βασιλέων, ἐς τὴν ἑορτὴν τοῦ Ἡλίου πεμπομένην οὐκ ἐδέξαντο.

4. Αὐτὸς δ' ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπανιὼν ἐκ Κίρρας ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀνέβαινε θύσων, καὶ αὐτῷ τέσσαρες ἄνδρες ὑπὸ τὸ τειχίον ὑποστάντες ἐπεβούλευον. καὶ ἄλλας δέ τινας αἰτίας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς τὸν Περσέως πόλεμον ὡς οὕπω κεκριμένον προσελάμβανον, καὶ πρέσβεις ἐς τοὺς φίλους βασιλέας, Εὔμένη καὶ Ἀντίοχον καὶ Ἀριαράθην καὶ Μασσανάσσην καὶ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Αἰγύπτου, περιέπεμπον, ἐτέρους δ' ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ Θεσσαλίαν καὶ Ἡπειρον καὶ Ἀκαρνανίαν, καὶ ἐς τὰς νῆσους, ὅσας δύναιντο προσαγαγέσθαι· δὲ καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐτάραττεν, ἥδομένους μὲν τῷ Περσεῖ φιλέλλην ὅντι, ἀναγκαζομένους δὲ ἐνίους Ῥωμαίοις ἐς συμβάσεις χωρεῖν.

5. Ὡν δὲ Περσεὺς αἰσθόμενος ἐπεμπεν ἐς Ῥώμην, ἀπορῶν τε καὶ πυνθανόμενος τί παθόντες ἐκλήθονται τῶν συγκειμένων καὶ πρέσβεις κατ' αὐτοῦ περιπέμπουσιν ὅντος φίλου, δέον, εἰ καί τι μέμφονται, λόγῳ διακριθῆναι. οἱ δὲ ἐνεκάλουν

## MACEDONIAN AFFAIRS

to answer the charge of Eumenes, and a certain ambassador of the Rhodians, desired to refute Eumenes face to face, they were not admitted while he was still there, but after his departure they were received. They now, for the first time, lost patience, and using too much freedom of speech, still more exasperated the Romans, who were already meditating war against Perseus and the Rhodians. Many senators, however, blamed Eumenes for causing so great a war on account of his own private grudges and fears, and the Rhodians refused to receive his representatives, alone among all those sent by the kings to their festival of the Sun.

4. When Eumenes was returning to Asia he went up from Cirrha to Delphi to sacrifice, and there four men, hiding behind a wall, made an attempt upon his life. Other causes besides this were advanced by the Romans for a war against Perseus, as though it had not yet been decreed, and ambassadors were sent to the allied kings, Eumenes, Antiochus, Ariarathes, Masinissa, and Ptolemy of Egypt, also to Greece, Thessaly, Epirus, Acarnania, and to such of the islands as they could draw to their side. This specially troubled the Greeks, some because they were fond of Perseus as a Philhellene, and some because they were compelled to enter into agreement with the Romans.

5. When Perseus learned these facts he sent other ambassadors to Rome, who said that the king was surprised and wished to know for what reason they had forgotten the agreement and sent around legates against himself, their ally. If they were offended at anything, they ought to discuss the matter first. The Senate then accused him of the things that

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK IX

ὅσα Εύμενης εἴποι καὶ πάθοι, καὶ μᾶλιστα ὅτι Θράκην κατακτῶτο, καὶ στρατιὰν ἔχοι καὶ παρασκευὴν οὐκ ἡρεμήσοντος ἄνδρός. ὁ δ' αὖθις ἐπεμπεν ἑτέρους, οὐ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἀπαχθέντες ἔλεγον ὥδε· “τοῖς μὲν προφάσεως ἐς πόλεμον, ὡς Ἡρακλεῖοι, δεομένοις ἵκανὰ πάντα ἐς τὴν πρόφασιν ἐστίν. εἰ δ' αἰδεῖσθε συνθῆκας οἱ πολὺν ἀξιοῦντες αὐτῶν λόγον ἔχειν, τί παθόντες ὑπὸ Περσέως αἱρεσθε πόλεμον; οὐ γὰρ ὅτι στρατιὰν ἔχει καὶ παρασκευὴν. οὐ γὰρ ἔχει ταῦτα καθ' ὑμῶν. οὐδὲ τοὺς ἄλλους κεκτῆσθαι βασιλέας κωλύετε· οὐδὲ ἄδικον ἀσφαλῶς ἔχειν ἐς τοὺς ἀρχομένους καὶ τὰ περίοικα, καὶ εἴ τις ἔξωθεν ἐπιβουλεύοι. πρὸς δὲ ὑμᾶς, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἡρακλεῖοι, ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπρέσβευσε καὶ τὰς συνθῆκας ἔναγχος ἀνεκαίνισεν.

6. Ἀλλ' Ἡρακλεῖοιν ἔξέβαλε τῆς ἀρχῆς. ἐπιδραμόντα γε τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀμυνόμενος. καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτὸς ὑμῶν ἐδήλωσε Περσεύς, καὶ τὰς συνθῆκας αὐτῷ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀνενεώσασθε, οὕπω διαβάλλοντος Εύμενους. τὸ μὲν δὴ περὶ Ἡρακλεῖοιν καὶ πρεσβύτερόν ἐστι τῶν συνθηκῶν, καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν, ὅτε συνετίθεσθε, δίκαιοιν ἐφάνη. Δόλοψι γὰρ ἐπεστράτευσεν οὗσι τῆς ἴδιας ἀρχῆς, καὶ δεινὸν εἰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ λογισμὸν ὑμῖν ὀφλήσει. δίδωσι δ' ὅμως, περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενος ὑμᾶς τε καὶ δόξαν ἀγαθήν. ἔκτειναν δ' οἱ Δόλοπες οἵδε τὸν ἡγούμενον αὐτῶν αἰκισάμενοι, καὶ ζητεῦ Περσεύς τί ἀν ὑμεῖς ἐδράσατε τοὺς ὑπηκόους τοιαῦτα πράξαντας. ἀλλ'

## MACEDONIAN AFFAIRS

Eumenes had told them, and also of what Eumenes <sup>B.C.</sup> <sup>171</sup> had suffered, and especially of taking possession of Thrace and collecting an army and war material, in a manner which did not shew a desire for peace. Again he sent ambassadors who were brought into the senate-chamber, and spoke as follows : “ To those who are seeking an excuse for war, O Romans, anything will serve for a pretext, but if you have respect for treaties—you who profess so much regard for them—what have you suffered at the hands of Perseus that you should bring war against him ? It cannot be because he has an army and war material. He does not hold them against you, nor do you prohibit other kings from having them, nor is it wrong that he should take precautions against those under his rule, and against his neighbours, and foreigners who might have designs against him. But to you, Romans, he sent ambassadors to confirm the peace and only recently renewed the treaty.

6. “ But, you say, he drove Abrupolis out of his kingdom. Yes, in self-defence, for he had invaded our territory. This fact Perseus himself explained to you, and afterward you renewed the treaty with him, as Eumenes had not yet slandered him. The affair of Abrupolis antedates the treaty and seemed to you just, when you ratified it. You say that he made war on the Dolopians, but they were his own subjects. It is hard if he is to be obliged to give an account to you of what he does with his own. He gives it nevertheless, being moved by his high regard for you and for his own reputation. These Dolopians put their governor to death with torture, and Perseus asks what you would have done to any of your subjects who had been guilty of such a crime. But

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK IX

Ἄρθέταυρόν τινες ἀνελούντες ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ διέτριβον. κοινῷ γε πάντων ἀνθρώπων νόμῳ, καθὰ καὶ ὑμεῖς τοὺς ἔτέρωθεν φεύγοντας ὑποδέχεσθε. μαθὼν δὲ καὶ τοῦθ' ὅτι ἔγκλημα ποιεῖσθε, ἔξεκήρυξεν αὐτὸὺς τῆς ἀρχῆς ὅλης.

7. Βυζαντίοις δὲ καὶ Αἰτωλοῖς καὶ Βοιωτοῖς οὐ καθ' ὑμῶν ἀλλὰ καθ' ἔτέρων συνεμάχησεν. καὶ ταῦτα πάλαι ὑμῖν ἡμέτεροι πρέσβεις ἐμήνυσον, καὶ οὐκ ἐμέμφεσθε μέχρι τῆς Εὔμενους διαβολῆς, ἦν οὐκ εἴασατε τοὺς ἡμετέρους πρέσβεις ἐς ὅψιν αὐτὸν ἐλέγξαι. ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν τὴν ἐν Δελφοῖς αὐτῷ γενομένην προσγράφετε Περσεῖ, πόσων Ἐλλήνων, πόσων δὲ βαρβάρων κατ' Εὔμενους πρεσβευσάντων πρὸς ὑμᾶς οἷς πᾶσιν ἔχθρος ἐστι τοιοῦτος ὥν. Ἐρέννιον δὲ τὸν ἐν Βρευτεσίῳ τίς ἀν πιστεύσειεν ὅτι Περσεύς, Ῥωμαῖον ὄντα καὶ φίλον ὑμέτερον καὶ πρόξενον, εἴληφεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς θουλῆς φαρμακείαν, ὡς ἀναλῶσαι τὴν σύγκλητον δι' αὐτοῦ δυνάμενος, ἢ τοὺς ὑπολοίπους εὐμενεστέρους ἔξων διὰ τοὺς ἀναιρουμένους; ἀλλ' Ἐρέννιος μὲν ἐψεύσατο τοῖς ἐπιτρίβουσιν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ὑμᾶς πρόφασιν εὐσχήμονα διδούς, Εὔμενης δ' ὑπ' ἔχθρας τε καὶ φθόνου καὶ δέους οὐδὲ ταῦτ' ὕκνησεν ἔγκαλέσαι Περσεῖ, ὅτι πολλοῖς ἔθνεσι κεχαρισμένος καὶ φιλέλλην, καὶ σωφρόνως ἀντὶ μέθης καὶ τρυφῆς ἄρχει. καὶ ταῦθ' ὑμεῖς αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὑπέστητε ἀκροάσασθαι.

8. Τοιγάρτοι τὴν ἐκείνου διαβολὴν αὕξετε καθ' ὑμῶν ὡς οὐ φέροντες σώφρονας καὶ δικαίους καὶ φιλοπόνους γείτογας. Περσεὺς δ' Ἐρέννιον μὲν

## MACEDONIAN AFFAIRS

the slayers of Arthetaurus lived on in Macedonia! <sup>B.C.</sup> <sup>171</sup> Yes, by the common law of mankind, the same under which you yourselves give asylum to fugitives from other countries. But when Perseus learned that you considered this a crime he forbade them his kingdom entirely.

7. "He gave aid to the Byzantines, the Aetolians, and the Boeotians, not against you, but against others. Of these things our ambassadors advised you long ago, and you did not object until Eumenes uttered his slander against us, which you did not allow our ambassadors to answer in his presence. But you accuse Perseus of the plot against him at Delphi. How many Greeks, how many barbarians, have sent ambassadors to you to complain against Eumenes, to all of whom he is an enemy because so base a man! As for Erennius of Brundusium, who would believe that Perseus would choose a Roman citizen, your hospitable friend, to administer poison to the Senate, as though he could destroy the Senate by means of him, or by destroying some of them render the others more favourable to himself? Erennius has lied to those who are inciting you to war, furnishing them with a plausible pretext. Eumenes, moved by hatred, envy, and fear, does not even scruple to make it a crime on the part of Perseus that he is liked by so many nations, that he is a Philhellene, and that he leads the life of a temperate ruler, instead of being a drunkard and a profligate. And you endure to listen to such stuff from his lips!"

8. "Therefore the reproaches which you level against him will recoil in an even greater measure on your own heads, since you will be seen not to

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK IX

καὶ Εὐμένη, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἐθέλοι, προκαλεῖται παρ' ὑμῖν ἐσέξετασιν καὶ κρίσιν, ὑμᾶς δὲ ἀναμιμνήσκει μὲν τῆς ἐστὸν Ἀντίοχον τὸν μέγαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἑαυτοῦ προθυμίας καὶ βοηθείας, ἡς ἐπιγιγνομένης καλῶς ἥσθιανεσθε, αἰσχρὸν δὲ παρελθούσης ἐπιλαθέσθαι, προφέρει δὲ συνθήκας πατρώας τε καὶ ἴδιας πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑμῖν γενομένας. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε οὐκ ὀκνεῖ καὶ παρακαλεῖν ὑμᾶς, θεοὺς οὓς ὠμόσατε αἰδεῖσθαι, καὶ μὴ πολέμου κατάρχειν ἀδίκως ἐσ φίλους, μηδὲ ἔγκλημα ποιεῖσθαι γειτνίασιν καὶ σωφροσύνην καὶ παρασκευήν, οὐ γὰρ ἄξιον, ως Εὐμένους, καὶ ὑμῶν ἅπτεσθαι φθόνον ἢ φόβον. τὸ δὲ ἐναντίον ἐστὶ σῶφρον, φείδεσθαι γειτόνων ἐπιμελῶν, καὶ ως Εὐμένης φησίν, εὖ παρεσκευασμένων.”

9. Οἱ μὲν δὴ πρέσβεις τοιαῦτα εἶπον, οἱ δὲ οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀποκρινάμενοι τὸν πόλεμον ἐσ τὸ φανερὸν ἐκύρουν. καὶ ὁ ὑπατος ἐκέλευε τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐκ μεν τῆς πόλεως αὐτῆς ἡμέρας, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰταλίας τριάκοντα ἄλλαις ἔξιέναι. τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιδημοῦσι Μακεδόνων ἐκήρυττεν. καὶ θόρυβος αὐτίκα μετὰ τὸ βουλευτηριον ἐπίφθονος ἦν, ἐν ὀλίγαις ὥραις ἐλαυνομένων τοσῶνδε ὄμοι, καὶ οὐδὲ ὑποξύγια εὑρεῖν ἐν οὕτῳ βραχεῖ διαστήματι, οὐδὲ πάντα φέρειν δυναμένων. ὑπὸ δὲ σπουδῆς οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἔφθανον ἐπὶ τοὺς σταθμούς, ἀλλ' ἐν μέσαις ἀνεπαύοντο ταῖς ὄδοῖς, οἱ δὲ παρὰ ταῖς πύλαις μετὰ παίδων ἑαυτοὺς ἐρρίπτουν καὶ μετὰ γυναικῶν. πάντα τε ἐγίγνετο ὅσα εἰκος ἐν αἴφνιδίῳ καὶ τοιῷδε κηρύγματι· αἴφνιδιον γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐφαίνετο διὰ τὰς ἔτι πρεσβείας. U. p. 364.

## MACEDONIAN AFFAIRS

tolerate temperate, honest, and industrious neighbours. Perseus challenges Erennius and Eumenes and anybody else to scrutiny and trial before you. He reminds you of his father's zeal and assistance to you against Antiochus the Great. You realized it very well at the time; it would be base to forget it now that it is past. Further, he invokes the treaties that you made with his father and with himself, does not hesitate to exhort you also to fear the gods by whom you swore, and not to bring an unjust war against your allies and not to make nearness, sobriety, and preparation causes of complaint. It is not worthy of you to be stirred by envy or fear like Eumenes. On the contrary, it will be the part of wisdom for you to spare neighbours who are diligent and, as Eumenes says, well prepared.”

9. When the ambassadors had thus spoken the Senate gave them no answer, but made a public declaration of war, and the consul ordered the ambassadors to depart from Rome the same day and from Italy within thirty days. The same orders were proclaimed to all Macedonian residents. Consternation mingled with anger followed this action of the Senate, because, on a few hours' notice, so many people were compelled to depart together, who were not even able to find animals in so short a time, nor yet to carry all their goods themselves. Some, in their haste, could not reach a lodging-place, but passed the night in the middle of the roads. Others threw themselves on the ground at the city gates with their wives and children. Everything happened that was likely to follow such an unexpected decree, for it was unexpected to them on account of the pending negotiation.

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK IX

### XII

"Οτι μετὰ τὴν νίκην ὁ Περσεύς, εἴτ' ἐπιγελῶν Κράσσω καὶ τωθάζων αὐτόν, εἴτ' ἀποπειρώμενος ὅπως ἔτι φρονήματος ἔχοι, εἴτε τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμίν τε καὶ παρασκευὴν ὑφορώμενος, εἴθ' ἐτέρῳ τῷ λογισμῷ, προσέπεμπεν αὐτῷ περὶ διαλλαγῶν, καὶ πολλὰ δώσειν ὑπισχνεῖτο ὡν ὁ πατὴρ Φίλιππος οὐ συνεχώρει· φέρε καὶ μᾶλλον ὑποπτος ἦν ἐπιγελῶν καὶ πειρώμενος. ὁ δὲ Περσεῖ μὲν ἀπεκρίνατο Ῥωμαίων ἀξίας οὐκ εἶναι διαλύσεις αὐτῷ, εἰ μὴ καὶ Μακεδόνας καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέψεις Ῥωμαίοις· αἰδούμενος δ' ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς ἥπτης κατῆρξαν, ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν Θεσσαλοῖς μὲν ἐμαρτύρησεν ώς ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς περὶ τὴν συμφορὰν γενομένους, Αἰτωλῶν δὲ καὶ ἐτέρων Ἑλλήνων κατεψεύσατο ώς πρώτων τραπέντων. καὶ τούτους ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπεμψεν. id. p. 369.

### XIII

Τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τοῦ θέρους ἀμφότεροι περὶ σιτολογίαν ἐγίγνοντο, Περσεὺς μὲν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις ἀλωνευόμενος, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. Suid. v. ἀλωνευόμενος.

### XIV

"Ος δὲ πρῶτος ἐξῆρχε τοῦ πόνου, ἐξηκοντούτης ὡν καὶ βαρὺς τὸ σῶμα καὶ πιμελής. id. v. πιμελής.

## MACEDONIAN AFFAIRS

### XII. FROM THE SAME

AFTER his victory Perseus, either to make sport of Crassus, and by way of joke, or to test his present state of mind, or fearing the power and resources of the Romans, or for some other reason, sent messengers to him to treat for peace, and promised to make many concessions which his father, Philip, had refused. In this promise he seemed to be rather joking with him and testing him. But Crassus replied that it would not be worthy of the dignity of the Roman people to come to terms with him unless he should surrender Macedonia and himself to them. Being ashamed that the Romans were the first to retreat, Crassus called an assembly, in which he praised the Thessalians for their brave conduct in the catastrophe, and falsely accused the Aetolians and the other Greeks of being the first to fly ; and these men he sent to Rome.

### XIII. FROM SUIDAS

BOTH armies employed the rest of the summer in collecting corn, Perseus threshing in the fields and the Romans in their camp.

### XIV. FROM THE SAME

HE (Q. Marcius) was foremost in labour, although sixty years of age and heavy and corpulent.

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK IX

### XV

Τότε δὲ ἔθει τις δρόμῳ δηλώσων τῷ Περσεῖ λονομένῳ καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀναλαμβάνοντι. ὁ δὲ ἐξήλατο τοῦ ὕδατος βοῶν ὅτι ἑαλώκοι πρὸ τῆς μάχης. id. v. ἀναλαμβάνειν b.

### XVI

"Οτι Περσεὺς ἀναθαρρῶν ἥδη κατ' ὀλίγον μετὰ τὴν φυγήν, Νικίαν καὶ Ἀιγρόνικον, οὓς ἐπὶ τὸν καταποντισμὸν τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τὸν ἐμπρησμὸν τῶν νεῶν ἐπεπόμφει, περιποιήσας αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὰ χρήματα, συνίστορας ἥγούμενος αἰσχροῦ φόβου καὶ ἐτέροις ἐξαγγελεῖν, ἀπέκτεινεν ἀθεμίστως, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε εὐθὺς ἐκ μεταβολῆς ὡμὸς καὶ εὐχερὴς ἐσ ἅπαντας ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς οὐδὲ εὑβουλόν οἱ ἔτι ἦν, ἀλλ' ὁ πιθανώτατος ἐσ εὑβουλίαν καὶ λογίσασθαι δεξιὸς καὶ εὐτολμότατος ἐσ μάχας, ὅσα γε μὴ σφάλλοιτο δι' ἀπειρίαν, ἀθρώς τότε καὶ παραλόγως ἐσ δειλίαν καὶ ἀλογιστίαν ἐτράπετο, καὶ ταχὺς καὶ εὔμετάθετος ἄφνω καὶ σκαιὸς ἐσ πάντα ἐγένετο, ἀρχομένης αὐτὸν ἐπιλείπειν τῆς τύχης. ὅπερ ἔστι πολλοὺς ἰδεῖν, μεταβολῆς προσιουσῆς ἀλογωτέρους γιγνομένους ἑαυτῶν. Val. p. 561 (hinc Suid. v. Περσεὺς Μακεδών).

### XVII

"Οτι Ἄρδιοι πρέσβεις ἐσ Μάρκιον ἐπεμψαν, συνηδόμενοι τῶν γεγονότων [Περσεῖ]. ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐδίδασκε Ἄρδιοις πεῖσαι

## MACEDONIAN AFFAIRS

### XV. FROM THE SAME

THEN somebody ran to Perseus, while he was <sup>B.C.</sup> refreshing himself with a bath, and told him [that <sup>171</sup> the enemy was approaching]. He sprang out of the water, exclaiming that he had been captured before the battle.

### XVI. FROM "VIRTUES AND VICES"

PERSEUS, who was now gradually plucking up<sup>69</sup> courage after his flight, wickedly put to death Nicias and Andronicus, whom he had sent with orders to throw his money into the sea and to burn his ships; because after the ships and money had been saved he knew that they were witnesses of his disgraceful panic and might tell others of it. And from that time, by a sudden change, he became cruel and reckless toward everybody. Nor did he show any soundness or wisdom of judgment thereafter, but he, who had before been most persuasive in counsel and shrewd in calculation and courageous in battle, except when he failed owing to inexperience, when fortune began to desert him became suddenly and unaccountably cowardly and imprudent, as well as unsteady, changeable and maladroit in all things. Thus we see many who lose their usual discretion when reverses come.

### XVII. FROM "THE EMBASSIES"

THE Rhodians sent ambassadors to Marcius to congratulate him on the state of affairs in his war with Perseus. Marcius advised the ambassadors to

πέμψαντας ἐς Ἀρώμην διαλῦσαι τὸν πόλεμον  
 Ὦρωμαίοις τε καὶ Περσεῖ. καὶ Ῥόδιοι πυθόμενοι  
 μετέπιπτον ώς οὐ φαύλως ἔχοντος τοῦ Περσέως·  
 οὐ γὰρ εἴκαζον ἄνευ Ὦρωμαίων ταῦτα Μάρκιον  
 ἐπισκήπτειν. ὁ δ' ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τάδε καὶ ἔτερα  
 πολλὰ δι' ἀτολμίαν ἐπραττεν. Ῥόδιοι μὲν οὖν  
 καὶ ώς πρέσβεις ἐπέμποντο ἐς Ἀρώμην, καὶ ἔτερους  
 πρὸς Μάρκιον. U. p. 369.

## XVIII

1. "Οτι Γένθιος βασιλεὺς Ἰλλυριῶν ἐνὸς ἔθνους  
 προσοίκου Μακεδόσι, Περσεῖ συμμαχῶν ἐπὶ  
 τριακοσίοις ταλάντοις, ὃν τι καὶ προειλήφει,  
 ἐσέβαλεν ἐς τὴν ὑπὸ Ὦρωμαίοις Ἰλλυρίδα, καὶ  
 πρέσβεις περὶ τούτων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντας Περ-  
 πένναν καὶ Πετίλιον ἐδησεν. ὃν ὁ Περσεὺς  
 αἰσθόμενος οὐκέτι τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρημάτων ἐπεμ-  
 πεν ώς ἥδη καὶ δι' αὐτὸν Ὦρωμαίοις πεπολεμωμέ-  
 νον. ἐς δὲ Γέτας ἐπεμπει τοὺς ὑπὲρ Ἰστρον, καὶ  
 Εὔμενους ἀπεπείρασεν ἐπὶ χρήμασιν ἢ μεταθέ-  
 σθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, ἢ διαλῦσαι τὸν πόλεμον, ἢ  
 ἀμφοτέροις ἐκστῆναι τοῦ ἀγῶνος, εὗ μὲν εἰδὼς  
 οὐ λησόμενα ταῦτα Ὦρωμαίους, ἐλπίζων δ' ἢ  
 πράξειν τι αὐτῶν ἢ τῇ πείρᾳ διαβαλεῖν τὸν  
 Εὔμενη. ὁ δὲ μεταθήσεσθαι μὲν οὐκ ἔφη, τάλαντα  
 δ' ἥτει τῆς μὲν διαλύσεως χίλια καὶ πεντα-  
 κόσια, τῆς δὲ ἡσυχίας χίλια. καὶ ὁ Περ-  
 σεὺς ἥδη Γετῶν αὐτῷ προσιέναι μισθοφόρους  
 μυρίους ἵππέας καὶ μυρίους πεζοὺς πυθομενος,

## MACEDONIAN AFFAIRS

persuade the Rhodians to send legates to Rome to bring about peace between the Romans and Perseus. When the Rhodians heard these things they changed their minds, thinking that the affairs of Perseus were not in such a bad state, for they did not think that <sup>b.c.</sup> 169  
Marcius would have enjoined this without the concurrence of the Romans. But he did this and many other things on his own motion, by reason of cowardice. The Rhodians nevertheless sent ambassadors to Rome and others to Marcius.

### XVIII. FROM VIRTUES AND VICES

1. GENTHIUS, king of a tribe of Illyrians bordering on Macedonia, having formed an alliance with Perseus in consideration of 300 talents, of which he had received a part down, made an attack upon Roman Illyria, and when the Romans sent Perpenna and Petilius as ambassadors to enquire about it, he put them in chains. When Perseus learned this he decided not to pay the rest of the money, thinking that Genthius had already, by his own action, made himself an enemy of the Romans. He also sent legates to the Getae on the other side of the Danube, and he offered money to Eumenes if he would come over to his side, or negotiate for him a peace with Rome, or help neither party in the contest. He knew well that the Romans would hear of this and hoped either to achieve one of these things, or to cast suspicion on Eumenes by the very attempt. Eumenes refused to come over to his side, and he demanded 1500 talents for negotiating a peace, or 1000 for remaining neutral. But now Perseus, learning that 10,000 foot and as many horse were coming to him as mercenaries from the Getae, began forthwith to despise

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK IX

αὐτίκα τοῦ Εὐμένους κατεφρόνει, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἡσυχίας οὐκ ἔφη δώσειν οὐδέν (αἰσχύνη γὰρ φέρειν ἀμφοῖν), τὰ δὲ τῆς διαλύσεως οὐ προδώσειν, ἀλλ' ἐν Σαμοθράκη καταθήσειν μέχρι γένοιτο ἡ διάλυσις, εὐμετάβολος ἥδη καὶ μικρολόγος ὑπὸ θεοβλαβείας ἐς πάντα γενόμενος. ἐνὸς δὲ ὧν ἥλπισεν ὅμως οὐκ ἀπέτυχε, Ῥωμαίοις Εὐμένους ὑπόπτου γενομένου.

2. Γετῶν δὲ τὸν "Ιστρον περασάντων, ἐδόκει Κλοιλίῳ μὲν τῷ ἡγεμόνι δοθῆναι χιλίους χρυσοῦς στατῆρας, ἵππει δ' ἑκάστῳ δέκα, καὶ τὰ ἡμίσεα πεζῷ καὶ τοῦτο σύμπαν ἦν ὀλίγῳ πλέον πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδων χρυσίου. ὁ δὲ χλαμύδας μέν τινας ἐπίγετο καὶ ψέλια χρυσᾶ καὶ ἵππους ἐς δωρεὰν τοῖς ἡγουμένοις, καὶ στατῆρας φερομένους μυρίους, καὶ πλησιάσας μετεπέμπετο Κλοίλιον. ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἐλθόντας, εἰ φέρουσι τὸ χρυσίον, ἥρετο, καὶ μαθὼν οὐκ ἔχοντας ἀναστρέφειν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν. ὃν ὁ Περσεὺς πυθόμενος, πάλιν αὐτὸν ἐλαύνοντος θεοῦ, κατηγόρει τῶν Γετῶν ἐν τοῖς φίλοις ἐκ μεταβολῆς ὡς φύσεως ὑπίστου, καὶ ὑπεκρίνετο μὴ θαρρεῖν δισμυρίους αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑποδέξασθαι, μόλις δ' ἔφη μυρίους, ὃν καὶ νεωτεριζόντων κρατῆσαι δύνασθαι.

3. Ταῦτα δὲ τοῖς φίλοις εἰπὼν ἔτερα τοῖς Γέταις ἐπλάττετο, καὶ τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς στρατιᾶς ὥτει, τὸ χρυσίον τὸ γιγνόμενον ὑπισχνούμενος δώσειν. τοσαύτης ἀνωμαλίας ἔγεμε, φροντίζων χρημάτων τῶν πρὸ βραχέος ἐς θάλασσαν μεθειμένων. ὁ δὲ Κλοίλιος τοὺς ἀφικομένους ἴδων ἥρετο μετὰ βοῆς

## MACEDONIAN AFFAIRS

Eumenes, and said that he would pay nothing for his neutrality, for that would be a disgrace to both of them, but for negotiating a peace he would not fail to pay, and would deposit the money in Samothrace until the treaty was concluded, so fickle and mean in all matters had he become in his infatuation. Nevertheless, one of the things that he hoped for took place ; Eumenes fell under suspicion at Rome.

2. When the Getae had crossed the Danube, they claimed that there should be given to Cloelius, their leader, 1000 gold staters and also ten to each horseman and five to each foot soldier, the whole amounting to a little over 150,000 pieces of gold. Perseus sent messengers to them bearing military cloaks, gold necklaces, and horses for the officers, and 10,000 staters. When he was not far from their camp he sent for Cloelius. The latter asked the messengers whether they had brought the gold, and when he learned that they had not, he ordered them to go back to Perseus. When Perseus learned this, he was again persecuted by Heaven, and capriciously complained among his friends of the faithless nature of the Getae, and pretended to be afraid to receive 20,000 of them in his camp. He said that he could with difficulty receive 10,000 of them, whom he could subdue if they should rebel.

3. While saying these things to his friends, he told other lies to the Getae and asked for half of their force, promising to give them gold that was coming in to him—so inconsistent was he, and so anxious about the money that he had ordered to be thrown into the sea a little while before. Cloelius, seeing the messengers returning, asked in a loud

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK IX

εὶ τὸ χρυσίον κεκομίκασι, καὶ βουλομενούς τι λέγειν ἐκέλευε πρῶτον εἰπεῖν περὶ τοῦ χρυσίου. ὡς δ' ἔμαθεν οὐκ ἔχοντας, οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ἀκοῦσαι, τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπῆγεν ὄπίσω. καὶ Περσεὺς ἀφήρητο καὶ τῆσδε συμμαχίας, πολλῆς τε καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν ἐλθούσης. ὑπὸ δ' ἀφροσύνης, ἐν Φίλᾳ χειμάζων καὶ στρατὸν ἔχων πολὺν Θεσσαλίαν μὲν οὐκ ἐπέτρεχεν, ἥτις Ρωμαίοις ἔχορήγει τροφάς, ἐσ δὲ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἐπεμπε κωλύειν τὴν ἀγορὰν τὴν ἐκεῖθεν αὐτοῖς φερομένην. Val. p. 562.

## XIX

"Οτι Παύλῳ ἐπ' εὔτυχίας τοσῆσδε γενομένῳ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐφθόνησε τῆς εὔτυχίας. καὶ οἱ τεσσάρων παιδῶν ὅντων τοὺς μὲν πρεσβυτέρους αὐτῶν ἐσ θέσιν ἄλλοις ἐδεδώκει, Μάξιμόν τε καὶ Σκιπίωνα, τοὺς δὲ νεωτέρους ἄμφω συνέβη, τὸν μὲν πρὸ τριῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ θριάμβου τὸν δὲ μετὰ πέντε, ἀποθανεῖν. καὶ τοῦτ' οὐδενὸς ἡττον ὁ Παῦλος κατελογίσατο τῷ δήμῳ. ἔθους γὰρ ὅντος τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καταλέγειν τὰ πεπραγμένα, παρελθὼν ἐσ τὴν ἀγορὰν εἰπεν ἐσ μὲν Κέρκυραν ἐκ Βρευτεσίου διαπλεῦσαι μιᾶς ἡμέρας, ἐκ δὲ Κερκύρας πέντε μὲν ἐσ Δελφοὺς ὀδεῦσαι καὶ θῦσαι τῷ θεῷ, πέντε δὲ ἄλλαις ἐσ Θεσσαλίαν παραγενέσθαι καὶ παραλαβεῖν τὸν στρατόν, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης πεντεκαίδεκα ἄλλαις ἐλεῦν Περσέα καὶ Μακεδόνας παραλαβεῖν. οὕτω δὲ ὀξέως ὑπάντων ἐπιτυχῶν δεῖσαι μή τι τῷ στρατῷ συμπέσοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπανιόντι. "διασωθέντος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ περὶ

## MACEDONIAN AFFAIRS

voice whether they had brought the gold, and when <sup>B.C.</sup> <sup>168</sup> they wanted to talk about something else he ordered them to speak of the gold first. When he learned that they had not got it, he led his army home without waiting to hear another word from them. Thus Perseus deprived himself of these allies also, who were numerous and had arrived at an opportune moment. He was so foolish, also, that while wintering with a large army at Phila he made no incursion into Thessaly, which furnished supplies to the Romans, but sent a force to Ionia to prevent the bringing of supplies to them from that quarter.

### XIX. FROM THE SAME

HEAVEN was jealous of the prosperity of Paulus when he had reached such a pinnacle of fortune. Of his four sons, while he gave the two elder, Maximus and Scipio, for adoption into other families, the two younger ones died, one of them three days before his triumph and the other five days after it. Paulus alluded to this as much as anything in his address to the people. When he came to the forum to give an account of his doings, according to the custom of generals, he said, "I sailed from Brundusium to Coreyra in one day. Five days I was on the road from Coreyra to Delphi, where I sacrificed to the god. In five days more I arrived in Thessaly and took command of the army. Fifteen days later I overthrew Perseus and conquered Macedonia. All these strokes of good fortune coming so rapidly led me to fear the approach of some calamity to the army on my return. When the army was made safe,

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK IX

νύμῶν ἐδεδοίκειν," ἔφη· "φθονερὸς γὰρ ὁ δαίμων.  
ἔς ἐμὲ δὲ ἀποσκῆψαντος τοῦ κακοῦ, καὶ ἀθρόως  
μοι τῶν δύο παιδῶν ἀποθανόντων, ἐπ' ἐμαυτῷ μέν  
εἰμι βαρυσυμφορώτατος, ἐπὶ δὲ ύμῖν ἀμέριμνος."  
ταῦτ' εἰπών, καὶ καταθαυμαζόμενος ἐπὶ πᾶσιν,  
οἰκτιζόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς τέκνοις, μετ' οὐ πολὺν  
χρόνον ἀπέθανεν. id. p. 565.

## MACEDONIAN AFFAIRS

I feared for you on account of the enviousness of fate. Now that the calamity falls upon me, in the sudden loss of my two sons, I am the most unfortunate of men for myself, but free from anxiety as to you." Having spoken thus, Paulus became the object of universal admiration on account of all his exploits, and of commiseration on account of his children; and he died not long after.



**BOOK X**  
**THE ILLYRIAN WARS**

## Κ'

## ΙΛΛΤΡΙΚΗ

## I

CAP. I. Ιλλυριοὺς "Ελληνες ἡγοῦνται τοὺς ὑπέρ τε Μακεδονίαν καὶ Θράκην ἀπὸ Χαόνων καὶ Θεσπρωτῶν ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον. καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστι τῆς χώρας τὸ μῆκος, εὑρος δ' ἐκ Μακεδόνων τε καὶ Θρακῶν τῶν ὄρείων ἐπὶ Παιονας καὶ τὸν Ίόνιον καὶ τὰ πρόποδα τῶν Ἀλπεων. καὶ ἔστι τὸ μὲν εὑρος ἡμερῶν πέντε, τὸ δὲ μῆκος τριάκοντα, καθὰ καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν εἴρηται. Ρωμαίων δὲ τὴν χώραν μετρησαμένων ἔστιν ὑπὲρ ἔξακισχιλίους σταδίους τὸ μῆκος, καὶ τὸ πλάτος ἀμφὶ τοὺς χιλίους καὶ διακοσίους.

2. Φασὶ δὲ τὴν μὲν χώραν ἐπώνυμον Ιλλυριοῦ τοῦ Πολυφήμου γενέσθαι· Πολυφήμῳ γὰρ τῷ Κύκλωπι καὶ Γαλατείᾳ Κελτὸν καὶ Ιλλυριὸν καὶ Γάλαν παῖδας ὅντας ἐξορμῆσαι Σικελίας, καὶ ἄρξαι τῶν δι' αὐτοὺς Κελτῶν καὶ Ιλλυριῶν καὶ Γαλατῶν λεγομένων. καὶ τόδε μοι μάλιστα, πολλὰ μυθευόντων ἔτερα πολλῶν, ἀρέσκει. Ιλλυριῷ δὲ παῖδας Ἐγχέλεα καὶ Αύταριέα καὶ Δάρδανον καὶ Μαῖδον καὶ Ταύλαντα καὶ Περραιβὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ θυγατέρας Παρθὼ καὶ

## BOOK X

### THE ILLYRIAN WARS

#### I

1. THE Greeks call those people Illyrians who CHAP.  
occupy the region beyond Macedonia and Thrace I  
from Chaonia and Thesprotia to the river Danube. Origin  
This is the length of the country, while its breadth is of the  
from Macedonia and the mountains of Thrace to Illyrians  
Pannonia and the Adriatic and the foot-hills of the  
Alps. Its breadth is five days' journey and its  
length thirty—so the Greek writers say. The  
Romans measured the country and found its length  
to be upwards of 6000 stades and its width about  
1200.

2. They say that the country received its name from Illyrius, the son of Polyphemus; for the Cyclops Polyphemus and his wife, Galatea, had three sons, Celtus, Illyrius, and Galas, all of whom migrated from Sicily, and ruled over the peoples called after them Celts, Illyrians and Galatians. Among the many myths prevailing among many peoples this seems to me the most plausible. Illyrius had six sons, Encheleus, Autarieus, Dardanus, Maedus, Taulas, and Perrhaebus, also daughters.

CAP. Δαορθὼ καὶ Δασσαρὼ καὶ ἑτέρας, ὅθεν εἰσὶ<sup>I</sup>  
 Ταυλάντιοί τε καὶ Περραιβοὶ καὶ Ἐγχέλεες  
 καὶ Αύταριεῖς καὶ Δάρδανοι καὶ Παρθηνοὶ καὶ  
 Δασσαρήτιοι καὶ Δάρσιοι. Αύταριεῖ δὲ αὐτῷ  
 Παννόνιον ἡγοῦνται παῖδα ἢ Παίονα γενέσθαι,  
 καὶ Σκορδίσκον Παίονι καὶ Τριβαλλόν, ὃν ὁμοίως  
 τὰ ἔθνη παρώνυμα εἶναι. καὶ τάδε μὲν τοῖς  
 ἀρχαιολογοῦσι μεθείσθω, 3. γένη δ' ἔστιν Ἰλλυ-  
 ριῶν, ὡς ἐν τοσῇδε χώρᾳ, πολλά. καὶ περιώνυμα  
 ἔτι νῦν, χώραν νεμόμενα πολλὴν, Σκορδίσκων καὶ  
 Τριβαλλῶν, οἱ ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀλλήλους πολέμῳ  
 διέφθειραν ὡς Τριβαλλῶν εἴ τι ὑπόλοιπον ἦν ἐς  
 Γέτας ὑπὲρ Ἰστρον φυγεῖν, καὶ γένος ἀκμάσαν  
 μέχρι Φιλίππου τε καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου νῦν ἔρημον  
 καὶ ἀνώνυμον τοῖς τῇδε εἶναι, Σκορδίσκους δὲ  
 ἀσθενεστάτους ἀπὸ τοῦτο γενομένους ὑπὸ Ρωμαίων  
 ὕστερον ὄμοια παθεῖν καὶ ἐς τὰς νήσους τοῦ  
 αὐτοῦ ποταμοῦ φυγεῖν, σὺν χρόνῳ δέ τινας ἐπαν-  
 ἐλθεῖν καὶ Παιόνων ἐσχατιαῖς παροικῆσαι· ὅθεν  
 ἔστι καὶ νῦν Σκορδίσκων γένος ἐν Παίοσιν. τῷ  
 δ' αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ Ἀρδιαῖοι τὰ θαλάσσια ὄντες  
 ἄριστοι πρὸς Αύταριέων ἀρίστων ὄντων τὰ κατὰ  
 γῆν, πολλὰ βλάψαντες αὐτούς, ὅμως ἐφθάρησαν.  
 καὶ ναυτικοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἀρδιαίοις ἐγένοντο  
 Λιβυρνοί, γένος ἔτερον Ἰλλυριῶν, οἱ τὸν Ἰόνιον  
 καὶ τὰς νήσους ἐλήστενον ναυσὶν ὥκείαις τε καὶ  
 κούφαις, ὅθεν ἔτι νῦν Ρωμαῖοι τὰ κοῦφα καὶ ὀξέα  
 δίκροτα Λιβυρνίδας προσαγορεύουσιν.

## THE ILLYRIAN WARS

Partho, Daortho, Dassaro, and others, from whom CHAP.  
sprang the Taulantii, the Perrhaebi, the Enchelces,  
the Autarienses, the Dardani, the Partheni, the  
Dassaretii, and the Darsii. Autarieus had a son  
Pannonius, or Paeon, and the latter had sons,  
Scordiscus and Triballus, from whom also nations  
bearing similar names were derived. But I will  
leave these matters to the archaeologists.

3. The Illyrian tribes are many, as is natural in so extensive a country ; and celebrated even now are the names of the Scordisci and the Triballi, who inhabited a wide region and destroyed each other by wars to such a degree that the remnant of the Triballi took refuge with the Getae on the other side of the Danube, and, though flourishing until the time of Philip and Alexander, is now extinct and its name scarcely known in the regions once inhabited by it. The Scordisci, having been reduced to extreme weakness in the same way, and having suffered much at a later period in war with the Romans, took refuge in the islands of the same river. In the course of time some of them returned and settled on the confines of Pannonia, and thus it happens that a tribe of the Scordisci still remains in Pannonia. In like manner the Ardiaei, who were distinguished for their maritime power, were finally destroyed by the Autarienses, whose land forces were stronger, but whom they had often defeated. The Liburni, another Illyrian tribe, were next to the Ardiaei as a nautical people. These practised piracy in the Adriatic Sea and islands, with their light, fast-sailing pinnaces, from which circumstance the Romans to this day call their own light, swift biremes "Liburnians."

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK X

CAP. I. 4. Αὐταριέας δὲ φασὶν ἐκ θεοβλαβείας Ἀπόλλωνος ἐσχατον κακοῦ περιελθεῖν. Μολιστόμῳ γάρ αὐτοὺς καὶ Κελτοῖς τοῖς Κίμβροις λεγομένοις ἐπὶ Δελφοῦς συστρατεῦσαι, καὶ φθαρῆναι μὲν αὐτίκα τοὺς πλέονας αὐτῶν πρὸ ἐπιχειρήσεως, ὑετῶν σφίσι καὶ θυέλλης καὶ πρηστήρων ἐμπεσούτων, ἐπιγενέσθαι δὲ τοῖς ὑποστρέψασιν ἄπειρον βατράχων πλῆθος, οἱ διασαπέντες τὰ νάματα διέφθειραν. καὶ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀτμῶν ἀτόπων γενομένων λοιμὸς ἦν Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ φθόρος Αὐταριέων μάλιστα, μέχρι φεύγοντες τὰ οἰκεῖα, καὶ τὸν λοιμὸν σφίσι περιφέροντες, οὐδενὸς αὐτοὺς δεχομένουν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ δέος ὑπερῆλθον ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν εἴκοσι καὶ τριῶν, καὶ τὴν Γετῶν ἐλώδη καὶ ἀοίκητον, παρὰ τὸ Βαστερνῶν ἔθνος, ὥκησαν. Κελτοῖς δὲ ὁ θεὸς τὴν γῆν ἔσεισε καὶ τὰς πόλεις κατήνεγκε· καὶ τὸ κακὸν οὐκ ἔληγε, μέχρι καὶ οἵδε τὰ οἰκεῖα φεύγοντες ἐνέβαλον ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς τοὺς συναμαρτούτας σφίσιν, ἀσθενεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ λοιμοῦ γενομένους, καὶ ἐδήσασάν τε τὰ ἐκείνων, καὶ τοῦ λοιμοῦ μετασχόντες ἔφυγον καὶ μέχρι Πυρήνης ἐλεηλάτουν. ἐπιστρέφουσι δ' αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν ἕω, Ῥωμαῖοι, δεδιότες ὑπὸ μνήμης τῶν προπεπολεμηκότων σφίσι Κελτῶν, μὴ καὶ οἵδε ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὑπὲρ Ἀλπεις ἐσβάλοιεν, ἀπήντων ἅμα τοῖς ὑπάτοις καὶ πανστρατιῷ διώλλυντο. καὶ τὸ πάθος τοῦτο Ῥωμαίων μέγα δέος Κελτῶν ἐς δῆλην τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐνέβαλε, μέχρι Γάιου Μάριου ἐλόμενοι σφῶν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι στρατηγεῖν, ἄρτι Λιβύων τοῖς Νομάσι καὶ Μαυρουσίοις ἐγκρατῶς πεπολεμηκότα, τοὺς Κίμβρους ἐνίκων καὶ πολὺν φόνον αὐτῶν εἰργάσαντο πολλάκις, ὡς μοι περὶ Κελτῶν λέγοντι

## THE ILLYRIAN WARS

4. The Autarienses are said to have been overtaken CHAP.  
with destruction by the vengeance of Apollo. Having <sup>I</sup> joined Molistomus and the Celtic people called Cimbri <sup>Vengeance of Apollo</sup> in an expedition against the temple of Delphi, the greater part of them were destroyed at once by storm, hurricane, and lightning before the sacrilege was attempted. Upon those who returned home there came a countless number of frogs, whose bodies decayed and polluted the streams, and noxious vapours rising from the ground caused a plague among the Illyrians which was especially fatal to the Autarienses. At last they fled from their homes, and still carrying the plague with them (and for fear of it nobody would receive them), they came, after a journey of twenty-three days, to a marshy and uninhabited district of the Getae, where they settled near the Bastarnae. The Celts the god visited with an earthquake and overthrew their cities, and did not abate the calamity until these also fled from their abodes and made an incursion into Illyria among their fellow-culprits, who had been weakened by the plague. While robbing the Illyrians they caught the plague and again took to flight and reached the Pyrenees, plundering as they went. But when they were returning to the east the Romans, mindful of their former encounters with the Celts, and fearful lest these too should cross the Alps and invade Italy, sent against them both consuls, who were annihilated <sup>B.C. 105</sup> with the whole army. This calamity to the Romans brought great dread of the Celts upon all Italy until Gaius Marius, who had lately triumphed over the Numidians and Mauretanians, was chosen commander and defeated the Cimbri repeatedly with great slaughter, as I have related in my Celtic history.

First con-  
tact with  
the Romans

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK X

**CAP. εἰρηται.** οἱ δὲ ἀσθενεῖς τε ἥδη γενόμενοι καὶ πάσης γῆς ἀποκλειόμενοι διὰ τὸ ἀσθενές, ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἐπανῆλθον πολλὰ καὶ δράσαντες καὶ παθόντες.

5. Τοιοῦτον μὲν δὴ τέλος τῆς ἀσεβείας ὁ θεὸς ἐπέθηκεν Ἰλλυριοῖς τε καὶ Κελτοῖς· οὐ μὴν ἀπέσχοντο τῆς ἱεροσυλίας, ἀλλ' αὖθις, ἅμα τοῖς Κελτοῖς, Ἰλλυριῶν οἱ Σκορδίσκοι μάλιστα καὶ Μαΐδοι καὶ Δάρδανοι τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐπέδραμον ὄμοῦ καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ τὸ Δελφικὸν ἐσύλησαν, πολλοὺς ἀποβαλόντες ὅμως καὶ τότε. Ρωμαῖοι δ' ἔχοντες ἥδη δεύτερον καὶ τριακοστὸν ἔτος ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἐς Κελτοὺς πείρας, καὶ ἔξ ἐκείνου πολεμοῦντες αὐτοῖς ἐκ διαστημάτων, ἐπιστρατεύονται τοῖς Ἰλλυριοῖς ἐπὶ τῇδε τῇ ἱεροσυλίᾳ ἥγουμένου Λευκίου Σκιπίωνος, ἥδη τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων καὶ Μακεδόνων προστατοῦντες. καί φασι τοὺς μὲν περιχώρους οὐ συμμαχῆσαι τοῖς ἱεροσύλοις, ἀλλ' ἐκόντας ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τῷ Σκιπίωνι ἀβοηθήτους, μνήμῃ τῶν δι' Αύταριέας ἐς πάντας Ἰλλυριοὺς συμπεσόντων. Σκιπίωνα δὲ Σκορδίσκους μὲν διαφεύραι, καὶ εἴ τι λοιπὸν αὐτῶν ἦν, ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον καὶ τὰς νήσους τοῦ ποταμοῦ μετοικῆσαι φυγόντας, Μαΐδοις δὲ καὶ Δαρδανεῦσι συνθέσθαι δωροδοκήσαντα τοῦ ἱεροῦ χρυσίου. καί τις ἔφη τῶν Ἰταλικῶν συγγραφέων ὡς διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα Ρωμαῖοις πλεόνως μετὰ Λεύκιον τὰ ἐμφύλια ἥκμασε μέχρι μοναρχίας· καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν νομιζομένων εἶναι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν Ἰλλυριῶν τοσαῦτά μοι προλελέχθω.

## THE ILLYRIAN WARS

Being reduced to extreme weakness, and for that reason excluded from every land, they returned home, having inflicted and suffered many injuries.

I

5. Such was the punishment which the god visited upon the Illyrians and the Celts for their impiety. But they did not desist from temple-robbing, for again, in conjunction with the Celts, certain Illyrian tribes, especially the Scordisci, the Maedi, and the Dardani, again invaded Macedonia and Greece simultaneously, and plundered many temples, including that of Delphi, but with loss of many men this time also. The Romans, thirty-two years after their first encounter with the Celts, having fought with them at intervals since that time, now, under the leadership of Lucius Scipio, made war against the Illyrians, on account of this temple-robery, being now in possession of Greece and Macedon. It is said that the neighbouring tribes, remembering the calamity that befell all the Illyrians on account of the crime of the Autarienses, would not give aid to the temple-robbers, but deliberately abandoned them to Scipio, who destroyed the greater part of the Scordisci, the remainder fleeing to the Danube and settling in the islands of that river. He made peace with the Maedi and Dardani, accepting from them as a bribe part of the gold belonging to the temple. One of the Roman writers says that this was the chief cause of the numerous civil wars of the Romans after Lucius Scipio's time till the establishment of the empire. So much by way of preface concerning the peoples whom the Greeks called Illyrians.

# APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK X

**CAP. I.** 6. Ρωμαῖοι δὲ καὶ τούσδε καὶ Παιόνας ἐπ'  
 αὐτοῖς καὶ Ραιτοὺς καὶ Νωρικοὺς καὶ Μυσοὺς  
 τοὺς ἐν Εὐρώπῃ, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ὄμορα τούτοις ἐν  
 δεξιᾷ τοῦ Ἰστρου καταπλέοντι ὥκηται, διαιροῦσι  
 μὲν ὄμοιώς τοῖς "Ἐλλησιν ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνων, καὶ  
 καλοῦσι τοῖς ἴδίοις ἑκάστους ὀνόμασι, κοινῇ δὲ  
 πάντας Ἰλλυρίδα ἥγοῦνται, ὅθεν μὲν ἀρξάμενοι  
 τῆσδε τῆς δόξης, οὐκ ἔσχον εὔρεῖν, χρωμενοι δ'  
 αὐτῇ καὶ νῦν, ὅπου καὶ τὸ τέλος τῶνδε τῶν ἔθνῶν,  
 ἀπὸ ἀνίσχοντος Ἰστρου μέχρι τῆς Ποντικῆς  
 θαλάσσης, ὦφ' ἐν ἐκμισθοῦσι καὶ Ἰλλυρικὸν τέλος  
 προσαγορεύουσιν. ὅπως δὲ αὐτοὺς ὑπηγάγοντο  
 Ρωμαῖοι, ὡμολόγησα μὲν καὶ περὶ Κρήτης λέγων  
 οὐχ εὔρεῖν τὰς ἀκριβεῖς τῶν πολέμων ἀρχάς τε  
 καὶ προφάσεις, καὶ ἐς τοῦτο τοὺς δυναμένους τι  
 πλέον εἰπεῖν παρεκάλουν· ὅσα δ' αὐτὸς ἔγνων,  
 ἀναγράψω.

## II

**CAP. II.** 7. Ἀγρων ἦν βασιλεὺς Ἰλλυριῶν μέρους ἀμφὶ<sup>1</sup>  
 τὸν κόλπου τῆς θαλάσσης τὸν Ἰόνιον, δν δὴ καὶ  
 Πύρρος ὁ τῆς Ἡπείρου βασιλεὺς κατεῖχε καὶ οἱ τὰ  
 Ηύρρου διαδεξάμενοι. Ἀγρων δ' ἔμπαλιν τῆς τε  
 Ἡπείρου τινὰ καὶ Κόρκυραν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἐπί-  
 δαμνον καὶ Φάρον καταλαβὼν ἔμφρουρα εἶχεν.  
 ἐπιπλέοντος δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον Ἰόνιον, νῆσος,  
 ἢ ὄνομα Ἰσσα, ἐπὶ Ρωμαίους κατέφυγεν. οἱ δὲ  
 πρέσβεις τοῖς Ἰσσίοις συνέπεμψαν, εἰσομένους τὰ  
 Ἀγρωνος ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐγκλήματα. τοῖς δὲ πρέσβεσιν  
 ἔτι προσπλέουσιν ἐπαναχθέντες Ἰλλυρικοὶ λέμβοι  
 τῶν μὲν Ἰσσίων πρεσβευτὴν Κλεέμπορον, τῶν δὲ

## THE ILLYRIAN WARS

6. These peoples, and also the Pannonians, the CHAP.  
Rhaetians, the Noricans, the Mysians of Europe, and  
<sup>I</sup> the other neighbouring tribes who inhabited the  
right bank of the Danube, the Romans distinguish  
from one another just as the various Greek peoples  
are distinguished from each other, and they call each  
by its own name, but they consider the whole  
of Illyria as embraced under a common designation.  
Whence this idea took its start I have not been able  
to find out, but it continues to this day, for they  
farm the tax of all the nations from the source of the  
Danube to the Euxine Sea under one head, and call  
it the Illyrian tax. How the Romans subjugated  
them, and what exactly were the causes and pretext  
of the wars, I acknowledged, when writing of Crete,  
that I had not discovered, and I exhorted those who  
were able to tell more, to do so. I shall write down  
only what I myself learnt.

## II

7. AGRON was king of that part of Illyria which CHAP.  
borders the Adriatic Sea, over which sea Pyrrhus,  
<sup>II</sup> king of Epirus, and his successors held sway. Agron  
in turn captured a part of Epirus and also Corcyra,  
Epidamnus, and Pharos in succession, and established  
garrisons in them. When he threatened the rest  
of the Adriatic with his fleet, the isle of Issa  
implored the aid of the Romans. The latter sent  
ambassadors to accompany the Issii and to ascertain  
what offences Agron imputed to them. The Illyrian  
light vessels attacked the ambassadors as they sailed  
up, and slew Cleemporus, the envoy of Issa, and the

b.c. 230  
First Illy-  
rian War

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK X

CAP. II. Ρωμαίων Κορογκάνιον ἀναιροῦσιν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ διέδρασαν αὐτούς. καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε Ρωμαίων ἐπ' Ἰλλυριοὺς ναυσὶν ὁμοῦ καὶ πεζῷ στρατεύονταν, μὲν ἐπὶ παιδίῳ σμικρῷ, Πίννη ὄνομα, ἀποθυήσκει, τῇ γυναικὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπιτροπεύειν τῷ παιδὶ παραδούς, καίπερ οὐκ οὕσῃ μητρὶ τοῦ παιδίου, Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Φάρου ἥγούμενος Ἀγρωνι (Φάρου τς γὰρ αὐτῆς ἥρχε, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇδε Κορκύρας) παρέδωκεν ἄμφω Ρωμαίοις ἐπιπλέουσιν ἐκ προδοσίας. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ ταύταις Ἐπίδαμνον ἐσ φιλίαν ὑπηγάγοντο, καὶ τοῖς Ἰσσίοις καὶ Ἐπιδαμνίοις πολιορκουμένοις ὑπὸ Ἰλλυριῶν ἐσ ἐπικουρίαν ἔπλεον. Ἰλλυριοὶ μὲν δὴ τὰς πολιορκίας λύσαντες ἀνεχώρουν, καί τινες αὐτῶν ἐσ Ρωμαίους, οἱ Ἀτιντανοὶ λεγόμενοι, μετετίθεντο. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἡ Ἀγρωνος γυνὴ πρέσβεις ἐσ Ρώμην ἔπειμψε τά τε αἰχμάλωτα ἀποδιδόντας αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους ἄγοντας, καὶ ἐδεῦτο συγγνώμης τυχεῖν τῶν οὐκ ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Ἀγρωνος γενομένων. οἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο Κόρκυραν μὲν καὶ Φάρον καὶ Ἰσσαν καὶ Ἐπίδαμνον καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν τοὺς Ἀτιντανοὺς ἥδη Ρωμαίων ὑπηκόους εἶναι, Πίννην δὲ τὴν ἄλλην Ἀγρωνος ἀρχὴν ἔχειν καὶ φίλον εἶναι Ρωμαίοις, ἣν ἀπέχηται τε τῶν προλεγμένων, καὶ τὴν Λίσσον μὴ παραπλέωσιν Ἰλλυριοὶ λέμβοι δυοῖν πλείουες, καὶ τούτοιν δὲ ἀνόπλοιν.

8. Ή μὲν δὴ ταῦτα πάντα ἔδέχετο, καὶ γίγνονται Ρωμαίοις αἴδε πρῶται πρὸς Ἰλλυριοὺς πεῖραι τε καὶ συνθῆκαι· Ρωμαῖοι δ' ἐπ' αὐταῖς Κόρκυραν μὲν καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν ἀφῆκαν ἐλευθέρας, Δημητρίῳ δ' ἔστιν ἡ χωρία μισθὸν ἔδοσαν τῆς προ-

## THE ILLYRIAN WARS

Roman Coruncanius ; the remainder escaped by CHAP.  
flight. Thereupon the Romans invaded Illyria by <sup>II</sup> B.C. 229  
land and sea. Agron, in the meantime, had died,  
leaving an infant son named Pinnes, having given  
the guardianship and regency to his wife, although  
she was not the child's mother. Demetrius, who  
was Agron's governor of Pharus and held Coreyra  
also, surrendered both places to the invading  
Romans by treachery. The latter then entered into  
an alliance with Epidamus and went to the  
assistance of the Issii and of the Epidamnians, who  
were besieged by the Illyrians. The latter raised  
the siege and fled, and one of their tribes, called the  
Atintani, went over to the Romans. After these  
events the widow of Agron sent ambassadors to B.C. 228  
Rome to surrender the prisoners and deserters into  
their hands. She begged pardon also for what had  
been done, not by herself, but by Agron. They  
received for answer that Coreyra, Pharos, Issa,  
Epidamus, and the Illyrian Atintani were already  
Roman subjects, that Pinnes might have the  
remainder of Agron's kingdom and be a friend of  
the Roman people if he would keep hands off  
the aforesaid territory, and agree not to sail beyond  
Lissus with more than two Illyrian pinnaces, both  
unarmed. She accepted all these conditions.

8. This was the first conflict and treaty between  
the Romans and the Illyrians. Thereupon the  
Romans made Coreyra and Apollonia free. To  
Demetrius they gave certain castles as a reward for  
his treason to his own people adding the express

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK X

CAP. δοσίας, ἐπειπόντες ὅτι ἐν τοσῷδε διδόασι, τὴν  
 ἡπιστίαν ἄρα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὑφορώμενοι. ἦ δὴ καὶ  
 ἥρξεν αὐτοῦ μετ' ὀλίγον· Ῥωμαίων γὰρ Κελτοῖς  
 ἐπὶ τριετὲς τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἡριδανὸν οὖσι πολε-  
 μούντων, ὁ Δημήτριος ὡς ὄντων ἐν ἀσχολίᾳ τὴν  
 θάλασσαν ἐληξετο, καὶ Ἰστρους ἔθνος ἔτερον  
 Ἰλλυριῶν ἐς τοῦτο προσελάμβανε, καὶ τοὺς Ἀτιν-  
 τανοὺς ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀφίστη. οἱ δέ, ἐπεὶ τὰ  
 Κελτῶν διετέθειτο, εὐθὺς μὲν ἐπιπλεύσαντες  
 αἴροῦσι τοὺς ληστάς, ἐς νεώτα δὲ ἐστράτευον ἐπὶ  
 Δημήτριον καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν τοὺς συναμαρτόντας  
 αὐτῷ. Δημήτριον μὲν δὴ πρὸς Φίλιππον τὸν  
 Μακεδόνων βασιλέα φυγόντα καὶ αὐθις ἐπιόντα  
 καὶ ληστεύοντα τὸν Ἰόνιον κτείνουσι, καὶ τὴν  
 πατρίδα αὐτῷ Φάρον συναμαρτοῦσαν ἐπικατέ-  
 σκαψαν, Ἰλλυριῶν δὲ ἐφείσαντο διὰ Πίννην  
 αὐθις δεηθέντα. καὶ δεύτεραι πεῖραι τε καὶ  
 συνθῆκαι πρὸς Ἰλλυριοὺς αὐτοῖς ἐγίγνουτο.

9. Τὰ λοιπὰ δ' οὕτι μοι πάντα χρόνῳ καὶ  
 τάξει μᾶλλον ἦ κατὰ ἔθνος Ἰλλυριῶν ἔκαστον,  
 ὅσα ηὔρουν, συγγέγραπται.

Ῥωμαῖοι Μακεδόσιν ἐπολέμουν, καὶ Περσεὺς ἦν  
 ἥδη Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς μετὰ Φίλιππου· Περσεὶ  
 δὲ Γένθιος Ἰλλυριῶν ἐτέρων βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ χρή-  
 μασι συνεμάχει, καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων Ἰλλυριοὺς  
 ἐνέβαλε, καὶ πρέσβεις Ῥωμαίων πρὸς αὐτὸν  
 ἐλθόντας ἔδησεν, αἰτιώμενος οὐ πρέσβεις ἀλλὰ  
 κατασκόπους ἐλθεῖν. Ἀνίκιος δὲ Ῥωμαίων  
 στρατηγὸς λέμβους τε τοῦ Γενθίου τινὰς εἶλεν  
 ἐπιπλεύσας, καὶ κατὰ γῆν αὐτῷ συνενεχθεὶς

## THE ILLYRIAN WARS

condition that they gave them only temporarily, for CHAP.  
they suspected the man's faithless spirit, which shortly <sup>11</sup> after gained complete mastery over him. For while B.C. 222  
the Romans were engaged in a three year's war with <sup>Second</sup> Illyrian  
the Gauls on the River Po, Demetrius, thinking that war  
they had their hands full, set forth on a piratical expedition, brought the Istrians, another Illyrian tribe, into the enterprise, and detached the Atintani from Rome. The Romans, when they had settled their business with the Gauls, immediately sent a naval force and overpowered the pirates. The following year they marched against Demetrius and his Illyrian fellow-culprits. Demetrius fled to Philip king of Macedon, but when he returned and resumed his piratical career in the Adriatic they slew him and utterly demolished his native town of Pharos, which was associated with him in crime. They spared the Illyrians, however, on account of B.C. 220 Pinnæ, who again besought them to do so. Such was the second conflict and treaty between them and the Illyrians.

9. All the remaining facts which I have discovered I have set down not in chronological order, but rather taking each Illyrian nation separately.

When the Romans were at war with the Macedonians during the reign of Perseus, the successor of Philip, Genthius, the king of another Illyrian tribe, made an alliance with Perseus for money and attacked Roman Illyria, and put the ambassadors sent by the Romans in chains, charging them with coming not as ambassadors, but as spies. The Roman general, Anicius, in a naval expedition, captured some of Genthius' pinnaces and then engaged him in battle on land, defeated him, and

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK X

CAP. Π. ἐκράτει τὴν μάχην, καὶ συνέκλεισεν ἐς τι χωρίον,  
 ὅθεν αὐτῷ δεομένῳ ὁ μὲν Ἀνίκιος ἐκέλευσε  
 'Ρωμαίοις ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέψαι, ὁ δ' ἐς βουλὴν ἥτησε  
 τρεῖς ἡμέρας, καὶ ἔλαβεν. ἐν δὲ ταύταις τῶν  
 ὑπηκόων αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Ἀνίκιον μετατιθεμένων  
 ἡξίωσεν ἐντυχεῖν τῷ Ἀνικίῳ, καὶ γονυπετής ἐδεῖτο  
 αὐτοῦ πάνυ αἰσχρῶς. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπιθαρρύνων  
 κατεπτηχότα ἀνίστη, καὶ καλέσας ἐπὶ ἑστίασιν,  
 ἀπιόντα ἀπὸ τοῦ δείπνου προσέταξε τοῖς ὑπηρ-  
 ἔταις ἐς φυλακὴν ἐμβαλεῖν. καὶ τόνδε μὲν ἐς  
 θρίαμβον ἄμα τοῖς παισὶν ὁ Ἀνίκιος ἐς 'Ρώμην  
 ἤγαγε, καὶ ὁ Γευθίου πόλεμος ἄπας εἴκοσιν ἡμέ-  
 ραις ἐπεπολέμητο· ἐβδομήκοντα δ' αὐτοῦ πόλεις  
 οὖσας Αἰμίλιος Παῦλος ὁ τὸν Περσέα ἐλών, τῆς  
 βουλῆς ἐπιστειλάσης ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ, ἐς 'Ρώμην  
 παρώδευεν ἐπίτηδες, καὶ δειδίσιν αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχετο  
 συγγνώσεσθαι τῶν γεγονότων, ἐὰν δοσον ἔχουσιν  
 ἀργύριόν τε καὶ χρυσίον ἐσενέγκωσιν. ὑποδεξ-  
 αμένων δ' ἐκείνων συνέπεμπεν αὐτοῖς τοῦ στρα-  
 τοῦ μέρος ἐς πόλιν ἐκάστην, ὁρίσας ἡμέραν τοῖς  
 στρατηγοῦσι τοῦ στρατοῦ πᾶσι τὴν αὐτήν, καὶ  
 ἐντειλάμενος ἄμα ἕω κηρύσσειν ἔκαστον ἐν ἐκάστῃ  
 πόλει τρισὶν ὥραις ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν τὰ χρήμata  
 φέρειν, συνενεγκόντων δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ διαρπάσαι.

10. Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Παῦλος ἐβδομήκοντα πόλεις  
 διήρπασεν ὥρᾳ μιᾷ· Ἀρδεῖοι δὲ καὶ Παλάριοι,  
 γένη ἔτερα 'Ιλλυριῶν, τὴν ὑπὸ 'Ρωμαίους 'Ιλλυ-  
 ρίδα ἐδήσουν, καὶ οἱ 'Ρωμαῖοι δι' ἀσχολίαν πρέσ-  
 βεις ἐπεμψαν ἐπιπλήξοντας αὐτοῖς. οὐ μετα-  
 θεμένων δὲ ἐκείνων ἐστράτευον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μυρίοις

## THE ILLYRIAN WARS

shut him up in a fortress. When he begged a <sup>CHAP.</sup> <sup>II</sup> parley Anicius ordered him to surrender himself to the Romans. He asked and obtained three days for consideration, at the end of which time, his subjects having meanwhile gone over to Anicius, he asked for an interview with the latter, and, falling on his knees, begged pardon in the most abject manner. Anicius encouraged the trembling wretch, lifted him up, and invited him to supper, but as he was going away from the feast he ordered the lictors to cast him into prison. Anicius afterward led both him and his sons in triumph at Rome and the whole war with Genthius was finished within twenty days. But Aemilius Paulus, the conqueror of Perseus, acting on secret orders from the Senate, specially visited the seventy towns which had belonged to Genthius, on his way back to Rome. They were much alarmed, but <sup>B.C. 167</sup> he promised to pardon them for what they had done if they would deliver to him all the gold and silver they had. When they agreed to do so he sent a detachment of his army into each town appointing the same day for all the commanding officers to act, and ordering them to make proclamation at day-break in each that the inhabitants should bring their money into the market-place within three hours, and when they had done so to plunder what remained. Thus Paulus despoiled seventy towns in one hour.

10. The Ardei and the Palarii, two other Illyrian tribes, made a raid on Roman Illyria, and the Romans, being otherwise occupied, sent ambassadors to reprimand them. When they refused to be obedient, the Romans collected an army of 10,000 foot and 600 horse to be despatched against them.

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK X

CAP. πεζοῖς καὶ ἵππεῦσιν ἔξακοσιοις. οἱ δὲ πυθόμενοι,  
 II καὶ ἔτι δύτες ἀπαράσκευοι, πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν  
 μεταγιγνώσκοντες καὶ δεόμενοι. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τὰς  
 βλάβας αὐτοῖς ἐκέλευσεν ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς ἡδικη-  
 μένοις. οὐκ ἀποδιδόντων δὲ ἐστράτευεν ἐπ'  
 αὐτὸὺς Φούλουιος Φλάκκος. καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ἄρα  
 μέχρι καταδρυμῆς ἐληξε μόνης. οὐ γὰρ ηὔρουν  
 αὐτοῦ τέλος ἀκριβές. Ἰάποσι δὲ τοῖς ἐντὸς  
 "Αλπεων ἐπολέμησε μὲν Σεμπρώνιος ὁ Τουδιτανὸς  
 ἐπίκλην καὶ Πανδούσας Τιβέριος καὶ ἐοίκασιν οἱ  
 Ἰάποδες αὐτοῖς ὑπακοῦσαι, ἐοίκασι δὲ καὶ Σεγε-  
 στανοὶ Λευκίψ Κόττα καὶ Μετέλλω, ἀμφότεροι  
 δ' οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἀποστῆναι.

11. Δαλμάται δέ, Ἰλλυριῶν ἔτερον γένος,  
 Ἰλλυριοὺς τοὺς ὑπὸ Ρωμαίοις κατέθεοι, καὶ  
 πρέσβεις ἀφικομένους περὶ τοῦδε Ρωμαίων οὐ  
 προσίεντο. στρατεύουσιν οὖν ἐπ' αὐτὸὺς οἱ Ρω-  
 μαῖοι, Μαρκίου Φίγλου σφῶν ὑπατεύοντός τε καὶ  
 ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἥγουμένου. οἱ δὲ ἄρτι τοῦ Φίγλου  
 παραστρατοπεδεύοντος τὰς φυλακὰς ἐνίκων ἐπί-  
 δραμόντες, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατή-  
 ραξαν ἐς πεδίον πρανές, μέχρι ἐπὶ Νάρωνα ποτα-  
 μὸν ἥκεν ὑποφεύγων. ὡς δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀνεχώρουν,  
 ἀρχὴ δὲ χειμῶνος ἦν, ὁ Φίγλος ἐλπίσας αὐτοῖς  
 ἀδοκήτως ἐπιπεσεῖσθαι συνερρυηκότας ηὔρεν ἐκ  
 τῶν πόλεων πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῦ. καὶ συνή-  
 λασεν ὅμως ἐς πόλιν Δελμίνιον, ὅθεν ἄρα καὶ τὸ  
 ὄνομα αὐτοῖς ἐς Δελματέας, εἴτα Δαλμάτας  
 ἐτράπη. οὐδὲν δὲ πρὸς ἔχυρὰν πόλιν ἐξ ἐφόδου  
 δυνάμενος, οὐδὲ μηχανήμασιν ἔχων χρῆσθαι διὰ  
 τὸ ὕψος, ἥρει τὰς ἄλλας ἐπιθέων, ἐρημοτέρας

## THE ILLYRIAN WARS

When the Illyrians learned this, as they were not yet prepared for fighting, they sent ambassadors to crave pardon. The Senate ordered them to make reparation to those whom they had wronged. As they did not do so, Fulvius Flaccus marched against them. This war resulted in a raid only, for I cannot find any definite end to it. Sempronius Tuditanus and Tiberius Pandusa waged war with the Iapydes, who live on the nearer side of the Alps, and seem to have subjugated them, as Lucius Cotta and Metellus seem to have subjugated the Segestani; but both tribes revolted not long afterward.

11. The Dalmatians, another Illyrian tribe, made a raid on the Illyrian subjects of Rome, and when ambassadors were sent to them to remonstrate they were not received. The Romans accordingly sent an army against them, with Marcus Figulus as consul and commander. While Figulus was laying out his camp the Dalmatians overpowered the guard, defeated him, and drove him out of the camp in headlong flight to the plain as far as the river Naro. As the Dalmatians were returning home (for winter was now approaching), Figulus hoped to fall upon them unawares, but he found them reassembled from their towns at the news of his approach. Nevertheless, he drove them into the city of Delminium, from which place they first got the name of Delmatenses, which was afterward changed to Dalmatians. Not being able to make any impression on this strongly defended town by assault, nor to use the engines that he had, on account of the height of the place, he attacked and captured the other towns, which were partially deserted on account of the

a.c. 156  
War with  
the Dal-  
matians

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK X

**CAP.** ἀνδρῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐς τὸ Δελμίνιον συνόδου γενο-  
 II μένας. εἴτα διπήχεας κορύνας πίσση καὶ θείῳ  
 καὶ στυππίῳ περιβαλὼν ἐς τὸ Δελμίνιον ἐκ κατα-  
 πελτῶν ἐσφενδόνα. αἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ρύμης ἔξεκαί-  
 ουτο, καὶ φερόμεναι καθάπερ λαμπάδες ὅπου  
 τύχοιεν ἐνεπίμπρασαν, ἕως πολλὰ μὲν κατε-  
 πρήσθη, καὶ τέλος ἄρα τοῦτο ἦν τότε Φίγλῳ τοῦ  
 Δαλματῶν πολέμου. χρόνῳ δὲ ὑστερον Καικίλιος  
 Μέτελλος ὑπατεύων οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦσι τοῖς Δαλμά-  
 ταις ἐψηφίσατο πολεμεῦν ἐπιθυμίᾳ θριάμβου,  
 καὶ δεχομένων αὐτὸν ἐκείνων ὡς φίλον διεχείμασε  
 παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν Σαλώνῃ πόλει, καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην  
 ἐπανῆλθε καὶ ἐθριάμβευσεν.

## III

**CAP.** 12. Τοῦ δὲ Καίσαρος ἰγουμένου Κελτῶν, οἱ  
 III Δαλμάται οἵδε, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι Ἰλλυρῶν τότε  
 μάλιστα διητύχουν, Λιβυρνούς, ἔτερον ἔθνος Ἰλ-  
 λυριῶν, Πρωμόναν πόλιν ἀφείλοντο· οἱ δὲ σφᾶς  
 Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιτρέποντες ἐπὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐγγὺς  
 ὅντα κατέφευγον. ὁ δὲ ἐπεμψε μέν, καὶ προηγό-  
 ρευσε τοῖς ἔχουσι τὴν Πρωμόναν ἀποδυῆναι τοῖς  
 Λιβυρνοῖς· οὐ φροντισάντων δὲ ἐκείνων τέλος  
 ἐπεμψε στρατοῦ πολλοῦ, οὓς ἀπαντας ἔκτειναν οἱ  
 Ἰλλυριοί. καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ οὐκ ἐπεξῆλθεν· οὐ γὰρ  
 ἦν οἱ σχολὴ τότε στασιάζοντι πρὸς Πομπήιον.  
 ἐκραγείσης δὲ ἐς πόλεμον τῆς στάσεως ὁ μὲν  
 Καίσαρ μεθ' ὅσων εἶχεν ἐκ Βρευτεσίου χειμῶνος  
 τὸν Ἰόνιον ἐπέρα καὶ Πομπηίῳ κατὰ Μακεδονίαν

## THE ILLYRIAN WARS

concentration of forces at Delminium. Then, return- CHAP.  
ing to Delminium, he hurled sticks of wood, two cubits II  
long, covered with flax and smeared with pitch and sulphur, from catapults into the town. These were fanned into flame by the draught, and, flying in the air like torches, wherever they fell caused a conflagration, so that the greater part of the town was burned. This was the end of the war waged by Figulus against the Dalmatians. At a later period, in the consulship of Caecilius Metellus, war was declared B.C. 119  
against the Dalmatians, although they had been guilty of no offence, because he desired a triumph. They received him as a friend and he wintered among them at the town of Salona, after which he returned to Rome and was awarded a triumph.

### III

12. AT the time when Caesar held the command CHAP. III  
in Gaul these same Dalmatians and the other Illyrians who were then most prosperous took the city of Promona from the Liburni, another Illyrian tribe. The latter put themselves in the hands of the B.C. 50  
Romans and appealed to Caesar, who was near by. Caesar sent word to those who were holding Promona that they should give it up to the Liburni, and when they refused, he sent against them a strong detachment of his army who were totally destroyed by the Illyrians. Nor did Caesar renew the attempt, for he had no leisure then, on account of the civil strife with Pompey. When the civil strife broke out into war Caesar crossed the Adriatic from Brundusium in the winter, with what forces he had, and opened his campaign against Pompey in Macedonia. Of the rest

Caesar  
and the  
Illyrians

CAP. έπολέμει, τοῦ δ' ἀλλοὶ στρατοὶ τοι μὲν Ἀιγαῖος  
 III ἐς τὸν Μακεδονίαν ἦγε τῷ Καίσαρι, πεσῶν καὶ  
 ὅδε τὸν Ἰόνιον χειμῶνος ἄκρου, σπείσας δὲ πεζού  
 πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ τρισχιλίους ἵππας Γαβίνιος  
 ἦγεν αὐτῷ διὰ τῆς Ἰλλυσίδος. πεσοιδεύων τὸν  
 Ἰόνιον οἱ δὲ Ἰλλυριοὶ δόθησαν τῷν οἱ πρὸ πολλοῦ  
 γεγονότων ἐς Καίσαρα, τὴν οὐκοῦντος νομίζοντες  
 διεθεῖσαι γεννισταῖς ἑαυτοῖς, κτείνουσι πάντα τοι  
 ἵππο τῷ Γαβίνῳ στρατον ἐπιέισαντες, χωρὶς  
 αὐτοῦ Γαβίνιον καὶ ὄλγων διασιγγότων. καὶ ἐς  
 χοήσατα τότε μάλιστα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἴσχυν ἐκ  
 τοσῶνδε λαβίσων ἔστησαν.

13. Οἱ δὲ Καίσαρος γεγονότειτο μὲν ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης  
 ἐς Πομπήιον, καὶ Πομπηῖου καθαιρεθέντος ἐς τὰ  
 ἵπποιστα τῆς ἐκείνου στάσεως πολυμερῆ γενόμενα,  
 καταστησάμενος δὲ πάντα ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Ῥώμην,  
 καὶ ἔστρατεν ἔτι Γέτας τε καὶ Παρθιαίους.  
 Εἰσιστανοὶ δὲ οἱ Ἰλλυριοὶ μὴ ἐν ὁσφῷ σφίσιν οἷσιν  
 ἐπιθοίτο, καὶ πρέσβεις πέμψαντες ἐς Ῥώμην  
 ἤτοι τε συγγράμμην τῶν γεγονότων καὶ ἐς ὄλμαι  
 ἑαυτοὺς καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐξίσσοσαν, ως περὶ ἔθνους  
 ἀλείμουν μάλιστα σευτολογούμενοι. οἱ δὲ ἐπειγό-  
 μενος ἄστα ἐς Παρθιαίους σευτότερον ὅμως αὐτοῖς  
 ἀπεκρίνατο, εἶλοις μὲν οὐ δήσεσθαι τοὺς τοιαῦτα  
 δεῖρακοτας, συγγράψεσθαι δέ, εἰ δόρους ὑποσταίεν  
 καὶ διηρητα ἔστεν. ιπισχνουμένων δὲ ἐς ἀμφοτέρα  
 αὐτῶν Οἰατίνιοι ἐπειμένε σὺν στρατοῦ τέλεσι  
 τοισι καὶ ἵππεισι πολλοῖς, δόρους τε ὀλίγους  
 -άξιατα αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ διηρητα ληφόμενον. ἀναι-  
 ρεθέντος δὲ τοῖς Καίσαρος, ἥγειμενοι τὴν Ῥωμαίων  
 ἴσχυν ἐι τῷ Καίσαρι γεγονέναι τε καὶ διεῖθάρθαι,  
 οἵδεν ἔτι τοῦ Οἰατίνου κατικουν, οὔτε ἐς τοὺς

## THE ILLYRIAN WARS

of the army, Antony brought another detachment <sup>CHAP.</sup> III to Caesar's aid in Macedonia, he also crossing the Adriatic in mid-winter, and Gabinius led fifteen cohorts of foot and 3000 horse for him by way of Illyria, passing around the Adriatic. The Illyrians, fearing punishment for what they had done to Caesar not long before, and thinking that his victory would be their destruction, attacked and slew the whole army under Gabinius, except Gabinius himself and a few who escaped. By the acquisition of so many spoils their wealth and power now rose to its highest point. <sup>B.C. 43</sup>

13. Caesar was preoccupied by the necessity of coming to a conclusion with Pompey, and, after Pompey's death, with the various sections of his remaining partisans. When he had settled everything he returned to Rome and made preparations for war with the Getae and the Parthians. The Illyrians therefore began to fear lest he should attack them, as they were on his intended line of march. So they sent ambassadors to Rome to crave pardon for what they had done and to offer their friendship and alliance, vaunting themselves as a very brave race. Caesar was hastening his preparations against the <sup>B.C. 45</sup> Parthians; nevertheless, he gave them the dignified answer that he could not make friends of those who had done what they had, but that he would grant them pardon if they would subject themselves to tribute and give him hostages. They promised to do both, and accordingly he sent Vatinius thither with three legions and a large cavalry force to impose a light tribute on them and receive the hostages. When Caesar was slain the Dalmatians, thinking that <sup>B.C. 44</sup> the Roman power resided in him and had perished with him, would not listen to Vatinius on the subject

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK X

CAP. φόρους ούτε ἐστι τὰ ἄλλα, βιάζεσθαι δὲ ἐγχειροῦντος  
 III αὐτοὶ πέντε τάξεις ἐπιδραμόντες ἔφθειραν, καὶ  
 τὸν ἡγούμενον τῶν τάξεων Βαίβιον, ἀνδρα ἀπὸ  
 βουλῆς. καὶ Οὐατίνιος μὲν σὺν τοῖς ὑπολοίποις  
 ἐστοπίδαμνον ἀνεχώρει· ἡ δὲ Ῥωμαίων βουλὴ  
 τὸν στρατὸν τόνδε καὶ Μακεδονίαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ,  
 καὶ Ἰλλυριοὺς ὅσων ἥρχον, ἐνεχείρισε Βρούτῳ  
 Καιπίωνι τῷ κτείναντι Γάιον, ὅτε περ καὶ Συρίαν  
 Κασσίω, καὶ τῷδε ἀνδροφόνῳ Γαῖον γενομένῳ.  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ οἶδε, πολεμούμενοι πρὸς Ἀντωνίου  
 καὶ τοῦ δευτέρου Καίσαρος τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ προσα-  
 γορευθέντος, ἐστοπίδαμνον Ἰλλυριοῖς.

14. Οἱ δὲ Παιόνες εἰσιν ἔθνος μέγα παρὰ τὸν  
 Ἰστρον, ἐπίμηκες ἐξ Ἰαπόδων ἐπὶ Δαρδάνους,  
 Παιόνες μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων λεγόμενοι, καὶ  
 ῥωμαϊστὶ Παννόνιοι, συναριθμούμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ<sup>1</sup>  
 Ῥωμαίων τῇ Ἰλλυρίδι, ώς προεῖπον. διὸ καὶ  
 περὶ τῶνδέ μοι δοκεῖ νῦν κατὰ τὰ Ἰλλυρικὰ εἰπεῖν.  
 ἔνδοξοι δὲ εἰσὶν ἐκ Μακεδόνων δι' Ἀγριάνας, οἱ  
 τὰ μέγιστα Φιλίππῳ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κατεργασά-  
 μενοι Παιόνες εἰσι τῶν κάτω Παιόνων, Ἰλλυριοῖς  
 ἔποικοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Παιόνας ἐστράτευσε  
 Κορηήλιος, κακῶς ἀπαλλάξας μέγα δέος Παιόνων  
 Ἰταλοῖς ἅπασιν ἐνεποίησε, καὶ ἐστοπίδαμνος  
 ἐπειτα ὑπάτοις ὅκνον ἐπὶ Παιόνας ἐλαύνειν.  
 τὰ μὲν δὴ πάλαι τοσαῦτα περὶ Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ  
 Παιόνων ἐσχον εὑρεῖν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι τοῦ  
 δευτέρου Καίσαρος τοῦ κληθέντος Σεβαστοῦ,  
 παλαιότερον μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδὲν ἐν τοῖσδε περὶ Παιόνων  
 ηὔρουν.

15. Ἰλλυριῶν δέ μοι φαίνεται χωρὶς τῶν  
 εἰρημένων ἔθνῶν καὶ ἔτερα Ῥωμαίων προϋπα-

## THE ILLYRIAN WARS

of the tribute or anything else. When he attempted CHAP.  
III  
to use force they attacked and destroyed five of his cohorts, including their commanding officer, Baebius, a man of senatorial rank. Vatinius took refuge with the remainder of his force in Epidamnus. The Roman Senate transferred this army, together with the province of Macedonia and Roman Illyria, to Brutus Caepio, one of Caesar's murderers, and at the same time assigned Syria to Cassius, another of the assassins. But they also, being involved in war with Antony and the second Caesar, surnamed Augustus, had no time to attend to the Illyrians.

14. The Paeones are a great nation on the Danube, extending from the Iapydes to the Dardani. They are called Paeones by the Greeks, but Pannonians by the Romans. They are counted by the Romans as a part of Illyria, as I have previously said, for which reason it seems proper that I should include them in my Illyrian history. They have been renowned from the Macedonian period through the Agrianes, who rendered very important aid to Philip and Alexander and are Paeones of Lower Pannonia bordering on Illyria. When the expedition of Cornelius against the Pannonians resulted disastrously, so great a fear of those people came over all the Italians that for a long time afterwards none of the consuls ventured to march against them. Thus much I have been able to learn concerning the early history of the Illyrians and Pannonians, and not even in the commentaries of the second Caesar, surnamed Augustus, could I find anything earlier about the Pannonians.

15. Nevertheless I think that other Illyrian tribes besides those mentioned had previously come under

The Panno-  
nians on  
the Danube

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK X

**CAP. III** κοῦσαι. καὶ ὅπως μεν, οὐκ ἔγνων· οὐ γὰρ ἀλλοτρίας πράξεις ὁ Σεβαστός, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἑαυτοῦ συνέγραφεν, ώς δὲ ἀποστάντας ἐς τοὺς φόρους ἐπανήγαγε, καὶ ἐτέρους ώς ἀρχῆθεν ἔτι ὥντας αὐτονόμους εἶλε, καὶ πάντας ἐκρατύνατο ὅσοι τὰς κορυφὰς οἰκοῦσι τῶν "Αλπεων, Βάρβαρα καὶ μάχιμα ἔθνη, καὶ κλοπεύοντα τὴν Ἰταλίαν ώς γείτονα. καὶ μοι θαῦμά ἔστιν ὅτι καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ μεγάλοι Ῥωμαίων στρατοὶ ἐπὶ Κελτοὺς καὶ "Ιβηρας διὰ τῶν "Αλπεων ὁδεύοντες ὑπερεῖδον τάδε τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ οὐδὲ Γάιος Καΐσαρ, εὐτυχέστατος ἐς πολέμους ἀνήρ, ἔξηνυσεν αὐτά, ὅτε Κελτοῖς ἐπολέμει καὶ δέκα ἔτεσιν ἀμφὶ τήνδε τὴν χώραν ἔχείμαζεν. ἀλλά μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ μέν, ἐφ' ἡγρέθησαν ἐπειγόμενοι, τῆς διύδου τῶν "Αλπεων μόνης φροντίσαι, ὁ δὲ Γάιος ἀμφὶ τε τὰ Κελτικὰ γενέσθαι, καὶ τῆς στάσεως τοῦ Πομπηίου τὰ Κελτικὰ ἐπιλαβούσης τὸ τούτων τέλος ὑπερθέσθαι. φαίνεται μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ἰλλυρίδος ἄμα Κελτοῖς αἱρεθεὶς ἄρχειν, οὐ πάσης δὲ ἄρα ἡρχεν ἀλλ' ὅση τις ἦν τότε Ῥωμαίοις Ἰλλυρίς.

## IV

**CAP. V** 16. Ὁ δὲ Σεβαστός πάντα ἔχειρώσατο ἐντελῶς, καὶ ἐν παραβολῇ τῆς ἀπραξίας Ἀντωνίου κατελογίσατο τὴν βουλὴν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἡμερῶσαι δυσμάχων ἔθνῶν θαμινὰ ἐνοχλούντων. Ὁξυαίους μὲν δὴ καὶ Περθεηνάτας καὶ Βαθιάτας καὶ Ταυλαντίους καὶ Καμβαίους καὶ Κινάμβρους καὶ Μερομέννους καὶ Πυρισσαίους εἶλε δι' ὅλης πείρας.

## THE ILLYRIAN WARS

Roman rule. How, I do not know, for Augustus did CHAP.  
III not describe the transactions of others so much as his own, telling how he brought back those who had revolted and compelled them again to pay tribute, how he subjugated others that had been independent from the beginning, and how he mastered all the tribes that inhabit the summits of the Alps, barbarous and warlike peoples, who often plundered the neighbouring country of Italy. It is a wonder to me that so many great Roman armies traversing the Alps to conquer the Gauls and Spaniards, should have overlooked these tribes, and that even Gaius Caesar, that most successful man of war, did not accomplish their subjection during the ten years that he was fighting the Gauls and wintering in that very country. But the others seem to have been intent only upon getting through the Alpine region on the business for which they had been appointed, and Caesar seems to have delayed putting an end to the Illyrian troubles on account of the Gallic war and the strife with Pompey, which closely followed it. For it appears that he was chosen commander of Illyria as well as of Gaul—that is, not all Illyria, but as much of it as was then under Roman rule.

## IV

16. WHEN Augustus had made himself master of CHAP.  
IV everything, he informed the Senate, by way of contrast with Anthony's slothfulness, that he had freed Italy from the savage tribes that had so often raided it. He overcame the Oxyaei, the Perthoneatae, the B.C. 35 Bathiatae, the Taulantii, the Cambaei, the Cinambri, Augustus invades the Meromenni, and the Pyrissaei in one cam- Illyria

CAP. IV ἔργῳ δὲ μείζονι ἐλήφθησαν, καὶ φόρους ὅσους  
 ἔξέλιπον ἡναγκάσθησαν ἀποδοῦναι, Δοκλεάται τε  
 καὶ Κάρνοι καὶ Ἰντερφρουρῖνοι καὶ Ναρήσιοι καὶ  
 Γλιυτιδίωνες καὶ Ταυρίσκοι. ὃν ἀλόντων οἱ  
 ὅμοροι προσέθεντο αὐτῷ καταπλαγέντες, Ἰππα-  
 σῖνοί τε καὶ Βεσσοί. ἑτέρους δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπο-  
 στάντας, Μελιτηνοὺς καὶ Κορκυρηνούς, οἱ νήσους  
 ὥκουν, ἀνέστησεν ἄρδην, ὅτι ἐλήστευον τὴν  
 θάλασσαν καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἡβῶντας αὐτῶν ἔκτεινε,  
 τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἀπέδοτο. Λιβυρνῶν δὲ τὰς ναῦς  
 ἀφείλετο, ὅτι καὶ οἵδε ἐλήστευον. Ἰαπόδων δὲ  
 τῶν ἐντὸς "Αλπεων Μοευτῖνοι μὲν καὶ Αὔενδεάται  
 προσέθεντο αὐτῷ προσιόντι, Ἀρουπῖνοι δ', οἱ  
 πλεῖστοι καὶ μαχιμώτατοι τῶνδε τῶν Ἰαπόδων  
 εἰσίν, ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἀνωκίσαντο, καὶ  
 προσιόντος αὐτοῦ ἐς τὰς ὕλας συνέφυγον. ὁ δὲ  
 Καῖσαρ τὸ ἄστυ ἐλὼν οὐκ ἐνέπρησεν, ἐλπίσας  
 ἐνδώσειν αὐτούς· καὶ ἐνδοῦσιν οίκεῖν ἔδωκεν.

17. Μάλιστα δ' ἡνώχλησαν αὐτὸν Σαλασσοί τε  
 καὶ Ἰάποδες οἱ πέραν "Αλπεων καὶ Σεγεστανοὶ καὶ  
 Δαλμάται καὶ Δαισιτιάται καὶ Παίονες, ὅντες  
 ἐκὰς τοῖς Σαλασσοῖς, οἱ κορυφὰς οἰκοῦσι τῶν  
 "Αλπεων, ὅρη δύσβατα, καὶ στενὴ δίοδός ἐστιν ἐπ'  
 αὐτὰ καὶ δυσχερής· δι' ἣ καὶ ἥσαν αὐτόνομοι, καὶ  
 τέλη τοὺς παροδεύοντας ἔτουν. τούτοις Οὐέτερ  
 ἐμπεσὼν ἀδοκήτως τὰ στενὰ προύλαβε δι' ἐνέδρας,  
 καὶ ἐπὶ διετὲς αὐτοὺς ἐπολιόρκει. οἱ δὲ ἀλῶν  
 ἀπορίᾳ, ὃν εἰσὶ μάλιστα ἐν χρείᾳ, φρουρὰς

## THE ILLYRIAN WARS

paign. By more prolonged effort he also overcame CHAP.  
the Docleatae, the Carni, the Interphrurini, the  
Naresii, the Glintidiones, and the Taurisci. From  
these tribes he exacted the tributes they had been  
failing to pay. When these were conquered, the  
Hippasini and the Bessi, neighbouring tribes, were  
overcome by fear and surrendered themselves to him.  
Others which had revolted, the Maltese and the  
Corcyreans, who inhabited islands, he destroyed  
utterly, because they practised piracy, putting the  
young men to death and selling the rest as slaves.  
He deprived the Liburnians of their ships because  
they also practised piracy. The Moentini and the  
Avendeatae, two tribes of the Iapydes, dwelling  
within the Alps, surrendered themselves to him at  
his approach. The Arupini, who are the most  
numerous and warlike of these Iapydes, betook  
themselves from their villages to their city, and when  
he arrived there they fled to the woods. Augustus  
took the city, but did not burn it, hoping that they  
would deliver themselves up, and when they did so  
he allowed them to occupy it.

17. Those who gave him the most trouble were Subjugation  
the Salassi, the transalpine Iapydes, the Segestani, the  
of the  
Dalmatians, the Daesitiatae, and the Pannonians, far  
Salassi and  
distant from the Salassi, which latter tribe occupies the  
Iapydes  
higher Alpine mountains, a range difficult of access, the  
paths being narrow and hard to climb. For this reason  
they had not only preserved their independence, but  
had levied tolls on those who passed through their  
country. Vetus assaulted them unexpectedly, seized  
the passes by stratagem, and besieged them for two  
years. They were driven to surrender for want of  
salt, which they use largely, and they received a

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK X

CAP. έδέξαντο. καὶ Οὐέτερος ἀποστάντος τὰς φρουρὰς  
 IV ἔξέβαλον εὐθύς, καὶ τὰ στενὰ κρατυνάμενοι τοὺς  
 ἐπιπεμπομένους σφίσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος διέ-  
 παιζον, οὐδὲν δρᾶν μέγα ἔχοντας. ὅθεν αὐτοῖς ὁ  
 Καίσαρ, προσδοκωμένου τοῦ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον  
 πολέμου, συνέθετο αὐτονόμους ἕάσειν, καὶ ἀκολά-  
 στους τῶν ἐπὶ Οὐέτερι πραχθέντων. οἱ δ' ἄτε ἐν  
 ὑποψίᾳ ταῦτ' ἔχοντες ἄλας πολλοὺς ἐσώρευον,  
 καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων κατέθεον, μέχρι Μεσσάλας  
 Κορούνος αὐτοῖς ἐπιπεμφθεὶς λιμῷ παρεστήσατο.

18. Καὶ Σαλασσοὶ μὲν οὕτως ἐλήφθησαν, Ἰά-  
 ποδες δὲ οἱ πέραν Ἀλπεων, ἔθνος ἵσχυρόν τε καὶ  
 ἄγριον, δὶς μὲν ἀπεώσαντο Ῥωμαίους, ἔτεσί που  
 ἀγχοῦ εἴκοσιν, Ἀκυληίαν δ' ἐπέδραμον καὶ  
 Τεργηστὸν Ῥωμαίων ἄποικον ἐσκύλευσαν. ἐπιόν-  
 τος δ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁδὸν ἀνάντη καὶ  
 τραχεῖαν· οἱ δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτὴν ἐδυσχέραινον  
 αὐτῷ, τὰ δένδρα κόπτοντες. ὡς δ' ἀνῆλθεν, ἐς  
 τὴν ἄλλην ὕλην αὐτοὶ συνέφυγον καὶ προσιόντα  
 ἐλόχων. ὁ δέ (ὑπώπτευε γὰρ ἀεί τι τοιοῦτον) ἐς  
 τὰς ἀκρωρείας τινὰς ἐπεμπεν, οἱ ἐκατέρωθεν αὐτῷ  
 συνέθεον προβαίνοντι διὰ τοῦ χθαμαλοῦ καὶ  
 κόπτοντι τὴν ὕλην· οἱ δὲ Ἰάποδες ἐπεξέθεον μὲν  
 ἐκ τῶν ἐνεδρῶν καὶ πολλοὺς ἐτίτρωσκον, ὑπὸ δὲ  
 τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἄκροις ἐπιτρεχόντων κατεκόπτοντο οἱ  
 πλείους. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάλιν ἐς τὰ λάσια συνέ-  
 φευγον, τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπόντες, ἢ δονομα Τέρπωνος.  
 καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ Καίσαρ ἐλὼν οὐκ ἐνέπρισεν, ἐλπίσας  
 καὶ τούσδε ἐνδώσειν· καὶ ἐνέδωκαν.

## THE ILLYRIAN WARS

Roman garrison; but when Vetus went away they CHAP IV  
expelled the garrison forthwith, and possessing themselves of the mountain passes, mocked at the forces that Augustus sent against them, which were unable to accomplish anything of importance. Thereupon Augustus, anticipating a war with Antony, acknowledged their independence and allowed them to go unpunished for their offences against Vetus. But as they were suspicious of this behaviour, they laid in large supplies of salt and made incursions into the Roman territory until Messala Corvinus was sent against them and reduced them by hunger. In this way were the Salassi subjugated.

18. The transalpine Iapydes, a strong and savage B.C. 35 tribe, drove back the Romans twice within the space of about twenty years, overran Aquileia, and plundered the Roman colony of Tergestus. When Augustus advanced against them by a steep and rugged road, they made it still harder for him by felling trees. As he advanced farther they took refuge in other parts of the forest, where they lay in ambush for the approaching foe. Augustus, who was always suspecting something of this kind, sent forces to occupy the ridges, and these marched parallel to him on either side as he advanced along the lower ground, cutting the wood as he went. The Iapydes darted out from their ambush and wounded many of the soldiers, but the greater part of their own forces were killed by the Romans who fell upon them from the heights above. The remainder again took refuge in the thickets, abandoning their town, the name of which was Terponus. Augustus took this town, but did not burn it, hoping that they also would give themselves up, and they did so.

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK X

CAP. IV 19. Ἐπὶ δὲ ἑτέραν πόλιν ἔχώρει, Μετούλου, ἡ τῶν Ἰαπόδων ἐστὶ κεφαλή, κεῖται δὲ ἐν ὅρει σφόδρα ὑλώδει ἐπὶ δύο λόφων, οὓς διαιρεῖ χαράδρα στενή. καὶ ἡ νεότης ἦν ἀμφὶ τοὺς τρισχιλίους μαχίμους τε καὶ σφόδρα εὐόπλους· οἵτινες Ῥωμαίους τὰ τείχη σφῶν περιστάντας εὐκόλως ἀπεκρούοντο. οἱ δὲ χῶμα ἥγειρον· καὶ οἱ Μετούλοι τό τε χῶμα νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐκτρέχοντες ἥνωχλουν, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους μηχανᾶς κατεπόνουν, ἣς ἐσχήκεσαν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου ὃν Δέκμος<sup>1</sup> Βροῦτος ἐνταῦθα ἐπολέμησεν· Αντωνίῳ τε καὶ τῷ Σεβαστῷ. πονοῦντος δὲ κάκείνοις ἥδη τοῦ τείχους, οἵτινες ὑπετείχισαν ἐνδοθεν, καὶ τὸ κεκμηκὸς ἐκλιπόντες μετεπήδησαν ἐς τὸ νεότευκτον· οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ μὲν ἐκλειφθὲν λαβόντες ἐνέπρησαν, κατὰ δὲ τοῦ ἄλλου δύο χώματα ἔχουν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν γεφύρας τέσσαρας ἔξέτεινον ἐς τὸ τείχος. γενομένων δὲ τούτων ὁ Καῖσαρ περιέπεμψε τινας ἐς τὰ ὄπίσθια τῆς πόλεως, περισπάν τοὺς Μετούλους, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις προσέταξε περάν ἐς τὰ τείχη. διὰ τῶν γεφυρῶν. καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς ὑψηλὸν πύργον ἀναβὰς ἔώρα.

20. Οἱ βάρβαροι δὲ τοῖς περῶσιν ὑπῆντων τε ἐκ μετώπου κατὰ τὸ τείχος, καὶ ὑφεδρεύοντες ἔτεροι τὰς γεφύρις μακροῖς δόρασιν ὑπεκέντουν, μᾶλλον τε ἐθάρρησαν μιᾶς γεφύρας καὶ δευτέρας ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ πεσούσης. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἡ τρίτη συνέπεσε, φόβος ἥδη παντελῆς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπεῖχε, καὶ οὐδεὶς τῆς τετάρτης ἐπέβαινεν, ἕως ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκ τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> The Latin version of Caudilius omits “Decimus.” Decimus Brutus did not fight against Antony in Illyria, but in Cisalpine Gaul, where he was killed while trying to escape to Illyria. See *Civil Wars*, iii. 98.

## THE ILLYRIAN WARS

19. Thence he advanced to another place called CHAP.  
Metulus, which is the chief town of the Iapydes. It  
is situated on a thickly wooded mountain, on two  
ridges with a narrow valley between them. Here  
were about 3000 warlike and well-armed youths, who  
easily beat off the Romans who surrounded their  
walls. The latter raised a mound. The Metulians  
interrupted the work by sallies day and night,  
and harassed the soldiers from the walls with engines  
which they had obtained from the war which Deci-  
mus Brutus had waged there with Antony and  
Augustus. When their wall began to crumble they  
built another inside, abandoned the ruined one, and  
took shelter behind the newly-built one. The Romans  
captured the abandoned wall and burned it. Against  
the new fortification they raised two mounds and  
from these threw four bridges to the top of the wall.  
Then, in order to distract the Metulians' attention,  
Augustus sent a part of his force round to the rear  
of the town and meantime ordered the others to dash  
across the bridges to the walls, while he himself  
ascended to the top of a high tower to see the result.

20. Some of the barbarians met those who were  
crossing face to face on the wall, while others lurked  
beneath the bridges and stabbed at them from below  
with their long spears. They were much encouraged at  
seeing one bridge fall and a second one follow on top  
of it. When a third one went down a complete panic  
overtook the Romans, so that no one ventured on the  
fourth bridge until Augustus leaped down from the

IV  
Hard  
fighting at  
Metulus

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK X

CAP. πύργου καταθορὼν ὡνείδιζεν αὐτούς. ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 IV ὡς οὐκ ἐρεθιζομένων, αὐτὸς ἀσπίδα λαβὼν ἐπὶ τὴν  
 γέφυραν ἔτο δρόμῳ. συνέθεον δ' αὐτῷ τῶν ἡγε-  
 μόνων Ἀγρίππας τε καὶ Ἱέρων καὶ ὁ σωματοφύλαξ  
 Λοῦτος καὶ Οὐόλας, τέσσαρες οἵδε μόνοι, καὶ τῶν  
 ὑπασπιστῶν ὀλίγοι. ἥδη δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν γέφυραν  
 περῶντος, ἐν αἰδοῖ γενόμενος ὁ στρατὸς ἀνεπήδησεν  
 ἄθρους. καὶ πάλιν ἡ γέφυρα βαρηθεῖσα κατα-  
 πίπτει, καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἄθροι κατεχών-  
 νυντο, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ συντρι-  
 βέντες ἐφέρουντο. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐπλήγη μὲν τὸ  
 σκέλος τὸ δεξιὸν καὶ τοὺς βραχίονας ἄμφω,  
 ἀνέδραμε δ' ὅμως εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν πύργον μετὰ τῶν  
 συμβόλων, καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔδειξεν ἐρρωμένον, μή τις  
 ὡς ἀποθανόντος γένοιτο θόρυβος. ἵνα δὲ μηδὲ οἱ  
 πολέμιοι νομίσειαν αὐτὸν ἐνδώσειν ἀναχωρήσαντα,  
 εὐθὺς ἐτέρας ἐπήγγυυτο γεφύρας. ὃ καὶ μάλιστα  
 κατέπληξε τοὺς Μετούλους ὡς ὑπὸ γνώμης ἀμάχου  
 πολεμουμένους.

21. Καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης πρεσβευσάμενοι πρὸς  
 αὐτὸν ὅμήρους τε πεντήκοντα ἔδοσαν, οὓς ὁ Καῖσαρ  
 ἐπελέξατο, καὶ φρουρὰν ὑποσχόμενοι δέξεσθαι τὸν  
 ὑψηλότερον λόφον τοῖς φρουροῖς ἀπέλιπον, αὐτοὶ  
 δὲ μετεχώρουν ἐς τὸν ἔτερον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐσελθοῦσα  
 ἡ φρουρὰ τὰ ὅπλα αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευεν ἀποθέσθαι,  
 οἱ δὲ ἡγανάκτησάν τε, καὶ τὰ γύναια σφῶν καὶ  
 τοὺς παῖδας ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον συγκλείσαντες,  
 καὶ φυλακὴν ἐπιστήσαντες, οἷς εἴρητο, εἴ τι ἤδες  
 γίγνοιτο περὶ αὐτούς, ἐμπρῆσαι τὸ βουλευτήριον,  
 ἐπεχείρουν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις αὐτὸλ μετ' ἀπονοίας.  
 οἷα δ' ὑψηλοτέροις ἐπιχειροῦντες ἐκ ταπεινοῦ,  
 συνεχώσθησαν ἄθροι, καὶ οἱ φύλακες τὸ βουλευ-

## THE ILLYRIAN WARS

tower and reproached them. As they were not CHAP.  
roused to their duty by his words, he seized a shield IV  
and ran on to the bridge himself. Agrippa and  
Hiero, two of the generals, and one of his body-  
guard, Lutus, and Volas ran with him, only these  
four with a few armour-bearers. He had almost  
crossed the bridge when the soldiers, overcome by  
shame, rushed after him in crowds. Then this  
bridge, being overweighted, fell also, and the men  
on it went down in a heap. Some were killed and  
others were carried away with broken bones.  
Augustus was injured in the right leg and in both  
arms. Nevertheless, he ascended the tower with his  
insignia forthwith and showed himself safe and  
sound, lest panic should arise from a report of his  
death. In order too that the enemy might not fancy  
that he was going to give in and retire, he began at  
once to construct new bridges; and this above all  
struck terror into the Metulians, who thought that  
they were contending against an unconquerable will.

21. The next day they sent messengers to Augustus and gave him fifty hostages whom he selected himself, and promised to receive a garrison and to assign to them the higher hill while they themselves would occupy the other. But when the garrison entered and ordered them to lay down their arms, then indeed they were very angry. They shut their wives and children up in their council-chamber and stationed guards there with orders to set fire to the building in case things went wrong with them, and themselves attacked the Romans with desperation. Since, however, they made the attack from a lower position upon those occupying higher ground, they were completely overpowered. Then the guards set

Destruc-  
tion of  
the city

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK X

CAP. IV. τήριον κατέπρησαν, πολλαί τε τῶν γυναικῶν ἔαυτάς τε καὶ τὰ τέκνα διεχρώντο, αἱ δὲ καὶ ζῶντα ἔπι φέρουσαι ἐς τὸ πῦρ ἐνήλαντο, ὡς ἀπολέσθαι τῶν Μετούλων τὴν τε νεότητα πᾶσαν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τῶν ἀχρείων τὸ πλέον τῷ πυρί. συγκατεφλέγη δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ πόλις, καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν ἵχνος μεγίστης ἐκεῖθι γενομένης. Μετούλου δ' ἀλούσης οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Ἰαπόδων καταπλαγέντες ἔαυτοὺς ἐπέτρεψαν τῷ Καίσαρι. Ἰάποδες μὲν οὖν οἱ πέραν Ἀλπεων τότε πρῶτον Ρωμαίων ὑπῆκουσαν καὶ αὐτῶν Ποσηνοὺς ἀποχωρήσαντος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀποστάντας ἐπιπεμφθεὶς αὐτοῖς Μᾶρκος Ἐλουιος εἶλε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν αἰτίους ἔκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀπέέστο.

22. Ἐς δὲ τὴν Σεγεστικὴν γῆν οἱ Ρωμαῖοι ἐἰς πρότερον ἐμβαλόντες οὔτε ὅμηρον οὔτε ἄλλο τι εἰλήφεσαν· ὅθεν ἴσαν ἐπὶ φρονήματος οἱ Σεγεστανοί. ὁ δὲ Καίσαραι τοῖς ἐπήει διὰ τῆς Παιόνων γῆς, οὕπω Ρωμαίοις οἵδε τῆς δειπνού γενομένης. ὑλώδης δ' ἐστὶν ἡ Παιόνων, καὶ ἐπιμήκης ἐξ Ἰαπόδων ἐπὶ Δαρδάνους. καὶ οὐ πόλεις φέρουν οἱ Παιόνες οἴδε, ἀλλ' ἀγροὺς ἡ κώμας κατὰ συγγένειαν οὐδὲ ἐς βουλευτήρια κοιτὰ συνήσαν, οὐδὲ ἄρχοντες αὐτοῖς ἴσαν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν. οἱ δὲ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ μάχης ἐς δέκα μυριάδας συνετέλουν. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ οὗτοι συνήσαν ἀθρόοι δι' ἀναρχίαν. προσιόντος δὲ αὐτοῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἐς τὰς ὑλας ὑποφυγόντες τοὺς ἀποσκισναμένους τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀνήρουν. ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ ἦως μὲν ἥλπιζεν αὐτοὺς ἀφίξεσθαι πρὸς αἰτόν, οὔτε τὰς κώμας οὔτε τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἐλυμαίνετο, οὐκ ἀπαντώντων δὲ πάντα ἐνεπίμπρη

## THE ILLYRIAN WARS

fire to the council-chamber and many of the women CHAP  
killed their children and themselves. Others,<sup>IV</sup>  
holding in their arms their children still alive,  
leaped into the flames. Thus all the Metulian youth  
perished in battle and the greater part of the non-  
combatants by fire. Their city was entirely  
consumed, and not a trace of it was left, although it  
had been the greatest city in those parts. After the  
destruction of Metulus the remainder of the Iapydes,  
being terror-stricken, surrendered to Augustus.  
The transalpine Iapydes were then for the first time  
brought in subjection to the Romans. After Augustus  
departed the Poseni rebelled and Marcus Helvius  
was sent against them. He conquered them and  
after punishing the leaders of the revolt with death  
sold the rest as slaves.

22. At an earlier time the Romans twice attacked B.C. 35  
the country of the Segestani, but obtained no hostages  
nor anything else, for which reason the Segestani  
became very arrogant. Augustus advanced against  
them through the Pannonian territory, which was  
not yet under subjection to the Romans. Pannonia  
is a wooded country extending from the Iapydes to  
the Dardani. The inhabitants did not live in cities,  
but scattered through the country or in villages  
according to relationship. They had no common  
council and no rulers over the whole nation. They  
numbered 100,000 fighting men, but they did not  
assemble in one body, because they had no common  
government. When Augustus advanced against them  
they took to the woods, and slew the stragglers of  
the army; but as long as Augustus hoped that they  
would surrender voluntarily he spared their fields  
and villages. As none of them came in he devastated

War  
against the  
Segestani

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK X

CAP. καὶ ἔκειρεν ἐπὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ὀκτώ, ἐς δὲ διῆλθεν ἡ τὴν  
 IV Σεγεστανῶν, καὶ τήνδε Παιόνων οὖσαν, ἐπὶ τοῦ  
 Σάου ποταμοῦ, ἐν τῷ καὶ πόλις ἔστιν ἔχυρά, τῷ τε  
 ποταμῷ καὶ τάφρῳ μεγίστη διειλημμένη, διὸ καὶ  
 μάλιστα αὐτῆς ἔχρηξεν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὡς ταμείῳ  
 χρησόμενος ἐς τὸν Δακῶν καὶ Βαστερνῶν πόλεμον,  
 οἱ πέραν εἰσὶ τοῦ "Ιστρου, λεγομένου μὲν ἐνταῦθα  
 Δανουβίου, γιγνομένου δὲ μετ' ὄλιγον" Ιστρου.  
 ἐμβάλλει δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὸν "Ιστρον" καὶ αἱ νῆσες ἐν  
 τῷ Σάῳ Καίσαρι ἐγίγνουντο, αἱ δὲ τὸν Δανούβιον  
 αὐτῷ τὴν ἀγορὰν διοίσειν ἔμελλον.

23. Διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τῆς Σεγέστης ἔχρηξεν ὁ  
 Καῖσαρ· προσιόντι δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ Σεγεστανοὶ προσ-  
 ἑπεμψαν, πυνθανόμενοι τίνος χρήζει. ὁ δὲ φρου-  
 ρὰν ἐσαγαγεῖν ἔφη, καὶ ὥμηρος ἑκατὸν λαβεῖν,  
 ἵν' ἀσφαλῶς ταμείῳ τῇ πόλει χρῶτο ἐπὶ Δάκας.  
 ἢτει δὲ καὶ σῖτον, ὃσον δύναιντο φέρειν. ταῦθ' οἱ  
 μὲν πρωτεύοντες ἡξίουν δοῦναι· ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἔξα-  
 γριαίνων τὰ μὲν ὅμηρα διδόμενα περιεῖδεν, ὅτι  
 ἵσως οὐ παρὰ σφῶν ἀλλὰ τῶν πρωτευόντων  
 παῖδες ἦσαν, προσιούσης δὲ τῆς φρουρᾶς τὴν  
 ὄψιν οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες ὄρμῇ μανιώδει τὰς πύλας  
 αὐθις ἀπέκλειον καὶ αὐτοὺς τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐπέστη-  
 σαν. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ τόν τε ποταμὸν ἐγεφύρου,  
 καὶ χάρακας καὶ τάφρους πάντοθεν ἐποιεῖτο,  
 ἀποτειχίσας δὲ αὐτοὺς δύο χώματα ἔχου. οἵ  
 ἐπέδραμον μὲν οἱ Σεγεστανοὶ πολλάκις, οὐ δυνη-  
 θέντες δὲ ἐλεῖν λαμπάδας καὶ πῦρ πολὺ ἄνωθεν  
 ἐπέβαλλον. προσιούσης δὲ αὐτοῖς Παιόνων ἐτέ-

## THE ILLYRIAN WARS

the country with fire and sword for eight days, until CHAP.  
IV  
he came to the Segestani. Theirs is also Pannonian territory, on the river Save, on which is situated a city strongly fortified by the river and by a very large ditch encircling it. For this reason Augustus greatly desired to possess it as a magazine convenient for a war against the Dacians and the Bastarnae on the other side of the Ister, which is there called the Danube, but a little lower down becomes the Ister. The Save flows into it, and Augustus caused ships to be built on the latter stream to bring provisions to the Danube for him.

23. For these reasons he desired to obtain possession of Segesta. As he was approaching, the Segestani sent to inquire what he wanted. He replied that he desired to station a garrison there and to receive 100 hostages in order that he might use the town safely as a base of operations in his war against the Dacians. He also asked for as much food as they were able to supply. The chief men of the town acquiesced, but the common people were furious, yet consented to the giving of the hostages, perhaps because they were not their children, but those of the notables. When the garrison approached, however, they could not bear the sight of them, but shut the gates in a mad fury and stationed themselves on the walls. Thereupon Augustus bridged the river and surrounded the place with ditches and palisades, and, having blockaded them, raised two mounds. Upon these the Segestani made frequent assaults and, being unable to capture them, threw down upon them torches and fire in large quantities. When aid was sent to them by the other Pannonians

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK X

CAP. ρων βοηθείας, ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπαντήσας ἐνήδρευσεν  
<sup>IV</sup> αὐτήν· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀνηρέθησαν, οἱ δὲ ἔφυγον, καὶ  
 οὐδεὶς ἔτι Παιόνων ἐβοήθει.

24. Οἱ Σεγεστανοὶ δὲ πᾶσαν πολιορκίαν ὑπο-  
 στάντες ἡμέρᾳ τριακοστῇ κατὰ κράτος ἐλίφθη-  
 σαν, καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἥρξαντο ἵκετεύειν. καὶ  
 αὐτοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπαίνω τε τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ ἐλέω  
 τῆς ἱκεσίας οὕτε ἔκτεινεν οὕτε ἀνέστησεν, ἀλλὰ  
 χρήμασιν ἐξημίωσε, καὶ τῆς πόλεως μέρος διατε-  
 χίσας ἐσήγαγεν ἐς αὐτὸν φρουρὰν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι  
 σπειρῶν. καὶ ὁ μὲν τάδε ἐργασάμενος ἐς Ἀρώμην  
 ἀνέζευξεν, ὡς ἥρος ἐπανήξων ἐς τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα.  
 φήμης δὲ ἐπιδραμούσης ὅτι τὴν φρουρὰν οἱ Σεγε-  
 στανοὶ διέφθειραν, ἔξεθορε χειμῶνος. καὶ τὸ μὲν  
 τέλος τῆς φήμης ψευδὲς ηὔρε, τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν  
 ἀληθῆ· ἐγεγόνεσαν γὰρ ἐν κινδύνῳ, τῶν Σεγεστα-  
 νῶν αὐτοὺς ἄφνω περιστάντων, καὶ πολλοὺς τὸ  
 αἴφνιδιον ἀπωλωλέκει, τῆς δὲ ἐπιούσης προελ-  
 θόντες ἐκράτουν τῶν Σεγεστανῶν. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ  
 ἐπὶ Δαλμάτας μετήει, γένος ἔτερον Ἰλλυριῶν,  
 Ταυλαντίοις ὅμορον.

## V

CAP. 25. Οἱ Δαλμάται δὲ ἐξ οὗ τὰς ὑπὸ Γαβινίῳ  
<sup>V</sup> πέντε τάξεις ἀνηρήκεσαν καὶ τὰ σημεῖα εἰλήφεσαν,  
 ἐπαρθέντες ἐπὶ τῷδε τὰ ὅπλα οὐκ ἀπετέθειντο  
 ἔτεσιν ἡδη δέκα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπιόντος  
 αὐτοῖς συμμαχήσειν ἀλλήλοις συνετίθεντο. καὶ  
 ἦσαν οἱ μαχιμώτατοι μυρίων καὶ δισχιλίων  
 πλείους, ὃν στρατηγὸν Οὐέρσον αἴροῦνται. ὁ δὲ

## THE ILLYRIAN WARS

Augustus met and ambuscaded this reinforcement, CHAP. IV destroyed a part of it, and put the rest to flight. After this none of the Pannonians came to their assistance any more.

24. Thus the Segestani, after enduring all the evils of a siege, were taken by force on the thirtieth day, and then for the first time they began to supplicate. Augustus, admiring them for their bravery and pitying their prayers, neither killed nor banished them, but contented himself with a fine. He walled off a part of the city and in this he placed a garrison of twenty-five cohorts. Having accomplished this he went back to Rome, intending to return to Illyria in the spring. But a rumour becoming current that the Segestani had massacred the garrison, he set forth hastily in the winter. However, he found that the rumour was false, yet not without cause. They had been in danger from a sudden uprising of the Segestani and had lost many men by reason of its unexpectedness, but on the next day they rallied and put down the insurgents. Augustus therefore turned his forces against the Dalmatians, another Illyrian tribe, bordering on the Taulantians.

## V

25. THE Dalmatians, after the slaughter of the five cohorts under Gabinius and the taking of their standards, elated by their success, had not laid down their arms for ten years. When Augustus advanced against them they made an alliance with each other for mutual aid in war. They had upwards of 12,000 fighting men, of whom they chose Versus general.

V  
B.C. 34  
Second war  
against the  
Dalmatians

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK X

**CAP. Πρωμόναν αὐθις, τὴν τῶν Λιβυρνῶν πόλιν, κατα-**  
<sup>V</sup> **λαβὼν ὡχύρου, καὶ τὰλλα οὖσαν ἐκφυῶς ὀχυρω-**  
**τάτην· ὅρειον γάρ ἔστι τὸ χωρίον, καὶ αὐτῷ περί-**  
**κεινται λόφοι πάντοθεν ὀξεῖς οἷα πρίονες. ἐν μὲν**  
**δὴ τῇ πόλει τὸ πλέον ἦν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς λόφοις**  
**διέθηκεν Οὐέρσος φρούρια· καὶ πάντες ἐφεώρων**  
**τὰ 'Ρωμαίων ἄφ' ὑψηλοῦ. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς μὲν**  
**τὸ φανερὸν πάντας ἀπετείχιζε, λάθρᾳ δὲ τοὺς**  
**εὐτολμοτάτους ἐπεμπεῖς ζητεῖν ἄγοδον ἐς τὸν ἀκρό-**  
**τατον τῶν λόφων. καὶ οἱ μέν, τῆς ὑλῆς αὐτοὺς**  
**ἐπικαλυπτούσης, νυκτὸς ἐμπίπτουσι τοῖς φύλαξιν**  
**εὐναζομένοις, καὶ κτείνουσιν αὐτούς, καὶ τῷ**  
**Καίσαρι κατέσεισαν ὑπὸ λύγη· ὁ δὲ τῆς τε**  
**πόλεως ἐς πεῖραν ἦει τῷ πλέονι στρατῷ, καὶ ἐς**  
**τὸ εἰλημμένον ἄκρον ἐτέρους ἐφ' ἐτέροις ἐπεμπεῖν,**  
**οἱ τοῖς ἄλλοις λόφοις ἐπικατήσαν. φόβος τε**  
**καὶ θόρυβος ἦν τοῖς βαρβάροις ὁμοῦ πᾶσιν**  
**ἐπιχειρουμένοις πάντοθεν· μάλιστα δὲ οἱ ἐν**  
**τοῖς λόφοις ἔδεισαν διὰ τὸ ἄνυδρον, μὴ τῶν**  
**διύδων ἀφαιρεθῶσιν. καὶ συμφεύγουσιν ἐς τὴν**  
**Πρωμόναν.**

26. 'Ο δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτήν τε καὶ δύο λόφους, οἱ  
 ἔτι ἐκρατοῦντο ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ὁμοῦ περιετεί-  
 χιζε, τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων περίμετρον. καν  
 τούτῳ Τέστιμον Δαλμάτην, στρατὸν ἐτερον ἄγοντα  
 τοῖς ἐν Πρωμόνῃ συμμάχον, ὑπαντήσας ἐδίωκεν  
 ἐς τὰ ὅρη, καὶ ἐφορῶντος ἔτι τοῦ Τεστίμου τὴν  
 Πρωμόναν εἶλεν, οὕπω τῆς περιτειχίσεως τετελε-  
 σμένης. ἐκδραμόντων γάρ τῶν ἔνδον καὶ συνελαυ-  
 νομένων ὀξέως, οἱ 'Ρωμαῖοι φεύγουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐς  
 τὴν πόλιν συνεσέπεσον, καὶ τὸ τρίτον τούτων  
 ἔνδον ἔκτειναν· οἱ λοιποὶ δ' ἐς τὴν ἄκραν ἀνέ-

## THE ILLYRIAN WARS

He again occupied Promona, the city of the Liburni, CHAP.  
V  
and fortified it, although it was very strong by nature,  
for it is a mountain stronghold surrounded on all sides  
by sharp-pointed hills like saw-teeth. The greater  
part of his forces were stationed in the town, but he  
placed guards on the hills, who all looked down  
upon the Romans from elevated positions. Augustus  
in plain sight began to cut them all off by a wall,  
but secretly he sent his bravest men to seek a path  
to the highest of the hills. These, concealing  
themselves in the woods, fell upon the guards by  
night while they were asleep, slew them, and signalled  
to Augustus in the twilight. He then led the bulk  
of the army to make an attempt upon the city, and  
sent detachment after detachment to the height  
that had been taken, who then descended on to the  
lower hills. Terror and confusion fell upon the  
barbarians attacked, as they were, simultaneously on  
all sides. Especially were those on the hills alarmed  
lest they should be cut off from their supply of  
water, for which reason they all fled into Promona.

26. Augustus surrounded the town, and two hills  
which were still held by the enemy, with a wall  
forty stades in length. Meanwhile Testimus, a  
Dalmatian, brought another army to the relief of the  
place. Augustus met him and drove him back to  
the mountains, and while Testimus was still looking  
on he took Promona before the line of circum-  
vallation was finished. For when the citizens made  
a sally and were sharply repulsed, the Romans  
pursued them and entered the town with them,  
where they killed a third part of them. The  
remainder took refuge in the citadel, at the gates of  
City of  
Promona  
taken

CAP. δραμον. καὶ σπεῖρα Ῥωμαίων ἐφύλασσεν αὐτοὺς  
<sup>V</sup> ἐπὶ τῶν πυλῶν. οἵς προσπίπτουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι  
 νυκτὸς τετάρτης, καὶ ἔξέλιπεν ἡ σπεῖρα τὰς πύλας  
 ὑπὸ δέους. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους  
 ἀνέκοψε τῆς ὄρμῆς, καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης εἶλε παρα-  
 δόντας ἑαυτούς· τὴν δὲ σπεῖραν ἡ τὸ φυλάκιον  
 ἔξέλιπε διακληρώσας, ἔζημίωσε θανάτῳ τὸ δέ-  
 κατον, καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ δεκάτῳ δύο. καὶ  
 τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐκέλευεν ἐκείνου τοῦ θέρους κριθὴν  
 ἀντὶ σίτου τραφῆναι δίδοσθαι.

27. Οὕτω μὲν ἔάλω Πρωμόνα, Τέστιμος δ'  
 ὄρῶν διεσκέδασε τὸν στρατὸν ἑαυτοῦ, φεύγειν  
 ἄλλους ἀλλαχοῦ· ὅθεν αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐδύναντο οἱ  
 Ῥωμαῖοι διώκειν ἐς πολύ, τὴν τε διαιρεσιν σφῶν  
 τὴν ἐς πολλὰ δείσαντες, καὶ τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῶν  
 ὄδῶν καὶ τὰ ἵχνη τῆς φυγῆς συγκεχυμένα.  
 Συνόδιον δ' αἱροῦσι πόλιν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς Ὂλης, ἐν  
 ἥ τὸν Γαβινίου στρατὸν ἐνήδρευσαν οἱ Δαλμάται  
 περὶ φάραγγι βαθείᾳ καὶ ἐπιμήκει καὶ μέσῃ δύο  
 ὄρῶν, ἔνθα καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐνήδρευον. ὁ δὲ τό  
 τε Συνόδιον ἐνέπρησε, καὶ ἐς τὰ ὄρη περιπέμψας  
 ἄνω στρατὸν ἐκατέρωθεν αὐτῷ συμπαρομαρτεῖν,  
 αὐτὸς ἦει διὰ τῆς φάραγγος, κόπτων τὴν Ὂλην  
 καὶ τὰς πόλεις αἱρῶν, καὶ πάντα ἐμπιπρὰς ὅσα  
 κατὰ τὴν ὄδον ἦρει. πολιορκουμένης δὲ πόλεως  
 Σετούιας, ἐπήει τις αὐτοῖς συμμαχία βαρβάρων,  
 ἦν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπαντήσας ἐκώλυσεν ἐσδραμεῖν ἐς  
 τὴν Σετούιαν. οὐδὲν τῷ πόνῳ τῷδε ἐπλιήγη λίθῳ  
 τὸ γόνυ, καὶ ἐς πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἐθεραπεύετο.  
 ράτσας δὲ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπανῆλθεν, ὑπατεύσων σὺν

## THE ILLYRIAN WARS

which a Roman cohort was placed to keep watch. CHAP. V  
On the fourth night the barbarians assaulted them, and the cohort fled terror-stricken from the gates, but Augustus checked the enemy's onset, and the following day received their surrender. The cohort that had abandoned its position was obliged to cast lots, and every tenth man, and in addition to them two centurions, suffered death. It was ordered, as a further punishment, that the surviving members of the cohort should subsist on barley instead of wheat for that summer.

27. Thus was Promona taken and Testimus, seeing it, disbanded his army, telling them to scatter in all directions. For this reason the Romans were not able to pursue them long, as they feared to divide themselves into small bands, being ignorant of the roads, and the foot-prints of the fugitives being much confused. However, they took the town of Synodium at the edge of the forest in which the army of Gabinius had been entrapped by the Dalmatians in a long and deep gorge between two mountains, where also the enemy now lay in wait for Augustus, but after he had burned Synodium he sent soldiers round by the summits of the mountains to keep even pace with him on either side while he passed through the gorge. He cut down trees and captured towns and burned everything that he found on his way. While he was besieging the city Setovia a force of barbarians came to its assistance, which he met and prevented from entering the place. In this conflict he was struck by a stone on the knee and was laid up for several days. When he recovered he returned to Rome to perform the Synodium burned

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK X

CAP. Οὐολκατίῳ Τύλλῳ, Στατίλιον Ταῦρον ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ  
<sup>V</sup> τοῦ πολέμου καταλιπών.

28. Νουμηνίᾳ δὲ ἔτους ἀρξάμενος ὑπατεύειν,  
 καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῆς ἡμέρας παραδοὺς Αὐτρωνίῳ  
 Παίτῳ, εὐθὺς ἐξέθορεν αὐθις ἐπὶ τοὺς Δαλμάτας,  
 ἄρχων ἔτι τὴν τῶν τριῶν ἀρχήν· δύο γὰρ ἔλειπεν  
 ἔτη τῇ δευτέρᾳ πενταετίᾳ τῆσδε τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἦν  
 ἐπὶ τῇ προτέρᾳ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ ὁ  
 δῆμος ἐπεκεκυρώκει. οἱ Δαλμάται δὲ ηδη κάμ-  
 νοντες ὑπὸ λιμοῦ, τῶν ἔξωθεν ἀγορῶν ἀποκεκλει-  
 σμένοι, ἐρχομένῳ τῷ Καίσαρι ὑπίκτων καὶ σφᾶς  
 παρέδοσαν σὺν ἰκετηρίᾳ, ὅμηρά τε δόντες ἐπτακο-  
 σίους παιδας, οὓς καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἢτει, καὶ τὰ  
 Ῥωμαϊκὰ σημεῖα τὰ Γαβινίου· τὸν δὲ φόρον  
 τὸν ἀπὸ Γαίου Καίσαρος ἐκλειφθέντα ἀποδώσειν  
 ὑποστάντες, εὐπειθεῖς ἐς τὸ ἐπειτα ἐγένοντο. τὰ  
 σημεῖα δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπέθηκεν ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῇ  
 Ὀκταονίᾳ λεγομένῃ. Δαλματῶν δὲ ἀλόντων καὶ  
 Δερβανοὶ προσιόντα τὸν Καίσαρα συγγράμμην  
 ἢτουν σὺν ἰκετηρίᾳ, καὶ ὅμηρους ἔδοσαν, καὶ τοὺς  
 ἐκλειφθέντας φόρους ὑπέστησαν ἀποδώσειν. τῶν  
 δὲ . . . οἵς μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπλησίασε, καὶ ὅμηρους  
 ἐπὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις ἔδοσαν· ὅσοις δὲ οὐκ ἐπλη-  
 σίασε διὰ νόσου, οὗτ' ἔδοσαν οὕτε συνέθεντο.  
 φαίνονται δὲ καὶ οἵδε ὕστερον ὑπαχθέντες.

Οὕτω πᾶσαν ὁ Καῖσαρ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα γῆν, ὅση  
 τε ἀφειστήκει Ῥωμαίων, καὶ τὴν οὐ πρότερον  
 ὑπακούσασαν αὐτοῖς, ἐκρατύνατο. καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ  
 βουλὴ θριαμβον Ἰλλυρικὸν ἔδωκε θριαμβεῦσαι,  
 ὃν ἐθριάμβευσεν ὕστερον ἄμα τοῖς κατ Ἀντωνίου.

## THE ILLYRIAN WARS

duties of the consulship with Volcatius Tullus, his <sup>V</sup> CHAP.  
colleague, leaving Statilius Taurus to finish the war.

28. Entering upon his new consulship on the <sup>B.C. 33</sup> Calends of January, and delivering the government to Autronius Paetus the same day, he started back to Dalmatia at once, being still triumvir; for two years remained of the second five-year period which the triumvirs themselves had ordained and the people confirmed. And now the Dalmatians, oppressed by hunger and cut off from foreign supplies, met him on the road and delivered themselves up with supplications, giving 700 of their children as hostages, as Augustus demanded, and also the Roman standards taken from Gabinius. They also promised to pay the tribute that had been in arrears since the time of Gaius Caesar, and were obedient henceforth. Augustus deposited the standards in the portico called the Octavia. After the Dalmatians had been conquered Augustus advanced against the Derbani, who likewise begged forgiveness with supplications, gave hostages, and promised to pay the arrears of tribute.<sup>1</sup> In like manner other tribes at his approach gave hostages for observing the treaties that he made with them. Some, however, he was prevented by sickness from reaching. These gave no hostages and made no treaties. It appears, however, that they too were subjugated later.

Thus Augustus subdued the whole Illyrian country, not only the parts that had revolted from the Romans, but those that had never before been under <sup>B.C. 33</sup> their rule. Wherefore the Senate awarded him an Illyrian triumph, which he enjoyed later, together with those for his victory over Antony.

<sup>1</sup> At this point there is a lacuna in the text.

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK X

**CAP. V.** 29. Λοιποὶ δὲ εἰσὶ τῆς ὑπὸ 'Ρωμαίων νομιζο-  
μένης Ἰλλυρίδος εἶναι πρὸ μὲν Παιόνων 'Ραιτοὶ  
καὶ Νωρικοί, μετὰ Παίονας δὲ Μυσοὶ ἔως ἐπὶ τὸν  
Εὔξεινον Πόντον. 'Ραιτοὺς μὲν οὖν καὶ Νωρικοὺς  
ήγοῦμαι Γάιον Καίσαρα πολεμοῦντα Κελτοῖς  
ἐπιλαβεῖν, ἡ τὸν Σεβαστὸν χειρούμενον Παίονας·  
ἐν μέσῳ γάρ εἰσιν ἀμφοτέρων, καὶ οὐδὲν ηὗρον  
ἴδιον ἐς 'Ραιτοὺς ἡ Νωρικοὺς γενόμενον· ὅθεν μοι  
δοκοῦσι τοῖς ἑτέροις τῶν γειτόνων συναλῶναι.

30. Μυσοὺς δὲ Μᾶρκος μὲν Λεύκολλος, ὁ ἀδελ-  
φὸς Λικινίου Λευκόλλου τοῦ Μιθριδάτη πολεμή-  
σαντος, κατέδραμε, καὶ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐμβαλών,  
ἔνθα εἰσὶν 'Ελληνίδες ἔξ πόλεις Μυσοῖς πάροικοι,  
Ίστρος τε καὶ Διονυσόπολις καὶ Ὀδησσὸς καὶ  
Μεσημβρία, καὶ Καλλατίς, καὶ Ἀπολλωνία· ἔξ  
ἥς ἐς 'Ρώμην μετήνεγκε τὸν μέγαν Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν  
ἀνακείμενον ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ. καὶ πλεῖον οὐδὲν  
ηὗρον ἐπὶ τῆς 'Ρωμαίων δημοκρατίας ἐς Μυσοὺς  
γενόμενον, οὐδὲ ἐς φόρου ὑπαχθέντας οὐδὲν ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ· ὑπήχθησαν δὲ ὑπὸ Τιβέριου τοῦ  
μετὰ τὸν Σεβαστὸν τοῖς 'Ρωμαίοις αὐτοκράτορος  
γενομένου. ἀλλά μοι τὰ μὲν πρὸ ἀλώσεως Αἰγύπ-  
του πάντα ὑπὸ νεύματι τοῦ δήμου γενόμενα ἐφ'  
έαυτῶν συγγέγραπται, ἢ δὲ μετ' Αἴγυπτον οἱ  
αὐτοκράτορες οἵδε ἐκρατύναντο ἡ προσέλαβον,  
ώς ἴδια αὐτῶν ἔργα, μετὰ τὰ κοινὰ εἴρηται· ἔνθα  
καὶ περὶ Μυσῶν ἐρῶ πλέονα. νῦν δ', ἐπεὶ τοὺς  
Μυσούς τε οἱ 'Ρωμαῖοι τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος ἠγοῦνται,  
καὶ τὸ σύγγραμμά μοι τοῦτο Ἰλλυρικόν ἐστιν, ώς  
ἄν εἴη τὸ σύγγραμμα ἐντελές, ἐδόκει προειπεῖν  
ὅτι καὶ Μυσοὺς Λεύκολλός τε τῷ δήμῳ στρατηγῶν  
ἐπέδραμε καὶ Τιβέριος εἰλε κατὰ τὴν μόναρχον  
ἔξουσίαν.

## THE ILLYRIAN WARS

29. The remaining peoples, who are considered by CHAP  
the Romans to be parts of Illyria, are the Rhaetians V  
and the Noricans, on this side of Pannonia, and the  
Mysians on the other side as far as the Euxine Sea.  
I think that the Rhaetians and Noricans were  
subdued by Gaius Caesar during the Gallic war or by  
Augustus during the Pannonian war, as they lie  
between the two. I have found no mention of any  
war against them separately, whence I infer that they  
were conquered along with other neighbouring tribes.

30. Marcus Lucullus, brother of that Licinius  
Lucullus who conducted the war against Mithridates  
advanced against the Mysians and arrived at the  
river where six Grecian cities lie adjacent to the  
Mysian territory, namely, Istrus, Dionysopolis,  
Odessus, Mesembria, Callatis, and Apollonia; from  
which he brought to Rome the great statue of Apollo  
which was afterward set up on the Palatine Hill. I  
have found nothing further done by the Roman  
republic as to the Mysians. They were not sub-  
jected to tribute in the time of Augustus, but  
by Tiberius, who succeeded him as Roman emperor.  
All the things done by command of the people  
before the taking of Egypt have been written by me  
for each country separately. Those countries that  
these emperors themselves pacified after Egypt was  
taken, or annexed as their own work, will be  
mentioned after the affairs of the commonwealth.  
There I shall also tell more about the Mysians. For  
the present, since the Romans consider the Mysians  
a part of Illyria and this is my Illyrian history,  
in order that it may be complete it seems proper to  
premise that Lucullus invaded Mysia as a general of  
the republic and that Tiberius took it in the time of  
the empire.



BOOK XI  
THE SYRIAN WARS

# Λ'

## ΣΤΡΙΑΚΗ

### I

CAP. I. Ἀντίοχος ὁ Σελεύκου τοῦ Ἀντιόχου, Σύρων  
καὶ Βαβυλωνίων καὶ ἑτέρων ἐθνῶν βασιλεύς,  
ἔκτος δὲ ἀπὸ Σελεύκου τοῦ μετ' Ἀλέξανδρον  
Ἀσίας τῆς περὶ Εὐφράτην βεβασιλευκότος,  
ἐσβαλὼν ἐς Μηδίαν τε καὶ Παρθυηὴν καὶ ἔτερα  
ἔθνη ἀφιστάμενα ἔτι πρὸ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ  
μεγάλα δράσας, καὶ μέγας Ἀντίοχος ἀπὸ τοῦδε  
κληθείς, ἐπαιρόμενος τοῖς γεγονόσι καὶ τῇ δι' αὐτὰ  
προσωνυμίᾳ, Συρίαν τε τὴν κοίλην καὶ Κιλικίας  
ἔστιν ἄ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ φιλοπάτορος, Αἰγύπτου  
βασιλέως ἔτι παιδὸς ὅντος, ἐπιδραμὼν περιέσπασε,  
καὶ μικρὸν οὐδὲν ἐνθυμούμενος Ἐλλησποντίους  
ἐπήγει καὶ Αἰολέας καὶ Ἰωνας ὡς οἱ προσήκοντας  
ἄρχοντι τῆς Ἀσίας, ὅτι καὶ πάλαι τῶν τῆς Ἀσίας  
βασιλέων ὑπήκουον. ἐς τε τὴν Εὐρώπην δια-  
πλεύσας Θράκην ὑπῆγετο καὶ τὰ ἀπειθοῦντα  
ἐβιάζετο, Χερρόνησόν τε ὡχύρου, καὶ Λυσιμάχειαν  
ῳκιζεν, ἷν Λυσίμαχος μὲν ὁ Θράκης ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάν-  
δρῳ βασιλεύσας ἔκτισεν ἐπιτείχισμα τοῖς Θραξὶν

## BOOK XI

### THE SYRIAN WARS

#### I

1. ANTIOCHUS (the son of Seleucus and grandson of CHAP.  
Antiochus), king of the Syrians, the Babylonians and  
other nations, was the sixth in succession from that Seleucus who succeeded Alexander in the government of the Asiatic countries around the Euphrates. He invaded Media and Parthia, and other countries that had revolted from his ancestors, and performed many exploits, from which he was named Antiochus the Great. Elated by his successes, and by the title which he had derived from them, he invaded Coele-Syria and a portion of Cilicia and took them away from Ptolemy Philopator,<sup>1</sup> king of Egypt, who was still a boy. Filled with unbounded ambition, he marched against the Hellespontines, the Aeolians, and the Ionians as though they belonged to him as the ruler of Asia, because they had been formerly subjects of the Asiatic kings. Then he crossed over to Europe, brought Thrace under his sway, and reduced by force those who would not obey him. He fortified Chersonesus and rebuilt Lysimacheia, which Lysimachus, who ruled Thrace after Alexander, built as a stronghold against the

B.C. 224  
Ambition of  
Antiochus  
the Great  
B.C. 198  
B.C. 196

<sup>1</sup> An error for Epiphanes.

CAP. είναι, οἱ Θράκες δ' ἀποθανόντος τοῦ Λυσιμάχου  
<sup>I</sup> καθηρήκεσαν. καὶ ὁ Ἀντίοχος συνώκιζε, τούς  
 τε φεύγοντας τῶν Λυσιμαχέων κατακαλῶν, καὶ  
 εἴ τινες αὐτῶν αἰχμάλωτοι γεγονότες ἐδούλευον  
 ὡνούμενος, καὶ ἔτέρους προσκαταλέγων, καὶ βοῦς  
 καὶ πρόβατα καὶ σίδηρον ἐς γεωργίαν ἐπιδιδούς,  
 καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλλείπων ἐς ταχεῖαν ἐπιτειχίσματος  
 ὄρμήν πάνυ γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ χωρίον ἐφαίνετο λαμ-  
 πρῶς ἔχειν ἐπὶ ὅλῃ Θράκη, καὶ ταμιεῖον εὔκαιρον  
 ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ ὡν ἐπενόει πάντων ἔσεσθαι.

2. Ταῦτα δ' αὐτῷ διαφορᾶς φανερᾶς καὶ  
 πρὸς Ρωμαίους ἥρξεν. ὡς γὰρ δὴ μετήει τὰς  
 τῆδε Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις, οἱ μὲν πλέονες αὐτῷ  
 προσετίθεντο καὶ φρουρᾶς ἐσεδέχοντο δέει τῷ τῆς  
 ἀλώσεως, Σμυρναῖοι δὲ καὶ Λαμψακηνοὶ καὶ ἔτεροι  
 ἔτι ἀντέχοντες ἐπρεσβεύοντο ἐς Φλαμινῖνον τὸν  
 Ρωμαίων στρατηγόν, ἄρτι Φιλίππου τοῦ Μακε-  
 δόνος μεγάλη μάχη περὶ Θετταλίαν κεκρατηκότα·  
 ἐγίγνετο γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὰ Μακεδόνων καὶ τὰ Ἑλ-  
 λήνων ἐπίμικτα ἀλλήλοις ἀνὰ μέρη καὶ χρόνους,  
 ὡς μοι ἐν τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ γραφῇ δεδήλωται. καὶ  
 γίγνονται τινες Ἀντιόχῳ καὶ Φλαμινίῳ διαπρεσ-  
 βεύσεις τε ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀπόπειραι ἀτελεῖς.  
 ἐκ πολλοῦ δὲ οἱ Ρωμαῖοι καὶ ὁ Ἀντίοχος ὑπόπτως  
 εἶχον ἀλλήλοις, οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἀτρεμήσειν ὑπολαμβά-  
 νοντες Ἀντίοχον ἐπαιρόμενον ἀρχῆς τε μεγέθει  
 καὶ εὐπραξίας ἀκμῆ, ὁ δὲ Ρωμαίους οἱ μόνοις  
 αὐξομένῳ μάλιστα ἐμποδὼν ἔσεσθαι, καὶ κωλύσειν  
 ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην περαιούμενον. οὐδενὸς δέ πω

## THE SYRIAN WARS

Thracians themselves, but which they destroyed CHAP.  
after his death. Antiochus repeopled it, calling back I  
the citizens who had fled, redeeming those who had  
been sold as slaves, bringing in others, supplying  
them with cattle, sheep, and iron for agricultural  
purposes, and omitting nothing that might contribute  
to its speedy completion as a stronghold; for the  
place seemed to him to be admirably situated to  
hold all Thrace in subjection, and a convenient  
base of supplies for all the other operations that he  
contemplated.

2. This was the beginning of an open disagree-  
ment with the Romans as well, for as he passed  
among the Greek cities thereabout most of them  
joined him and received his garrisons, because they  
feared capture by him. But the inhabitants of  
Smyrna and Lampsacus, and some others who still  
resisted, sent ambassadors to Flamininus, the Roman  
general, who had lately overthrown Philip the  
Macedonian in a great battle in Thessaly; for the  
affairs of the Macedonians and of the Greeks were  
closely linked together at certain times and places,  
as I have shown in my Grecian history. Accordingly,  
certain embassies passed between Antiochus and  
Flamininus and they sounded each other without  
result. The Romans and Antiochus had been  
suspicious of each other for a long time, the former  
surmising that he would not keep quiet because he  
was so much puffed up by the extent of his  
dominions and the height of fortune that he had  
reached. Antiochus, on the other hand, believed  
that the Romans were the only people who could  
put a stop to his increase of power and prevent him  
from passing over to Europe. Still, there was no

His first  
disagree-  
ment with  
Rome

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XI

CAP. φαινεροῦ γεγονότος αὐτοῖς ἐς ἔχθραν ἀφίκοντο πρέσβεις ἐς Ῥώμην παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ φιλοπάτορος, αἰτιωμένου Συρίαν τε καὶ Κιλικίαν Ἀντίοχον αὐτὸν ὑφελέσθαι. καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς ἀφορμῆς ἐπέβαινον ἀσμενοι, κατὰ καιρὸν σφίσι γενομένης, καὶ πρέσβεις ἐς τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἐστελλον, οἵ λόγῳ μὲν ἐμελλον συναλλάξειν Πτολεμαίου Ἀντιόχῳ, ἕργῳ δὲ κατασκέψεσθαι τὴν ὄρμὴν Ἀντιόχου καὶ κωλύσειν ὅσα δύναιντο.

3. Τούτων δὴ τῶν πρέσβεων Γναῖος ἥγούμενος ἡξίου τὸν Ἀντίοχον Πτολεμαίῳ μέν, ὅντι Ῥωμαίων φίλῳ, συγχωρεῖν ἄρχειν ὅσων ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῷ κατέλιπε, τὰς δ' ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις, ὃν Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδὼν ἥρχεν, αὐτονόμους ἔλλοντο Ῥωμαῖοι. ὅλως δ' ἀπορεῖν ἔφη τί τοσοῦτον στόλον ὁ Ἀντίοχος καὶ τοσαύτην στρατιὰν ἄγων ἀνωθεν ἐκ Μήδων ἔλθοι τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἐς τε τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐσβάλοι, καὶ πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ κατασκευάζοιτο, καὶ Θράκην ὑπάγοιτο, εἰ μὴ ταῦτα ἐστιν ἔτερου πολέμου θεμέλια. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο Θράκην μέν, τῶν προγόνων αὐτοῦ γενομένην τε καὶ δι' ἀσχολίας ἐκπεσοῦσαν, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ σχολῆς ὃν ἀναλαμβάνειν, καὶ Λυσιμάχειαν ἐγείρειν οἰκητήριον Σελεύκῳ τῷ παιδὶ εἶναι, τὰς δ' ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις αὐτονόμους ἔάσειν, εἰ τὴν χάριν οὐ Ῥωμαίοις

## THE SYRIAN WARS

open breach between them until ambassadors came CHAP.  
to Rome from Ptolemy Philopator complaining that  
Antiochus had taken Syria and Cilicia away from  
him. The Romans gladly seized this occasion as one  
well suited to their purposes, and sent ambassadors  
to Antiochus ostensibly to bring about a reconciliation  
between him and Ptolemy, but really to find out his  
designs and to check him as much as they could.

3. Gnaeus,<sup>1</sup> the chief of the embassy, demanded  
that Antiochus should allow Ptolemy, who was a  
friend of the Roman people, to rule over all the  
countries that his father had left to him, and that  
the cities of Asia that had been part of the  
dominions of Philip should be left independent, for it  
was not right that Antiochus should seize places of  
which the Romans had deprived Philip. "We are  
wholly at a loss to know," he said, "why Antiochus  
should come from Media bringing so large a fleet and  
an army from the upper country to the Asiatic  
coast, make an incursion into Europe, build cities  
there, and subdue Thrace, unless these are the  
preparations for another war." Antiochus replied  
that Thrace had belonged to his ancestors, that it  
had slipped from their grasp when they were  
occupied elsewhere, and that he had resumed  
possession because he had leisure to do so. He had  
built Lysimacheia as the future seat of government  
of his son Seleucus. He would leave the Greek  
cities of Asia independent if they would acknowledge  
the favour as due to himself and not to the Romans.

A con-  
ference  
at Lysima-  
cheia

<sup>1</sup> The name of this ambassador, according to Polybius (xvii. 31), was Lucius Cornelius. In other respects the account of the conference by Polybius agrees with that of our author. The conference took place at Lysimacheia.

CAP. ἀλλ' ἔαυτῷ μέλλοιεν ἔξειν. "Πτολεμαίῳ δ," ἔφη,  
<sup>I</sup> "καὶ συγγενής εἰμι καὶ ὅσον οὕπω καὶ κηδεστὴς  
 ἔσομαι, καὶ χάριν ὑμῖν αὐτὸν ὁμολογεῖν παρα-  
 σκευάσω. ἀπορῶ δὲ κύρῳ τίνι Ῥωμαῖοι δικαίῳ  
 τὴν Ἀσίαν πολυπραγμονοῦσιν, ἐμοῦ τὴν Ἰταλίαν  
 οὐ πολυπραγμονοῦντος."

4. Οὕτω μὲν ἀπ' ἄλληλων ἄπρακτοι διεκρί-  
 θησαν, ἀπορρηγνύντες ἥδη τὰς ἀπειλὰς ἐς τὸ  
 φανερώτερον· λόγου δὲ καὶ δόξης ἐμπεσούσης ὅτι  
 Πτολεμαῖος ὁ φιλοπάτωρ ἀποθάνοι, κατὰ σπουδὴν  
 ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἀπήει ὡς Αἴγυπτον ἔρημον ἄρχοντος  
 ἀρπασόμενος. καὶ αὐτῷ κατὰ Ἐφεσον Ἀννίβας  
 ὁ Καρχηδόνιος συμβάλλει, φεύγων τὴν πατρίδα  
 δι' ἔχθρῶν διαβολάς, οἱ Ῥωμαίοις αὐτὸν ἔφασκον  
 εἶναι δύσερίν τε καὶ φιλοπόλεμον καὶ οὕποτε  
 εἰρηνεύειν δυνάμενον. τότε δ' ἦν ὅτε Καρχηδόνιοι  
 Ῥωμαίοις ὑπήκουον ἔνσπονδοι. Ἀννίβαν μὲν  
 δὴ διώνυμον ἐπὶ στρατηγίας ὅντα ὁ Ἀντίοχος  
 ὑπεδέχετο λαμπρῶς καὶ εἰχεν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν περὶ  
 δὲ τὴν Λυκίαν Πτολεμαῖον περιεῖναι μαθὼν  
 Αἴγυπτον μὲν ἀπέγνω, Κύπρον δὲ ἐλπίσας αἰρήσειν  
 ἀντὶ Αἴγυπτου διέπλει κατὰ τάχος ἐπ' αὐτήν.  
 χειμῶνι δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Σάρον ποταμὸν συμπεσών,  
 καὶ πολλὰς τῶν νεῶν ἀποβαλάν, ἐνίας δὲ αὐτοῖς  
 ἀνδρύσι καὶ φίλοις, ἐς Σελεύκειαν τῆς Συρίας  
 κατέπλευσε, καὶ τὸν στόλον κατεσκεύαζε πεπονη-  
 μένον. γάμους τε τῶν παίδων ἔθνεν, Ἀντίοχον  
 καὶ Λαοδίκης, ἄλληλοις συναρμόζων.

5. "Ηδη δὲ τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον ἐγνω-  
 κώς ἀποκαλύπτειν, ἐπιγαμίας τοὺς ἐγγὺς βασι-  
 λέας προκατελάμβανε, καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ μὲν ἐς

## THE SYRIAN WARS

"I am a relative of Ptolemy," he said, "and I shall very shortly be his father-in-law, and I will see to it that he renders gratitude to you. I too am at a loss to know by what right the Romans interfere in the affairs of Asia when I never interfere in those of Italy." 4. And so they separated without coming to any understanding, and both sides broke into more open threats.

A rumour having spread abroad that Ptolemy <sup>b.c. 195</sup> Philopator was dead, Antiochus hastened to Egypt <sup>Hannibal at Ephesus</sup> in order to seize the country while bereft of a ruler. While on this journey Hannibal the Carthaginian met him at Ephesus. He was now a fugitive from his own country on account of the accusations of his enemies, who reported to the Romans that he was a stirrer up of strife, that he wanted to bring on a war, and that he could never enjoy peace. This was the time when the Carthaginians were by treaty subject to the Romans. Antiochus received Hannibal in a magnificent manner on account of his great military reputation, and kept him close to his person. At Lycia he learned that Ptolemy was alive. So he gave up the idea of seizing Egypt and hoping to take Cyprus instead sailed thither with all speed; but encountering a storm at the mouth of the river Sarus and losing many of his ships, some of them with his soldiers and friends, he put in at Seleucia in Syria to repair his damaged fleet. There he celebrated the nuptials of his children, Antiochus and Laodice, whom he had joined together in marriage.

5. Now, determining no longer to conceal his <sup>b.c. 193</sup> intended war with the Romans, he formed alliances by marriage with the neighbouring kings. To Ptolemy

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XI

CAP. I. Αἴγυπτον ἔστελλε Κλεοπάτραν τὴν Σύραν ἐπίκλησιν, προῖκα Συρίαι τὴν κοιλην ἐπιδιδούς, ἦν αὐτὸς ἀφήρητο τοῦ Πτολεμαίου, θεραπεύων ἥδη τὸ μειράκιον, ἵν' ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς Ρωμαίους ἀτρεμῆ· Ἀντιοχίδα δ' ἔπειμπεν Ἀριαράθη τῷ Καππαδοκῶν βασιλεῖ, καὶ τὴν ἔτι λοιπὴν Εὔμενει τῷ Περγάμου βασιλεῖ. οἱ δέ (έώρα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἥδη Ρωμαίοις τε πολεμησείοντα καὶ πρὸς τὴνδε τὴν χρείαν τὸ κῆδος αὐτῷ συναπτόμενον) ἡρυήσατο, καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς Ἀττάλῳ τε καὶ Φιλεταίρῳ, θαυμάζουσιν ὅτι κῆδος βασιλέως τοσοῦδε καὶ γείτονος, αὐτοῦ τε κατάρχοντος καὶ δεομένου, παραιτοῦτο, ἐπεδείκνυ τὸν ἐσόμενον πόλεμον ἐν μὲν ἀρχῇ τι παρ' ἀμφοῖν ἔξειν ἴσοπαλές, σὺν χρόνῳ δ' ὑπεροίσειν τὰ Ρωμαίων δι' εὐψυχίαν καὶ ταλαιπωρίαν. “ἐγὼ δ,” ἔφη, “Ρωμαίων μὲν ἐπικρατούντων βεβαίως τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐμῆς ἄρξω, Ἀντιόχου δὲ νικῶντος ἐλπὶς μὲν ἀφαιρεθήσεσθαι πάντα πρὸς γείτονος, ἐλπὶς δὲ καὶ ἔχοντα βασιλεύσειν βασιλεύομενον ὑπ' ἐκείνου.”

## II

CAP. II. 6. Οἱ μὲν δὴ τοιοῦσδε λογισμοῖς τοὺς γάμους ἀπεώσατο, οἱ δ' Ἀντιόχος αὐθις ἐφ' Ελλησπόντου κατήστη, καὶ περιπλεύσας ἐς Χερρόνησον πολλὰ καὶ τότε τῆς Θράκης ὑπήγετο τε καὶ κατεστρέφετο. “Ελληνας δ”, ὅσοι τοῖς Θρᾳξὶν ὑπήκουον, ἤλευθέρους, καὶ Βυζαντίοις ἔχαριζετο πολλὰ ὡς ἐπίκαιρον ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος πόλιν ἔχουσιν.

## THE SYRIAN WARS

in Egypt he sent his daughter Cleopatra, surnamed CHAP.  
I  
Syra, giving with her Coele-Syria as a dowry, which he had taken away from Ptolemy himself, thus flattering the young king in order to keep him quiet during the war with the Romans. To Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, he sent his daughter Antiochis, and the remaining one to Eumenes, king of Pergamus. But the latter, seeing that Antiochus was about to engage in war with the Romans and that he wanted to form a marriage connection with him on this account, refused her. To his brothers, Attalus and Philetaerus, who were surprised that he should decline marriage relationship with so great a king, who was also his neighbour and who made the first overtures, he pointed out that the coming war would be of doubtful issue at first, but that the Romans would prevail in the end by their courage and perseverance. "If the Romans conquer," said he, "I shall be firmly seated in my kingdom. If Antiochus is the victor, I may expect to be stripped of all my possessions by my neighbour, or, if I am allowed to reign, to be ruled over by him." For these reasons he rejected the proffered marriage.

## II

6. THEN Antiochus went down to the Hellespont CHAP.  
II  
and crossed over to Chersonesus and possessed himself of a large part of Thrace by surrender or conquest. He freed the Greeks who were under subjection to the Thracians, and propitiated the Byzantines in many ways, because their city was admirably situated at the outlet of the Euxine Sea.

Antiochus  
sends an  
embassy  
to Rome

**CAP. II.** Γαλάτας τε δώροις καὶ καταπλήξει τῆς παρασκευῆς ἐσ συμμαχίαν ὑπήγετο, ἀξιομάχους ἥγούμενος ἔσεσθαι οἱ διὰ τὰ μεγέθη τῶν σωμάτων. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐσ "Ἐφεσον κατῆρε, καὶ πρέσβεις ἐσ 'Ρώμην ἐπεμπε Λυσίαν τε καὶ Ἡγησιάνακτα καὶ Μένιππον, οἱ τῷ μὲν ἔργῳ τῆς βουλῆς ἀποπειράσειν ἔμελλον, τῷ λόγῳ δ' ὁ Μένιππος ἐφη τὸν βασιλέα περὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων φιλίαν ἐσπουδακότα, καὶ βουλόμενον αὐτοῖς εἶναι καὶ σύμμαχον ἀν ἀξιῶσι, θαυμάζειν ὅτι κελεύουσι τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ πόλεων ἀφίστασθαι, καὶ φόρους τισὶν ἀφιέναι, καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἔνια μὴ πολυπραγμοεῖν, καὶ Θράκην ἐὰν ἀεὶ τῶν προγόνων αὐτοῦ γενομένην ἄπερ οὐ τοῖς φίλοις ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἡττημένοις τοὺς κεκρατηκότας ἐπικελεύειν. οἱ δὲ τῆς πρεσβείας συνιέντες ἐπὶ διαπείρᾳ σφῶν ἀφιγμένης, διὰ βραχέος ἀπεκρίναντο αὐτοῖς, ἐὰν Ἀντίοχος αὐτονόμους τοὺς "Ελληνας ἐχ τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀπέχηται, Ῥωμαίοις αὐτὸν ἔσεσθαι φίλον, ἀν ἐθέλῃ.

7. Τοσάδε μὲν ἀπεκρίναντο Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ταῖς ἀποκρίσειν οὐκ ἐπέθεσαν· ὁ δ' Ἀντίοχος ἐσ πρώτην ἐπινοῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐσβαλεῖν, κάκειθεν ἄρξασθαι τοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πολέμου, ὑπετίθετο τὴν γνώμην τῷ Καρχηδονίῳ Ἀννίβᾳ· ὁ δ' ἐφη τὴν μὲν Ἑλλάδα ἐκ πολλοῦ τετρυμένην ἔργον εὐχείρωτον εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ πολέμους ἀπασι χαλεποὺς μὲν οἴκοι διὰ λιμὸν τὸν ἐπιγιγνόμενον, ἔξω δὲ κουφοτέρους· καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων οὐ ποτε Ἀντίοχον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καθαιρίσειν, ἀγορᾶς τε οἰκείας καὶ παρασκευῆς ἰκανῆς εὐπορούντων. ἐκέλευεν οὖν τι προλαβεῖν τῆς

## THE SYRIAN WARS

By gifts and by fear of his resources he brought the CHAP  
Galatians into his alliance, because he considered that II  
they would be good soldiers for him by reason of their  
bodily size. Then he put in at Ephesus and sent as  
ambassadors to Rome Lysias, Hegesianax, and Men-  
ippus. They were sent really to find out the intentions  
of the Senate, but for the sake of appearances Men-  
ippus said, "King Antiochus, while strongly desirous  
of the friendship of the Romans and willing to be  
their ally if they wish, is surprised that they urge him  
to give up the cities of Ionia and to remit tribute for  
certain states, and not to interfere with certain of the  
affairs of Asia and to leave Thrace alone, though it  
has always belonged to his ancestors. Yours are  
not the exhortations of friends, but resemble orders  
given by victors to the vanquished." The Senate,  
perceiving that the embassy had come to make a  
test of their disposition, replied curtly, "If Antiochus  
will leave the Greeks in Asia free and independent,  
and keep away from Europe, he can be the friend  
of the Roman people if he desires." Such was the  
answer of the Romans, and they gave no reason for  
their rejoinder.

7. As Antiochus intended to invade Greece first and thence begin his war against the Romans, he communicated his design to Hannibal. The latter said that as Greece had been wasted for a long time, the task would be easy; but that wars which were waged at home were the hardest to bear, by reason of the scarcity which they caused, while those which took place in foreign territory were much easier to endure. Antiochus could never vanquish the Romans in Greece, where they would have plenty of home-grown corn and adequate resources. Hannibal's advice to Antiochus

CAP. <sup>II</sup> Ιταλίας καὶ πολεμεῖν ἐκεῖθεν ὄρμώμενον, ἵνα Ἀρωμαίοις ἀσθενέστερα ἥτις καὶ τὰ οἴκοι καὶ τὰ ἔξω.  
 “ἔχω δὲ ἐμπείρως,” ἔφη, “τῆς Ιταλίας, καὶ μυρίοις ἀνδράσι δύναμαι καταλαβεῖν αὐτῆς τὰ ἐπίκαιρα, ἐς τε Καρχηδόνα τοῖς φίλοις ἐπιστεῖλαι τὸν δῆμον ἐς ἀπόστασιν ἐγείραι, δυσφοροῦντα τέως ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ πρὸς Ἀρωμαίους ἀπίστως ἔχοντα, τόλμης τε καὶ ἐλπίδος ἐμπλησόμενον, εἰ πύθουντό με πορθοῦντα τὴν Ιταλίαν αὖθις.” ὁ δὲ ἄσμενος ἀκούσας τοῦ λόγου, καὶ μέγα, ὥσπερ ἦν, ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἡγούμενος Καρχηδόνα προσλαβεῖν, αὐτίκα αὐτὸν ἐπιστέλλειν τοῖς φίλοις ἐκέλευεν.

8. Ο δὲ οὐκ ἐπέστειλε μέν (οὐ γὰρ ἀσφαλὲς ἡγεῖτό πω, Ἀρωμαίων τε πάντα ἀνερευνωμένων, καὶ τοῦ πολέμου μή πω φανεροῦ γεγονότος, καὶ πολλῶν οἱ διαφερομένων ἐν Καρχηδόνι, καὶ τῆς πολιτείας οὐδὲν βέβαιον οὐδέ εὔσταθες ἔχοντος, ἀ καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ἀνέτρεψε τὴν Καρχηδόνα), Αρίστωνα δὲ ἐμπορον Τύριον ἐπὶ προφίασει τῆς ἐμπορίας ἐπεμπε πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, ἀξιῶν, ὅταν αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν Ιταλίαν ἐμβάλῃ, τότε ἐκείνους τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἐς ἄμυναν ὃν ἐπεπόνθεσαν ἐγείρειν. καὶ οὐ μὲν Αρίστον οὕτως ἔπραξεν, οἱ δὲ τοῦ Αννίβου ἐχθροί, αἰσθόμενοι τῆς Αρίστωνος ἐπιδημίας, ἐθορύβουν ως ἐπὶ νεωτέροις ἔργοις, καὶ τὸν Αρίστωνα ἐζήτουν περιόντες. οὐ δέ, ἵνα τὴν διαβολὴν μὴ ἔξαίρετον ἔχοιεν οἱ Αννίβου φίλοι, προύθηκε νυκτὸς λαθὼν γράμμata πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου, ὅτι πάντας ὁ Αννίβας τοὺς βουλευτὰς παρακαλοίη τῇ πατρίδι συνάγασθαι μετ' Αντιόχου. καὶ τοῦτο πράξας ἀπέπλευσεν. ἀμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ τὸ μὲν δέος ἔξήρητο τῶν Αννίβου φίλων ἐκ τῆς Αρί-

## THE SYRIAN WARS

therefore urged him to occupy some part of Italy CHAP  
and make his base of operations there, so that the <sup>II</sup> Romans might be weakened both at home and abroad. "I have had experience of Italy," he said, "and with 10,000 men I can occupy the strategic points and write to my friends in Carthage to stir up the people to revolt. They are already discontented with their condition, and mistrust the Romans, and they will be filled with courage and hope if they hear that I am ravaging Italy again." Antiochus listened eagerly to this advice, and as he considered the accession of Carthage a great advantage (as it was) for his war, directed him to write to his friends at once.

8. Hannibal did not write the letters, since he did not consider it yet safe to do so, as the Romans were searching out everything and the war was not yet openly declared, and he had many opponents in Carthage, and the city had no fixed or consistent policy—the very lack of which caused its destruction not long afterward. But he sent Aristo, a Tyrian merchant, to his friends, on the pretext of trading, asking them when he should invade Italy to rouse Carthage to avenge her wrongs. Aristo did this, but when Hannibal's enemies learned that he was in the city they raised a tumult as though a revolution was impending, and searched everywhere to find him. But he, in order that Hannibal's friends might not be particularly accused, posted letters in front of the senate-house secretly by night, saying that Hannibal exhorted the whole senate to rescue the country with the help of Antiochus. Having done this he sailed away. In the morning the friends of Hannibal were relieved of their fears by

Hannibal  
sends a  
messenger  
to Carthage

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XI

**CAP. στωνος ἐπινοίας, ώς πρὸς ἄπασαν τὴν γερουσίαν  
II ἀπεσταλμένου, ἡ δὲ πόλις ἐπεπλήρωτο θορύβου  
ποικίλου, δυσμενῶς μὲν ἔχουσα Ῥωμαίους, λή-  
σεσθαι δ' οὐ προσδοκῶσα.**

9. Καὶ τὰ μὲν Καρχηδονίων ὥδε εἰχε, Ῥωμαίων  
δὲ πρέσβεις, ἔτεροι τε καὶ Σκιπίων ὁ Καρχη-  
δονίους ἀφελόμενος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἐς ὁμοίαν  
πεμφθέντες Ἀντιόχου τῆς τε γνώμης ἀπόπειραν  
καὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς κατάσκεψιν, ἐπεὶ τὸν βασιλέα  
ηὗρον οἰχόμενον ἐς Πισίδας, ἐν Ἐφέσῳ περιέ-  
μενον, ἔνθα συνήεσταν θαμινὰ ἐς λόγους τῷ  
Ἀννίβᾳ, Καρχηδόνος τε σφίσιν ἔτι οὕσης ἐνσπόν-  
δου καὶ οὕπω φαινερῶς Ἀντιόχου πολεμίου, κατα-  
μεμφόμενοι τὸν Ἀννίβαν ὅτι τὴν πατρίδα φύγοι,  
Ῥωμαίων οὐδὲν οὔτε ἐς αὐτὸν οὔτε ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους  
Καρχηδονίους ἐπὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις ἀμαρτόντων.  
ἐπρασσον δὲ ταῦθ', ὑποπτον ἐργαζόμενοι γενέ-  
σθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐκ τῆς συνεχοῦς  
σφῶν ὄμιλίας τε καὶ συνόδου. καὶ τοῦθ' ὁ μὲν  
στρατηγικώτατος Ἀννίβας οὐχ ὑπενόησεν, ὁ δὲ  
βασιλεὺς πυθόμενος ὑπώπτευεν, καὶ ἀμβλύτερος  
ἥν τἀπὸ τοῦδε πιστεύειν ἔτι τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ· καὶ γάρ  
τι καὶ ζήλου προύπην ἐς αὐτὸν ἥδη καὶ φθόνου, μὴ  
τῶν γιγνομένων τὸν ἐπαινον Ἀννίβας ἀποφέροιτο.

10. Λέγεται δ' ἐν ταῖσδε ταῖς διατριβαῖς ἐν τῷ  
γυμνασίῳ λεσχηνεῦσαι ποτε πρὸς ἀλλήλους Σκι-  
πίωνα καὶ Ἀγνίβαν περὶ στρατηγίας πολλῶν  
ἐφεστώτων, καὶ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἐρομένου τίς δοκοίη  
οἱ στρατηγὸς ἄριστος γενέσθαι, τὸν Ἀννίβαν  
εἰπεῖν, “ὁ Μακεδὼν Ἀλεξανδρος.” Σκιπίωνα δ'  
ἡσυχάσαι μὲν ἐπὶ τῷδ', ἐξιστάμενον ἄρα Ἀλεξα-

## THE SYRIAN WARS

this afterthought of Aristo, which implied that he CHAP.  
had been sent to the whole senate, but the city was II  
filled with all kinds of tumult, the people feeling  
bitterly toward the Romans, but despairing of  
avoiding detection. Such was the situation of affairs  
in Carthage.

9. In the meantime Roman ambassadors, and B.C. 192  
among them Scipio, who had humbled the Cartha-  
ginian power, were sent, like those of Antiochus, to  
ascertain his designs and to form an estimate of his  
strength. Learning that the king had gone to  
Pisidia, they waited for him at Ephesus. There  
they entered into frequent conversations with  
Hannibal, Carthage being still at peace with them  
and Antiochus not yet openly at war. They  
reproached Hannibal for flying his country when the  
Romans had done nothing to him or to the Cartha-  
ginians in violation of the treaty. They did this in  
order to cast suspicion on Hannibal in the mind of the  
king owing to his protracted conversations and inter-  
course with themselves. This Hannibal, although a  
most profound military genius, failed to perceive, but  
the king, when he learned what had been going on,  
did suspect him, and was more reluctant to give him  
his confidence thereafter. There was already an under-  
lying feeling of jealousy and envy in his mind, lest  
Hannibal should carry off the glory of his exploits.

10. It is said that at one of their meetings in the Colloquy  
gymnasium Scipio and Hannibal had a conversation on between  
the subject of generalship, in the presence of a number Scipio and  
of bystanders, and that Scipio asked Hannibal whom Hannibal  
he considered the greatest general, to which the latter  
replied, "Alexander of Macedon." On this Scipio  
made no comment, yielding, as it seemed, the first place

Roman  
ambassa-  
dors meet  
Hannibal at  
Ephesus

CAP. δρῳ, ἐπανερέσθαι δὲ τίς εἴη δεύτερος μετ' Ἀλέ-  
<sup>II</sup> ξανδρον. καὶ τὸν φάναι, “Πύρρος ὁ Ἡπειρώτης,”  
 τὴν ἀρετὴν ἄρα τὴν στρατηγικὴν ἐν τόλμῃ τιθέ-  
 μενον· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν εὔρεν μεγαλοτολμοτέρους  
 τῶνδε τῶν βασιλέων. δακνόμενον δ’ ἥδη τὸν  
 Σκιπίωνα ὅμως ἐπανερέσθαι ἔτι τίνι διδοίη τὰ  
 τρίτα, ταχὺ γοῦν ἐλπίζοντα ἔξειν τὰ τρίτα. τὸν  
 δέ, “ἐμαυτῷ,” φάγαι· “νέος γὰρ ὃν ἔτι Ἰβηρίας  
 τε ἐκράτησα, καὶ στρατῷ τὰ Ἀλπεια ὅρη μεθ’  
 Ἡρακλέα πρῶτος ὑπερῆλθον, ἐς τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν,  
 ὑμῶν οὐδενός πω θαρροῦντος, ἐμβαλὼν τετρακόσια  
 ἀνέστησα ἀστη, καὶ περὶ τῇ πόλει τὸν ἀγῶνα  
 πολλάκις ὑμῖν ἐπέστησα, οὕτε μοι χρημάτων  
 οὕτε στρατιᾶς ἐπιπεμπομένης ἐκ Καρχηδόνος.”  
 ὡς δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Σκιπίων εἰδεν ἀπομηκύνοντα τὴν  
 σεμνολογίαν, ἔφη γελάσας, “ποῦ δ’ ἀν ἔαυτὸν  
 ἔταττες, ὃ Ἀννίβα, μὴ νενικημένος ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ;”  
 τὸν δέ φασιν, αἰσθανόμενον ἥδη τῆς ζηλοτυπίας,  
 εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἔγωγε ἔταξα ἀν ἐμαυτὸν πρὸ Ἀλεξ-  
 ἀνδρου. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐπέμεινέ τε τῇ  
 σεμνολογίᾳ, καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα λαθὼν ἐθεράπευσεν  
 ὡς καθελόντα τὸν ἀμεινονα Ἀλεξάνδρου.

11. Διαλυομένης δὲ τῆς συνόδου Σκιπίωνα μὲν  
 ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐπὶ ξένια ἐκάλει, Σκιπίων δὲ ἐλθεῖν ἀν  
 ἔφη μάλα προθύμως, εἰ μὴ συνῆσθα νῦν Ἀντιόχῳ  
 πρὸς Ρωμαίους ὑπόπτως ἔχοντι. ὡδε μὲν ἐκεῖνοι,  
 τῆς στρατηγίας ἀξίως, τὴν ἔχθραν ὠρίζοντο τοῖς  
 πολέμοις, Φλαμινῖος δ’ ἀνομοίως. ἥττηθέντος  
 γὰρ ὕστερον Ἀντιόχου φεύγοντα τὸν Ἀννίβαν  
 καὶ ἀλώμενον περὶ Βιθυνίαν, πρεσβεύων, ἐφ’ ἔτερα

## THE SYRIAN WARS

to Alexander, but proceeded to ask Hannibal whom he CHAP.  
placed next. Hannibal replied, "Pyrrhus of Epirus," II  
because he considered boldness the first qualification  
of a general; for it is not possible to find two kings  
more enterprising than these. Scipio was rather  
nettled by this, but nevertheless he asked Hannibal  
to whom he would give the third place, expecting  
that at least the third would be assigned to him;  
but Hannibal replied, "To myself; for when I was  
a young man I conquered Spain and crossed the Alps  
with an army, which no one after Hercules ever did.  
I invaded Italy and struck terror into all of you, laid  
waste 400 of your towns, and often put your city in  
extreme peril, all this time receiving neither money  
nor reinforcements from Carthage." As Scipio saw  
that he was likely to prolong his self-laudation he  
said, laughing, "Where would you have placed your-  
self, Hannibal, if you had not been defeated by  
me?" Hannibal, now perceiving his jealousy, replied,  
"I should have put myself before Alexander."  
Thus Hannibal persisted in his self-laudation, but  
flattered Scipio in a delicate manner by suggesting  
that he had conquered one who was the superior of  
Alexander.<sup>1</sup>

11. At the end of this conversation Hannibal invited Scipio to be his guest, and Scipio replied that he would have come gladly if Hannibal were not living with Antiochus, who was held in suspicion by the Romans. Thus did they, in a manner worthy of great commanders, cast aside their enmity at the end of their wars. Not so Flamininus, for, at a later period when Hannibal had fled after the defeat of Antiochus and was wandering around Bithynia, he sent

<sup>1</sup> This tale is considered by most modern critics a fiction.

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XI

CAP. πρὸς Προυσίαν, οὕτε τι πρὸς τοῦ Ἀννίβου προπά-  
II θών, οὕτε Ῥωμαίων ἐντειλαμένων, οὕτε φοβερὸν  
 ἔτι αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι δυνάμενον Καρχηδόνος κατε-  
 στραμμένης, ἔκτεινε διὰ τοῦ Προυσίου φαρμάκῳ,  
 λεγόμενον μὲν ἐσχηκέναι ποτὲ χρησμὸν ὥδε ἔχοντα  
 “Λίβυσσα κρύψει βῶλος Ἀννίβου δέμας,” καὶ  
 οἰόμενον ἐν Λιβύῃ τεθνήξεσθαι, ποταμὸς δ' ἔστι  
 Λίβυσσος ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ, καὶ πεδίον ἐκ τοῦ ποτα-  
 μοῦ Λίβυσσα. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἐς ὑπόμνημα τῆς  
 Ἀννίβου καὶ Σκιπίωνος μεγαλονοίας καὶ Φλα-  
 μινίου σμικρότητος παρεθέμην.

### III

CAP. 12. Ο δ' Ἀντίοχος ἐκ Πισιδῶν ἐς τὴν "Εφεσον  
III ἐπανήει, καὶ χρηματίσας τοῖς Ῥωμαίων πρέσ-  
 βεσι Ροδίους μὲν καὶ Βυζαντίους καὶ Κυζικη-  
 νούς, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν εἰσὶν  
 "Ελληνες, αὐτονόμους ἐπηγγείλατο ἔάσειν, εἰ  
 γίγνοιντο αὐτῷ συνθῆκαι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, Αἰο-  
 λέας δὲ καὶ "Ιωνας οὐ συνεχώρει ώς ἐκ πολλοῦ  
 καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις βασιλεῦσι τῆς Ἀσίας εἰθι-  
 σμένους ὑπακούειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεις  
 ἐς οὐδὲν αὐτῷ συμβαίνοντες (οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' ἔργῳ  
 συμβάσεων ἐληλύθεσαν ἀλλ' ἐς ἀπόπειραν)  
 ὤχοντο ἐς Ῥώμην· Ἀντιόχῳ δ' ἥκουν Αἴτωλῶν  
 πρέσβεις, ὃν Θόας ἥρχεν, αὐτοκράτορά τε στρατ-

## THE SYRIAN WARS

an embassy to King Prusias on other matters, and, CHAP.  
although he had no grievance against Hannibal, and  
had no orders from the Senate, and Hannibal could  
no longer be formidable to them, Carthage having  
fallen, he caused Prusias to put him to death by  
poison. There was a story that Hannibal once  
received an oracle which said:

II  
The place of  
Hannibal's  
death

“Libyssan earth shall cover Hannibal’s remains.”

So he believed that he should die in Libya. But there is a river Libyssus in Bithynia, and the adjoining country takes the name of Libyssa from the river. These things I have placed side by side as memorials of the magnanimity of Hannibal and Scipio and of the smallness of Flamininus.

## III

12. ANTIOCHUS, on his return from Pisidia to CHAP.  
Ephesus entered upon the business with the Roman  
ambassadors, and promised to leave the Rhodians, the III  
Byzantines, the Cyzicenes, and the other Greeks of  
Asia free and independent if the Romans would  
make a treaty with him; but he would not release  
the Aetolians and the Ionians, since they had long  
been accustomed to obey even the barbarian kings  
of Asia. The Roman ambassadors came to no agree-  
ment with him—in fact, they had not come to make  
an agreement, but to find out his purposes. So they  
returned to Rome. Thereupon an Aetolian embassy  
came to Antiochus, of which Thoas was the principal

Antiochus  
invades  
Greece

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XI

CAP.<sup>III</sup> ηγὸν Αἰτωλῶν Ἀντίοχον ἀποφαίνοντες, καὶ δια-  
πλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἥδη παρακαλοῦντες ὡς ἐπὶ  
ἔργον ἔτοιμον. οὐδὲ εἴων ἀναμέιειν τὴν στρατιὰν  
ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας τῆς ἄνω κατιοῦσαν, ἀλλὰ τὰ  
Αἰτωλῶν ὑπερεπαίροντες, καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους  
ἐπαγγελλόμενοι σφίσι καὶ Φίλιππον ἐπὶ τοῖς  
Λακεδαιμονίοις τὸν Μακεδόνα, Ῥωμαίοις μηνί-  
οντα, συμμαχήσειν, ἐπέσπερχον ἐς τὴν διάβασιν.  
ο δὲ ἡρεθίζετο μάλα κουφόνως, καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦ  
παιδὸς αὐτῷ προσαγγελθέντος ἐν Συρίᾳ τεθνάναι  
τῆς ὄρμῆς τι ἐνδούς, διέπλει μετὰ μυρίων ὡν τότε  
εἶχε μόνων ἐς Εὐβοιαν. καὶ τίνδε μὲν αὐτὸς  
παρεστήσατο ἅπασαν, ἐνδοῦσαν ὑπὸ ἐκπλήξεως.  
Μικιθίων δέ, αὐτοῦ στρατηγός, τοῖς περὶ Δήλιον  
Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιπεσὼν (ιερὸν δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ χωρίον  
Ἀπόλλωνος) τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἔκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ  
ἔξωγρησεν.

13. Ἐμύνανδρός τε, ὁ Ἀθαμάνων βασιλεύς, ἐς  
συμμαχίαν Ἀντιόχῳ συνῆλθε διὰ τοιᾶσδε προ-  
φάσεως. τῶν τις Μακεδόνων Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐν  
Μεγάλῃ πόλει τραφεὶς καὶ τῆς αὐτόθι πολιτείας  
ἀξιωθείς, ἐτερατεύετο γένος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Φίλιπ-  
που προσήκειν, γενομένους τέ οἱ παῖδας ὡνόμασεν,  
ἐς πίστιν ὡν ἐλογοποίει, Φίλιππόν τε καὶ Ἀλέ-  
ξανδρον καὶ Ἀπάμαν, ἦν Ἀμυνάνδρῳ πρὸς γάμον  
ἡγγυησεν. ἀγαγὼν δὲ αὐτὴν Φίλιππος ὁ ἀδελφὸς  
ἐς τὸν γάμον, ἐπεὶ τὸν Ἀμύνανδρον εἶδεν ἀσθενῆ  
καὶ πραγμάτων ἅπειρον, παρέμενε, τὴν ἀρχὴν διὰ  
τὸ κῆδος διοικῶν. τοῦτον οὖν τὸν Φίλιππον ὁ  
Ἀντίοχος τότε ἐπελπίζων ἐς τὴν Μακεδόνων  
ἀρχὴν ὡς οἰκείαν οἱ κατάξειν, προσέλαβε τοὺς  
Ἀθαμάνας ἐς τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ

## THE SYRIAN WARS

member, offering him the command of the Aetolian forces and urging him to embark for Greece at once, as everything was in readiness there. They would not allow him to wait for the army that was coming from upper Asia, but by exaggerating the strength of the Aetolians and promising the alliance of the Lacedaemonians and of Philip of Macedon in addition, who was angry with the Romans, they urged his crossing. His head was quite turned by excitement, nor did even the news of his son's death in Syria delay him at all. He sailed to Euboea with 10,000 men, who were all that he had at the time. He took possession of the whole island, which surrendered to him through panic. Micithio, one of his generals, fell upon the Romans at Delium (a place sacred to Apollo), killed some of them, and took the rest prisoners.

13. Amynander, king of the Athamanes, leagued himself with Antiochus for the following reason. A certain Macedonian, named Alexander, who had been educated at Megalopolis and admitted to citizenship there, pretended that he was a descendant of Alexander the Great, and to make people believe his fables he named his two sons Philip and Alexander and his daughter Apama. The latter he betrothed to Amynander. Her brother Philip conducted her to the nuptial ceremony, and when he saw that Amynander was weak and inexperienced he remained there and took charge of the government by virtue of this connection. By holding out to this Philip the hope that he would restore his ancestral kingdom of Macedonia to him, Antiochus secured the alliance of the Athamanes. He secured that of the

III

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XI

**CAP. III.** Θηβαίους, αὐτὸς ἐς Θήβας παρελθών τε καὶ δημηγορήσας.

‘Ο μὲν δὴ Θηβαίοις τε καὶ Ἀμυνάνδρῳ καὶ Αἰτωλοῖς ἐπὶ τοσῷδε πολέμῳ μάλα ματαίως ἔθαρρει, καὶ ἐς Θεσσαλίαν ἐσκόπει πότερον εὐθὺς ἦ μετὰ χειμῶνα δέοι στρατεύειν. Ἀννίβαν δ' ἐπὶ τῇ σκέψῃ τῇδε ἡσυχάζοντα ἐκέλευε γνώμην πρῶτον ἐσενεγκεῖν.

14. ‘Ο δ’ ἔφη, “Θεσσαλοὺς μὲν οὐ δυσχερές, εἴτε νῦν εἴτε μετὰ χειμῶνα ἔθέλοις, ὑπάγεσθαι. τὸ γὰρ ἔθιος ἐκ πολλοῦ πεπονηκὸς ἐς τε σὲ νῦν καὶ ἐς Ῥωμαίους αὖ, εἴ τι γίγνοιτο νεώτερον, μεταβαλεῖται. ἥλθομεν δ' ἄνευ τῆς οἰκείας δυνάμεως, Αἰτωλοῖς ἐπάγουσι πεισθέντες ὅτι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Φίλιππος ἡμῖν συμμαχήσουσιν. ὃν Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν καὶ πολεμεῖν ἡμῖν ἀκούω μετ' Ἀχαιῶν, Φίλιππον δὲ οὐχ ὁρῶ σοι παρόντα, δυνατὸν ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ ῥοπήν, ὅποτέρωσε προσθοῖτο, ποιῆσαι. τῆς δὲ γνώμης ἔχομαι τῆς αὐτῆς, τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας καλεῖν ὅτι τάχιστα, καὶ μὴ ἐν Ἀμυνάνδρῳ καὶ Αἰτωλοῖς τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχειν, ὅταν δ' ἀφίκηται, τὴν Ἰταλίαν πορθεῖν, ἵνα τοῖς οἰκείοις κακοῖς περισπώμενοι τὰ σὰ λυπῶσιν ἥκιστα, καὶ περὶ τῶν σφετέρων δεδιότες μηδαμοῦ προΐωσιν. ὁ δὲ τρόπος οὐκέθ' ὅμοιος ᾧ προύλεγον, ἀλλὰ χρὴ τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ τῶν νεῶν τὰ παράλια τῆς Ἰταλίας πορθεῖν, τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ ναυλοχεῖν ἐφεδρεῦον ἐς τὰ συμφερόμενα, αὐτὸν δὲ σὲ τῷ πεζῷ παντὶ προκαθήμενον τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀγχοῦ τῆς Ἰταλίας, δόξαν ἐμποιεῖν ἐσβολῆς, καὶ

## THE SYRIAN WARS

Thebans also by going himself to Thebes and making CHAP.  
a speech to the people.

III

He was emboldened to enter upon this great war relying most rashly on the Thebans, Amynander, and the Aetolians, and he debated whether to invade Thessaly at once or after the winter had passed. But as Hannibal expressed no opinion on the subject, Antiochus, before coming to a decision, asked him his views.

14. Hannibal replied, "It is not difficult to reduce the Thessalians either now or at the end of winter, if you wish. Exhausted by much suffering they will change now to you, and again to the Romans, if any misfortune befalls you. We have come here without any army of our own, trusting to the Aetolians, who brought us here and said that the Lacedaemonians and Philip would join us. Of these I hear that the Lacedaemonians are actually fighting on the side of the Achaeans against us, and as for Philip I do not see him here helping you, although he can turn the scale of this war for whichever side he favours. I hold the same opinion as before, that you should summon your army from Asia as quickly as possible and not put any reliance on Amynander and the Aetolians. When your army comes, carry the war into Italy so that they may be distracted by evils at home, and thus harm you as little as possible, and make no advance movement for fear of what may befall themselves. The plan I spoke of before is no longer available, but you ought to employ half of your fleet in ravaging the shores of Italy and keep the other half lying in wait for opportunities while you station yourself with all your land forces at some point in Greece near to Italy, making a feint of invasion

Hannibal  
repeats  
his advice

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XI

CAP. εἰ δύναιο ποτε, καὶ ἐσβαλεῖν. Φίλιππον δὲ πειρᾶ-  
 III σθαι μὲν προσάγεσθαι μηχανῆ πάσῃ, πλεῖστον ἐς  
 ἑκατέωντος ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ δυνάμενον· ἦν δ'  
 ἀπειθῆ, τὸν σὸν υἱὸν αὐτῷ Σέλευκον ἐπιπέμπειν  
 διὰ Θράκης, ἵνα καὶ ὅδε περισπώμενος οἰκείοις  
 κακοῖς μηδὲν ἢ τοῖς πολεμίοις χρήσιμος."

Τοσάδε μὲν ὁ Ἀννίβας εἶπε, καὶ ἦν ἄριστα  
 πάντων ὑπὸ δὲ φθόνου τῆς τε δόξης αὐτοῦ καὶ  
 συνέσεως οὕτω τε ἄλλοι καὶ αὐτὸς οὐχ ἥσσον ὁ  
 βασιλεύς, ἵνα μὴ δοκοίη σφῶν ὁ Ἀννίβας τῇ  
 στρατηγίᾳ προφέρειν, μηδὲ ἡ δόξα τῶν ἐσομένων  
 ἔκείνου γένοιτο, μεθῆκαν ἄπαντα, πλὴν ὅτι  
 Πολυξενίδας ἐπὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν  
 ἐπέμφθη.

15. Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἐπεὶ τῆς ἐσβολῆς τῆς ἐς τὴν  
 Ἑλλάδα Ἀντιόχου καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Δηλίου Ῥωμαίων  
 ἀναιρέσεώς τε καὶ αἰχμαλωσίας ἐπύθουντο, πολε-  
 μεῖν ἐψηφίσαντο. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Ἀντιόχου τε καὶ  
 Ῥωμαίων πόλεμος, ἐκ πολλοῦ δι' ὑπονοίας ἀλλή-  
 λοις γενόμενος, τότε πρῶτον ἀπερρήγνυτο ἐς ἔργον.  
 οἷα δ' Ἀντιόχου τῆς τε Ἀσίας τῆς ἄνω πολλῶν  
 καὶ μεγάλων ἔθνῶν καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ, χωρὶς  
 ὀλίγων, ὅλης ἐπικρατοῦντος, ἐς τε τὴν Εὐρώπην  
 διαβεβηκότος ἥδη, καὶ δόξαν ἐπίφοβον καὶ παρα-  
 σκευὴν ἴκανὴν ἔχοντος, πολλά τε ἄλλα καθ'  
 ἔτέρων ἐξειργασμένου λαμπρά, δι' ἂ καὶ μέγας  
 ἦν ἐπώνυμον αὐτῷ, τὸν πόλεμον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι  
 χρόνιον σφίσι καὶ μέγαν ἔσεσθαι προσεδόκων.  
 Φίλιππόν τε τὸν Μακεδόνα δι' ὑποψίας εἶχον,  
 ἄρτι ὑπὸ σφῶν καταπεπολεμημένον, καὶ Καρχη-  
 δονίους, μὴ οὐ πιστοὶ σφίσιν ὁσιν ἐπὶ ταῖς  
 συνθήκαις, Ἀννίβου συνόντος Ἀντιόχῳ. τούς

## THE SYRIAN WARS

and invading it in reality any time you may be able. CHAP.  
Try by every means to make an alliance with Philip,  
<sup>III</sup> because he can be of the greatest service to which-  
ever side he espouses. If however he will not consent,  
send your son Seleucus against him by way of Thrace,  
so that Philip likewise may be distracted by troubles  
at home, and prevented from furnishing aid to the  
enemy." Such were the counsels of Hannibal, and  
they were the best of all that were offered; but,  
moved by jealousy of his reputation and judgment,  
the other counsellors, and the king himself no less,  
cast them all aside lest Hannibal should seem to excel  
them in generalship, and lest the glory of the exploits  
should be his—except that Polyxenidas was sent to  
Asia to bring the army.

15. When the Romans heard of the irruption of B.C. 191  
Antiochus into Greece and the killing and capturing  
of Romans at Delium, they declared war. Thus war  
first actually broke out between Antiochus and the  
Romans, who had long suspected each other. So  
great was the dominion of Antiochus, who was ruler  
of many powerful nations of upper Asia, and of all  
but a few on the sea coast and who had now invaded  
Europe; so formidable was his reputation and so con-  
siderable his resources, so many and so famous had  
been his exploits against other peoples, from which  
he had earned the title of Great, that the Romans  
anticipated that this war would be long and severe  
for them. They had their suspicions also of Philip  
of Macedon, whom they had lately conquered, and of  
the Carthaginians also, lest they should prove false to  
the treaty because Hannibal was cooperating with  
Antiochus. They also suspected their other subjects,

Romans  
prepare  
for war

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XI

CAP. τε ἄλλους σφῶν ὑπηκόους ὑπονοοῦντες, μὴ καὶ  
 III παρὰ τούτων τι νεώτερον ἐς τὴν Ἀντιόχου δόξαν  
 γένοιτο, στρατιὰν ἐς ἅπαντας, ἐφεδρεύειν εἰρη-  
 νικῶς αὐτοῖς, καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ,  
 περιέπεμπον, οὓς αὐτὸὶ καλοῦσιν ἔξαπελέκεας,  
 ὅτι τῶν ὑπάτων δυώδεκα πελέκεσι καὶ δυώδεκα  
 ῥάβδοις, ὡσπερ οἱ πάλαι βασιλεῖς, χρωμένωι,  
 τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς ἀξιώσεως ἔστι τοῖσδε τοῖς στρατ-  
 ηγοῖς καὶ τὰ ἡμίσεα παράσημα. ὡς δὲ ἐν μεγάλῳ  
 φόβῳ, καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐδείμαινον, μὴ οὐδὲ  
 αὐτὴ σφίσιν ἢ πιστὴ ἢ βέβαιος ἐπ' Ἀντιόχῳ.  
 πεζὸν δὴ πολὺν ἐς Τάραντα διέπεμπον, ἐφεδρεύειν  
 τοῖς ἐπιοῦσι, καὶ νεῶν στόλος τὴν παράλιον  
 περιέπλει. τοσόσδε φόβος ἦν Ἀντιόχου τὰ  
 πρῶτα. ὡς δὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν συνετετά-  
 χατο πάντα, ἐπ' αὐτὸν Ἀντίοχον ἥδη κατέλεγον  
 ἀπὸ μὲν σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐς δισμυρίους ἄνδρος, ἀπὸ  
 δὲ τῶν συμμάχων τὸ διπλάσιον, ὡς ἂμα τῷ ἥρι  
 τὸν Ἰόνιον διαβάλοῦντες.

16. Καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸν χειμῶνα ὅλον ἐν τούτῳ  
 παρασκευῆς ἤσαν, ὁ δὲ Ἀντίοχος ἥλαυνεν ἐπὶ  
 Θετταλούς, καὶ γειόμενος ἐν Κυνὸς κεφαλαῖς,  
 ἔνθα τὸ πταῖσμα τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ὑπὸ Ρωμαίων  
 ἐγεγένητο, τὰ λείπαντα τῶν τότε πεσόντων ἄταφα  
 ἔτι ὄντα μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἔθαπτε, δημοκοπῶν ἐς  
 Μακεδόνας, καὶ Φίλιππον αὐτοῖς διαβάλλων οὐ  
 θάψαντα τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πεσόντας. ὃν πυθό-  
 μενος ὁ Φίλιππος, ἐιδοιάζων ἔτι καὶ περισκοπῶν  
 ὅποτέρωσε προσθοῖτο, αὐτίκα εἶλετο τὰ Ρωμαίων,  
 Βαίβιόν τε στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν, ἄρχοντά τινος  
 πλησίον στρατοῦ, καλέσας ἐλθεῖν ἐς τι χωρίον,  
 πίστεις αὐθις ἐδίδου Ρωμαίοις ἀδόλως συμμαχή-

## THE SYRIAN WARS

lest they too should rebel in consequence of the fame CHAP  
III of Antiochus. For these reasons they sent forces into all the provinces to watch them without provoking hostilities. With them were sent praetors, whom they call six-axe men, because while the consuls have twelve bundles of rods and twelve axes (as the kings before them had), these praetors have only half the dignity of the consuls and half the number of insignia of office. The peril being so great, they were anxious about Italy also, lest there should be some disaffection or revolt against them there. They therefore sent a large force of infantry to Tarentum to guard against an attack in that quarter, and also a fleet to patrol the coast. So great was the alarm caused by Antiochus at first. But when everything appertaining to the government at home was arranged, they raised an army to serve against Antiochus himself, 20,000 from the city and double that number from the allies, with the intention of crossing the Adriatic in the early spring. Thus they employed the whole winter in making preparations for war.

16. Antiochus marched against the Thessalians and came to Cynoscephalae, where the Macedonians had been defeated by the Romans, and finding the remains of the dead still unburied, gave them a magnificent funeral. Thus he curried favour with the Macedonians and accused Philip before them of leaving unburied those who had fallen in his service. Until now Philip had been wavering and in doubt which side he should espouse, but when he heard of this he joined the Romans at once. He invited Baebius, their general, who was in command of an army in the neighbourhood, to a rendezvous, and gave

Philip  
joins the  
Romans

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XI

**CAP. III.** σειν κατ' Αντιόχου. ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸν ὁ Βαιβίος ἐπήνει, καὶ θαρρίσας αὐτίκα ἔπεμπε διὰ τῆς Μακεδονίας Ἀππιον Κλαύδιον μετὰ δισχιλίων πεζῶν ἐς Θεσσαλίαν. καὶ ὁ Ἀππιος ἀπὸ τῶν Τεμπῶν Ἀντίοχον Λαρίση παρακαθήμενον ἵδων πῦρ πολὺ ἥγειρεν, ἐπικρύπτων τὴν ὀλιγότητα. καὶ ὁ Ἀντίοχος, ὡς Βαιβίου καὶ Φιλίππου παρόντων διαταραχθείς, ἔξελιπε τὴν πολιορκίαν, πρόφασιν τὸν χειμῶνα ποιούμειος, καὶ ἐς Χαλκίδα παρῆλθεν, ἔνθα κόρης εὐπρεποῦς ἔρωτι ἀλούς, ὑπὲρ ἔτη πεντήκοντα γεγονώς καὶ τοσόνδε πόλεμον διαφέρων, ἔθυε γάμους καὶ πανηγύρεις ἥγε, καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐς πᾶσαν ἀργίαν καὶ τρυφὴν ἐπὶ τὸν χειμῶνα ὅλον ἀνῆκεν. ἀρχομένου δ' ἥρος ἐμβαλὼν ἐς Ἀκαρνανίαν ἥσθετο μὲν τῆς ἀργίας τοῦ στρατοῦ δυσέργου πρὸς ἄπαντα ὄντος, καὶ τότε τῶν γάμων αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς πανηγύρεως μετέμελεν· ὑπαγαγόμενος δ' ὅμως τινὰ τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πολιορκῶν, ἐπεὶ τάχιστα Ῥωμαίους ἐπύθετο περᾶν τὸν Ἰόνιον, ἐς Χαλκίδα ἀνεζεύγνυ.

## IV

**CAP. IV.** 17. Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ὑπὸ σπουδῆς τοῖς τότε ἐτοίμοις ἵππεῦσι δισχιλίοις καὶ πεζοῖς δισμυρίοις καὶ ἐλέφασί τισιν, ἥγουμένου σφῶν Ἀκιλίου Μανίου Γλαβρίωιος, ἐς Ἀπολλωνίην ἐκ Βρευτεσίου διαβαλόντες ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίας ἐβάδιζον καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἔξελυσον τῶν πολιορκιῶν, ἐν ὅσαις δ' ἥσαν ἥδη Ἀθαμάνων φρουραί, τὰς φρουρὰς ἔξέβαλλον. καὶ

## THE SYRIAN WARS

fresh pledges of faithful alliance against Antiochus. CHAP.  
Baebius praised him for this, and felt emboldened to  
<sup>III</sup> send Appius Claudius straightway with 2000 foot  
through Macedonia into Thessaly. When Appius  
arrived at Tempe and from that point saw Antiochus  
besieging Larissa, he kindled a large number of fires  
to conceal the smallness of his force. Antiochus  
thought that Baebius and Philip had arrived, and  
became panic-stricken, abandoned the siege on the  
pretext that it was winter, and retreated to Chalcis.  
There he fell in love with a pretty girl, and, although  
he was above fifty years of age and was supporting  
the burden of so great a war, he celebrated his nuptials  
with her, gave a public festival, and allowed his army  
to spend the whole winter in idleness and luxury.  
When spring came he made a descent upon Acar-  
nania, where he perceived that idleness had unfitted  
his army for every kind of duty. Then he repented  
of his marriage and his public festival. Nevertheless  
he reduced a part of Acarnania and was besieging the  
rest of its strongholds when he learned that the  
Romans were crossing the Adriatic. Then he returned  
at once to Chalcis.

## IV

17. THE Romans crossed hastily from Brundusium CHAP.  
to Apollonia with the forces that were then ready,  
<sup>IV</sup> being 2000 horse, 20,000 foot, and a few elephants,  
under the command of Acilius Manius Glabrio.  
They marched to Thessaly and relieved the besieged  
cities. They expelled the enemy's garrisons, from  
the towns of the Athamanes and made a prisoner of  
The Romans cross the Adriatic

CAP. τὸν Μεγαλοπολίτην Φίλιππον αἱ χμάλωτον ἔλαβον,  
<sup>IV</sup> ἐλπίζοντα ἔτι τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχήν. εἴλον δὲ  
 καὶ τῶν Ἀντιοχείων ἐς τρισχιλίους. ἅμα δὲ  
 ταῦτα ὁ Μάνιος εἰργάζετο, καὶ ὁ Φίλιππος ἐς  
 Ἀθαμανίαν ἐμβαλὼν πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ὑπήκοον ἔλα-  
 βειν, Ἀμυνάνδρου φυγόντος ἐς Ἀμβρακίαν. ὃν ὁ  
 Ἀντίοχος αἰσθανόμενός τε, καὶ τὴν ὁξύτητα τῶν  
 γιγνομένων καταπλαγείς, ἔδειστεν ὡς ἐπὶ αἰφνιδίῳ  
 καὶ ταχείᾳ μεταβολῆ, καὶ τῆς εὐβουλίας Ἀννίβου  
 τότε ἥσθετο, ἐς τε τὴν Ἀσίαν ἄλλους ἐπ' ἄλλοις  
 ἔπειμπεν ἐπισπέρχειν Πολυξενίδαν ἐς τὴν διάβασιν,  
 αὐτὸς δ' ὅσους εἶχε, πανταχόθεν συνεκάλει. γενο-  
 μένων δ' αὐτῷ τῶν μὲν οἰκείων πεζῶν μυρίων καὶ  
 ἵππεων πεντακοσίων, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις καὶ τινῶν συμ-  
 μάχων, Θερμοπύλας κατέλαβεν ὡς τὴν δυσχωρίαν  
 προβαλούμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ  
 τῆς Ἀσίας ἀναμενῶν. δίοδος δ' ἐστὶν αἱ Θερμο-  
 πύλαι στενὴ καὶ ἐπιμήκης, καὶ αὐτὴν περιέχει τῇ  
 μὲν θάλασσα τραχεῖα καὶ ἀλίμενος, τῇ δὲ ἔλος  
 ἄβατόν τε καὶ βαραθρῶδες. κορυφαί τε εἰσὶν ἐν  
 αὐτῇ δύο ὄρῶν ἀπόκρημνοι, καὶ τούτων μὲν Τειχι-  
 οῦντα καλοῦσι τὴν δὲ Καλλίδρομον. ἔχει δὲ ὁ  
 τόπος θερμῶν ὑδάτων πηγάς, καὶ Θερμοπύλαι ἀπὸ  
 τοῦδ' ἐπικλήζονται.

18. Τεῖχος οὖν ἐνταῦθα διπλοῦν ὁ Ἀντίοχος  
 ὠκοδομήσατο, καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος  
 ἐπέθηκεν. ἐς τε τὰς κορυφὰς τῶν ὄρῶν Αἴτωλοὺς  
 ἀνέπεμψε, μή τις λάθοι κατὰ τὴν λεγομένην  
 ἀτραπὸν περιελθών, ἢ δὴ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις τοῖς  
 ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδαν Ξέρξης ἐπέθετο, ἀφυλάκτων τότε  
 τῶν ὄρῶν ὅντων. Αἴτωλοὶ δὲ χιλίους μὲν ἑκατέρω  
 τῶνδε τῶν ἄκρων ἐπέστησαν, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς

## THE SYRIAN WARS

that Philip of Megalopolis who was still expecting CHAP.  
the throne of Macedonia. They also captured about IV  
3000 of the soldiers of Antiochus. While Manius  
was doing these things, Philip made a descent  
upon Athamania and brought the whole of it into  
subjection, King Amyntander fleeing to Ambracia.  
When Antiochus learned these facts, he was terrified  
by the swiftness of events and by the suddenness of  
the change of fortune, and he now perceived the  
wisdom of Hannibal's advice. He sent messenger  
after messenger to Asia to hasten the coming of  
Polyxenidas. Then from all sides he drew in what  
forces he had. These amounted to 10,000 foot and  
500 horse of his own, besides some allies, with which  
he occupied Thermopylae, in order to put this  
difficult pass between himself and the enemy while  
waiting for the arrival of his army from Asia. The  
pass at Thermopylae is long and narrow, flanked  
on the one side by a rough and harbourless sea and  
on the other by a deep and impassable morass. It is  
overhung by two precipitous peaks, one called  
Teichius and the other Callidromus. The place also  
contains some hot springs, whence comes the name  
Thermopylae (the Hot Gates).

Antiochus  
occupies  
Thermo-  
pyle

18. There Antiochus built a double wall on which  
he placed his engines. He sent Aetolian troops to  
occupy the summits of the mountains to prevent  
anybody from coming round secretly by way of the  
famous path by which Xerxes had come upon the  
Spartans under Leonidas, the mountains at that  
time being unguarded. One thousand Aetolians  
occupied each mountain. The remainder encamped

CAP. έστρατοπέδευον ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν περὶ πόλιν Ἡράκλειαν.  
 IV ὁ δὲ Μάνιος ἐπεὶ κατεῖδε τὴν τῶν πολεμίων παρα-  
 σκευήν, σημεῖον ἔδωκεν ἐς ἔω μάχης· καὶ δύο τῶν  
 χιλιάρχων, Μᾶρκου Κάτωνα καὶ Λεύκιον Οὐαλ-  
 ἐριον, ἐκέλευσε νυκτός, ἐπιλεξαμένους ἐκάτερον  
 ὅπόσους ἐθέλοι, τὰ δρη περιελθεῖν καὶ τοὺς  
 Αἰτωλοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων, ὅπῃ δύναιντο, βιά-  
 σασθαι. τούτων ὁ μὲν Λεύκιος ἀπεκρούσθη τοῦ  
 Τειχιοῦντος, ἀγαθῶν ἐνταῦθα τῶν Αἰτωλῶν γενο-  
 μένων· ὁ δὲ Κάτων τῷ Καλλιδρόμῳ παραστρατο-  
 πεδεύσας, κοιμωμένοις ἔτι τοῖς ἔχθροῖς ἐπέπεσε  
 περὶ ἐσχάτην φυλακήν, καὶ πολὺς ἀμφ' αὐτῷ  
 ἐγίγνετο ἀγών, βιαζόμενον ἐς ὑψηλὴν καὶ ἀπό-  
 κρημνα κωλυόντων τῶν πολεμίων. ἥδη δὲ καὶ  
 Μάνιος ἐπῆγε τὴν στρατιὰν Ἀντιόχῳ κατὰ  
 μέτωπον, ἐς λόχους ὄρθιος διηρημένην. ὅδε γὰρ  
 μόνως ἐν στενοῖς ἐδύνατο. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς  
 μὲν ψιλοὺς καὶ πελταστὰς προμάχεσθαι τῆς  
 φάλαγγος ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὴν δὲ ἐστῆσε πρὸ τοῦ  
 στρατοπέδου, ἐπὶ δεξιὰ δὲ αὐτῆς τοὺς σφενδονήτας  
 καὶ τοξότας ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπωρειῶν, τοὺς δὲ ἐλέφαντας  
 ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, καὶ τὸ στῖφος δὲ μετ' αὐτῶν ἀεὶ  
 συνετάσσετο, παρὰ τῇ θαλάσσῃ.

19. Γενομένης δὲ ἐν χερσὶ τῆς μάχης, τὰ μὲν  
 πρῶτα τὸν Μάνιον οἱ ψιλοὶ πανταχόθεν περιτρέ-  
 χοντες ἐλύπουν· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοὺς φιλοπόνως δεχό-  
 μενός τε καὶ ἀναχωρῶν καὶ αὐθις ἐπιών ἐτρέψατο,  
 τοὺς μὲν ψιλοὺς ἡ φάλαγξ ἡ τῶν Μακεδόνων  
 διαστᾶσα ἐς αὐτὴν ἐδέξατο καὶ συνελθοῦσα ἐκά-  
 λυψε, καὶ τὰς σαρίσσας ἐν τάξει πυκνὰς προύβα-  
 λοντο, φ δὴ μάλιστα οἱ Μακεδόνες ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου  
 καὶ Φιλίππου κατεπλήσσοντο τοὺς πολεμίους,

## THE SYRIAN WARS

by themselves near the city of Heraclea. When CHAP  
IV  
Manius saw the enemy's preparations he gave the signal for battle on the morrow at dawn and ordered two of his tribunes, Marcus Cato and Lucius Valerius, to select such forces as they pleased and to go around the mountains by night and drive the Aetolians from the heights as best they could. Lucius was repulsed from Mount Teichius by the Aetolians, who at that place fought well, but Cato, who encamped near Mount Callidromus, fell upon the enemy while they were still asleep, about the last watch. Nevertheless there was a stiff fight here, as he was obliged to climb over high rocks and precipices in the face of an opposing enemy. Meantime Manius was leading his army against Antiochus' front in files, as this was the only way possible in the narrow pass. The king placed his light-armed troops and peltasts in front of the phalanx, and drew up the phalanx itself in front of the camp, with the archers and slingers on the right hand on the lower slopes, and the elephants, with the column that always accompanied them, on the left near the sea.

19. Battle being joined, the light-armed troops assailed Manius first, rushing in from all sides. He received their onset bravely, first yielding and then advancing, and drove them back. The phalanx opened and let the light-armed men pass through. It then closed and covered them, with its long spears presented in massed order, the formation with which the Macedonians from the time of Alexander and Philip used to strike terror into enemies who did

The battle  
of Ther-  
mopylae

CAP. ἀντίοις δόρασι πολλοῖς καὶ μακροῖς οὐ τολμῶντας  
 IV πελάζειν. αἱφνίδιον δ' ὥφθη τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἐκ  
 τοῦ Καλλιδρόμου φυγὴ καὶ βοή, καθαλλομένων  
 ἐς τὸ Ἀντιόχου στρατόπεδον. τὸ μὲν δὴ πρῶτον  
 ἑκατέροις ἄγνοιά τε τοῦ γιγνομένου καὶ θόρυβος  
 ἦν ὡς ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ· ὡς δὲ ὁ Κάτων ἐπεφαίνετο  
 διώκων αὐτοὺς μετὰ πολλῆς βοῆς, καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ  
 στρατόπεδον ἐγίγνετο ἥδη τὸ Ἀντιόχου, ἔδεισαν  
 οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως, περὶ τε τῆς Ῥωμαίων μάχης  
 ἐπιφόβως ἐκ πολλοῦ πυνθανόμενοι, καὶ σφᾶς  
 εἰδότες ὑπὸ ἀργίας καὶ τρυφῆς δι' ὅλου τοῦ χει-  
 μῶνος ἐς δυσεργίαν διεφθαρμένους. τούς τε σὺν  
 τῷ Κάτωνι σαφῶς μὲν οὐ καθορῶντες ὅποσοι  
 τινὲς εἰεν ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ φόβου πλείους νομίζοντες  
 εἶναι, καὶ περὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ δείσαντες, ἀκόσμως  
 ἐς αὐτὸν κατέφυγον ὡς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς πολεμίους  
 ἀμυνούμενοι. Ῥωμαῖοι δ' αὐτοῖς παραθέοντες  
 συνεσέπεσον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἦν ἄλλη  
 φυγὴ τῶν Ἀντιοχείων ἐκεῖθεν ἄκοσμος. ὁ δὲ  
 Μάνιος μέχρι μὲν ἐπὶ Σκάρφειαν ἐδίωκαν αὐτοὺς  
 κτείνων τε καὶ ζωγρῶν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Σκαρφείας  
 ἐπανιὼν διήρπαξε τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦ βασιλέως  
 καὶ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἐπιδραμόντας τῷ Ῥωμαίων  
 χάρακι παρὰ τὴν ἀπουσίαν αὐτῶν ἐξῆγλασεν  
 ἐπιφανείς.

20. Ἀπέθανον δ' ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τῇ διώξει  
 Ῥωμαίων μὲν ἀμφὶ τοὺς διακοσίους, Ἀντιόχου  
 δέ, σὺν τοῖς ληφθεῖσιν, ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους. αὐτὸς  
 δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς πρώτης τροπῆς μετὰ  
 πεντακοσίων ἵππέων ἐς Ἐλάτειαν ἀμεταστρεπτὶ<sup>1</sup>  
 διέδραμεν, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἐλατείας ἐς Χαλκίδα καὶ ἐς  
 Ἐφεσον μετ' Εύβοίας τῆς νεογάμου (τοῦτο γὰρ

## THE SYRIAN WARS

not dare to encounter the thick array of long pikes CHAP.  
IV presented to them. Suddenly, however, the Aetolians were seen fleeing from Callidromus with loud cries, and leaping down into the camp of Antiochus. At first neither side knew what had happened, and there was confusion among both in their uncertainty; but when Cato made his appearance pursuing the Aetolians with shouts of victory and was already close above the camp of Antiochus, the king's forces, who had been hearing for some time back fearful accounts of the Roman style of fighting, and who knew that they themselves had been enervated by idleness and luxury all the winter, took fright. Not seeing clearly how large Cato's force was, it was magnified to their minds by terror. Fearing for the safety of their camp they fled to it in disorder, with the intention of defending it against the enemy. But the Romans were close at their heels and entered the camp with them. Then there was another flight of the troops of Antiochus as disorderly as the first. Manius pursued them as far as Scarphia, killing and taking prisoners. Returning thence he plundered the king's camp, and by merely shewing himself drove out the Aetolians who had broken into the Roman camp during his absence.

20. The Romans lost about 200 in the battle and the pursuit; Antiochus about 10,000, including prisoners. The king himself, at the first sign of defeat, fled without looking back with 500 horse as far as Elateia, <sup>He flees</sup> to Asia and from Elateia to Chalcis, and thence to Ephesus with his bride Euboea, as he called her, on board his

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XI

CAP. IV αὐτὴν ὠνόμαζεν) ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ἔφυγεν, οὐδὲ τούτων ἀπασῶν ἀγορὰν γάρ τινας αὐτῶν διαφερούσας ὁ Ῥωμαίων ναύαρχος ἐπαναχθεὶς διεθάρκει. οἱ δὲ ἐν ἄστει Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς νίκης πυθόμενοι, ταχείας τε οὕτω σφίσι καὶ εὐχεροῦς φανείσης, ἔθυον, ἐκ φοβερᾶς τῆς Ἀντιόχου δόξης τὴν πρώτην πεῖραν ἀσπασάμενοι. Φίλιππόν τε τῆς συμμαχίας ἀμειβόμενοι, τὸν νίδην αὐτῷ Δημήτριον, ὁμηρεύοντα ἔτι παρὰ σφίσιν, ἔπεμψαν.

21. Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν ἐν ἄστει, Μάνιος δὲ Φωκέας μὲν καὶ Χαλκιδέας, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ συνεπεπράχεσαν, δεομένους ἀπέλυσε τοῦ δέους, τὴν δὲ Αἰτωλίαν αὐτός τε καὶ Φίλιππος ἐδήσουν, καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐπολιόρκουν. Δαμόκριτόν τε τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἐνταῦθα ὁ Μάνιος ἔλαβε κρυπτόμενον, ὃς Φλαμινίῳ παρτὸν Τίβεριν ἡπείλει στρατοπεδεύσειν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Μάνιος ἐπὶ Καλλιπόλεως διώδευε τὸ ὄρος ὃ καλοῦσι Κόρακα, ὑψηλότατόν τε ὄρων καὶ δυσόδευτον καὶ ἀπόκρημνον, μετὰ στρατοῦ βαρυτάτου τε καὶ λαφύρων καταγόμον πολλοὶ δὲ ἔξεπιπτον ὑπὸ τῆς δυσοδίας ἐς τὰ ἀπόκρημνα, καὶ σκεύεσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ ὅπλοις κατεφέροντο. καὶ αὐτοὺς δυνηθέντες ἀν οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ συνταράξαι οὐδὲ ὥφθησαν, ἀλλ' ἐς Ῥώμην περὶ εἰρήνης ἐπρέσβευον. Ἀντίοχος δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄνω σατραπειῶν κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐκάλει, καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐπεσκεύαζε, ναυαρχοῦντος αὐτῷ Πολυξενίδου Ῥοδίου φυγάδος. ἐς τε Χερρόνησον διαπλεύσας πάλιν αὐτὴν ὡχύρου, καὶ Σηστὸν καὶ Ἀβυδον ἐκρατύνετο, δι' ὃν ἔδει τὴν φάλαγγα τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ὁδεῦσαι τε καὶ περᾶσαι. Λυσιμά-

## THE SYRIAN WARS

ships; but not all of them, for the Roman admiral <sup>CHAP.</sup> IV made an attack upon some that were bringing supplies, and sank them. When the people of Rome heard of this victory, so swiftly and easily gained, they offered sacrifice, being satisfied with their first trial of the formidable reputation of Antiochus. To Philip, in return for his services as an ally, they sent his son Demetrius, who was still a hostage in their hands.

21. While these things were going on in the city, Manius received the supplications of the Phocians, the Chalcidians, and the others who had cooperated with Antiochus, and relieved their fears. He and Philip ravaged Aetolia and laid siege to its cities. He there captured, in hiding, Democritus, the general of the Aetolians, who had threatened Flamininus that he would pitch his camp on the banks of the Tiber. Manius, with an army laden with baggage and spoils, made his way to Callipolis over Mount Corax, a precipitous and difficult mountain, and the highest in that region. Many soldiers, by reason of the badness of the road, fell over precipices and were dashed in pieces with their arms and accoutrements, and although the Aetolians might have thrown the army into confusion, they were not even to be seen, but were sending an embassy to Rome to treat for peace. In the meantime Antiochus ordered the army to march in haste from the satrapies of upper Asia to the sea, and fitted out a fleet which he put under the command of Polyxenidas, an exile from Rhodes. He then crossed over to Chersonesus and again fortified it. He also strengthened Sestus and Abydus, through which the Roman legions would be obliged to pass if they should invade Asia. He made Lysimacheia his

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XI

**CAP.** χειαν δὲ ταμιεῖον τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ ποιούμενος,  
<sup>IV</sup> ὅπλα καὶ σῖτον πολὺν ἐς αὐτὴν συνέφερει,  
 ἡγούμενος αὐτίκα οἱ Ῥωμαίους πεζῷ τε πολλῷ  
 καὶ ναυσὶν ἐπιθήσεσθαι. οἱ δὲ Μανίω μὲν αἴροῦνται  
 τι διάδοχον ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν Λεύκιον Σκιπίωνα, ὃς τότε αὐτοῖς ὑπατος ἦν, ἀπράκτω δ' ὅντι  
 καὶ ἀπειροπολέμῳ σύμβουλον αἴροῦνται τὸν ἀδελφὸν Πόπλιον Σκιπίωνα τὸν Καρχηδονίους ἀφελόμενον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ πρῶτον ὀνομασθέντα  
 Ἀφρικανόν.

## V

**CAP.** 22. Καὶ οἱ μὲν Σκιπίωνες ἔτι ἥσαν ἐν παρασκευῇ, Λίουιος δ' ὁ φύλαξ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἐπὶ τὴν  
<sup>V</sup> ναυαρχίαν αἱρεθεὶς Ἀτιλίῳ διάδοχος, αὐτίκα ταῖς  
 τε ἴδιαις ναυσίν, αἷς τὴν Ἰταλίαν περιέπλει, καὶ  
 παρὰ Καρχηδονίων αὐτῷ τισὶ δοθείσαις καὶ  
 συμμαχίσιν ἄλλαις ἐς Πειραιᾶ κατήχθη, καὶ  
 τὸν ὑπὸ Ἀτιλίῳ στόλον παραλαβὼν ἐπλει καταφράκτοις ὄγδοήκοντα καὶ μᾶ, ἐπομένου καὶ  
 Εὔμένους πεντήκοντα ἴδιαις καὶ ἥν κατάφρακτον  
 καὶ τῶνδε τὸ ἥμισυ. ἐς τε Φώκαιαν ὑπήκιον μὲν  
 Ἀντιόχου, ὑπὸ δ' ἐκπλήξεως αὐτοὺς δεχομένην  
 κατήγοντο, καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐς ναυμαχίαν ἀνέπλεον. ἀντανήγετο δ' αὐτοῖς ὁ ναυαρχος ὁ  
 Ἀντιόχου Πολυξενίδας διακοσίαις ναυσί, κουφοτέραις τῶν πολεμίων παρὰ πολύ· ὃ δὴ καὶ  
 μάλιστα προύλαβε τοῦ πελάγους ἔτι Ῥωμαίων  
 ἀναπειρωμένων. καὶ δύο τῶν Καρχηδονίων ναῦς  
 ἴδων προπλεούσας, τρεῖς τῶν ἴδιων ἐπιπέμψας  
 εἶλε τὰς δύο κενάς, ἐξαλομένων τῶν Λιβύων ἐς τὸ

## THE SYRIAN WARS

principal magazine for the present war and accumulated large supplies of arms and provisions in it, believing that the Romans would soon attack him with large land and sea forces. They appointed Lucius Scipio, who was then consul, to succeed Manius in the command, but as he was inexperienced in war they appointed as his adviser his brother, Publius Scipio, who had humbled the Carthaginian power and who first bore the title of Africanus.

CHAP.  
IV

The two  
Scipios  
sent against  
him

## V

22. While the Scipios were still making their preparations, Livius, who had charge of the coast defence of Italy and who had been chosen the successor of Atilius, with his own coast-guard ships and some contributed by the Carthaginians and other allies, sailed at once for the Piraeus. Receiving there the fleet from Atilius he set sail with eighty-one decked ships, Eumenes following with fifty of his own, one-half of which had decks. They put in at Phocaea, a place belonging to Antiochus, but which received them from fear, and on the following day they sailed out for a naval engagement. Polyxenidas, commanding the fleet of Antiochus, met them with 200 ships much lighter than those opposed to him, which was a great advantage to him, since the Romans were not yet experienced in nautical affairs. Seeing two Carthaginian ships sailing in front, he sent three of his own against them and took them, but without the crews, who leaped overboard. Livius

CHAP.  
V

Roman  
naval  
victory

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XI

CAP. πέλαγος. Λίουιος δ' ἐπὶ τὰς τρεῖς ἐφέρετο  
 πρῶτος ὑπ' ὁργῆς τῇ στρατηγίδι νηὶ, πολὺ προύχων τοῦ στόλου. αἱ δ', ως μιᾶ, σὺν καταφρονήσει  
 χεῖράς τε σιδηρᾶς ἐπέβαλον, καὶ συνεστηκότων  
 τῶν σκαφῶν ὁ ἀγὼν ἦν ὕσπερ ἐν γῇ. πολὺ δὲ  
 κρείσσους ὅντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ταῖς εὐτολμίαις,  
 ἐπιβάντες ἐς τὰς ἀλλοτρίας ἐκράτουν, καὶ μιᾶ  
 νηὶ δύο ὁμοῦ φέροντες ἐπανήεσαν. καὶ τόδε μὲν  
 τῆς ναυμαχίας προαγώνισμα ἦν· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ στόλοι  
 συνέπεσον ἀλλήλοις, ἵσχυν μὲν καὶ προθυμίᾳ  
 τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐπεκράτει, διὰ δὲ βαρύτητα τῶν  
 σκαφῶν τοὺς ἔχθροὺς οὐκ ἐδύναντο καταλαμβάνειν  
 κούφαις ναυσὶν ὑποφεύγοντας, ἔως οὖλον ἐς τὴν  
 Ἐφεσον δξέως κατέφυγον, οὐδὲ δ' ἐς Χίον ἀπῆραν,  
 ἐνθα αὐτοῖς Ῥοδίων νῆες συμμαχίδες ἥλθον ἐπτὰ  
 καὶ εἴκοσιν. Ἀντίοχος δὲ περὶ τῆσδε τῆς ναυμαχίας πυθόμενος, Ἄννιβαν ἔστελλεν ἐπὶ Συρίας ἐς  
 νεῶν ἄλλων ἐκ τε Φοινίκης καὶ Κιλικίας παρασκευήν.

Καὶ τόνδε μὲν ἐπανιόντα Ῥόδιοι κατέκλεισαν  
 ἐς Παμφυλίαν, καὶ τινας αὐτοῦ τῶν νεῶν εἶλον,  
 καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐφεδρεύοντες ἐφύλασσον· 23. Πόπλιος δὲ Σκιτίων ἀφικόμενος ἐς Αἰτωλίαν μετὰ  
 τοῦ ὑπάτου, καὶ τὸν Μανίου στρατὸν παραλαβών,  
 τὰς μὲν ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ πολιορκίας ὑπερεῖδεν ὡς  
 μικρὸν ἔργον, καὶ τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς δεομένοις ἐπέτρεψεν αὐθις ἐς Ῥώμην πρεσβεῦσαι περὶ σφῶν,  
 ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἡπείγετο πρὶν ἐκβῆναι τῷ  
 ἀδελφῷ τὴν στρατηγίαν. διὰ δὲ Μακεδόνων  
 ὥδενε καὶ Θρᾳκῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, δυσχερῆ  
 καὶ χαλεπὴν ὥδὸν αὐτῷ γενομένην ἄν, εἰ μὴ  
 Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδὼν ὥδοποίει καὶ ὑπεδέχετο καὶ

## THE SYRIAN WARS

dashed angrily at the three with his flag-ship, much CHAP.  
V  
in advance of the rest of the fleet. The enemy being three to one grappled him contemptuously with iron hooks, and when the ships were fastened together the battle was fought as though it were on land. The Romans, being much superior in valour, sprang upon the enemy's ships, overpowered them, and returned on their one ship, bringing two of the enemy's with them. This was the prelude to the naval engagement. When the fleets came together the Romans had the best of it by reason of their bodily strength and bravery, but on account of the unwieldy size of their ships they could not overtake the enemy, who got away with their nimble craft, and, by rapid flight, took refuge in Ephesus. The Romans repaired to Chios, where twenty-seven Rhodian ships joined them as allies. When Antiochus received the news of this naval fight, he sent Hannibal to Syria to fit out another fleet from Phoenicia and Cilicia. When he was returning with it the Rhodians drove him into Pamphylia, captured some of his ships, and blockaded the rest.

23. In the meantime Publius Scipio arrived in Aetolia with the consul and received the command of the army from Manius. He scorned the siege of the Aetolian towns as a small business, and granted the petition of the inhabitants to send a new embassy to Rome, while he hastened against Antiochus before his brother's command should expire. He moved by way of Macedonia and Thrace to the Hellespont, and it would have been a very hard march for him had not Philip of Macedon repaired the roads,

B.C. 190

The  
Scipios  
march to  
the Helles-  
pont

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XI

CAP. παρέπεμπεν ἐζευγμένοις τε ποταμοῖς ἐκ πολλοῦ  
<sup>ν</sup> καὶ ἀγοραῖς ἑτοίμοις· ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸν οἱ Σκιπίωνες  
 αὐτίκα τῶν ὑπολοίπων χρημάτων ἀπέλυσαν,  
 ἐπιτετραμμένοι τοῦθ' ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, εἰ πρόθυμον  
 εὗροιεν. ἐπέστελλον δὲ καὶ ἐς Προυσίαν τὸν  
 Βιθυνῶν βασιλέα, καταλέγοντες ὅσοις βασιλεῦσι  
 'Ρωμαῖοι συμμαχήσασι τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐπηγένησαν.  
 Φίλιππον δέ, φασί, τὸν Μακεδόνα καὶ πολέμῳ  
 κρατήσαντες ἄρχειν ἔωσι, καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτῷ τῆς  
 ὁμηρείας ἀπελύσαμεν, καὶ τὸ ἔτι ὅφλημα τῶν  
 χρημάτων. οἷς ὁ Προυσίας ἡσθεὶς συνέθετο  
 συμμαχήσειν ἐπ' Ἀντίοχον.

Λίουιος δ' ὁ ναύαρχος ἐπεὶ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας τῶν  
 Σκιπιώνων ἐπύθετο, Παυσίμαχον μὲν τὸν 'Ρόδιον  
 μετὰ τῶν 'Ροδίων νεῶν ἐν τῇ Αἰολίδι κατέλιπε,  
 καὶ μέρος τι τοῦ ἴδιου στόλου, ταῖς δὲ πλεύσιν ἐς  
 τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον ἐπλει τὸν στρατὸν ὑποδεξό-  
 μενος. καὶ Σηστὸς μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ 'Ροίτειον καὶ  
 ὁ Ἀχαιῶν λιμὴν καὶ τινα ἄλλα προσέθετο,  
 Αβυδον δὲ ἀπειθοῦσαν ἐπολιόρκει.

24. Παυσίμαχος δ' οἰχομένου Λιουίου πείρας τε  
 πυκνὰς καὶ μελέτας τῶν ἴδιων ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ  
 μηχανὰς ποικίλας συνεπήγνυτο, πυρφόρα τε  
 ἀγγεῖα σιδηρᾶ ἐξῆπτε κοντῶν μακρῶν, αἰωρεῖσθαι  
 τὸ πῦρ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἵνα τῶν μὲν ἴδιων σκαφῶν  
 πολὺ προύχῃ, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις προσιοῦσιν ἐμ-  
 πίπτῃ. καὶ αὐτὸν τάδε φιλοπονούμενον Πολυ-  
 ξενίδας ὁ Ἀντιόχου ναύαρχος, 'Ρόδιός τε ὧν καὶ  
 ὅδε καὶ τισιν αἰτίαις ἐκπεσὼν τῆς πατρίδος,  
 ἐνήδρευεν, ὑπισχιούμενος τὸν Ἀντιόχου στόλον  
 ἐγχειριεῖν, εἰ συνθοῖτο συμπράξειν ἐς κάθοδον

## THE SYRIAN WARS

entertained him, escorted him, bridged the streams CHAP some time before, and furnished him provisions. In V return for this the Scipios immediately relieved him from the payment of the remaining money indemnity, having been authorized to do so by the Senate if they should find him zealous. They also wrote to Prusias, king of Bithynia, reminding him that the Romans had often augmented the Empires of the kings in alliance with them. Philip of Macedon, they said, although they had conquered him in war, they had allowed to retain his kingdom, had released his son whom they held as a hostage, and had remitted the money payment still due. Thereupon Prusias gladly entered into alliance with them against Antiochus.

Livius, the commander of the fleet, when he learned that the Scipios were on the march, left Pausimachus, the Rhodian, with the Rhodian ships and a part of his own, in Aeolis, and himself sailed with the greater part to the Hellespont to receive the army. Sestos and Rhoeteum, and the harbour of the Achaeans, and several other places surrendered to him. Abydos refused and he laid siege to it.

24. After the departure of Livius, Pausimachus trained his sailors by repeated exercises, and constructed machines of various kinds. He attached iron vessels containing fire to long poles, for suspending over the sea, so as to hang clear of his own ships and fall upon those of the enemy when they approached. While he was thus engaged, Polyxenidas, the admiral of Antiochus, who was also a Rhodian, but had been banished for crime, laid a trap for him. He promised to deliver the fleet of Antiochus to him if he would agree to help him in securing his recall.

Roman  
fleet cap-  
tured by  
stratagem

CAP. αύτῳ. ὁ δὲ ὑπώπτευε μὲν ἐπίκλοπον ἄνδρα καὶ πανοῦργον, καὶ ἐσ πολὺ καλῶς ἐφυλάσσετο· γράψαντος δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ Πολυξενίδου περὶ τῆς προδοσίας ἐπιστολὴν αὐτόγραφον, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ καὶ ἀναζεύξαντος ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐφέσου, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ὑποκριθέντος ἐσ χορτολογίαν περιπέμπειν, ὁ Παυσίμαχος τήν τε ἀγάζευξιν ὄρων, καὶ οὐκ ἐλπίσας ἂν τινα περὶ προδοσίας ἐπιστολὴν αὐτόγραφον οὐκ ἀληθεύοντα πέμψαι, πάγχυ πιστεύσας ἔξελυστε τὰς φυλακὰς καὶ ἐσ σιτολογίαν καὶ αὐτὸς περιέπεμπειν. ὁ δὲ Πολυξενίδας ἐπεὶ κατεῖδεν αὐτὸν ἐνηδρευμένον, αὐτίκα τὴν παρασκευὴν συνῆγε, καὶ Νίκανδρον τὸν πειρατὴν σὺν δλίγοις ἐσ τὴν Σάμον περιέπεμπε, κατὰ τὴν γῆν ὅπισθεν τοῦ Παυσιμάχου θορυβοποιεῖν. ἐκ δὲ μέσων νυκτῶν αὐτὸς ἐπέπλει, καὶ περὶ τὴν ἑωθινὴν φυλακὴν ἐπέπιπτεν ἔτι κοιμωμένῳ. ὁ δὲ ἐν αἰφνιδίῳ κακῷ καὶ ἀδοκήτῳ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκέλευε, τὰς ναῦς ἐκλιπόντας, ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους. προσπεσόντος δ' ὅπισθεν αὐτῷ τοῦ Νικάνδρου, νομίσας καὶ τὴν γῆν προειλῆφθαι οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν ἑωραμένων μόνων ἀλλ', ὡς ἐν νυκτί, πολὺ πλειόνων, πάλιν ἐσ τὰς ναῦς ἐνέβαινε θορυβούμενος, πρωτός τε ἐσ μάχην ἀνήγετο, καὶ πρῶτος ἐπιπτε λαμπρῶς ἀγωνιζόμενος. τῶν δ' ἄλλων οἱ μὲν ἐλήφθησαν οἱ δ' ἀπώλοντο. καὶ τῶν νεῶν ἑπτὰ μέν αἱ τὸ πῦρ ἐφερον, οὐδενὸς αὐταῖς διὰ τὴν φλόγα προσιόντος ἐφυγον, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς εἴκοσιν ὁ Πολυξενίδας ἀναδησάμενος ἐσ τὴν Ἐφέσον κατήχθη.

25. Καὶ ἐπὶ τῆδε τῇ νίκῃ Φώκαια αὖθις καὶ Σάμος καὶ Κύμη πρὸς Ἀντίοχον μετετίθεντο.

## THE SYRIAN WARS

Pausimachus suspected the wily rascal and for a long time guarded against him carefully. But after Polyxenidas had written him an autograph letter on the subject of the betrayal and in accord therewith had actually sailed away from Ephesus and had pretended to send his army round to procure corn, Pausimachus, observing the movement and thinking that no one would put his own signature to a letter proposing a betrayal unless he were speaking the truth, felt entire confidence, relaxed his vigilance, and sent his own fleet away to procure corn. Polyxenidas, seeing that his stratagem was successful, at once reassembled his ships, and sent the pirate Nicander to Samos with a few men to create confusion by getting in the rear of Pausimachus on the land, and himself sailed at midnight, and about daybreak fell upon him while still asleep. Pausimachus, in this sudden and unexpected catastrophe, ordered his men to abandon their ships and defend themselves on land. But when Nicander attacked him in the rear he thought, as was natural in the darkness, that the land had been taken possession of not merely by those who were visible, but by a much larger number. So he made another confused rush for his ships. He was foremost in the encounter and the first to fall, fighting bravely. The rest were all captured or killed. Seven of the ships, which were provided with the fire-apparatus, escaped, as no one dared approach them for fear of conflagration. The remaining twenty Polyxenidas towed to Ephesus.

25. Upon the news of this victory Phocaea again changed sides to Antiochus, as did also Samos and

CAP. δείσας δ' ὁ Λίουιος περὶ τῶν σφετέρων νεῶν, ἃς  
<sup>ν</sup> ἐν τῇ Αἰολίδι κατελεοίπει, κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐσ-  
 αῦτὰς ἐπανήει. καὶ Εὐμένης πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡπεί-  
 γετο, 'Ρόδιοί τε Ῥωμαίοις ναῦς ἔτέρας εἴκοσιν  
 ἔπεμπον. μικρὸν δὲ διαλιπόντες ἅπαντες ἀνεθάρ-  
 ρησαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν "Εφεσον ἔπλεον ἐσ ναυμαχίαν  
 ἐσκευασμένοι. οὐδενὸς δ' αὐτοῖς ἀντεπιπλέοντος,  
 τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ τῶν νεῶν ἐσ ἐπίδειξιν ἔστησαν ἐν  
 μέσῃ τῆς θαλάσσης μέχρι πολλοῦ, ταῖς δὲ ὑπολοί-  
 ποις ἐσ τὴν πολεμίαν καταχθέντες ἐπόρθουν,  
 μέχρι Νίκανδρος αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς μεσογείας ἐπι-  
 πεσὼν τήν τε λείαν ἀφείλετο καὶ ἐσ τὰς ναῦς  
 κατεδίωξεν.

26. Οἱ μὲν δὴ πάλιν ἐσ Σάμον ἀνήγοντο, καὶ ὁ  
 χρόνος ἔληγε Λιουίψ τῆς ναυαρχίας· τοῦ δὲ αὐτοῦ  
 χρόνου Σέλευκος ὁ Ἀντιόχου τὴν Εὐμένους γῆν  
 ἐδήγου καὶ Περγάμῳ παρεκάθητο, τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐσ  
 τὴν πόλιν κατακλείσας. δόθεν ὁ Εὐμένης ἐσ  
 Ἐλαίαν, τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπίνειον, διέπλει κατὰ  
 σπουδὴν, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Λεύκιος Αἰμίλιος Ῥη-  
 γίλλος ὁ Λιουίου τὴν ναυαρχίαν παραδεδεγμένος.  
 ἦκον δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν Εὐμένει σύμμαχοι  
 χῖλοι πεζοὶ καὶ ἵππεῖς ἐκατὸν ἐπίλεκτοι, ὧν  
 Διοφάνης ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἴδων τοὺς  
 Σελευκείους παίζοντάς τε καὶ μεθύοντας ἐκ κατα-  
 φρουήσεως, ἐπειθε τοὺς Περγαμηνοὺς ἑαυτῷ  
 συνεκδραμεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. οὐχ ὑφιστα-  
 μένων δὲ ἐκείνων, ὥπλισε τοὺς ἴδιους χιλίους  
 καὶ τοὺς ἐκατὸν ἵππέας. καὶ προαγαγῶν ὑπὸ<sup>τὸ</sup>  
 τείχος ἔστησεν ἀτρεμεῖν, ὑπερορώντων αὐτοὺς  
 ἐσ πολὺ τῶν πολεμίων ὡς ὀλίγους τε καὶ οὐ  
 τολμῶντας ἐσ χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἀριστοποιου-

## THE SYRIAN WARS

Cuma. Livius, fearing for his own ships, which he CHAP.  
had left in Aeolis, returned to them in haste. V  
Eumenes hurried to join him, and the Rhodians sent the Romans twenty new ships. In a short time they were all in good spirits again and sailed toward Ephesus prepared for another engagement. As no enemy appeared they divided their naval force into two parts, displaying one out at sea in a long line, while the other landed on the enemy's coast and ravaged it, until Nicander attacked them from the interior, took away their plunder, and drove them back to their ships. Then they withdrew to Samos, and Livius' term of office as admiral expired.

26. About this time Seleucus, the son of Anti- Fighting at  
ochus, ravaged the territory of Eumenes and laid Pergamus  
siege to Pergamus, shutting up the soldiers in it. On account of this Eumenes sailed with haste to Elaea, the naval station of his kingdom, and with him L. Aemilius Regillus, the successor of Livius as admiral. One thousand foot-soldiers and 100 picked horse had also been sent by the Achaeans as allies to Eumenes. When their commander, Diophanes, from the wall saw the soldiers of Seleucus sporting and drinking in a contemptuous way, he urged the Pergameans to join him in a sally against the enemy. As they would not agree to this he armed his 1000 foot and his 100 horse, led them out of the city under the wall, and stood there quietly. The enemy derided him for a long time on account of the smallness of his force and because he did not dare to fight, but he fell upon them while they were taking

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XI

CAP. μένοις ἐπιδραμών ἐθορύβησέ τε καὶ ἐτρέψατο τοὺς  
<sup>V</sup> προφύλακας, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἀναπηδώντων, καὶ τοὺς ἵππους περιχαλινούντων ἡ φεύγοντας διωκόντων ἢ δυσχερῶς ἀναβαινόντων οὐκ εὔσταθοῦντας, ἐκράτει πάνυ λαμπρῶς, ἐπιβοώντων ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους τῶν Περγαμηνῶν, καὶ οὐδὲ τότε προελθεῖν ὑφισταμένων. κτείνας δ' ὅσους ἐδύνατο ὡς ἐν ἐπιδείξει ταχείᾳ, καὶ τινας αἰχμαλώτους ἐλὼν ἄγρας τε καὶ ἵππους, ἐπανήει κατὰ σπουδήν. καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσῃς αὖθις ἵστη τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος, οὐδὲ τότε τῶν Περγαμηνῶν αὐτῷ συνεξιόντων. Σέλευκος δ' ἱππεῦσι πολλοῖς αὐτῷ προσεπέλαζε προκαλούμενος. ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν οὐκ ἐπεξήει, παρ' αὐτὸν τὸ τεῖχος ἔστως, ἀλλ' ἐφυλάσσετο· ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ Σέλευκος παραμείνας ἐς μεσημβρίαν, καμνόντων οἱ ἥδη τῶν ἱππέων ἐπέστρεφε καὶ ἐπανήει, τοῖς τελευταίοις αὐτοῦ ὁ Διοφάνης ἐπιθέμενος καὶ θορυβοποιήσας, καὶ βλάψας ὅσα καὶ τότε δυνατὸς ἦν, εὐθὺς ἐπανήει πάλιν ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος. καὶ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον συνεχῶς ἐν τε χορτολογίαις καὶ ξυλείαις ἐνεδρεύων καὶ ἀεί τι ἐνοχλῶν ἀπό τε Περγάμου τὸν Σέλευκον ἀνέστησε καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης Εὐμένους χώρας ἐξήλασεν.

27. Πολυξενίδα δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις μετ' οὐ πολὺ γίγνεται ναυμαχία περὶ Μυόνησον, ἐς ἣν συνήεσαν Πολυξενίδας μὲν ναυσὶν ἐνενήκοντα καταφράκτοις, Λεύκιος δ' ὁ Ῥωμαίων ναύαρχος ὀγδοήκοντα τρισί· τούτων ἥσαν ἐκ Ῥόδου πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν. ὃν ὁ στρατηγὸς Εὔδωρος ἐτέτακτο μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ λαιοῦ κέρως, ἰδὼν δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα Πολυξενίδαν πολὺ προύχοντα Ῥωμαίων, ἔδεισέ τε μὴ

## THE SYRIAN WARS

their dinner, threw them into confusion, and put CHAP.  
their advance guard to flight. While the others V  
sprang for their arms, and tried to bridle their horses  
or to catch those that ran away or to mount those  
that would not stand, Diophanes won a most glorious  
victory, the Pergameans cheering vociferously from  
the walls, but even then not venturing out. Having  
killed as many as he could in this hurried exploit  
and taken a certain number of prisoners with their  
horses, he quickly returned. The following day he  
again stationed the Achaeans under the wall, the  
Pergameans again not going out with him. Seleucus  
approached him with a large body of horse and  
challenged him to battle, but Diophanes did not as yet  
accept the challenge. He kept his station close  
under the wall and watched his opportunity. But  
when Seleucus, having remained till midday, turned  
and led his tired horsemen back, Diophanes fell  
upon his rear and threw it into confusion, and after  
again doing all the damage he could, returned forth-  
with to his place under the wall. By continually  
lying in wait for the enemy in this way whenever  
they were collecting forage or wood, and always  
harassing them in some way or other, he compelled  
Seleucus to move away from Pergamus, and finally  
drove him out of Eumenes' territory altogether.

27. Not long afterward Polyxenidas and the Romans had a naval engagement near Myonnesus, in which the former had ninety decked ships, and Regillus, the Roman admiral, eighty-three, of which twenty-five were from Rhodes. The Rhodian commander, Eudorus, was stationed on the left wing, but seeing Polyxenidas on the other wing extending his line much beyond that of the Romans, and fearing Naval  
battle of  
Myonnesus

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XI

CAP. κυκλωθεῖεν, καὶ περιπλεύσας ὁξέως ἄτε κούφαις  
 ναυσὶ καὶ ἐρέταις ἐμπείροις θαλάσσης, τὰς ναῦς  
 τὰς πυρφόρους τῷ Πολυξενίδᾳ πρώτας ἐπῆγε,  
 λαμπομένας τῷ πυρὶ πάντοθεν. οἱ δὲ ἐμβαλεῖν  
 μὲν αὐταῖς οὐκ ἐτόλμων διὰ τὸ πῦρ, κύκλῳ δὲ  
 αὐτὰς περιπλέοντες ἐνέκλινόν τε καὶ θαλάσσης  
 ἐπίμπλαντο καὶ ἐς τὰς ἐπωτίδας ἐτύπτοντο, μέχρι  
 Ἡρόδιας νεῶς ἐς Σιδονίαν ἐμβαλούσης, καὶ τῆς  
 πληγῆς εὔτόνου γενομένης, ἄγκυρα ἐκπίπτουσα  
 τῆς Σιδονίας ἐς τὴν Ἡρόδιαν ἐπάγη τε καὶ συνέ-  
 δησεν ἀμφῷ πρὸς ἀλλήλας, ὅθεν ἦν ὁ ἀγῶν  
 ἀτρεμούντων τῶν σκαφῶν τοῖς ἐπιβάταις ὕσπερ  
 ἐν γῇ. καὶ προσιουσῶν ἄλλων ἐς ἐπικουρίαν  
 ἐκατέρᾳ πολλῶν, φιλονεικία τε παρ' ἀμφοῖν  
 ἐγίγνετο λαμπρά, καὶ τὸ μέσον τῶν Ἀντιόχου  
 νεῶν ἔρημον ἐκ τούτου γενόμενον αἱ Ἡρωμαίων  
 νῆες διέπλεον, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἔτι ἀγνοοῦντας  
 ἐκύκλουν, ὡς δὲ ἔμαθόν ποτε, ἐγίγνετο φυγὴ καὶ  
 τροπή, καὶ διεφθάρησαν Ἀντιόχου νῆες μᾶς  
 δέουσαι τριάκοντα, ὧν τρισκαίδεκα αὐτοῖς ἀνδρά-  
 σιν ἐλήφθησαν. Ἡρωμαίων δὲ ἀπώλοντο μόναι  
 δύο. καὶ ὁ Πολυξενίδας τὴν Ἡρόδιαν ναῦν ἐπαγό-  
 μενος ἐς τὴν Ἔφεσον κατήχθη.

## VI

CAP. 28. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ τῇ περὶ τὴν  
 VI Μυόννησον ἦν τέλος· οὕπω δὲ αὐτῆς ὁ Ἀντίοχος  
 αἰσθόμενος Χερρόνησόν τε καὶ Λυσιμάχειαν ἐπι-

## THE SYRIAN WARS

lest it should be surrounded, he sailed rapidly around CHAP.  
there with his swift ships and experienced oarsmen,<sup>V</sup>  
and first brought his fire-ships against Polyxenidas,  
scattering flames everywhere. The ships of the  
latter did not dare to ram their assailants on account  
of the fire, but, sailing round and round, tried to  
keep out of the way, shipped much water, and were  
constantly struck on their catheads.<sup>1</sup> Finally a  
Rhodian ship rammed a Sidonian, and the blow being  
severe the anchor of the latter was dislodged and  
stuck in the former, fastening them together. The two  
ships being immovable the contest between the crews  
became like a land fight. As many others hastened  
to the aid of each, the rivalry on both sides became  
spirited, and the Roman ships broke through the  
middle of Antiochus' line, which was weakened  
in this way, and surrounded the enemy before they  
knew it. When they discovered it there was a flight  
and a pursuit. Twenty-nine of Antiochus' ships  
were lost, thirteen of which were captured with their  
crews. The Romans lost only two vessels. Poly-  
xenidas captured the Rhodian ship and brought it to  
Ephesus.

## VI

28. SUCH was the result of the naval engagement CHAP.  
at Myonnesus. Before Antiochus heard of it he  
was fortifying the Chersonesus and Lysimacheia with  
<sup>VI</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Beams running across the bows, and projecting on either side like ears; used originally for letting down the anchors, and occasionally strengthened against ramming. (Thucydides, vii. 34, 36.)

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XI

CAP. μελῶς ὡχύρου, μέγα, ὥσπερ ἦν, τὸ ἔργον ἥγού-  
 VI μενος ἐπὶ Ρωμαίοις, ὅπου γε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην  
 Θράκην διελθεῖν στρατοπέδῳ δυσόδευτον αὐτοῖς  
 ἀν ἐγένετο καὶ δύσβατον, εἰ μὴ Φίλιππος διέφερεν.  
 ἀλλ' ὁ Ἀντίοχος ὧν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα κουφόνους ἀεὶ  
 καὶ ταχὺς ἐς μεταβολήν, ἐπεὶ τῆς ἥσσης ἐπύθετο  
 τῆς περὶ Μυόινησον, πάμπαν ἐξεπλάγη, νομίσας  
 αὐτῷ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐπιβουλεύειν παρὰ γὰρ λόγου  
 ἔκαστα χωρεῖν, Ρωμαίων μὲν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ  
 κρατούντων, ἐν ᾧ πολὺ προύχειν αὐτὸς ἐνόμιζε,  
 Ροδίων δὲ Ἀννίβαν ἐς Παμφυλίαν κατακεκλει-  
 κότων, Φιλίππου δὲ Ρωμαίους παραπέμποντος  
 ἀβάτους ὅδούς, δὸν μάλιστα μητσικακήσειν αὐτοῖς  
 ὧν ἐπαθεν ὑπελάμβανεν. ὑπὸ δὴ τῶνδε πάντων  
 ἐκταρασσόμενός τε, καὶ θεοῦ βλάπτοντος ἥδη  
 τοὺς λογισμούς, ὅπερ ἄπασι προσιόντων ἀτυχη-  
 μάτων ἐπιγίγνεται, Χερρόνησον ἐξέλιπεν ἀλογί-  
 στως, πρὶν καὶ ἐς ὅψιν ἐλθεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις, οὕτε  
 μετενεγκὼν ὅσος ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ σῆτος σεσωρευμένος  
 πολὺς ἡ ὅπλα ἡ χρήματα ἡ μηχαναί, οὕτε ἐμ-  
 πρήσας, ἀλλ' ὑγιεῖς ἀφορμὰς τοσάσδε τοῖς πολε-  
 μίοις καταλιπών. Λυσιμαχέας τε αὐτῷ καθάπερ  
 ἐκ πολιορκίας συμφεύγοντας μετ' οἰμωγῆς, ἀμα  
 γυναιξὶ καὶ παιδίοις, ὑπερεώρα, μόνου τοῦ διάπλου  
 τοῦ περὶ Αβυδον εἰρξαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπινοῶν,  
 καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν ἔτι ἐλπίδα τοῦ πολέμου πᾶσαι  
 ἐν τούτῳ τιθέμενος. οὐ μὴν οὕτε τὸν διάπλουν  
 ἐφύλαξεν ὑπὸ θεοβλαβείας, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ μεσόγειον  
 ἡπείχθη ἐπανελθεῖν, φθάνων τοὺς πολεμίους, οὐδέ  
 τινα φυλακὴν ἐν τῷ διάπλῳ κατέλιπεν.

29. Οἱ δὲ Σκιπίωνες ἐπεὶ τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως

## THE SYRIAN WARS

the greatest care, thinking, as was the fact, that this CHAP.  
VI  
was very important as a defence against the Romans,  
who would have found it very difficult to march  
through even the rest of Thrace, if Philip had  
not conducted them. But Antiochus, who was generally light minded and unstable, when he heard of his defeat at Myonnesus was completely panic-stricken, and thought that fate was conspiring against him. Everything had turned out contrary to his expectations. The Romans had beaten him on the sea, where he thought he was much superior; the Rhodians had shut Hannibal up in Pamphylia; Philip was helping the Romans over impassable roads, whereas Antiochus supposed that he would have a lively remembrance of what he had suffered from them. Everything unnerved him, and the deity began to destroy his reasoning powers (as is always the case when misfortunes multiply), so that he abandoned the Chersonesus without cause, even before the enemy came in sight, neither carrying away nor burning the great stores which he had collected there of grain, arms, money, and engines, but leaving all these sinews of war in good condition for the enemy. He paid no attention to the Lysimacheans who, as though after a siege, accompanied him in his flight with lamentations, together with their wives and children. He was intent only upon preventing the enemy from crossing at Abydus and rested his last hope of success wholly on that. Yet he was so infatuated by heaven that he did not even defend the crossing, but hastened to reach the interior in advance of the enemy, not even leaving a guard at the straits.

29. When the Scipios learned of his retreat they

Consterna-  
tion of  
Antiochus

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XI

CAP. αὐτοῦ ἐπύθοντο, Λυσιμάχειάν τε δρόμῳ κατέ-  
 VI λαβοῖ, καὶ τῶν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ θησαυρῶν τε καὶ  
 ὅπλων κρατήσαντες τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον ἔρημον  
 ὅντα φυλακῆς εὐθὺς ἐπέρων μετὰ σπουδῆς,  
 ἔφθασάν τε Ἀντίοχον ἦτι ἀγνοοῦντα ἐν Σάρδεσι  
 γενόμενοι. ὁ δὲ ἐκπλαγεὶς ἐβαρυθύμει, καὶ τὰ  
 ἴδια αὐτοῦ ἀμαρτήματα ἐς τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀνατιθεὶς  
 Ἡρακλείδην τὸν Βυζάντιον ἐπεμπεν ἐς τοὺς  
 Σκιπίωνας ἐπὶ διαλύσεσι τοῦ πολέμου, Σμύρναν  
 τε καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν αὐτοῖς διδοὺς τὴν ἐπὶ Γρα-  
 νίκῳ καὶ Λάμψακον, δι' ᾧ ἥρξεν αὐτοῖς ὁ πόλε-  
 μος, καὶ τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς δαπάνης τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου.  
 ἐνετέλλετο δέ, εἰ δέοι, καὶ τῶν Ἰάδων πόλεων  
 δοῦναι καὶ τῶν Αἰολίδων ὅσαι τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐν  
 τῷδε τῷ ἀγῶνι εἶλοντο, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο αἰτοῖεν  
 οἱ Σκιπίωνες. ταῦτα μὲν εἶχεν ἐς τὸ φανερὸν  
 λέγειν ὁ Ἡρακλείδης, ἵδιᾳ δὲ πρὸς Πόπλιον  
 Σκιπίωνα ἔφερε παρ' Ἀντίοχου χρημάτων τε  
 πολλῶν ὑποσχέσεις καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀφέσεις.  
 ἥρικει γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Ἐλλάδι ὁ Ἀντίοχος, ἐς  
 Δηματριάδα ἐκ Χαλκίδος διαπλέοντα· καὶ ἦν ὁ  
 παῖς Σκιπίων ὁ Καρχηδόνα ὑστερον ἐλών τε καὶ  
 κατασκάψας, καὶ δεύτερος ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ Σκιπίωνι  
 Ἀφρικανὸς ὄνομασθείς, Παύλου μὲν νίδιος ὅν τοῦ  
 Περσέα τὸν Μακεδόνα ἐλόντος, Σκιπίωνος δὲ τῷ  
 γένει θυγατριδοῦς καὶ θέσει παῖς. κοινῇ μὲν οὖν  
 οἱ Σκιπίωνες τῷ Ἡρακλείδῃ τήνδε ἔδοσαν τὴν  
 ἀπόκρισιν, ἐὰν ὁ Ἀντίοχος εἰρήνης δέηται, μὴ  
 τῶν Ἰάδων μηδὲ τῶν Αἰολίδων αὐτὸν ἐκστῆναι  
 πόλεων, ἀλλὰ πάσης τῆς ἐπὶ τάδε Ταύρου, καὶ  
 τὴν δαπάνην τοῦ πολέμου πᾶσαν ἐσενεγκεῖν, δι'

## THE SYRIAN WARS

took Lysimacheia at a single blow,<sup>1</sup> possessed themselves of the treasure and arms in the Chersonesus, crossed the unguarded Hellespont in haste and arrived at Sardis before Antiochus, who did not yet know that they had crossed. The panic-stricken and dispirited king, charging his own faults to the score of fortune, sent Heraclides the Byzantine to the Scipios to treat for peace. He offered to give them Smyrna, Alexandria on the Granicus, and Lampsacus, on account of which cities the war had been begun, and to pay them half the cost of the war. He was authorized if necessary to surrender the Ionian and Aeolian cities which had sided with the Romans in the fight and whatever else the Scipios might ask. These things Heraclides was to propose publicly. Privately he was authorized to promise Publius Scipio a large sum of money and the release of his son, whom the king had taken prisoner in Greece as he was sailing from Chalcis to Demetrias. This son was the Scipio who afterwards took and destroyed Carthage, and was the second to bear the name of Scipio Africanus. He was the son of Paulus, who conquered Perseus, king of Macedon, and of Scipio's daughter, and had been adopted by Scipio. The Scipios jointly gave this answer to Heraclides, "If Antiochus wishes peace he must surrender, not only the cities of Ionia and Aeolia, but all of Asia this side of Mount Taurus, and pay the whole cost of the war incurred

He sends  
proposals  
to the  
Scipios

<sup>1</sup> Literally "at a run."

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XI

CAP. αύτὸν γενομένου. ἵδια δὲ ὁ Πόπλιος ἔφη τῷ Ἡρα-  
κλείδῃ Ῥωμαίους, εἰ μὲν ἔτι Χερρονήσου καὶ  
Λυσιμαχίας κρατῶν ὁ Ἀντίοχος ταῦτα πρού-  
τεινεν, ἀσμένως ἀν λαβεῖν τάχα δ' εἰ καὶ μόνον  
ἔτι τοῦ Ἐλλησπόντου τὸν διάπλουν ἐφύλασσε·  
νῦν δ' αὐτοὺς ἥδη περάσαντάς τε καὶ ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ  
γενομένους, καὶ τὸν χαλινόν, φασίν, ἐνθέντας, καὶ  
ἐπὶ τῷ χαλινῷ τὸν ἵππον ἀναβάντας, οὐκ ἀνέξ-  
εσθαι διαλύσεων ἐπ' ὀλίγοις. αὐτὸς δὲ χάριν  
εἰδέναι τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς προαιρέσεως, καὶ μᾶλλον  
εἴσεσθαι λαβὼν τὸν νιόν ἀμείβεσθαι δ' αὐτὸν  
ἥδη, καὶ συμβουλεύειν δέχεσθαι τὰ προτεινόμενα  
πρὶν ἐσ πεῖραν ἐλθεῖν μειζόνων ἐπιταγμάτων.

30. Ο μὲν δὴ Πόπλιος ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐσ Ἐλαίαν  
νοσηλευόμενος ὑπεχώρει, σύμβουλον τῷ ἀδελφῷ  
Γναῖον Δομίτιον καταλιπών· ὁ δὲ Ἀντίοχος, οἶον  
τι καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ Μακέδων, οἰηθεὶς τῶνδε τῶν  
ἐπιταγμάτων πλέον οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ τὸν πόλεμον  
ἀφαιρήσεσθαι, συνέτασσε ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ  
Σκιτίων τὸν νιὸν ἀπέπεμπεν ἐσ Ἐλαίαν. ὁ δὲ  
τοῖς ἄγουσι συνεβούλευε μὴ μάχεσθαι τὸν Ἀντίο-  
χον ἕως αὐτὸς ἐπανέλθοι. καὶ τῷδε πεισθεὶς  
ὁ Ἀντίοχος μετεστρατοπέδευσεν ἀμφὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ  
Σίπυλον, τεῖχός τε καρτερὸν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ  
περιετείχιζε, καὶ τὸν Φρύγιον ποταμὸν ἐν προβολῇ  
τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐτίθετο, ἵνα μηδὲ ἄκων ἀναγκάζοιτο  
πολεμεῖν. Δομίτιος δὲ φιλοτιμούμενος τὸν πόλε-  
μον ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ κριθῆναι, τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπέρα μάλα  
θρασέως, καὶ σταδίους εἴκοσιν ἀπ' Ἀντιόχου  
διασχὼν ἐστρατοπέδευσεν. τέσσαρσί τε ἡμέραις  
ἔφεξῆς ἐξέτασσον ἑκάτεροι παρὰ τὸν χάρακα τὸν  
έαυτῶν, καὶ μάχης οὐ κατῆρχον. τῇ πέμπτῃ

## THE SYRIAN WARS

on his account." Privately Publius said to Heraclides, "If Antiochus had offered these conditions while he still held the Chersonesus and Lysimacheia they would have been gladly accepted; possibly also if he were merely still guarding the passage of the Hellespont. But now that we have crossed in safety and have not merely bridled the horse (as the saying is), but mounted him, we cannot consent to such light conditions. Personally I am grateful to the king for his proposal and shall be still more so after receiving my son. I repay him now with advice, that he accept the terms offered instead of risking severer conditions."

30. After this conference Publius was taken sick and withdrew to Elaea, leaving Gnaeus Domitius as his brother's counsellor. Antiochus thinking, as Philip of Macedon did, that nothing worse than these terms could befall him if he were vanquished in war, drew his forces together near the plain of Thyatira not far from the enemy, and sent Scipio's son to him at Elaea. Scipio advised those who brought his son that Antiochus should not fight until he himself should return to the army. Antiochus, acting on this advice, transferred his camp to Mount Sipylus and fortified it with a strong wall. He also interposed the river Phrygius between himself and the enemy, so that he should not be compelled to fight against his will. Domitius, however, was ambitious to decide the war himself. So he boldly crossed the river and established a camp at a distance of twenty stades from Antiochus. Four days in succession they both drew up their forces in front of their own fortifications, but neither of them began a

Both  
armies  
prepare  
for battle

CAP. δὲ ὁ Δομίτιος ἔξέτασσεν αὐθις καὶ ἐπέβαινε  
<sup>VI</sup> σοβαρῶς. οὐκ ἀντεπιόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀντιόχου, τότε  
 μὲν ἐγγυτέρω μετεστρατοπέδευσε, μίαν δὲ ἄλλην  
 διαλιπὼν ἐκήρυσσεν ἐς ἐπήκοον τῶν πολεμίων ἐς  
 αὔριον Ἀντιόχῳ καὶ ἄκοντι πολεμήσειν. ὁ δὲ  
 συνταραχθεὶς αὐθις μεθίει τὰ δόξαντα, καὶ  
 δυνηθεὶς ἀν ἐστάναι μόνου ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος ἥ καλῶς  
 αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀπομάχεσθαι μέχρι ῥαΐ-  
 σειεν ὁ Πόπλιος, αἰσχρὸν ἡγεῖτο μετὰ πλειόνων  
 φυγομαχεῖν· ὅθεν ἐς μάχην παρέτασσεν.

31. Καὶ ἔξῆγον ἦτι νυκτὸς ἄμφω περὶ ἐσχάτην  
 φυλακήν, διεκόσμει δ' αὐτῶν ἐκάτερος ὥδε. τὸ  
 μὲν λαιὸν εἶχον ὄπλιται Ῥωμαίων μύριοι, παρὰ  
 τὸν ποταμὸν αὐτόν· καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους ἥσαν  
 Ἰταλῶν ἔτεροι μύριοι, τρεῖς ἑκατέρων τάξεις ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
 βάθος. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς Ἰταλοῖς ὁ Εὐμένους στρατὸς  
 ἐτάσσετο, καὶ Ἀχαιῶν πελτασταὶ περὶ τρισ-  
 χιλίους. ὥδε μὲν εἶχε τὸ λαιόν, τὸ δεξιὸν δ' ἥν  
 ἵππεῖς, οἵ τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἰταλῶν καὶ Εὐμέ-  
 νους, οὓς πλείους οὐδὲ οὗτοι τρισχιλίων. ἀνεμε-  
 μίχατο δ' ἄπασι ψιλοί τε καὶ τοξόται πολλοί,  
 καὶ ἀμφὶ τὸν Δομίτιον αὐτὸν ἥσαν ἵππέων ἵλαι  
 τέσσαρες. οὕτω μὲν ἐγίγνοντο πάντες ἐς τρισ-  
 μυρίους, ἐπεστάτει δὲ τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ Δομίτιος  
 αὐτός, καὶ ἐς τὸ μέσον αὐτὸν ἵστη τὸν ὑπατον,  
 τὸ δὲ λαιὸν ἔδωκεν Εὐμένει. τῶν δ' ἐλεφάντων,  
 οὓς εἶχεν ἐκ Λιβύης, οὐδένα νομίζων ἔσεσθαι  
 χρήσιμον δλιγωτέρων τε ὄντων καὶ βραχυτέρων  
 οἴα Λιβύων (δεδίασι δ' οἱ σμικρότεροι τοὺς μεί-  
 ξονας), ἔστησεν ὀπίσω πάντας.

## THE SYRIAN WARS

battle. On the fifth day Domitius did the same CHAP.  
again and haughtily advanced. As Antiochus did VI  
not meet him he moved his camp nearer. After an interval of one day he announced by herald in the hearing of the enemy that he would fight Antiochus on the following day whether he was willing or not. The latter was perplexed and again changed his mind. Although he might have merely made a stand under the wall, or repelled the enemy from it with success, till Scipio should regain his health, he now thought that with superior numbers it would be disgraceful to decline an engagement. So he prepared for battle.

31. Both marched out about the last watch, just before daylight. The ordering of the troops on either side was as follows. The Roman legionaries, to the number of 10,000, formed the left wing resting on the river. Behind these were 10,000 Italian allies, and both these divisions were in triple line of battle. Behind the Italians came the army of Eumenes and about 3000 Achaean peltasts. This was the formation of the left, while on the right wing were the Roman and Italian cavalry and those of Eumenes, not more than 3000 in all. Mingled with all these were light-armed troops and bowmen, and around Domitius himself were four troops of horse. Altogether they were about 30,000 strong. Domitius took his station on the right wing and placed the consul himself in the centre. He gave the command of the left wing to Eumenes. Considering his African elephants of no use, being few in number and of small size, as those of Africa usually are (and the small ones are afraid of the larger), he placed them all in the rear. 32. Such was the Roman line of battle.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XI

CAP VI 32. Ὡδε μὲν δὴ διετετάχατο Ἀρμαῖοι, Ἀντιόχῳ  
 δ' ἦν μὲν ὁ στρατὸς ἄπας ἐπτακισμύριοι, καὶ  
 τούτων τὸ κράτιστον ἦν ἡ φάλαγξ ἡ Μακεδόνων,  
 ἀνδρες ἔξακισχύλιοι καὶ μύριοι, ἐς τὸν Ἀλεξάν-  
 δρον καὶ Φιλίππου τρόπον ἔτι κοσμούμενοι ἵστη  
 δ' αὐτοὺς ἐν μέσῳ, διελὼν ἀνὰ χιλίους καὶ ἔξα-  
 κοσίους ἐς δέκα μέρη, καὶ τούτων ἑκάστου μέρους  
 ἥσαν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ μετώπου πεντήκοντα ἄνδρες, ἐς  
 δὲ τὸ βάθος δύο καὶ τριάκοντα, ἐς δὲ τὰ πλευρὰ  
 ἑκάστου μέρους ἐλέφαντες δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν. ἡ δ'  
 ὅψις ἦν τῆς μὲν φάλαγγος ὥια τείχους, τῶν δ'  
 ἐλεφάντων οἶνον πύργων. τοιοῦτον μὲν ἦν τὸ  
 πεζὸν Ἀντιόχῳ, ἵππεῖς δ' ἑκατέρωθεν αὐτοῦ  
 παρετετάχατο Γαλάται τε κατάφρακτοι καὶ τὸ  
 λεγόμενον ἄγημα τῶν Μακεδόνων. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ  
 οἵδε ἵππεῖς ἐπίλεκτοι, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν ἄγημα  
 λέγεται. τάδε μὲν ἔξ ἵσου τῆς φάλαγγος ἦν  
 ἑκατέρωθεν ἐπὶ δ' αὐτοῖς τὰ κέρατα κατεῖχον ἐν  
 μὲν δεξιᾷ ψιλοί τέ τινες καὶ ἔτεροι ἵππεῖς ἀργυ-  
 ράσπιδες καὶ ἵπποτοξόται διακόσιοι, τὸ δὲ λαιὸν  
 Γαλατῶν τ' ἔθνη, Τεκτοσάγαι τε καὶ Τρόκμοι καὶ  
 Τολιστόβοιοι, καὶ Καππαδόκαι τινὲς οὓς ἔπειμψεν  
 Ἀριαράθης, καὶ μιγάδες ἄλλοι ξένοι, κατάφρακτος  
 τε ἵππος ἐπὶ τοῦσδε ἔτέρᾳ, καὶ ἦν ἑκάλουν ἵππον  
 ἑταιρικήν, ωπλισμένη κούφως. ὧδε μὲν καὶ ὁ  
 Ἀντίοχος ἔξέτασσεν. καὶ δοκεῖ τὴν ἐλπίδα λα-  
 βεῖν ἐν τοῖς ἵππεῦσιν, οὓς πολλοὺς ἔστησεν ἐπὶ  
 τοῦ μετώπου, τὴν δὲ φάλαγγα πυκνὴν ἐς ὀλίγον  
 συναγαγεῖν ἀπειροπολεμως, ἥ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα  
 ἔδει θαρρεῖν πάνυ ἡσκημένη. πολὺ δὲ καὶ ἄλλο  
 πλῆθος ἦν λιθοβόλων τε καὶ τοξοτῶν καὶ ἀκον-

## THE SYRIAN WARS

The total force of Antiochus was 70,000 and the CHAP.  
strongest body of these was the Macedonian phalanx VI  
of 16,000 men, still arrayed after the fashion of  
Alexander and Philip. These were placed in the  
centre, divided into ten sections of 1600 men each,  
with fifty men in the front line of each section and  
thirty-two deep. On the flanks of each section  
were twenty-two elephants. The appearance of the  
phalanx was like that of a wall, of which the elephants  
were the towers. Such was the arrangement of the  
infantry of Antiochus. His horse were stationed on  
either wing, consisting of the mail-clad Galatians  
and the Macedonian corps called the Agema,<sup>1</sup> so  
named because they were picked horsemen. An  
equal number of these were stationed on either side  
of the phalanx. Besides these the right wing had  
certain light-armed troops, and other horsemen with  
silver shields, and 200 mounted archers. On the  
left were the Galatian bands of the Tectosagae, the  
Trocni, the Tolistoboi, and certain Cappadocians  
furnished by King Ariarathes, and a mingling of  
other tribes. There was also another body of mailed  
horse, and a detachment known as the Companion  
cavalry, which was light-armed. In this way Antiochus  
drew up his forces. He seems to have placed most  
reliance on his cavalry, whom he stationed in large  
numbers on his front, while the phalanx, in which he  
should have placed most confidence on account of  
its high state of discipline, was crowded together  
unskilfully in a narrow space. Besides the forces  
enumerated there was a great multitude of stone-

<sup>1</sup> Appian seems to derive this word, probably wrongly, from *ἀγητός*, “admirable.”

CAP. VI τιστῶν καὶ πελταστῶν, Φρυγῶν τε καὶ Λυκίων  
 καὶ Παμφύλων καὶ Πισιδῶν Κρητῶν τε καὶ  
 Τραλλιανῶν καὶ Κιλίκων ἐς τὸν Κρητῶν τρόπον  
 ἐσκευασμένων. ἵπποτοξόται τε ἐπὶ τοῦσδε ἔτεροι,  
 Δᾶαι καὶ Μυσοὶ καὶ Ἐλυμαῖοι καὶ Ἀραβεῖς, οἵ  
 καμήλους ὁξυτάτας ἐπικαθήμενοι τοξεύουσί τε  
 εὐμαρῶς ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ, καὶ μαχαίραις, ὅτε πλη-  
 σιάζοιεν, ἐπιμήκεσι καὶ στεναῖς χρῶνται. δρε-  
 πανηφόρα τε ἄρματα ἐν τῷ μεταιχμίῳ, προπολε-  
 μεῖν τοῦ μετώπου, ἐτετάχατο· καὶ εἴρητο αὐτοῖς  
 μετὰ τὴν πρώτην πεῖραν ὑποχωρεῖν.

33. Ὁψις τε ἦν ὥσπερ δύο στρατῶν, τοῦ μὲν  
 ἀρχομένου πολεμεῖν, τοῦ δ' ἐφεδρεύοντος· ἐκάτερος  
 δ' αὐτῶν ἐς κατάπληξιν ἐσκεύαστο δεινῶς πλήθει  
 τε καὶ κόσμῳ. ἐφειστήκει δὲ τοῖς μὲν δεξιοῖς  
 ἵππεῦσιν Ἀντίοχος αὐτός, τοῖς δ' ἐπὶ θάτερα  
 Σέλευκος ὁ υἱὸς Ἀντιόχου, τῇ δὲ φάλαγγι Φίλιπ-  
 πος ὁ ἐλεφαντάρχης καὶ τοῖς προμάχοις Μύνδις  
 τε καὶ Ζεῦξις. ἀχλυώδους δὲ καὶ ζοφερᾶς τῆς  
 ἡμέρας γενομένης, ἥ τε ὅψις ἕσβεστο τῆς ἐπι-  
 δείξεως, καὶ τὰ τοξεύματα πάντα ἀμβλύτερα  
 ἦν ὡς ἐν ἀέρι ὑγρῷ καὶ σκοτεινῷ. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ  
 κατεῖδεν Εὔμενης, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων κατεφρόνησε,  
 τὴν δὲ ρύμην τῶν ἀρμάτων τεταγμένων ἐφ'  
 ἑαυτὸν μάλιστα δείσας, ὅσοι ἦσαν αὐτῷ σφευ-  
 δονῆται καὶ ἀκοντισταὶ καὶ ἔτεροι κοῦφοι, συνα-  
 γαγὼν προσέταξε, τὰ ἄρματα περιθέοντας,  
 ἐς τοὺς ἵππους ἀκοντίζειν ἀντὶ τῶν ἐπιβα-  
 τῶν· ἵππου γὰρ ἐν ἄρματι ζυγομαχοῦντος ἀχρεῖον  
 τὸ λοιπὸν ἄρμα γίγνεται, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ τῆς  
 ἄλλης εὐταξίας παραλύεται, τὰ δρέπανα τῶν  
 φιλίων δεδιότων. ὁ καὶ τότε συνηνέχθη γενέ-  
 σθαι πληγέντων γὰρ τῶν ἵππων ἀθρόως, καὶ τὰ

## THE SYRIAN WARS

throwers, archers, javelin-throwers, and peltasts from CHAP.  
VI  
Phrygia, Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, Crete, Tralles,  
and Cilicia, armed after the Cretan fashion. There  
were also other mounted archers from the Dahae,  
Mysia, Elymaïs, and Arabia, who, riding on swift  
camels, shoot arrows with dexterity from their high  
position, and use very long thin knives when they  
come to close combat. Antiochus also placed scythe-  
bearing chariots in the space between the armies  
to begin the battle, with orders to retire after the  
first onset.

33. The appearance of his formation was like that b.c. 190  
of two armies, one to begin the fight, the other held Battle of  
in reserve. Each was arranged in a way to strike terror  
into the enemy both by numbers and equipment.  
Antiochus commanded the horse on the right wing in  
person; his son Seleucus commanded the left.  
Philip, the master of the elephants, commanded the  
phalanx, and Mendis and Zeuxis those who were to  
begin the battle. The day was dark and gloomy so  
that the sight of the display was obscured and the aim  
of the missiles of all kinds impaired by the misty and  
murky atmosphere. When Eumenes perceived this  
he disregarded the remainder of the enemy's force,  
and fearing only the onset of the scythe-bearing  
chariots, which were mostly ranged against him, he  
collected the slingers, archers, and other light-armed  
troops under his command, and ordered them to circle  
around the chariots and aim at the horses, instead of  
the drivers; for when a horse drawing a chariot be-  
comes unmanageable, the chariot is of no more use, and  
also considerably impairs the order of the rest of the  
army, who are afraid of the scythes of their own side.  
So it turned out then. The horses being wounded in

CAP. VI. ἄρματα ἐσ τοὺς φίλους περιφερόντων, αἱ τε κάμηλοι πρῶται τῆς ἀταξίας ἡσθάνοντο, πλησίον τοῖς ἄρμασι παρατεταγμέναι, καὶ μετὰ ταύτας ἡ κατάφρακτος ἵππος, οὐ ράδίως ὑπὸ τοῦ βάρους τὰ δρέπανα ἐκφεύγειν δυναμένη. Θόρυβός τε ἦν ἥδη πολὺς καὶ τάραχος ποικίλος, ἀρξάμενος μὲν ἀπὸ τῶνδε μάλιστα, χωρῶν δὲ ἐπὶ ὅλον τὸ μεταίχμιον, καὶ μείζων ὑπόνοια τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς· ὡς γὰρ ἐν διαστήματι μακρῷ καὶ πλήθει πυκνῷ καὶ βοῇ ποικίλῃ καὶ φόβῳ πολλῷ, τὸ μὲν ἀκριβὲς οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀγχοῦ τῶν πασχόντων καταληπτὸν ἦν, τὴν δὲ ὑπόνοιαν μειζόνως ἐσ τοὺς ἔξῆς ἔκαστοι μετέφερον.

34. 'Ο δ' Εὔμενης, ἐπεὶ τὰ πρῶτα καλῶς ἐπέπρακτο αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸ μεταίχμιον, ὃσον αἱ τε κάμηλοι καὶ τὰ ἄρματα ἐπεῖχεν, ἐγεγύμνωτο, τοὺς ἴδιους ἵππέας, καὶ ὃσοι Ῥωμαίων αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰταλῶν παρετετάχατο, ἐπῆγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀντικρὺ Γαλάτας τε καὶ Καππαδόκας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην σύνοδον τῶν ξένων, μέγα κεκραγώς καὶ παρακαλῶν ἐπὶ ἄνδρας ἀπείρους τε μάχης καὶ γεγυμνωμένους τῶν προπολεμούντων. οἱ δ' ἐπείθοντο, καὶ βαρείας σφῶν τῆς ἐμβολῆς γενομένης τρέπονται τούτους τε καὶ τοὺς παρεζευγμένους αὐτοῖς ἵππέας τε καὶ καταφράκτους, ἐκ πολλοῦ ταρασσομένους διὰ τὰ ἄρματα· οὓς δὴ καὶ μάλιστα, διὰ τὸ βάρος ὑποφεύγειν ἡ ἀναστρέφειν εύμαρῶς οὐ δυναμένους, κατελάμβανόν τε καὶ συνέκοπτον. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν περὶ τὸ λαιὸν τῆς φάλαγγος τῶν Μακεδόνων· ἐν δεξιᾷ δέ, ἥπερ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἐτέτακτο, διακόψας τὸ σύνταγμα τῆς Ῥωμαίων φάλαγγος ἀπέσπασεν ἐπὶ πολὺ διώκων.

## THE SYRIAN WARS

great numbers charged with their chariots upon their own ranks. The camels were thrown into disorder first as they were next in line to the chariots, and after them the mail-clad horse, who could not easily avoid the scythes on account of the weight of their armour. Great now was the tumult and various the disorder started chiefly by these runaways and spreading along the whole field, the apprehension being even worse than the fact. For on that extensive and crowded battlefield, in the midst of confused cries and utter panic, the truth was not clearly grasped even by those near the danger, and each transmitted the alarm constantly magnified to those next them.

34. Eumenes, having succeeded admirably in his first attempt and cleared the ground held by the camels and chariots, led his own horse and those of the Romans and Italians in his division against the Galatians, the Cappadocians, and the other contingent of mercenaries opposed to him, cheering loudly and exhorting them to have no fear of these inexperienced men who had been deprived of their advance supports. They obeyed him and made so heavy a charge that they put to flight not only those, but the adjoining squadrons and the mail-clad horse, who had long ago been thrown into disorder by the chariots. These horsemen especially, unable to turn and fly quickly, on account of the weight of their armour, were overtaken and killed. While this was the state of affairs on the left of the Macedonian phalanx, Antiochus, on the right, broke through the Roman line of battle, divided it, and pursued it for a long distance.

VI

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XI

**CAP. VI.** *Kai ἡ φάλαγξ ἡ τῶν Μακεδόνων, τεταγμένη  
 μέν, ὡς μεθ' ἵππεων, ἐπὶ στενοῦ τε καὶ τετρα-  
 γώνου, γεγυμνωμένη δὲ τῶν ἵππεων ἑκατέρωθεν,  
 τοὺς μὲν ψιλοὺς τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου σφῶν ἔτι  
 προπολεμοῦντας διαστᾶσα ἐς αὐτὴν ἐδέξατο καὶ  
 πάλιν συνήει, Δομιτίου δ' αὐτὴν ἵππεῦσι πολ-  
 λοῖς καὶ ψιλοῖς εὑμαρῶς, οἷα πλινθίον πυκνόν,  
 κυκλώσαντος, οὕτ' ἐκδραμεῖν ἔτι ἔχουσα οὕτ'  
 ἐξελίξαι βάθος οὗτω πολύ, μάλα καρτερῶς ἐκακο-  
 πάθει. καὶ ἡγανάκτουν αὐτοὶ μὲν ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις  
 οὐδὲν ἔχοντες ἔτι χρῆσθαι, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις  
 εὐβλητοι καὶ ἐπιτυχεῖς πανταχόθεν ὄντες. ὅμως  
 δὲ τὰς σαρίσσας ἐκ τετραγώνου προβαλλόμενοι  
 πυκνὰς προύκαλοῦντο Ῥωμαίους ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν,  
 καὶ δόξαν ἐπιβανόντων ἀεὶ παρεῖχον. οὐ μίν τι  
 προεπήδων, πεζοί τε καὶ βαρεῖς ὄντες ὑπὸ τῶν  
 ὅπλων, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ ἵππων ὄρωντες,  
 μάλιστα δὲ ἵνα μὴ τὸ τῆς τάξεως πυκνὸν ἐκλύ-  
 σειαν· μετατάξασθαι γὰρ ἐτέρως οὐκ ἔφθανον.  
 Ῥωμαῖοι δ' αὐτοῖς οὐ προσεπέλαζον μέν, οὐδὲν ἐς  
 χεῖρας ἤεσαν, δεδιότες ἀνδρῶν ἡσκημένων ἐμ-  
 πειρίαν τε καὶ πυκνότητα καὶ ἀπόγυνωσιν, περι-  
 θέοντες δὲ ἐσηκόντιζόν τε καὶ ἐσετόξευον. καὶ  
 οὐδὲν ἦν ἀχρεῖον ὡς ἐν ὀλίγῳ πολλῶν συνεστώτων.  
 οὐ γὰρ εἶχον οὔτε ἐκκλῖναι τὰ βαλλόμενα οὔτε  
 φερομένοις διαστῆναι. ὅθεν ἥδη πολλὰ κάμνοντες  
 ἐνεδίδοσαν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας, καὶ βάδην ὑπεχώρουν  
 σὺν ἀπειλῇ, πάνυ εὐσταθῶς καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπι-  
 φόβως· οὐδὲ γὰρ τότε προσπελάζειν αὐτοῖς ἐτόλμων,  
 ἀλλὰ περιθέοντες ἐβλαπτον, μέχρι, τῶν ἐλεφάν-  
 των ἐν τῇ Μακεδόνων φύλαγγι συνταραχθέντων*

## THE SYRIAN WARS

35. The Macedonian phalanx had been drawn up in CHAP.  
VI  
a close rectangle, as it was flanked by horse, but, when denuded of cavalry on either side, had opened to receive the light-armed troops, who had been skirmishing in front, and closed again. Thus crowded together in a rectangle, Domitius easily enclosed them with his numerous cavalry and light-armed troops. Having no longer opportunity either to charge or to deploy their dense mass they began to suffer severely ; and they were indignant that they were themselves unable to adopt their accustomed tactics, while they were exposed on all sides to the weapons of the enemy. Nevertheless, they presented their thick-set pikes on all four sides. They challenged the Romans to close combat and preserved at all times the appearance of being about to charge. Yet they did not advance, because they were foot-soldiers and heavily armed, and saw that the enemy were mounted. Most of all they feared to relax their close formation, which they had not time to change. The Romans did not come to close quarters nor approach them because they feared the discipline, the solidity, and the desperation of this veteran corps ; but circled around them and assailed them with javelins and arrows, none of which missed their mark in the dense mass, who could neither turn the missiles aside nor open ranks and avoid them. After suffering severely in this way they yielded to necessity, and fell back step by step, with threats, in perfect order and still formidable to the Romans, who even then did not venture to close with them, but continued to circle around and wound them, until the elephants inside the Mace-

The Macedonian phalanx broken

# APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XI

CAP. VI τε καὶ οὐχ ὑπακουόντων ἔτι τοῖς ἐπιβάταις, ὁ  
κόσμος ὁ τῆς φυγῆς συνεχεῖτο.

36. Καὶ ταύτη μὲν ὁ Δομίτιος ἐκράτει, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦ Ἀντίοχου φθάσας ἐβιάζετο τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ φυλάσσοντας· ὁ δὲ Ἀντίοχος ἐς πολὺ διώκων παρ' εὑς ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς φάλαγγος ἐτέτακτο, οὐδενὸς οὐδ' ἐκείνοις ἵππεων ἡ ψιλοῦ παρόντος ἐς ἐπικουρίαν (οὐ γὰρ παρετετάχει Δομίτιος, ἥγονύμενος οὐ δεήσεσθαι διὰ τὸν ποταμόν), μέχρι τοῦ Ῥωμαίων χάρακος ἥλθεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ὅ τε χιλίαρχος ὁ τοῦ χάρακος φύλαξ, ἀκμῆσι τοῖς φύλαξιν ὑπαντιάσας, ἐπέσχε τῆς ὄρμῆς καὶ οἱ φεύγοντες τοῖς ἀναμιχθεῖσι θαρροῦντες ἐπεστρέφοντο, ἐπανήει σοβαρὸς ὁ Ἀντίοχος ὡς ἐπὶ νίκη, οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐπὶ θάτερα πεπυσμένος. "Ἄτταλος δ' αὐτόν, ὁ Εὔμενος ἀδελφός, ἵππευσι πολλοῖς ὑπαντιάζει. καὶ τούσδε μὲν εὐμαρῶς ὁ Ἀντίοχος διακόψας διέδραμε, καὶ παρατρεχόντων ἔτι καὶ μικρὰ λυπούντων οὐκ ἐφρόντιζεν· ὡς δὲ κατεῖδε τὴν ἥπταν καὶ τὸ πεδίον ἄπαι τεκρῶν ἴδιων πλῆρες, ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων καὶ ἐλεφάντων, τό τε στρατόπεδον εἰλημμένον ἦδη κατὰ κράτος, τότε δὴ καὶ ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἔφυγεν ἀμεταστρεπτί, καὶ μέχρι μέσων νυκτῶν ἐς Σάρδεις παρῆλθεν. παρῆλθε δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ Σάρδεων ἐς Κελαινάς, ἦν Ἀπάμειαν καλοῦσιν, οἱ τὸν νίὸν ἐπυνθάνετο συμφυγεῖν. τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης ἐς Συρίαν ἐκ Κελαινῶν ἀνεζεύγνυ, τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐν Κελαιναῖς καταλιπὼν ὑποδέχεσθαι τε καὶ ἀθροίζειν τοὺς διαφυγότας. περὶ τε καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου πρέσβεις ἐπεμπε πρὸς τὸν ὑπατον. ὁ δὲ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἔθαπτε, καὶ ἐσκύλευε τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα συνῆγεν. ἐφάν-

## THE SYRIAN WARS

donian phalanx became excited and unmanageable. CHAP.  
VI  
Then the phalanx broke into disorderly flight.

36. After he had gained this success, Domitius hastened to the camp of Antiochus and overpowered the forces guarding it. In the meantime Antiochus, after pursuing for a long distance that part of the Roman legionaries opposed to him, who also were unsupported either by cavalry or by light-armed troops (for Domitius, thinking that the river afforded sufficient protection, had not provided any) came to the Roman camp. But a military tribune, the prefect of the camp, hastened to meet him with his fresh troops and checked his advance, and the fugitives took new courage from their comrades and rallied. The king returned proudly as one who had gained a victory, knowing nothing of what had taken place on the other wing. When Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, with a large body of horse, threw himself in his way, Antiochus easily cut through them, disregarding the enemy, who moved parallel to him and did a little damage. But when he discovered his defeat and saw the field of battle strewn with the bodies of his own men, horses, and elephants, and his camp already captured, he fled precipitately, arriving at Sardis about midnight. From Sardis he went to the town Celaenae, which they call Apamea, whither he had been informed that his son had fled. On the following day he retreated to Syria, leaving his officers in Celaenae to collect the remains of his army. He also sent ambassadors to the consul to treat for peace. The latter was engaged in burying his own dead, stripping those of the enemy, and collecting

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XI

CAP. ησαν δὲ νεκροὶ Ῥωμαίων μὲν τῶν ἐξ ἄστεος ἵππεῖς  
 VI εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρες καὶ πεζοὶ τριακόσιοι μάλιστα,  
 οὓς ὁ Ἀντιόχος ἔκτεινεν, Εὔμενους δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα  
 ἵππεῖς μόνοι. Ἀντιόχου δέ, σὺν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις  
 εἰκάζοντο ἀπολέσθαι περὶ πεντακισμυρίους· οὐ  
 γὰρ εὔμαρες ἦν ἀριθμῆσαι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος. καὶ  
 τῶν ἐλεφάντων οἱ μὲν ἀνήρηντο, πεντεκαίδεκα δ'  
 αἰχμαλώτοι ἐγεγένητο.

### VII

CAP. 37. Ὡς δ' ἐπὶ νίκη λαμπροτάτη καὶ παραλόγως  
 VII τισὶ δοκούσῃ γενέσθαι (οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς ἐνόμιζον  
 ὀλιγωτέρους πολὺ πλειόνων ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ γῇ παρὰ  
 τοσόνδε κρατῆσαι, καὶ μάλιστα φάλαγγος Μακε-  
 δόνων, εὖ γεγυμνασμένης καὶ εὐανδρούστης τότε  
 μάλιστα, καὶ δόξαν ἄμαχόν τε καὶ φοβερὰν  
 ἔχούσης), οἱ μὲν Ἀντιόχου φίλοι τὴν προπέτειαν  
 αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐς Ῥωμαίους διαφορᾶς καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 ἀπειρίαν τε καὶ ἀβονλίαν ἐπεμέμφοιτο, Χερρό-  
 νησόν τε καὶ Λυσιμάχειαν αὐτοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ  
 τοσῆδε παρασκευῆ μεθέντος ἐκ χειρῶν πρὶν καὶ ἐς  
 πεῖραν ἐλθεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἐλλησ-  
 πόντου φυλακὴν ἐκλιπόντος, Ῥωμαίων οὐκ ἀν  
 εὔμαρῶς ἐλπισάντων βιάσασθαι τὴν διάβασιν.  
 κατεμέμφοιτο δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τελευταίαν ἀφρο-  
 σύνην, ἀχρεῖον ἐν στενῷ τὸ κράτιστον τοῦ  
 στρατοῦ πεποιηκότος, καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα θεμένου  
 ἐν πλήθει συγκλύδων ἀνδρῶν ἀρτιπολέμων μᾶλλον  
 ἢ ἐν ἀνδράσι διὰ μελέτην καὶ χρόνου ἐργάταις τε  
 οὖσι πολέμου καὶ ἐκ τοσῶνδε πολέμων τὸ  
 φρόνημα ἐς εὐτολμίαν καὶ θάρσος ηὔξημένοις.

## THE SYRIAN WARS

prisoners. Of the Roman dead there were found CHAP.  
twenty-four horsemen and about 300 foot-soldiers VI  
from Rome, being mostly those whom Antiochus  
had slain. Eumenes lost only fifteen of his horse.  
The loss of Antiochus, including prisoners, was con-  
jectured to be 50,000; for it was not easy to number  
them on account of their multitude. Some of his  
elephants were killed and fifteen were captured.

## VII

37. AFTER this brilliant, and to many people sur- CHAP.  
prising victory (for it did not seem at all likely VII  
that the smaller force, fighting in a strange land,  
would overcome a much larger one so completely,  
Antiochus  
sues for  
peace  
and especially the Macedonian phalanx which was  
then in a high state of discipline and valour, and had  
the reputation of being formidable and invincible),  
the friends of Antiochus began to blame him for his  
rashness in quarrelling with the Romans and for his  
want of skill and his bad judgment from the  
beginning. They blamed him for giving up the  
Chersonesus and Lysimacheia with their arms and  
war material without even coming to blows with the  
enemy, and for leaving the Hellespont unguarded,  
seeing that the Romans could not have hoped to  
force a passage easily. They accused him of his latest  
blunder in rendering the strongest part of his army  
useless by its cramped position, and for putting his  
reliance on a promiscuous multitude of raw recruits  
rather than on men who had become by long  
training professional fighters, and whose spirit had  
been hardened and emboldened by many wars.

CAP. τοιαῦτα μὲν ἦν τὰ περὶ Ἀντιόχου λογοποιούμενα,  
 VII 'Ρωμαίοις δ' ἐπῆρτο τὰ φρουράματα, καὶ οὐδὲν  
 ἔτι σφίσιν ἥγοῦντο εἶναι δυσεργὲς ὑπό τε ἀρετῆς  
 καὶ θεῶν ἐπικουρίας· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐς δόξαν  
 εὐτυχίας ἔφερεν ὅτι οὕτω γε ὀλίγοι τε πολλῶν καὶ  
 ἐξ ἐφόδου καὶ ἐν πρώτῃ μάχῃ καὶ ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ γῇ  
 τοσῶνδε ἔθνῶν καὶ παρασκευῆς βασιλικῆς, καὶ βα-  
 σιλέως αὐτοῦ μεγίστην τε ἀρχὴν κεκτημένου καὶ  
 ἐπίκλησιν μεγάλου, κεκρατηκότες ἡσαν ἡμέρᾳ  
 μιᾶ. πολύ τε σφίσιν ἦν τὸ ἔπος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις,  
 "ἦν βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος ὁ μέγας."

38. Τοιάδε μὲν δὴ καὶ 'Ρωμαῖοι περὶ σφῶν  
 ἐμεγαλαύχουν· ὁ δὲ ὑπατος, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ ῥαΐσας ὁ  
 ἀδελφὸς Πόπλιος ἥλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐλαίας, ἐχρη-  
 μάτιζε τοῖς Ἀντιόχου πρέσβεσιν. οἱ μὲν δὴ  
 μαθεῖν ἤξιον ὁ τι ποιῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος  
 ἔσται 'Ρωμαίοις φίλος· ὁ δὲ Πόπλιος αὐτοῖς ὥδε  
 ἀπεκρίνατο· "αἴτιος μὲν αὐτῷ διὰ πλεονεξίαν  
 Ἀντίοχος καὶ τῶν νῦν καὶ τῶν πρότερον γεγονό-  
 των, ὃς ἀρχὴν μεγίστην ἔχων τε, καὶ 'Ρωμαίων  
 αὐτὸν ἐώντων ἔχειν, Πτολεμαίου συγγενοῦς ἴδιου  
 καὶ 'Ρωμαίοις φίλου Συρίαν τὴν κοίλην ἀφείλετο,  
 καὶ ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσήκουσαν  
 ἐμβαλὼν Θράκην κατεστρέφετο καὶ Χερρόνησον  
 ὠχύρους καὶ Λυσιμάχειαν ἤγειρεν, ἐς τε τὴν  
 Ἑλλάδα διελθὼν ἐδουλοῦτο τοὺς Ἑλληνας ὑπὸ  
 'Ρωμαίων ἄρτι αὐτονόμους ἀφειμένους, μέχρι περὶ  
 Θερμοπύλας ἥττήθη μάχῃ. καὶ φυγὼν οὐδὲν  
 ἔληξε τῆς πλεονεξίας, ἀλλὰ καν τῇ θαλάττῃ

## THE SYRIAN WARS

While these discussions were going on among the friends of Antiochus, the Romans were in high spirits and considered no tasks now too hard for them, thanks to the favour of the gods and their own courage ; for it brought them great confidence in their own good fortune that such a small number, in the first battle and at the first assault, in a foreign country, should have overcome a much greater number, composed of so many peoples, with all the royal resources, including valiant mercenaries and the renowned Macedonian phalanx, and the king himself, ruler of that vast empire and surnamed the Great,—all in a single day. It became a common saying among them, “There *was* a king—Antiochus the Great !”

38. While the Romans were thus boasting about their achievements, the consul, his brother, Publius, having recovered his health and returned from Elaea, gave audience to Antiochus’ ambassadors. These wanted to know on what terms Antiochus could be a friend of the Roman people. To them Scipio’s Publius made the following reply : “The grasping nature of Antiochus has been the cause of his present and past misfortunes. While he was the possessor of a vast empire, to which the Romans did not object, he seized Coele-Syria, which belonged to Ptolemy, his own relative and our friend. Then he invaded Europe, which did not concern him, subjugated Thrace, fortified the Chersonesus, and rebuilt Lysimacheia. He passed thence into Greece and took away the liberty of the people whom the Romans had lately freed, and kept on his course till he was defeated in battle at Thermopylae, and put to flight. Even then he did not abandon

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XI

CAP. πολλάκις ἐλαττωθεὶς σπουδῶν μέν, ἄρτι τὸν  
 VII Ἐλλήσποντον ἡμῶν πεπερακότων, ἐδεήθη, διὰ δὲ  
 ὑπεροψίαν τὰ προτεινόμενα ὑπερεῖδε, καὶ στρά-  
 τευμα αὐθις πολὺ καὶ παρασκευὴν ἅπειρον ἐφ'  
 ἡμᾶς συναγαγὼν ἐπολέμει, Βιαζόμενος ἐς πεῖραν  
 ἐλθεῖν τοῖς ἀμείνοσι, μέχρι συνηνέχθη μεγάλῳ  
 κακῷ. ἡμᾶς δὲ εἰκὸς μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ μείζονα τὴν  
 ξημίαν ἐπιθεῖναι, βιασαμένῳ πολλάκις Ῥωμαίοις  
 ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν· ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑβρίζομεν ταῖς  
 εὐπραξίαις, οὐδ' ἐπιβαροῦμεν τοῖς ἐτέρων ἀτυχή-  
 μασιν. δίδομεν δὲ ὅσα καὶ πρότερον αὐτῷ  
 προύτείνομεν, μικρὰ ἄττα προσθέντες, ὅσα καὶ  
 ἡμῖν ἔσται χρήσιμα καὶ αὐτῷ λυσιτελῆ πρὸς τὸ  
 μέλλον ἐς ἀσφάλειαν, ἀπέχεσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν τῆς  
 Εὐρώπης ὅλης καὶ Ἀσίας τῶν ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ  
 Ταύρου (καὶ τούτοις ὅροι τεθήσονται), παραδοῦναι  
 δ' ἐλέφαντας ὅσους ἔχει καὶ ναῦς ὅσας ἀν ἐπιτά-  
 ξωμεν, ἐς τε λοιπὸν ἐλέφαντας μὲν οὐκ ἔχειν, ναῦς  
 δὲ ὅσας ἀν ὁρίσωμεν, δοῦναι δὲ καὶ εἴκοσιν  
 ὅμηρα, ἢ ἀν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐπιγράψῃ, καὶ χρήματα  
 ἐς τὴν τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου δαπάνην, δι' αὐτὸι  
 γενομένου, τάλαντα Εὐβοϊκὰ αὐτίκα μὲν ἥδη  
 πεντακόσια, καὶ ὅταν τάσδε τὰς σπουδὰς ἡ  
 σύγκλητος ἐπιψηφίσῃ, δισχίλια καὶ πεντακόσια,  
 δώδεκα δ' ἔτεσιν ἄλλοις ἔτερα μύρια καὶ δισχίλια,  
 τὸ μέρος ἑκάστου ἔτους ἀναφέροντα ἐς Ῥώμην·  
 ἀποδοῦναι δ' ἡμῖν αἰχμάλωτα καὶ αὐτόμολα  
 πάντα, καὶ Εὔμενει ὅσα λοιπὰ τῆς πρὸς Ἀτταλον  
 τὸν Εὔμενους πατέρα συνθήκης ἔχει. ταῦτα  
 Ἀντιόχῳ πράττοντι ἀδόλως δίδομεν εἰρήνην τε  
 καὶ φιλίαν, ὅταν ἡ σύγκλητος ἐπιψηφίσῃ.”

39. Τοσάδε προύτεινεν ὁ Σκιπίων, καὶ πάντα

## THE SYRIAN WARS

his grasping policy, for, although frequently beaten at sea, he did not seek peace until we had crossed the Hellespont. Then he scornfully rejected the conditions offered to him, and again collecting a vast army and countless supplies, he continued the war against us, determined to come to an engagement with his betters, until he met with this great calamity. We might properly impose a severer punishment on him for his obstinacy in fighting us so persistently : but we are not accustomed to abuse our own prosperity or to aggravate the misfortunes of others. We offer him the same conditions as before, making some small additions which will be advantageous to us and conducive to his own future security. He must abandon Europe altogether and all of Asia this side of the Taurus, the boundaries to be fixed hereafter ; he shall surrender all the elephants he has, and such number of ships as we may prescribe, and for the future keep no elephants and only so many ships as we allow ; he shall give twenty hostages, whom the consul will select, and pay for the cost of the present war, incurred on his account, 500 Euboic talents down and 2500 more when the Senate ratifies the treaty ; and 12,000 more during twelve years, each yearly instalment to be delivered in Rome. He shall also surrender to us all prisoners and deserters, and to Eumenes whatever remains of the possessions he acquired by his agreement with Attalus, the father of Eumenes. If Antiochus accepts these conditions without guile we offer him peace and friendship subject to the Senate's ratification."

39. All the terms offered by Scipio were accepted Treaty ratified

CAP. έδέχοντο οἱ πρέσβεις. τὸ τε μέρος αὐτίκα τῷ  
 VII χρημάτων καὶ τὰ εἴκοσιν ὅμηρα ἐκομίζετο, καὶ ἦν  
 αὐτῶν Ἀντίοχος οὐ νεώτερος νιὸς Ἀντιόχου. ἐς δὲ  
 τὴν Ῥώμην οὗ τε Σκιπίωνες καὶ ὁ Ἀντίοχος  
 πρέσβεις ἔπειπον, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις  
 συνετίθεντο. καὶ ἐγράφοντο συνθῆκαι τοὺς  
 Σκιπίωνος λόγους βεβαιοῦσαί τε καὶ περὶ τῶν  
 ἀορίστων ἐπιλέγουσαι, καὶ βραχέα ἄττα προσ-  
 επιλαμβάνουσαι, ὅρον μὲν Ἀντιόχῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς  
 εἶναι δύο ἄκρας, Καλύκαδνόν τε καὶ Σαρπηδόνιον,  
 καὶ τάσδε μὴ παραπλεῦν Ἀντίοχον ἐπὶ πολέμῳ,  
 ναῦς δὲ καταφράκτους ἔχειν δώδεκα μόνας, αἰς ἐς  
 τοὺς ὑπηκόους πολέμου κατάρχειν· πολεμούμενον  
 δὲ καὶ πλέοσι χρῆσθαι· μηδένα δ' ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων  
 ξενολογεῖν, μηδὲ φυγάδας ἐξ αὐτῆς ὑποδέχεσθαι,  
 καὶ τὰ ὅμηρα διὰ τριετίας ἐναλλάσσειν, χωρίς γε  
 τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀντιόχου. ταῦτα συγγραψάμενοί τε  
 καὶ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐς δέλτους χαλκᾶς ἀνα-  
 θέντες, οὖν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας συνθήκας ἀνατιθέασιν,  
 ἔπειπον ἀντίγραφα Μαλλίῳ Οὐούλσωνι τῷ  
 διαδεδεγμένῳ τὴν Σκιπίωνος στρατηγίαν. ὁ δέ  
 ὅμνυ τοῦς Ἀντιόχου πρέσβεσι περὶ Ἀπάμειαν  
 τῆς Φρυγίας, καὶ ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἐπὶ τοῦτο πεμφθέντι  
 Θέρμῳ χιλιάρχῳ. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ Ἀντιόχῳ μεγάλῳ  
 τοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πολέμου τέλος ἦν. καὶ ἐδόκει  
 μέχρι τοῦτο προελθεῖν μόνου διὰ χάριν τὴν ἐς τὸν  
 παῖδα τὸν Σκιπίωνος Ἀντιόχῳ γενομένην.

40. Καί τινες τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἐπανελθόντα διέβαλ-  
 λον ἐπὶ τῷδε, καὶ δήμαρχοι δύο δωροδοκίας αὐτὸν  
 ἐγράψαντο καὶ προδοσίας. ὁ δὲ ἀδοξῶν καὶ ὑπερο-  
 ρῶν τοῦ ἐγκλήματος, ἐπεὶ συνῆλθε τὸ δικαστήριον

## THE SYRIAN WARS

by the ambassadors. That part of the money which CHAP  
was to be paid down, and the twenty hostages, were VII  
furnished. Among the latter was Antiochus, the  
younger son of Antiochus. The Scipios and Antio-  
chus both sent messengers to Rome. The Senate  
ratified their acts, and a treaty was written carrying  
out Scipio's views, detailing what had been left  
indefinite, and making certain slight additions.  
The boundaries of the dominions of Antiochus were  
to be the two promontories of Calycadnus and  
Sarpedonium, beyond which he should not sail for  
purposes of war. He should have only twelve  
decked ships with which to commence war against  
his subjects, but he might have more if he were  
attacked first. He should not recruit mercenaries  
from Roman territory nor entertain fugitives from  
the same, and the hostages should be changed every  
third year, except the son of Antiochus. This B.C. 189  
treaty was engraved on brazen tablets and deposited  
in the Capitol (where it is customary to deposit such  
treaties), and a copy of it was sent to Manlius Vulso,  
Scipio's successor in the command. He administered  
the oath to the ambassadors of Antiochus at Apamea  
in Phrygia, and Antiochus did the same to the  
tribune, Thermus, who was sent for this purpose.  
This was the end of the war between Antiochus the  
Great and the Romans, and some thought that it was  
by reason of the favour extended by Antiochus to  
Scipio's son that it went no farther.

40. When Scipio returned, some persons accused him of this, and two tribunes of the people brought a charge of corruption and treason against him. He made light of it and scorned the accusation, and as his trial was fixed for the day which happened to

B.C. 187  
Accusation  
against  
Scipio

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XI

CAP. <sup>VII</sup> ἡς ἡμέρας ποτὲ Καρχηδόνα παρεστήσατο, θυσίαν  
 προύπεμψεν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, καὶ ἐς τὸ δικα-  
 στήριον αὐτὸς παρῆλθεν ἐπὶ λαμπροῦ σχῆματος  
 ἀντὶ οἰκτροῦ καὶ ταπεινοῦ τῶν ὑπευθύνων, ὡς  
 εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷδε πάντας ἐκπλῆξαι τε καὶ ἐς εὔνοιαν,  
 ὡς ἐπὶ χρηστῷ δὴ συνειδότι μεγαλοφρονούμενον,  
 προσαγαγέσθαι. λέγειν δὲ ἀρξάμενος τῆς μὲν  
 κατηγορίας οὐδ' ἐπεμνήσθη, τὸν δὲ βίον ἑαυτοῦ  
 καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα καὶ ἔργα πάντα ἐπεξήει, καὶ  
 πολέμους ὅσους ἐπολέμησεν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος,  
 καὶ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ὡς ἐπολέμησεν, ὁσάκις τε  
 ἐνίκησεν, ὡς ἐγγενέσθαι τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις τι καὶ  
 ήδονῆς διὰ τὴν ἴστορίαν τῆς σεμνολογίας. ἐπεὶ  
 δέ ποτε προῆλθεν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα, ἐξάρας ἐς  
 φαντασίαν τάδε μάλιστα, καὶ ὄρμῆς αὐτὸς τε  
 ἐμπλησθεὶς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐμπλιγασ, εἰπεν ὅτι  
 τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας ἐγὼ τάδε ἐνίκων καὶ Καρχηδόνα  
 ὑμῖν, ὃ πολίται, περιεποίουν, τὴν τέως ὑμῖν ἐπι-  
 φοβωτάτην. ἅπειμι δὴ θύσων τῆς ἡμέρας ἐς τὸ  
 Καπιτώλιον· καὶ ὑμῶν ὅσοι φιλοπόλιδες, τῆς  
 θυσίας μοι, γιγνομένης ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν συνάψασθε.  
 ταῦτα ἔφη, καὶ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἔθει, μηδὲν τῆς  
 δίκης φροντίσας. εἴπετο δ' αὐτῷ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ  
 οἱ πλέονες τῶν δικαστῶν σὺν εὐφήμῳ βοῇ, καὶ  
 θύοντι ὅμοια ἐπεφώνουν. οἱ κατήγοροι δὲ ἡπο-  
 ροῦντο, καὶ οὕτε αὐτῷ τὴν δίκην αὐθις ὡς ἀτέλε-  
 στον ἐτόλμησαν ἐπιγράψαι, οὕτε μέμψασθαι  
 δημοκοπίας, δυνατώτερον αὐτοῦ τὸν βίον εἰδότες  
 ὑπονοίας τε καὶ διαβολῆς.

## THE SYRIAN WARS

be the anniversary of his victory over Carthage, he sent victims for sacrifice to the Capitol in advance of his coming, and then made his appearance in court clad in festive garments instead of the mournful and humble garb customary to those under accusation, whereby he at once made a profound impression on all and predisposed them favourably as to a high-minded citizen conscious of his own rectitude. When he began to speak he did not even mention the accusation against him, but detailed the events of his life, what he had done, the wars he had waged for his country, how he had carried on each, and how often he had been victorious. They listened with actual pleasure to this proud narration. When he came to the overthrow of Carthage he was roused to the highest pitch of eloquence and filled the multitude, as well as himself, with enthusiasm, saying, "On this very day, O citizens, I won the victory and laid at your feet Carthage, that had lately been such an object of terror to you. Now I am going up to the Capitol to offer the sacrifice appointed for the day. As many of you as love your country join me in the sacrifice, which is offered on your behalf." Having finished his speech he hastened to the Capitol, having ignored the charge against him. The crowd, including most of the judges, followed him, with joyful acclamations, which were continued while he was performing the sacrifice. The accusers were at a loss, and did not dare to call him to trial again, on the ground that the case had not been fully tried, or to charge him with demagogism, because they knew that his whole life was stronger than suspicion or calumny.

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XI

CAP.  
VII. 41. Ο μὲν δὴ Σκιπίων ὥδε ἐγκλήματος ἀναξίοι  
 τῶν βεβιωμένων οἱ κατεφρόνησε, σοφώτερον, ἐμοὶ  
 δοκεῖν, Ἀριστείδου περὶ κλοπῆς καὶ Σωκράτους  
 περὶ ὃν ἐνεκαλεῖτο οὐδὲν εἰπόντων ὑπ' ἀδοξίας  
 ὅμοίας, ἡ Σωκράτους εἰπόντος ἢ δοκεῖν Πλάτωνι,  
 μεγαλοφρονέστερον δὲ ἄρα καὶ Ἐπαμεινώνδου, ὃς  
 ἐβοιωτάρχει μὲν ἄμα Πελοπίδᾳ καὶ ἔτερῳ, ἐξέ-  
 πεμψαν δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ Θηβαῖοι, στρατὸν ἐκάστῳ  
 δόντες, ἐπικουρεῦν Ἀρκάσι καὶ Μεσσηνίοις πολε-  
 μουμένοις ὑπὸ Λακώνων, οὕπω δὲ ὅσα ἐπενόουν  
 ἐργασαμένους ἐπὶ διαβολῇ μετεκάλουν. οἱ δὲ  
 τοῖς διαδόχοις σφῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ μῆνας ἐξ οὐ  
 μεθῆκαν, ἕως τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρούρια καθεῖλον  
 καὶ ἐπέστησαν αὐθις ἔτερα τῶν Ἀρκάδων, Ἐπα-  
 μεινώνδου τοὺς συστρατήγους ἐς τοῦτο ἀναγκά-  
 ζοντός τε, καὶ ὑποδεχομένου τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῖς  
 ἀξήμιον ἔσεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπανελθοῦσιν  
 οἱ κατήγοροι, καθ' ἓνα διώκοντες, ἐτιμῶντο θανά-  
 του (θανάτῳ γὰρ ὁ νόμος ἐξημίου τὸν ἐκ βίας  
 ἀρχὴν ἄρξαντα ἀλλοτρίαν), οἱ μὲν ἔτεροι διέφυγον  
 οἴκτῳ τε χρώμενοι καὶ λόγοις πλείοσι, καὶ τὴν  
 αἰτίαν ἐς τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ἀναφέροντες, αὐτὸν  
 οὕτω λέγειν ὑποθέμενον αὐτοῖς καὶ λέγουσιν  
 ἐπιμαρτυροῦντα· ὁ δὲ κρινόμενος τελευταῖος “ὅμο-  
 λογῷ,” ἔφη, “παρανόμως ἄρξαι τόνδε τὸν χρόνον,  
 καὶ οὓς ἀπελύσατε νῦν, ἐγὼ συναναγκάσαι. καὶ  
 οὐ παραιτοῦμαι τὸν θάνατον παρανομήσας. αἰτῶ  
 δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀντὶ τῶν προβεβιωμένων μοι κατὰ τὸν  
 τύφον ἐπιγράψαι· “οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ περὶ Λεύκτρα  
 νικήσας καὶ τὴν πατρίδα, τοὺς ἔχθροὺς οὐχ

## THE SYRIAN WARS

41. In this way Scipio showed his contempt for an CHAP.  
accusation unworthy of his career, acting more wisely,  
as I think, than Aristides when charged with theft, or  
Socrates when accused as he was ; for each of these  
under a like calumny made no reply, unless Socrates  
said what Plato makes him say. He displayed too B.C. 369  
a loftier spirit than Epaminondas, when he held Similar to  
the office of Boeotarch with Pelopidas and one other. <sup>the case of Epaminondas</sup>  
The Thebans gave each of them an army and sent  
them to assist the Arcadians and Messenians, in war  
against the Lacedaemonians, but recalled them on  
account of certain calumnies, before they had accom-  
plished what they intended to do. Yet they did  
not hand over the command to their successors for  
six months, nor until they had driven out the Lace-  
daemonian garrisons and substituted Arcadians in  
their places. Epaminondas had compelled his col-  
leagues to take this course and had undertaken that  
they should not be punished. When they returned  
home their accusers prosecuted them separately,  
assessing their penalty at death (for the law made it  
a capital offence to withhold by force a command  
which had been assigned to another), but the other  
two escaped punishment by exciting pity and by  
long speeches, putting the blame on Epaminondas,  
who had authorized them to say this and who  
testified to the truth of their words. He was tried  
last. "I acknowledge," he said, "that I retained  
the command beyond my time, contrary to law, and  
that I coerced those whom you have just acquitted.  
Nor do I deprecate the death penalty, since I have  
broken the law. I only ask, in return for my past  
services, that you inscribe on my tomb, 'Here lies  
the victor of Leuctra. Although his country had

CAP. VII. οὐδένος ἔχοι Λακωνικὸν πῦλον, ἐπὶ τὴν Σπάρτην αὐτὴν προαγαγών. οὗτος ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος ἀνήρηται, παρανομήσας ἐπὶ συμφέροντι τῆς πατρίδος." ταῦτ' εἰπὼν κατέβη τε τοῦ βήματος, καὶ παρεδίδου τὸ σῶμα τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἀπαγαγεῖν. οἱ δικασταὶ δὲ τῷ τε ὀνείδει τοῦ λόγου καὶ θαύματι τῆς ἀπολογίας καὶ αἰδοῖ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπολογουμένου, τὰς ψήφους οὐχ ὑποστάντες λαβεῖν, ἔξεδραμον ἐκ τοῦ δικαστηρίου.

42. Τάδε μὲν δή τις, ως ἐθέλοι, συγκρίνειν ἔχει. Μάλλιος δὲ ὁ τοῦ Σκιτίωνος διάδοχος τὴν ἀφαιρεθεῖσαν Ἀντιόχου γῆν ἐπιών καθίστατο, καὶ Γαλατῶν τῶν Ἀντιόχῳ συμμαχησάντων Τολιστοβοίους, ἀναφυγόντας ἐς τὸν Μύσιον "Ολυμπον, ἐπιμόχθως τοῦ ὅρους ἐπιβὰς ἐτρέπετο φεύγοντας, ἕως ἔκτεινε καὶ κατεκρήμνισεν ὅσους ἄριθμήσασθαι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος οὐκ ἐγένετο, αἰχμαλώτους δὲ ἔλαβεν ἐς τετρακισμυρίους, ὃν τὰ μὲν ὅπλα κατέκαυσε, τὰ δὲ σώματα, οὐ δυνάμενος τοσόνδε πλῆθος ἐν πολέμοις περιάγεσθαι, τοῖς ἐγγὺς βαρβάροις ἀπέδοτο. ἐν δὲ Τεκτοσάγαις τε καὶ Τρόκμοις ἐκινδύνευσε μὲν ἔξ ἐνέδρας, καὶ ἔφυγεν ἐπανελθὼν δὲ ἐς αὐλιζομένους τε καὶ βεβυσμένους ὑπὸ πλήθους περιέστησε τοὺς ψιλοὺς αὐτοῖς, καὶ περιτρέχων ἐκέλευεν ἐσακοντίζειν μήτε προσπλεκομένους μήτε πλησιάζοντας. οὐδενὸς δὲ βέλους ἀτυχοῦντος διὰ τὴν πυκνότητα τῶν πολεμίων, ἔκτεινεν ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους, καὶ ἐδίωξε τοὺς λοιποὺς ὑπὲρ "Αλυν ποταμόν. Ἀριαράθου

## THE SYRIAN WARS

VII

not dared to face this enemy, or even a stranger that CHAP.  
wore the Laconian cap, he led his fellow-citizens to  
the very doors of Sparta. His country put him to  
death for breaking the laws for his country's good.'"  
After saying this he stepped down from the rostrum  
and offered to surrender his person to anyone who  
wished to drag him to punishment. The judges,  
moved by the reproof in his words, by admiration  
for his defence, and by reverence for the man who  
uttered it, did not wait to take the vote, but ran out  
of the court-room. 42. The reader may compare  
these cases together as he likes.

Manlius, who succeeded Scipio as consul, went b.c. 189  
to the countries taken from Antiochus and regulated  
them. The Tolistoboii, one of the Galatian tribes in  
alliance with Antiochus, had taken refuge on Mount  
Olympus in Mysia. With great difficulty Manlius  
ascended the mountain and pursued them as they  
fled until he had killed and hurled over the rocks so  
large a number that it was impossible to count them.  
He took about 40,000 of them prisoners and burned  
their arms, and as it was impossible to take about  
with him so many captives while the war was  
continuing, he sold them to the neighbouring bar-  
barians. Among the Tectosagi and the Trocmi he  
fell into danger by ambush and barely escaped. He  
came back against them, however, and finding them  
packed together in a great crowd in camp sur-  
rounded them with his light-armed troops and rode  
around ordering his men to shoot them at a distance,  
but not to come to close quarters with them. The  
crowd was so dense that no dart missed its mark.  
He killed about 8000 of them and pursued the  
remainder beyond the river Halys. Ariarathes, king

Manlius  
succeeds  
Scipio

CAP. δὲ τοῦ Καππαδοκῶν βασιλέως, καὶ τοῦδε συμμάχους πέμψαντος Ἀντίοχῷ, δεδιότος τε καὶ δεομένου καὶ διακόσια τάλαντα πέμψαντος ἐπὶ τῇ δεήσει τὴν χώραν οὐκ ἐπέδραμεν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον ἐπανῆλθε σὺν γάζῃ τε πολλῇ καὶ χρήμασιν ἀπείροις καὶ λείᾳ βαρυτάτῃ καὶ στρατῷ καταγόμω.

43. Τάδε μὲν καλῶς ἐπέπρακτο τῷ Μαλλίῳ· τὸ δ' ἐντεῦθεν ἀλόγως πάμπαν ὥρᾳ θέρους πλεῦσαι μὲν ὑπερεῖδεν, οὕτε τὸ βάρος ὃν ἐπήγετο ποιησάμενος ἐνθύμιον, οὕτ' ἐπειγόμενος διαπονεῖν ἡ γυμνάζειν ὁδοιπορίαις ἔτι στρατὸν οὐκ ἐς πόλεμον ὄρμῶντα ἀλλ' ἐς οἰκείαν μετὰ λαφύρων ἐπανιόντα, διὰ δὲ Θράκης ὕδεις, στενὴν καὶ μακρὰν καὶ δύσβατον ὁδόν, πνίγους ὥρᾳ, οὕτ' ἐς Μακεδονίαν Φιλίππων προεπιστείλας ἀπαντᾶν, ἵνα παραπέμψειν αὐτόν, οὕτε τὸν στρατὸν ἐς μέρη πολλὰ διελών, ἵνα κουφότερον βαδίζοι καὶ τὰ χρήσιμα εὔμιτρέστερα ἔχοι, οὕτε τὰ σκευοφόρα συντάξας ἐς λόχους ὄρθίους, ἵν' εὐφυλακτότερα ἥ. ἀλλ' ἀθρόως ἥγεν ἅπαντας ἐπὶ μῆκος πολύ, καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα εἶχεν ἐν μέσῳ, μήτε τῶν πρόσθεν αὐτοῖς δυναμένων ἐπικουρεῖν μήτε τῶν ὅπισθεν δξέως διὰ μῆκος ὁμοῦ καὶ στενότητα τῆς ὁδοῦ. ὅθεν αὐτῷ πανταχόθεν ἐς τὰ πλάγια τῶν Θρακῶν ἐπικειμένων, πολὺ μέρος ἀπώλεσε τῆς τε λείας καὶ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων καὶ αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ στρατοῦ. μετὰ δὲ τῶν ὑπολοίπων ἐς Μακεδονίαν διεσώθη. ὃ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἐγένετο καταφανὲς ὅσον ὕνησε παραπέμπων τοὺς Σκιτίωνας ὁ Φίλιππος, καὶ ὅσον ἥμαρτεν Ἀντίοχος ἐκλιπὼν τὴν Χερρόνησον. ὁ δὲ Μάλλιος ἐκ τε Μακεδονίας

## THE SYRIAN WARS

of Cappadocia, who also had sent military aid to CHAP.  
Antiochus, became alarmed and sent entreaties, and  
200 talents in money besides, by which means he <sup>VII</sup> <sub>B.C. 188</sub> kept Manlius out of his country. The latter re-  
turned to the Hellespont with much treasure, count-  
less money, very heavy loot, and an overburdened  
army.

43. Manlius had done well so far, but he after- A disaster  
wards foolishly neglected to take the precaution of <sup>in Thrace</sup> returning home by water, as it was summer time, and making no account of the burden he was carrying, in spite of the fact that there was no longer any need to give hard work and marching exercise to his army, which was not going to war, but returning home with its spoils, he proceeded by a long, narrow, and difficult road through Thrace in a stifling heat. He neither sent word to Philip of Macedonia to meet and escort him, nor did he divide his army into parts, so that it might move more lightly and have what was needed more handy, nor did he station his baggage between the files, for greater security; but he led his army in a single long column, with the baggage in the centre, so that neither the vanguard nor the rear-guard could render assistance to it quickly by reason of the length of the column and the narrowness of the road. So, when the Thracians attacked him in flank from all directions, he lost a large part of the spoils, and of the public money, and of the army itself, but escaped into Macedonia with the remainder; and this disaster shewed how great a service Philip had rendered by escorting the Scipios and how Antiochus had blundered in abandoning the Chersonesus. Manlius passed from Macedonia into Thessaly, and

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XI

CAP. Θεσσαλίαν διελθὼν καὶ ἐκ Θεσσαλίας "Ηπειρον ἐς  
 VII Βρευτέσιον ἐπέρα, καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν στρατιὰν ἐς τὰ  
 οἰκεῖα διαφεὶς ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Ῥώμην.

44. Ῥόδιοι δὲ καὶ Εὐμένης ὁ Περγάμου βασιλεὺς  
 μέγα φρονοῦντες ἐπὶ τῇ κατ' Ἀντιόχου συμμαχίᾳ,  
 Εὐμένης μὲν αὐτὸς ἐς Ῥώμην ἐστέλλετο, Ῥόδιοι  
 δὲ πρέσβεις ἐπεμπον. ἡ βουλὴ δὲ Ῥοδίοις μὲν  
 ἔδωκε Λυκίους τε καὶ Κάρας, οὓς οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον  
 ἀπέστησεν αὐτῶν ὡς Περσεῖ τῷ Μακεδόνι μᾶλλον  
 ἡ σφίσι πολεμοῦσι τῷ Περσεῖ προθυμοτέρων  
 γενομένων, Εὐμένει δὲ παρέσχον ὅσα λοιπὰ  
 ἀφήρηντο Ἀντιόχου, χωρὶς Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐν  
 αὐτοῖς. τούτων δὲ ὅσοι μὲν Ἀττάλῳ τῷ πατρὶ<sup>1</sup>  
 Εὐμένους ἐτέλουν φόρους, ἐκέλευσαν Εὐμένει συμ-  
 φέρειν, ὅσοι δ' Ἀντιόχῳ πρῶτον ἐτέλουν, ἀπέ-  
 λυσαν τῶν φόρων καὶ αὐτονόμους ἀφῆκαν.

## VIII

CAP. 45. Ωδε μὲν Ρωμαῖοι διέθεντο τὰ δορίκτητα,  
 VIII Ἀντιόχου δ' ὕστερον τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως  
 τελευτήσαντος γίγνεται Σέλευκος ὁ νιὸς διάδοχος·  
 καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὃδε Ἀντιόχου ἐξέλυσε τῆς ὑπὸ<sup>2</sup>  
 Ρωμαίοις ὄμηρείας, ἀντιδοὺς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ παῖδα  
 Δημήτριον. Ἀντιόχου δ' ἐπανιόντος ἐκ τῆς  
 ὄμηρείας καὶ ὅντος ἔτι περὶ Ἀθήνας, ὁ μὲν  
 Σέλευκος ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς Ἡλιοδώρου τινὸς τῶν  
 περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν ἀποθνήσκει, τὸν δ' Ἡλιόδωρον  
 Εὐμένης καὶ Ἀτταλος ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν βιαζόμενον

## THE SYRIAN WARS

thence into Epirus, crossed to Brundusium, dismissed what was left of his army to their homes, and returned to Rome.

44. The Rhodians and Eumenes, king of Pergamus, were very proud of their share in the alliance against Antiochus. Eumenes set out for Rome in person and the Rhodians sent envoys. The Senate gave to the Rhodians Lycia and Caria, which they took away from them soon afterward, because in the war between the Romans and Perseus, king of Macedonia, they showed themselves rather favourable to him. They bestowed upon Eumenes all the rest of the territory taken from Antiochus, except the Greek cities in Asia. Of the latter, those that were formerly tributary to Attalus, the father of Eumenes, were ordered to pay tribute to Eumenes, while those which formerly paid to Antiochus were released from tribute altogether and made independent. 45. In this way the Romans disposed of the lands they had gained in the war.

CHAP.  
VII

Rewards to  
Eumenes

## VIII

AFTERWARD, on the death of Antiochus the Great, his son Seleucus succeeded him, and gave his son Demetrius as a hostage to the Romans in place of his brother Antiochus. When the latter arrived at Athens on his way home, Seleucus was assassinated as the result of a conspiracy of a certain Heliodorus, one of the court officers; but when Heliodorus sought to possess himself of the government he was driven out by Eumenes and Attalus, who installed Antiochus

CHAP.  
VIII

B.C. 187

Successors  
of Antio-  
chus the  
Great

CAP. έκβάλλουσι, καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἐς αὐτὴν κατά-  
 VIII γουσιν, ἔταιριζόμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα· ἀπὸ γὰρ τινῶν  
 προσκρουμάτων ἥδη καὶ οἵδε Ῥωμαίους ὑπεβλέ-  
 ποντο. οὕτω μὲν Ἀντίοχος ὁ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ μεγάλου  
 Συρίας ἐπεκράτησεν· ὅτῳ παρὰ τῶν Σύρων ἐπώ-  
 νυμον ἦν ἐπιφανής, ὅτι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀρπαζομένης  
 ὑπὸ ἀλλοτρίων βασιλεὺς οἰκεῖος ὥφθη. συνθέ-  
 μενος δὲ φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν Εὐμένει, Συρίας  
 καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὴν ἐθνῶν ἐγκρατῶς ἥρχε,  
 σατράπην μὲν ἔχων ἐν Βαβυλῶνι Τίμαρχον, ἐπὶ  
 δὲ ταῖς προσόδοις Ἡρακλείδην, ἀδελφὸν μὲν  
 ἀλλήλουν, ἄμφω δὲ αὐτοῦ γενομένω παιδικά.  
 ἐστράτευσε δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀρταξίαν τὸν Ἀρμενίων  
 βασιλέα.

46. Καὶ αὐτὸν ἐλῶν ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐνναετὲς  
 παιδίον ἀπολιπών, Ἀντίοχον, ὃ προσέθηκαν διομα  
 εὐπάτωρ οἱ Σύροι διὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρετήν.  
 καὶ τὸ παιδίον ἐτρεφε Λυσίας. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος  
 ἥσθη φανέντος ἐν ὀλίγῳ τοῦ Ἀντιόχου γεννικοῦ  
 καὶ ταχέως ἀποθανόντος. Δημήτριόν τε τὸν  
 Σελεύκου μὲν υἱὸν Ἀντιόχου δὲ τοῦ ἐπιφανοῦς  
 ἀδελφιδοῦν, υἱώνον δὲ τοῦ μεγάλου Ἀντιόχου,  
 ἀνεψιὸν δυτα τῷδε τῷ παιδίῳ, ὁμηρεύοντα ἔτι ἐν  
 Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἔτος ἄγοντα τρίτον ἐπὶ τοῖς εἴκοσιν, ἐς  
 τὴν βασιλείαν καταχθῆναι παρακαλοῦντα ὡς  
 αὐτῷ μᾶλλον προσήκουσαν, οὐ κατῆγον, οὐ συμ-  
 φέρειν σφίσιν ἥγούμενοι τελειότερον ἀρχειν Σύρων  
 ἀντὶ παιδὸς ἀτελοῦς. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ἐν Συρίᾳ  
 στρατόν τ' ἐλεφάντων εἶναι καὶ ναῦς πλείονας τῶν  
 ὠρισμένων Ἀντιόχῳ, πρέσβεις ἐπεμπον, οἱ τοὺς  
 ἐλέφαντας συγκόψειν ἔμελον καὶ τὰς ναῦς  
 διαπρήσειν. οἰκτρὰ δὲ ἡ ὄψις ἦν ἀναιρουμένων

## THE SYRIAN WARS

therein in order to secure his good-will ; for, by CHAP.  
reason of certain bickerings, they also had already VIII  
grown suspicious of the Romans. Thus Antiochus,  
the son of Antiochus the Great, ascended the throne  
of Syria. He was called Epiphanes (the Illustrious) Antiochus  
by the Syrians, because when the government was Epiphanes  
seized by usurpers he showed himself to be a true b.c. 175  
king. Having cemented his friendship and alliance  
with Eumenes he governed Syria and the neighbouring  
nations with a firm hand. He appointed Timarchus a satrap of Babylon and Heraclides as  
treasurer, two brothers, both of whom had been  
his favourites. He also made an expedition against  
Artaxias, king of Armenia, and took him prisoner.

46. Epiphanes died, leaving a son, Antiochus, nine b.c. 164  
years of age, to whom the Syrians gave the name of Antiochus  
Eupator, in commemoration of his father's bravery,  
and the boy was educated by Lysias. The Senate  
rejoiced at the premature death of Antiochus, who had  
given early proof of his spirited nature, and when  
Demetrius, the son of Seleucus and nephew of  
Antiochus Epiphanes (grandson of Antiochus the  
Great and first cousin of this boy), at this time a hos-  
tage at Rome, and twenty-two years old, asked that  
he should be installed in the kingdom as belonging  
to him rather than to the boy, the Senate would not  
allow it. They thought that it would be more for  
their advantage that Syria should be governed by an  
immature boy than by a full-grown man. Learning  
that there were many elephants in Syria and more  
ships than had been allowed to Antiochus in the  
treaty, they sent ambassadors thither, to kill the  
elephants and burn the ships. It was a pitiful sight,

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XI

CAP. VIII. θηρίων ἡμέρων τε καὶ σπανίων, καὶ νεῶν ἐμπιπρά-  
μένων· καὶ τις ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ Λεπτίνης τὴν ὅψιν  
οὐκ ἐνεγκών, Γιαῖον Ὀκτάουιον τὸν τῶνδε τῶν  
πρέσβεων ἡγεμόνα, ἀλειφόμενον ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ,  
διεχρήσατο.

Καὶ τὸν μὲν Ὀκτάουιον ἔθαπτεν ὁ Λυσίας,  
47. Δημήτριος δὲ αὐθις ἐς τὴν σύγκλητον ἐσελ-  
θὼν ἐδεῦτο τῆς γοῦν ὄμηρείας μόνης ἀπολυθῆ-  
ναι, ως Ἀντιόχου μὲν ἀντιδοθείς, Ἀντιόχου δ'  
ἀποθανόντος. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐτύγχανεν οὐδὲ τοῦδε,  
λαθὼν ἔξεπλευσε, καὶ δεξαμένων αὐτὸν ἀσμένως  
τῶν Σύρων ἥρχε, τόν τε Λυσίαν καὶ τὸ παιδίον ἐπ'  
αὐτῷ διαφθείρας, καὶ Ἡρακλείδην ἐκβαλών, καὶ  
Τίμαρχον ἐπανιστάμενον ἀνελών, καὶ τᾶλλα  
πονηρῶς τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ἡγούμενον· ἐφ' ὃ καὶ  
σωτήρ, ἀρξαμένων τῶν Βαβυλωνίων, ὠνομάσθη.  
κρατυνάμενος δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Δημήτριος στέφανόν  
τε Ῥωμαίοις ἀπὸ χρυσῶν μυρίων, χαριστήριον  
τῆς ποτὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς ὄμηρείας, καὶ Λεπτίνην τὸν  
ἀνδροφόρον Ὀκταουίον. οἱ δὲ τὸν μὲν στέφανον  
ἐδέχοντο, Λεπτίνην δὲ οὐκ ἔλαβον, ως δή τι τοῦτ'  
ἔγκλημα τοῖς Σύροις ταμιευόμενοι. Δημήτριος δὲ  
καὶ ἐκ τῆς Καππαδοκῶν ἀρχῆς Ἀριαράθην  
ἐκβαλών, Ὀλοφέρνην ἐπὶ χιλίοις ταλάντοις ἀντ'  
αὐτοῦ κατήγαγεν, ἀδελφὸν εἶναι δοκοῦντα Ἀρια-  
ράθου. καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐδόκει μέν, ως ἀδελφούς,  
Ἀριαράθην καὶ Ὀλοφέρνην βασιλεύειν ὁμοῦ.

48. Ἐκπεσόντων δὲ καὶ τῶνδε καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνου  
μετ' αὐτοὺς οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ὑπὸ Μιθριδάτου τοῦ  
Ποντικοῦ βασιλέως, ὁ Μιθριδάτειος πόλεμος ἐπὶ

## THE SYRIAN WARS

the killing of these gentle and rare beasts and the CHAP  
burning of the ships, and a certain Leptines of VIII  
Laodicea was so exasperated by the sight that he  
stabbed Gnaeus Octavius, the chief of this embassy,  
while he was anointing himself in the gymnasium,  
and Lysias buried him.

47. Demetrius came before the Senate again and asked at all events to be released from acting as a hostage, since he had been given as a substitute for Antiochus, who was now dead. When even this request was not granted he escaped secretly by boat. As the Syrians received him gladly, he ascended the b.c. 162 throne after having put Lysias to death and the boy Demetrius Soter with him. He removed Heraclides from office and killed Timarchus, who rebelled and who had administered the government of Babylon badly in other respects. For this he received the surname of Soter (the Protector), which was first bestowed upon him by the Babylonians. When he was firmly established in the kingdom he sent a crown valued at 10,000 pieces of gold to the Romans as a gift of their former hostage, and also delivered up Leptines, the murderer of Octavius. They accepted the crown, but not Leptines, because they intended to hold the Syrians responsible for that crime. Demetrius further took b.c. 159 the government of Cappadocia away from Ariarathes and gave it to Olophernes, who was supposed to be the brother of Ariarathes, receiving 1000 talents therefor. The Romans, however, decided that as brothers both Ariarathes and Olophernes should reign together.

48. These princes were deprived of the kingdom —and their successor, Ariobarzanes, also, a little later —by Mithridates, king of Pontus. The Mithridatic

CAP. τῶδε καὶ ἐφ' ἑτέροις ἥρξατο συνίστασθαι, μέγιστος τε καὶ πολυτροπώτατος ἔθνεσι πολλοῖς γενόμενος, καὶ παρατείνας ἐς ἕτη μάλιστα τεσσαράκοντα, ἐν οἷς πολλαὶ μὲν ἀρχαὶ Σύροις ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου γένους διηγοχρόνιοι πάμπαν ἐγένοντο, πολλαὶ δὲ τροπαὶ καὶ ἐπαναστάσεις ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια. Παρθυαῖοι τε προαποστάντες ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Σελευκιδῶν ἀρχῆς Μεσοποταμίαν ἐς ἑαυτοὺς περιέσπασαν, ἢ τοῖς Σελευκίδαις ὑπήκουεν. καὶ βασιλεὺς Ἀρμενίας Τιγράνης ὁ Τιγράνους ἔθνη πολλὰ τῶν περιοίκων ἴδιοις δυνάσταις χρώμενα ἐλών, βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ τοῦδε βασιλέων ἥγεντο εἶναι, καὶ τοῖς Σελευκίδαις ἐπεστράτευεν οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ὑπακούειν. οὐχ ὑποστάντος δ' αὐτὸν Ἀντιόχου τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς, ὁ Τιγράνης ἥρχε Συρίας τῆς μετ' Εὐφράτην, ὅσα γένη Σύρων μέχρι Αἰγύπτου. ἥρχε δὲ ὁμοῦ καὶ Κιλικίας (καὶ γὰρ ἦδε τοῖς Σελευκίδαις ὑπήκουε), Μαγαδάτην στρατηγὸν ἐπιτάξας ἄπασιν, ἐπὶ ἕτη τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα.

49. Λευκόλλου δὲ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῦ Μιθριδάτην διώκοντος ἐς τὸν Τιγράνην ὑποφεύγοντα, ὁ Μαγαδάτης ἦει μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ Τιγράνη βοηθήσων, καὶ ἐν τῷδε παραδὺς ἐς τὴν Συρίαν Ἀντιόχος ὁ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς ἥρχε τῶν Σύρων ἑκόντων. καὶ αὐτῷ Λεύκολλος μέν, ὁ Τιγράνη πρῶτος τε πολεμήσας καὶ τῆς ἐπικτήτου γῆς αὐτὸν ἐξελάσας, οὐκ ἐφθόνησεν ἀρχῆς πατρώας. Πομπήιος δέ, ὁ ἐπὶ Λευκόλλῳ Μιθριδάτην ἐξελών, Τιγράνη μὲν Ἀρμενίας συνεχώρησεν ἀρχειν, Ἀντιόχον δὲ ἐξεβαλε τῆς Σύρων ἀρχῆς, οὐδὲν ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἀμαρτόντα, ἔργῳ μὲν ὅτι ἦν

## THE SYRIAN WARS

war grew out of this event, among others,—a very great war, full of vicissitudes to many nations and lasting nearly forty years. During this time Syria had many kings, succeeding each other at brief intervals, but all of the royal lineage, and there were many changes and revolts from the dynasty. The Parthians, who had previously revolted from the rule of the Seleucidae, seized Mesopotamia, which had been subject to that house. Tigranes, the son of Tigranes, king of Armenia, who had subdued many of the neighbouring nations which had kings of their own, and from these exploits had acquired the title of King of Kings, attacked the Seleucidae because they would not acknowledge his supremacy. Antiochus Pius was not able to withstand him, and Tigranes conquered all the Syrian peoples this side of the Euphrates as far as Egypt. He took Cilicia at the same time (for this was also subject to the Seleucidae) and put his general, Magadates, in command of all these conquests for fourteen years.

49. When the Roman general, Lucullus, was pursuing Mithridates, who had taken refuge in the territory of Tigranes, Magadates went with his army to Tigranes' assistance. Thereupon Antiochus, the son of Antiochus Pius, entered Syria clandestinely and assumed the government with the consent of the people. Nor did Lucullus, who first made war on Tigranes and wrested his newly acquired territory from him, object to Antiochus exercising his ancestral authority. But Pompey, the successor of Lucullus, when he had overthrown Mithridates, allowed Tigranes to reign in Armenia and expelled Antiochus from the government of Syria, although he had done the Romans no wrong. The real reason

CHAP.  
VIII

Tigranes  
conquers  
Syria

B.C. 83

Pompey  
seizes Syria  
for the  
Romans

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XI

**CAP. VIII.** εὔκολον αὐτῷ, στρατιὰν ἔχοντι, πολλὴν ἀρχὴν ἄνοπλον ἀφελέσθαι, λόγῳ δὲ ὅτι τοὺς Σελευκίδας, ὑπὸ Τιγράνους ἐκπεσόντας, οὐκ εἰκὸς ἦν ἔτι Συρίας ἄρχειν μᾶλλον ἢ Ῥωμαίους Τιγράνην νενικηκότας.

50. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ Κιλικίας τε καὶ Συρίας τῆς τε μεσογείου καὶ κοίλης καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ Παλαιστίνης, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Συρίας ἀπὸ Εὐφράτου μέχρι Αἰγύπτου καὶ μέχρι θαλάσσης ὄνόματα, ἀμαχὴν Ῥωμαῖοι κατέσχον. ἐν δὲ γένος ἔτι τὸ Ιουδαίων ἐνιστάμενον ὁ Πομπήιος ἐξεῖλε κατὰ κράτος, καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Αριστόβουλον ἐπεμψεν ἐς Ῥώμην, καὶ τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν Ιεροσόλυμα καὶ ἀγιωτάτην αὐτοῦς κατέσκαψεν, ἷν δὴ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ πρῶτος Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς καθηρήκει, καὶ Οὐεσπασιανὸς αὐθὶς οἰκισθεῖσαν κατέσκαψε, καὶ Ἀδριανὸς αὐθὶς ἐπ' ἐμοῦ. καὶ διὰ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν Ιουδαίοις ἀπασιν ὁ φόρος τῶν σωμάτων βαρύτερος τῆς ἄλλης περιοικίας. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Σύροις καὶ Κίλιξιν ἐτήσιος, ἐκατοστὴ τοῦ τιμήματος ἐκάστῳ. Πομπήιος μὲν οὖν τῶνδε τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦς Σελευκίδας γενομένων ἐθνῶν τοῖς μὲν . . . ἐπέστησεν οἰκείους βασιλέας ἡ δυνάστας, καθὰ καὶ Γαλατῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ τοῖς τέσσαρσι δυνάσταις ἐβεβαίωσε τὰς τετραδαρχίας, συμμαχήσασίν οἱ κατὰ Μιθριδάτου. καὶ οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον καὶ τάδε περιῆλθεν ἐς Ῥωμαίους, ἐπὶ Καίσαρος μάλιστα τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, κατὰ μέρη.

51. Συρίας δὲ εὐθὺς ὁ Πομπήιος Σκαύροις τὸν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἑαυτῷ γενόμενον ταμίαν ἔταξεν ἡγεῖσθαι, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ Φίλιππον ἐπὶ Σκαύρῳ τὸν Μάρκιον, καὶ Μαρκελλῖνον Λέντλον ἐπὶ τῷ Φιλίππῳ, ἄμφω στρατηγικοὺς κατ' ἀξίωσιν. ἄλλὰ τῶνδε μὲν ἐκατέρῳ διετής ἐτρίφθη χρόνος,

## THE SYRIAN WARS

for this was that it was easy for Pompey, with an army under his command, to annex a large, defenceless empire, but the pretence was that it was unnatural for the Seleucidae, whom Tigranes had dethroned, to govern Syria, rather than the Romans who had conquered Tigranes.

50. In this way the Romans, without fighting, came into possession of Cilicia, inland Syria and Coele-Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine, and all the other countries bearing the Syrian name from the Euphrates to Egypt and the sea. The Jewish nation alone still resisted, and Pompey conquered them, sent their king, Aristobulus, to Rome, and destroyed their greatest, and to them holiest, city, Jerusalem, as Ptolemy, the first king of Egypt, had formerly done. It was afterward rebuilt and Vespasian destroyed it again, and Hadrian did the same in our time. On account of these rebellions the poll-tax imposed upon all Jews is heavier than that imposed upon the surrounding peoples. The Syrians and Cilicians also are subject to an annual tax of one hundredth of the assessed value of the property of each man. Pompey put some of the various nations that had become subject to the Seleucidae under kings or chiefs of their own. In like manner he confirmed the four chiefs of the Galatians in Asia, who had cooperated with him in the Mithridatic war, in their tetrarchies. Not long afterwards they too came gradually under the Roman rule, mostly in the time of Augustus.

51. Pompey now at once put Scaurus, who had been his quaestor in the war, in charge of Syria, and the Senate afterwards appointed Marcius Philippus as his successor and Lentulus Marcellinus as the successor of Philippus, both being of praetorian rank. Each of these spent the whole of his two years in

CHAP.  
VIII

Also Phoenicia and Palestine

B.C. 63

Later history of Syria

CAP. <sup>VIII</sup> τοὺς γειτονας ἐνοχλοῦντας "Αραβας ἀμυνομένω.  
καὶ τοῦδε χάριν ἐσ τὸ ἔπειτα ἐγένοντο Συρίας  
στρατηγοὶ τῶν τὰ ἐπώνυμα ἀρξάντων ἐν ἄστει,  
ἴνα ἔχοιεν ἔξουσίαν καταλόγου τε στρατιᾶς καὶ  
πολέμου οὐαὶ ὑπατοι. καὶ πρῶτος ἐκ τῶνδε  
ἐπέμφθη Γαβίνιος μετὰ στρατιᾶς. καὶ πολεμεῖν  
αὐτὸν ὄρμῶντα Μιθριδάτης μὲν ὁ Παρθυαίων  
βασιλεύς, ἔξελαυνόμενος τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπ' Ὁρώδου  
τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, μετῆγεν ἐξ Αράβων ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους,  
Πτολεμαῖος δὲ αὐτόν, ὁ ἐνδέκατος Αἰγύπτου  
βασιλεύς, ἐκπεσὼν καὶ ὅδε τῆς ἀρχῆς, μετέπεισε  
χρήμασι πολλοῖς ἀντὶ Παρθυαίων ἐπὶ Αλεξανδρέας ὄρμῆσαι. καὶ κατήγαγε μὲν τὸν Πτολεμαῖον  
ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Γαβίνιος, Αλεξανδρεῦσι πολεμήσας,  
ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς Ρωμαίων βουλῆς ἔφυγεν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄνευ ψηφίσματος ἐσ Αἰγυπτον ἐμβαλεῖν, ἐπὶ  
πολέμῳ Ρωμαίοις ἀπαισίῳ νομίζομένῳ. ἦν γάρ τι  
Σιβύλλειον αὐτοῖς ἀπαγορεῦον. ἐπὶ δὲ Γαβίνιῳ  
μοι δοκεῖ Κράσσος ἀρξαι Σύρων, ὅτῳ πολεμούντι  
Παρθυαίοις ἡ μεγάλῃ συμφορᾷ γίγνεται. καὶ ἐπὶ  
Λευκίου Βύβλου μετὰ Κράσσον στρατηγοῦντος  
Συρίας ἐσ τὴν Συρίαν ἐσέβαλον οἱ Παρθυαῖοι. Σάξα  
δὲ μετὰ Βύβλου ἥγουμένου καὶ τὰ μέχρι Ιωνίας  
ἐπέδραμον, ἀσχολουμένων Ρωμαίων ἐσ τὰ ἐπ'  
ἀλλήλους ἐμφύλια.

## IX

CAP. <sup>IX</sup> 52. Αλλὰ τάδε μὲν ἐντελῶς ἐν τῇ Παρθικῇ  
συγγραφῇ λέξω· τῆς δὲ Βίβλου τῆσδε οὕσης  
Συριακῆς, ὅπως μὲν ἔσχον Συρίαν Ρωμαῖοι καὶ

## THE SYRIAN WARS

warding off the attacks of the neighbouring Arabs. CHAP. VIII  
It was on account of these events in Syria that Rome began to appoint for Syria proconsuls,<sup>1</sup> with power to levy troops and engage in war like consuls. The first of these sent out with an army was Gabinius, and as he was setting out for the war, Mithridates, b.c. 55 king of the Parthians, who had been driven out of his kingdom by his brother, Orodes, persuaded him to turn his forces from the Arabs against the Parthians. Then Ptolemy XI., king of Egypt, who likewise had lost his throne, prevailed upon him by a large sum of money to turn his arms from the Parthians against Alexandria. Gabinius overcame the Alexandrians and restored Ptolemy to power, but b.c. 55 was himself banished by the Senate for invading Egypt without their authority, and undertaking a war considered ill-omened by the Romans; for it was forbidden by the Sibylline books. I think that Crassus succeeded Gabinius in the government of b.c. 54 Syria—the same who met with the great disaster when waging war against the Parthians. While Lucius Bibulus was in command of Syria after Crassus, b.c. 51 the Parthians made an incursion into that country. While the government was in charge of Saxa, the b.c. 40 successor of Bibulus, they even overran the country as far as Ionia, the Romans being then occupied by the civil wars.

## IX

52. I SHALL deal with these events more particularly CHAP. IX  
in my Parthian history, but as this book is concerned Syria at  
with Syrian affairs, now that I have described how the death of  
Alexander the Great

<sup>1</sup> Literally, “those who have held the office which gives its name to the year.” “In the consulship of so-and-so” was the ordinary Roman way of expressing a date.

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XI

CAP. συνέστησαν ἐς τὰ νῦν ὅντα, εἴρηται, οὐκ ἀπεικὸς  
 IX δὲ τὰ Μακεδόνων ἐπιδραμεῖν. οὐ πρὸ Ῥωμαίων  
 Συρίας ἐβασίλευον.

Ἄλεξανδρος μὲν δὴ βασιλεὺς ἦν ἐπὶ Πέρσαις  
 Σύρων, ὁ καὶ πάντων βασιλεὺς ὅσων εἶδεν. Ἀλεξάνδρου δ' ἀποθανόντος ἐπὶ παισὶ τῷ μὲν βραχεῖ  
 πάνυ τῷ δὲ ἔτι κυϊσκομένῳ, οἱ μὲν Μακεδόνες, πόθῳ τοῦ Φιλιππείου γένους, εἶλοντο σφῶν βασιλεύειν Ἀριδαίον τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου, καίπερ οὐκ ἔμφρονα νομιζόμενον εἶναι, μετονομάσαντες δὴ Φίλιππον ἀντὶ Ἀριδαίου, τρεφομένων ἔτι τῷ παίδων Ἀλεξάνδρου (ἔφυλαξαν γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὴν κύουσταν), οἱ φίλοι δ' ἐς σατραπείας ἐνείμαντο τὰ ἔθνη, Περδίκκου διανέμοντος αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τῷ βασιλεῦ Φιλίππῳ. καὶ οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον τῶν βασιλέων ἀποθανόντων βασιλεῖς ἐγένοντο οἱ σατράπαι. Σύρων δὴ πρῶτος γίγνεται σατράπης Λαομέδων ὁ Μιτυληναῖος ἐκ τε Περδίκκου καὶ ἐξ Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ μετὰ τὸν Περδίκκαν προστατεύσαντος τῶν βασιλέων. Λαομέδοντα δ' ἐπιπλεύσας Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου σατράπης ἐπειθούσας πολοῦς χρήμασιν ἐγχειρίσαι οἱ τὴν Συρίαν, προβολήν τε οὖσαν Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐπιχείρημα κατὰ Κύπρου. καὶ οὐ πειθόμενον συλλαμβάνειν δὲ τοὺς φύλακας διαφθείρας πρὸς Ἀλκέταν ἔφυγεν ἐς Καρίαν. καί τινα χρόνον ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἥρχε Συρίας, καὶ φρουρὰς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καταλιπὼν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπέπλει.

53. Ἀντίγονος δ' ἦν Φρυγίας μὲν καὶ Λυκίας καὶ Παμφυλίας σατράπης, ἐπίσκοπος δ' εἶναι τῆς ὅλης Ἀσίας ἐξ Ἀντιπάτρου περώντος ἐς τὴν Εύρωπην ἀπολελειμμένος Εύμενη τὸν Καπ-

## THE SYRIAN WARS

the Romans conquered Syria and brought it to its CHAP.  
present condition, it is not inappropriate to give a IX  
brief account of the part played by the Macedonians,  
who reigned over Syria before the Romans.

After the Persians, Alexander became the sovereign of Syria as well as of all other peoples whom he saw. He died leaving one very young son and another yet unborn, and the Macedonians, who were loyal to b.c. 323 the race of Philip, chose Aridaeus, the brother of Alexander, as king during the minority of Alexander's sons (for they even guarded the pregnant wife), although he was considered to be hardly of sound mind, and they changed his name from Aridaeus to Philip. Meanwhile Alexander's friends divided the nations into satrapies, which Perdiccas parcelled among them by the authority of King Philip. Not long afterward, when the true kings died, these satraps became kings. The first satrap of Syria was Laomedon of Mitylene, who derived his authority from Perdiccas and from Antipater, who succeeded the latter as guardian of the kings. To this Laomedon Ptolemy, the satrap of Egypt, came with a fleet and offered him a large sum of money if he would hand over Syria to him, because it was well situated for defending Egypt and for attacking Cyprus. When Laomedon refused Ptolemy seized him. Laomedon bribed his guards and escaped to Alcetas in Caria. Thus Ptolemy ruled Syria for a while, left a garrison in the cities, and returned to Egypt.

53. Antigonus was satrap of Phrygia, Lycia, and b.c. 321 Pamphylia. Having been left as overseer of all Asia when Antipater went to Europe, he besieged Eumenes, the satrap of Cappadocia, who had been

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XI

CAP. παδοκίας σατράπην, ψηφισαμένων εἶναι πολέμιον  
 IX τῶν Μακεδόνων, ἐπολιόρκει. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκφεύγει,  
 καὶ τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐκρατύνετο ἑαυτῷ. ἀλλ' Εὔμενη  
 μὲν κτείνει καταλαβὼν ὁ Ἀντίγονος, καὶ  
 ἐπανιὼν ὑπεδέχθη λαμπρῶς ὑπὸ Σελεύκου  
 σατραπεύοντος ἐν Βαβυλῶνι. ὑβρίσαντος δέ  
 τινα τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοῦ Σελεύκου, καὶ οὐ κοινώ-  
 σαντος Ἀντιγόνῳ παρόντι, χαλεπήνας ὁ Ἀντί-  
 γονος ἦτει λογισμοὺς χρημάτων τε καὶ κτημάτων.  
 ὁ δὲ ἀσθενέστερος ὥν Ἀντίγοιον πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον  
 ἐς Αἴγυπτον ὑπεχώρει. καὶ ὁ Ἀντίγονος εὐθὺς ἐπὶ  
 τῇ φυγῇ τοῦ Σελεύκου Βλίτορά τε, Μεσοποταμίας  
 ἡγούμενον, παρέλυσε τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὅτι Σέλευκον  
 μεθῆκεν ἀπιόντα, καὶ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν καὶ τὴν  
 Μεσοποταμίαν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐκ Μήδων ἐπὶ τὸν  
 Ἐλλήσποντον ἔθιη, καθίστατο ἑαυτῷ, ἥδη καὶ  
 Ἀντιπάτρου τεθνεώτος. ἐπίφθονός τε εὐθὺς ἐκ  
 τῶνδε τοῖς ἄλλοις σατράπαις ἐγίγνετο, γῆς ἄρχων  
 τοσῆσδε. διὸ καὶ μάλιστα τῷ Σελεύκῳ παρ-  
 καλοῦντι συνέθεντο Πτολεμαῖός τε καὶ Λυσίμαχος  
 ὁ Θράκης σατράπης καὶ Κάσσανδρος ὁ Ἀντιπά-  
 τρου, Μακεδόι ων ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ ἡγούμενος· καὶ ὅμοι  
 πρεσβευσάμενοι τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἤξιον τὴν ἐπί-  
 κτητον αὐτῷ γενομένην γῆν τε καὶ χρήμata πρός  
 τε σφᾶς τείμασθαι καὶ πρὸς ἑτέρους Μακεδόνας,  
 οἱ τῶν σατραπείων ἐξεπεπτώκεσαν. ἐπιχλευά-  
 σαντος δὲ αὐτὸὺς τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου οἱ μὲν ἐς πόλεμον  
 καθίσταντο κοινόν, ὁ δὲ ἀντιπαρεσκευάζετο, καὶ  
 ἐξέβαλλε τὰς φρουρὰς ὅσαι ἔτι ἦσαν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ  
 Πτολεμαίου, καὶ Φοινίκης τε καὶ τῆς λεγομένης  
 κοίλης τὰ ἔτι ὑπήκοα τοῦ Πτολεμαίου πρὸς ἑαυτὸν  
 ἀθρόως περιέσπα.

## THE SYRIAN WARS

publicly declared an enemy of the Macedonians. CHAP.  
IX  
Eumenes escaped and brought Media under his power, but was afterwards captured and killed by Antigonus, who on his return was received magnificently by Seleucus, the satrap of Babylon. One day <sup>b.c. 316</sup> Seleucus punished one of the governors without consulting Antigonus, who was present, and the latter became angry and demanded accounts of his money and possessions. As Seleucus was inferior to Antigonus in power he fled to Ptolemy in Egypt. Thereupon Antigonus removed Blitor, the governor of Mesopotamia, from office, because he allowed Seleucus to escape, and took upon himself the government of Babylon, Mesopotamia, and all the countries from Media to the Hellespont, Antipater having died in the meantime. The other satraps at once became envious of his possession of so large a share of territory; for which reason chiefly Ptolemy, Lysimachus, the satrap of Thrace, and Cassander, the son of Antipater and leader of the Macedonians after his father's death, entered into a league with Seleucus at his request. They sent a joint embassy to Antigonus and demanded that he should share with them and with the other Macedonians who had lost their satrapies his newly acquired lands and money. Antigonus treated their demand with scorn, and they jointly made war against him. He on the other hand prepared to meet them, and drove out all Ptolemy's remaining garrisons in Syria and stripped him of all the possessions that he still retained in Phoenicia and Coele-Syria.

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XI

CAP. 54. Χωρῶν δ' ὑπὲρ τὰς Κιλικίους πύλας,  
 IX Δημήτριον τὸν υἱόν, ἀμφὶ δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη  
 γεγονότα, ἐν Γάζῃ μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ καταλείπει  
 πρὸς τὰς ὄρμας Πτολεμαίου τὰς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου.  
 τοῦτον ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἐνίκα περὶ τὴν Γάζαν μάχῃ  
 λαμπρῶς, καὶ τὸ μειράκιον ἐς τὸν πατέρα ἔχώρει.  
 Πτολεμαῖος δ' αὐτίκα τὸν Σέλευκον ἐς τὴν  
 Βαβυλῶνα πέμπει, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀναληψόμενον·  
 καὶ πεξοὺς ἐς τοῦτο ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ χιλίους, καὶ  
 τριακοσίους ἵππεας. καὶ σὺν οὗτως ὀλίγοις ὁ  
 Σέλευκος τὴν τε Βαβυλωνίαν, προθύμως αὐτὸν  
 ἄμα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκδεχομένων, ἀνέλαβε, καὶ τὴν  
 ἀρχὴν μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἐς μέγα προΐγαγεν. ὁ δ'  
 Ἀντίγονος Πτολεμαῖον ἥμινετο, καὶ ναυμαχίᾳ  
 περὶ Κύπρου ἐνίκα περιφανεῖ, Δημητρίου τοῦ  
 παιδὸς στρατηγοῦντος· ἐφ' ὅτῳ λαμπροτάτῳ γενο-  
 μένῳ ὁ στρατὸς ἀνεῖπεν ἄμφω βασιλέας, Ἀντί-  
 γονὸν τε καὶ Δημήτριον, ἥδη καὶ τῶν βασιλέων  
 τεθνεώτων, Ἀριδαίου τε τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ Ὁλυμ-  
 πιάδος καὶ τῶν υἱῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου. ἀνεῖπε δὲ καὶ  
 Πτολεμαῖον ὁ οἰκεῖος αὐτοῦ στρατὸς βασιλέα, ὡς  
 μή τι διὰ τὴν ἥσσαν μειονεκτοίη τῶν ιενικηκότων.  
 τοῦσδε μὲν δὴ τυχεῖν ὁμοίων συνηνέχθη κατ'  
 ἐναντίας αἰτίας, εἴποντο δ' εὐθὺς αὐτοῖς οἱ λοιποί,  
 καὶ βασιλεῖς ἅπαντες ἐκ σατραπῶν ἐγίγνοντο.

55. Οὕτω δὴ καὶ ὁ Σέλευκος ἐβασίλευσε τῆς  
 Βαβυλωνίας. ἐβασίλευσε δὲ καὶ Μηδίας, Νικά-  
 τορα κτείνας αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, τὸν ὑπ' Ἀντι-  
 γόνου Μηδίας σατραπεύειν ἀπολελειμμένον.  
 πολέμους δ' ἐπολέμησε πολλοὺς Μακεδόσι καὶ  
 βαρβάροις, καὶ τούτων Μακεδόσι μὲν δύο μεγί-  
 στους, τὸν μὲν ὕστερον Λυσιμάχῳ βασιλεύοντι

## THE SYRIAN WARS

54. Then he marched beyond the Cilician gates,<sup>CHAP.  
IX</sup> leaving his son Demetrius, who was about twenty-two years of age, at Gaza with an army to meet Ptolemy, who was coming from Egypt, but the latter defeated the young man badly in a battle near Gaza and compelled him to fly to his father. Ptolemy <sup>B.C. 312</sup> immediately sent Seleucus to Babylon to resume the government and gave him 1000 foot-soldiers and 300 horse for the purpose. With this small force Seleucus recovered Babylon, the inhabitants receiving him with enthusiasm, and within a short time he augmented his power greatly. Nevertheless Antigonus warded off the attack of Ptolemy and gained a splendid naval victory over him near Cyprus, in which his son Demetrius was the commander. On account of this very notable exploit the army proclaimed both Antigonus and Demetrius kings, as their own kings (Aridaeus, the son of Philip and Olympias, and the two sons of Alexander) were now dead. Ptolemy's army also saluted him as king lest after his defeat he should be held inferior to the victors. Thus for these men similar consequences followed contrary events. All the others at once followed suit, and all the satraps became kings.

55. In this way Seleucus became king of Babylonia. He also acquired the kingdom of Media, slaying with his own hand in battle Nicator whom Antigonus had left as satrap of that country. He afterwards waged many wars with Macedonians and barbarians. The two principal ones were with Macedonians, the second with Lysimachus, king of Thrace, the first

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XI

CAP. Θράκης, τὸν δὲ πρότερον Ἀντιγόνῳ περὶ Ἰψον  
<sup>IX</sup> τῆς Φρυγίας, αὐτῷ στρατηγοῦντι καὶ αὐτῷ μαχο-  
 μένῳ, καίπερ ὑπὲρ ὄγδοήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότι.  
 πεσόντος δ' Ἀντιγόνου κατὰ τὴν μάχην, ὅσοι  
 βασιλεῖς τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἄμα τῷ Σελεύκῳ καθη-  
 ρήκεσσαν, τὴν Ἀντιγόνου γῆν διενέμοντο. καὶ ὁ  
 Σέλευκος τότε τῆς μετ' Εὐφράτην Συρίας ἐπὶ  
 θαλάσσῃ καὶ Φρυγίας τῆς ἀνὰ τὸ μεσόγειον  
 ἄρχειν διέλαχεν. ἐφεδρεύων δὲ ἀεὶ τοῖς ἐγγὺς  
 ἔθνεσι, καὶ δυνατὸς ὁν βιάσασθαι καὶ πιθανὸς  
 προσαγαγέσθαι, ἥρξε Μεσοποταμίας καὶ Ἀρ-  
 μενίας καὶ Καππαδοκίας τῆς Σελευκίδος λεγο-  
 μένης καὶ Περσῶν καὶ Παρθυαίων καὶ Βακτρίων  
 καὶ Ἀράβων καὶ Ταπύρων καὶ τῆς Σογδιανῆς καὶ  
 Ἀραχωσίας καὶ Τρκανίας, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ὅμορα  
 ἔθνη μέχρι Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐγεγένητο  
 δορίληπτα, ὡς ὡρίσθαι τῷδε μάλιστα μετ', Ἀλέ-  
 ξανδρού τῆς Ἀσίας τὸ πλέον ἀπὸ γὰρ Φρυγίας  
 ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἰνδὸν ἄνω πάντα Σελεύκῳ κατή-  
 κουεν. καὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν περάσας ἐπολέμησεν  
 Ἀνδροκόττῳ βασιλεῖ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν Ἰνδῶν,  
 μέχρι φιλίαν αὐτῷ καὶ κῆδος συνέθετο. καὶ  
 τῶνδε τὰ μὲν πρὸ τῆς Ἀντιγόνου τελευτῆς, τὰ  
 δὲ μετ' Ἀντίγονον ἐποίησεν.

56. Λέγεται δ' αὐτῷ, στρατιώτη τοῦ βασιλέως  
 ἔτι ὄντι καὶ ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἐπομένῳ, χρησμὸν ἐν  
 Διδυμέως γενέσθαι πυνθανομένῳ περὶ τῆς ἐς  
 Μακεδονίαν ἐπανόδου, “μὴ σπεῦδε Εὐρώπηνδ”.  
 Ἀσίη τοι πολλὸν ἀμείνων.” καὶ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ  
 τὴν ἑστίαν αὐτῷ τὴν πατρώαν, οὐδενὸς ἄψαντος,  
 ἐκλάμψαι πῦρ μέγα. καὶ ὅναρ αὐτοῦ τὴν

## THE SYRIAN WARS

with Antigonus at Ipsus in Phrygia, where Antigonus CHAP. commanded in person and fought in person although IX he was above eighty years of age. Antigonus was b.c. 301 killed in the battle, and then all the kings who had Extent been in league with Seleucus against him divided his of the territory among themselves. At this division all Empire Syria from the Euphrates to the sea, also inland Phrygia, fell to the lot of Seleucus. Always lying in wait for the neighbouring nations, strong in arms and persuasive in diplomacy, he acquired Mesopotamia, Armenia, the so-called Seleucid Cappadocia, the Persians, Parthians, Bactrians, Arabs, Tapyri, Sogdiani, Arachotes, Hyrcanians, and all the other adjacent peoples that had been subdued by Alexander, as far as the river Indus, so that he ruled over a wider empire in Asia than any of his predecessors except Alexander. For the whole region from Phrygia to the Indus was subject to Seleucus. He crossed the Indus and waged war with Androcottus, king of the Indians, who dwelt on the banks of that stream, until they came to an understanding with each other and contracted a marriage relationship. Some of these exploits were performed before the death of Antigonus and some afterward.

56. It is said that while he was still serving under Alexander and following him in the war against the Persians he consulted the Didymaeon oracle to inquire about his return to Macedonia and that he received for answer :—

“Do not hurry back to Europe; Asia will be much better for you.”

It was said also that in Macedonia a great fire burst forth on his ancestral hearth without anybody lighting it; also that his mother saw in a dream that

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XI

**CAP. μητέρα** ἵδειν, ὃν ἀν εῦροι δακτύλιον, δοῦναι  
**IX** φόρημα Σελεύκῳ, τὸν δὲ βασιλεύσειν ἔνθα ἀν ὁ  
 δακτύλιος ἐκπέσῃ. καὶ ἡ μὲν ηὗρεν ἄγκυραν ἐν  
 σιδήρῳ κεχαραγμένην, ὁ δὲ τὴν σφραγῖδα τήνδε  
 ἀπώλεσε κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην. λέγεται καὶ ἐს  
 τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν ἀπιόντα ὑστερον προσκόψαι  
 λίθῳ, καὶ τὸν λίθον ἀνασκαφέντα ἄγκυραν  
 ὅφθῆναι. θορυβουμένων δὲ τῶν μάντεων ὡς ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
 συμβόλῳ κατοχῆς, Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Λάγου παρ-  
 πέμποντα εἰπεῖν ἀσφαλείας τὴν ἄγκυραν, οὐ  
 κατοχῆς εἶναι σύμβολον. καὶ Σελεύκῳ μὲν διὰ  
 τοῦτο ἄρα καὶ βασιλεύσαντι ἡ σφραγὶς ἄγκυρα  
 ἦν, δοκεῖ δέ τισι καὶ περιόντος ἔτι Ἀλεξάνδρου  
 καὶ ἐφορῶντος ἔτερον τῷ Σελεύκῳ σημεῖον περὶ<sup>2</sup>  
 τῆς ἀρχῆς τοιόνδε γενέσθαι. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γὰρ ἐξ  
 Ἰνδῶν ἐσ Βαβυλῶνα ἐπανελθόντι, καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ  
 τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ λίμνας ἐπὶ χρείᾳ τοῦ τὸν Εὐφράτην  
 τὴν Ἀσσυρίδα γῆν ἀρδεύειν περιπλέοντι, ἀνεμος  
 ἐμπεσὼν ἥρπασε τὸ διάδημα, καὶ φερόμενον  
 ἐκρεμάσθη δόνακος ἐν τάφῳ τινὸς ἀρχαίου  
 βασιλέως. καὶ ἐσήμαινε μὲν ἐσ τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ  
 βασιλέως καὶ τόδε, ναύτην δέ φασιν ἐκκολυμβή-  
 σαντα περιθέσθαι τῇ κεφαλῇ τὸ διάδημα καὶ  
 ἐνεγκεῖν ἄβροχον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, καὶ λαβεῖν τῆς  
 προθυμίας αὐτίκα δωρεὰν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως  
 τάλαντον ἀργυρίου· τῶν δὲ μάντεων αὐτὸν ἀναι-  
 ρεῖν κελευόντων οἱ μὲν πεισθῆναι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον  
 αὐτοῖς, οἱ δὲ ἀντειπεῖν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ τάδε πάντα  
 ὑπερελθόντες, οὐ ναύτην ὅλως φασὶν ἀλλὰ  
 Σέλευκον ἐπὶ τὸ διάδημα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκκολυμ-  
 βῆσαι, καὶ περιθέσθαι Σέλευκον αὐτὸ τῇ κεφαλῇ,  
 ἵν' ἄβροχον εἴη. καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἐσ τέλος ἀμφοῖν

## THE SYRIAN WARS

whatever ring she found she should give him to CHAP  
IX

wear, and that he should be king at the place where he should lose the ring. She did find an iron ring with an anchor engraved on it, and he lost it near the Euphrates. It is said also that at a later period, when he was setting out for Babylon, he stumbled against a stone which, when dug up, was seen to be an anchor. When the soothsayers were alarmed at this prodigy, thinking that it portended delay, Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who accompanied the expedition, said that an anchor was a sign of safety, not of delay; and for this reason Seleucus, when he became king, used an engraved anchor for his signet-ring. Some say that while Alexander was still alive and looking on, another omen of the future power of Seleucus was made manifest in this wise. After Alexander had returned from India to Babylon and while he was sailing around the Babylonian lagoons with a view to the irrigation of the Assyrian fields from the Euphrates, a wind struck him and carried away his diadem and hung it on a bunch of reeds growing on the tomb of an ancient king. This of itself signified the death of Alexander; but they say that a sailor swam after it, put it on his own head, and, without wetting it, brought it to Alexander, who gave him at once a silver talent as a reward for his zealous loyalty. The soothsayers advised putting the man to death, and some say that Alexander followed their advice, but others that he refused. Some narrators, however, omit the whole of this story and say that it was no sailor at all, but Seleucus who swam after the king's diadem, and that he put it on his own head to avoid wetting it; and the signs turned out true as to both

B.C. 323

CAP. ἀπαντῆσαι. Ἀλέξανδρόν τε γὰρ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι  
 IX μεταστῆναι τοῦ βίου, καὶ Σέλευκον τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου  
 γῆς, ὅτι πλείστης μάλιστα τόνδε τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου  
 διαδόχων, βασιλεῦσαι.

57. Τοσαῦτα μὲν δὴ περὶ τῶν Σελεύκῳ προμαν-  
 τευθέντων ἐπυθόμην γίγνεται δ' εὐθὺς Ἀλεξάν-  
 δρου μεταστάντος ἡγεμὼν τῆς ἵππου τῆς ἑταιρικῆς  
 ἥς δὴ καὶ Ἡφαιστίων ἡγήσατο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ  
 ἐπὶ Ἡφαιστίωνι Περδίκκας, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἵππου  
 σατράπης τε τῆς Βαβυλωνίας καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ  
 τῇ σατραπείᾳ. γενομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ ἐς πολέμους  
 ἐπιτυχεστάτῳ Νικάτωρ ἐπώνυμον γίγνεται· τῷδε  
 γὰρ ἀρέσκομαι μᾶλλον τοῦ Νικάτορα κτεῖναι.  
 καὶ τὸ σῶμα ὅντι εὐρώστῳ τε καὶ μεγάλῳ, καὶ  
 ταῦρον ἄγριον ἐν Ἀλεξάνδρου θυσίᾳ ποτὲ ἐκθο-  
 ρόντα τῶν δεσμῶν ὑποστάντι μόνῳ καὶ ταῖς χερσὶ  
 μόναις κατειργασμένῳ, προστιθέασιν ἐς τοὺς  
 ἀνδριάντας ἐπὶ τῷδε κέρατα. πόλεις δὲ ὥκισεν  
 ἐπὶ τὸ μῆκος τῆς ἀρχῆς ὅλης ἔκκαιδεκα μὲν  
 Ἀντιοχείας ἐπὶ τῷ πατρί, πέντε δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ μητρὶ<sup>1</sup>  
 Λαοδικείας, ἐννέα δὲ ἐπωνύμους ἑαυτοῦ, τέσσαρας  
 δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς γυναιξί, τρεῖς Ἀπαμείας καὶ Στρατο-  
 νίκειαν μίαν. καὶ εἰσὶν αὐτῶν ἐπιφανέσταται καὶ  
 νῦν Σελεύκειαι μὲν ἡ τε ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ ἡ  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ, Λαοδικεία δὲ ἡ ἐν τῇ  
 Φουνίκῃ καὶ Ἀντιόχεια ἡ ὑπὸ τῷ Λιβάνῳ ὅρει καὶ  
 ἡ τῆς Συρίας Ἀπάμεια. τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐκ τῆς  
 Ἐλλάδος ἡ Μακεδονίας ὡνόμαζεν, ἡ ἐπὶ ἔργοις  
 ἑαυτοῦ τισιν, ἡ ἐς τιμὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως·  
 ὅθεν ἔστιν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν ἄνω  
 βαρβάροις πολλὰ μὲν Ἐλληνικῶν πολλὰ δὲ  
 Μακεδονικῶν πολισμάτων ὄνόματα, Βέρροια,

## THE SYRIAN WARS

of them in the end, for Alexander departed from life CHAP.  
in Babylon and Seleucus became the ruler of a larger IX  
part of his dominions than any other of Alexander's  
successors.

57. Such are the prophecies I have heard of concerning Seleucus. Directly after the death of Alexander he became the leader of the Companion cavalry, which Hephaestion, and afterwards Perdiccas, commanded during the life of Alexander. After commanding the cavalry he became satrap of Babylon, and after satrap, king. As he was very successful in b.c. 312-280 war he acquired the surname of Nicator. At least that seems to me more probable than that he received it from the killing of Nicator. He was of such a large and powerful frame that once when a wild bull was brought for sacrifice to Alexander and broke loose from his ropes, Seleucus held him alone, with nothing but his hands, for which reason his statues are ornamented with horns. He built cities throughout the entire length of his dominions and named sixteen of them Antioch after his father, five Laodicea after his mother, nine after himself, and four after his wives, that is, three Apamea and one Stratonicea. Of these the two most renowned at the present time are the two Seleucias, one on the sea and the other on the river Tigris, Laodicea in Phoenicia, Antioch under Mount Lebanon, and Apamea in Syria. To the others he gave names from Greece or Macedonia, or from his own exploits, or in honour of Alexander; whence it comes to pass that in Syria and among the barbarous regions of upper Asia many of the towns bear Greek and Macedonian names, such as Berrhoea, Edessa,

Cities founded by him

CAP. "Εδεσσα, Πέρινθος, Μαρώνεια, Καλλίπολις,  
 IX 'Αχαια, Πέλλα, 'Ωρωπός, 'Αμφίπολις, 'Αρέθουσα,  
 'Αστακός, Τεγέα, Χαλκίς, Λάρισα, "Ηραια, 'Απολ-  
 λωνία, ἐν δὲ τῇ Παρθυηνῇ Σώτειρα, Καλλιόπη,  
 Χάρις, 'Εκατόμπυλος, 'Αχαια, ἐν δ' 'Ινδοῖς  
 'Αλεξανδρόπολις, ἐν δὲ Σκύθαις 'Αλεξανδρέσχατα.  
 καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐτοῦ Σελεύκου νίκαις ἔστι Νικηφό-  
 ριόν τε ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ καὶ Νικόπολις ἐν  
 'Αρμενίᾳ τῇ ἀγχοτάτῳ μάλιστα Καππαδοκίᾳ.

58. Φασὶ δὲ αὐτῷ τὰς Σελευκείας οἰκίζοντι,  
 τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ, διοσημίαν ἡγήσασθαι  
 κεραυνοῦ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θεὸν αὐτοῖς κεραυνὸν  
 ἔθετο, καὶ θρησκεύουσι καὶ ὑμνοῦσι καὶ νῦν  
 κεραυνόν· ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος ἡμέραν  
 ἐπιλέξασθαι τοὺς μάγους κελευομένους, καὶ τῆς  
 ἡμέρας ὥραν, ἢ τῶν θεμελίων ἄρξασθαι τῆς  
 ὁρυχῆς ἔδει, ψεύσασθαι τὴν ὥραν τοὺς μάγους,  
 οὐκ ἐθέλοντας ἐπιτείχισμα τοιόνδε σφίσι γενέ-  
 σθαι. καὶ Σέλευκος μὲν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τὴν δεδο-  
 μένην ὥραν ἀνέμενεν, ὃ δὲ στρατὸς ἐς τὸ ἔργον  
 ἔτοιμος, ἀτρεμῶν ἔστε σημήνειεν ὃ Σέλευκος,  
 ἄφνω κατὰ τὴν αἰσιωτέραν ὥραν δόξαντές τινα  
 κελεύειν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἀνεπήδησαν, ὡς μηδὲ τῶν  
 κηρύκων ἐρυκόντων ἔτι ἀνασχέσθαι. τὸ μὲν δὴ  
 ἔργον ἔξετετέλεστο, Σέλεύκῳ δὲ ἀθύμως ἔχοντι,  
 καὶ τοὺς μάγους αὐθις ἀνακρίνοντι περὶ τῆς  
 πόλεως, ἀδειαν αἰτήσαντες ἐλεγον οἱ μάγοι· "τὴν  
 πεπρωμένην ὡ βασιλεῦ μοῖραν, χείρονά τε καὶ  
 κρείσσονα, οὐκ ἔστιν οὔτε ἀνδρὸς οὔτε πόλεως  
 ἐναλλάξαι. μοῖρα δέ τις καὶ πόλεών ἔστιν ὕσπερ  
 ἀνδρῶν. καὶ τήνδε χρονιωτάτην μὲν ἐδόκει τοῖς  
 θεοῖς γενέσθαι, ἀρχομένην ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς ὥρας ἡς

## THE SYRIAN WARS

Perinthus, Maronea, Callipolis, Achaia, Pella, CHAP. IX  
Oropus, Amphipolis, Arethusa, Astacus, Tegea,  
Chalcis, Larissa, Heraea, and Apollonia; in Parthia  
also Sotera, Calliope, Charis, Hecatompylos, Achaia;  
in India Alexandria; in Scythia Alexandreschata.  
From the victories of Seleucus come the names of  
Nicephorium in Mesopotamia and of Nicopolis in  
Armenia very near Cappadocia.

58. They say that when he was about to build the two Seleucias a portent of thunder preceded the foundation of the one by the sea, for which reason he consecrated thunder as a divinity of the place, and accordingly the inhabitants worship thunder and sing its praises to this day. They say, also, that when the Magi were ordered to indicate the propitious day and hour for beginning the foundations of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris they falsified the hour Seleucia-on  
the-Tigris because they did not want to have such a stronghold built against themselves. While the king was waiting in his tent for the appointed hour, and the army, in readiness to begin the work, stood quietly till Seleucus should give the signal, suddenly, at the true hour of destiny, they seemed to hear a voice ordering them on. So they sprang to their work with such alacrity that the heralds who tried to stop them were not able to do so. When the work was brought to an end Seleucus, being troubled in his mind, again made inquiry of the Magi concerning his city, and they, having first secured a promise of impunity, replied, "That which is fated, O King, whether it be for better or worse, neither man nor city can change, for there is a fate for cities as well as for men. It pleases the gods that this city shall endure for ages, because it was begun on the hour

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XI

CAP. έγένετο· δειμαίνοντες δ' ἡμεῖς ὡς ἐπιτείχισμα  
 IX ἥμīν ἐσομένην, παρεφέρομεν τὸ πεπρωμένον. τὸ  
 δὲ κρείσσον ἦν καὶ μάγων πανουργούντων καὶ  
 βασιλέως ἀγνοοῦντος αὐτό. τοιγάρτοι τὸ δαιμό-  
 νιον τὰ αἰσιώτερα τῷ στρατῷ προσέταξεν. καὶ  
 τοῦτο ἔνι σοι καταμαθεῖν ὅδε, ἵνα μή τι καὶ νῦν  
 ἡμᾶς ἔτι τεχνάζειν ὑπονοῆς. αὐτός τε γὰρ ὁ  
 βασιλεὺς σὺν τῷ στρατῷ παρεκάθησο, καὶ τὸ  
 κέλευσμα αὐτὸς ἐδεδώκεις ἀναμένειν· καὶ ὁ εὐπει-  
 θέστατος ὃν σοι πρὸς κινδύνους καὶ πόνους οὐκ  
 ἡνέσχετο νῦν οὐδὲ ἀναπαύσεως ἐπιτάγματος, ἀλλ’  
 ἀνέθορεν, οὐδὲ ἀνὰ μέρος ἀλλ’ ἀθρόως, ἐπιστάταις  
 αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐνόμιζε κεκελεῦσθαι. καὶ ἐκεκέλευστο  
 δῆ· διόπερ οὐδὲ σοῦ κατερύκοντος αὐτοὺς ἔτι  
 ἐπείθοντο. τί ἀν οὖν βασιλέως ἐν ἀνθρώποις εἴη  
 καρτερώτερον ἄλλο θεοῦ; ὃς τῆς σῆς γνώμης  
 ἐπεκράτησε, καὶ ἡγεμόνευσέ σοι τῆς πόλεως ἀντὶ<sup>τ</sup>  
 ἥμῶν, δυσμεναίνων ἥμīν τε καὶ γένει παντὶ τῷ  
 περιοίκῳ. ποῦ γὰρ ἔτι τὰ ἥμέτερα ἴσχύσει,  
 δυνατωτέρου γένους παρῳκισμένου; ἡ μὲν δῆ  
 πόλις σοι γέγονε σὺν τύχῃ καὶ μεγιστεύσει καὶ  
 χρόνιος ἔσται· σὺ δὲ ἥμīν, ἐξαμαρτοῦσιν ὑπὸ<sup>τ</sup>  
 δέους οἰκείων ἀγαθῶν ἀφαιρέσεως, τὴν συγγνώμην  
 βεβαίου.” ταῦτα τῶν μάγων εἰπόντων ὁ βασι-  
 λεὺς ἤσθη καὶ συνέγνω.

## X

CAP. 59. Τοιάδε μὲν ἐπιθόμην περὶ Σελευκείας· ὁ δὲ  
 X Σέλευκος τὸν νίδον Ἀντίοχον, περιὼν ἔτι, τῆς ἄνω  
 γῆς βασιλεύειν ἀπέφηνεν ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ. καὶ εἰ τῷ  
 216

## THE SYRIAN WARS

on which it was begun. We feared lest it should be CHAP.  
a stronghold against ourselves, and falsified the IX  
appointed time. But destiny was stronger than  
crafty Magi or an unsuspecting king. For that  
reason the deity announced the more propitious hour  
to the army. You may know this to be true, so that  
you need not still suspect us of deception, from the  
fact that you were presiding over the army yourself,  
as king, and you had yourself ordered them to wait;  
but the army, ever obedient to you in facing danger  
and toil, could not now be restrained, even when  
you gave them the order to stop, but sprang to their  
work, not a part of them merely, but all together,  
and their officers with them, thinking that the order  
had been given. In fact it had been given. That  
was the reason why not even you could hold them  
back. What can be stronger in human affairs than a  
king, unless it be a god, who overcame your intention  
and supplanted us in giving you directions about the  
city, being hostile to us and to all the people round  
about? What can our resources avail hereafter with  
a more powerful race settled along side of us? This  
city of yours has had a fortunate beginning, and it  
will be great and enduring. We beg that you will  
confirm your pardon of our fault which we com-  
mitted from fear of the loss of our own prosperity." The  
king was pleased with what the Magi said and  
pardoned them. 59. This is what I have heard about  
Seleucia.

## X

SELEUCUS, while still living, appointed his son, CHAP.  
Antiochus, king of upper Asia in place of himself. X  
If this seems noble and kingly on his part, even B.C. 203

CAP. μεγαλόφρον εἶναι τόδε φαίνεται καὶ βασιλικόν,  
<sup>X</sup> μεγαλοφρονέστερον ἔτι καὶ σοφώτερον ἥνεγκε τὸν  
 ἔρωτα τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸ πάθος αὐτοῦ  
 σωφροσύνην. ἡρα μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἀντίοχος Στρατο-  
 νίκης τῆς αὐτοῦ Σελεύκου γυναικός, μητριᾶς οἱ  
 γενομένης καὶ παῖδα ἥδη τῷ Σελεύκῳ πεποιημένης,  
 συγγιγνώσκων δὲ τὴν ἀθεμιστίαν τοῦ πάθους  
 οὔτε ἐπεχείρει τῷ κακῷ οὔτε προύφερεν, ἀλλ᾽  
 ἐνόσει καὶ παρεῖτο καὶ ἐκὼν ἐς τὸν θάνατον συν-  
 ἥργει. οὐδὲ ὁ περιώνυμος ἴατρὸς Ἐρασίστρατος,  
 ἐπὶ μεγίσταις συντάξεσι Σελεύκῳ συνών, εἰχε  
 τεκμήρασθαι τοῦ πάθους, μέχρι φυλάξας καθαρὸν  
 ἐκ πάντων τὸ σῶμα, εἴκασεν εἶναι τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν  
 νόσον, ἡ δὴ καὶ ἐρρωμένη καὶ νοσούσῃ τὸ σῶμα  
 συναίσθεται. λύπας μὲν οὖν καὶ ὄργας καὶ ἐπι-  
 θυμίας ἄλλας ὄμολογεῖσθαι, ἔρωτα δὲ ἐπικρύπτε-  
 σθαι πρὸς τῶν σωφρόνων. οὐδὲν δὲ οὐδὲν ὡς τοῦ  
 Ἀντιόχου φράζοντος αὐτῷ λιπαροῦντι μαθεῖν ἐν  
 ἀπορρήτῳ, παρεκαθέζετο καὶ ἐφύλασσε τὰς τοῦ  
 σώματος μεταβολάς, ὅπως ἔχοι πρὸς ἔκαστον τῶν  
 ἐσιόντων. ὡς δὲ ηὗρεν ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων  
 σβεννύμενον ἀεὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ μαρανόμενον ὄμα-  
 λῶς, δτε δὲ ἡ Στρατονίκη παρίοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπι-  
 σκεψομένη, τὴν μὲν γνώμην ὑπ' αἰδοῦς καὶ  
 συνειδότος τότε μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἐνοχλούμενον καὶ  
 σιωπῶντα, τὸ δὲ σῶμα καὶ ἄκοντος αὐτοῦ θαλε-  
 ρώτερόν τε γιγνόμενον αὐτῷ καὶ ζωτικώτερον, καὶ  
 αὐθις ἀπιούσης ἀσθενέστερον, ἔφη τῷ Σελεύκῳ  
 τὸν οὐδὲν ἀπιάτως ἔχειν αὐτῷ. ὑπεραλγήσαντος  
 δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἐκβοήσαντος εἰπεν· “ἔρως  
 ἔστι τὸ πάθος, καὶ ἔρως γυναικός, ἀλλ' ἀδύ-  
 νατος.”

## THE SYRIAN WARS

nobler and wiser was his behaviour in reference to CHAP.  
his son's falling in love, and the restraint which that  
son showed in regard to his passion; for Antiochus  
was in love with Stratonice, the wife of Seleucus, his  
own step-mother, who had already borne a child  
to Seleucus. Recognizing the wickedness of this  
passion, Antiochus did nothing wrong, nor did he  
show his feelings, but he fell sick, drooped, and strove  
his hardest to die. Nor could the celebrated physician,  
Erasistratus, who was serving Seleucus at a very high  
salary, form any diagnosis of his malady. At length,  
observing that his body was free from all the  
symptoms of disease, he conjectured that this was  
some condition of the mind, through which the  
body is often strengthened or weakened by sym-  
pathy; and he knew that, while grief, anger, and  
other passions disclose themselves, love alone is  
concealed by the modest. As even then Antiochus  
would confess nothing when the physician asked him  
earnestly and in confidence, he took a seat by his  
side and watched the changes of his body to see how  
he was affected by each person who entered his  
room. He found that when others came the patient  
was all the time weakening and wasting away at a  
uniform pace, but when Stratonice came to visit him  
his mind was greatly agitated by the struggles of  
modesty and conscience, and he remained silent.  
But his body in spite of himself became more  
vigorous and lively, and when she went away he  
became weaker again. So the physician told Seleucus  
that his son had an incurable disease. The king  
was overwhelmed with grief and cried aloud. Then  
the physician added, "His disease is love, love for a  
woman, but a hopeless love."

X  
Seleucus,  
Antiochus  
and  
Stratonice

CAP. 60. Σελεύκου δὲ θαυμάσαντος εἴ τινα μὴ δύναιτο πεῖσαι Σέλευκος ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεύς, ἐπὶ γάμῳ τοιοῦτο παιδός, ἵκεσίᾳ τε καὶ χρήμασι καὶ δωρεαῖς καὶ ὅλῃ τῇ τοσῆδε βασιλείᾳ, περιουση μὲν ἐς τόνδε τὸν κάμνοντα βασιλέα, δοθησομένη δὲ καὶ νῦν ἀντὶ τῆς σωτηρίας εἰς ἥδη τις ἔθέλοι, καὶ μόνον ἀξιοῦντος μαθεῖν τίς ἔστι τὸ γύναιον, ὁ Ἐρασίστρατος ἔφη· “τῆς ἐμῆς γυναικὸς ἐρᾶ.” καὶ ὁ Σέλευκος, “εἰτ’ ὡς ’γαθέ,’” ἔφη, “φιλίας μὲν οὕτω καὶ χαρίτων ἔχων ἐφ’ ἡμῖν, ἀρετῆς δὲ καὶ σοφίας ἐν ὀλίγοις, οὐ σώσεις μοι νέον ἄνδρα καὶ βασιλικόν, φίλου καὶ βασιλέως νίόν, ἀτυχοῦντα καὶ σωφρονοῦντα καὶ τὸ κακὸν ἐπικρύπτοντα καὶ προτιμώμενον αὐτῷ θανάτου, ἀλλ’ ὑπερόψει μὲν οὕτως Ἀντιόχου, ὑπερόψει δ’ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ καὶ Σέλευκον;” ὁ δ’ ἀπομαχόμενος εἶπε λόγον ὡς ἀφυκτον, ὅτι μηδ’ ἀν σύ, καίπερ ὡν πατίρ, τῆς σῆς Ἀντιόχος εἰς ἦρα γυναικός, μεθῆκας ἀν αὐτῷ τὴν γυναικα. ἔνθα δὴ πάντας ὡμνυ τοὺς βασιλείους θεοὺς ὁ Σέλευκος, ἢ μὴν ἔκὼν ἀν καὶ χαίρων μεθεῖναι καὶ διήγημα γενέσθαι καλὸν εὐνοίας ἀγαθοῦ πατρὸς ἐς παῖδα σώφρονα καὶ ἐγκρατῆ τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ ἀνάξιον τῆς συμφορᾶς. πολλά τε ὅμοια ἐπενεγκών, ἥρξατο ἄχθεσθαι ὅτι μὴ αὐτὸς αὐτῷ γίγνοιτο ἰατρὸς ἀτυχοῦντι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς ταῦτα δέοιτο Ἐρασίστράτου.

61. ‘Ο δ’ ἐπεὶ κατεῖδε τὴν ὄρμὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἔργον ὑποφαίνουσαν, οὐχ ὑπόκρισιν, ἀνεκάλυπτε τὸ πάθος, καὶ ὅπως αὐτὸς εὗροι κρυπτόμενον

## THE SYRIAN WARS

60. Seleucus was astonished that there could be CHAP.  
any woman whom he, king of Asia, could not prevail  
upon to marry such a son as his, by entreaties, by  
gold, by gifts, by the whole of that great kingdom,  
the eventual inheritance of the sick prince, which  
the father would give to him even now, if he wished  
it, in order to save him. Desiring to learn only one  
thing more, he asked, "Who is this woman?"  
Erasistratus replied, "He is in love with my wife."  
"Well then, my good fellow," rejoined Seleucus,  
"since you are so bound to us by friendship and  
favours, and have few equals in goodness and wisdom,  
will you not save this princely young man for me,  
the son of your friend and king, unfortunate in love  
but virtuous, who has concealed his sinful passion  
and prefers to die rather than confess it? Do you so  
despise Antiochus? Do you despise his father also?"  
Erasistratus resisted, and said, as though putting for-  
ward an unanswerable argument, "Even you would  
not give Antiochus your wife if he were in love with  
her, although you are his father." Then Seleucus  
swore by all the gods of his royal house that he would  
willingly and cheerfully give her, and make himself  
an illustrious example of the kindness of a good  
father to a chaste son who controlled his passion and  
did not deserve such suffering. Much more he added  
of the same sort, and, finally, began to lament that  
he could not himself be physician to his unhappy  
boy, but must needs depend on Erasistratus in this  
matter also.

61. When Erasistratus saw by the king's earnest-  
ness that he was not pretending, he told the whole  
truth. He related how he had discovered the nature  
of the malady, and how he had detected the secret

CAP. διηγεῖτο. Σελεύκω δὲ ἡσθέντι ἔργον μὲν ἐγένετο πεῖσαι τὸν υἱόν, ἔργον δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τὴν γυναικα· ώς δ' ἔπεισε, τὴν στρατιὰν συναγαγών, αἰσθομένην ἵσως ἥδη τι τούτων, κατελογίζετο μὲν αὐτοῖς τὰ ἔργα τὰ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, δτὶ δὴ μάλιστα τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου διαδόχων ἐπὶ μῆκιστον προαγάγοι· διὸ καὶ γηρώντι ἥδη δυσκράτητον εἶναι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος. “ἐθέλω δέ,” ἔφη, “διελεῖν τὸ μέγεθος ἐς τὴν ὑμετέραν τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀμεριμνίαν, καὶ τὸ μέρος ἥδη δοῦναι τοῖς ἐμοῖς φιλτάτοις. δίκαιοι δ' ἐστέ μοι πάντες ἐς πάντα συνεργεῖν, οἱ ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀρχῆς καὶ δυνάμεως ηὔξηθητε ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μετ' Ἀλέξανδρον. φίλτατοι δ' εἰσὶ μοι καὶ ἀρχῆς ἄξιοι τῶν τε παίδων ὁ τέλειος ἥδη καὶ ἡ γυνή. ἥδη δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ παῖδες, ως νέοις, γένοιντο ταχέως, καὶ πλέονες φύλακες ὑμῖν τῆς ἡγεμονίας εἰεν. ἀρμόξω σφίσιν ἀλλήλουντο ἐφ' ὑμῶν, καὶ πέμπω βασιλέας εἶναι τῶν ἐθνῶν ἥδη τῶν ἄνω. καὶ οὐ Περσῶν ὑμῖν ἔθη καὶ ἐτέρων ἐθνῶν μᾶλλον ἡ τόνδε τὸν κοινὸν ἅπασιν ἐπιθήσω νόμον, ἀεὶ δίκαιον εἶναι τὸ πρὸς βασιλέως ὅριζόμενον.” ὁ μὲν δὴ οὕτως εἶπεν, ἡ στρατιὰ δὲ ὡς βασιλέα τε τῶν ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μέγιστον καὶ πατέρα ἄριστον ηὐφήμει καὶ ὁ Σέλευκος Στρατονίκη καὶ τῷ παιδὶ τὰ αὐτὰ προστάξας ἐξεύγνυ τὸν γάμον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐξέπεμψεν, ἔργον ἀοίδιμον τόδε καὶ δυνατώτερον τῶν ἐν πολέμοις αὐτῷ γενομένων ἔργασάμενος.

62. Σατραπεῖαι δὲ ἦσαν ὑπ' αὐτῷ δύο καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα· τοσαύτης ἐβασίλευε γῆς. καὶ τὴν

## THE SYRIAN WARS

passion. Seleucus was overjoyed, but it was a difficult CHAP. matter to persuade his son and not less so to persuade his wife ; but he succeeded finally. Then he assembled his army, which perhaps by now suspected something, and told them of his exploits and of the extent of his empire, showing that it surpassed that of any of the other successors of Alexander, and saying that as he was now growing old it was hard for him to govern it on account of its size. "I wish," he said, "to divide it, in the interests of your future safety, and to give a part of it now to those who are dearest to me. It is fitting that all of you, who have advanced to such greatness of dominion and power under me since the time of Alexander, should co-operate with me in everything. The dearest to me, and well worthy to reign, are my grown-up son and my wife. As they are young, I pray they may soon have children to aid in guarding the empire. I join them in marriage in your presence and send them to be sovereigns of the upper provinces now. The law which I shall impose upon you is not the customs of the Persians and other nations, but the law which is common to all, that what the king ordains is always right." When he had thus spoken the army shouted that he was the greatest king of all the successors of Alexander and the best father. Seleucus laid the same injunctions on Stratonice and his son, then joined them in marriage, and sent them to their kingdom, showing himself even stronger in this famous act than in his deeds of arms.

62. Seleucus had seventy-two satraps under him, so extensive was the territory over which he ruled. The greater part he had transferred to his son, but

Seleucus  
divides his  
kingdom

CAP. πλείονα τῷ παιδὶ παραδούς, ἥρχε τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐπὶ Εὐφράτην μόνων. καὶ πόλεμον τελευταῖον Λυσιμάχῳ περὶ Φρυγίαν τὴν ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ πολεμῶν, Λυσιμάχου μὲν ἐκράτει πεσόντος ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπέρα. καὶ ἐς Λυσιμάχειαν ἀναβαίνων κτείνεται. Πτολεμαῖος δ' αὐτὸν ἐπόμενος ἔκτεινεν, ὅτῳ κεραυνὸς ἐπίκλησις. νίδιος δ' ἦν ὁ κεραυνος ὃδε Πτολεμαίου τοῦ σωτῆρος καὶ Εὐρυδίκης τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου· καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκπεσόντα Αἰγύπτου διὰ δέος, ὅτι νεωτάτῳ παιδὶ ὁ Πτολεμαῖος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπενόει δοῦναι, ὁ Σέλευκος οἴα φίλου παῖδα ἀτυχοῦντα ὑπεδέξατο, καὶ ἔφερβε καὶ ἐπήγετο πάντη φονέα ἑαυτοῦ.

63. Καὶ Σέλευκος μὲν οὕτω τελευτᾶ, τρία καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη βιώσας, καὶ βασιλεύσας αὐτῶν δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ἐς τοῦτο αὐτῷ συνενεχθῆναι τὸ αὐτὸ λόγιον, “μὴ σπεῦδε Εὐρώπηνδ· Ἀσίη τοι πολλὸν ἀμείνων.” ἡ γὰρ Λυσιμάχεια τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐστί, καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρού στρατείας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην διεπέρα. λέγεται δὲ καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θανάτου ποτὲ αὐτῷ χρωμένῳ λόγιον προαγορευθῆναι “Ἄργος ἀλευούμενος τὸ πεπρωμένον εἰς ἔτος ἥξεις· εἰ δ' Ἄργει πελάσαις, τότε κεν παρὰ μοῖραν δῆλοιο.” ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἄργος τὸ Πελοποννήσιον καὶ Ἄργος τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικὸν καὶ Ἄργος τὸ ἐν Ὁρεστείᾳ (ὅθεν οἱ Ἄργεάδαι Μακεδόνες) καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ λεγόμενον οἰκίσαι Διομήδην ἀλώμενον, καὶ εἰ τί που γῆς ἄλλο Ἄργος ἐκα-

## THE SYRIAN WARS

he continued to reign over the country which CHAP.  
lies between the Euphrates and the sea. The last X  
war that he waged was with Lysimachus, for the  
possession of Phrygia on the Hellespont. Lysima-  
chus was defeated and slain in battle. Then <sup>B.C. 281</sup>  
Seleucus crossed the Hellespont in order to possess  
himself of Lysimacheia, but he was killed by <sup>Death of</sup> Seleucus  
Ptolemy Ceraunus who accompanied him. This  
Ceraunus was the son of Ptolemy Soter and Euridice,  
the daughter of Antipater. He had left Egypt from  
fear, because his father had decided to leave the  
kingdom to his youngest son. Seleucus had received  
him as the unfortunate son of his friend, and thus he  
supported, and took with him everywhere, his own  
murderer.

63. Thus Seleucus died at the age of seventy-three, <sup>B.C. 280</sup> having reigned forty-two years. It seems to me that the above-mentioned oracle hit the mark in this case too, when it said to him, "Do not hurry back to Europe; Asia will be much better for you," for Lysimacheia is in Europe, and he then crossed over to Europe for the first time after leaving it with the army of Alexander. It is said also that once when he specially consulted an oracle about his death he received this answer:—

"If you keep away from Argos you will reach your allotted year, but if you approach that place you will die before your time."

There is an Argos in Peloponnesus, another in Amphilochia, another in Orestea (whence come the Macedonian Argeadae), and the one on the Ionian sea, said to have been built by Diomedes during his wanderings,—all these, and every place named Argos in every other country, Seleucus inquired

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XI

CAP. λεῦτο, πάντα ἀνεζήτει καὶ ἐφυλάσσετο· ἀνα-  
 βαίνοντι δὲ ἐς τὴν Λυσιμάχειαν αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 Ἐλλησπόντου βωμὸς ἦν ἐν δψει μέγας τε καὶ  
 περιφανῆς, καὶ πυθόμενος αὐτὸν ἡ τοὺς Ἀργο-  
 ναύτας στήσασθαι παραπλέοντας ἐς Κόλχους ἡ  
 τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπὶ "Ιλιον στρατεύοντας, καὶ διὰ  
 τοῦτο ἔτι τὸν βωμὸν τοὺς περιχώρους Ἀργος  
 καλεῖν, ἡ διὰ τὴν ναῦν διαφθείροντας τὸ ὄνομα ἡ  
 διὰ τὴν πατρίδα τῶν Ἀτρειδῶν, κτείνεται, ταῦτα  
 ἔτι μανθάνων, ὑπὸ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου προσπεσόντος  
 ὅπισθεν. καὶ Σέλευκον μὲν ἔκαιε Φιλέταιρος ὁ  
 Περγάμου δυναστεύσας, πολλῶν χρημάτων τὸ  
 σῶμα τὸν κεραυνὸν αἴτησας, καὶ τὰ λείψανα  
 ἔπειμπεν Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ ἐν Σε-  
 λευκείᾳ τῇ πρὸς θαλάσσῃ ἀπέθετο, καὶ νεῶν αὐτῷ  
 ἐπέστησε καὶ τέμενος περιέθηκε· καὶ τὸ τέμενος  
 Νικατόρειον ἐπικλήζεται.

64. Λυσίμαχον δὲ πυνθάνομαι, τῶν ὑπασπισ-  
 τῶν ὅντα τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου, παρατροχάσαι ποτὲ  
 ἐπὶ πλεῖστον αὐτῷ, καὶ καμόιτα, τῆς οὐρᾶς τοῦ  
 βασιλέως ἵππου λαβόμενον, ἔτι συντρέχειν, πλη-  
 γέντα δὲ ἐς τὸ μέτωπον ἐπὶ τὴν φλέβα τῷ τέλει  
 τοῦ βασιλείου δόρατος αἵμορροεῖν· τὸν δὲ Ἀλέ-  
 ξανδρον, ἀπορίᾳ τελαμῶνος, τῷ διαδίματι αὐτοῦ  
 τὸ τραῦμα περιδῆσαι, καὶ ἐμπλησθῆναι μὲν  
 αἷματος τὸ διάδημα, τὸν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου μάντιν  
 Ἀρίστανδρον φερομένῳ τῷ Λυσιμάχῳ καὶ ὥδε  
 ἔχοντι ἐπειπεῖν ὅτι βασιλεύσει μὲν οὗτος ὁ ἀνήρ,  
 βασιλεύσει δὲ ἐπιπόνως. ὁ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐβασί-  
 λευσε τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη μάλιστα σὺν οἷς ἐσατ-

## THE SYRIAN WARS

about and avoided. But while he was advancing from CHAP  
the Hellespont to Lysimacheia a great and splendid X  
altar presented itself to his view, which he was told had been built either by the Argonauts on their way to Colchis, or by the Achaeans who besieged Troy, for which reason the people in the neighbourhood still called it Argos, either by a corruption of the name of the ship *Argo*, or from the native place of the sons of Atreus. As he was still listening to this story, he was killed by Ptolemy, who stabbed him in the back. Philetaerus, the prince of Pergamus, bought the body of Seleucus from Ceraunus for a large sum of money, burned it, and sent the ashes to his son Antiochus. The latter deposited them at Seleucia-by-the-Sea, where he erected a temple to his father, and made a precinct round it. The precinct is called Nicatoreum.

64. I have heard that Lysimachus, who was one of the armour-bearers of Alexander, was once running by his side for a long distance, and, being fatigued, took hold of the tail of the king's horse and continued to run ; that he was struck in the forehead by the point of the king's spear, which opened one of his veins from which the blood flowed profusely ; that Alexander, for want of a bandage, bound up the wound with his own diadem,<sup>1</sup> which was thus saturated with blood ; and that Aristandrus, Alexander's soothsayer, when he saw Lysimachus carried away with the diadem on his forehead, said, "That man will be a king, but he will reign with toil and trouble." He reigned nearly forty years, counting those in which

<sup>1</sup> The blue band with white spots, worn round the tiara of the Persian kings, and adopted by Alexander.

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XI

**CAP. X** ράπευσε, καὶ ἐπιπόνως ἐβασίλευσε, καὶ ἐβδομη-  
κοντούτης ὡν στρατευόμενος καὶ μαχόμενος  
ἐπεσεν. εὐθὺς δὲ ἐπαναιρεθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ  
Σελεύκου, κείμενον τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Λυσιμάχου κύων  
οἰκεῖος, ἐς πολὺ ὑπερμαχῶν, ἀλύμαντον ἐξ ὄρνέων  
καὶ θηρίων διεφύλασσε, μέχρι Θώραξ ὁ Φαρσά-  
λιος εύρων ἔθαψεν. οἱ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρόν φασι  
θάψαι, τὸν αὐτοῦ Λυσιμάχου παῖδα, φυγόντα μὲν  
ὑπὸ δέους πρὸς Σέλευκον ὅτε Λυσίμαχος Ἀγα-  
θοκλέα τὸν ἔτερον αὐτοῦ παῖδα ἀνεῖλεν, ἐρευνη-  
σάμενον δὲ ἐν τῷ τότε τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ κυνὸς  
μάλιστα ἀνευρόντα ἥδη διεφθαρμένον. τὰ δὲ  
ὅστα τοὺς Λυσιμάχεας ἐνθέσθαι τῷ σφετέρῳ  
ἱερῷ, καὶ τὸ ιερὸν Λυσιμάχείον προσαγορεῦσαι.

## XI

**CAP. XI** Τοιόνδε μὲν δὴ τέλος ἐκατέρῳ τῶν βασι-  
λέων συνηνέχθη, ἀνδρειοτάτων τε καὶ τὰ σώματα  
μεγίστων γενομένων, τοῦ μὲν ἐς ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη,  
τοῦ δὲ ἐς πλέονα τούτων ἔτι ἄλλα τρία, μεμαχη-  
μένων ἐκ χειρὸς οἰκείας ἀεὶ μέχρι τοῦ θανάτου.

65. Σελεύκου δὲ ἀποθανόντος διάδοχοι, παῖς  
παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεχόμενοι τὴν Σύρων ἀρχήν,  
ἐγένοντο οἵδε, Ἀντίοχος μὲν πρῶτος ὅδε ὁ τῆς  
μητριαῖς ἐρασθείς, ὃς καὶ σωτὴρ ἐπεκλήθη  
Γαλάτας ἐκ τῆς Εύρωπης ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐσβα-  
λόντας, ἐξελάσας, δεύτερος δὲ Ἀντίοχος ἔτερος,  
ἐκ τῶνδε τῶν γάμων γενόμενος, ὅτῳ θεὸς ἐπώνυ-  
μον ὑπὸ Μιλησίων γύγνεται πρῶτον, ὅτι αὐτοῖς  
Τίμαρχον τύραννον καθεῖλεν. ἄλλὰ τόνδε μὲν

## THE SYRIAN WARS

he was satrap, and he did reign with toil and trouble. CHAP.  
X  
He fell in battle, while still commanding his army and  
fighting, at the age of seventy. Directly after his death  
Seleucus was killed, and Lysimachus' dog watched  
his master's body lying on the ground for a long  
time, and kept it from being harmed by birds or beasts  
until Thorax of Pharsalia found and buried it. Others  
say that he was buried by his own son, Alexander,  
who fled to Seleucus from fear when Lysimachus put  
to death his other son, Agathocles; that he searched  
for the body on that occasion and found it, mainly  
by the help of the dog, and that it was already partly  
decomposed. The Lysimacheians deposited the  
bones in their temple and named the temple itself  
the Lysimacheum.

Death of  
Lysimachus

## XI

THUS did these two kings, the bravest and most CHAP.  
XI  
renowned for bodily size, come to their end, one of them at the age of seventy, the other three years older, and both fighting with their own hands until the day of their death.

65. But after the death of Seleucus, the kingdom of Syria passed in regular succession from father to son as follows: the first was the same Antiochus who fell in love with his stepmother, to whom was given the surname of Soter (the Protector) for driving out the Gauls who had made an incursion into Asia from Europe. The second was another Antiochus, born of this marriage, who received the surname of Theos (the Divine) from the Milesians in the first instance, because he slew their tyrant, Timarchus. This

The suc-  
cessors of  
Seleucus

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XI

**CAP. ΧΙ** τὸν θεὸν ἔκτεινεν ἡ γυνὴ φαρμάκῳ. δύο δὲ εἰχε, λαοδίκην καὶ Βερενίκην, ἐξ ἕρωτός τε καὶ ἐγγύης, . . . Πτολεμαίου τοῦ φιλαδέλφου θυγατέρα· καὶ αὐτὸν ἔκτεινε λαοδίκη, καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ Βερενίκην τε καὶ τὸ Βερενίκης βρέφος. καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τοῦ φιλαδέλφου, ταῦτα τινύμενος, λαοδίκην τε ἔκτεινε καὶ ἐς Συρίαν ἐνέβαλε καὶ ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἥλασεν. καὶ Παρθυαῖοι τῆς ἀποστάσεως τότε ἥρξαν ως τεταραγμένης τῆς τῶν Σελευκιδῶν ἀρχῆς.

66. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ θεῷ βασιλεὺς γίγνεται Συρίας Σέλευκος, υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τε καὶ λαοδίκης, ὃ καλλίνικος ἐπώνυμον. ἐπὶ δὲ Σελεύκῳ δύο παῖδες αὐτοῦ Σελεύκου, καθ' ἥλικίαν ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν, Σελεύκος τε καὶ Ἀντίοχος. Σελεύκῳ μὲν δὴ ἀσθενεῖ τε ὅντι καὶ πενομένῳ καὶ δυσπειθῇ τὸν στρατὸν ἔχοντι ἐπεβούλευσαν οἱ φίλοι διὰ φαρμάκων, καὶ ἐς ἔτη δύο μόνα ἐβασίλευσεν· ὃ δὲ Ἀντίοχος ὅδε ἐστὶν ὃ μέγας ἐπίκλην, περὶ οὐ μοι πάλαι εἴρηται, 'Ρωμαίοις πεπολεμηκότος. ἐβασίλευσε δὲ ἔτη ἐπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα. καὶ αὐτοῦ περὶ τοῖν παίδοιν προεἶπον ἀμφοῖν βεβασιλευκότοιν, Σελεύκου τε καὶ Ἀντίοχου, Σελεύκου μὲν ἔτεσι δώδεκα, ἀπράκτως ἄμα καὶ ἀσθενῶς διὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς συμφοράν, Ἀντιόχου δὲ δώδεκα οὐ πλήρεσιν, ἐν οἷς Ἀρταξίαν τὸν Ἀρμένιον εἶλε, καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ ἔκτον Πτολεμαῖον, ὀρφανευόμενον μετ' ἀδελφοῦ. καὶ αὐτῷ στρατοπεδεύοντι περὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν Ποπίλιος παρὰ Ρωμαίων πρεσβευτὴς ἦκε, φέρων δέλτον ἐν ᾧ τάδε ἐγέγραπτο, μὴ πολεμεῖν Πτολεμαίοις Ἀντίοχον.

## THE SYRIAN WARS

Theos was poisoned by his wife. He had two wives, CHAP XI  
Laodice and Berenice, the former a love-match, the latter a daughter pledged to him by Ptolemy Philadelphus. Laodice assassinated him and afterward Berenice and her child. Ptolemy, the son of Philadelphus, avenged these crimes by killing Laodice. He invaded Syria and advanced as far as Babylon. The Parthians now began their revolt, taking advantage of the confusion in the house of the Seleucidae.

66. Seleucus, the son of Theos and Laodice, B.C. 246 surnamed Callinicus (the Triumphant), succeeded Theos as king of Syria. After Seleucus his two sons, B.C. 226 Seleucus and Antiochus, succeeded in the order of their age. As Seleucus was sickly and poor and unable to command the obedience of the army, he was poisoned by a court conspiracy after reigning only two years. His brother was Antiochus the B.C. 224 Great, who went to war with the Romans, of whom I have written above. He reigned thirty-seven B.C. 187 years. I have already spoken of his two sons, Seleucus and Antiochus, both of whom ascended the throne. The former reigned twelve years, but feebly and without success by reason of his father's misfortune. Antiochus (Epiphanes) reigned not B.C. 175 quite twelve years, in the course of which he captured Artaxias the Armenian and made an expedition into Egypt against Ptolemy VI., who had been left an orphan with one brother. While he was B.C. 108 encamped near Alexandria, Popilius came to him as Roman ambassador, bringing an order in writing that he should not attack the Ptolemies. When he had

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XI

CAP. άναγνόντι δὲ αὐτῷ, καὶ λέγοντι βουλεύσεσθαι,  
<sup>XI</sup> κύκλου τῇ ράβδῳ περιέγραψεν ὁ Ποπίλιος, καὶ  
 εἶπεν· “ἐνταῦθα βουλεύουν.” ὁ μὲν δὴ κατα-  
 πλαγεὶς ἀνέξευξε, καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἐλυμαίας Ἀφροδίτης  
 ἱερὸν ἐσύλησε, καὶ φθίνων ἐτελεύτησε, παιδίον  
 ἐνναετὲς ἀπολιπών, Ἀντίοχον τὸν εὐπάτορα, ὃς  
 μοι καὶ περὶ τοῦδε εἴρηται.

67. Εἴρηται δὲ καὶ περὶ Δημητρίου τοῦ μετ'  
 αὐτόν, ὃς ὡμήρευεν ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ τῆς ὄμηρείας  
 ἐκφυγῶν ἐβασίλευσε, σωτὴρ καὶ ὅδε πρὸς τῶν  
 Σύρων, δεύτερος ἐπὶ τῷ Σελεύκου τοῦ νικάτορος  
 παιδὶ ὀνομασθείς. ἐπανίσταται δὲ αὐτῷ τις  
 Ἀλέξανδρος, ψευδόμενος εἶναι τοῦ Σελευκείου  
 γένους· καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς  
 κατὰ μῆσος Δημητρίου συνελάμβανεν Ἀλέξαν-  
 δρῳ. καὶ Δημήτριος μὲν διὰ Πτολεμαίου ἔξέπεσε  
 τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐτελεύτησε· τὸν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον  
 ἔξέβαλε Δημήτριος ὁ Δημητρίου τοῦδε τοῦ σωτῆ-  
 ρος νίος, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε, ὃς νόθον τοῦ γένους ἄνδρα  
 νικήσας, νικάτωρ ὑπὸ τῶν Σύρων ὡνομάσθη,  
 δεύτερος καὶ ὅδε μετὰ Σέλευκον. ἐπί τε Παρ-  
 θυαίους καὶ ὅδε μετὰ Σέλευκον ἐστράτευσε, καὶ  
 γενόμενος αἰχμάλωτος δίαιταν εἶχεν ἐν Φραάτου  
 βασιλέως, καὶ Ῥοδογούνην ἔζευξεν αὐτῷ τῇ  
 ἀδελφὶν ὁ βασιλεύς.

68. Παρὰ δὲ τὴν ἀναρχίαν τήνδε δοῦλος τῶν  
 βασιλέων Διόδοτος παιδίον Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐξ  
 Ἀλέξανδρου τοῦ νόθου καὶ τῆς Πτολεμαίου  
 θυγατρός, ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἥγαγεν. καὶ τὸ  
 παιδίον κτείνας αὐτὸς ἐπετόλμησε τῇ ἀρχῇ,  
 Γρύφων ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ μετονομασθείς. ἀλλ' αὐτὸν  
 Ἀντίοχος ὁ ἀδελφὸς Δημητρίου τοῦ αἰχμαλώτου,

## THE SYRIAN WARS

read it he replied that he would think about it. CHAP.  
Popilius drew a circle around him with his staff and XI  
said, "Think about it here." He was terrified and withdrew from the country, and robbed the temple of Venus of Elymais; he then died of a wasting disease, leaving a son nine years of age, the Antiochus Eupator already mentioned.

67. I have also spoken of Demetrius, his successor, who had been a hostage in Rome and who escaped and became king. He also was called Soter by the Syrians, being the second who bore that title after the son of Seleucus Nicator. Against him a certain Alexander took up arms, falsely pretending to be of the family of the Seleucidae, to whom Ptolemy, king of Egypt, gave aid because he hated Demetrius. The latter was deprived of his kingdom by this means and died. His son, Demetrius, drove out Alexander, and for his victory over this bastard of the family he was surnamed Nicator by the Syrians, the next who bore that title after Seleucus. Following the example of Seleucus he made an expedition against the Parthians. He was taken prisoner by them and lived in the palace of King Phraates, who gave him his sister, Rhodoguna, in marriage.

68. While the country was without a government Diodotus, a slave of the royal house, placed on the throne a young boy named Alexander, a son of Alexander the Bastard and of Ptolemy's daughter. Afterwards he put the boy to death and undertook the government himself and assumed the name of Trypho. But Antiochus, the brother of the captive Demetrius, learning in Rhodes of his capti-

B.C. 162  
Demetrius  
Soter

Palace  
conspiracies

**ΧΙ** πυθόμενος ἐν Ρόδῳ περὶ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας, κτείνει κατιών ἐσ τὰ πατρῶα σὺν πόνῳ πολλῷ. καὶ στρατεύει καὶ ὅδε ἐπὶ τὸν Φραάτην, τὸν ἀδελφὸν αἰτῶν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Φραάτης αὐτὸν ἔδεισε καὶ τὸν Δημήτριον ἔξεπεμψεν· ὁ δὲ Ἀντίοχος καὶ ὡς συνέβαλέ τε τοῖς Παρθιαίοις, καὶ ἡσσώμενος ἐαυτὸν ἔκτεινεν. ἔκτεινε δὲ καὶ Δημήτριον ἐσ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπανελθόντα ἡ γυνὴ Κλεοπάτρα, δολοφονήσασα διὰ ζῆλου τοῦ γάμου Ροδογούνης, δι’ ὃν δὴ καὶ Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τοῦ Δημητρίου προύγεγάμητο. καὶ πᾶντας ἡσαν αὐτῇ δύο μὲν ἐκ Δημητρίου, Σέλευκός τε καὶ Ἀντίοχος, ὅτῳ γρυπὸς ἐπίκλησις, ἐκ δὲ Ἀντιόχου Ἀντίοχος, ὅτῳ Κυζικηνὸς ἐπώνυμον. τούτων τὸν μὲν γρυπὸν ἐσ Αθήνας, τὸν δὲ Κυζικηνὸν ἐσ Κύζικον ἐπεπόμφει τρέφεσθαι.

69. Σέλευκον δὲ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ Δημητρίῳ τὸ διάδημα ἐπιθέμενον ἐπιτοξεύσασα ἔκτεινεν, εἴτε δείσασα περὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς δολοφονίσεως, εἴτε καὶ μανιώδει πρὸς πάντας μίσει. μετὰ δὲ Σέλευκον ὁ γρυπὸς ἐγένετο βασιλεύς, καὶ τὴν μητέρα οἱ φάρμακον κεράσασαν πιεῖν ἡνάγκασεν. ἡ μὲν δὴ δίκην ποτὲ ἔδωκεν, ἄξιος δὲ ἄρα τῆς μητρὸς ἦν καὶ ὁ γρυπός· ἐπεβούλευε γάρ τῷ Κυζικηνῷ καίπερ ὅντι ὁμομητρίῳ. ὁ δὲ μαθὼν ἐπολέμησέ τε αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτὸν ἔξηλασε, καὶ βασιλεὺς ἀντ’ ἐκείνου τοῖς Σύροις ἐγένετο. ἀλλὰ καὶ τόιδε Σέλευκος ὁ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ γρυποῦ παῖς, ἐπιστρατεύσας ὅντι περ θείῳ, παρείλετο τὴν ἀρχήν. βίαιος δὲ καὶ τυραννικώτατος ὡς ἐν Ἐστίᾳ Μόψου τῆς Κιλικίας κατεπρήσθη κατὰ τὸ γυμνάσιον. καὶ αὐτὸν διεδέξατο Ἀντίοχος ὁ

## THE SYRIAN WARS

vity, came home and, with great difficulty, put Trypho CHAP  
to death. Then he too marched with an army  
<sup>XI</sup> against Phraates and demanded his brother. Phraates was afraid of him and sent Demetrius back. Antiochus nevertheless fought with the Parthians, was beaten, and committed suicide. When Demetrius returned to his kingdom he, too, was killed by the craft of his wife, Cleopatra, who was jealous on account of his marriage with Rhodoguna, for which reason also she had previously married his brother Antiochus. She had borne two sons to Demetrius, named Seleucus and Antiochus **Grypus** (the Hook-nosed); and to Antiochus one son, named Antiochus Cyzicenus. She had sent Grypus to Athens and Cyzicenus to Cyzicus to be educated.

69. As soon as Seleucus assumed the diadem after the death of his father Demetrius his mother shot him dead with an arrow, either fearing lest he should avenge his father's murder or moved by an insane hatred for everybody. After Seleucus, Grypus became king, and he compelled his mother to drink poison that she had mixed for himself. So justice overtook her at last; but Grypus himself proved to be worthy of such a mother. For he laid a plot against Cyzicenus, his half-brother, but the latter found it out, made war on him, drove him out of the kingdom, and became king of Syria in his stead. Then Seleucus, the son of Grypus, made war on his uncle and took the government away from him. The new sovereign was violent and tyrannical and was burned to death in the gymnasium at the city of Mopsuestia in Cilicia. Antiochus, the son of

CAP. οὐδὸς τού Κυζικηνοῦ· ὃν ἐπιβουλευόμενον ὑπὸ<sup>XI</sup> Σελεύκου τοῦ ἀνεψιοῦ οἱ μὲν Σύροι νομίζουσι περισωθῆναι δι' εὐσέβειαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εὐσεβὴ παρωνόμασαν (έταίρα δ' αὐτὸν ἔσωσεν, ἐρασθεῖσα τοῦ κάλλους), ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκοῦσιν ἐπὶ γέλωτι αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι τὸ δνομα οἱ Σύροι· ἔγημε γὰρ οὗτος ὁ εὐσεβὴς Σελήνην, ἥ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ ἐγεγάμητο τῷ Κυζικηνῷ καὶ τῷ γρυπῷ θείῳ γενομένῳ. τοιγάρτοι αὐτὸν θεοῦ μετιόντος ἐξήλασε τῆς ἀρχῆς Τιγράνης.

70. Καὶ τὸν οὐδὸν ἐκείνον τὸν ἐκ τῆς Σελήνης αὐτῷ γενόμενον, ἐν Ἀσίᾳ τε τραφέντα καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε Ἀσιατικὸν ἐπίκλην, Πομπήιος ἀφείλετο τὴν Σύρων ἀρχήν, ὡς μοι λέλεκται, ὅντα μὲν ἐπτακαιδέκατον ἐκ Σελεύκου Σύρων βασιλέα (ἐξαίρω γὰρ Ἀλέξαιδρόν τε καὶ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου παιδα ώς νόθους, καὶ τὸν δοῦλον αὐτῶν Διόδοτον), βασιλεύσαντα δ' ἐν ταῖς ἀσχολίαις ταῖς Πομπήιου ἐπὶ ἐν μόνον ἔτος. ἥ δὲ ἀρχὴ τῶν Σελευκιδῶν ἐσ τριάκοντα ἐπὶ διακοσίοις ἐνιαυτοὺς διίκετο· καὶ εἴ τις ἐπισκοποίη τὸν ἐσ Ρωμαίους χρόνον ἀπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου, προσθετέον ἐπὶ τοῖς διακοσίοις τριάκοντα ἔτεσι τὰ Τιγράνους τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα.

Τοσάδε μὲν δὴ καὶ περὶ Μακεδόνων τῶν Συρίας βεβασιλευκότων εἰχον εἰπεῖν ώς ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ συγγραφῇ.

## THE SYRIAN WARS

Cyzicenus, succeeded him. The Syrians think that CHAP.  
<sup>XI</sup> he escaped a plot of his cousin Seleucus on account of his piety, for which reason they gave him the name of Antiochus Pius. He was really saved by a prostitute who fell in love with him for his beauty. I think that the Syrians must have given him this title by way of a joke, for this Pius married Selene, who had been the wife of his father, Cyzicenus, and of his uncle, Grypus. For this reason the divine vengeance pursued him and he was expelled from his kingdom by Tigranes.

70. The son of Pius and Selene, who was brought up in Asia and was for that reason called Asiaticus, was deprived of the government of Syria by Pompey, as I have already mentioned. He was the seventeenth king of Syria, reckoning from Seleucus (for I leave out Alexander and his son as being illegitimate, and also their slave, Diodotus), and he reigned only one year, while Pompey was busy elsewhere. The dynasty of the Seleucidae lasted 230 years. To compute the time from Alexander the Great to the beginning of the Roman domination there must be added fourteen years of the rule of Tigranes.

So much, in the way of digression, concerning the Macedonian kings of Syria.

End of the  
Seleucidae



BOOK XII  
THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

# Μ'

## ΜΙΘΡΙΔΑΤΕΙΟΣ

### I

CAP. I. Θράκας "Ελληνες ἥγοῦνται, τοὺς ἐς "Ιλιον μετὰ 'Ρήσου στρατεύσαντας, 'Ρήσου νυκτὸς ὑπὸ Διομήδους ἀναιρεθέντος δὲ τρόπον "Ομηρος ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι φράζει, φεύγοντας ἐπὶ τοῦ Πόντου τὸ στόμα, ἡ στενώτατός ἐστιν ἐς Θράκην ὁ διάπλους, οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἐπιτυχόντας πλοίων τῇδε καταμεῖναι καὶ τῆς γῆς κρατῆσαι Βεβρυκίας λεγομένης, οἱ δὲ περάσαντας ὑπὲρ τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐς τὴν Θράκων τῶν Βιθυνῶν λεγομένων παρὰ Βιθύαν ποταμὸν οἰκῆσαι, καὶ λιμῷ πιεσθέντας ἐς Βεβρυκίαν αῦθις ἐπανελθεῖν, καὶ Βιθυνίαν ἀντὶ Βεβρυκίας, ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ παρ' δὲ ὕδασιν, διονομάσαι, ἡ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῖς ἀλόγως σὺν χρόνῳ παρατραπῆναι, οὐκ ἐς πολὺ τῆς Βιθυνίας παρὰ τὴν Βεβρυκίαν διαφερούσης. ὅδε μὲν ἔνιοι νομίζουσιν, ἔτεροι δὲ Βίθυν ἄρξαι πρῶτον αὐτῶν, παῖδα Διός τε καὶ Θράκης, οὓς ἐπωνύμους ἐκατέρᾳ γῇ γενέσθαι.

2. Τάδε μὲν οὖν μοι προλελέχθω περὶ Βιθυνίας· τῶν δὲ πρὸ 'Ρωμαίων αὐτῆς βασιλέων, ἐννέα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἐφεξῆς γενομένων, ὅτου μοι μάλιστα μνημονεῦσαι προσήκει τὰ 'Ρωμαίων

## BOOK XII

### THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

#### I

1. THE Greeks think that the Thracians who CHAP.  
<sub>I</sub> marched to the Trojan war with Rhesus, who was killed by Diomedes in the night-time in the manner described in Homer's poems,<sup>1</sup> fled to the outlet of the Euxine sea at the place where the crossing to Thrace is shortest. Some say that as they found no ships they remained there and possessed themselves of the country called Bebrycia. Others say that they crossed over to the country beyond Byzantium called Thracian Bithynia and settled along the river Bithya, but were forced by hunger to return to Bebrycia, to which they gave the name of Bithynia from the river where they had previously dwelt; or perhaps the name was changed by them insensibly with the lapse of time, as there is not much difference between Bithynia and Bebrycia. So some think. Others say that their first ruler was Bithys, the son of Zeus and Thrace, and that the two countries received their names from them.

2. So much by way of preface concerning Bithynia. Of the forty-nine kings who successively ruled the country before the Romans, the one most worthy of my mention, in writing Roman history, is Prusias,

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* x. 482-497.

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. συγγράφοντι, Προυσίας ἦν ὁ κυνηγὸς ἐπίκλησιν,  
 I φὶ Περσεὺς ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς τὴν ἀδελφὴν  
 ἥγγιζεν. καὶ οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον Περσέως καὶ  
 Ῥωμαίων ἐς χεῖρας ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἴόντων, ὁ  
 Προυσίας οὐδετέροις συνεμάχει. Περσέως δ' ἀλόν-  
 τος ἀπήντησε τοῖς Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῖς εἰμά τε  
 Ῥωμαικὸν ἀμπεχόμενος, δὲ καλοῦσι τήβεννον, καὶ  
 ὑποδήματα ἔχων Ἰταλικά, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔξυρη-  
 μένος καὶ πῆλον ἐπικείμενος, φὶ τρόπῳ τινὲς προ-  
 ἴασι τῶν ἐν διαθήκαις ἐλευθερωθέντων, αἰσχρὸς  
 ὥν καὶ τάλλα ὄφθηναι καὶ βραχύς. ἐντυχὼν  
 δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔφη Ῥωμαῖστὶ τῷ ῥήματι “Ῥωμαίων  
 εἰμὶ λίθερος,” ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀπελεύθερος. γέλωτα  
 δὲ παρασχὼν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπέμφθη, καὶ φανεὶς  
 κάνταῦθα γελοῖος ἔτυχε συγγνώμης.

3. Χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἀττάλῳ τι χαλεπήνας,  
 τῷ Βασιλεῖ τῆς Ἀσίας τῆς περὶ τὸ Πέργαμον,  
 τὴν γῆν ἐδίου τὴν Ἀσιάδα. μαθοῦσα δὲ ἡ  
 Ῥωμαίων βουλὴ προσέπεμπε τῷ Προυσίᾳ μὴ  
 πολεμεῖν Ἀττάλῳ, φίλῳ Ῥωμαίων ὅντι καὶ συμ-  
 μάχῳ. καὶ δυσπειθῶς ἔτι ἔχοντι οἱ πρέσβεις  
 μετ' ἀνατάσεως προσέτασσον πείθεσθαι τοῖς ὑπὸ<sup>τοὺς</sup>  
 τῆς συγκλήτου λεγομένοις, καὶ ἥκειν μετὰ χιλίων  
 ἵππεων ἐς τι μεθόριον ἐπὶ συνθήκαις, ἔνθα καὶ  
 τὸν Ἀτταλον ἔφασαν περιμένειν μετὰ τοσῶνδε  
 ἐτέρων. ὃ δὲ ὡς ὀλίγων τῶν σὺν Ἀττάλῳ κατα-  
 φρονήσας, καὶ ἐλπίσας αὐτὸν ἐνεδρεύσειν, πρού-  
 πεμπε τοὺς πρέσβεις ὡς μετὰ χιλίων ἐπόμενος,  
 πάντα δὲ ἀναστήσας τὸν στρατὸν ἥγειν ὡς ἐς  
 μάχην. Ἀτταλον δὲ καὶ τῶν πρέσβεων αἰσθο-  
 μένων τε καὶ διαφυγόντων ἦ δυνατὸς αὐτῶν

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

surnamed the Hunter, to whom Perseus, king of CHAP.  
Macedonia, gave his sister in marriage. When  
Perseus and the Romans, not long afterward, went  
to war with each other, Prusias did not take sides  
with either of them. When Perseus was taken  
prisoner Prusias went to meet the Roman generals,  
wearing a Roman garment, of the kind called  
*tebennus*,<sup>1</sup> and Italian shoes, with his head shaved and  
wearing on it a *pilleus*, as slaves sometimes do who  
have been made free in their masters' wills. He  
was, moreover, a small and ugly man. When he met  
them he said in the Latin tongue, "I am the *libertus*  
of the Romans," which means "freedman." They  
laughed at him and sent him to Rome, and as he  
appeared equally ridiculous there he obtained pardon.

3. Some time later, being incensed against Attalus,  
king of the Asiatic country about Pergamus, Prusias  
ravaged his territory. When the Roman Senate  
learned of this they sent word to Prusias that he  
must not attack Attalus, who was their friend and  
ally. As he was slow in obeying, the ambassadors  
sternly commanded him to obey the orders of the  
Senate and to go with 1000 horse to a place on the  
frontier to negotiate a treaty with Attalus, who,  
they said, was awaiting him there with an equal  
number. Despising the handful of men with Attalus  
and hoping to ensnare him, Prusias sent the ambassad-  
ors in advance to say that he was following with  
1000 men, but actually put his whole army in motion  
and advanced as if to battle. When Attalus and the  
ambassadors learned of this they took to promiscuous

I  
Prusias  
king of  
Bithynia

B.C. 154  
His attack  
upon  
Attalus

<sup>1</sup> Possibly equivalent to the *paludamentum*.

CAP. Ι. ἐγίγνετο ἔκαστος, ὁ δὲ καὶ τῶν σκευοφόρων τῶν  
 Ῥωμαϊκῶν ὑπολειφθέντων ἥπτετο, καὶ χωρίον  
 τι Νικηφόριον ἐξελὼν κατέσκαπτε, καὶ τοὺς ἐν  
 αὐτῷ νεώς ἐνεπίμπρη, "Ατταλόν τε ἐς τὸ Πέρ-  
 γαμον συμφυγόντα ἐπολιόρκει, μέχρι καὶ τῶνδε  
 οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πυθόμενοι πρέσβεις ἐτέρους ἐπεμπον,  
 οἱ τὸν Προυσίαν ἐκέλευον Ἀττάλῳ τὰς βλάβας  
 ἀποτίσαι. τότε οὖν καταπλαγεὶς ὁ Προυσίας  
 ὑπήκουσε καὶ ἀνεχώρει. ποιηὴν δὲ τῶν πρέσβεων  
 ὅρισάντων αὐτὸν ἐσενεγκεῖν Ἀττάλῳ ναῦς κατα-  
 φράκτους εἴκοσιν αὐτίκα καὶ ἀργυρίου σὺν χρόνῳ  
 τάλαντα πεντακόσια, τάς τε ναῦς ἔδωκε καὶ τὰ  
 χρήματα ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ συνέφερεν.

4. "Οντι δ' αὐτῷ διὰ μίσους τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
 ὡμότητι χαλεπῆ, Νικομήδης νίδος ἦν, πάνυ τοῖς  
 Βιθυνοῖς ἀρέσκων· ὅπερ ὁ Προυσίας ὑφορώμενος  
 ἐς Ῥώμην αὐτὸν βιοῦν μετεστήσατο. καὶ μαθὼν  
 εὐδοκιμοῦντα κάκεῖ, προσέταξε τῆς βουλῆς δεη-  
 θῆναι τῶν ἔτι ὀφειλομένων Ἀττάλῳ χρημάτων  
 αὐτὸν ἀπολῦσαι. Μηνᾶν τε αὐτῷ συμπρεσ-  
 βεύσοντα ἐπεμπε· καὶ εἴρητο τῷ Μηνῷ, εἰ μὲν  
 ἐπιτύχοι τῆς ἀφέσεως τῶν χρημάτων, ἔτι φεί-  
 δεσθαι τοῦ Νικομήδους, εἰ δὲ ἀποτύχοι, κτείνειν  
 αὐτὸν ἐν Ῥώμῃ. κερκούρους τέ τινας ἐς τοῦτο  
 συνέπεμψεν αὐτῷ, καὶ δισχιλίους στρατιώτας.  
 ὁ δὲ τῆς μὲν ζημίας οὐκ ἀφεθείσης τῷ Προυσίᾳ  
 (Ἀνδρόνικος γὰρ ἐπιπεμφθεὶς ἐς ἀντιλογίαν ὑπὸ<sup>2</sup>  
 Ἀττάλου τὴν ζημίαν ἀπέφαινεν ἐλάττονα τῆς  
 ἀρπαγῆς), τὸν δὲ Νικομήδη λόγου καὶ σπουδῆς  
 ἄξιον ὄρων, ἥπόρητο, καὶ οὕτε κτείνειν αὐτὸν  
 ὑφίστατο οὕτε αὐτὸς ἐς Βιθυνίαν ἐπανιέναι διὰ  
 δέος. ὅμως δ' αὐτῷ βραδύνοντι συνεὶς ὁ νεανί-

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

flight. Prusias seized the beasts of burden belonging to the Romans that had been left behind, captured and destroyed the stronghold of Nicephorium, burned the temples in it, and besieged Attalus, who had fled to Pergamus. When these things became known in Rome a fresh embassy was sent, ordering Prusias to make compensation to Attalus for the damage done to him. Then Prusias became alarmed, obeyed the order, and retired. The ambassadors decided that as a penalty he must transfer to Attalus twenty decked ships at once, and pay him 500 talents of silver within a certain time. Accordingly he gave up the ships and began to make the payments at the prescribed time.

4. Prusias was hated by his subjects on account of his extreme cruelty, while his son, Nicomedes, was very popular among the Bithynians. Thus the latter fell under the suspicion of Prusias, who sent him to live in Rome. Learning that he was much esteemed there also, Prusias directed him to petition the Senate to release him from the payment of the money still due to Attalus. He sent Menas as his fellow-ambassador, and told him if he should secure a remission of the payments to spare Nicomedes, but if not, to kill him at Rome. For this purpose he sent a number of small boats with him and 2000 soldiers. As the fine imposed on Prusias was not remitted (for Andronicus, who had been sent by Attalus to argue on the other side, showed that it was less in amount than the plunder), Menas, seeing that Nicomedes was an estimable and attractive young man, was at a loss to know what to do. He could not bear to kill him and he feared to go back himself to Bithynia. However the young man noticed

1

His son  
Nicomedes

B.C. 148

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XIJ

**σαρ.** σκος ἐς λόγους ἥλθεν, ἐθέλοντι κάκείνῳ. συνθέμενοι δ' ἐπιβουλεῦσαι τῷ Προυσίᾳ, τὸν Ἀττάλου πρεσβευτὴν Ἀνδρόνικον ἐς τὸ ἔργον προσέλαβον, ἵνα τὸν Ἀτταλὸν πείσειε τὸν Νικομήδην καταγαγεῖν ἐς Βιθυνίαν. ἀναμείναντες δ' ἀλλήλους ἐν τῇ Βερνίκῃ, πολισματίῳ τινὶ τῆς Ἡπείρου, νυκτὸς ἐσβάντες ἐς ναῦν ἃ τε δέοι ποιεῖν συνετίθεντο, καὶ διελύθησαν ἔτι νυκτός.

5. "Αμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ Νικομήδης μὲν ἐξέβαινε τῆς νεώς πορφύραν τε βασιλικὴν ἡμφιεσμένος καὶ διάδημα ἐπικείμενος, Ἀνδρόνικος δ' αὐτὸν ὑπαντιάσας τε καὶ βασιλέα προσειπὼν παρέπεμπε μετὰ στρατιωτῶν ὧν εἶχε πεντακοσίων. Μηνᾶς δὲ ὑποκρινόμενος τότε πρῶτον ἡσθῆσθαι Νικομῆδους παρόντος, ἐς τοὺς δισχιλίους διαδραμῶν ἐδυσφόρει. προϊὼν δὲ τῷ λόγῳ, "δύο," ἔφη, "βασιλέοιν, τοῦ μὲν ὅντος ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος, ἀναγκαῖον ἡμῖν τὸ σφέτερον εὖ διατίθεσθαι καὶ τοῦ γενησομένου καλῶς τεκμαίρεσθαι, ὡς ἐν τῷδε τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας βεβαιουμένης, ἷν καλῶς προϊδώμεθα πότερος αὐτῶν ἐπικρατήσει. ὁ μὲν δὴ γέρων ἐστίν, ὁ δὲ νέος· καὶ Βιθυνοὶ τὸν μὲν ἀποστρέφονται, τὸν δὲ αἴροῦνται. Ρωμαίων τε οἱ δυνατοὶ τὸν νεανίαν ἀγαπῶσι· καὶ Ἀνδρόνικος αὐτὸν ἥδη δορυφορῶν ὑποδείκνυσι τὴν Ἀττάλου συμμαχίαν, ὡρχήν τε μεγάλην ἔχοντος καὶ Βιθυνοῖς γειτονεύοντος καὶ ἐκ πολλοῦ τῷ Προυσίᾳ πεπολεμωμένου." λέγων δὲ ταῦθ' ἄμα καὶ τὴν ὡμότητα τοῦ Προυσίου παρεγύμνου, καὶ ὅσα πονηρὰ πράξειεν ἐς ἄπαντας, καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε Βιθυνῶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἔχθος. ὡς δὲ κάκείνους εἶδε τὴν Προυσίου μοχθηρίαν

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

his delay and sought a conference with him, which CHAP.  
was just what he wanted. They formed a plot against  
Prusias and secured the co-operation of Andronicus,  
the legate of Attalus, that he should persuade Attalus  
to take back Nicomedes to Bithynia. They met by  
agreement at Bernice, a small town in Epirus, where  
they entered into a ship by night to confer as to  
what should be done, and separated before daylight.

I  
Conspiracy  
against  
Prusias

5. In the morning Nicomedes came out of the ship clad in the royal purple and wearing a diadem on his head. Andronicus met him, saluted him as king, and formed an escort for him with 500 soldiers that he had with him. Menas, pretending that he had then for the first time learned that Nicomedes was present, rushed to his 2000 men and spoke to them with assumed trepidation. "Since," he went on, "we have two kings, one in the country, and the other marching against it, we must look out for our own interests, and form a careful judgment of the future, because our safety lies in foreseeing correctly which of them will be the stronger. One of them is an old man, the other is young. The Bithynians are averse to Prusias; they are attached to Nicomedes. The leading Romans are fond of the young man, and Andronicus has already furnished him a guard, which suggests that Nicomedes is in alliance with Attalus, who rules an extensive dominion alongside the Bithynians and is an old enemy of Prusias." At the same time he exposed the cruelty of Prusias and his outrageous conduct toward everybody, and also the general hatred in which he was held by the Bithynians. When he saw that the soldiers also abhorred the wickedness of Prusias he led them forthwith to Nico-

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. ἀποστρεφομένους, ἥγεν αὐτὸς ἐς τὸν Νικομήδην  
<sup>1</sup> αὐτίκα, καὶ προσειπὼν καὶ ὅδε βασιλέα δεύτερος  
ἐπὶ Ἀνδρονίκῳ μετὰ τῶν δισχιλίων ἔδορυφόρει.

6. Ἄτταλος τε τὸν νεανιαν προθύμως ὑπεδέ-  
χετο, καὶ τὸν Προυσίαν ἐκέλευσε τῷ παιδὶ πόλεις  
τέ τινας ἐς ἐνοίκησιν καὶ χώραν ἐς ἐφόδια δοῦναι.  
οὐδὲ αὐτίκα δώσειν ἔφη τὴν Ἄτταλου βασιλείαν  
ἀπασαν, ἢν δὴ καὶ πρότερον Νικομήδει περιποιῶν  
ἐς Ἀσίαν ἐσβαλεῖν. ταῦτα δὲ εἰπὼν ἐπεμπεν ἐς  
Ῥώμην τοὺς Νικομήδους καὶ Ἄτταλου κατηγορή-  
σοντάς τε καὶ προκαλεσομένους ἐς κρίσιν. οἱ δὲ  
ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἄτταλον εὐθὺς ἔχώρουν ἐς τὴν Βιθυνίαν,  
καὶ προσιοῦσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ Βιθυνοὶ κατ' ὀλίγους  
προσετιθεντο. Προυσίας δὲ ἀπασιν ἀπιστῶν, καὶ  
Ῥωμαίους ἐλπίζων αὐτὸν ἔξαιρήσεσθαι τῆς ἐπι-  
βουλῆς, Διηγυλιν τὸν Θρᾷκα, κηδεστὴν δοῦτα οἱ,  
πεντακοσίους Θρᾷκας αἰτήσας καὶ λαβὼν τοῖσδε  
μόνοις τὸ σῶμα ἐπέτρεψεν, ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τὴν  
ἐν Νικαίᾳ καταφυγών· οὐδὲ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς  
ἐν ἄστει οὕτε αὐτίκα ἐπῆγεν ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν τοὺς  
τοῦ Προυσίου πρέσβεις, χαριζόμενος Ἄτταλῳ  
ἐπαγαγών τέ ποτε, ψηφισαμένης τῆς βουλῆς τὸν  
στρατηγὸν αὐτὸν ἐλέσθαι τε καὶ πέμψαι πρέσ-  
βεις οἱ διαλύσουσι τὸν πόλεμον, εἴλετο τρεῖς  
ἄνδρας, ὃν ὁ μὲν τὴν κεφαλήν ποτε λίθῳ πληγεὶς  
ἀσχήμονας ἐπέειτο ὡτειλάς, οὐδὲ τοὺς πόδας  
διέφθαρτο ὑπὸ ρέυματος, οὐδὲ ἡλιθιώτατος ἐνομί-  
ζετο εἶναι, ὡστε Κάτωνα τὴν πρεσβείαν ἐπι-  
σκώπτοντα εἰπεῖν τὴν πρεσβείαν ταύτην μήτε νοῦν  
ἔχειν μήτε πόδας μήτε κεφαλήν.

7. Οἱ μὲν δὴ πρέσβεις ἐς Βιθυνίαν ἀφίκοντο,  
καὶ προσέτασσον αὐτοῖς τὸν πόλεμον ἐκλῦσαι,

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

medes and saluted him as king, just as Andronicus CHAP.  
had done before, and formed a guard for him with  
his 2000 men.

6. Attalus received the young man warmly and ordered Prusias to assign certain towns for his son's occupation, and territory to furnish him supplies. Prusias replied that he would presently give him the whole kingdom of Attalus, to win which for Nicomedes he had invaded Asia before. After giving this answer he made a formal accusation at Rome against Nicomedes and Attalus and cited them to trial. The forces of Attalus at once made an incursion into Bithynia, the inhabitants of which gradually took sides with the invaders. Prusias, distrusting everybody and hoping that the Romans would rescue him from the toils of the conspiracy, asked and obtained from his son-in-law, Diegylis, the Thracian, 500 men, and with these alone as a body-guard he took refuge in the citadel of Nicaea. The urban praetor at Rome, in order to favour Attalus, delayed introducing the ambassadors of Prusias to the Senate. When finally he did introduce them, and the Senate voted that the praetor himself should choose legates and send them to settle the difficulty, he selected three men, one of whom had once been struck on the head with a stone, from which he was badly scarred; another was lame from gout, and the third was considered an utter fool; wherefore Cato made the sarcastic remark concerning this embassy, that it had no sense, no feet, and no head.

7. The legates proceeded to Bithynia and ordered that war be discontinued. Nicomedes and Attalus

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

**CAP. I.** Νικομίδους δὲ καὶ Ἀττάλου συγχωρεῖν ὑποκρινο-  
μένων οἱ Βιθυνοὶ διδαχθέντες ἔλεγον οὐκ εἶναι  
δυνατοὶ φέρειν ἔτι τὴν ὡμότητα τὴν Προυσίου,  
φανεροὶ μάλιστα αὐτῷ γενόμενοι δυσχεραίνοντες.  
οἱ μὲν δὴ πρέσβεις, ὡς οὕπω Ῥωμαίων τάδε  
πυθομένων, ἐπανήσαν ἀπρακτοι· Προυσίας δ'  
ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀπέγνω, οὶς μάλιστα  
πιστεύων οὐδενὸς ἐς ἄμυναν ἐπεφροντίκει, μετῆλ-  
θεν ἐς Νικομήδειαν ὡς κρατυνούμενος τὴν πόλιν  
καὶ τοῖς ἐπιοῦσι πολεμήσων. οἱ δὲ προδιδόντες  
αὐτὸν τὰς πύλας ἀνέῳξαν, καὶ ὁ μὲν Νικομήδης  
ἐσήει μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ, τὸν δὲ Προυσίαν ἐς Ἱερὸν  
Διὸς καταφυγόντα συνεκέντησάν τινες ἐπιπεμ-  
φθέντες ἐκ τοῦ Νικομήδους. οὕτω Νικομήδης ἀντὶ<sup>1</sup>  
Προυσίου Βιθυνῶν ἐβασίλευε, καὶ αὐτὸν χρόνῳ  
τελευτήσαντα Νικομήδης ὁ νιός, ωφελοπάτωρ  
ἐπίκλησις ἦν, διεδέξατο, Ῥωμαίων αὐτῷ τὴν  
ἀρχὴν ὡς πατρώφαν ψηφισαμένων.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ Βιθυνῶν ὅδε εἰχε· καὶ εἴ τω σπουδὴ<sup>2</sup>  
πάντα προμαθεῖν, νιώνδος τοῦδε ἔτερος Νικομήδης  
Ῥωμαίοις τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν διαθήκαις ἀπέλιπεν.

### II

**CAP. II.** 8. Καππαδοκίας δὲ πρὸ μὲν Μακεδόνων οἵτινες  
ἡρχον, οὐκ ἔχω σαφῶς εἰπεῖν, εἴτε ίδίαν ἀρχὴν,  
εἴτε Δαρείου κατήκουον· Ἀλέξανδρος δέ μοι δοκεῖ  
τοὺς ἀρχοντας τῶνδε τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπὶ φόρῳ καταλι-  
πεῖν, ἐπειγόμενος ἐπὶ Δαρείον. φαίνεται γὰρ καὶ  
Ἀμισόν, ἐν Πόντῳ πόλιν Ἀττικοῦ γένους, ἐπὶ<sup>3</sup>  
δημοκρατίαν ὡς πάτριόν σφισι πολιτείαν ἀναγα-

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

pretended to acquiesce, but the Bithynians said, as CHAP.  
they had been instructed, that they could no longer  
endure the cruelty of Prusias, after they had so openly  
complained against him. On the ground, therefore,  
that these complaints were not yet known at Rome  
the legates returned, leaving the business unfinished.  
But Prusias, despairing of assistance even from the  
Romans (in reliance upon whom he had neglected to  
provide means for his own defence) retired to Nico-  
media in order to strengthen the city and resist the  
invaders. The inhabitants, however, betrayed him  
and opened the gates, and Nicomedes entered with  
his army. Prusias fled to the temple of Zeus, where  
Death of  
Prusias  
B.C. 149  
he was stabbed by some of the emissaries of  
Nicomedes. In this way Nicomedes succeeded  
Prusias as king of the Bithynians. At his death his  
son, Nicomedes, surnamed Philopator, succeeded  
him, the Senate confirming his ancestral authority.

Such was the course of events in Bithynia. To  
anticipate the sequel, another Nicomedes, grandson  
of this one, left the kingdom to the Romans in his  
will.

## II

8. Who were the rulers of Cappadocia before the CHAP.  
Macedonians I am not able to say exactly—whether  
it had a government of its own or was subject to Darius. But I think that Alexander left the rulers  
whom he found there, on condition that they should  
pay tribute, because he was in a hurry to march  
against Darius. For he appears even to have restored  
to Amisus, a city of Pontus, of Attic origin, its original  
Cappadocia  
in ancient  
times

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. II γών. Ἰερώνυμος δὲ οὐδ' ἐπιψαῦσαι τῶν ἔθνων ὅλως, ἀλλ' ἀνὰ τὴν παράλιον τῆς Παμφυλίας καὶ Κιλικίας ἑτέραν ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Δαρεῖον τραπέσθαι. Περδίκκας δέ, ὃς ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῆς Μακεδόνων ἥρχεν, Ἀριαράθην Καππαδοκίας ἡγούμενον, εἴτε ἀφιστάμενον εἴτε τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ περιποιούμενος Μακεδόσιν, εἶλε καὶ ἐκρέμασε, καὶ ἐπέστησε τοῖς ἔθνεσιν Εύμενη τὸν Καρδιανόν. Εύμενους δὲ ἀναιρεθέντος ὅτε αὐτὸν οἱ Μακεδόνες εἶλοντο εἶναι πολέμιον, Ἀντίπατρος ἐπὶ τῷ Περδίκκᾳ τῆς ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γενομένης γῆς ἐπιτροπεύων, Νικάνορα ἐπεμψε Καππαδοκῶν σατραπεύειν.

9. Μακεδόνων δὲ οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἐς ἀλλήλους στασιασάντων, Ἀντίγονος μὲν ἥρχε Συρίας Λαομέδοντα ἐκβαλών, Μιθριδάτης δ' αὐτῷ συνῆν, ἀνὴρ γένους βασιλείου Περσικοῦ. καὶ ὁ Ἀντίγονος ἐνύπνιον ἔδοξε πεδίον σπείραι χρυσίῳ, καὶ τὸ χρυσίον ἐκθερίσαντα τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἐς τὸν Πόντον οἴχεσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷδε συλλαβὼν ἐβούλετο ἀποκτεῖναι, ὁ δὲ ἐξέφυγε σὺν ἵππεῦσιν ἔξ, καὶ φραξάμενός τι χωρίον τῆς Καππαδοκίας, πολλῶν οἱ προσιόντων ἐν τῇδε τῇ Μακεδόνων ἀσχολίᾳ, Καππαδοκίας τε αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν ὁμόρων περὶ τὸν Πόντον ἔθνῶν κατέσχεν, ἐπὶ τε μέγα τὴν ἀρχὴν προαγαγὼν παισὶ παρέδωκεν. οἱ δὲ ἥρχον, ἔτερος μεθ' ἔτερον, ἔως ἐπὶ τὸν ἔκτον ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου Μιθριδάτην, ὃς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπολέμησεν. τούτου δὲ τοῦ γένους δοντες οἱ Καππαδοκίας τε καὶ Πόντου βασιλεῖς

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

democratic form of government. Yet Hieronymus CHAP.  
says that he never even came into contact with II  
those nations at all, but that he went after Darius  
by another road, along the sea-coast of Pamphylia  
and Cilicia. But Perdiccas, who ruled the Macedonians  
after Alexander, captured and hanged Ariarathes,  
the governor of Cappadocia, either because  
he had revolted or in order to bring that country  
under Macedonian rule, and placed Eumenes of  
Cardia over these peoples. Eumenes was afterwards  
adjudged an enemy of Macedonia and put to death,  
and Antipater, who succeeded Perdiccas as overseer  
of the territory of Alexander, appointed Nicanor  
satrap of Cappadocia.

9. Not long afterwards dissensions broke out among the Macedonians, and Antigonus, having expelled Laomedon from Syria, assumed the government himself, having with him Mithridates, a scion of the royal house of Persia. Antigonus had a dream that he had sowed a field with gold, and that Mithridates reaped it and carried the crop off to Pontus. He accordingly arrested him, intending to put him to death, but Mithridates escaped with six horsemen, fortified himself in a stronghold of Cappadocia, where many joined him in consequence of the embarrassment of the Macedonian power, and possessed himself of the whole of Cappadocia and of the neighbouring countries along the Euxine. This great power, which he had built up, he left to his children. They reigned one after another until the sixth Mithridates in succession from the founder of the house, and he went to war with the Romans. Since the kings both of Cappadocia and of Pontus were of this line, I judge that at some time or other

The first  
Mithridates  
B.C. 175-136

CAP. <sup>II</sup> ἔσθ' ὅτε μοι δοκοῦσι διελεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ οἱ  
μὲν τοῦ Πόντου κατασχεῖν οἱ δὲ Καππαδοκίας.

10. "Ο γέ τοι 'Ρωμαίοις πρῶτος ἐν φιλίᾳ γενό-  
μενος καὶ ναῦς τινὰς ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίους καὶ συμ-  
μαχίαν ὀλίγην παρασχών, βασιλεὺς Πόντου,  
Μιθριδάτης ὁ εὐεργέτης ἐπίκλησιν, ώς ἀλλοτρίαν  
τὴν Καππαδοκίαν ἐπέδραμεν. καὶ διαδέχεται  
Μιθριδάτης υἱός, φ Διόνυσος καὶ εὐπάτωρ ἐπώ-  
νυμα ἦν. 'Ρωμαῖοι δ' αὐτὸν ἐκστῆναι Καππα-  
δοκίας ἐκέλευσαν 'Αριοβαρζάνη, καταφυγόντι τε  
ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ δόξαντι ἄρα γνησιωτέρῳ τοῦ Μιθρι-  
δάτου πρὸς τὴν Καππαδοκῶν ἀρχήν, ἥ καὶ τὸ  
μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Μιθριδάτου πολλῆς οὖσης  
ὑφορώμενοί τε καὶ ἐς πλέονα διαιροῦντες ἀφανῶς.  
ὁ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ἡνεγκε, Νικομήδει δὲ τῷ Νικομή-  
δους τοῦ Προυσίου, Βιθυνίας ώς πατρώας ὑπὸ<sup>τ</sup>  
'Ρωμαίων ἀποδειχθέντι βασιλεύειν, Σωκράτη τὸν  
ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Νικομήδους, ὅτῳ χρηστὸς ἐπώνυ-  
μον ἦν, μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐπέμψε· καὶ τὴν Βιθυνῶν  
ἀρχὴν ὁ Σωκράτης ἐς αὐτὸν περιέσπασεν. τοῦ δ'  
αὐτοῦ χρόνου Μιθράας καὶ Βαγώας 'Αριοβαρζάνη  
τόνδε τὸν ὑπὸ 'Ρωμαίων κατηγμένον ἐς τὴν Καπ-  
παδοκίαν ἐκβαλόντες, 'Αριαράθην κατήγαγον ἐς  
αὐτήν.

11. 'Ρωμαῖοι δὲ Νικομήδην ὁμοῦ καὶ 'Αριοβαρ-  
ζάνην ἐπανῆγον ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐκάτερον, πρέσβεις  
τέ τινας αὐτοῖς ἐς τοῦτο συιέπεμψαν, ὃν Μάνιος  
'Ακύλιος ἤγειτο· καὶ συλλαβεῖν ἐς τὴν κάθοδον  
ἐπέστειλαν Λευκίφ τε Κασσίφ, τῆς περὶ τὸ  
Πέργαμον 'Ασίας ἥγουμένωφ, στρατιὰν ἔχοντι  
ὀλίγην, καὶ τῷδε τῷ εὐπάτορι Μιθριδάτῃ. ἀλλ' ὁ

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

they divided the government, some ruling one CHAP.  
country and some the other. II

10. At any rate a king of Pontus, the Mithridates surnamed Euergetes (the Benefactor), who was the first of them to be a friend of the Roman people, and who sent some ships and a small force of auxiliaries to aid them against the Carthaginians, invaded Cappadocia as though it were a foreign country. He was succeeded by his son, Mithridates, surnamed Dionysus, and also Eupator. The Romans ordered him to restore Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, who had fled to them and who seemed to have a better title to the government of that country than Mithridates; or perhaps they distrusted the great empire of Mithridates, and sought covertly to divide it into several parts. Mithridates obeyed the order, but he sent against Nicomedes (the son of Nicomedes, son of Prusias), whom the Romans had declared king of Bithynia, as his ancestral realm, Socrates, surnamed Chrestus (the Good), Nicomedes' own brother, with an army. Socrates annexed the kingdom of Bithynia. Simultaneously Mithraas and Bagoas drove out this Ariobarzanes, whom the Romans had confirmed as king of Cappadocia, and installed Ariarathes in his place.

11. The Romans decided to restore Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes at the same time, each to his own kingdom, and sent thither for this purpose an embassy, of which Manius Aquilius was the chief, and ordered Lucius Cassius, who was in charge of the Asiatic country around Pergamus and had a small army under his command, to co-operate in their mission. Similar orders were sent to Mithridates Eupator himself. But the latter, being angry with

Mithridates  
Euergetes  
B.C. 156-120

Mithridates  
Eupator  
B.C. 120-63

B.C. 92

His first  
difficulty  
with the  
Romans

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. μὲν αὐτῆς τε Καππαδοκίας ἔνεκα 'Ρωμαίοις ἐπι-  
 II μεμφόμενος, καὶ Φρυγίαν ἔναγχος ὑπ' αὐτῶν  
 ἀφηρημένος, ὡς διὰ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γραφῆς δεδή-  
 λωται, οὐ συνέπραττε· Κάσσιος δὲ καὶ Μάυιος τῷ  
 τε Κασσίου στρατῷ, καὶ πολὺν ἄλλον ἀγείραντες  
 Γαλατῶν καὶ Φρυγῶν, Νικομήδη τε κατήγαγον ἐς  
 Βιθυνίαν καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνην ἐς Καππαδοκίαν.  
 εὐθύς τε ἀνέπειθον ἄμφω, γείτονας ὅντας Μιθρι-  
 δάτου, τὴν γῆν τὴν Μιθριδάτου κατατρέχειν καὶ  
 ἐς πόλεμον ἐρεθίζειν, ὡς 'Ρωμαίων αὐτοῖς πολε-  
 μοῦσι συμμαχησόντων. οἱ δὲ ὥκνουν μὲν ὁμοίως  
 ἔκάτερος γείτονος πολέμου τοσοῦδε κατάρξαι, τὴν  
 Μιθριδάτου δύναμιν δεδιότες· ἐγκειμένων δὲ τῶν  
 πρέσβεων, ὁ Νικομήδης πολλὰ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς  
 ἐπικουρίας τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν  
 ώμολογηκὼς χρήμata δώσειν καὶ ἔτι ὀφείλων,  
 πολλὰ δ' ἄλλα παρὰ τῶν ἐπομένων 'Ρωμαίων  
 δεδανεισμένος καὶ ὀχλούμενος, ἄκων ἐσέβαλεν  
 ἐς τὴν Μιθριδάτου γῆν καὶ ἐλεηλάτησεν ἐπὶ  
 πόλιν "Αμαστριν, οὐδενὸς οὔτε κωλύοντος αὐτὸν  
 οὔτε ἀπαντῶντος. ὁ γάρ τοι Μιθριδάτης ἐτοίμην  
 ἔχων δύναμιν δύμας ὑπεχώρει, πολλὰ καὶ δίκαια  
 διδοὺς ἐγκλήμata τῷ πολέμῳ γενέσθαι.

12. 'Αναξεύξαντος δὲ τοῦ Νικομήδους μετὰ πολ-  
 λῶν λαφύρων, Πελοπίδαν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἔπειμπεν  
 ἐς τοὺς 'Ρωμαίων στρατηγούς τε καὶ πρέσβεις,  
 οὐκ ἀγνοῶν μὲν αὐτοὺς πολεμησείοντας αὐτῷ καὶ  
 τῆσδε τῆς ἐσβολῆς αἰτίους γεγονότας, ὑποκρινό-  
 μενος δέ, καὶ πλείονας ὁμοῦ καὶ εὐπρεπεστέρας  
 αἰτίας τοῦ γενησομένου πολέμου πορίζων, ἀνε-  
 μίμησκε φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας ἴδιας τε καὶ  
 πατρώας. ἀνθ' ὧν αὐτὸν ὁ Πελοπίδας ἔφη Φρυ-

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

the Romans on account of their interference in CAPPADOCIA ITSELF, and having been recently despoiled of Phrygia by them (as related in my Hellenic history), did not co-operate. Nevertheless Cassius and Manius, with the army of the former, and a large force collected from the Galatians and Phrygians, restored Nicomedes to Bithynia and Ariobarzanes to Cappadocia. They urged them at the same time, as they were neighbours of Mithridates, to make incursions into his territory and stir up a war, promising them the assistance of the Romans. Both of them hesitated to begin so important a war on their own border, because they feared the power of Mithridates. When the ambassadors insisted, Nicomedes, who had agreed to pay a large sum of money to the generals and ambassadors for restoring him to power, which he still owed, together with other large sums which he had borrowed on interest from the Romans in their suites, and for which they were dunning him, reluctantly made an attack on the territory of Mithridates and plundered it as far as the city of Amastris, meeting no resistance. For Mithridates, although he had his forces in readiness, retreated because he wanted to have good and sufficient cause for war.

12. Nicomedes returned with large booty and Mithridates sent Pelopidas to the Roman generals and ambassadors. He was not ignorant that they wanted to bring on a war, and that they had incited this attack upon him, but he dissembled in order to procure more and clearer causes for the coming war; for which reason he reminded them of his own and his father's friendship and alliance. "In return for this," said Pelopidas, "Phrygia and Cappadocia have

He sends an  
ambassador  
to them

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

**CAP. II.** γίαν ἀφηρῆσθαι καὶ Καππαδοκίαν, τὴν μὲν ἀεὶ τῶν προγόνων αὐτοῦ γενομένην καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀναληφθεῖσαν, Φρυγίαν δὲ ἐπινίκιον ἐπὶ Ἀριστονίκῳ παρὰ τοῦ ὑμετέρου στρατηγοῦ δοθεῖσάν τε καὶ οὐχ ἥσσον παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ στρατηγοῦ πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐωνημέιην. “νῦν δ,” ἔφη, “καὶ Νικομήδῃ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Πόντου διακλείοντα περιοράτε, καὶ τὴν γῆν μέχρι Ἀμάστριδος ἐπιτρέχοντα, καὶ λείαν ἄγοντα ὅσην ἵστε ἀκριβῶς, οὐκ ἀσθενῶς οὐδὲ ἀνετοίμως ἔχοντος πρὸς ἄμυναν τοῦ ἐμοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλ’ ἀναμένοντος ὑμᾶς ἐν ὅψει μάρτυρας τῶν γιγνομένων γενέσθαι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγένεσθέ τε καὶ εἴδετε, παρακαλεῖ Μιθριδάτης, φίλος ὁν ὑμῖν καὶ σύμμαχος, φίλους ὄντας ὑμᾶς καὶ συμμάχους (ὁδε γὰρ αἱ συνθῆκαι λέγουσιν), ἐπικουρεῖν ἡμῖν ἀδικουμένοις ὑπὸ Νικομήδους, ἢ κωλύειν αὐτὸν ἀδικοῦντα.”

13. Ὁ μὲν τοιαῦτα εἶπε, Νικομήδους δὲ πρέσβεις ἐσ ἀντιλογίαν αὐτῷ παρόντες ἔφασαν. “Νικομήδει μὲν ἐκ πολλοῦ Μιθριδάτης ἐπιβουλεύων Σωκράτη μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπῆγεν, ἥσυχάζοντα καὶ δικαιοῦντα τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἄρχειν. καὶ ὁδε Μιθριδάτης ἐσ Νικομήδην ἐπραξει, ὃν ὑμεῖς, ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι, Βιθυνῶν ἐστήσασθε βασιλεύειν· ὃ καὶ δῆλόν ἐστιν οὐκ ἐσ ὑμᾶς μᾶλλον ἢ ἐσ ὑμᾶς γεγονέναι. τῷ δ’ αὐτῷ λόγῳ κεκελευκότων ὑμῶν τοῖς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ βασιλεῦσι τῆς Εὐρώπης μηδὲ ἐπιβαίνειν, τὰ πολλὰ Χερρονήσου περιέσπασεν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἐστω τῆς ἐσ ὑμᾶς ὕβρεώς τε καὶ δυσμενείας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπειθείας ἔργα· ἡ παρασκευὴ δὲ ὅση, καὶ πᾶσα ἔτοιμος ὡς ἐπὶ μέγαν δὴ καὶ ἐγνωσμένου πόλεμον ἥδη, τοῦ τε ἰδίου

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

been wrested from him. Of these Cappadocia CHAP. II always belonged to his ancestors and was recovered by his own father, while Phrygia was given to him by your own general as a reward for his victory over Aristonicus; nevertheless he paid a large sum of money to that same general for it. But now you allow Nicomedes even to close the mouth of the Euxine, to overrun the country as far as Amastris, and to carry off plunder in quantities of which you are well aware. My king was not weak, he was not unprepared to defend himself, but he waited in order that you might be eye-witnesses of these transactions. Since you have seen all this, Mithridates, who is your friend and ally, calls upon you as friends and allies (for so the treaty reads) to defend us against the aggression of Nicomedes, or to restrain the aggressor."

13. When Pelopidas had finished speaking the ambassadors of Nicomedes, who were there to answer him, said: "Mithridates plotted against Nicomedes long ago and put Socrates on the throne by force and arms, though Socrates was of a quiet disposition and thought it right that his elder brother should reign. This was the act of Mithridates to Nicomedes, whom you, Romans, had established on the throne of Bithynia—a blow that was evidently aimed as much at you as at us. In like manner after you had forbidden the Asiatic kings even to set foot in Europe, he seized the greater part of Chersonesus. Let these acts stand as examples of his arrogance, his hostility, his disobedience towards yourselves. Look at his great preparations. He stands in complete readiness, as for a great and predetermined war, not merely with his own army, but also with a

His dispute  
with  
Nicomedes

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. στρατοῦ καὶ συμμάχων Θρακῶν καὶ Σκυθῶν, ὅσα  
 II τε ἄλλα πλησίου ἔθνη. ἐς δὲ τὸν Ἀρμένιον αὐτῷ  
 καὶ ἐπιγαμίᾳ γέγονε, καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ Συρίαν  
 περιπέμπει προσεταιριζόμενος τοὺς βασιλέας.  
 νῆσος τε εἰσὶν αὐτῷ κατάφρακτοι τριακόσιαι, καὶ  
 ἑτέρας προσαπεργάζεται· ἐπὶ τε πρῳρέας καὶ  
 κυβερνήτας ἐς Φοινίκην καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον περι-  
 ἐπεμψεν. ἄπερ οὐκ ἐπὶ Νικομήδει που. τοσάδε  
 ὅντα, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὑμῖν, ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι, Μιθριδάτης, ἐργά-  
 ζεται, δυσμεναίνων μὲν ἐξ οὗ Φρυγίαν αὐτὸν  
 πανούργως πριάμενον, καὶ δεκάσαντα τῶν ὑμε-  
 τέρων τινὰ στρατηγῶν, ἀποθέσθαι προσετάξατε,  
 τῆς οὐ δικαίας κτήσεως καταγνόντες, χαλεπαίνων  
 δ' ἐπὶ Καππαδοκίᾳ, δεδομένη καὶ τῇδε πρὸς ὑμῶν  
 Ἀριοβαρζάνη, δεδιώς δ' αὐξομένους ὑμᾶς, καὶ  
 παρασκευαζόμενος ἐν τῇ καθ' ὑμᾶς προφάσει καὶ  
 ὑμῖν, εἰ δύναιτο, ἐπιθέσθαι. σωφρόνων δ' ἐστὶ  
 μὴ περιμένειν ὅτε πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν ὁμολογήσει, ἀλλ'  
 ἐς τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς λόγους ἀφορᾶν  
 μηδὲ φιλίας ὄνομα ἐπίπλαστον ὑποκρινομένω τοὺς  
 ἀληθεῖς καὶ βεβαίους ἐκδοῦναι φίλους, μηδὲ τὴν  
 σφετέραν περὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας βασιλείας κρίσιν  
 ὑπεριδεῖν ἀκυρουμένην ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ὁμοίως ὑμῖν τε  
 καὶ ὑμῖν ἐχθροῦ."

14. Ὡδε μὲν καὶ οἱ Νικομήδους ἔλεξαν ἐπελθὼν  
 δὲ αὐθις ὁ Πελοπίδας ἐς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων συν-  
 ἐδριον περὶ μὲν τῶν πάλαι γεγονότων, εἴ τι Νικο-  
 μήδης ἐπιμέμφοιτο, δικάσαι Ῥωμαίους ἡξίου, τὰ  
 δὲ ιῦν (ἐν ὅψει γὰρ ὑμῶν γέγονε, τῆς τε γῆς τῆς  
 Μιθριδάτου δησυμένης καὶ λείας τοσῆσδε ἐλαυνομένης) οὐ  
 λόγων ἐφη χρήζειν οὐδὲ κρίσεως, "ἀλλ' αὐθις

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

great force of allies, Thracians, Scythians, and all the other neighbouring peoples. He has even formed a marriage alliance with Armenia, and is sending to Egypt and Syria to make friends with the kings of those countries. He has 300 decked ships of war and is still adding to the number. He has sent to Phoenicia and Egypt for look-out men and steersmen. These things, that Mithridates is collecting in such quantities, are not, we think, designed against Nicomedes, Romans, but against you. He is angry with you because, when he had bought Phrygia by a corrupt bargain from one of your generals, you ordered him to give up his ill-gotten gains. He is angry on account of Cappadocia, which was given by you to Ariobarzanes. He fears your increasing power. He is making preparations under pretence that they are intended for us, but he means to attack you if he can. If you are wise, you will not wait till he declares war against you, but will look at his deeds rather than his words, and not give up true and tried friends to a hypocrite who offers you the fictitious name of friendship, nor allow your decision concerning our kingdom to be annulled by one who is equally the foe of both of us."

14. After the ambassadors of Nicomedes had thus spoken Pelopidas again addressed the Roman assembly, saying that if Nicomedes was complaining of bygones, he accepted the decision of the Romans, but as to the present matters which had transpired under their eyes, the ravaging of Mithridates' territory, the closing of the sea, and the carrying away of such vast plunder, there was no need of discussion or adjudication. "We call upon you,

Duplicity  
of the  
Roman  
Legates

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. ίμᾶς παρακαλοῦμεν ἢ κωλύειν τὰ γιγνόμενα ἢ  
 II Μιθριδάτη συμμαχεῖν ἀδικουμένῳ, ἢ τελευταῖον,  
 ὁ ἄνδρες 'Ρωμαῖοι, μηδὲ κωλύειν ἀμυνόμενον, ἀλλ’  
 ἀμφοῖν ἐκστῆναι τοῦ πόνου." τοσαῦτα τοῦ Πελο-  
 πίδου παλιλογήσαντος, ἔγνωστο μὲν ἐκ πολλοῦ  
 τοῖς 'Ρωμαίων στρατηγοῖς ἐπικουρεῦν Νικομήδει,  
 καὶ ἐς ὑπόκρισιν τῆς ἀντιλογίας ἡκροῶντο· τὰ δὲ  
 εἰρημένα ὅμως ὑπὸ τοῦ Πελοπίδου, καὶ τὴν τοῦ  
 Μιθριδάτου φιλίαν ἐνσύνθηκον ἔτι οὖσαν, αἰδού-  
 μενοι ἡπόρουν ἀποκρίσεως ἐπὶ πολύ, μέχρι ἐπιστή-  
 σαντες μετὰ σοφίας ὥδε ἀπεκρίναντο. "οὔτε  
 Μιθριδάτην ἄν τι βουλοίμεθα πάσχειν ἄχαρι  
 πρὸς Νικομήδους, οὔτε Νικομήδοις ἀνεξόμεθα  
 πολεμουμένου· οὐ γὰρ ἡγούμεθα 'Ρωμαίοις συμ-  
 φέρειν βλάπτεσθαι Νικομήδη." ταῦτα δὲ εἰπόντες  
 τὸν Πελοπίδαν, βουλόμενον διελέγχειν τὴν ἀπο-  
 κρίσεως τὴν ἀπορίαν, ἀπέπεμψαν ἐκ τοῦ συνε-  
 δρίου.

## III

CAP. 15. Μιθριδάτης μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἐμφανῶς ἥδη πρὸς  
 III 'Ρωμαίων ἀδικούμενος, ἐπεμπε σὺν πολλῇ χειρὶ<sup>1</sup>  
 τὸν νιὸν 'Αριαράθην βασιλεύειν Καππαδοκίας.  
 καὶ εὐθὺς ἥρχεν αὐτῆς ὁ 'Αριαράθης, 'Αριοβαρ-  
 ζάνην ἐκβαλών. Πελοπίδας δὲ ἐς τοὺς 'Ρωμαίων  
 στρατηγοὺς αὐθις ἐλθὼν ἔλεγεν ὥδε. "ἄ μὲν  
 ἥδικημένος πρὸς ὑμῶν, ὁ 'Ρωμαῖοι, βασιλεὺς  
 Μιθριδάτης ἔφερε, Φρυγίαν τε καὶ Καππαδοκίαν  
 ἀφηρημένος ἔναγχος, ἥκούσατε· ἄ δὲ Νικομήδης  
 αὐτὸν ἔβλαπτεν, ὄρωντες ὑπερείδετε. φιλίαν τε  
 καὶ συμμαχίαν ἡμῖν προφέρουσιν, ὕσπερ οὐκ

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

Romans, again," he said, "either to prevent such CHAP.  
outrages, or to assist Mithridates, who is their victim,  
or at all events to stand aside, allow him to defend  
himself, and not help either party." While Pelopidas  
was repeating his demand, though it had been  
determined by the Roman generals long before to  
help Nicomedes, they made a pretence of listening  
to the argument on the other side. Yet the words  
of Pelopidas and the alliance with Mithridates,  
which was still in force, put them to shame, and they  
were at a loss for some time what answer to make.  
Finally, after a pause, they made this artful reply,  
"We would not wish that Mithridates suffer harm at  
the hands of Nicomedes, nor can we allow war to be  
made against Nicomedes, because we do not think that  
it would be for the interest of Rome that he should  
be weakened." Having delivered this response they  
dismissed Pelopidas from the assembly, although he  
wanted to show the insufficiency of their answer.

## III

15. MITHRIDATES, having been denied justice by CHAP.  
the Romans in this public manner, sent his son III  
Ariarathes with a large force to seize the kingdom of  
Cappadocia. Ariarathes speedily overpowered it and  
drove out Ariobarzanes. Then Pelopidas returned  
to the Roman generals and said: "How patiently  
King Mithridates bore injury from you when he was  
deprived of Phrygia and Cappadocia not long ago  
you have been told already, O Romans. What  
injuries Nicomedes inflicted upon him you have seen  
—and have not heeded. And when we appealed to  
your friendship and alliance you answered as though

Mithridates  
seizes  
Cappadocia

He sends  
another  
embassy

CAP. έγκαλοῦσιν ἀλλ' ἐγκαλουμένοις ἀπεκρίνασθε μὴ  
 III νομίζειν συμφέρειν τοῖς Ῥωμαίων πράγμασι  
 βλάπτεσθαι Νικομήδη οὐλά περ αὐτὸν ἀδικούμενον.  
 ὑμεῖς οὖν αἴτιοι τῷ κοινῷ Ῥωμαίων τοῦδε τοῦ  
 περὶ Καππαδοκίαν γεγονότος· διὰ γὰρ ὑμᾶς, ὡδε  
 μὲν ὑμᾶς ὑπερορῶντας ὡδε δὲ σοφίζοντας ἐν ταῖς  
 ἀποκρίσεσιν, οὕτως ἔπραξεν ὁ Μιθριδάτης. καὶ  
 πρεσβεύσεται καθ' ὑμῶν ἐς τὴν ὑμετέραν Βουλήν,  
 ἐφ' ἣν ὑμῖν ἀπολογησομένοις ἐπαγγέλλει παρεῖναι,  
 φθάνειν δὲ μηδέν, μηδ' ἔξαρχειν ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ  
 τῶν Ῥωμαίων τοσοῦδε πολέμου, ἐνθυμουμένους  
 ὅτι Μιθριδάτης βασιλεύει μὲν τῆς πατράς ἀρχῆς,  
 ἢ δισμυρίων ἐστὶ σταδίων τὸ μῆκος, προσκέκτη-  
 ται δὲ πολλὰ περίχωρα, καὶ Κόλχους, ἔθνος  
 ἀρειμανές, Ἐλλήνων τε τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ Πόντου  
 κατῳκισμένους, καὶ βαρβάρων τοὺς ὅντας ὑπὲρ  
 αὐτούς. φίλοις δ' ἐς πᾶν τὸ κελευόμενον ἐτοίμοις  
 χρῆται Σκύθαις τε καὶ Ταύροις καὶ Βαστέρναις  
 καὶ Θρᾳξὶ καὶ Σαρμάταις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀμφὶ<sup>τάναιν</sup> τε καὶ Ἰστρον καὶ τὴν λίμνην ἔτι τὴν  
 Μαιώτιδα. Τιγράνης δ' ὁ Ἀρμένιος αὐτῷ κηδεστής  
 ἐστι, καὶ Ἀρσάκης ὁ Παρθυαῖος φίλος. νεῶν  
 τε πλῆθος ἔχει, τὸ μὲν ἐτοιμον τὸ δὲ γιγνόμενον  
 ἔτι, καὶ παρασκευὴν ἐς πάντα ἀξιόλογον.

16. Οὐκ ἐψεύσαντο δ' ὑμῖν ἔναγχος οἱ Βιθυνοὶ  
 καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Συρίᾳ βασιλέων· οὓς  
 οὐ μόνον εἰκός ἐστιν ἡμῖν, εἰ πόλεμος γένοιτο,  
 προσθήσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν νεόκτητον ὑμῖν  
 Ἀσίαν καὶ Ἐλλάδα καὶ Λιβύην καὶ πολλὰ καὶ  
 αὐτῆς Ἰταλίας, ὅσα τὴν ὑμετέραν πλεονεξίαν οὐ  
 φέροντα πολεμεῖν νῦν ὑμῖν πόλεμον ἀσπειστον.  
 δὲ οὕπω διαθέσθαι δυνηθέντες ἐπιχειρεῖτε Μιθρι-

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

we were not the accusers but the accused, saying CHAP.  
that you did not consider it to your interest that  
<sup>III</sup> harm should come to Nicomedes, as though he were  
the injured one. You therefore are accountable to  
the Roman republic for what has taken place in  
Cappadocia. Mithridates has done what he has  
done because you disdained us and answered us with  
quibbles. He intends to send an embassy to your  
Senate to complain of you. He summons you to  
defend yourselves there in person, and before that  
to do nothing, and not to begin a war of such  
magnitude without the decree of Rome itself. You  
should bear in mind that Mithridates is ruling his  
ancestral domain, which is 20,000 stades long, and  
that he has acquired many neighbouring nations, the  
Colchians, a very warlike people, the Greeks bordering  
on the Euxine, and the barbarian tribes beyond  
them. He has allies also ready to obey his every  
command, Scythians, Taurians, Bastarnae, Thracians,  
Sarmatians, and all those who dwell in the region of  
the Don and Danube and the sea of Azof. Tigranes  
of Armenia is his son-in-law and Arsaces of Parthia  
his ally. He has a large number of ships, some in  
readiness and others building, and war material of  
all kinds in abundance.

16. "The Bithynians were not wrong in what they told you lately about the kings of Egypt and Syria. Not only are these likely to help us if war breaks out, but also your newly acquired provinces of Asia, and Greece, and Africa, and a considerable part of Italy itself, which even now wages implacable war against you because it cannot endure your greed. And although you are not yet able to bring that war to an end,

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

**CAP. δάτη,** Νικομήδην αὐτῷ καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνην παρὰ  
 III μέρος ἐπιπέμποντες· καὶ φατὲ μὲν εἶναι φίλοι καὶ  
 σύμμαχοι, καὶ ὑποκρίνεσθε οὕτω, χρῆσθε δὲ ὡς  
 πολεμίῳ. φέρετε οὖν, καὶ νῦν, εἴ τι πρὸς τῶν  
 γεγονότων ἐσ μετάνοιαν ἡρέθισθε, ἢ Νικομήδη  
 κωλύσατε τοὺς ὑμετέρους ἀδικεῖν φίλους (καὶ τάδε  
 πράξασιν ὑμῖν ὑπέχομαι συμμαχήσειν ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 Ἰταλοὺς βασιλέα Μιθριδάτην), ἢ τὴν δοκοῦσαν  
 ἐσ ἡμᾶς φιλίαν λύσατε, ἢ ἐσ 'Ρώμην ἐπὶ κρίσιν  
 ἵωμεν."

'Ο μὲν δὴ Πελοπίδας ὥδε ἔλεξεν, οἱ δὲ φορτικώ-  
 τερον αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν ἡγούμενοι, Μιθριδάτην μὲν  
 ἐκέλευον ἀπέχεσθαι Νικομήδους καὶ Καππαδο-  
 κίας (αὐτὸὶ γάρ αὐθις Ἀριοβαρζάνην ἐσ αὐτὴν  
 κατάξειν), Πελοπίδαν δὲ εὐθὺς ἔξιεναι τοῦ στρα-  
 τοπέδου, καὶ μηκέτι πρεσβεύειν ἐσ αὐτους, εἰ μὴ  
 τοὺς κελευομένοις ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐμμένοι. οὕτω μὲν  
 ἀπεκρίναντο, καὶ ἀπιόντι φυλακὴν συνέπεμψαν,  
 ἵνα μή τινας ἐπιτρίψει παροδεύων.

17. Ταῦτα δὲ εἰπόντες, οὐκ ἀναμείναντες περὶ<sup>1</sup>  
 τοσοῦδε πολέμου τὴν βουλὴν ἢ τὸν δῆμον ἐπι-  
 γνώμονα γενέσθαι, στρατιὰν ἡγειρον ἔκ τε Βιθυ-  
 νίας καὶ Καππαδοκίας καὶ Παφλαγονίας καὶ  
 Γαλατῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ. ὡς δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ τε ἴδιος  
 στρατός, ὃσον εἶχε Λεύκιος Κάσσιος ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας  
 ἡγούμενος, ἔτοιμος ἦν ἥδη, καὶ τὰ συμμαχικὰ  
 πάντα συνεληλύθει, διελόμενοι τὸ πλῆθος ἐστρα-  
 τοπέδευον, Κάσσιος μὲν ἐν μέσω Βιθυνίας τε καὶ  
 Γαλατίας, Μάνιος δὲ ἦ διαβατὸν ἦν ἐσ Βιθυνίαν  
 τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ, Ὁππιος δὲ ἔτερος στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ<sup>2</sup>  
 τῶν ὄρων τῶν Καππαδοκίας, ἵππέας ἔχων ἔκαστος  
 αὐτῶν καὶ πεζοὺς ἀμφὶ τοὺς τετρακισμυρίους.

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

you attack Mithridates and set Nicomedes and Ario- CHAP  
barzanes on him by turns, and you say, forsooth, that III  
you are his friends and allies. You pretend to be so,  
and yet you treat him as an enemy. Come now, if at  
last the consequences of your acts have put you in a  
better frame of mind, either restrain Nicomedes from  
injuring your friends (in which case I promise that  
King Mithridates shall help you to put down the  
rebellion in Italy), or throw off the mask of friend-  
ship for us, or let us go to Rome and settle the  
dispute there."

So spake Pelopidas. The Romans considered his speech insolent and ordered Mithridates to let Nicomedes and Cappadocia alone (saying that they intended to restore Ariobarzanes to the latter). They also ordered Pelopidas to leave their camp immediately, and not to return unless the king obeyed their commands. Having given this answer they sent him away under guard lest he should inveigle some persons on the road.

17. After they had finished speaking they did not wait to hear what the Senate and people of Rome would decide about such a great war, but began to collect forces from Bithynia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, and the Galatians of Asia. As soon as Lucius Cassius, the Governor of Asia, had his own army in readiness and all the allied forces were assembled, they took the field in three divisions, Cassius on the boundary of Bithynia and Galatia, Manius on Mithridates' line of march to Bithynia, and Oppius, the third general, among the mountains of Cappadocia. Each of these had about 40,000 men, horse

First  
Mithridatic  
War

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

**CAP. III.** ήν δὲ καὶ νεῶν στόλος αὐτοῖς, οὗ περὶ Βυζάντιου  
 Μινούκιος τε Ἄρχοφος καὶ Γάιος Ποπίλιος ἥγοῦντο,  
 τὸ στόμα τοῦ Πόντου φυλάσσοντες. παρὴν δὲ  
 αὐτοῖς καὶ Νικομήδης, ἄρχων ἐτέρων πεντακισ-  
 μυρίων πεζῶν καὶ ἵππεων ἔξακισχιλίων. τοσόσ-  
 δε μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀθρόως στρατὸς ἀγήγερτο· Μιθρι-  
 δάτη δὲ τὸ μὲν οἰκεῖον ἦν μυριάδες πεζῶν πέντε  
 καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἵππεῖς τετρακισμύριοι, καὶ νῆες  
 κατάφρακτοι τριακόσιαι, δίκροτα δὲ ἑκατόν, καὶ  
 ἡ ἄλλη παρασκευὴ τούτων κατὰ λόγον, στρατη-  
 γοὶ δὲ Νεοπτόλεμός τε καὶ Ἀρχέλαος, ἄλλήλων  
 ἀδελφώ, καὶ τοῖς πλείστοις αὐτὸς παρεγίγνετο.  
 συμμαχικὰ δὲ ἥγον αὐτῷ Ἀρκαθίας μέν, αὐτοῦ  
 Μιθριδάτου πᾶς, ἐκ τῆς βραχυτέρας Ἀρμενίας  
 μυρίους ἵππεας, καὶ Δορύλαος . . . ἐν φάλαγγι  
 ταπτομένους, Κρατερὸς δ' ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα  
 ἄρματα. τοσαῦτη μὲν ἦν ἑκατέροις ἡ παρασκευὴ,  
 ὅτε πρῶτον ἤεσαν ἐς ἄλλήλους Ῥωμαῖοι τε καὶ  
 Μιθριδάτης, ἀμφὶ τὰς ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα  
 τρεῖς ὀλυμπιάδας.

18. Ἐν δὲ πεδιῷ πλατεῖ παρὰ τὸν Αμνειον  
 ποταμὸν κατιδόντες ἄλλήλους ὃ τε Νικομήδης  
 καὶ οἱ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου στρατηγοὶ παρέτατον  
 ἐς μάχην, Νικομήδης μὲν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ,  
 Νεοπτόλεμος δὲ καὶ Ἀρχέλαος τοὺς εὐζώνους  
 μόνους, καὶ οὓς Ἀρκαθίας εἶχεν ἵππεας καὶ  
 τινα τῶν ἄρμάτων· ἡ γὰρ φάλαγξ ἔτι προσήει.  
 ἐς δέ τινα γίλοφον τοῦ πεδίου πετρώδη προλα-  
 βόντες ἀνέπεμψαν ὀλίγους, ἵνα μὴ κυκλωθεῖεν  
 ὑπὸ τῶν Βιθυνῶν πολὺ πλειόνων ὅντων. ὡς δὲ  
 ἔξωθουμένους εἶδον αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ γηλόφου, δείσας  
 ὁ Νεοπτόλεμος περὶ τὴν κυκλώσει προσεβοήθει

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

and foot together. They had also a fleet under CHAP command of Minucius Rufus and Gaius Popilius at III Byzantium, guarding the mouth of the Euxine. Nicomedes too was present with another 50,000 foot and 6000 horse under his command. Such was the total strength of the forces brought together. Mithridates had in his own army 250,000 foot and 40,000 horse, 300 ships with decks, 100 with two banks of oars each, and other equipment in proportion. He had for generals Neoptolemus and Archelaus, two brothers, and the king took charge of the greater number in person. Of the allied forces Arcathias, the son of Mithridates, led 10,000 horse from Armenia Minor, and Dorylaus commanded the phalanx. Craterus had charge of 130 war chariots. So great were the preparations on either side when the Romans and Mithridates first came in conflict with each other, about the 173d Olympiad.

B.C. 88

18. When Nicomedes and the generals of Mithridates came in sight of each other in a wide plain bordered by the river Amnias they drew up their forces for battle. Nicomedes had his entire army with him ; Neoptolemus and Archelaus had only their light infantry and the cavalry of Arcathias and a few chariots ; for the phalanx had not yet come up. They sent forward a small force to seize a rocky hill in the plain lest they should be surrounded by the Bithynians, who were much more numerous. But when they saw these men driven from the hill Neoptolemus, in fear of being surrounded, advanced with haste to their assistance, at the same time calling on Arcathias for help. When Nicomedes perceived the movement he sought to meet it by a

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

**CAP.** III μετὰ σπουδῆς, καλῶν ἄμα καὶ τὸν Ἀρκαθίαν.  
 Νικομήδης δὲ ὁρῶν ἀντιπαρήει· καὶ γίγνεται  
 πολὺς ἐνταῦθα ἀγὼν καὶ φόνος. βιασαμένου δὲ  
 τοῦ Νικομηδούς ἔφευγον οἱ Μιθριδάτειοι, ὡς ὁ  
 Ἀρχέλαος ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ μετελθὼν ἐνέβαλεν  
 ἐς τοὺς διώκοντας. οἱ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπεστράφησαν.  
 ὁ δὲ ὑπεχώρει κατ' ὀλίγον, ἵν' ἔχοιεν ἐκ τῆς  
 φυγῆς ἐπανελθεῖν οἱ περὶ Νεοπτόλεμον. ὡς δὲ  
 εἴκασεν αὐτάρκως ἔχειν, ἐπέστρεφε, καὶ τοῖς  
 Βιθυνοῖς τὰ δρεπανηφόρα ἄρματα ἐμπίπτοντα  
 μετὰ ρύμης διέκοπτε καὶ διέτεμνε τοὺς μὲν ἀθρώας  
 ἐς δύο τοὺς δὲ ἐς μέρη πολλά. τό τε γιγνόμενον  
 ἐξέπληγττε τὴν στρατιὰν τοῦ Νικομήδους, ὅτε  
 ἴδοιεν ἡμιτόμους ἄνδρας ἔτι ἔμπνους, ἢ ἐς πολλὰ  
 διερριμμένους, ἢ τῶν δρεπάνων ἀπηρτημένους.  
 ἀηδίᾳ τε μᾶλλον ὅψεως ἢ μάχης ἥσση τὴν τάξιν  
 ὑπὸ φόβου συνέχεαν. ταραχθεῖσι δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ  
 μὲν Ἀρχέλαος ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου, Νεοπτόλεμος δὲ  
 καὶ Ἀρκαθίας ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς ἀναστρέφοντες ἐπέ-  
 κειντο ὅπισθεν. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν ἡμύνοντο, ἐς  
 ἑκατέρους ἐπιστρεφόμενοι. ὡς δὲ τὸ πλεῖστον  
 ἐπεπτώκει, Νικομήδης μὲν ἔφευγε μετὰ τῶν  
 ὑπολοίπων ἐς Παφλαγούιαν, οὐδὲ ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθού-  
 σης πω τῆς Μιθριδατείου φάλαγγος, ἑάλω δὲ  
 αὐτοῦ τὸ χαράκωμα καὶ τὰ χρήματα πολλὰ ὄντα  
 καὶ πλῆθος αἰχμαλώτων. οὓς πάντας ὁ Μιθρι-  
 δάτης φιλανθρωπευσάμενός τε καὶ ἐφόδια δοὺς  
 ἀπέλυσεν ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀπιέναι, δόξαν ἐμποιῶν  
 τοῖς πολεμίοις φιλανθρωπίας.

19. "Ἐργον δὴ τόδε πρῶτον τοῦ Μιθριδατείου  
 πολέμου καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ρωμαίων κατε-  
 πεπλήγεσαν, ὡς οὐκ εὐβουλίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ προπε-

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

similar one. Thereupon a severe and bloody struggle CHAP.  
ensued. Nicomedes prevailed, and Mithridates' III  
troops fled until Archelaus, coming across from the  
right flank, fell upon the pursuers, who were com-  
pelled to turn their attention to him. He yielded  
little by little in order that the forces of Neoptolemus  
might have a chance to rally. When he judged that  
they had done so sufficiently he advanced again. At The Romans  
the same time the scythe-bearing chariots were driven badly  
at great speed against the Bithynians, cutting some of defeated  
them in two instantaneously, and tearing others to  
pieces. The army of Nicomedes was terrified at seeing  
men cut in halves and still breathing, or mangled in  
fragments, or hanging on the scythes. Overcome  
rather by the hideousness of the spectacle than by  
loss of the fight, fear disordered their ranks. While  
they were thus thrown into confusion Archelaus  
attacked them in front, and Neoptolemus and  
Arcathias, who had turned about, assailed them in  
the rear. They fought a long time facing both ways.  
But after the greater part of his men had fallen,  
Nicomedes fled with the remainder into Paphlagonia,  
although the phalanx of Mithridates had not come  
into the engagement at all. His camp was captured,  
together with his money, of which there was a  
considerable amount, and many prisoners. All these  
Mithridates treated kindly and sent to their homes  
with supplies for the journey, thus gaining a  
reputation for clemency among his enemies.

19. This first engagement of the Mithridatic war alarmed even the Roman generals, because they had kindled so great a strife precipitately, without good Retreat of  
the Roman army

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. τῶς, ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ, τοσόνδε πόλεμον ἄψαντες.  
 III ὀλίγοι τε γὰρ πολὺ πλειόνων ἐκεκρατήκεσαν, καὶ  
 οὐδεμιᾶ συντυχίᾳ χωρίων ἢ πολεμίου σφάλματος,  
 ἀλλ' ἀρετῇ στρατηγῶν καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ στρατοῦ.  
 Νικομήδης μὲν οὖν Μανίῳ παρεστρατοπέδευε,  
 Μιθριδάτης δ' ἐπὶ τὸ Σκορόβαν ὅρος ἀνήει, ὁ  
 τέλος ἐστὶ Βιθυνῶν καὶ τῆς Ποντικῆς χώρας.  
 πρόδρομοί τε αὐτοῦ, Σαυροματῶν ἑκατὸν ἵππεῖς,  
 ὀκτακοσίοις ἵππεῦσι τοῦ Νικομήδους ἐντυχόντες  
 αἴροῦσι καὶ τούτων τινάς· οὓς πάλιν ὁ Μιθρι-  
 δάτης σὺν ἐφοδίοις μεθῆκεν ἐς τὰς πατρίδας  
 ἀπιέναι. Μάνιον δ' ὑποφεύγοντα Νεοπτόλεμός  
 τε καὶ Νεμάνης ὁ Ἀρμένιος ἀμφὶ τὸ πρῶτον  
 Πάχιον χωρίον ἐβδόμης ὥρας καταλαβόντες, οἰχο-  
 μένου πρὸς Κάστιον Νικομήδους, ἡνάγκασαν ἐς  
 μάχην ἵππεας ἔχοντα τετρακισχιλίους καὶ πεζοὺς  
 ἔτι τούτων δεκαπλασίους. κτείναντες δ' αὐτοῦ  
 περὶ μυρίους, ἔξωγρησαν ἐς τριακοσίους· οὖς  
 ὄμοίως ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐς αὐτὸν ἀναχθέντας ἀπέ-  
 λυσε, καταδημοκοπῶν τοὺς πολεμίους. Μανίου  
 δ' ἐλήφθη καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ φεύγων αὐτὸς  
 ἐπὶ τὸν Σαγγάριον ποταμὸν νυκτὸς γενομένης  
 ἐπέρασέ τε καὶ ἐς Πέργαμον ἐσώθη. Κάστιος δὲ  
 καὶ Νικομήδης, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι Ῥωμαίων πρέσ-  
 βεις παρῆσαν, ἐς Λεόντων κεφαλήν, ὁ τῆς Φρυ-  
 γίας ἐστὶν ὀχυρώτατον χωρίον, μετεστρατοπέ-  
 δευον· καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὅσον εἶχον, οὐ πάλαι  
 συνειλεγμένου, χειροτεχνῶν ἢ γεωργῶν ἢ ἴδιωτῶν,  
 ἐγύμναζον, καὶ τοὺς Φρύγας αὐτοὺς προσκατέ-  
 λεγον. ὅκνούντων δὲ ἐκατέρων ἀπέγνωσαν πολε-  
 μεῖν ἀνδράσιν ἀπολέμοις, καὶ διαλύσαντες αὐτοὺς  
 ἀνεχώρουν, Κάστιος μὲν ἐς Ἀπάμειαν σὺν τῷ

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

judgment, and without any public decree. A small CHAP.  
number of soldiers had overcome a much larger one,  
<sup>III</sup> not by having a better position, or through any  
blunder of the enemy, but by good generalship and  
the bravery of the rank and file. Nicomedes now  
encamped alongside of Manius. Mithridates ascended  
Mount Scoroba, which lies on the boundary between  
Bithynia and Pontus. A hundred Sarmatian horse of  
his advance-guard came upon 800 of the Nicomedean  
cavalry and took some of them prisoners. Mithridates  
dismissed these also to their homes and furnished  
them with supplies. Neoptolemus, and Nemanes  
the Armenian, overtook Manius on his retreat at  
the stronghold of Protopachium about the seventh  
hour, Nicomedes having gone away to join Cassius,  
and compelled him to fight. He had 4000 horse  
and ten times that number of foot. They killed  
10,000 of his men and took about 300 prisoners.  
When they were brought to Mithridates he released  
them in like manner, thus making himself popular  
among his enemies. The camp of Manius was also  
captured, and he himself fled to the river Sangarius,  
crossed it by night, and escaped to Pergamus. Cassius  
and Nicomedes and all the Roman ambassadors who  
were with the army decamped to a place called the  
Lion's Head, a very powerful stronghold in Phrygia,  
where they began to drill their newly collected mob  
of artisans, rustics, and other raw recruits, and made  
new levies among the Phrygians. Finding both alike  
inefficient they abandoned the idea of fighting with  
such unwarlike men, dismissed them and retreated ;  
Cassius with his own army to Apamea, Nicomedes to

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. έαυτοῦ στρατῷ, Νικομήδης δὲ ἐς Πέργαμον, Μάνιος  
 III δὲ ἐπὶ Ῥόδου. ὃν, ὅσοι τὸ στόμα τοῦ Πόντου  
 κατεῖχον, πυθόμενοι διελύθησαν, καὶ τὰς τε κλεῖς  
 τοῦ Πόντου, καὶ ναῦς ὅσας εἶχον, τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ  
 παρέδοσαν.

20. Ο δὲ ὄρμῇ τῇδε μᾶτρὴν ἀρχὴν ὅλην τοῦ  
 Νικομήδους ὑπολαβὼν ἐπῆρε, καὶ καθίστατο τὰς  
 πόλεις. ἐμβαλὼν δὲ καὶ ἐς Φρυγίαν, ἐς τὸ τοῦ  
 Ἀλεξάνδρου πανδοκεῖον κατέλυσεν, αἰσιούμενος  
 ἄρα, ἔνθαπερ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀνεπαύσατο, καὶ Μιθρι-  
 δάτην σταθμεῦσαι. ὁ μὲν δὴ καὶ Φρυγίας τὰ  
 λοιπὰ καὶ Μυσίαν καὶ Ἀσίαν, ἢ Ρωμαίοις νεό-  
 κτητα ἦν, ἐπέτρεχε, καὶ ἐς τὰ περίοικα περιπέμπων  
 ὑπηγάγετο Λυκίαν τε καὶ Παμφυλίαν καὶ τὰ  
 μέχρι Ἰωνίας. Λαοδικεῦσι δὲ ἔτι ἀντέχουσι, τοῖς  
 περὶ τὸν Λύκον ποταμόν (Ρωμαίων γάρ τις  
 στρατηγὸς Κόιντος Ὁππιος, ἵππεας ἔχων καὶ  
 μισθοφόρους τινάς, ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσδραμὼν ἐφύ-  
 λαττεν αὐτήν), κήρυκα ἐπιπέμψας ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη  
 λέγειν ἐκέλευσεν ὅτι βασιλεὺς Μιθριδάτης ὑπέ-  
 χεται Λαοδικεῦσιν ἄδειαν, εἰ τὸν Ὁππιον αὐτῷ  
 προσαγάγοιεν. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῷ κηρύγματι τοὺς μὲν  
 μισθοφόρους Ὁππίου μεθῆκαν ἀπαθεῖς ἀπιέναι,  
 αὐτὸν δ' ἥγαγον τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ τὸν Ὁππιον,  
 ἥγουμένων αὐτῷ τῶν ῥαβδοφόρων ἐπὶ γέλωτι.  
 καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Μιθριδάτης οὐδὲν διαθεὶς ἐπήγετο  
 πανταχοῦ λελυμένον, ἐπιδεικνύμενος ἄρα Ρωμαίων  
 αἰχμάλωτον στρατηγόν.

21. Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ Μάνιον Ἀκύλιον,  
 τὸν τῆσδε τῆς πρεσβείας καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέ-  
 μου μάλιστα αἴτιον, ἐλῶν δεδεμένον ἐπὶ ὅνου  
 περιήγετο, κηρύσσοντα τοῖς ὄρωσιν ὅτι Μάνιος

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

Pergamus, and Manius toward Rhodes. When those who were guarding the mouth of the Euxine learned these facts they also scattered and delivered the straits and all the ships they had to Mithridates.

III

20. Having thus subverted the whole dominion of Nicomedes at one blow, Mithridates took possession of it and put the cities in order. Then he invaded Phrygia and lodged at an inn which had been occupied by Alexander the Great, thinking it a happy omen that, where Alexander had once stopped, there Mithridates too should pitch his camp. He overran the rest of Phrygia, together with Mysia and those parts of Asia which had been lately acquired by the Romans. Then he sent his officers to the adjoining provinces and subjugated Lycia, Pamphylia, and the adjoining country as far as Ionia. To the Laodiceans on the river Lycus, who were still resisting (for the Roman general, Quintus Oppius, had got through with his cavalry and certain mercenaries to the town and was defending it), he made this proclamation by herald before the walls, "King Mithridates promises that the Laodiceans shall suffer no injury if they will deliver Oppius to him." Upon this announcement they dismissed the mercenaries unharmed, but led Oppius himself to Mithridates with his lictors marching in front of him by way of ridicule. Mithridates did him no harm, but took him around with him unbound exhibiting a Roman general as his prisoner.

Roman  
generals  
captured

21. Not long afterward he captured Manius Aquilius, the prime instigator of this embassy and this war. Mithridates led him around, bound on an ass, and proclaiming himself as Manius to all who saw

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

**CAP. III.** εἰη, μέχρι ἐν Περγάμῳ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ κατεχώνευσε χρυσίου, δωροδοκίαν ἄρα Ῥωμαίοις ὀνειδίζων. σατράπας δὲ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐπιστήσας, ἐς Μαγινησίαν καὶ Ἐφεσον καὶ Μιτυλήνην παρῆλθεν, ἀσμένως αὐτὸν ἀπάντων δεχομένων, Ἐφεσίων δὲ καὶ τὰς Ῥωμαίων εἰκόνας τὰς παρὰ σφίσι καθαιρούντων, ἐφ' ὃ δίκην ἔδοσαν οὐ πολὺ ὑστερούντων. ἐπανιὼν δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰωνίας Στρατονίκειαν εἶλε καὶ ἔξημίωσε χρήμασι, καὶ φρουρὰν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσήγαγεν. παρθένον τε εὔμορφον ἴδων ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας ἀνεδέξατο· καὶ εἴ τῳ σπουδῇ καὶ τῷ ὄνομα πυθέσθαι, Μονίμη Φιλοποίμενος ἦν. Μάγνησι δὲ καὶ Παφλαγόσι καὶ Λυκίοις ἔτι ἀντέχουσι διὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐπολέμει.

## IV

**CAP. IV.** 22. Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν ἀμφὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην· Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἔξ οὖτος πρώτης αὐτοῦ ὄρμῆς τε καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐσβολῆς ἐπύθοντο, στρατεύειν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐψηφίσαντο, καίπερ ἀσχολούμενοι στάσεσιν ἀτρύτοις ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ οἰκείῳ πολέμῳ χαλεπῷ, τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀφισταμένης σχεδὸν ἀπάσης ἀνὰ μέρος. κληρουμένων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων, ἔλαχε μὲν Κορινήλιος Σύλλας ἄρχειν τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ πολεμεῖν τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ, χρήματα δὲ οὐκ ἔχοντες αὐτῷ ἐσενεγκεῖν, ἐψηφίσαντο πραθῆναι ὅσα Νουμᾶς Πομπίλιος βασιλεὺς ἐς θυσίας θεῶν διετέτακτο. τοσίδε μὲν ἦν τότε πάντων ἀπορία καὶ ἐς πάντα φιλοτιμία. καί τινα αὐτῶν ἔφθασε

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

him. Finally, at Pergamus, Mithridates poured molten gold down his throat, thus rebuking the Romans for their bribe-taking. After appointing satraps over the various nations he proceeded to Magnesia, Ephesus, and Mitylene, all of which received him gladly. The Ephesians even overthrew the Roman statues which had been erected in their cities—for which they paid the penalty not long afterward. On his return from Ionia Mithridates took the city of Stratonicea, imposed a fine on it, and placed a garrison in it. Seeing a pretty girl there he added her to his list of wives. Her name, if anybody wishes to know it, was Monima, the daughter of Philopoemen. Against those Magnesians, Paphlagonians, and Lycians who still opposed him he directed his generals to make war.

## IV

22. SUCH was the state of affairs with Mithridates. As soon as his outbreak and invasion of Asia were known at Rome they declared war against him, although they were occupied with endless dissensions in the city and a formidable internal war, almost all parts of Italy having seceded one after another. When the consuls cast lots, the government of Asia and the Mithridatic war fell to Cornelius Sulla. As they had no money to defray his expenses they voted to sell the treasures that King Numa Pompilius had set apart for sacrifices to the gods; so limited were their means at that time, and so unlimited their ambition. A part of these treasures, sold hastily,

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. πραθῆται καὶ συνενεγκεῖν χρυσίου λίτρας<sup>1</sup> ἐνακισ-  
IV χιλίας, ἃς μόνας ἔს τηλικοῦτον πόλεμον ἔδοσαν.

Σύλλαν μὲν οὖν ἔს πολὺ αἱ στάσεις κατέσχον, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις συγγέγραπται ἐν τούτῳ δ' ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐπί τε Ῥοδίους ναῦς πλείονας συνεπήγνυτο, καὶ σατράπαις ἅπασι καὶ πόλεων ἄρχοντι δι' ἀπορρήτων ἔγραφε, τριακοστὴν ἡμέραν φυλάξαντας ὁμοῦ πάντας ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς παρὰ σφίσι Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Ἰταλοῖς, αὐτοῖς τε καὶ γυναιξὶν αὐτῶν καὶ παισὶ καὶ ἀπελευθέροις ὅσοι γένους Ἰταλικοῦ, κτείναντάς τε ἀτάφους ἀπορρήψαι, καὶ τὰ ὄντα αὐτοῖς μερίσασθαι πρὸς βασιλέα Μιθριδάτην. ἐπεκήρυξε δὲ καὶ ξημίαν τοῖς καταθάπτουσιν αὐτοὺς ἢ ἐπικρύπτουσι, καὶ μήνυτρα τοῖς ἐλέγχουσιν ἢ τοὺς κρυπτομένους ἀναιροῦσι, θεράπουσι μὲν ἐπὶ δεσπότας ἐλευθερίαν, χρήσταις δ' ἐπὶ δανειστὰς ἡμισυ τοῦ χρέους. τάδε μὲν δὴ δι' ἀπορρήτων ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐπέστελλεν ἅπασιν ὁμοῦ, καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπελθούσης συμφορῶν ἰδέαι ποικίλαι κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἥσαν, ὃν ἔνια τοιάδε ἦν.

23. Ἐφέσιοι τοὺς ἔσ τὸ Αρτεμίσιον καταφυγόντας, συμπλεκομένους τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν, ἐξέλκοντες ἔκτεινον. Περγαμηνοὶ τοὺς ἔσ τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον συμφυγόντας, οὐκ ἀφισταμένους, ἐτόξευον τοῖς ξοάνοις συμπλεκομένους. Ἀδραμυττηνοὶ τοὺς ἔκνέοντας ἐσβαίνοντες ἔσ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀνίρουν, καὶ τὰ βρέφη κατεπόντουν. Καύνιοι Ῥοδίοις ὑποτελεῖς ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀντιόχου πολέμῳ

<sup>1</sup> Here probably equivalent to the Roman libra (nearly 12 oz. avoirdupois).

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

brought 9000 pounds' weight of gold, and this was CHAP.  
all they had to spend on so great a war.

IV

Sulla was detained a long time by the civil wars, as I have stated in my history of the same. In the meantime Mithridates built a large number of ships for an attack on Rhodes, and wrote secretly to all his satraps and city governors that on the thirtieth day thereafter they should set upon all Romans and Italians in their towns, and upon their wives and children and their freedmen of Italian birth, kill them and throw their bodies out unburied, and share their goods with King Mithridates. He threatened to punish any who should bury the dead or conceal the living, and proclaimed rewards to informers and to those who should kill persons in hiding. To slaves, who killed or betrayed their masters he offered freedom, to debtors, who did the same to their creditors, the remission of half of their debt. These secret orders Mithridates sent to all the cities at the same time. When the appointed day came disasters of the most varied kinds occurred throughout Asia, among which were the following:

23. The Ephesians tore away the fugitives, who had taken refuge in the temple of Artemis, and were clasping the images of the goddess, and slew them. The Pergameans shot with arrows those who had fled to the temple of Aesculapius, while they were still clinging to his statues. The people of Adramyttium followed into the sea those who sought to escape by swimming, and killed them and drowned their children. The Caunii, who had been made subject to Rhodes after the war against Antiochus and had been lately

Mithridates  
orders a  
massacre  
of Romans  
in Asia

Frightful  
scenes at  
Ephesus  
and other  
cities

CAP. IV γενόμενοι, καὶ ὑπὸ Ρωμαίων ἀφεθέντες οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ, τοὺς Ἰταλοὺς ἐς τὴν βουλαίαν Ἐστίαν καταφυγόντας ἔλκοντες ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐστίας, τὰ βρέφη σφῶν πρώτα ἔκτεινον ἐν ὅψει τῶν μητέρων, αὐτὰς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπ' ἐκείνοις. Τραλλιανοὶ δ' αὐθένται τοῦ κακοῦ φυλαξάμενοι γενέσθαι, Παφλαγόνα Θεόφιλον, ἄγριον ἄνδρα, ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἐμισθώσαντο, καὶ ὁ Θεόφιλος αὐτοὺς συναγαγὼν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς ὁμονοίας νεὼν ἥπτετο τοῦ φόνου, καὶ τινῶν τοῖς ἀγάλμασι συμπλεκομένων τὰς χεῖρας ἀπέκοπτεν. τοιαύταις μὲν τύχαις οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὅντες Ἰταλοὶ καὶ Ρωμαῖοι συνεφέροντο, ἄνδρες τε ὁμοῦ καὶ βρέφη καὶ γυναικες, καὶ ἔξελεύθεροι καὶ θεράποντες αὐτῶν, ὅσοι γένους Ἰταλικοῦ. ὡς καὶ μάλιστα δῆλον ἐγένετο τὴν Ἀσίαν οὐ φόβῳ Μιθριδάτου μᾶλλον ἢ μίσει Ρωμαίων τοιάδε ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐργάσασθαι. ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν δίκην ἔδοσαν διπλῆν, αὐτοῦ τε Μιθριδάτου μετ' ὀλίγον ἀπίστως ἔξυβρίσαντος ἐς αὐτούς, καὶ ὑστερον· Κορυνηλίῳ Σύλλᾳ· Μιθριδάτης δὲ ἐς μὲν Κῷ κατέπλευσε, Κῷων αὐτὸν ἀσμένως δεχομένων, καὶ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου παῖδα τοῦ βασιλεύοντος Αἰγύπτου, σὺν χρήμασι πολλοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς μάμμης Κλεοπάτρας ἐν Κῷ καταλελειμμένον, παραλαβὼν ἔτρεφε βασιλικῶς, ἐκ τε τῶν Κλεοπάτρας θησαυρῶν γάζαν πολλὴν καὶ τέχνην καὶ λίθους καὶ κόσμους γυναικέίους καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ ἐς τὸν Ποντον ἔπειμψεν.

24. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Ῥόδιοι τά τε τειχη σφῶν καὶ τοὺς λιμένας ἐκρατύναντο, καὶ μηχανὰς ἀπασιν ἐφίστανον· καὶ τινες αὐτοῖς Τελμισέων τε καὶ Λυκίων συνέμαχουν. ὅσοι τε ἐξ Ἀσίας Ἰταλοὶ

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

liberated by the Romans, pursued the Italians who CHAP.  
had taken refuge about the statue of Vesta in the IV  
senate-house, tore them from the shrine, first killed  
the children before their mothers' eyes, and then  
killed the mothers themselves and their husbands  
after them. The citizens of Tralles, in order to avoid  
the appearance of blood-guiltiness, hired a savage  
monster named Theophilus, of Paphlagonia, to do the  
work. He conducted the victims to the temple of  
Concord, and there murdered them, chopping off the  
hands of some who were embracing the sacred  
images. Such was the awful fate that befell the  
Romans and Italians in Asia, men, women, and  
children, their freedmen and slaves, all who were of  
Italian blood; by which it was made very plain that  
it was quite as much hatred of the Romans as fear of  
Mithridates that impelled the Asiatics to commit  
these atrocities. But they paid a double penalty for  
their crime—one at the hands of Mithridates himself,  
who ill-treated them perfidiously not long afterward,  
and the other at the hands of Cornelius Sulla. In  
the meantime Mithridates crossed over to the island  
of Cos, where he was welcomed by the inhabitants  
and where he received, and afterwards brought up in  
a royal way, a son of Alexander, the reigning  
sovereign of Egypt, who had been left there by his  
grandmother, Cleopatra, together with a large sum  
of money. From the treasures of Cleopatra he sent  
vast wealth, works of art, precious stones, women's  
ornaments, and a great deal of money to Pontus.

24. While these things were going on the Rhodians strengthened their walls and their harbours and erected engines of war everywhere, being joined by some recruits from Telmessus and Lycia. All the

CAP. διεπεφεύγεσαν, ἐς Ρόδον ἅπαντες ἔχώρουν, καὶ  
 IV σὺν αὐτοῖς Λεύκιος Κάσσιος ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀνθύ-  
 πατος. ἐπιπλέοντος δὲ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου τὰ προ-  
 ἀστεια καθήρουν, ἵνα μηδὲν εἴη χρήσιμα τοῖς  
 πολεμίοις, καὶ ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἀνήγοντο, ταῖς μὲν  
 ἐκ μετώπου ταῖς δὲ πλαγίοις. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ  
 πεντήρους περιπλέων ἐκέλευε τοὺς ἴδιους ἐς τὸ  
 πέλαγος ἀνάγειν ἐπὶ κέρως, καὶ τὴν εἰρεσίαν  
 ἐπιταχύιαντας περικυκλοῦσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους  
 δλιγωτέρους ὅντας, μέχρι δείσαντες οἱ Ρόδιοι περὶ  
 τῇ κυκλώσει ὑπεχώρουν κατ' ὀλίγον· εἰτ' ἐπιστρέ-  
 φαντες ἐς τὸν λιμένα κατέφυγον, καὶ κλείθροις  
 αὐτὸν διαλαβόντες ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν τὸν Μιθρι-  
 δάτην ἀπεμάχοντο. ὁ δὲ τῇ πόλει παραστρατο-  
 πεδεύων καὶ συνεχῶς τῶν λιμένων πειρώμενος  
 καὶ ἀποτυγχάνων, ἀνέμενε τὸ πεζὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας  
 οἱ παραγενέσθαι. καν τούτῳ βραχεῖαι καὶ συνε-  
 χεῖς ἐγίγνοντο ἀψιμαχίαι τῶν ἐφεδρευόντων τοῖς  
 τείχεσιν, ἐν αἷς οἱ Ρόδιοι πλεονεκτοῦντες ἀνεθάρ-  
 σουν κατ' ὀλίγον, καὶ τὰς ναῦς διὰ χειρὸς εἰχον  
 ὡς, εἴ πῃ καιρὸν εὔροιεν, ἐπιθησόμενοι τοῖς  
 πολεμίοις.

25. Ολκάδος δὲ βασιλικῆς ἴστιώ παραπλεούσης,  
 Ροδία δίκροτος ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἀνήχθη καὶ ταῖσδε  
 κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐκατέρων ἐπιβοηθούντων ναυμαχίᾳ  
 γίγνεται καρτερά, Μιθριδάτου μὲν ἐπιβαρύνοντος  
 ὄργῃ καὶ πλίθεσι νεῶν, Ροδίων δ' αὐτοῦ τὰ σκάφη  
 σὺν ἐμπειρίᾳ περιπλεόντων τε καὶ ἀνατιτρώντων,  
 ὥστε καὶ τριήρη αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀναδησάμενοι  
 καὶ ἀκροστόλια πολλὰ καὶ σκῦλα ἐς τὸν λιμένα

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

Italians who escaped from Asia collected at Rhodes, CHAP. among them Lucius Cassius, the pro-consul of the province. When Mithridates approached with his fleet, the inhabitants destroyed the suburbs in order that they might not be of service to the enemy. Then they put to sea for a naval engagement with some of their ships ranged for an attack in front and some on the flank. Mithridates, who was sailing round in a quinquereme, ordered his ships to extend their wing out to sea and to quicken the rowing in order to surround the enemy, for they were fewer in number. The Rhodians were apprehensive of being surrounded and retired slowly. Finally they turned about and took refuge in the harbour, closed the gates, and fought Mithridates from the walls. He encamped near the city and continually tried to gain entrance to the harbour, but failing to do so he waited for the arrival of his infantry from Asia. In the meantime there was continual skirmishing going on with the soldiers on the walls. As the Rhodians had the best of it in these affairs, they gradually plucked up courage and kept their ships in readiness, in order to attack the enemy whenever they should discover an opportunity.

25. As one of the king's merchantmen was moving near them under sail a Rhodian two-bank ship advanced against it. Many on both sides hastened to the rescue and a severe naval engagement took place. Mithridates outweighed his antagonists both in fury and in the multitude of his fleet, but the Rhodians circled around and rammed his ships with such skill that they took one of his triremes in tow with its crew and returned to the harbour with a large number of figure-heads and spoils. Another time,

Mithridates attacks Rhodes

He is defeated at sea

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. φέρουτες ἐπανελθεῖν. πεντήρους δὲ σφῶν εἰλημμένης ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἀγνοοῦντες οἱ Ἱόδιοι ἐπὶ ζήτησιν αὐτῆς ἔξι ταῖς μάλιστα ταχυναυτούσαις ἀνέπλεον, καὶ Δαμαγόρας ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὁ ναύαρχος ἐπέπλει. πέντε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐπιπέμψαντος τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, μέχρι μὲν ἐς δύσιν ὁ Δαμαγόρας ὑπεχώρει, συσκοτάζοντος δ' ἦδη ταῖς βασιλικαῖς ἐς ἀπόπλουν ἐπιστρεφομέναις ἐμβαλὼν δύο κατεπόντωσε, δύο δ' ἄλλας ἐς Λυκίαν συνεδίωξε, καὶ τὴν υύκτα πελαγίσας ἐπανῆλθεν. τοῦτο Ἱόδιοις καὶ Μιθριδάτῃ τέλος ἦν τῆς ναυμαχίας, παρὰ δόξαν Ἱόδιοις τε διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα καὶ Μιθριδάτῃ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος γενόμενον. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἕργῳ περιπλέοντι τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους ἐπισπέρχοντι, Χία συμμαχὶς ἐμβαλοῦσα ἐκ θορύβου κατέσεισε· καὶ ὁ βασιλεύς, οὐδὲν τότε φροντίζειν ὑποκρινάμενος, τὸν κυβερνήτην ὕστερον ἐκόλασε καὶ τὸν πρωρέα, καὶ Χίοις ἐμήνισε πᾶσιν.

26. Τῶν δ' αὐτῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ πεζοῦ τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ παραπλέοντος ἐπὶ ὄλκάδων καὶ τριήρων, πνεῦμα Καυνικὸν ἐμπεσὸν ἐς αὐτὰς ἐς Ἱόδον παρήνεγκε· καὶ οἱ Ἱόδιοι τάχιστα ἐπαναχθέντες, ἐνοχλουμέναις ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος ἔτι καὶ διεσπαρμέναις ἐμβαλόντες, ἀνεδίσαντό τινας καὶ διέτρησαν ἐτέρας καὶ ἐνέπρησαν ἄλλας, καὶ ἄνδρας αἰχμαλώτους εἶλον ἐς τετρακοσίους. ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐς ἐτέραν ναυμαχίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ πολιορκίαν ἡτοιμάζετο, σαμβύκην δέ τινα, μηχάνημα μέγιστον, ἐπὶ δύο νεῶν φερόμενον ἐποίει.

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

when one of their quinqueremes had been taken by CHAP.  
the enemy, the Rhodians, not knowing this fact, sent  
out six of their swiftest ships to look for it, under  
command of their admiral, Damagoras. Mithridates  
despatched twenty-five of his against them, and  
Damagoras retired before them until sunset. When it  
began to grow dark and the king's ships turned  
round to sail back, Damagoras fell upon them, sank  
two, drove two others to Lycia, and having passed  
the night out at sea returned home. This was the  
result of the naval engagement, as unexpected to the  
Rhodians on account of the smallness of their force  
as to Mithridates on account of the largeness of his.  
In this engagement, while the king was sailing about  
in his ship and urging on his men, an allied ship from  
Chios ran against his in the confusion with a severe  
shock. The king pretended not to mind it at the  
time, but later he punished the pilot and the look-  
out man, and conceived a hatred for all Chians.

26. About the same time the land forces of Mithridates set sail in merchant vessels and triremes, and a storm, blowing from Caunus, drove them towards Rhodes. The Rhodians promptly sailed out to meet them, fell upon them while they were still scattered and suffering from the effects of the tempest, captured some, rammed others, and burned others, and took about 400 prisoners. Thereupon Mithridates prepared for another naval engagement and siege at the same time. He built a *sambuca*,<sup>1</sup> an immense machine for scaling walls, and mounted it on two

He makes  
an assault  
by land

<sup>1</sup> A kind of bridge, used for crossing from either the ships or the towers of the besiegers on to the enemy's walls.

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

**CAP. IV.** αὐτομόλων δ' αὐτῷ λόφου ὑποδειξάντων ἐπιβατόν,  
 ἦ 'Αταβυρίου Διὸς ἱερὸν ἦν καὶ κολοβὸν τειχίου  
 ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς τὰς ναῦς νυκτὸς ἐπ-  
 έβησε, καὶ ἐτέροις ἀναδοὺς κλίμακας ἐκέλευσε  
 χωρεῖν ἑκατέρους μετὰ σιωπῆς, μέχρι τινὲς αὐτοῖς  
 πυρσεύσειαν ἐκ τοῦ 'Αταβυρίου, καὶ τότε ἀθρώας,  
 μετὰ βοῆς ὅτι μάλιστα μεγάλης, τοὺς μὲν τοῖς  
 λιμέσιν ἐμπίπτειν, τοὺς δὲ τὰ τείχη βιάζεσθαι.  
 οἱ μὲν δὴ μετὰ σιγῆς βαθείας προσεπέλαξον,  
 'Ροδίων δ' οἱ προφύλακες αἰσθόμενοι τῶν γιγνομέ-  
 νων ἐπύρσευσαν, καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου,  
 νομίσασα τοῦτο εἶναι τὸν ἐκ τοῦ 'Αταβυρίου  
 πυρσόν, ἐκ βαθείας σιωπῆς ἥλαλαξαν ὁμοῦ  
 πάντες, οἵ τε κλιμακοφόροι καὶ ὁ στόλος ὁ νηίτης.  
 'Ροδίων δ' αὐτοῖς ἀκαταπλήκτως ἀντανακραγόν-  
 των, καὶ ἀθρώας ἀναδραμόντων ἐς τὰ τείχη, οἱ  
 βασιλικοὶ νυκτὸς μὲν οὐδ' ἐπεχείρουν, ημέρας δ'  
 ἀπεκρούσθησαν.

27. Ἡ σαμβύκη δ' ἐπαχθεῖσα τοῦ τείχους ἦ  
 τὸ τῆς 'Ισιδος ἱερόν ἐστιν, ἐφόβει μάλιστα, βέλη  
 τε πολλὰ ὁμοῦ καὶ κριοὺς καὶ ἀκόντια ἀφιεῖσα.  
 στρατιῶται τε σκάφεσι πολλοῖς αὐτῇ μετὰ  
 κλιμάκων παρέθεον ὡς ἀναβησόμενοι δι' αὐτῆς  
 ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη. οἱ δὲ 'Ρόδιοι καὶ τάδε εὐσταθῶς  
 ὑπέμενον, ἕως τό τε μηχάνημα ὑπὸ βάρους  
 ἐνεδίδουν, καὶ φάσμα τῆς 'Ισιδος ἔδοξε πῦρ ἀφιέ-  
 ναι πολὺ κατ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἀπογνοὺς  
 καὶ τῆσδε τῆς πείρας ἀνεζεύγνυεν ἐκ τῆς 'Ρόδου,  
 Πατάροις δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν περιστήσας ἔκοπτε  
 Λητοῦς ἄλσος ἱερὸν ἐς μηχανάς, μέχρι φοβή-  
 σαντος αὐτὸν ἐνυπνίου τῆς τε ὑλῆς ἐφείσατο, καὶ

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

ships. Some deserters showed him a hill that was CHAP.  
easy to climb, where the temple of Zeus Atabyrius IV  
was situated, surrounded by a low wall. He placed  
a part of his army in ships by night, distributed  
scaling ladders to others, and commanded both  
parties to move silently until they should see a fire  
signal given from Mount Atabyrius; and then to  
make the greatest possible uproar, and some to attack  
the harbour and others the wall. Accordingly  
they approached in profound silence. The Rhodian  
sentries detected what was going on and lighted a  
fire. The army of Mithridates, thinking that this  
was the fire signal from Atabyrius, broke the silence  
with a loud shout, the scaling party and the naval  
contingent shouting all together. The Rhodians,  
not at all dismayed, answered the shout and rushed  
to the walls in crowds. The king's forces did not even attack that night, and the next day they were beaten off.

He is beaten off

27. The Rhodians were most dismayed by the *sambuca*, which was moved against the wall where the temple of Isis stands. It was operating simultaneously with weapons of various kinds, both rams and projectiles. Soldiers with ladders in numerous small boats passed alongside of it, ready to mount the wall by its help. Nevertheless the Rhodians awaited its attack with firmness, until the *sambuca* began to collapse of its own weight, and an apparition of Isis was seen hurling a great mass of fire down upon it. Mithridates despaired of this undertaking too and retired from Rhodes. He then laid siege to Patara and began to cut down a grove dedicated to Latona, to get material for his machines, until he was warned in a dream to spare the sacred trees. Leaving Pelop-

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. Πελοπίδαν Λυκίους πολεμεῖν ἐπιστήσας, Ἀρχέ-  
 IV λαον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπεμπε, προσεταιριούμενον  
 ἡ βιασόμενον αὐτῆς ὅσα δύναιτο. αὐτὸς δ' ἀπὸ  
 τοῦδε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὰ πολλὰ μεθεὶς ἐστρατο-  
 λόγει καὶ ὠπλοποίει, καὶ τῇ Στρατονικίδι γυναικὶ  
 διετέρπετο, καὶ δίκας ἐδίκαζε τοῖς ἐπιβούλευειν ἐς  
 τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ λεγομένοις ἡ νεωτερίζουσιν ἡ ὅλως  
 ῥωμαΐζουσιν.

### V

CAP. 28. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦσδε ἦν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν  
 V Ἑλλάδα τοιάδε ἐγίγνετο. Ἀρχέλαος ἐπιπλεύσας  
 καὶ σίτῳ καὶ στόλῳ πολλῷ, Δῆλόν τε ἀφισταμένην  
 ἀπὸ Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἄλλα χωρία ἔχειρώσατο βίᾳ  
 καὶ κράτει. κτείνας δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς δισμυρίους ἄνδρας,  
 ὃν οἱ πλέονες ἤσαν Ἰταλοί, τὰ χωρία προσε-  
 ποιεῦτο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις· καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε αὐτούς,  
 καὶ τὰ ἄλλα κομπάζων περὶ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου  
 καὶ ἐς μέγα ἐπαίρων, ἐς φιλίαν ὑπηγάγετο·  
 τά τε χρήματα αὐτοῖς τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπεμπεν ἐκ  
 Δήλου δι' Ἀριστίωνος ἀνδρὸς Ἀθηναίου, συμ-  
 πέμψας φυλακὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἐς δισχιλίους  
 ἄνδρας, οἷς ὁ Ἀριστίων συγχρώμενος ἐτυράινησε  
 τῆς πατρίδος, καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοὺς μὲν εὐθὺς  
 ἔκτεινεν ὡς ῥωμαΐζοντας, τοὺς δ' ἀνέπεμψεν ἐς  
 Μιθριδάτην, καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι σοφίαν τὴν Ἐπι-  
 κούρειον ἤσκηκώς. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐχ ὅδε μόνος  
 Ἀθήνησιν, οὐδὲ Κριτίας ἔτι πρὸ τούτου, καὶ

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

idas to continue the war against the Lycians he sent CHAP.  
Archelaus to Greece to gain allies by persuasion or  
force according as he could. After this Mithridates  
committed most of his tasks to his generals, and  
applied himself to raising troops, making arms, and  
enjoying himself with his wife from Stratoniceia.  
He also held a court to try those who were accused of  
conspiring against him, or of inciting revolution, or  
of favouring the Romans in any way.

IV

## V

28. WHILE Mithridates was thus occupied the CHAP.  
following events took place in Greece. Archelaus,  
sailing thither with abundant supplies and a large  
fleet, conquered by force of arms Delos and other  
strongholds which had revolted from the Athenians.  
He slew 20,000 men in these places, most of whom  
were Italians, and handed the strongholds over to  
the Athenians. In this way, and by boasting  
generally about Mithridates and extravagantly  
praising him, he brought the Athenians into alliance  
with him. Archelaus also sent them the sacred  
treasure of Delos by the hands of Aristion, an  
Athenian citizen, attended by about 2000 soldiers to  
guard the money. These soldiers Aristion made use  
of to make himself master of his fatherland, putting  
some to death immediately on the charge of favouring  
the Romans and sending others to Mithridates.  
And these things he did although he had studied  
Epicurean philosophy. Nor was he alone in this,  
for not only at Athens Critias<sup>1</sup> before him and those

B.C. 87  
Athens  
sides with  
Mithridates

<sup>1</sup> One of the most extreme of the so-called Thirty Tyrants,  
who ruled Athens from September 404 to May 403 B.C. He  
was a friend and pupil of Socrates.

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. ὅσοι τῷ Κριτίᾳ συμφιλοσοφοῦντες ἐτυράννησαν,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ τῶν πυθαγορισάντων καὶ ἐν  
 τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἑλλάδι τῶν ἐπτὰ σοφῶν λεγομένων ὅσοι  
 πραγμάτων ἐλάβοντο, ἐδυνάστευσάν τε καὶ ἐτυ-  
 ράννησαν ὡμότερον τῶν ἴδιωτικῶν τυράννων, ὥστε  
 καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων φιλοσόφων ἄπορον ποιῆσαι  
 καὶ ὑποπτον, εἴτε δι' ἀρετήν, εἴτε πενίας καὶ  
 ἀπραξίας τὴν σοφίαν ἔθεντο παραμύθιον, ὃν γε  
 καὶ νῦν πολλοὶ ἴδιωτεύοντες καὶ πενόμενοι, καὶ  
 τὴν ἀναγκαίαν ἐκ τῶνδε σοφίαν περικείμενοι,  
 τοῖς πλουτοῦσιν ἢ ἄρχουσι λοιδοροῦνται πικρῶς,  
 οὐχ ὑπεροψίας πλούτου καὶ ἀρχῆς δόξαν σφίσι  
 μᾶλλον ἢ ζηλοτυπίας ἐς αὐτὰ προφέροντες.  
 ὑπερορῶσι δ' αὐτῶν οἱ βλασφημούμενοι πολὺ<sup>ν</sup>  
 σοφώτερον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡγήσαιτο ἄν τις ἐς  
 Ἀριστίωνα τὸν φιλόσοφον εἰρημένα, αὐτὸν αἴτιον  
 τῆς ἐκβολῆς τῷ λόγῳ γενόμενον.

29. Ἀρχελάῳ δ' Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ Λάκωνες προσ-  
 ετίθεντο, καὶ Βοιωτία πᾶσα χωρίς γε Θεσπιέων,  
 οὓς περικαθήμενος ἐπολιόρκει. τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ  
 χρόνου Μητροφάνης ἐπιπεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Μιθριδάτου  
 μεθ' ἑτέρας στρατιᾶς Εὔβοιαν καὶ Δημητριάδα  
 καὶ Μαγνησίαν, οὐκ ἐνδεχομένας τὰ Μιθριδάτεια,  
 ἐλεηλάτει. καὶ Βρύττιος ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐπελθὼν  
 σὺν ὀλίγῳ στρατῷ διεναυμάχησέ τε αὐτῷ, καὶ  
 καταποντώσας τι πλοῖον καὶ ἡμιολίαν ἔκτεινε  
 πάντας τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἐφορῶντος τοῦ Μητρο-  
 φάνους. ὁ δὲ καταπλαγεὶς ἔφευγεν. καὶ αὐτὸν  
 αἰσίῳ ἀνέμῳ χρώμενον ὁ Βρέττιος οὐ καταλαβὼν  
 Σκίαθον ἐξεῖλεν, ἢ τῆς λείας τοῖς βαρβύροις  
 ταμιεῖον ἦν, καὶ δούλους τινὰς αὐτῶν ἐκρέμασε,

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

of his fellow-philosophers who set up a tyranny, but CHAP  
also in Italy, some of the Pythagoreans, and in other V  
parts of the Grecian world some of those known as  
the Seven Wise Men, who undertook to manage  
public affairs, governed more cruelly, and made  
themselves greater tyrants than ordinary despots ;  
whence arose doubt and suspicion concerning other  
philosophers, whether they were attracted to philosophy  
by virtue, or adopted it as a consolation for  
poverty or lack of occupation. For we see many of  
them now, obscure and poverty-stricken, wearing  
the garb of philosophy as a matter of necessity, and  
railing bitterly at the rich and powerful, thus  
winning themselves a reputation, not for despising  
riches and power, but for envying them. Those  
whom they speak ill of shew far greater wisdom in  
despising such men. These things the reader should  
consider as spoken against the philosopher Aristion,  
who is the cause of this digression.

29. Archelaus brought over to the side of Mithri- Other  
dates the Achaeans, the Lacedaemonians, and all of Greek cities  
Boeotia except Thespiae, to which he laid close follow her  
siege. At the same time Metrophanes, who had example  
been sent by Mithridates with another army, ravaged  
Euboea and the territory of Demetrias and Magnesia,  
which states refused to espouse his cause. Bruttius  
advanced against him with a small force from  
Macedonia, had a naval fight with him, sank one  
small ship and one hemiolia, and killed all who were  
in them while Metrophanes was looking on. The  
latter fled in terror and, as he had a favourable wind,  
Bruttius could not overtake him, but stormed  
Sciathos, which was a storehouse of plunder for  
the barbarians, crucified some of them who were

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. καὶ ἐλευθέρων ἀπέτεμε τὰς χεῖρας. ἐπί τε Βοιωτίαν τραπείς, ἐτέρων οἱ χιλίων ἵππέων καὶ πεζῶν ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐπελθόντων, ἀμφὶ Χαιρώνειαν Ἀρχελάῳ καὶ Ἀριστίωνι τρισὶν ἡμέραις συνεπλέκετο, ἵσου καὶ ἀγχωμάλου παρ' ὅλον τὸν ἄγωνα τοῦ ἔργου γιγνομένου. Λακώνων δὲ καὶ Ἀχαιῶν ἐς συμμαχίαν Ἀρχελάῳ καὶ Ἀριστίωνι προσιόντων, ὁ Βρύττιος ἄπασιν ὁμοῦ γενομένοις οὐχ ἡγούμενος ἀξιόμαχος ἔτι ἔσεσθαι ἀνεζεύγνυεν ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, μέχρι καὶ τοῦδε Ἀρχέλαος ἐπιπλεύσας κατέσχεν.

30. Σύλλας δ' ὁ τοῦ Μιθριδατέου πολέμου στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ Ρωμαίων αἰρεθεὶς εἶναι, τότε πρῶτον ἐξ Ἰταλίας σὺν τέλεσι πέντε καὶ σπείραις τισὶ καὶ ἵλαις ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα περαιωθεὶς χρήματα μὲν αὐτίκα καὶ συμμάχους καὶ ἀγορὰν ἐκ τε Αἰτωλίας καὶ Θεσσαλίας συνέλεγεν, ὡς δ' ἀποχρώντως ἔχειν ἐδόκει, διέβαινεν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρχέλαον. παροδεύοντι δ' αὐτῷ Βοιωτίᾳ τε ἀθρόως μετεχώρει, χωρὶς ὀλίγων, καὶ τὸ μέγα ἀστυν αἱ Θῆβαι, μάλα κουφόνως ἀντὶ Ρωμαίων ἐλόμενοι τὰ Μιθριδάτεια, ὁξύτερον ἔτι, πρὶν ἐς πεῖραν ἐλθεῖν, ἀπὸ Ἀρχελάου πρὸς Σύλλαν μετετίθεντο. ὁ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἔχώρει, καὶ μέρος τι στρατοῦ ἐς τὸ ἀστυν περιπέμψας Ἀριστίωνα πολιορκεῖν, αὐτός, ἐνθαπερ ἦν Ἀρχέλαος, ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατῆλθε, κατακεκλεισμένων ἐς τὰ τείχη τῶν πολεμίων. ὑψος δ' ἦν τὰ τείχη πήχεων τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα, καὶ εἴργαστο ἐκ λίθου μεγάλου τε καὶ τετραγώνου, Περίκλειον ἔργον, ὃτε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ Πελοποννησίους στρατηγῶν, καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς νίκης ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ τιθέ-

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

slaves, and cut off the hands of the freemen. Then CHAP.  
he turned against Boeotia, having received reinforcements of 1000 horse and foot from Macedonia. Near Chaeronea he was engaged in a fight of three days' duration with Archelaus and Aristion, the battle being evenly contested throughout. But when the Lacedaemonians and Achaeans came to the aid of Archelaus and Aristion, Bruttius thought that he was not a match for all of them together and withdrew to the Piraeus, until Archelaus came up with his fleet and seized that place also.

30. Sulla, who had been appointed general of the Mithridatic war by the Romans, now for the first time passed over to Greece with five legions and a few cohorts and troops of horse and straightway called for money, reinforcements and provisions from Aetolia and Thessaly. As soon as he considered himself strong enough he crossed over to Attica to attack Archelaus. As he was passing through the country all Boeotia joined him except a few, and among others the great city of Thebes, which had very lightly taken sides with Mithridates against the Romans, but now even more nimbly changed from Archelaus to Sulla before coming to a trial of strength. When Sulla reached Attica he detached part of his army to lay siege to Aristion in Athens, and himself went down to attack the Piraeus, where the enemy, under Archelaus, were shut up within the walls. The height of the walls was about forty cubits and they were built of large square stones. They were the work of Pericles in the time of the Peloponnesian war, and as he rested his hope of victory on the Piraeus he made them as strong as

Cornelius  
Sulla  
marches  
against  
Mithridates

He besieges  
the Piraeus

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. μενος, μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἐκρατύνατο. Σύλλας δὲ καὶ  
<sup>V</sup> τοιοῦσδε οὖσι τοῖς τείχεσιν εὐθὺς ἐπῆγε τὰς  
 κλίμακας, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἔδρα πολλὰ δ' ἀντέ-  
 πασχεν, ἵσχυρῶς τῶν Καππαδοκῶν αὐτὸν ἀμυνο-  
 μένων, ἔστε κάμνων ἐς Ἐλευσῖνα καὶ Μέγαρα  
 ἀνεχώρει, καὶ μηχανὰς ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ συνεπή-  
 γνυτο, καὶ χῶμα αὐτῷ προσχοῦν ἐπενόει. τέχναι  
 μὲν δὴ καὶ παρασκευὴ πᾶσα αὐτῷ καὶ σίδηρος καὶ  
 καταπέλται, καὶ εἴ τι τοιουτότροπον ἄλλο, ἐκ  
 Θηβῶν ἐκομίζετο, ὥλην δὲ τῆς Ἀκαδημείας  
 ἔκοπτε, καὶ μηχανὰς εἰργάζετο μεγίστας. τά τε  
 μακρὰ σκέλη καθήρει, λίθους καὶ ξύλα καὶ γῆν  
 ἐς τὸ χῶμα μεταβάλλων.

31. Δύο δ' ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς Ἀττικοὶ θερά-  
 ποντες, αἴρούμενοι τὰ Ρωμαίων, ἢ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς  
 καταφυγήν, εἴ τι γίγνοιτο, προορώμενοι, πεσσοῖς  
 ἐκ μολύβδου πεποιημένοις ἐγγράφοντες ἀεὶ τὸ  
 γιγνόμενον ἐς τοὺς Ρωμαίους ἡφίεσαν ἀπὸ σφεν-  
 δόνης. καὶ τοῦδε γιγνομένου τε συνεχῶς καὶ ἐς  
 γνῶσιν ἐλθόντος, Σύλλας τοῖς ἐσφενδονημένοις  
 προσέχων ηὗρε γεγραμμένον ὅτι τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐκ  
 μετώπου πεζοὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἑργαζομένους ἐκδρα-  
 μοῦνται καὶ ἵππεῖς ἑκατέρωθεν ἐς τὰ πλάγια  
 Ρωμαίων ἐμβαλοῦσιν. κρύψας οὖν τινὰ στρατιὰν  
 ἀποχρῶσαν, ώς ἐγένετο τῶν πολεμίων ἡ ἐκδρομή,  
 δόξασα δὴ μάλιστα αἰφνίδιος εἶναι, ὁ δὲ αἰφνι-  
 διώτερον αὐτοῖς τοὺς κεκρυμμένους ἐπαφεὶς  
 ἔκτεινε πολλοὺς καὶ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐτέρους  
 περιέωσεν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τῆς πείρας ἐκείνης  
 τέλος ἦν· αἴρομένοις δὲ ἐπὶ μέγα ἄνω τοῖς χώμασι  
 πύργους ὁ Ἀρχέλαος ἀντεμηχανᾶτο, καὶ πλεῖστα  
 ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὅργανα ἐτίθει, τάς τε δυνάμεις ἐκ

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

possible. Notwithstanding the height of the walls CHAP.  
Sulla planted his ladders against them at once. V  
After inflicting and receiving much damage (for the Cappadocians bravely repelled his attack), he retired exhausted to Eleusis and Megara, where he built engines for a new attack upon the Piraeus and formed a plan for besieging it with a mound. Appliances and apparatus of all kinds, iron, catapults, and everything of that sort were supplied by Thebes. His wood he cut in the grove of the Academy, where he constructed enormous engines. He also demolished the Long Walls, and used the stones, timber, and earth for building the mound.

31. Two Athenian slaves in the Piraeus—either because they favoured the Romans or were looking out for their own safety in an emergency—wrote down everything that took place there, inscribed on leaden balls, and shot them at the Romans with slings. After being done continually this was observed, and Sulla, who gave his attention to the missives, found one which said, “To-morrow the infantry will make a sally in front upon your workers, and the cavalry will attack the Roman army on both flanks.” Sulla placed an adequate force in ambush and when the enemy dashed out with the thought that their movement would completely surprise him he gave them a greater surprise with his concealed force, killing many and driving others into the sea. This was the end of that enterprise ; but when the mounds began to rise Archelaus erected opposing towers and placed a great number of engines on them.

<sup>CAP.</sup> <sub>V</sub> Χαλκίδος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων νήσων μετεπέμπετο, καὶ τοὺς ἔρέτας καθώπλιξεν, ώς ὅντος οἱ τοῦ κινδύνου περὶ τῶν ὅλων. ἐγίγνετο μὲν δὴ πλείων οὖσα τῆς Σύλλα στρατιᾶς ἡ Ἀρχέλαου καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε πολὺ πλείων, νυκτὸς δὲ μέσης ὁ μὲν Ἀρχέλαος ἐκθορὼν μετὰ λαμπτήρων ἐνέπρησε τὴν ἑτέραν τῶν χελωνῶν καὶ τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῇ μηχανήματα, ἥμέραις δὲ δέκα μάλιστα ἄλλα ὁ Σύλλας ἐργασάμενος ἐπέστησεν αὐθις ἔνθα καὶ τὰ πρότερα ἦν. καὶ τούτοις ὁ Ἀρχέλαος πύργον ἀνθίστη κατὰ τὸ τεῖχος.

32. Καταπλευσάσης δ' αὐτῷ παρὰ Μιθριδάτου στρατιᾶς ἑτέρας, ἡς ἥγειτο Δρομιχαίτης, ἐξῆγεν ἄπαντας ἐς μάχην. ἀναμίξας δ' αὐτοῖς σφενδονήτας καὶ τοξότας ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος αὐτὸ παρέταττεν, ἵνα καὶ οἱ τειχοφύλακες ἐφικνοῦντο τῶν πολεμίων ἑτεροι δ' ὑπὸ ταῖς πύλαις αὐτῷ πυρφόροι καιρὸν ἐκδρομῆς ἐπετήρουν. ἀγχωμάλου δ' ἐς πολὺ τῆς μάχης οὖσης ἐνέκλινον ἐκατεροι παρὰ μέρος, πρῶτον μὲν οἱ βάρβαροι, μέχρι Ἀρχέλαος αὐτοὺς ἐπισχὼν ἐπανῆγαγεν ἐς τὴν μάχην. Ὡδὴ καὶ μάλιστα καταπλαγέντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μετ' αὐτοὺς ἔφευγον, ἔστε καὶ τούσδε Μουρήνας ὑπαντήσας ἐπέστρεφεν. ἄλλο δ' ἀπὸ ξυλείας τέλος ἐπανιόν, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς οἱ ἄτιμοι, σπουδῇ τὸν ἀγῶνα εύρόντες ἐπέπιπτον τοῖς Μιθριδατείοις πάνυ καρτερῶς, μέχρι κτεῖναι μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς δισχιλίους, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐς τὰ τείχη συνελάσαι. Ἀρχέλαος δ' αὐτοὺς ἐπιστρέφων αὐθις, καὶ τῷ ἀγῶνι διὰ τὴν προθυμίαν ἐς πολὺ παραμένων, καὶ ἀποκλεισθεὶς ἀνιμήθη διὰ καλωδίων. ὁ δὲ Σύλλας τοὺς μὲν

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

He also sent for reinforcements from Chalcis and CHAP.  
the other islands and armed his oarsmen, knowing  
that everything was at stake. And so his army,  
which was superior in number to that of Sulla before,  
now became much more so by these reinforce-  
ments, and at midnight he made a sally with  
torches and burned one of the pent-houses and the  
machines as well; but Sulla made new ones in about  
ten days' time and put them in the places of the  
former ones. Against these Archelaus established a  
tower on that part of the wall.

32. Having received from Mithridates by sea a new army under command of Dromichaetes, Archelaus led all his troops out to battle. He distributed archers and slingers among them and ranged them close under the walls so that the defenders of the walls could reach the enemy with their missiles. Others were stationed around the gates with torches<sup>1</sup> to watch their opportunity to make a sally. The battle remained doubtful a long time and each side yielded in turn, the barbarians first, until Archelaus rallied them and led them back. The Romans were so dismayed by this that they were put to flight next, until Murena ran up and rallied them. Just then another legion, which had returned from gathering wood, together with the soldiers who had been disgraced, finding a hot fight in progress, made a powerful charge on Mithridates' troops, killed about 2000 of them and drove the rest inside the walls. Archelaus tried to rally them again and stood his ground so long that he was shut out and had to be pulled up by ropes. In consideration of their splendid behaviour Sulla removed the stigma

Archelaus makes a sally

<sup>1</sup> For the intention, see chapter 35.

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. ἀτίμους περιφανῶς ἀγωνισαμένους ἔξελυσε τῆς  
 ἀτιμίας, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐδωρήσατο πολλοῖς.

33. Καὶ χειμῶνος ἐπιόντος ἥδη στρατόπεδον ἐν  
 Ἐλευσῖνι θέμενος, τάφρον ἄνωθεν ἐπὶ θάλατταν  
 ἔτεμνε βαθεῖαν τοῦ μὴ τοὺς πολεμίους ἵππεας  
 εὐμαρῶς ἐπιτρέχειν οἱ. καὶ τάδε αὐτῷ πονουμένῳ  
 καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐγίγνοντό τινες ἀγῶνες, οἱ  
 μὲν ἀμφὶ τὴν τάφρον οἱ δὲ παρὰ τοῖς τείχεσιν,  
 ἐπεξιόντων θαμινὰ τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ λίθοις καὶ  
 βέλεσι καὶ μολυβδαίναις χρωμένων. ὁ δὲ Σύλλας  
 νεῶν δεόμενος μετεπέμψατο μὲν ἐκ Ρόδου. καὶ  
 Ροδίων οὐ δυνηθέντων διαπλεῦσαι θαλασσο-  
 κρατοῦντος τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, Λεύκολλον, ἄνδρα  
 Ρωμαῖον περιφανῆ καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου  
 στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ Σύλλᾳ γενόμενον, ἐκέλευεν ἐς  
 Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ Συρίαν λαθόντα διαπλεῦσαι,  
 παρὰ τε τῶν βασιλέων καὶ πόλεων, ὅσαι ναυτικαί,  
 στόλον τινὰ ἀγείραντα τὸ Ροδίων ναυτικὸν παρ-  
 πέμψαι. ὁ μὲν δὴ πολεμίας οὕστης τῆς θαλάσσης,  
 οὐδὲν ἐνδοιάσας, ἐς κελήτιον ἐνέβη, καὶ ναῦν ἐκ  
 νεώς, ἵνα λάθοι, διαμείβων ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας  
 ἐφέρετο.

34. Οἱ δὲ προδιδόντες ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν, πεσ-  
 σοῖς πάλιν ἐγγράψαντες ὅτι πέμψοι τῆσδε τῆς  
 νυκτὸς Ἀρχέλαος ἐς τὸ τῶν Αθηναίων ἄστυ  
 λιμῷ πιεζόμενον πυροὺς ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν φερο-  
 μένους, ἐσφενδόνησαν, καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ἐνεδρεύσας  
 ἐκράτησε τοῦ τε σίτου καὶ τῶν φερόντων. τῆς δ'  
 αὐτῆς ἡμέρας αὐτῷ καὶ Μουνίτιος περὶ Χαλκίδα  
 Νεοπτόλεμον ἔτερον στρατηγὸν κατατρώσας, ἐκ-  
 τεινε μὲν ἐς χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους, ἔλαβε δὲ  
 αἰχμαλώτους ἔτι πλείονας. οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

from those who had been disgraced and gave large CHAP.  
V rewards to the others.

33. Now winter came on and Sulla established his camp at Eleusis and protected it by a deep ditch, extending from the high ground to the sea, so that the enemy's horse could not readily reach him. While he was prosecuting this work fighting took place daily, now at the ditch, now at the walls of the enemy, who frequently came out and assailed the Romans with stones, javelins, and leaden balls. Sulla, being in need of ships, sent to Rhodes to obtain them, but the Rhodians were not able to send them because Mithridates controlled the sea. He then ordered Lucullus, a distinguished Roman who later succeeded Sulla as commander in this war, to proceed secretly to Alexandria and Syria, and procure a fleet from those kings and cities that were skilled in nautical affairs, and to escort with it the Rhodian naval contingent also. Lucullus did not hesitate, although the enemy were in possession of the sea. He embarked in a fast sailing vessel and, by changing from one ship to another in order to conceal his movements, arrived at Alexandria.

Sulla sends  
Lucullus  
to procure  
ships

34. Meanwhile the traitors in the Piraeus threw another message over the walls, saying that Archelaus would on that very night send a convoy of soldiers with wheat to the city of Athens, which was suffering from hunger. Sulla laid a trap for them and captured both the provisions and the soldiers. On the same day, near Chalcis, Munatius wounded Neoptolemus, another general of Mithridates, killed about 1500 of his men, and took a still larger number prisoners. Not long after, by night, while the guards

B.C. 86  
Hard  
fighting on  
the walls

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. τῷ Πειραιεῖ νυκτός, ἔτι κοιμωμένων τῶν φυλάκων, 'Ρωμαῖοι διὰ τῶν ἐγγὺς μηχανῶν κλίμακας ἐπεινεγκόντες ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐπέβησαν, καὶ τοὺς φύλακας τοὺς ἐγγὺς ἕκτειναν. ἐφ' ὃ τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπεπήδων ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, τὸ τεῖχος καταλιπόντες ὡς εἰλημμένον ἄπαν, οἱ δ' ἐς ἀλκὴν τραπέντες ἕκτεινάν τε τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν ἐπιβάντων καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἔξω κατεκρήμνισαν. οἱ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν πυλῶν ἐκδραμόντες ὀλίγου τὸν ἔτερον τῶν 'Ρωμαϊκῶν πύργων ἐνέπρησαν, εἰ μὴ Σύλλας ἐπιδραμὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, νυκτός τε ὅλης καὶ δι' ἡμέρας ἐπιπόνως ἀγωνισάμενος, περιέσωσεν. καὶ τότε μὲν ὑπεχώρουν οἱ βάρβαροι, τοῦ δ' Ἀρχελάου πύργον ἔτερον μέγαν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἄντικρυς τοῦ 'Ρωμαϊκοῦ πύργου στήσαντος ἐπυργομάχουν ἐς ἀλλήλους, ἐκατέρωθεν πυκνὰ καὶ θαμινὰ πάντα ἀφιέντες, ἕως ὁ Σύλλας ἐκ καταπελτῶν, ἀνὰ εἴκοσιν ὁμοῦ μολυβδαίνας βαρυτάτας ἀφιέντων, ἕκτεινέ τε πολλούς, καὶ τὸν πύργον Ἀρχελάου κατέσεισε καὶ δυσάρμοστον ἐποίησεν, ὡς εὐθὺς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Ἀρχελάου διὰ δέος ὅπιστα κατὰ τάχος ὑπαχθῆναι.

35. Πιεζομένων δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ τῶν ἐν ἄστει, πεσσοὶ πάλιν ἐμήνυον ὅτι πέμψοι νυκτὸς ἐς τὸ ἄστυ τροφάς. καὶ ὁ Ἀρχέλαος ὑπονοῶν τι περὶ τὸν σῖτον γίγνεσθαι μήνυμα καὶ προδοσίαν, ἅμα τὸν σῖτον ἐπεμπε, καὶ τινας ἐφίστη ταῖς πύλαις μετὰ πυρὸς ἐς τοὺς 'Ρωμαίους ἐκδραμουμένους, εἰ Σύλλας γίγνοιτο περὶ τὸν σῖτον. καὶ συνέπεσεν ἅμφω, Σύλλᾳ μὲν ἐλεῖν τοὺς σιταγωγοῦντας, Ἀρχελάῳ δ' ἐμπρῆσαι τινὰ τῶν μηχανημάτων. τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου καὶ

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

on the walls of the Piraeus were asleep, the Romans CHAP.  
brought up some ladders by means of the appliances  
which they had near at hand, mounted the walls,  
and killed the guards at that place. Thereupon some  
of the barbarians abandoned their posts and fled to  
the harbour, thinking that all the walls had been  
captured. Others offered a brave resistance and slew  
the leader of the assailing party and hurled the  
remainder over the wall. Still others darted out  
through the gates and almost burned one of the two  
Roman towers, and would have burned it had not  
Sulla ridden up from the camp and saved it by a  
hard fight lasting all that night and the next day.  
Then the barbarians retired. But Archelaus planted  
another great tower on the wall opposite the Roman  
tower and the men on the towers assailed each other,  
discharging all kinds of missiles constantly until Sulla,  
by means of his catapults, each of which discharged  
twenty of the heaviest leaden balls at one volley, had  
killed a large number of the enemy, and had so  
shaken the tower of Archelaus that it became  
insecure, and Archelaus was compelled, by fear of its  
destruction, to draw it back with all speed.

35. Meanwhile famine pressed more and more Famine in  
on the city of Athens, and the leaden balls gave Athens  
the further information that provisions would be  
sent thither by night. Archelaus suspected that  
some traitor was giving information to the enemy  
about his convoys. Accordingly, at the same time  
that he sent it, he stationed a force at the gates  
with torches to make an assault on the Roman works  
if Sulla should attack the provision train. Both  
these things happened, Sulla capturing the train and  
Archelaus burning some of the Roman engines. At

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. <sup>V</sup> Ἀρκαθίας ὁ Μιθριδάτου υἱός, μεθ' ἑτέρας στρατιᾶς ἐσ Μακεδονίαν ἐμβαλών, οὐδὲν δυσχερῶς ὀλίγων ὄντων τῶν ἐκεῖ Ῥωμαίων ἐκράτησε, καὶ Μακεδονίαν πᾶσαν ὑπηγάγετο, καὶ σατράπαις ἐπιτρέψας αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Σύλλαν ἔχώρει, μέχρι νοσήσας περὶ τὸ Τίσαιον ἐτελεύτησεν. ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀττικῇ τῷ μὲν ἄστει πονουμένῳ σφόδρα ὑπὸ λιμοῦ πολλὰ ὁ Σύλλας ἐπετείχιζε φρούρια, τοῦ μὴ διαδιδράσκειν ἀλλ' ἐμμένοντας ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους μᾶλλον ἐνοχλεῖσθαι.

36. Τῷ δὲ Πειραιεῖ, τὸ χῶμα ἐσ ὕψος ἐγείρας, τὰ μηχανήματα ἐπῆγεν. Ἀρχελάου δὲ τὸ χῶμα ὑπορύττοντος καὶ τὴν γῆν ὑποφέροντός τε καὶ ἐσ πολὺ διαλανθάνοντος, τὸ χῶμα ὑφίζανεν ἄφνω· καὶ ταχείας αἰσθήσεως γενομένης οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ μηχανήματα ὑφεῖλκον καὶ τὸ χῶμα ἀνεπλήρουν. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν γῆν ἐσ ταῖχη τεκμαιρόμενοι διώρυττον ἀλλήλοις τε συμπίπτοντες κάτω ξίφεσι καὶ δόρασιν ἐκ χειρός, ὡς δυνατὸν ἦν σκότῳ, διεμάχοντο. ὅμοι δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ἀπὸ τῶν χωμάτων μηχανήμασι πολλοῖς τὸ τεῖχος ἐκρικόπει, μέχρι μέρος αὐτοῦ καταβαλών, καὶ τὸν πλησιάζοντα πύργον ἐπειγόμενος ἐμπρῆσαι, πολλὰ μὲν ἥφιε πυρφόρα τοξεύματα ἐσ αὐτόν, τοὺς δὲ εὔτολμοτάτους ἀνέπεμπεν ἐπὶ κλιμάκων. σπουδῆς δὲ πολλῆς γιγνομένης ἐκατέρωθεν ὁ τε πύργος ἐνεπίμπρατο, καὶ μέρος τι τοῦ τείχους ὀλίγον ὁ Σύλλας καταβαλὼν εὐθὺς ἐπέστησε φυλακεῖον· τά τε ὑπορωρυγμένα τοῦ τείχους θεμέλια, ξύλοις ἀνηρτημένα καὶ θείου καὶ στυππίου καὶ πίσσης

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

the same time Arcathias, the son of Mithridates, with CHAP.  
another army invaded Macedonia and without difficulty overcame the small Roman force there, subjugated the whole country, appointed satraps to govern it, and himself advanced against Sulla, but was taken sick and died near Tisaeum. In the meantime the famine in Athens became very severe, and Sulla built forts around it to prevent anybody from going out, so that, by reason of their numbers, the hunger should be more severe upon those who were thus shut in.

36. When Sulla had raised his mound to the proper height, he advanced his engines against the Piraeus. But Archelaus undermined the mound and carried away the earth, the Romans for a long time suspecting nothing. Suddenly the mound sank down. Quickly understanding the state of things, the Romans withdrew their engines and filled up the mound, and, following the enemy's example, began in like manner to dig a tunnel to a spot which they calculated to be just under the walls. The diggers met each other underground, and fought there with swords and spears as well as they could in the darkness. While this was going on, Sulla pounded the wall with rams erected on the tops of the mounds until part of it fell down. Then he hastened to burn the neighbouring tower, and discharged a large number of fire-bearing missiles against it, and ordered his bravest soldiers to mount the ladders. Both sides fought bravely, but the tower was burned. Another small part of the wall was thrown down also, over against which Sulla at once stationed a guard-post. Having now undermined a section of the wall, so that it was only sustained by wooden beams, he placed a large quantity of sulphur, hemp, and pitch

Battles  
under-  
ground

<sup>CAP.</sup> γέμοντα, αὐτίκα πάντα ἐνεπίμπρη. τῶν δ' ἄλλο παρ' ἄλλο κατεπιπτε καὶ τοὺς ἐφεστῶτας αὐτοῖς συγκατέφερεν. ὃ τε θόρυβος οὗτος δὴ μάλιστα αἰφύδιος καὶ πολὺς ὡν πάντη τοὺς τειχοφύλακας ἐτάραττεν, ώς καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ σφίσιν αὐτίκα πεσούμενον· ὅθεν ἐς πάντα συνεχῶς ἐπιστρεφόμενοι τὴν τε γυνώμην ὕποπτον εἶχον ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους καὶ ἀσθενῶς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπεμάχοντο.

37. Καὶ ὁ Σύλλας αὐτοῖς ὥδε ἔχουσιν ἐπικείμενος ἀπαύσι.ως, καὶ τῶν ἴδιων τὸ ἀεὶ πονοῦν ἐναλλάσσων, ἐτέρους ἐφ' ἐτέροις ἀκμῆτας ἐπῆγε σὺν κλίμαιξι καὶ βοῇ καὶ παρακελεύσει, προτρέπων ἄμα καὶ ἀπειλῶν καὶ παρακαλῶν ώς ἐν τῷδε τῷ βραχεῖ τοῦ παντὸς αὐτοῖς κριθησομένου. ἀντεπῆγε δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀρχέλαος ἐτέρους ἀντὶ τῶν τεθορυβημένων, ἀνακαινίζων καὶ ὅδε τὸ ἔργον ἀεί, καὶ παρακαλῶν ἄμα καὶ ἐποτρύνων ἀπαντας ώς ἐν δλίγῳ σφίσιν ἔτι τῆς σωτηρίας οὕσης. πολλῆς δὲ σπουδῆς καὶ προθυμίας ἐκατέρωθεν αὐθις ἀπασιν ἐγγενομένης φερεπονώτατος ἦν· καὶ ὁ φόνος ἵσος καὶ ὅμοιος ἐξ ἐκατέρων, ἕως ὁ Σύλλας ἔξωθεν ἐπιών, καὶ μᾶλλον τι κάμνων, ἀνεκάλει τῇ σάλπιγγι τὴν στρατιάν, καὶ θαυμάσας πολλοὺς ἀπῆγεν. ὁ δὲ Ἀρχέλαος αὐτίκα νυκτὸς τὰ πεπτώκοτα τοῦ τείχους φέρει, μηνοειδῆ αὐτοῖς πολλὰ περιθεὶς ἔνδοθεν. οἷς ἔτι νεοδμήτοις ὁ Σύλλας αὐθις ἐπεχείρει παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ, νομίσας ἀσθενῆ καὶ ὑγρὰ ἔτι δύντα ῥᾳδίως κατερείψειν. κάμνων

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

under it, and set fire to the whole at once. The CHAP.  
walls fell—now here, now there—carrying the de-  
fenders down with them. This great and unexpected  
crash demoralized the forces guarding the walls  
everywhere, as each one expected that the ground  
would sink under him next. Fear and loss of confi-  
dence kept them turning this way and that way, so  
that they offered only a feeble resistance to the  
enemy.

37. Against the forces thus demoralized Sulla kept up an unceasing fight, constantly relieving those of his troops who were worn out, bringing up fresh soldiers with ladders, one division after another, with shouts and cheers, urging them forward with threats and encouragement at the same time, and telling them that this brief moment was the crisis of the whole struggle. Archelaus, on the other hand, also brought up new forces in place of the discouraged ones. He, too, supported the attack continually with fresh troops, cheering and urging them on, and telling them that their salvation would soon be secured. A high degree of zeal and courage was again excited in both armies, and Archelaus surpassed all others in endurance, while the casualties were approximately equal on both sides. Finally Sulla, being the attacking party and the more exhausted, sounded a retreat and led his forces back, praising many of his men for their bravery. Archelaus forthwith repaired the damage to his wall by night, protecting many parts of it with lunettes inside. Sulla attacked these in turn with his whole army while they were still newly-built, thinking that as they were still moist and weak he could easily demolish them, but as he had to work in a narrow space and was

V

Sulla  
repulsed  
from the  
Piraeus

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. δὲ ως ἐν στενῷ, καὶ βαλλόμενος ἄνωθεν ἔκ τε  
μετώπου καὶ τῶν κεραιῶν ως ἐν μηνοειδέσι χωρίοις,  
τοῦ μὲν ἐπιχειρέν ἔτι τῷ Πειραιεῖ πάμπαν ἀπεῖχε  
τῇ γνώμῃ, καὶ ἐς πολιορκίαν, ως λιμῷ παραστη-  
σόμενος αὐτούς, καθίστατο.

### VI

CAP. VI. 38. Αἰσθόμενος δὲ τοὺς ἐν ἄστει μᾶλλόν τι  
πεπιεσμένους, καὶ κτήνη πάντα καταθύσαντας,  
δέρματά τε καὶ βύρσας ἔψοντας καὶ λιχμωμένους  
τὸ γιγνόμενον ἐξ αὐτῶν, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀποθυ-  
σκόντων ἀπτομένους, ἐκέλευσε τῷ στρατῷ τὴν  
πόλιν περιταφρεύειν, ἵνα μηδὲ καθ' ἕνα τις ἐκ-  
φεύγοι λαυθάνων. ως δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐξείργαστο  
αὐτῷ, κλίμακας ἐπῆγεν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ τεῖχος διώ-  
ρυττεν. τροπῆς δ' ως ἐν ἀσθενέσιν ἀνδράσιν  
αὐτίκα γενομένης, ἐσέπεσεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ  
εἰθὺς ἐν Ἀθήναις σφαγὴ πολλὴ ἦν καὶ ἀνηλεήσ.  
οὕτε γὰρ ὑποφεύγειν ἐδύναντο δι' ἀτροφίαν, οὕτε  
παιδίων ἡ γυναικῶν ἔλεος ἦν, τοῦ Σύλλα τὸν ἐν  
ποσὶν ἀναιρεῖν κελεύοντος ὑπ' ὄργης ως ἐπὶ ταχείᾳ  
δὴ καὶ ἐς βαρβάρους ἀλόγῳ μεταβολῇ καὶ πρὸς  
αὐτὸν ἀκράτῳ φιλονεικίᾳ. ὅθεν οἱ πλέονες,  
αἰσθανόμενοι τὸν κηρύγματος, ἑαυτὸν τοῖς σφα-  
γεῦσιν ὑπερρίπτονταν ἐς τὸ ἔργον. ὀλίγων δ' ἦν  
ἀσθενὴς ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν δρόμος· καὶ Ἀριστίων  
αὐτοῖς συνέφυγεν, ἐμπρήσας τὸ ωδεῖον, ἵνα μὴ  
έτοίμοις ξύλοις αὐτίκα ὁ Σύλλας ἔχοι τὴν ἀκρό-  
πολιν ἐνοχλεῖν. ὁ δ' ἐμπιπράναι μὲν τὴν πόλιν  
ἀπεῖπε, διαρπάσαι δὲ ἔδωκε τῷ στρατῷ· καὶ

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

exposed to missiles from above, both in front and CHAP.  
flank, as usually happens in attacking crescent-shaped  
fortifications, he was again worn out. Then he aban-  
doned all idea of taking the Piraeus by assault and  
established a siege around it in order to reduce it by  
famine.

V

### VI

38. BUT when he discovered that the defenders of CHAP.  
Athens were very severely pressed by hunger, that VI  
they had devoured all their cattle, boiled the hides and  
skins, and licked what they could get therefrom, and  
that some had even partaken of human flesh, Sulla  
directed his soldiers to encircle the city with a ditch  
so that the inhabitants might not escape secretly,  
even one by one. This done, he brought up his  
ladders and at the same time began to break through  
the wall. The feeble defenders were soon put to  
flight, and the Romans rushed into the city. A  
great and pitiless slaughter ensued in Athens. The  
inhabitants, for want of nourishment, were too weak  
to fly, and Sulla ordered an indiscriminate massacre,  
not sparing women or children. He was angry that  
they had so suddenly joined the barbarians without  
cause, and had displayed such violent animosity  
toward himself. Most of the Athenians when they  
heard the order given rushed upon the swords of the  
slayers voluntarily. A few had taken their feeble  
course to the Acropolis, among them Arisition, who  
had burned the Odeum, so that Sulla might not  
have the timber in it at hand for storming the  
Acropolis. Sulla forbade the burning of the city,  
but allowed the soldiers to plunder it. In many

Athens taken

Slaughter  
of the  
inhabitants

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. VI. ἔτοιμοι σάρκες ἀνθρώπων ἐς τροφὴν ἐν πολλοῖς  
 οἰκήμασιν ηύρεθησαν. τῇ δὲ ἔξῆς ὁ Σύλλας τοὺς  
 μὲν δούλους ἀπέδοτο, τοῖς δὲ ἐλευθέροις, ὅσοι  
 νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης οὐκ ἔφθασαν ἀναιρεθῆναι,  
 πάμπαν οὖσιν ὀλίγοις, τὴν μὲν ἐλευθερίαν ἔφη  
 διδόναι, ψῆφον δὲ καὶ χειροτονίαν τῶνδε μὲν ὡς  
 οἱ πεπολεμηκότων ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, τοῖς δὲ ἐκγόνοις  
 καὶ ταῦτα διδόναι.

39. Ὡδε μὲν ἄδην εἰχον αἱ Ἀθῆναι κακῶν· ὁ  
 δὲ Σύλλας τῇ μὲν ἀκροπόλει φρουρὰν ἐπέστησεν,  
 ἥ τὸν Ἀριστίωνα καὶ τοὺς συμπεφευγότας λιμῷ  
 καὶ δίψει πιεσθέντας ἔξειλεν οὐ μετὰ πολύ. καὶ  
 αὐτῶν ὁ Σύλλας Ἀριστίωνα μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνῳ  
 δορυφορήσαντας ἥ ἀρχήν τινα ἀρξαντας, ἥ ὅτιοῦν  
 ἄλλο πράξαντας παρ' ἂ πρότερον ἀλούσης τῆς  
 Ἑλλάδος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοῖς διετέτακτο,  
 ἐκόλασε θανάτῳ, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις συνέγνω, καὶ  
 νόμους ἔθηκεν ἅπασιν ἀγχοῦ τῶν πρόσθεν αὐτοῖς  
 ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ὄρισθέντων. συνηνέχθη δὲ ἐκ τῆς  
 ἀκροπόλεως χρυσίου μὲν ἐς τεσσαράκοντα λίτρας  
 μάλιστα, ἀργύρου δὲ ἐς ἔξακοσίας. καὶ τάδε μὲν  
 ἀμφὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐγένετο·

40. Ὁ δὲ Σύλλας αὐτίκα τοῦ ἄστεος ληφ-  
 θέντος, οὐ περιμένων ἔτι τὸν Πειραιᾶ διὰ πολιορ-  
 κίας ἔξελεῖν, κριοὺς ὁμοῦ καὶ βέλη καὶ ἀκόντια  
 ἐπῆγεν, ἄνδρας τε πολλοὺς οἱ διώρυσσον ὑπὸ  
 χελώναις τὰ τείχη, καὶ σπείρας αἱ τοὺς ἐπὶ  
 τῶν τειχῶν ἀκοντίζουσαί τε καὶ τοξεύουσαι  
 θαμινὰ ἀνέκοπτον. καὶ κατήρειψέ τι τοῦ μηνοει-  
 δοῦς, ὑγροτέρου καὶ ἀσθενεστέρου ἔτι διητος ἄτε  
 νεοδμήτου. ὑπιδομένου δὲ τοῦτο ἔτι πρότερον  
 Ἀρχελάου, καὶ προοικοδομήσαντος ἐνδοθεν ὅμοια

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

houses they found human flesh prepared for food. CHAP VI  
The next day Sulla sold the slaves. To the freemen who had escaped the slaughter of the previous night, a very small number, he promised their liberty but took away their rights as voters and electors because they had made war upon him, though he granted their offspring these privileges also.

39. In this way did Athens have her fill of horrors. Sulla stationed a guard around the Acropolis, to whom Aristion and his company were soon compelled by hunger and thirst to surrender. He inflicted the penalty of death on Aristion and his body-guard, and upon all who exercised any authority or who had done anything whatever contrary to the rules laid down for them after the first capture of Greece by the Romans. The rest he pardoned and gave to all of them substantially the same laws that had been previously established for them by the Romans. About forty pounds of gold and 600 pounds of silver was obtained from the Acropolis—but these events at the Acropolis took place somewhat later.

40. As soon as Athens was taken Sulla, not waiting any longer to reduce the Piraeus by siege, brought up rams, projectiles and missiles, and a large force of men, who dug through the walls under the shelter of pent-houses, and cohorts who hurled javelins and shot arrows in vast numbers at the defenders on the walls in order to drive them back. He knocked down a part of the newly built lunette, which was still moist and weak. Archelaus had anticipated this from the first and had built several others like it

Sulla returns to the Piraeus

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. πολλά, τὸ μὲν ἔργον ἦν τῷ Σύλλᾳ διηνεκὲς  
 VI ἐμπίπτοντι ἐστερον ὅμοιον ἐξ ἑτέρου, ὁρμῆ δ' ἀπαύστῳ καὶ στρατοῦ μεταβολῇ πυκνῇ χρώμενος,  
 καὶ περιθέων αὐτούς, καὶ παρακαλῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον  
 ὡς ἐν τῷδε ἔτι λοιπῷ τῆς ὅλης ἐλπίδος καὶ κέρδους  
 τῶν προπεπονημένων ὅντος· οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τῷ  
 ὅντι τοῦτο σφίσιν ἥγούμενοι τέλος εἶναι πόνων,  
 καὶ ἐστὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτὸν ὡς μέγα δὴ καὶ λαμπρόν,  
 τοιῶνδε τειχῶν κρατῆσαι, φιλοτιμούμενοι, προσ-  
 ἔκειντο βιαίως, μέχρι καταπλαγεὶς αὐτῶν τὴν  
 ὁρμὴν ὁ Ἀρχέλαος ὡς μανιώδη καὶ ἄλογον ἐξέλιπεν  
 αὐτοῖς τὰ τείχη, ἐστὶ δὲ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀνέδραμεν  
 ὁ χυρώτατόν τε καὶ θαλάσση περίκλυστον, φῶν  
 οὐκ ἔχων ὁ Σύλλας οὐδὲ ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐδύνατο.

41. Ἐντεῦθεν ὁ μὲν Ἀρχέλαος ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίαν  
 διὰ Βοιωτῶν ἀνεζεύγνυν, καὶ συνῆγεν ἐστὶ Θερμο-  
 πύλας τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ τε ἰδίου στρατοῦ παντός, ὃν  
 ἔχων ἥλθε, καὶ τοῦ σὺν Δρομιχάίῃ παραγεγονό-  
 τος. συνῆγε δὲ καὶ τὸ σὺν Ἀρκαδίᾳ τῷ παιδὶ  
 τοῦ βασιλέως ἐστὶ Μακεδονίαν ἐμβαλόν, ἀκραιφ-  
 νέστατον δὴ καὶ πλῆρες ὃν τόδε μάλιστα, καὶ  
 οὓς αὐτίκα ἄλλους ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἀπέστειλεν· οὐ  
 γάρ διέλιπεν ἐπιπέμπων. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα σὺν  
 ἐπείξει συνῆγεν, ὁ δὲ Σύλλας τὸν Πειραιᾶ τοῦ  
 ἄστεος μᾶλλον ἐνοχλήσαντά οἱ κατεπίμπρη,  
 φειδόμενος οὔτε τῆς ὁπλοθήκης οὔτε τῶν νεωσοί-  
 κων οὔτε τινὸς ἄλλου τῶν ἀοιδίμων. καὶ μετὰ  
 τοῦτ' ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρχέλαον ἥει διὰ τῆς Βοιωτίας καὶ  
 ὅδε. ὡς δὲ ἐπλησίασαν ἀλλήλοις, οἱ μὲν ἐκ

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

inside, so that Sulla came upon one wall after another, and found his task endless. But he pushed on with tireless energy, he relieved his men often, he was ubiquitous among them, urging them on and showing them that their entire hope of reward for their past labours depended on accomplishing this small remainder. The soldiers, too, believing that this would in fact be the end of their toils, and spurred to their work by the love of glory and the thought that it would be a splendid achievement to conquer such walls as these, pressed forward vigorously. Finally, Archelaus, dumbfounded at seeing them rush recklessly to the assault like maniacs, abandoned the walls to them and mounted hurriedly to that part of the Piraeus which was most strongly fortified and enclosed on all sides by the sea. As Sulla had no ships he could not even attack it.

41. Thence Archelaus withdrew to Thessaly by way of Boeotia and gathered what was left of his entire forces together at Thermopylae, both his own and those brought by Dromichaetes. He also united under his command the army that had invaded Macedonia under Arcathias, the son of King Mithridates, which was fresh and at nearly its full strength, and the recently arrived recruits from Mithridates, who never ceased sending reinforcements. While Archelaus was hastily gathering his forces Sulla burned the Piraeus, which had given him more trouble than the city of Athens, not sparing the Arsenal, or the navy yard, or any other of its famous buildings. Then he marched against Archelaus, proceeding also by way of Boeotia. As they neared each other the forces of Archelaus were just crossing from Ther-

He drives  
out  
Archelaus

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. VI. Θερμοπυλῶν ἄρτι μετεχώρουν ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα,  
 Θράκες τε δύτες καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πόντου καὶ Σκύθαι  
 καὶ Καππαδόκαι Βιθυνοί τε καὶ Γαλάται καὶ  
 Φρύγες, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ νεόκτητα  
 γένοιτο, πάντες ἐς δώδεκα μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν καὶ  
 στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν ἥσαν μὲν καὶ κατὰ μέρος ἑκάστῳ,  
 αὐτοκράτωρ δ' Ἀρχέλαος ἐπὶ πᾶσιν. Σύλλας δ'  
 ἥγεν Ιταλιώτας, καὶ Ἑλλήνων ἡ Μακεδόνων ὅσοι  
 ἄρτι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ Ἀρχελάου μετετίθεντο, ἡ εἰ  
 τι ἄλλο περίοικον, οὐδὲ ἐς τριτημόριον τὰ πάντα  
 τῶν πολεμίων.

42. Ἀντικαταστάντες δ' ἄλληλοις, ὁ μὲν Ἀρχέλαος ἔξεταττεν ἐς μάχην ἀεὶ προκαλούμενος, ὁ δὲ Σύλλας ἐβράδυι· τὰ χωρία καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἔχθρῶν περισκοπούμενος. ἀναχωροῦντι δ' ἐς Χαλκίδα τῷ Ἀρχελάῳ παρακολουθῶν καιρὸν ἐπετήρει καὶ τόπον. ὡς δὲ αὐτὸν εἶδε περὶ Χαιρώνειαν ἐν ἀποκρημνοις στρατοπεδεύμενον, ἔνθα μὴ κρατοῦσιν ἀποχώρησις οὐδεμίᾳ ἦν, πεδίον αὐτὸς εὑρὺν πλησίον καταλαβὼν εὐθὺς ἐπῆγεν ὡς καὶ ἄκοντα βιασόμενος ἐς μάχην Ἀρχέλαον· ἐν ὧ σφίσι μὲν ὕπτιον καὶ εὐπετὲς ἐς δίωξιν καὶ ἀναχώρησιν ἦν πεδίον, Ἀρχελάῳ δὲ κρημνοὶ περιέκειντο, οὐ τὸ ἔργον οὐκ εἴων ἐν οὐδενὶ κοινὸν δῆλον τοῦ στρατοῦ γενέσθαι, συστῆναι διὰ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν οὐκ ἔχοντος τραπεῖσί τε αὐτοῖς ἄπορος διὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ἐγίγνετο ἡ φυγὴ. ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιοῦσδε λογισμοῖς τῇ δυσχωρίᾳ μάλιστα πιστεύων, ἐπήει ὡς οὐδὲν ἐσομένου χρησίμου τοῦ πλήθους Ἀρχελάῳ· ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐγνώκει

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

mopylae into Phocis, consisting of Thracian, Pontic,  
Scythian, Cappadocian, Bithynian, Galatian, and  
Phrygian troops, and others from Mithridates' newly  
acquired territory, in all about 120,000 men, each  
nationality having its own general, but Archelaus  
being in supreme command over all. Sulla's forces  
were Italians and some Greeks and Macedonians, who  
had lately deserted Archelaus and come over to him,  
and a few others from the surrounding country, but  
they were in all not one-third the number of the  
enemy.

42. When they had taken position opposite each other, Archelaus repeatedly led out his forces and offered battle, but Sulla hesitated on account of the ground and the numbers of the enemy. When however Archelaus retreated toward Chalcis he followed him closely, watching for a favourable time and place. When he saw the enemy encamped in a rocky region near Chaeronea, where there was no chance of escape for the vanquished, he took possession of a broad plain near by and led on his forces, intending to compel Archelaus to fight whether he wanted to or not, and where the slope of the plain favoured the Romans either in advancing or retreating, while Archelaus was hedged in by rocks which would in no case allow his whole army to act in concert, as he could not bring them together by reason of the unevenness of the ground; and if they were routed their flight would be impeded by the rocks. Relying for these reasons chiefly on the difficulty of his adversary's position, Sulla moved forward, judging that the enemy's superiority in numbers would not be of any service to him. Archelaus had not intended coming to an engagement at

Battle of  
Chaeronea.  
B.C. 86

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. μὲν αὐτῷ τότε συμπλέκεσθαι, διὸ καὶ ἀμελῶς  
 VI ἐστρατοπέδευσεν, ἐπιόντος δὲ ἥδη τῆς δυσχωρίας  
 ὅψε καὶ μόγις ἡσθάνετο, καὶ προύπεμπέ τινας  
 ἵππεας ἐς κώλυσιν αὐτοῦ. τραπέντων δ' ἐκείνων  
 καὶ ἐς τοὺς κρημνοὺς καταρριφθέντων, ἔξήκοντα  
 αὐθις ἔπειμψεν ἄρματα, εἰ δύναιτο μετὰ ρύμης  
 κόψαι καὶ διαρρῆξαι τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν πολεμίων.  
 διαστάντων δὲ τῶν Ρωμαίων, τὰ μὲν ἄρματα ὑπὸ<sup>της</sup>  
 φορᾶς ἐς τοὺς ὄπιστα παρενεχθέντα τε καὶ  
 δυσεπίστροφα ὅντα πρὸς τῶν ὑστάτων περι-  
 στάντων αὐτὰ καὶ ἐσακουντιζόντων διεφθείρετο·

43. 'Ο δ' Ἀρχέλαος δυνηθεὶς ἀν καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 χάρακος εὔσταθῶς ἀπομάχεσθαι, τάχα οἱ καὶ  
 τῶν κρημνῶν ἐς τοῦτο συλλαμβανόντων, ἔξηγε  
 σὺν ἐπείξει καὶ διέτασσε μετὰ σπουδῆς τοσόνδε  
 πλῆθος οὐ προεγνωκότων ἀνδρῶν, ἐν στενωτάτῳ  
 μάλιστα γεγονὼς διὰ τὸν Σύλλαν ἥδη πλησιά-  
 ζοντα. τοὺς δ' ἵππεας πρώτους ἐπαγαγὼν μετὰ  
 δρόμου πολλοῦ, διέτεμε τὴν φάλαγγα Ρωμαίων  
 ἐς δύο, καὶ εὐμαρῶς ἐκατέρους ἐκυκλοῦτο διὰ  
 τὴν ὀλιγότητα. οἱ δ' ἀπεμάχοντο μὲν ἐγκρατῶς, ἐς  
 πάντας ἐπιστρεφόμενοι, μάλιστα δ' ἐπόνουν  
 οἱ περὶ Γάλβαν τε καὶ Ὁρτήσιον, καθ' οὓς αὐτὸς  
 ὁ Ἀρχέλαος ἐτέτακτο, τῶν βαρβάρων ὡς ἐν ὅψει  
 στρατηγοῦ σὺν προθυμίᾳ σφοδρῷ ἐπικειμένων,  
 μέχρι τοῦ Σύλλα λιμνοῦντος ἐς αὐτοὺς σὺν  
 ἵππεῦσι πολλοῖς, ὁ Ἀρχέλαος ἀπὸ τῶν σημείων  
 στρατηγικῶν ὅντων καὶ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ πλείονος  
 αἴρομένου τεκμηράμενος εἶναι Σύλλαν τὸν ἐπιόντα,

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

that time, for which reason he had been careless in CHAP.  
choosing the place for his camp. Now that the VI  
Romans were advancing he perceived gradually and  
too late the badness of his position, and sent forward  
a detachment of horse to prevent the movement. The  
detachment was put to flight and shattered among  
the rocks. He next charged with sixty chariots,  
hoping to sever and break in pieces the formation of  
the legions by the shock. The Romans opened their  
ranks and the chariots were carried through by their  
own momentum to the rear, and being difficult to  
turn were surrounded and destroyed by the javelins  
of the rear guard.

43. Although Archelaus might even so have offered  
a steady resistance from his fortified camp, where  
the crags would perhaps have helped him, he hastily  
led out his vast multitude of men who had not  
expected to fight here, and drew them up hurriedly,  
finding himself in a very confined position owing  
to the fact that Sulla was already approaching.  
He first made a powerful charge with his horse,  
cut the Roman formation in two, and, by reason  
of the smallness of their numbers, completely sur-  
rounded both parts. The Romans turned their  
faces to the enemy on all sides and fought bravely.  
The divisions of Galba and Hortensius suffered most,  
since Archelaus led the battle against them in per-  
son, and the barbarians fighting under the eye of  
the commander were spurred by emulation to the  
highest pitch of valour. But Sulla moved to their  
aid with a large body of horse and Archelaus, feeling  
sure that it was Sulla who was approaching, for he  
saw the standards of the commander-in-chief, and a  
great cloud of dust arising, abandoned the attempt

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. λύσας τὴν κύκλωσιν ἐς τάξιν ἀνεχώρει. ὁ δὲ  
 VI τῶν τε ἵππέων τὸ ἄριστον ἄγων, καὶ δύο νεαλεῖς  
 σπείρας ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ προσλαβών, αἱ ἐτετάχατο  
 ἐφεδρεύειν, οὕπω τὸν κύκλου τοῦς πολεμίους  
 ἔξελίξασιν, οὐδ' ἐς μέτωπον εὔσταθῶς διατεταγ-  
 μένοις, ἐνέβαλε, καὶ θορυβήσας ἔκοψέ τε καὶ ἐς  
 φυγὴν τραπέντας ἐδίωκεν. ἀρξαμένης δὲ ἐνταῦθα  
 τῆς νίκης, οὐδὲ Μουρήνας ἡλίνυνεν ἐπὶ τοῦ λαιοῦ  
 τεταγμένος, ἀλλ' ὅνειδίσας τοῦς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν καὶ  
 γενναίως ἐμπεσὼν ἐδίωκε κάκεῦνος.

44. Τρεπομένων δὲ ἥδη τῶν Ἀρχελάου κερῶν,  
 οὐδὲ οἱ μέσοι τὴν τάξιν ἐφύλασσον, ἀλλ' ἀθρόα  
 πάντων ἐγίγνετο φυγή. ἔνθα δὴ πάντα ὅσα  
 εἴκασεν ὁ Σύλλας, ἐνέπιπτε τοῦς πολεμίους· οὐ  
 γὰρ ἔχοντες ἀναστροφὴν εὐρύχωρον οὐδὲ πεδίον  
 ἐς φυγὴν, ἐπὶ τοὺς κρημνοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν διωκόντων  
 ἐῳδοῦντο, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐξέπιπτον πρὸς αὐτόν,  
 οἱ δὲ εὐβουλότερον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐφέροντο.  
 Ἀρχέλαος δὲ αὐτοὺς προλαβών, ἀπειρότατα δὴ  
 τότε μάλιστα συμφορῶν πολεμικῶν, ἀπέκλειε,  
 καὶ ἐπιστρέφειν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκέλευεν. οἱ  
 δὲ ἀνέστρεφον μὲν ἐκ προθυμίας, οὔτε δὲ στρατη-  
 γῶν ἡ ἐπιστατῶν ἐς διάταξιν ἔτι σφίσι παρούντων,  
 οὔτε τὰ σημεῖα ἔκαστοι τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐπιγιγνώ-  
 σκούντες ὡς ἐν ἀκόσμῳ τροπῇ διερριμμένοι, χωρίου-  
 τε καὶ ἐς φυγὴν καὶ ἐς μάχην ἀποροῦντες, στενω-  
 τάτου τότε μάλιστα αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν δίωξιν γενο-  
 μένου, ἐκτείνοντο μετ' ἀργίας, οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν  
 πολεμίων, οὐδὲν ἀντιδρᾶσαι φθάνοντες, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ  
 σφῶν αὐτῶν ὡς ἐν πλήθει καὶ στενοχωρίᾳ  
 θορυβούμενοι. πάλιν τε κατέφυγον ἐπὶ τὰς  
 πύλας, καὶ εἰλοῦντο περὶ αὐτὰς ἐπιμεμφόμενοι

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

to encircle the enemy and began to resume his first position. Sulla, leading the best part of his horse and picking up on his way two new cohorts that had been placed in reserve, struck the enemy before they had executed their manoeuvre and formed a solid front. He threw them into confusion, broke their lines, put them to flight, and pursued them. While victory was dawning on that side, Murena, who commanded the left wing, was not idle. Chiding his soldiers for their remissness he, too, dashed upon the enemy valiantly and put them to flight.

VI

Archelaus routed

44. When Archelaus' two wings gave way the centre no longer held its ground, but fled in a body. Then everything that Sulla had foreseen befell the enemy. Not having room to turn around, or an open country for flight, they were driven by their pursuers among the rocks. Some of them rushed into the hands of the Romans; others with more wisdom fled toward their own camp. Archelaus placed himself in front of them and barred the entrance, and ordered them to turn and face the enemy, thus betraying the greatest inexperience of the exigencies of war. They obeyed him with alacrity, but as they no longer had either generals to lead, or officers to align them, nor were able to recognize their several standards, scattered as they were in disorderly flight, and had no room either to fly or to fight, being then more cramped than ever owing to the pursuit, they were killed without resistance, some by the enemy, upon whom they had no time to retaliate, and others by their own friends in the crowd and confusion. Again they fled toward the gates of the camp, around which they were pent, upbraiding the gate-keepers. They

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. τοῖς ἀποκλείουσιν. θεούς τε πατρίους αὐτοῖς καὶ  
 VI τὴν ἄλλην οἰκειότητα σὺν ὁνείδει προύφερον, ὡς  
 οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τῶνδε ὑπερορών-  
 των αὐτοὺς ἀναιρούμενοι, ἔστε μόλις αὐτοῖς ὁ  
 Ἀρχέλαος, ὃψὲ τῆς χρείας, ἀνεῳγνυ τὰς πύλας  
 καὶ ὑπεδέχετο μετ' ἀταξίας ἐστρέχοντας. οἱ δὲ  
 Ῥωμαῖοι ταῦτα συνιδόντες, καὶ παρακαλέσαντες  
 τότε μάλιστα ἄλλήλους, δρόμῳ τοῖς φεύγουσι  
 συνεσέπιπτον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ τὴν νίκην ἐς  
 τέλος ἔξειργάσαντο.

45. Ἀρχέλαος δὲ καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι κατὰ μέρος  
 ἔξεφυγον, ἐς Χαλκίδα συνελέγοντο, οὐ πολὺ  
 πλείους μυρίων ἐκ δώδεκα μυριάδων γενόμενοι.  
 Ῥωμαίων δὲ ἔδοξαν μὲν ἀποθανεῖν πεντεκαίδεκα  
 ἄνδρες, δύο δ' αὐτῶν ἐπανῆλθον. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ  
 Σύλλα καὶ Ἀρχελάῳ τῷ Μιθριδάτου στρατηγῷ  
 τῆς περὶ Χαιρώνειαν μάχης τέλος ἦν, δι' εὐβου-  
 λίαν δὴ μάλιστα Σύλλα καὶ δι' ἀφροσύνην Ἀρχε-  
 λάου τοιόνδε ἑκατέρῳ γενόμενον. Σύλλας δὲ  
 πολλῶν μὲν αἰχμαλώτων πολλῶν δ' ὅπλων καὶ  
 λείας κρατῶν, τὰ μὲν ἀχρεῖα σωρευθέντα, διαξω-  
 σάμενος ὡς ἕθος ἔστι Ῥωμαίοις, αὐτὸς ἐνέπρησε  
 τοῖς ἐνυαλίοις θεοῖς, ἀναπαύσας δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν  
 ἐπ' ὄλιγον, ἐς τὸν Εὔριπον σὺν εὐζώνοις ἐπὶ τὸν  
 Ἀρχέλαου ἥπεργετο. Ῥωμαίων δὲ ναῦς οὐκ ἔχόν-  
 των, ἀδεῶς τὰς νήσους περιέπλει τὰ παράλια  
 πορθῶν. Ζακύνθῳ δ' ἐκβὰς παρεστρατοπέδευσεν.  
 καὶ τινῶν Ῥωμαίων, οἳ ἐπεδήμουν, νυκτὸς ἐπιθε-  
 μένων αὐτῷ, κατὰ τάχος ἐσβὰς αὐθις ἀνήγετο  
 ἐς Χαλκίδα, ληστεύοντι μᾶλλον ἢ πολεμοῦντι  
 ἐοικώς.

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

reminded them reproachfully of their country's gods CHAP VI  
and their common relationship, saying that they were slaughtered not so much by the swords of the enemy as by the indifference of their friends. Finally Archelaus, after more delay than was necessary, opened the gates and received the disorganised runaways. When the Romans observed this they gave a great cheer, burst into the camp with the fugitives, and made their victory complete.

45. Archelaus and the others that escaped in scattered detachments, came together at Chalcis. Not more than 10,000 of the 120,000 remained. The Roman loss was only fifteen, and two of these returned afterwards. Such was the result of the battle of Chaeronea between Sulla and Archelaus, the general of Mithridates, to which the sagacity of Sulla and the blundering of Archelaus contributed in equal measure. Sulla captured a large number of prisoners and a great quantity of arms and spoils, the useless part of which he put in a heap. Then he girded himself according to the Roman custom and burned it as a sacrifice to the gods of war. After giving his army a short rest he hastened against Archelaus at the Euripus with some light-armed troops, but as the Romans had no ships the latter sailed securely among the islands and ravaged the coasts. He landed at Zacynthus and laid siege to it, but being attacked in the night by a party of Romans who were sojourning there he re-embarked in a hurry and returned to Chalcis more like a pirate than a soldier.

Great  
slaughter  
of the  
barbarians

## VII

CAP.  
VII 46. Μιθριδάτης δ' ἐπεὶ τοσῆσδε ἡττης ἐπύθετο.  
κατεπλάγη μὲν αὐτίκα καὶ ἔδεισεν ὡς ἐπὶ ἔργῳ  
τοσούτῳ, στρατιὰν δ' ὅμως ἄλλην ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπ'  
αὐτὸν ἐθνῶν ἀπάντων κατὰ σπουδὴν συνέλεγεν.  
νομίσας δ' ἂν τινας αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἡτταν ἦ νῦν, ἢ  
εἴ τινα καιρὸν ἄλλον εὔροιεν, ἐπιθήσεσθαι, τοὺς  
ὑπόπτους οἱ πάντας πρὶν ὁξύτερον γενέσθαι τὸν  
πόλεμον, ἀνελέγετο. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς Γαλα-  
τῶν τετράρχας, ὅσοι τε αὐτῷ συνῆσαν ως φίλοι  
καὶ ὅσοι μὴ κατήκουον αὐτοῦ, πάντας ἔκτεινε μετὰ  
παιδῶν καὶ γυναικῶν χωρὶς τριῶν τῶν διαφυγόν-  
των, τοῖς μὲν ἐνέδρας ἐπιπέμψας, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ  
διαίτῃ μᾶς νυκτός, οὐχ ἥγονύμενος αὐτῶν οὐδένα  
οἱ βέβαιον, εἰ πλησιάσοι Σύλλας, ἔσεσθαι. σφε-  
τερισάμενος δ' αὐτῶν τὰς περιουσίας, φρουρὰς  
ἐστήγειν ἐς τὰς πόλεις, καὶ σατράπην ἐς τὸ ἐθνος  
Εῦμαχον ἐπεμψεν· ὃν αὐτίκα τῶν τετραρχῶν οἱ  
διαφυγόντες, στρατιὰν ἀγείραντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγρῶν,  
ἐξέβαλον αὐταῖς φρουραῖς διώκοντες ἐκ Γαλατίας.  
καὶ Μιθριδάτη περιῆν Γαλατῶν ἔχειν τὰ χρήματα  
μόνα. Χίοις δὲ μηνίων ἔξ οὖ τις αὐτῶν ναῦς ἐς  
τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐν τῇ περὶ Ῥόδον ναυμαχίᾳ  
λαθοῦσα ἐνέβαλε, πρῶτα μὲν ἐδήμευσε τὰ ὄντα  
Χίοις τοῖς ἐς Σύλλαν φυγοῦσιν, ἔξης δ' ἐπεμπε  
τοὺς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐρευνησομένους ἐν Χίῳ. καὶ  
τρίτον Ζηνόβιος στρατιὰν ἄγων ως ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα  
διαβαλῶν, τὰ τείχη τῶν Χίων, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα  
ἔρυμνὰ χωρία, τῆς νυκτὸς κατέλαβε, καὶ ταῖς  
πύλαις φρουρὰν ἐπιστήσας ἐκήρυσσε τοὺς μὲν

# THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

## VII

**46.** WHEN Mithridates heard of this great disaster CHAP. VII he was astonished and terror-stricken, as was natural. Nevertheless, he proceeded with all haste to collect a new army from all his subject nations. Thinking that certain persons would be likely to turn against him on account of his defeat, either now or later, if they should find a good chance, he arrested all suspects before the war should become fiercer. First, he put to death the tetrarchs of Galatia with their wives and children, not only those who were united with him as friends, but those who were not his subjects—all except three who escaped. Some of these he took by stratagem, the others he slew one night at a banquet, for he believed that none of them would be faithful to him if Sulla should come near. He confiscated their property, established garrisons in their towns, and appointed Eumachus satrap of the nation. But the tetrarchs who had escaped forthwith raised an army from the country people, expelled him and his garrisons, and drove them out of Galatia, so that Mithridates had nothing left of that country except the money he had seized. Being angry with the inhabitants of Chios, ever since one of their vessels had accidentally run against the royal ship in the naval battle near Rhodes, he first confiscated the goods of all Chians who had fled to Sulla, and then sent persons to inquire what property in Chios belonged to Romans. In the third place, his general, Zenobius, who was conducting an army to Greece, seized the walls of Chios and all the fortified places by night, stationed guards at the gates, and made proclamation that all strangers should remain quiet, and that the Fury and cruelty of Mithridates

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. ξένους ἀτρεμεῖν, Χίους δὲ ἐστὶ οὐκέτησίαν συνελθεῖν,  
 VII ὡς διαλεξόμενος αὐτοῖς τι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως.  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, ἔλεξεν ὅτι βασιλεὺς ὑποπτον  
 ἔχει τὴν πόλιν διὰ τοὺς ρωμαῖζοντας, παύσεται δὲ  
 ἔαν τά τε ὅπλα παραδώτε καὶ ὅμηρα τῶν παίδων  
 τοὺς ἀρίστους. οἱ μὲν δὴ κατειλημένην σφῶν  
 τὴν πόλιν ὄρωντες ἔδοσαν ἄμφω, καὶ Ζηνόβιος  
 αὐτὰ ἐστὶ Ερυθρὰς ἐξέπεμψεν ὡς αὐτίκα τοῖς Χίοις  
 γράψοντος τοῦ βασιλέως.

47. Ἐπιστολὴ δὲ ἦκε Μιθριδάτου τάδε λέγουσα· “εὗνοι καὶ νῦν ἐστὲ Ρωμαίοις, ὃν ἔτι  
 πολλοὶ παρ’ ἔκείνοις εἰσί, καὶ τὰ ἐγκτήματα  
 Ρωμαίων καρποῦσθε, ἥμīν οὐκ ἀναφέροντες.  
 ἐστὶ τὴν ἐμὴν γαῦν ἐν τῇ περὶ Ρόδον ναυ-  
 μαχίᾳ τριήρης ὑμετέρα ἐνέβαλέ τε καὶ κατέ-  
 σεισεν. ὃ ἐγὼ περιέφερον ἐκὼν ἐστὶ μόνους τοὺς  
 κυβερνήτας, εἰ δύναισθε σώζεσθαι καὶ ἀγαπᾶν.  
 λανθάνοντες δὲ καὶ νῦν τοὺς ἀρίστους ὑμῶν ἐσ-  
 Σύλλαν διεπέμψατε, καὶ οὐδένα αὐτῶν ὡς οὐκ  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ταῦτα πράττοντα ἐνεδείξατε  
 οὐδὲ ἐμηνύσατε, ὃ τῶν οὐ συμπεπραχότων ἐργον  
 ἦν. τοὺς οὖν ἐπιβουλεύοντας μὲν τῇ ἐμῇ ἀρχῇ,  
 ἐπιβουλεύσαντας δὲ καὶ τῷ σώματι, οἱ μὲν ἐμοὶ  
 φίλοι ἐδικαίουν ἀποθανεῖν, ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμῖν τιμῶμαι  
 δισχιλίων ταλάντων.” τοσαῦτα μὲν ἡ ἐπιστολὴ  
 περιεῖχεν, οἱ δὲ ἐβούλοντο μὲν ἐστὶ αὐτὸν πρεσ-  
 βεῦσαι, Ζηνοβίου δὲ κατακωλύοντος, ὅπλων τε  
 ἀφηρημένοι, καὶ παίδων σφίσι τῶν ἀρίστων  
 ἔχομένων, στρατιᾶς τε βαρβαρικῆς τοσαύτης  
 ἐφεστώσης, οἰμώζοντες ἔκ τε ίερῶν κόσμους καὶ τὰ  
 τῶν γυναικῶν πάντα ἐστὶ πλήρωμα τῶν δισ-  
 χιλίων ταλάντων συνέφερον. ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτ’

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

Chians should repair to the assembly so that he CHAP  
might give them a message from the king. When VII  
they had come together he said that the king was  
suspicious of the city on account of the Roman  
faction in it, but that he would be satisfied if they  
would deliver up their arms and give the children of  
their principal families as hostages. Seeing that  
their city was already in his hands they gave both.  
Zenobius sent them to Erythrae and told the Chians  
that the king would write to them directly.

47. A letter came from Mithridates, saying : " You favour the Romans even now, and many of your citizens are still sojourning with them. You are reaping the fruits of the Roman lands in Chios, on which you pay us no percentage. Your trireme ran against and shook my ship in the battle before Rhodes. I willingly imputed that fault to the pilots alone, hoping that you would consult the interests of your safety and rest content. Now you have secretly sent your chief men to Sulla, and you have never proved or declared that any of them acted without public authority, as was your duty if you were not co-operating with them. Although my friends consider that those who are conspiring against my government, and have already conspired against my person, ought to suffer death, I condemn you to pay a fine of 2000 talents." Such was the purport of the letter. The Chians wanted to send legates to the Dismay  
king, but Zenobius would not allow it. As they <sup>of Chios</sup> were disarmed and had given up the children of their principal families, and a large barbarian army was in possession of the city, they collected, with loud lamentations, the temple ornaments and all the women's jewellery to complete the amount of 2000

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

**ΟΑΡ.** ἐπεπλήρωτο, αἵτιασάμενος τὸν σταθμὸν ἐνδεῖν ὁ  
**VII** Ζηνόβιος ἐς τὸ θέατρον αὐτοὺς συνεκάλει, καὶ τὴν  
 στρατιὰν περιστήσας μετὰ γυμνῶν ξιφῶν ἀμφί τε  
 τὸ θέατρον αὐτὸν καὶ τὰς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μέχρι τῆς  
 θαλάσσης ὄδοις ἥγε τοὺς Χίους, ἀνιστὰς ἔκαστον  
 ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου, καὶ ἐνετίθετο ἐς τὰς ναῦς, ἐτέρωθι  
 μὲν τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἐτέρωθι δ' αὐτῶν τὰ γύναια καὶ  
 τὰ παιδία, βαρβαρικῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγόντων ὑρβιζό-  
 μενα. ἀνάσπαστοι δ' ἐντεῦθεν ἐς Μιθριδάτην  
 γενόμενοι διεπέμφθησαν ἐς τὸν Πόντον τὸν Εὔ-  
 ξεινον.

48. Καὶ Χῖοι μὲν ὡδε ἐπεπράχεσαν, Ζηνόβιον  
 δὲ Ἐφέσιοι μετὰ στρατιωτῶν προσιόντα ἐκέλευον  
 ἐξοπλίσασθαι τε παρὰ ταῖς πύλαις καὶ σὺν ὀλίγοις  
 ἐσελθεῖν. ὁ δὲ ὑπέστη μὲν ταῦτα, καὶ ἐσῆλθε  
 πρὸς Φιλοποίμενα τὸν πατέρα Μονίμης τῆς ἐρω-  
 μένης Μιθριδάτου, ἐπίσκοπον Ἐφεσίων ἐκ Μιθρι-  
 δάτου καθεστηκότα, καὶ συνελθεῖν οἱ τοὺς Ἐφεσί-  
 ους ἐς ἐκκλησίαν ἐκήρυττεν. οἱ δὲ οὐδὲν χρηστὸν  
 ἔσεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ προσδοκῶντες ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν  
 ἀνέθεντο, καὶ νυκτὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγείραντές τε καὶ  
 παρακαλέσαντες, Ζηνόβιον μὲν ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον  
 ἐμβαλόντες ἔκτειναν, καὶ τὰ τείχη κατεῖχον, καὶ  
 τὸ πλήθος συνελόχιζον, καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν  
 συνέλεγον, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅλως διὰ χειρὸς εἰχον.  
 ὃν πυνθανόμενοι Τραλλιανοὶ καὶ Ὄπαιπηνοὶ καὶ  
 Μεσοπολῖται καὶ τινες ἄλλοι, τὰ Χίων πάθη  
 δεδιότες, ὅμοια τοῖς Ἐφεσίοις ἔδρων. Μιθριδάτης  
 δ' ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ ἀφεστηκότα στρατιὰν ἐξέπεμπε, καὶ  
 πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ τοὺς λαμβανομένους ἔδρα· δείσας  
 δὲ περὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς τὰς πόλεις τὰς Ἐλληνίδας  
 ἥλευθέρους, καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς αὐτοῖς ἐκήρυσσε,

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

talents. When this sum had been made up Zenobius CHAP VII accused them of giving him short weight and summoned them to the theatre. Then he stationed his army with drawn swords around the theatre itself and along the streets leading from it to the sea. Then he led the Chians one by one out of the theatre and put them in ships, the men separate from the women and children, and all treated with indignity by their barbarian captors. Thence they were dragged to Mithridates, who sent them to the Euxine. Such was the calamity that befell the citizens of Chios.

48. When Zenobius approached Ephesus with his army, the citizens ordered him to leave his arms at the gates and come in with only a few attendants. He obeyed the order and paid a visit to Philopoe-men (the father of Monima, the favourite wife of Mithridates), whom the latter had appointed overseer of Ephesus, and summoned the Ephesians to the assembly. They expected nothing good from him, and adjourned the meeting till the next day. During the night they met and encouraged one another, after which they cast Zenobius into prison and put him to death. They then manned the walls, organized the population, brought in supplies from the country, and put the city in a state of complete defence. When the people of Tralles, Hypaepa, Mesopolis, and several other towns heard of this, fearing lest they should meet the fate of Chios, they followed the example of Ephesus. Mithridates sent an army against the revolters and inflicted terrible punishments on those whom he captured, but as he feared other defections, he gave freedom to the Greek cities, proclaimed the cancelling of debts,

Terror of  
the Greek  
cities of  
Asia

CAP. καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἑκάστῃ μετοίκους πολίτας αὐτῶν  
 VII ἐποίει καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας ἐλευθέρους, ἐλπίσας,  
 ὅπερ δὴ καὶ συνηνέχθη, τοὺς κατάχρεως καὶ  
 μετοίκους καὶ θεράποντας, ἡγουμένους ἐν τῇ  
 Μιθριδάτου ἀρχῇ βεβαίως τὰ δοθέντα αὐτοῖς  
 ἔξειν, εὔνους αὐτῷ γενήσεσθαι. Μυννίων δὲ καὶ  
 Φιλότιμος οἱ Σμυρναῖοι καὶ Κλεισθένης καὶ Ἀσ-  
 κληπιόδοτος οἱ Λέσβιοι, βασιλεῖ γνώριμοι πάντες,  
 ὁ δὲ Ἀσκληπιόδοτος αὐτὸν καὶ ξεναγήσας ποτέ,  
 ἐπιβουλὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην συνετίθεσαν· ἦς  
 αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀσκληπιόδοτος μηνυτὴς ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐσ  
 πίστιν ὑπὸ κλίνη τινὶ παρεσκεύασεν ἀκοῦσαι  
 τοῦ Μυννίωνος. ἀλούσης δὲ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς οἱ  
 μὲν αἰκισθέντες ἐκολάσθησαν, ὑποψίᾳ δ' ἐσ τὰ  
 ὄμοια πολλοὺς κατεῖχεν. ὡς δὲ καὶ Περγαμηνῶν  
 τὰ αὐτὰ βουλεύοντες ὀγδοήκοντα ἄνδρες ἑάλωσαν,  
 καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ἔτεροι, ζητητὰς ὁ Μιθρι-  
 δάτης πανταχοῦ περιέπεμπεν, οἵ, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς  
 ἐνδεικνύντων ἑκάστων, ἔκτειναν ἀμφὶ τοὺς χιλίους  
 καὶ ἔξακοσίους ἄνδρας. ὡν οἱ κατηγορήσαντες  
 οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ Σύλλα ληφθέντες  
 διεφθάρησαν, οἱ δὲ προανεῖλον ἑαυτούς, οἱ δ' ἐσ  
 τὸν Πόντον αὐτῷ Μιθριδάτη συνέφευγον.

49. Γιγνομένων δὲ τῶνδε περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὁκτὼ  
 μυριάδων στρατὸς ἥθροιστο τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ, καὶ  
 αὐτὸν Δορύλαος πρὸς Ἀρχέλαον ἤγειν ἐσ τὴν  
 Ἑλλάδα, ἔχοντα τῶν προτέρων ἔτι μυρίους. ὁ δὲ  
 Σύλλας ἀντεστρατοπέδευε μὲν Ἀρχελάῳ περὶ  
 Ὁρχομενόν, ὡς δὲ εἶδε τῆς ἐπελθούσης ἵππου τὸ  
 πλῆθος, ὥρυσσε τάφρους πολλὰς ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον,  
 εὑρος δέκα πόδας, καὶ ἐπιόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀρχε-  
 λάου ἀντιπαρέταξεν. ἀσθενῶς δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

gave the right of citizenship to all sojourners CHAP. <sup>VII</sup> therein, and freed the slaves. He did this hoping (as indeed it turned out) that the debtors, sojourners, and slaves would consider their new privileges secure only under the rule of Mithridates, and would therefore be well disposed toward him. In the meantime Conspiracy against Mithridates Mynnio and Philotimus of Smyrna, Cleisthenes and Asclepiodotus of Lesbos, all of them the king's intimates (Asclepiodotus had once entertained him as a guest) joined in a conspiracy against Mithridates. Against this conspiracy Asclepiodotus himself laid information, and in order to confirm his story he arranged that the king should conceal himself under a couch and hear what Mynnio said. The plot being thus revealed the conspirators were put to death with torture, and many others suffered from suspicion of similar designs. When eighty citizens of Pergamus were caught taking counsel together to like purpose, and others in other cities, the king sent spies everywhere who denounced their personal enemies, and in this way about 1600 men lost their lives. Some of their accusers were captured by Sulla a little later and put to death, others committed suicide, and still others took refuge with Mithridates himself in Pontus.

49. While these events were taking place in Asia, Battle of Orchomenus Mithridates assembled an army of 80,000 men, which Dorylaus led to Archelaus in Greece, who still had 10,000 of his former force remaining. Sulla had taken a position against Archelaus near Orchomenus. When he saw the great number of the enemy's horse coming up, he dug a number of ditches through the plain ten feet wide, and drew up his army to meet Archelaus when the latter advanced. The Romans

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. διὰ δέος τῆς ἵππου μαχομένων, ἐς πολὺ μὲν αὐτὸὺς παριππεύων παρεκάλει καὶ ἐπέσπερχε σὺν ἀπειλῇ, οὐκ ἐπιστρέφων δ' αὐτὸὺς ἐς τὸ ἔργον οὐδ' ὡς, ἐξήλατο τοῦ ἵππου, καὶ σημεῖον ἀρπάσας ἀνὰ τὸ μεταίχμιον ἔθει μετὰ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν, κεκραγώς· “εἴ τις ὑμῶν, ὁ Ῥωμαῖοι, πύθοιτο, ποὺ Σύλλαν τὸν στρατηγὸν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν προυδώκατε, λέγειν, ἐν Ὁρχομενῷ μαχόμενον.” οἱ δ' ἡγεμόνες αὐτῷ κινδυνεύοντι συνεξέθεον ἐκ τῶν ἴδιων τάξεων, συνεξέθεον δὲ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη πληθὺς αἰδουμένη, παλίωξίν τε εἰργάσαντο. καὶ τῆς νίκης ἀρχομένης, ἀναθορὼν αὐθίς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἐπήνει τὸν στρατὸν περιών καὶ ἐπέσπερχεν, ἕως τέλεον αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔργον ἐξετελέσθη. καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπώλοντο μὲν ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους, καὶ τούτων ἥσαν οἱ μύριοι ἵππεῖς μάλιστα, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ὁ παῖς Ἀρχελάου Διογένης· οἱ πεζοὶ δ' ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον συνέφυγον.

50. Καὶ δείσας ὁ Σύλλας μὴ παλιν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀρχέλαος, οὐκ ἔχοντα ναῦς, ἐς Χαλκίδα ὡς πρότερον διαφύγοι, τὸ πεδίον ὅλον ἐκ διαστηματῶν ἐνυκτοφυλάκει. καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν, στάδιον οὐχ ὅλον ἀποσχὼν τοῦ Ἀρχελάου, τάφρον αὐτῷ περιώρυσσεν οὐκ ἐπεξίοντι. καὶ παρεκάλει τότε μάλιστα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ στρατιὰν ἐκπονῆσαι τοῦ παντὸς πολέμου τὸ ἔτι λείψανον ὡς τῶν πολεμίων αὐτὸν οὐδὲ ὑφισταμένων, καὶ ἐπῆγεν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὸ χαράκωμα τοῦ Ἀρχελάου. ὅμοια δὲ ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἐγίγνετο καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολεμοῖς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, τῶν ἡγεμόνων αὐτοὺς περιθεόντων, καὶ τὸν παρόντα κίνδυνον προφερόντων τε, καὶ ὄνειδιζόντων εἰ μηδὲ ἀπὸ χάρακος ἀπομαχοῦνται τοὺς

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

fought badly because they were in terror of the CHAP.  
enemy's cavalry. Sulla rode hither and thither a  
long time, encouraging and threatening his men.  
Failing to rally them even in this way, he leaped  
from his horse, seized a standard, ran out between  
the two armies with his shield-bearers, exclaiming,  
“If you are ever asked, Romans, where you abandoned  
Sulla, your own general, say that it was when he was  
fighting at the battle of Orchomenus.” When the  
officers saw his peril they darted from their own ranks  
to his aid, and the troops, moved by a sense of shame,  
followed and drove the enemy back in their turn.  
This was the beginning of the victory. Sulla again  
leaped upon his horse and rode among his troops,  
praising and encouraging them until the victory was  
complete. The enemy lost 15,000 men, about 10,000  
of whom were cavalry, and among them Diogenes,  
the son of Archelaus. The infantry fled to their  
camps.

50. Sulla feared lest Archelaus should escape him Archelaus  
again, because he had no ships, and take refuge in Chalcis as before. Accordingly he stationed night watchmen at intervals over the whole plain, and the next day he enclosed Archelaus, who did not advance against him, with a ditch at a distance of less than 600 feet from his camp. Then more earnestly than ever he appealed to his army to finish the small remainder of the war, since the enemy were no longer even resisting; and so he led them against the camp of Archelaus. Like scenes transpired among the enemy, though under different conditions, because they were driven by necessity, the officers hurrying hither and thither, representing the imminent danger, and upbraiding the men if they should not be able

VII

defeated by  
Sulla

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

**CAP. VII.** ἐχθροὺς ὀλιγωτέρους ὄντας. ὁρμῆς δὲ καὶ βοῆς ἔκατέρωθεν γενομένης, πολλὰ μὲν ἐγίγνετο ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν ἔργα πολέμου, γωνίαν δέ τινα τοῦ χαρακώματος οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, τὰς ἀσπίδας σφῶν ὑπερσχόντες, ἥδη διέσπων, καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι καταθορόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ χαρακώματος ἔσω τῆς γωνίας περιέστησαν αὐτὴν ὡς τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἀμυνούμενοι τοὺς ἐστρέχοντας. οὐδέ τις ἐτόλμα, μέχρι Βάσιλλος ὁ τοῦ τέλους ταξίαρχος ἐσήλατο πρῶτος καὶ τὸν ὑπαντήσαντα ἔκτεινεν. τότε δὲ αὐτῷ συνεσέπιπτεν ὁ στρατὸς ἄπας, καὶ φυγὴ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐγίγνετο καὶ φόνος, τῶν μὲν καταλαμβανομένων, τῶν δὲ ἐς τὴν ἐγγὺς λίμνην ὠθουμένων τε καὶ νεῦν οὐκ ἐπισταμένων, ἀξύνετα βαρβαριστὶ τοὺς κτενοῦντας παρακαλούντων. Ἀρχέλαος δὲ ἐν ἔλει τινὶ ἐκρύφθη, καὶ σκάφους ἐπιτυχὸν ἐς Χαλκίδα διέπλευσεν. καὶ εἴ τις ἦν ἄλλη Μιθριδάτου στρατιὰ κατὰ μέρος ποι διατεταγμένη, πάντας αὐτοὺς ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδήν.

## VIII

**CAP. VIII.** 51. Ὁ δὲ Σύλλας τῆς ἐπιούσης τόν τε ταξίαρχον ἐστεφάνου καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀριστεῖα ἐδίδου. καὶ τὴν Βοιωτίαν συνεχῶς μετατιθεμένην διήρπαζε, καὶ ἐς Θεσσαλίαν ἐλθὼν ἐχείμαζε, τὰς ναῦς τὰς μετὰ Λευκόλλου περιμένων. ἀγνοῶν δὲ ὅπῃ ὁ Λεύκολλος εἴη, ἐναυπηγεῖτο ἐτέρας, καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι Κορηνηλίου τε Κίννα καὶ Γαίου Μαρίου, τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῦ, ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐψηφισμένων εἶναι Ῥωμαίων πολέμιον, καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐπαύλεις καθηρηκότων, καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἀνελόντων.

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

even to defend the camp against assailants inferior in numbers. There was a rush and a shout on each side, followed by many valiant deeds on the part of both. The Romans, protected by their shields, were demolishing a certain angle of the camp when the barbarians leaped down from the parapet inside and took their stand around this corner with drawn swords to ward off the invaders. No one dared to enter until the military tribune, Basillus, first leaped in and killed the man in front of him. Then the whole army dashed after him. The flight and slaughter of the barbarians followed. Some were overtaken and others driven into the neighbouring lake, and, not knowing how to swim, perished while begging for mercy in barbarian speech, not understood by their slayers. Archelaus hid in a marsh, and found a small boat by which he reached Chalcis. Here he hastily summoned any detachments of Mithridates' army which were stationed in various places.

VII

## VIII

51. THE next day Sulla decorated the tribune, CHAP. Basillus, and gave rewards for valour to others. He ravaged Boeotia, which was continually changing from one side to the other, and then moved to Thessaly and went into winter quarters, waiting for Lucullus and his fleet. But as he did not know where Lucullus was, he began to build ships for himself, and this although Cornelius Cinna and Gaius Marius, his rivals at home, had caused him to be declared an enemy of the Roman people, destroyed his houses in the city and the country, and murdered his friends.

Sulla  
declared  
a public  
enemy

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. VIII ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδ' ὡς καθήρει τῆς ἐξουσίας, τὸν στρατὸν ἔχων εὐπειθῆ καὶ πρόθυμον. Κίννας δὲ Φλάκκον ἐλόμενός οἱ συνάρχειν τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχήν, ἐπειπεν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν μετὰ δύο τελῶν, ἀντὶ τοῦ Σύλλα, ὡς ἥδη πολεμίου γεγονότος, τῆς τε Ἀσίας ἄρχειν καὶ πολεμεῖν τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ. ἀπειροπολέμῳ δ' ὅντι τῷ Φλάκκῳ συνεξῆλθεν ἕκὼν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀνὴρ πιθανὸς ἐς στρατηγίαν, ὅνομα Φιμβρίας. τούτοις ἐκ Βρευτεσίου διαπλέουσιν αἱ πολλαὶ τῶν νεῶν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος διελύθησαν, καὶ τὰς πρόπλους αὐτῶν ἐνέπρησε στρατὸς ἄλλος ἐπιπεμφθεὶς ἐκ Μιθριδάτου. μοχθηρὸν δ' ὅντα τὸν Φλάκκον καὶ σκαιὸν ἐν ταῖς κολάσεσι καὶ φιλοκερδῆ ὁ στρατὸς ἄπας ἀπεστρέφετο, καὶ μέρος αὐτῶν τι, προπεμφθὲν ἐς Θεσσαλίαν, ἐς τὸν Σύλλαν μετεστρατεύσαντο. τοὺς δὲ ὑπολοίπους ὁ Φιμβρίας, στρατηγικώτερος τοῦ Φλάκκου φαινόμενος αὐτοῖς καὶ φιλανθρωπότερος κατεῖχε μὴ μεταθέσθαι.

52. 'Ως δ' ἐν τινι καταγωγῇ περὶ ξενίας ἔριδος αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ ταμίᾳ γενομένης ὁ Φλάκκος διαιτῶν οὐδὲν ἐς τιμῆν ἐπεσήμηνε τοῦ Φιμβρίου, χαλεπήνας ὁ Φιμβρίας ἡπείλησεν ἐς 'Ρώμην ἐπανελεύσεσθαι. καὶ τοῦ Φλάκκου δόντος αὐτῷ διάδοχον ἐς ἄ τότε διώκει, φυλάξας αὐτὸν ὁ Φιμβρίας ἐς Χαλκηδόνα διαπλέοντα, πρῶτα μὲν Θέρμον τὰς ῥάβδους ἀφείλετο, τὸν ἀντιστράτηγον ὑπὸ τοῦ Φλάκκου καταλειμμένον, ὡς οἱ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὴν στρατηγίαν περιθέντος, εἴτα Φλάκκον αὐτὸν σὺν ὀργῇ μετ' ὀλίγον ἐπανιόντα ἐδίωκεν, ἔως ὁ μὲν Φλάκ-

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

However, in spite of this he did not relax his authority CHAP.  
VIII in the least, since he had a zealous and devoted army. Cinna sent Flaccus, whom he had chosen as his colleague in the consulship, to Asia with two legions to take charge of that province and of the Mithridatic war in place of Sulla, who was now declared a public enemy. As Flaccus was inexperienced in the art of Flaccus and  
Fimbria war, a man of senatorial rank named Fimbria, who inspired confidence as a general, accompanied him as a volunteer. As they were sailing from Brundusium most of their ships were destroyed by a tempest, and some that had gone in advance were burned by a new army that had been sent against them by Mithridates. Moreover, Flaccus was a rascal, and, being injudicious in punishments and greedy of gain, was hated by the whole army. Accordingly, some of the troops who had been sent ahead into Thessaly went over to Sulla, but Fimbria, whom they considered more humane and a better general than Flaccus, kept the rest from deserting.

52. Once while he was at an inn he had a dispute B.C. 85 with the quaestor about their lodgings, and Flaccus, who acted as arbiter between them, showed little consideration for Fimbria, and the latter was vexed and threatened to go back to Rome. Accordingly Flaccus appointed a successor to perform the duties which he then had charge of. Fimbria, however, watched his opportunity, and when Flaccus had sailed for Chalcedon he first took the fasces away from Thermus, whom Flaccus had left as his propraetor, on the ground that the army had conferred the command upon himself, and when Flaccus returned soon afterwards in a furious rage, Fimbria compelled him to fly, until finally Flaccus took refuge in a

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

**CAP. VIII.** κος ἔσ τινα οἰκίαν καταφυγῶν καὶ νυκτὸς τὸ τεῦχος  
 ὑπερελθὼν ἐς Χαλκηδόνα πρῶτον καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐς  
 Νικομήδειαν ἔφυγε καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀπέκλεισεν, ὁ δὲ  
 Φιμβρίας αὐτὸν ἐπελθὼν ἔκτεινεν ἐν φρέατι κρυπ-  
 τόμενον, ὑπατόν τε ὅντα Ῥωμαίων καὶ στρατηγὸν  
 τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἰδιώτης αὐτὸς ὅν καὶ ὡς φίλῳ  
 κελεύοντι συνεληλυθώς. ἔκτειμών τε τὴν κεφαλὴν  
 αὐτοῦ μεθῆκεν ἐς θάλασσαν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἄταφον  
 ἐκρίψας, αὐτὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἀπέφηνε τοῦ στρατοῦ.  
 καὶ μάχας τινὰς οὐκ ἀγεννῶς ἡγωνίσατο τῷ παιδὶ  
 τῷ Μιθριδάτου. αὐτόν τε βασιλέα συνεδίωξεν  
 ἐς τὸ Πέργαμον, καὶ ἐς Πιτάνην ἐκ τοῦ Περγάμου  
 διαφυγόντα ἐπελθὼν ἀπετάφρευεν, ἔως ὁ μὲν  
 βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ νεῶν ἔφυγεν ἐς Μιτυλήνην, 53. ὁ  
 δὲ Φιμβρίας, ἐπιὰν τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἐκόλαζε τοὺς  
 καππαδοκίσαντας, καὶ τῶν οὐ δεχομένων αὐτὸν  
 τὴν χώραν ἐλεηλάτει. Ἰλιεῖς δὲ πολιορκούμενοι  
 πρὸς αὐτοῦ κατέφυγον μὲν ἐπὶ Σύλλαν, Σύλλα  
 δὲ φήσαντος αὐτοῖς ἥξειν, καὶ κελεύσαντος ἐν  
 τοσῷδε Φιμβρίᾳ φράζειν ὅτι σφᾶς ἐπιτετρόφασι  
 τῷ Σύλλᾳ, πυθόμενος ὁ Φιμβρίας ἐπήνεσε μὲν  
 ὡς ἥδη Ῥωμαίων φίλους, ἐκέλευσε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν  
 ὅντα Ῥωμαῖων ἔσω δέχεσθαι, κατειρωνευσάμενός  
 τι καὶ τῆς συγγενείας τῆς οὔσης ἐς Ῥωμαίους  
 Ἰλιεῦσιν. ἐσελθὼν δὲ τοὺς ἐν ποσὶ πάντας  
 ἔκτεινε καὶ πάντα ἐνεπίμπρη, καὶ τοὺς πρεσβεύ-  
 σαντας ἐς τὸν Σύλλαν ἐλυμαίνετο ποικίλως, οὕτε  
 τῶν ἱερῶν φειδόμενος οὕτε τῶν ἐς τὸν νεῶν τῆς  
 Αθηνᾶς καταφυγόντων, οὓς αὐτῷ νεῷ κατέπρησεν.

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

house and in the night-time climbed over the CHAP.  
wall and fled first to Chalcedon and afterwards to  
Nicomedia, and closed the gates of the city. Fimbria  
followed him, found him concealed in a well, and  
killed him, although he was a Roman consul and the  
commanding officer of this war, while Fimbria himself  
was only a private citizen who had gone with him as a  
friend at his invitation. Fimbria cut off his head  
and threw it into the sea, and flung away the  
remainder of his body unburied. Then he appointed  
himself commander of the army, fought several  
successful battles with the son of Mithridates, and  
drove the king himself into Pergamus. Thence he  
escaped to Pitane, but Fimbria followed him and  
began to enclose the place with a ditch, until  
finally the king fled to Mitylene on a ship.

53. Fimbria traversed the province of Asia, punished the Cappadocian faction, and devastated the territory of the towns that did not open their gates to him. The inhabitants of Ilium, who were besieged by him, appealed to Sulla for aid, and he said that he would come to their assistance, bidding them meanwhile to say to Fimbria that they had intrusted themselves to Sulla. Fimbria, when he heard this, congratulated them on being already friends of the Roman people, and ordered them to admit him within their walls because he also was a Roman, adding an ironical allusion to the relationship existing between Ilium and Rome. When he was admitted he made an indiscriminate slaughter and burned the whole town. Those who had been in communication with Sulla he tortured in various ways. He spared neither the sacred objects nor the persons who had fled to the temple of Athena, but burned them with the Fimbria destroys Ilium

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. κατέσκαπτε δὲ καὶ τὰ τείχη, καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης  
 VIII ἥρεύνα περιών μή τι συνέστηκε τῆς πόλεως ἔτι.  
 ἡ μὲν δὴ χείρονα τῶν ἐπὶ Ἀγαμέμνονος παθοῦσα  
 ὑπὸ συγγενοῦς διωλώλει, καὶ οἰκόπεδον οὐδὲν  
 αὐτῆς οὐδ' ἵερὸν οὐδ' ἄγαλμα ἔτι ἦν· τὸ δὲ τῆς  
 Ἀθηνᾶς ἔδος, ὃ Παλλάδιον καλοῦσι καὶ διοπετὲς  
 ἥγοῦνται, νομίζουσί τινες εύρεθῆναι τότε ἄθραυ-  
 στον, τῶν ἐπιπεσόντων τειχῶν αὐτὸς περικαλυ-  
 ψάντων, εἰ μὴ Διομίδης αὐτὸς καὶ Ὁδυσσεὺς ἐν  
 τῷ Τρωϊκῷ ἔργῳ μετήνεγκαν ἐξ Ἰλίου.

Τάδε μὲν δὴ Φιμβρίας ἐς Ἰλιον εἰργάζετο,  
 ληγούσης ἄρτι τῆς τρίτης καὶ ἐβδομηκοστῆς  
 καὶ ἑκατοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος. καί τινες ἥγοῦνται  
 τὸ πάθος αὐτῇ τόδε μετ' Ἀγαμέμνονα χιλίοις καὶ  
 πεντήκοντα ἔτεσι γενέσθαι μάλιστα.

54. Ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἐπεὶ καὶ τῆς περὶ Ὁρχο-  
 μενὸν ἥττης ἐπύθετο, διαλογιζόμενος τὸ πλῆθος  
 ὅσον ἔξ ἀρχῆς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπεπόμφει, καὶ τὴν  
 συνεχῆ καὶ ταχεῖαν αὐτοῦ φθοράν, ἐπέστελλεν  
 Ἀρχελάῳ διαλύσεις ὡς δύναιτο εὐπρεπῶς ἐργά-  
 σασθαι. ὁ δὲ Σύλλας συνελθὼν ἐς λόγους εἶπε·  
 “φίλος ὁν ὑμῖν πατρῷος, ὁ Σύλλα, Μιθριδάτης  
 ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπολέμησε μὲν διὰ στρατηγῶν ἐτέρων  
 πλεονεξίαν, διαλύσεται δὲ διὰ τὴν σὴν ἀρετήν, ἥν  
 τὰ δίκαια προστάσσης.” καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ἀπορίᾳ  
 τε νεῶν, καὶ χρήματα οὐκ ἐπιπεμπόντων οὐδὲ  
 ἄλλο οὐδὲν οἴκοθεν αὐτῷ τῶν ἔχθρῶν ὡς πολεμίῳ,  
 ἀψάμενος ἥδη τῶν ἐν Ηὐθοῖ καὶ Ὁλυμπίᾳ καὶ  
 Ἐπιδαύρῳ χρημάτων, καὶ ἀντιδοὺς πρὸς λόγον  
 τοῖς ἱεροῖς τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς Θηβαίων γῆς πολλάκις

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

temple itself. He demolished the walls, and the next day made a search to see whether anything of the place was left standing. So much worse was the city now treated by one of its own kin than it had been by Agamemnon, that not a house, not a temple, not a statue was left. Some say that the image of Athena, called the Palladium, which is supposed to have fallen from heaven, was at this time found unbroken, the falling walls having formed an arch over it ; and this may be true unless Diomedes and Ulysses carried it away from Ilium during the Trojan war. Thus was Ilium destroyed by Fimbria at the close of the 173rd Olympiad. Some people think that 1050 years had intervened between this calamity and that which it suffered at the hands of Agamemnon.

54. When Mithridates heard of his defeat at Orchomenus, he reflected on the immense number of men he had sent into Greece from the beginning, and the continual and swift disaster that had overtaken them. Accordingly, he sent word to Archelaus to make peace on the best terms possible. The latter had an interview with Sulla in which he said, " King Mithridates was your father's friend, O Sulla. He became involved in this war through the rapacity of other Roman generals. He will avail himself of your virtuous character to make peace, if you will grant him fair terms." As Sulla had no ships ; as his enemies at Rome had sent him no money, nor anything else, but had declared him an outlaw ; as he had already taken the money from the Pythian, Olympian, and Epidauric temples, in return for which he had assigned to them half of the territory of Thebes on account of its frequent defections ; and

Mithridates  
sues for  
peace

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. ἀποστάντων, ἐς τε τὴν στάσιν αὐτὴν τῶν ἔχθρῶν  
 VIII ἐπειγόμενος ἀκραιφνῆ καὶ ἀπαθῆ τὸν στρατὸν  
 μεταγαγεῖν, ἐνεδίδου πρὸς τὰς διαλύσεις, καὶ  
 εἶπεν· “ἀδικουμένου μὲν ἦν, ὁ Ἀρχέλαε, Μιθρι-  
 δάτου, περὶ ὧν ἡδικεῖτο πρεσβεύειν, ἀδικοῦντος δὲ  
 γῆν τοσὶνδε ἀλλοτρίαν ἐπιδραμεῖν, καὶ κτεῖναι  
 πολὺ πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν, τά τε κοινὰ καὶ ἴερὰ τῶν  
 πόλεων καὶ τὰ ἴδια τῶν ἀνηρημένων σφετερί-  
 σασθαι. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἴδίους  
 φίλους, φῷ περὶ ἡμᾶς, ἅπιστος γενόμενος, ἔκτεινε  
 καὶ τῶνδε πολλούς, καὶ τῶν τετραρχῶν οὓς ὁμο-  
 διαίτους εἶχε, νυκτὸς μιᾶς, μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ  
 παιδῶν τῶν οὐ πεπολεμηκότων. ἐπὶ δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ  
 φύσεως ἔχθραν μᾶλλον ἢ πολέμου χρείαν ἐπεδεί-  
 ξατο, παντοίαις ἴδεαις κακῶν τοὺς περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν  
 Ἰταλιώτας, σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶ καὶ θεράπουσι  
 τοῖς οὖσι γένους Ἰταλικοῦ, λυμηνάμενός τε καὶ  
 κτείνας. τοσοῦτον ἐξήνεγκεν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν  
 μῖσος ὁ νῦν ἡμῖν ὑποκρινόμενος φιλίαν πατρῷαν,  
 ἥς οὐ πρὶν ἕκκαίδεκα μυριάδας ὑμῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ  
 συγκοπῆναι ἐμνημονεύετε.

55. Ἀνθ' ὧν δίκαιον μὲν ἦν ἄσπειστα αὐτῷ  
 τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν γενέσθαι, σοῦ δὲ χάριν ὑποδέχομαι  
 συγγνώμης αὐτὸν τεύξεσθαι παρὰ Ῥωμαίων, ἀν  
 τῷ ὅντι μεταγνωσκη. εἰ δὲ ὑποκρίνοιτο καὶ  
 νῦν, ὥρα σοι τὸ σαυτοῦ σκοπεῖν, ὁ Ἀρχέλαε,  
 ἐνθυμουμένῳ μὲν ὅπως ἔχει τὰ παρόντα σοί τε  
 κάκείνῳ, σκοποῦντι δ' ὃν τινα τρόπον ἐκεῖνός τε  
 ἔτέροις κέχρηται φίλοις καὶ ἡμεῖς Εὔμένει καὶ  
 Μασσανάσση.” ὁ δ' ἔτι λέγοντος αὐτοῦ τὴν  
 πεῖραν ἀπεσείετο, καὶ δυσχεράνας ἔφη τὸν ἐγχει-  
 ρίσαντά οἱ τὴν στρατηγίαν οὐ ποτε προδώσειν.

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

because he was in a hurry to lead his army fresh and unimpaired against the hostile faction at home, he assented to the proposal, and said, " If injustice was done to Mithridates, O Archelaus, he ought to have sent an embassy to show how he was wronged. It was the act of the wrong-doer, not of the wronged, to overrun such a vast territory belonging to others, kill such a vast number of people, seize the public and sacred funds of cities, and confiscate the private property of those whom he destroyed. He has been just as perfidious to his own friends as to us, and has put many of them to death, and many of the tetrarchs whom he had brought together at a banquet, and their wives and children, who had not fought against him. Towards us he showed that he was moved by an inborn enmity rather than by any necessity for war, visiting every possible calamity upon the Italians throughout Asia, torturing and murdering them, together with their wives, children, and such slaves as were of Italian blood. Such hatred did this man bear towards Italy, who now pretends friendship for my father!—a friendship which you did not call to mind until I had destroyed 160,000 of your troops.

55. " In return for this conduct we should have every right to be absolutely implacable towards him, but for your sake I will undertake to obtain his pardon from Rome if he actually repents. But if he plays the hypocrite again, I advise you, Archelaus, to look out for yourself. Consider how matters stand at present for you and him. Bear in mind how he has treated his other friends and how we treated Eumenes and Masinissa." While he was yet speaking, Archelaus rejected the offer with indignation, saying that he would never betray one who had put an army under

VIII

Sulla's answer

CAP VIII “ ἐλπίζω δέ σοι διαλλάξειν, ἢν μέτρια προστάσ-  
 σης.” διαλιπὼν οὖν ὁ Σύλλας δλίγον, εἰπεν· “ ἐὰν  
 τὸν στόλον ἡμῖν, ὃν ἔχεις, ὡς Ἀρχέλαε, παρα-  
 διδῷ πάντα Μιθριδάτης, ἀποδῷ δὲ καὶ στρατη-  
 γοὺς ἡμῖν ἥ πρέσβεις ἥ αἰχμαλώτους ἥ αὐτομό-  
 λους ἥ ἀνδράποδα ἀποδράντα, καὶ Χίους ἐπὶ  
 τοῖσδε, καὶ ὅσους ἄλλους ἀνασπάστους ἐς τὸν  
 Πόντον ἐποιήσατο, μεθῆ, ἔξαγάγῃ δὲ καὶ τὰς  
 φρουρὰς ἐκ πάντων φρουρίων, χωρὶς ὧν ἐκράτει  
 πρὸ τῆσδε τῆς παρασπονδήσεως, ἐσενέγκῃ δὲ  
 καὶ τὴν δαπάνην τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου τὴν δι' αὐτὸν  
 γενομένην, καὶ στέργη μόνης ἄρχων τῆς πατρώας  
 δυναστείας. ἐλπίζω πείσειν ‘Ρωμαίους αὐτῷ μηδὲν  
 ἐπιμηνῖσαι τῶν γεγονότων.’ ὁ μὲν δὴ τοσάδε  
 εἰπεν, ὁ δὲ Ἀρχέλαος τὰς μὲν φρουρὰς αὐτίκα  
 πανταχόθεν ἔξηγε, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπέστελλε  
 τῷ βασιλεῖ. καὶ Σύλλας τὴν ἐν τοσῷδε ἀργίαν  
 διατιθέμενος, Ἐνετοὺς καὶ Δαρδανέας καὶ Σιντούς,  
 περίοικα Μακεδόνων ἔθινη, συνεχῶς ἐς Μακεδονίαν  
 ἐμβάλλοντα, ἐπὶών ἐπόρθει, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν  
 ἐγύμναζε, καὶ ἐχρηματίζετο ὄμοῦ.

56. Ἐλθόντων δὲ τῶν Μιθριδάτου πρέσβεων,  
 οἵ τοις μὲν ἄλλοις συνετίθεντο, μόνην δὲ ἔξαιρού-  
 μενοι Παφλαγοίνιαν ἐπεῖπον ὅτι πλεόνων ἀν ἔτυχε  
 Μιθριδάτης, εἰ πρὸς τὸν ἔτερον ὑμῶν στρατηγὸν  
 διελύετο Φιμβρίαν, δυσχεράνας ὁ Σύλλας τῇ παρα-  
 βολῇ, καὶ Φιμβρίαν ἔφη δώσειν δίκην, καὶ αὐτὸς  
 ἐν Ἀσίᾳ γενόμενος εἰσεσθαι πότερα συνθηκῶν ἥ  
 πολέμου δεῖται Μιθριδάτης. ὡδε δὲ εἰπὼν ἤλαυ-  
 νεν ἐπὶ Κύψελλα διὰ Θράκης, Λεύκολλον ἐς  
 Ἀβυδον προπέμψας· ἥδη γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ ὅδε

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

his command. "I hope," he said, "to come to an <sup>CHAP</sup> agreement with you if you offer moderate terms." <sup>VIII</sup> After a short pause Sulla said, "If Mithridates will <sup>Terms of treaty offered by Sulla</sup> deliver to us the entire fleet in your possession, Archelaus; if he will surrender our generals and ambassadors and all prisoners, deserters, and runaway slaves, and send back to their homes the people of Chios and all others whom he has dragged off to Pontus; if he will remove his garrison from all places except those that he held before this breach of the peace; if he will pay the cost of the war incurred on his account, and remain content with his ancestral dominions—I shall hope to persuade the Romans not to remember the injuries he has done them." Such were the terms which he offered. Archelaus at once withdrew his garrison from all the places he held and referred the other conditions to the king. In order to make use of his leisure in the meantime, Sulla marched against the Eneti, the Dardani, and the Sinti, tribes on the border of Macedonia, who were continually invading that country, and devastated their territory. In this way he exercised his soldiers and enriched them at the same time.

56. The ambassadors of Mithridates returned with <sup>B.C. 84</sup> ratifications of all the terms except those relating to Paphlagonia, and they added that Mithridates could have obtained better conditions, "if he had negotiated with your other general, Fimbria." Sulla was <sup>Mithridates delays and Sulla marches to Asia</sup> indignant that he should be brought into such comparison and said that he would bring Fimbria to punishment, and would go himself to Asia and see whether Mithridates wanted peace or war. Having spoken thus he marched through Thrace to Cypsella after having sent Lucullus forward to Abydus, for

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

**CAP. VIII** ἀφίκτο, κινδυνεύσας μὲν ὑπὸ ληστῶν ἀλῶναι πολλάκις, στόλον δέ τινα νεῶν ἄγείρας ἀπό τε Κύπρου καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ Ρόδου καὶ Παμφυλίας, καὶ πολλὰ δηώσας τῆς πολεμίας, καὶ τῶν Μιθριδάτου νεῶν ἀποπειράσας ἐν παράπλῳ. Σύλλας μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ Κυψέλλων καὶ Μιθριδάτης ἐκ Περγάμου συιήσαν αὐθις ἐς λόγους, καὶ κατέβαινον ἐς πεδίον ἅμφω σὺν ὀλίγοις, ἔφορώντων τῶν στρατῶν ἐκατέρωθεν. ἥσαν δ' οἱ λόγοι Μιθριδάτου μὲν ὑπόμνησις φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας ἴδιας καὶ πατρώας, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεσι καὶ προβούλοις καὶ στρατηγοῖς κατηγορίᾳ ὡν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπεπράχεσαν ἀδίκως, Ἀριοβαρζάνην τε κατάγοντες ἐς Καππαδοκίαν, καὶ Φρυγίας αὐτὸν ἀφαιρούμενοι, καὶ Νικομήδη περιορῶντες ἀδικοῦντα. “καὶ τάδε”, ἔφη, “πάντα ἐπραξαν ἐπὶ χρήμασι, παραλλάξ παρ' ἐμοῦ τε καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων λαμβάνοντες· ὃ γὰρ δὴ μάλιστ' ἂν τις ὑμῶν, ὁ Ῥωμαῖοι, τοῖς πλείοσιν ἐπικαλέσειεν, ἔστιν ἡ φιλοκερδία. ἀναρραγέντος δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων στρατηγῶν τοῦ πολέμου, πάντα ὅσα ἀμυνόμενος ἐπραττον, ἀνάγκη μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ γνώμην ἐγίγνετο.”

57. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Μιθριδάτης ὡδε εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο, ὁ δὲ Σύλλας ὑπολαβὼν ἀπεκρίνατο· “ἔφ’ ἔτερα μὲν ἡμᾶς ἐκάλεις, ώς τὰ προτεινόμενα ἀγαπήσων, οὐ μὴν ὀκνήσω καὶ περὶ τῶνδε διὰ βραχέων εἰπεῖν. ἐς μὲν Καππαδοκίαν ἐγὼ κατήγαγον Ἀριοβαρζάνην Κιλικίας ἄρχων, ὡδε Ῥωμαίων ψηφισαμένων· καὶ σὺ κατήκουες ἡμῶν, δέον ἀντιλέγειν καὶ ἡ μεταδιδάσκειν ἢ μηκέτι τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις ἀντιτεῖναι. Φρυγίαν δέ σοι Μάνιος ἔδωκεν ἐπὶ δωροδοκίᾳ, ὃ κοινόν ἔστιν ἅμφοιν ἀδίκημα. καὶ

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

Lucullus had arrived at last, having several times run CHAP VIII  
the risk of capture by pirates. He had collected a fleet composed of ships from Cyprus, Phoenicia, Rhodes, and Pamphylia, and had ravaged much of the enemy's coast, and had skirmished with the ships of Mithridates on the way. Then Sulla advanced from Cypella and Mithridates from Per-  
gamus, and they met in a conference. Each went with a small force to a plain in sight of the two armies. Mithridates began by discoursing of his own and his father's friendship and alliance with the Romans. Then he accused the Roman ambassadors, deputies, and generals of doing him injuries by restoring Ariobarzanes to the throne of Cappadocia, depriving him of Phrygia, and allowing Nicomedes to wrong him. "And all this," he said, "they did for money, taking it from me and from them by turns; for there is nothing about which most of you are so open to accusation, O Romans, as avarice. When war had broken out through the acts of your generals all that I did in self-defence was the result of necessity rather than of intention."

57. When Mithridates had ceased speaking Sulla replied: "Although you called us here," he said, "for a different purpose, namely, to accept our terms of peace, I shall not refuse to speak briefly of those matters. I restored Ariobarzanes to the throne of Cappadocia by decree of the Senate when I was governor in Cilicia, and you obeyed the decree. You ought to have opposed it and given your reasons then, or forever after held your peace. Manius gave Phrygia to you for a bribe, which was a crime on the part of both of you. By the very fact of your getting Sulla's address to Mithridates

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

**CAP. τῶδε μάλιστα αὐτὴν ὁμολογεῖς οὐ δικαίως λαβεῖν,**  
**VIII ἐκ δωροδοκίας.** ὃ τε Μάνιος καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἡλέγχθη  
 παρ' ἡμῖν ἐπὶ χρήμασι πράξεις, καὶ πάντα ἀνέλυ-  
 σεν ἡ βουλή. ὡς λόγω καὶ Φρυγίαν ἀδίκως σοι  
 δοθεῖσαν οὐχ ἑαυτῇ συντελεῖν ἐπέταξεν ἐς τοὺς  
 φόρους, ἀλλ' αὐτὸνομοι μεθῆκεν. ὅν δὲ ἡμεῖς οἱ  
 πολέμῳ λαβόντες οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν ἄρχειν, τίνι λόγῳ  
 σὺ καθέξεις; Νικομήδης δὲ αἰτιᾶται μέν σε καὶ  
 Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτῷ τὸν τὸ σῶμα τρώσοντα ἐπι-  
 πέμψαι, καὶ Σωκράτη τὸν χρηστὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν,  
 καὶ τάδε αὐτὸς ἀμυνόμενος ἐς τὴν σὴν ἐμβαλεῖν.  
 εἰ δέ τι δικαίως ηδικοῦ, ἐς Ῥώμην πρεσβεύειν ἔδει  
 καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἀναμένειν. εἰ δὲ καὶ θάττον  
 ἡμύνου Νικομήδη, πῶς καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνην ἀπή-  
 λαυνεῖς οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντα; ἐκβαλὼν δὲ ἀνάγκην  
 ἐπέθηκας τοῖς παροῦσι Ῥωμαίων κατάγειν αὐτόν,  
 καὶ καταγόμενον κωλύων σὺ τὸν πόλεμον ἔξῆψας,  
 ἔγνωκὼς μὲν οὕτω πρὸ πολλοῦ, καὶ ἐν ἐλπίδι ἔχων  
 γῆς ἄρξειν ἀπάσης εἰς Ῥωμαίων κρατήσειας, προ-  
 φάσεις δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ γυνώμῃ τάσδε ποιούμενος. καὶ  
 τούτου τεκμήριον, ὅτε καὶ Θρᾷκας καὶ Σκύθας καὶ  
 Σαυρομάτας, οὕπω τινὶ πολεμῶν, ἐς συμμαχίαν  
 ὑπῆγου, καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἀγχοῦ βασιλέας περιέπεμπες,  
 ναῦς τε ἐποιοῦ, καὶ πρωρέας καὶ κυβερνήτας  
 συνεκάλεις.

58. Μάλιστα δὲ ὁ καιρὸς ἐλέγχει σε τῆς ἐπιβου-  
 λῆς. ὅτε γὰρ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀφισταμένην ἡμῶν  
 ἥσθάνου, τὴν ἀσχολίαν τήνδε ἡμῶν φυλάξεις  
 ἐπέθουν μὲν Ἀριοβαρζάνη καὶ Νικομήδει καὶ  
 Γαλάταις καὶ Παφλαγονίᾳ, ἐπέθουν δὲ Ἀσίᾳ τῷ

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

it by bribery you confess that you had no right to it. CHAP.  
Manius was tried at Rome for the other acts that he  
<sup>VIII</sup> had done for money and the Senate annulled them  
all. For this reason they decided, not that Phrygia,  
which had been given to you wrongfully, should be  
made tributary to Rome, but that it should be free.  
If we who had taken it by war do not think best to  
govern it, by what right could you hold it? Nicomedes  
also charges you with sending against him an assassin  
named Alexander, and then Socrates Chrestus, a  
rival claimant of the kingdom, and says that it was to  
avenge these wrongs that he invaded your territory.  
However, if he wronged you, you ought to have sent  
an embassy to Rome and waited for an answer. But  
although you were too hasty in taking vengeance on  
Nicomedes, why did you expel Ariobarzanes, who had  
not harmed you? When you drove him out of his  
kingdom you imposed upon the Romans, who were  
there, the necessity of restoring him. By preventing  
them from doing so you brought on the war. You  
had meditated war a long time, because you hoped  
to rule the whole world if you could conquer the  
Romans, and the reasons you tell of were mere  
pretexts to cover your real intent. The proof of this  
is that you, although not yet at war with any nation,  
sought the alliance of the Thracians, Sarmatians, and  
Scythians, sent to the neighbouring kings for aid,  
built a navy, and enlisted look-out men and helms-  
men.

58. "The time you chose convicts you of treachery  
most of all. When you heard that Italy had revolted  
from us you seized the occasion when we were  
occupied to fall upon Ariobarzanes, Nicomedes,  
Galatia, and Paphlagonia, and finally upon our

CAP. ήμετέρῳ χωρίῳ. καὶ λαβὼν οἷα δέδρακας ἡ τὰς  
 VIII πόλεις, αἷς τοὺς θεράποιτας καὶ χρήστας ἐπέ-  
 στησας ἐλευθερίας καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπᾶς, ἡ τοὺς  
 "Ελληνας, ὃν μιᾶ προφάσει χιλίους καὶ ἔξακο-  
 σίους διέφθειρας, ἡ Γαλατῶν τοὺς τετράρχας, οὓς  
 ὅμοδιαιτους ἔχων ἀπέκτεινας, ἡ τὸ τῶν Ἰταλιω-  
 τῶν γένος, οὓς μιᾶς ήμέρας σὺν βρέφεσι καὶ  
 μητράσιν ἕκτεινάς τε καὶ κατεπόντωσας, οὐκ  
 ἀποσχόμενος οὐδὲ τῶν ἐς τὰ ἵερὰ συμφιγόντων.  
 ὃ πόσην μὲν ὡμότητά σου, πόσην δὲ ἀσέβειαν καὶ  
 ὑπερβολὴν μίσους ἐς ήμᾶς προενήνοχεν. σφετερι-  
 σάμενος δ' ἀπάντων τὰ χρήματα, ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην  
 ἐπέρας μεγάλοις στρατοῖς, ήμῶν ἀπειπόντων  
 ἄπασι τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεῦσι τῆς Εὐρώπης μηδὲ  
 ἐπιβαίνειν. διαπλεύσας δὲ Μακεδονίαν τε ήμε-  
 τέραν οὖσαν ἐπέτρεχες καὶ τοὺς "Ελληνας τὴν  
 ἐλευθερίαν ἀφηροῦ. οὐ πρίν τε ἥρξω μετανοεῖν,  
 οὐδ' Ἀρχέλαος ὑπὲρ σοῦ παρακαλεῖν, ἡ Μακε-  
 δονίαν μέν με ἀνασώσασθαι, τὴν δὲ Ἐλλάδα τῆς  
 σῆς ἐκλῦσαι βίας, ἐκκαιδεκα δὲ μυριάδας τοῦ  
 σοῦ στρατοῦ κατακόψαι, καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδά  
 σου λαβεῖν αὐταῖς παρασκευαῖς. ὃ καὶ θαυμάζω  
 σου δικαιολογουμένου νῦν ἐφ' οἷς δι' Ἀρχελάου  
 παρεκάλεις. ἡ πόρρω μὲν ὅντα με ἐδεδοίκεις,  
 ἀγχοῦ δὲ γενόμενον ἐπὶ δίκην ἐληλυθέναι νομί-  
 ζεις; ἡς ὁ καιρὸς ἀνάλωται, σοῦ τε πολεμήσαντος  
 ήμῖν, καὶ ήμῶν ἀμυναμένων ἦδη καρτερῶς καὶ  
 ἀμυνουμένων ἐς τέλος." τοσαῦτα τοῦ Σύλλα μετ'  
 ὄργης ἔτι λέγοντος, μετέπιπτεν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ  
 ἐδεδοίκει, καὶ ἐς τὰς δι' Ἀρχελάου γενομένας  
 συιθήκας ἐνεδίδου, τάς τε ναῦς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα  
 πάντα παραδοὺς ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἐπὶ τὴν πατρῷαν  
 ἀρχὴν ἐπανήει μόνην.

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

Asiatic province. When you had taken them, how CHAP.  
shamefully you treated the cities, appointing slaves  
and debtors to rule over some of them, by freeing  
slaves and cancelling debts, and the Greek towns,  
where you destroyed 1600 men on one false accusation!  
VIII  
You brought the tetrarchs of Galatia together at a  
banquet and slew them. You butchered or drowned  
all residents of Italian blood in one day, including  
mothers and babes, not sparing even those who had  
fled to the temples. What cruelty, what impiety,  
what boundless hate did you exhibit toward us!  
After you had confiscated the property of all your  
victims you crossed over to Europe with great armies,  
although we had forbidden all the kings of Asia even  
to set foot in Europe. You overran our province of  
Macedonia and deprived the Greeks of their freedom.  
Nor did you begin to repent, nor Archelaus to  
intercede for you, until I had recovered Macedonia  
and delivered Greece from your grasp, and destroyed  
160,000 of your soldiers, and taken your camps with  
all their belongings. I am astonished that you  
should now seek to justify the acts for which you  
asked pardon through Archelaus. If you feared me  
at a distance, do you think, now that I am near,  
that I have come to debate with you? The time for  
that passed by when you took up arms against us,  
and we vigorously repelled your assaults, and intend  
to repel them to the end." While Sulla was still  
speaking with vehemence the king yielded to his  
fears and consented to the terms that had been  
offered through Archelaus. He delivered up the  
ships and everything else that had been required,  
and went back to his paternal kingdom of Pontus as  
his sole possession. And thus the first war between  
Mithridates and the Romans came to an end.

Mithridates  
accepts  
the terms

## IX

CAP.  
IX Ωδε μὲν ὁ πρῶτος Μιθριδάτου καὶ Ἐρωμαί-  
ων πόλεμος κατεπαύετο. 59. Σύλλας δὲ Φιμ-  
βρίου δύο σταδίους ἀποσχὼν ἐκέλευε παρα-  
δοῦναι οἱ τὸν στρατόν, οὐ παρανόμως ἄρχοι.  
ὁ δὲ ἀντεπέσκωπτε μὲν ὡς οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐννόμως  
ἔτι ἄρχοι, περιταφρεύοντος δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ Σύλλα,  
καὶ πολλῶν οὐκ ἀφανῶς ἀποδιδρασκόντων, ἐς  
ἐκκλησίαν τοὺς λοιποὺς ὁ Φιμβρίας συναγαγὼν  
παρεκάλει παραμένειν. οὐ φαμένων δὲ πολεμή-  
σειν πολίταις, καταρρήξας τὸν χιτωνίσκον ἐκάσ-  
τοις προσέπιπτεν. ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' ἀπεστρέφοντο,  
καὶ πλείους ἐγίγνοντο αἱ αὐτομολίαι, τὰς σκηνὰς  
τῶν ἡγεμόνων περιήστη, καὶ τινας αὐτῶν χρήμασι  
διαφθείρας ἐς ἐκκλησίαν αῦθις συνεκαλεῖ, καὶ  
συνόμυνσθαι οἱ προσέτασσει. ἐκβοησάντων δὲ  
τῶν ἐιετῶν ὅτι δέοι καλεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν ὅρκον ἔξ  
ὄνόματος, ὁ μὲν ἐκήρυξε τοὺς εὖ τι παθόντας ὑφ'  
ἴαντοῦ, καὶ Νώνιον πρῶτον ἐκάλει, κοινωνὸν οἱ  
πάντων γεγονότα. οὐκ ὅμνύντος δὲ οὐδὲ ἐκείνου,  
τὸ ξίφος ἐπισπάσας ἡπείλει κτεινεῖν αὐτόν, μέχρι  
βοῆς ἐκ πάντων γενομένης καταπλαγεὶς καὶ τοῦδε  
ἐπαύσατο. θεράποντα δὲ χρήμασι καὶ ἐλπίσιν  
ἐλευθερίας ἀναπείσας ἐπεμψεν ὡς αὐτόμολον  
ἐπιχειρεῖν τῷ Σύλλα σώματι. ὁ δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ  
πλησιάζων καὶ ταρασσόμενος, καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε ὑποπ-  
τος γενόμενος, συνελήφθη τε καὶ ὠμολόγησεν.  
καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ὁ τοῦ Σύλλα, σὺν ὁργῇ καὶ κατα-  
φρονήσει περιστάντες τὸ τοῦ Φιμβρίου χαρά-  
κωμα, κατελοιδόρουν αὐτὸν καὶ Ἀθηνίωνα ἐκά-

# THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

## IX

59. SULLA now advanced within two stades of CHAP. Fimbria and ordered him to deliver up his army since he held the command contrary to law. Fimbria replied mockingly that Sulla himself did not now hold a lawful command. Sulla drew a line of circumvallation around Fimbria, and many of the latter's soldiers deserted openly. Fimbria called the rest of them together and besought them to stand by him. When they refused to fight against their fellow-citizens he rent his garments and prostrated himself before them man by man. As they still turned away from him, and still more of them deserted, he went round among the tents of the tribunes, and having bought some of them with money, called an assembly again, and told them all to swear that they would stand by him. Those who had been suborned exclaimed that all ought to be called up by name to take the oath. He summoned those who were under obligations to him for past favours. The first name called was that of Nonius, who had been his close companion. When even he refused to take the oath Fimbria drew his sword and threatened to kill him, and would have done so had he not been alarmed by the outcry of the others and compelled to desist. Then he bribed a slave with money and the promise of freedom to go to Sulla as a deserter and assassinate him. As the slave was nearing his task he became frightened, and thus fell under suspicion, was arrested and confessed. Sulla's soldiers, standing angrily and contemptuously round Fimbria's camp, reviled him and nicknamed him

Sulla demands the surrender of Fimbria

CAP. λουν, ὃς δραπετῶν τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ ποτὲ ἀποστάν-  
IX τῶν ὀλιγήμερος ἐγεγένητο βασιλεὺς.

60. Ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Φιμβρίας πάντα ἀπογνοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν τάφρον προῆλθε, καὶ Σύλλαν αὐτῷ παρεκάλει συνελθεῖν ἐς λόγους. ὁ δὲ ἀνθ' αὐτοῦ Ῥουτίλιον ἔπειμπε· καὶ τόδε πρῶτον ἐλύπει τὸν Φιμβρίαν, οὐδὲ συνόδου, διδομένης καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀξιωθέντα. δεομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ συγγνώμης τυχεῖν εἴ τι νέος ὡν ἐξίμαρτεν, ὁ Ῥουτίλιος ὑπέστη Σύλλαν ἀφήσειν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἀπαθῆ διελθεῖν, εἰ μέλλοι τῆς Ἀσίας, ἢς ἐστὶν ὁ Σύλλας ἀνθύπατος, ἀποπλευσεῖσθαι. ὁ δὲ εἰπὼν ἐτέραν ὄδὸν ἔχειν κρείττονα, ἔπανηλθεν ἐς Πέργαμον, καὶ ἐς τὸ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἱερὸν παρελθὼν ἐχρήσατο τῷ ξίφει. οὐ καιρίου δ' αὐτῷ τῆς πληγῆς γενομένης, ἐκέλευσε τὸν παῖδα ἐπερεῖσαι. ὁ δὲ καὶ τὸν δεσπότην ἕκτεινε καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ δεσπότῃ.

Οὕτω μὲν καὶ Φιμβρίας ἀπέθανε, πολλὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτη λελυμασμένος. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Σύλλας ἐφῆκε τοῖς ἀπελευθέροις θάψαι, καὶ ἐπεῖπεν οὐ μιμεῖσθαι Κίνναν καὶ Μάριον ἐν Ῥώμῃ θάνατόν τε πολλῶν καὶ ἀταφίαν ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ καταγνόντας. τὸν δὲ στρατὸν τοῦ Φιμβρίου προσιόντα οἱ δεξιωσάμενός τε καὶ τῷ σφετέρῳ συναγαγών, Κουρίωνι προσέταξε Νικομήδην ἐς Βιθυνίαν καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνην ἐς Καππαδοκίαν καταγαγεῖν, τῇ τε βουλῇ περὶ πάντων ἐπέστελλεν, οὐχ ὑποκρινόμενος ἐψηφίσθαι πολέμιος.

61. Αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν καθιστάμενος, Ἰλιέας μὲν καὶ Χίους καὶ Λυκίους καὶ Ῥοδίους καὶ Μαγνησίαν καί τινας ἄλλους, ἢ συμμαχίας ἀμειβόμενος, ἢ ὡν διὰ προθυμίαν ἐπεπόνθεσαν οὐ

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

Athenio—a man who had once been a king of CHAP.  
fugitive slaves in Sicily for a few days. IX

60. Thereupon Fimbria in despair went to the line <sup>Suicide of</sup> <sub>Fimbria</sub> of circumvallation and asked for a colloquy with Sulla. The latter sent Rutilius instead. Fimbria was disappointed at the outset that he was not even deemed worthy of an interview, although it had been given to the enemy. When he begged pardon for an offence due to his youth, Rutilius promised that Sulla would allow him to go away in safety to the coast if he would sail away from the province of Asia, of which Sulla was proconsul. Fimbria said that he had another and better route. He returned to Pergamus, entered the temple of Aesculapius, and stabbed himself with his sword. As the wound was not mortal he ordered his slave to drive the weapon home. The latter killed his master and then himself.

So perished Fimbria, who, as well as Mithridates, had sorely afflicted Asia. Sulla gave his body to his freedmen for burial, adding that he would not imitate Cinna and Marius, who had deprived many in Rome of their lives and of burial after death. The army of Fimbria came over to him, and he exchanged pledges with it and joined it with his own. Then he directed Curio to restore Nicomedes to Bithynia and Ariobarzanes to Cappadocia, and reported everything to the Senate, ignoring the fact that he had been voted an enemy.

61. Having settled the affairs of Asia, Sulla <sup>Sulla settles the affairs of Asia</sup> bestowed freedom on the inhabitants of Ilium, Chios, Lycia, Rhodes, Magnesia, and some others, either as a reward for their cooperation, or a recompense for

CAP. ἔνεκα, ἐλευθέρους ἡφίει καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀνέγραφε  
<sup>IX</sup> φίλους, ἐσ δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα στρατιὰν περι-  
 ἐπεμπεν. καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας, οἵς ἐλευθερίαν  
 ἐδεδώκει Μιθριδάτης, ἐκήρυξτεν αὐτίκα ἐσ τοὺς  
 δεσπότας ἐπανιέναι. πολλῶν δὲ ἀπειθούντων,  
 καὶ πόλεων τινῶν ἀφισταμένων, ἐγίγνοντο σφαγαὶ  
 κατὰ πλῆθος ἐλευθέρων τε καὶ θεραπόντων ἐπὶ  
 ποικίλαις προφάσεσι, τείχη τε πολλῶν καθη-  
 ρεῖτο, καὶ συχνὰ τῆς Ἀσίας ἡνδραποδίζετο καὶ  
 διηρπάζετο. οἵ τε καππαδοκίσαντες ἄνδρες ἡ  
 πόλεις ἐκολάζοντο πικρῶς, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν  
 Ἐφέσιοι, σὺν αἰσχρῷ κολακείᾳ ἐσ τὰ Ῥωμαίων  
 ἀναθήματα ὑβρίσαντες. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖσδε καὶ  
 κήρυγμα περιήει, τοὺς ἐν ἀξιώσει κατὰ πόλιν ἐσ  
 ἡμέραν ῥητὴν πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαν ἀπαντᾶν ἐσ  
 Ἐφεσον. καὶ συνελθοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ βήματος  
 ἐδημηγόρησεν οὕτως.

62. “Ἡμεῖς στρατῷ πρῶτον ἐσ Ἀσίαν παρῆλ-  
 θομεν Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Σύρων βασιλέως πορθοῦντος  
 ὑμᾶς. ἐξελάσαντες δ' αὐτόν, καὶ τὸν Ἀλυν καὶ  
 Ταῦρον αὐτῷ θέμενοι τῆς ἀρχῆς ὅρον, οὐ κατέ-  
 σχομεν ὑμῶν ἡμετέρων ἐξ ἐκείνου γενομένων, ἀλλὰ  
 μεθήκαμεν αὐτονόμους, πλὴν εἴ τινας Εὔμενει καὶ  
 Ῥοδίοις συμμαχήσασιν ἡμῖν ἔδομεν, οὐχ ὑπο-  
 τελεῖς ἀλλ' ἐπὶ προστάταις εἶναι. τεκμηρίουν δ'  
 ὅτι Λυκίους αἰτιωμένους τι Ῥοδίων ἀπεστήσαμεν.  
 ἡμεῖς μὲν δὴ τοιοίδε περὶ ὑμᾶς γεγόναμεν· ὑμεῖς  
 δέ, Ἀττάλου τοῦ φιλομήτορος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡμῖν ἐν  
 διαθήκαις καταλιπόντος, Ἀριστονίκῳ καθ' ἡμῶν  
 τέτταρσιν ἔτεσι συνεμαχεῖτε, μέχρι καὶ Ἀοιστό-

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

what they had suffered from their loyalty to him, CHAP.  
and inscribed them as friends of the Roman people. IX  
Then he distributed his army among the remaining towns and issued a proclamation that the slaves who had been freed by Mithridates should at once return to their masters. As many disobeyed and some of the cities revolted, numerous massacres ensued, of both free men and slaves, on various pretexts. The walls of many towns were demolished. Many others were plundered and their inhabitants sold into slavery. The Cappadocian faction, both men and cities, were severely punished, and especially the Ephesians, who, with servile adulation of the king, had treated the Roman offerings in their temples with indignity. After this a proclamation was sent around commanding the principal citizens to come to Ephesus on a certain day to meet Sulla. When they had assembled Sulla addressed them from the tribune as follows:—

62. “We first came to Asia with an army when Antiochus, king of Syria, was despoiling you. We drove him out and fixed the boundaries of his dominions beyond the river Halys and Mount Taurus. We did not retain possession of you when you had become our subjects instead of his, but set you free, except that we awarded a few places to Eumenes and the Rhodians, our allies in the war, not as tributaries, but as clients. A proof of this is that when the Lycians complained of the Rhodians we freed them from the authority of Rhodes. Such was our conduct toward you. You, on the other hand, when Attalus Philometor had left his kingdom to us in his will, gave aid to Aristonicus against us for four years, until he was captured and most of you, under the

His speech  
to the  
people

CAP. ΙΧ νικος ἑάλω καὶ ύμῶν οἱ πλείους ε, ἀνάγκην  
 καὶ φόβον περιήλθετε. καὶ ὅδε πράσσοντες ὅμως,  
 ἔτεσιν εἴκοσι καὶ τέτταρσιν ἐς μέγα περιουσίας  
 καὶ κάλλους κατασκευῆς ἴδιωτικῆς τε καὶ δημοσίας  
 προελθόντες, ὑπὸ εἰρήνης καὶ τρυφῆς ἔξυβρίσατε  
 αὐθις, καὶ τὴν ἀσχολίαν ἡμῶν τὴν ἀμφὶ τὴν  
 Ἰταλίαν φυλάξαντες οἱ μὲν ἐπηγάγεσθε Μιθρι-  
 δάτην, οἱ δ' ἐλθόντι συνέθεσθε. ὃ δ' ἐστὶ πάν-  
 των μιαρώτατον, ὑπέστητε αὐτῷ μιᾶς ἡμέρας τοὺς  
 Ἰταλιώτας ἄπαντας αὐτοῖς παισὶ καὶ μητράσιν  
 ἀναιρήσειν, καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν ἐς τὰ ιερὰ συμφυγόντων  
 διὰ τοὺς ὑμετέρους θεοὺς ἐφείσασθε. ἐφ' οἷς ἔδοτε  
 μέν τινα καὶ αὐτῷ Μιθριδάτη δίκην, ἀπίστῳ τε ἐς  
 ὑμᾶς γενομένῳ, καὶ φόνου καὶ δημεύσεων ἐμπλή-  
 σαντι ὑμᾶς, καὶ γῆς ἀναδασμοὺς ἐργασαμένῳ καὶ  
 χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς καὶ δούλων ἐλευθερώσεις, καὶ  
 τυράννους ἐπ' ἐνίοις, καὶ ληστήρια πολλὰ ἀνά τε  
 γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, ὡς εὐθὺς ὑμᾶς ἔχειν ἐν πείρᾳ  
 καὶ παραβολῇ οἵους ἀνθ' οῶν προστάτας ἐπελέ-  
 γεσθε. ἔδοσαν δέ τινα καὶ ἡμῖν δίκην οἱ τῶνδε  
 ἄρξαντες. ἀλλὰ δεῖ καὶ κοινὴν ὑμῖν ἐπιτεθῆναι  
 τοιάδε ἐργασαμένοις· ἦν εἰκὸς μὲν ἦν ὄμοίαν οἵς  
 ἐδράσατε γενέσθαι, μή ποτε δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι σφαγὰς  
 ἀσεβεῖς ἢ δημεύσεις ἀβούλους ἢ δούλων ἐπαναστά-  
 σεις, ἢ ὅσα ἄλλα βαρβαρικά, μηδ' ἐπὶ νοῦν  
 λάβοιεν. φειδοῦ δὲ γένους ἔτι καὶ ὀνόματος  
 Ἐλληνικοῦ καὶ δόξης τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, καὶ τῆς  
 φιλτάτης Ῥωμαίοις εὐφημίας οὖνεκα, μόνους ὑμῖν  
 ἐπιγράφω πέντε ἐτῶν φόρους ἐσενεγκεῖν αὐτίκα,  
 καὶ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου δαπάνην, ὅση τε γέγονέ μοι

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

impulse of necessity and fear, returned to your duty. CHAP  
Notwithstanding all this, after a period of twenty-  
four years, during which you had attained to great  
prosperity and magnificence, public and private, you  
again became insolent through peace and luxury and  
took the opportunity, while we were preoccupied in  
Italy, some of you to call in Mithridates and others  
to join him when he came. Most infamous of all,  
you obeyed the order he gave to kill all the  
Italians in your communities, including women and  
children, in one day. You did not even spare those  
who fled to the temples dedicated to your own gods.  
You have received some punishment for this crime  
from Mithridates himself, who broke faith with you  
and gave you your fill of rapine and slaughter,  
redistributed your lands, cancelled debts, freed your  
slaves, appointed tyrants over some of you, and  
committed robberies everywhere by land and sea; so  
that you learned immediately by experiment and  
comparison what kind of champion you had chosen  
instead of your former one. The instigators of these  
crimes paid some penalty to us also. But it is neces-  
sary, too, that some punishment should be inflicted  
upon you in common for doing such things; and it is  
reasonable that it should be one corresponding to  
your crimes. But may the Romans never even  
dream of impious slaughter, indiscriminate con-  
fiscation, servile insurrections, or other acts of  
barbarism. From a desire to spare even now the  
Greek race and name so celebrated throughout Asia,  
and for the sake of that fair repute that is ever dear  
to the Romans, I shall only impose upon you the taxes  
of five years, to be paid at once, together with what the war has cost me, and whatever

He imposes  
five years'  
taxes and  
the cost of  
the war

CAP. καὶ ἔσται καθισταμένῳ τὰ ὑπόλοιπα. διαιρήσω  
 IX δὲ ταῦθ' ἐκάστοις ἐγὼ κατὰ πόλεις, καὶ τάξω  
 προθεσμίαν ταῖς ἐσφορᾶς, καὶ τοῖς οὐ φυλάξασιν  
 ἐπιθήσω δίκην ως πολεμίοις."

63. Τοσάδε εἰπὼν ἐπιδιήρει τοῖς πρέσβεσι τὴν  
 ζημίαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐπεμπεν. αἱ δὲ  
 πόλεις ἀποροῦσαί τε καὶ δανειζόμεναι μεγάλων  
 τόκων, αἱ μὲν τὰ θέατρα τοῖς δανείζουσιν, αἱ δὲ  
 τὰ γυμνάσια ἡ τεῖχος ἡ λιμένας ἡ εἴ τι δημό-  
 σιον ἄλλο, σὺν ὕβρει στρατιωτῶν ἐπειγόντων,  
 ὑπετίθεντο. τὰ μὲν δὴ χρήματα ὅδε τῷ Σύλλᾳ  
 συνεκομίζετο, καὶ κακῶν ἄδην εἶχεν ἡ Ἀσία·  
 ἐπέπλει δ' αὐτὴν καὶ ληστήρια πολύανδρα φανε-  
 ρῶς, στόλοις ἑοικότα μᾶλλον ἡ λησταῖς, Μιθριδά-  
 του μὲν αὐτὰ πρώτου καθέντος ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν,  
 ὅτε πάνθ' ως οὐκέτι πολὺ καθέξων ἐλυμαίνετο,  
 πλεονάσαντα δ' ἐσ τότε μάλιστα, καὶ οὐ τοῖς  
 πλέουσι μόνοις ἀλλὰ καὶ λιμέσι καὶ χωρίοις καὶ  
 πόλεσιν ἐπιχειροῦντα φανερῶς. Ἰασσός γέ τοι  
 καὶ Σάμος καὶ Κλαζομεναὶ καὶ Σαμοθράκη Σύλλα  
 παρόντος ἐλήφθησαν, καὶ τὸ ιερὸν ἐσυλήθη τὸ  
 Σαμοθράκιον χιλίων ταλάντων κόσμον, ως ἐγομί-  
 ζετο. ὁ δέ, εἴτε ἐκὼν ως ἀμαρτόντας ἐνυβρίζεσθαι  
 καταλιπών, εἴτ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἐς Ρώμην στάσιν ἐπει-  
 γόμενος, ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐς τὴν  
 Ἰταλίαν μετὰ τοῦ πλείονος στρατοῦ διέπλει.  
 καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ Σύλλαν ἐν τοῖς Ἐμφυλίοις  
 ἀναγέγραπται, 64. ἥρχεται δ' ὁ δεύτερος Ρωμαίων  
 τε καὶ Μιθριδάτου πόλεμος ἐνθένδε.

Μουρήνας μὲν ὑπὸ Σύλλα σὺν δύο τέλεσι τοῖς  
 Φιμβρίου καθίστασθαι τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Ἀσίας

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

else may be spent in settling the affairs of the CHAP province. I will apportion these charges to each of you according to cities, and will fix the time of payment. Upon the disobedient I shall visit punishment as upon enemies."

63. After he had thus spoken Sulla apportioned the fine to the delegates and sent men to collect the money. The cities, oppressed by poverty, borrowed it at high rates of interest and mortgaged their theatres, their gymnasiums, their walls, their harbours, and every other scrap of public property, being urged on by the soldiers with contumely. Thus was the money collected and brought to Sulla, and the province of Asia had her fill of misery. She was assailed openly by a vast number of pirates, resembling regular fleets rather than robber bands. Mithridates had first fitted them out at the time when he was ravaging all the coasts, thinking he could not long hold these regions. Their numbers had then greatly increased, and they did not confine themselves to ships alone, but attacked harbours, castles, and cities. They captured Iassus, Samos, and Clazomenae, also Samothrace, where Sulla was staying at the time, and robbed the temple at that place of ornaments valued at 1000 talents. Sulla, willing perhaps that those who had offended him should be maltreated, or because he was in haste to put down the hostile faction in Rome, left them and sailed for Greece, and thence passed on to Italy with the greater part of his army. What he did there I have related in my history of the civil wars.

64. The second Mithridatic war begins at this point. Murena, who had been left by Sulla with Fimbria's two legions to settle the rest of the affairs

Piracy in  
the Medi-  
terranean

b.c. 83  
Second  
Mithridatic  
War

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. ίπελέλειπτο, καὶ πολέμων ἀφορμὰς ἡρεσχῆλει  
 IX δί ἐπιθυμίαν θριάμβου· Μιθριδάτης δ' ἐς τὸν  
 Πόντον ἐσπλεύσας Κόλχοις καὶ Βοσποριανοῖς  
 ἀφισταμένοις ἐπολέμει. ὃν Κόλχοι τὸν νίὸν παρ'  
 αὐτοῦ, Μιθριδάτην, βασιλέα σφίσιν ἥτοῦντο  
 δοθῆται, καὶ λαβόντες αὐτίκα ὑπήκουσαν. ὑπο-  
 πτεύσας δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς τόδε πρὸς τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ  
 βασιλείας ἐπιθυμοῦντος γενέσθαι, καλέσας αὐτὸν  
 ἔδησεν ἐν πέδαις χρυσαῖς καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ  
 ἀπέκτεινε, πολλὰ χρησιμόν οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν  
 τοῖς πρὸς Φιμβρίαν ἀγῶσι γενόμενον. ἐπὶ δὲ  
 Βοσποριανοὺς ναῦς τε συνεπήγυντο καὶ στρατὸν  
 ἥτοιμάζετο πολύν, ὡς τὸ μέγεθος αὐτοῦ τῆς  
 παρασκευῆς δόξαν ἐγεῖραι ταχεῖαν, οὐκ ἐπὶ  
 Βοσποριανοῖς ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις τάδε συλλέγε-  
 σθαι. οὐ γάρ πω οὐδὲ Ἀριοβαρζάνη πᾶσαν  
 ἐβεβαίου Καππαδοκίαν, ἀλλ' ἔστιν αὐτῆς ἀ καὶ  
 τότε κατεῖχεν. Ἀρχέλαον τε ἐν ὑποψίαις ἐτίθετο  
 ὡς πολλὰ πέρα τοῦ δέοντος κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐν  
 ταῖς διαλύσεσιν ἐπιχωρήσαντα τῷ Σύλλᾳ. ὃν ὁ  
 Ἀρχέλαος αἰσθανόμενός τε καὶ δείσας ἐς Μουρή-  
 ναν ἔφυγε, καὶ παροξύνας αὐτὸν ἔπεισε Μιθριδάτη  
 προεπιχειρεῖν. Μουρήνας μὲν δὴ διὰ Καππαδοκίας  
 αὐτίκα ἐσβαλὼν ἐς Κόμανα, κώμην ὑπὸ τῷ  
 Μιθριδάτῃ μεγίστην, σεβάσμιον ἱερὸν καὶ πλούσ-  
 ιον ἔχουσαν, ἵππεας τινὰς ἔκτεινε τοῦ Μιθριδάτου,  
 καὶ πρέσβεσιν αὐτοῦ τὰς συνθήκας προτείνουσιν  
 οὐκ ἔφη συνθήκας ὄρāν· οὐ γάρ συνεγέγραπτο  
 Σύλλας, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ τὰ λεχθέντα βεβαιώσας  
 ἀπήλλακτο. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν ὁ Μουρήνας εὐθέως  
 ἐλεηλάτει, καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων ἀποσχό-  
 μενος ἔχείμαζεν ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ.

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

of Asia, sought trifling pretexts for war, being CHAP.  
ambitious of a triumph. Mithridates, after his return  
to Pontus, went to war with the Colchians and the  
tribes around the Cimmerian Bosporus who had  
revolted from him. The Colchians asked him to  
give them his son, Mithridates, as their ruler, and  
when he did so they at once returned to their  
allegiance. The king suspected that this was brought  
about by his son through his own ambition to be  
king. Accordingly he sent for him and first bound  
him with golden fetters, and soon afterwards put him  
to death, although he had served him well in Asia in  
the battles with Fimbria. Against the tribes of the  
Bosporus he built a fleet and fitted out a large army.  
The magnitude of his preparations quickly gave rise  
to the belief that they were made not against those  
tribes, but against the Romans, for he had not yet  
even restored the whole of Cappadocia to Ariobar-  
zanes, but still retained a part of it. He also had  
suspicions of Archelaus, thinking that he had yielded  
far more than was necessary to Sulla in his negotia-  
tions in Greece. When Archelaus heard of this he  
became alarmed and fled to Murena, and by working  
on him persuaded him to anticipate Mithridates in  
beginning hostilities. Murena marched suddenly  
through Cappadocia and attacked Comana, a very  
large country town belonging to Mithridates, with a  
rich and venerable temple, and killed some of the king's  
cavalry. When the king's ambassadors appealed to  
the treaty he replied that he saw no treaty; for Sulla  
had not written it out, but had gone away after seeing  
what he proposed orally carried out in fact. When  
Murena had delivered this answer he began robbing  
forthwith, not even sparing the money of the temples,  
and then went into winter quarters in Cappadocia.

Aggressions  
of Murena

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. 65. Μιθριδάτης δ' ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπειμπε πρός τε  
<sup>IX</sup> τὴν βουλὴν καὶ πρὸς Σύλλαν, αὐτιώμενος ἢ ποιεῖ  
 Μουρήνας. ὁ δ' ἐν τούτῳ τὸν "Αλυν ποταμὸν  
 περάσας, μέγαν τε δῆτα καὶ δύσπορον τότε  
 μάλιστα αὐτῷ γενόμενον ὑπ' ὅμβρων, τετρακοσίας  
 τοῦ Μιθριδάτου κώμας ἐπέτρεχεν, οὐκ ἀπαντῶν-  
 τος ἐς οὐδὲν αὐτῷ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ τὴν  
 πρεσβείαν ἀναμένοντος. λείας δὲ πολλῆς κατα-  
 γέμων ἐς Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατίαν ἐπανήει, ἔνθα  
 αὐτῷ Καλίδιος, ἐπὶ ταῖς Μιθριδάτου μέμψει  
 πεμφθεὶς ἀπὸ Ῥώμης, ψήφισμα μὲν οὐδὲν  
 ἐπέδωκεν, ἔφη δ' ἐς ἐπήκοον ἐν μέσῳ τὴν βουλὴν  
 αὐτῷ κελεύειν φείδεσθαι τοῦ βασιλέως δῆτος  
 ἐνσπόνδου. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν ὥφθη διαλεγόμενος  
 αὐτῷ μόνῳ, καὶ ὁ Μουρήνας οὐδὲν ἀνεὶς τῆς ὄρμῆς  
 καὶ τότε τὴν γῆν ἐπήει τὴν τοῦ Μιθριδάτου.  
 ὁ δὲ σαφῶς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἡγούμενος πολεμεῖ-  
 σθαι, Γόρδιον ἐς τὰς κώμας ἐσβαλεῖν ἐκέλευσεν.  
 καὶ αὐτίκα ὁ Γόρδιος ὑποξύγια τε πολλὰ καὶ  
 σκευοφόρα καὶ ἀνθρώπους, ἵδιώτας τε καὶ στρα-  
 τιώτας, συνήρπαζε, καὶ αὐτῷ Μουρήνα, μέσον  
 λαβὼν ποταμὸν, ἀντεκαθέζετο. μάχης δ' οὐδέτερος  
 ἥρχεν, ἔως ἀφίκετο Μιθριδάτης σὺν τῷ πλείονι  
 στρατῷ. καὶ εὐθὺς ἀμφὶ τῷ ποταμῷ μάχη  
 γίγνεται καρτερά. καὶ βιασάμενος ὁ Μιθριδάτης  
 ἐπέρα τὸν ποταμόν, καὶ τᾶλλα πολὺ κρείττων τοῦ  
 Μουρήνα γενόμενος. ὁ δ' ἐς λόφον καρτερὸν  
 ἀναφυγών, ἐπιχειροῦντος αὐτῷ τοῦ βασιλέως  
 πολλοὺς ἀποβαλὼν ἔφευγε διὰ τῶν ὄρεινῶν ἐπὶ  
 Φρυγίας, ὁδὸν ἀτριβῆ, βαλλόμενός τε καὶ χαλεπῶς.

66. "Η τε νίκη λαμπρὰ καὶ δξεῖα ἔξ ἐφόδου  
 γενομένη ταχὺ διέπτη καὶ πολλοὺς ἐς τὸν Μιθρι-

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

65. Mithridates sent an embassy to the Senate and CHAP.  
to Sulla to complain of the acts of Murena. The IX  
latter, meantime, had passed over the river Halys,  
which was then swollen by rains and very difficult to B.C. 82  
cross. He overran 400 villages belonging to Mithridates,  
for the king offered no opposition, but waited  
Mithridates appeals to Rome  
for the return of his embassy. He then returned to Phrygia and Galatia loaded with plunder. There he met Calidius, who had been sent from Rome on account of the complaints of Mithridates. Calidius did not bring a decree of the Senate, but he declared in the hearing of all that the Senate ordered him not to molest the king, who was at peace with them. After he had thus spoken he was seen talking to Murena alone, and Murena abated nothing of his violence, but again invaded the territory of Mithridates. The latter, thinking that open war had been ordered by the Romans, directed his general, Gordius, to retaliate on their villages. Gordius straightway seized and carried off a large number of yoke-animals, beasts of burden, and men, both private citizens and soldiers, and took position against Murena himself, with a river flowing between them. Neither of them began the fight until Mithridates came up with a large army, when a severe engagement immediately took place on the banks of the river. Mithridates prevailed and crossed the river, and in all respects got the better of Murena. The latter retreated to a strong hill where the king attacked him. After losing many men Murena fled over the mountains to Phrygia by a pathless route, severely harassed by the missiles of the enemy.

He attacks and defeats Murena

66. The news of this brilliant and rapid victory spread quickly and caused many to change sides to

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. δάτην μετέβαλεν. ὁ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ  
 IX φρούρια τοῦ Μουρήνα πάντα ἐπιδραμών τε καὶ  
 ἔξελάσας ἔθυε τῷ στρατίῳ Διὸς πάτριον θυσίαν  
 ἐπὶ ὄρους ὑψηλοῦ, κορυφὴν μείζονα ἀλλην  
 ἀπὸ ξύλων ἐπιτιθείσ. πρῶτοι δ' ἐς αὐτὴν οἱ  
 βασιλεῖς ξυλοφοροῦσι, καὶ περιθέντες ἐτέραν  
 ἐν κύκλῳ βραχυτέραν τῇ μὲν ἄνω γάλα καὶ μέλι  
 καὶ οἶνον καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ θυμιάματα πάντα ἐπι-  
 φοροῦσι, τῇ δ' ἐπιπέδῳ σῖτόν τε καὶ ὅψον ἐς  
 ἄριστον τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐπιτιθέντες, οἴον τι καὶ  
 ἐν Πασαργάδαις ἐστὶ τοῖς Περσῶν βασιλεῦσι  
 θυσίας γένος, ἀπτουσι τὴν ὕλην. ἡ δ' αἰθομένη  
 διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τηλοῦ τε χιλίων σταδίων γίγνεται  
 τοῖς πλέουσι καταφανής, καὶ πελάσαι φασὶν ἐς  
 πολλὰς ἡμέρας, αἰθομένου τοῦ ἀέρος, οὐδὲν  
 εἶναι.

‘Ο μὲν δὴ τὴν θυσίαν ἥγε πατρίῳ νόμῳ. Σύλλα  
 δ' οὐκ ἀξιοῦντος Μιθριδάτην ἐνσπονδον πολε-  
 μεῖσθαι, Αὖλος Γαβίνιος ἐπέμφθη Μουρήνα μὲν  
 ἀληθῆ τήνδε προαγόρευσιν ἐρῶν, μὴ πολεμεῖν  
 Μιθριδάτῃ, Μιθριδάτην δὲ καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνην  
 ἀλλήλοις συναλλάξων. ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἐν τῇδε  
 τῇ συνόδῳ παιδίον τετραετὲς ἐγγυήσας τῷ Ἀριο-  
 βαρζάνῃ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇδε προφάσει λαβὼν ἔχειν  
 Καππαδοκίας ὅσα τε εἶχε καὶ ἐτερα ἐπ' ἐκείνοις,  
 εἰστία πάντας, καὶ χρυσίον ἐπὶ τε τῇ κύλικι καὶ  
 τῇ τροφῇ καὶ ἐπὶ σκώμμασι καὶ ἐπὶ ωδῇ πᾶσιν,  
 ὥσπερ εἰώθει, προυτίθει· οὐδὲν μόνος Γαβίνιος οὐχ  
 ἦψατο. ὁ μὲν δὴ δεύτερος Μιθριδάτη καὶ Ῥωμαίοις  
 πόλεμος τρίτῳ μάλιστα ἔτει ἐς τοῦτο διελύετο.

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

Mithridates. He drove all of Murena's garrisons out CHAP. of Cappadocia and offered sacrifice to Zeus Stratius<sup>1</sup> <sup>IX</sup> on a lofty pile of wood on a high hill, according to the fashion of his country, which is as follows. First, the kings themselves carry wood to the heap. Then they make a smaller pile encircling the other one. On the higher pile they pour milk, honey, wine, oil, and various kinds of incense. On the lower they spread a banquet of bread and meat for those present (as at the sacrifices of the Persian kings at Pasargadae) and then they set fire to the wood. The height of the flame is such that it can be seen at a distance of 1000 stades from the sea, and they say that nobody can come near it for several days on account of the heat. Mithridates performed a sacrifice of this kind according to the custom of his country.

Sulla however thought that it was not right to b.c. 81 make war against Mithridates when he had not vio- <sup>Sulla puts  
lated the treaty. Accordingly, Aulus Gabinius was  
a stop to  
the war</sup> sent to tell Murena that the former order, that he should not fight Mithridates, was to be taken seriously, and to reconcile Mithridates and Ariobarzanes with each other. At a conference between them Mithridates betrothed his little daughter, four years old, to Ariobarzanes, and on this pretext stipulated that he should not only retain that part of Cappadocia which he then held, but have another part in addition. Then he gave a banquet to all, with prizes of gold for those who should excel in drinking, eating, jesting, singing, and so forth, as was customary—a contest in which Gabinius alone took no part. Thus the second war between Mithridates and the Romans, lasting about three years, came to an end.

<sup>1</sup> That is, "God of armies."

## X

CAP.  
X 67. Καὶ σχολὴν ἄγων ὁ Μιθριδάτης Βόσπορον  
 ἔχειροῦτο, καὶ βασιλέα αὐτοῖς τῶν νιέων ἔνα  
 ἀπεδείκνυ Μαχάρην. ἐς δὲ Ἀχαιοὺς τοὺς ὑπὲρ  
 Κόλχους ἐσβαλών, οἱ δοκοῦσιν εἶναι τῶν ἐκ  
 Τροίας κατὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδον πλανηθέντων, δύο μέρη  
 τοῦ στρατοῦ πολέμῳ τε καὶ κρύει καὶ ἐγέδραις  
 ἀποβαλὼν ἐπανῆλθε, καὶ ἐς Ρώμην ἐπεμπε τοὺς  
 συγγραψομένους τὰ συγκείμενα. ἐπεμπε δὲ καὶ  
 Ἀριοβαρζάνης, εἴθ' ἐκὼν εἴτε πρὸς τινῶν ἐνοχλού-  
 μενος, οὐκ ἀπολαμβάνειν Καππαδοκίαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ  
 πλέον αὐτῆς ἔτι Μιθριδάτην ἀφαιρεῖσθαι. Μιθρι-  
 δάτης μὲν οὖν, Σύλλα κελεύοντος αὐτῷ μεθεῖναι  
 Καππαδοκίαν, μεθῆκε, καὶ ἐτέραν πρεσβείαν  
 ἐπέπεμπεν ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν συνθηκῶν συγγραφάς.  
 ἦδη δὲ Σύλλα τεθνεῶτος, οὐκ ἐπαγόντων αὐτὴν ὡς  
 ἐν ἀσχολίᾳ τῶν προβούλων ἐπὶ τὸ κοινόν, Τιγράνη  
 τὸν γαμβρὸν Μιθριδάτης ἐπεισεν ἐς Καππαδοκίαν  
 ἐμβαλεῖν ὥσπερ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ. καὶ τὸ μὲν σόφισμα  
 οὐκ ἔλαθε Ρωμαίους, ὁ δὲ Ἀρμένιος Καππαδοκίαν  
 σαγηνεύσας ἐς τριάκοντα μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων  
 ἀνασπάστους ἐς Αρμένιαν ἐποίησε, καὶ συν-  
 ώκιζεν αὐτοὺς μεθ' ἐτέρων ἐς τι χωρίον ἔνθα  
 πρῶτον Αρμενίας τὸ διάδημα αὐτὸς περιεθήκατο,  
 καὶ Τιγρανόκερτα ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσεῖπεν δύναται  
 δ' εἶναι Τιγρανόπολις.

68. Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν ἐν Ασίᾳ. Σερτώριος δὲ  
 Ιβηρίας ἡγούμενος αὐτὴν τε Ιβηρίαν καὶ τὰ  
 περίοικα πάντα ἐπὶ Ρωμαίους ἀνίστη, καὶ βουλὴν  
 ἐκ τῶν οἱ συνόντων, ἐς μιμημα τῆς συγκλήτου,

# THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

## X

67. As Mithridates was now at leisure he subdued CHAP.  
the tribes of the Bosporus and appointed Machares,  
one of his sons, king over them. Then he fell X  
upon the Achaeans beyond Colchis (who are sup-  
posed to be descended from those who lost their  
way when returning from the Trojan war), but  
lost two divisions of his army, partly in battle,  
partly by cold, and partly by stratagem. When he  
returned home he sent ambassadors to Rome to sign  
the agreements. At the same time Ariobarzanes,  
either of his own notion or owing to the importunacy  
of others, sent thither to complain that Cappadocia  
had not been delivered up to him, but that a greater  
part of it was yet retained by Mithridates. Sulla  
commanded Mithridates to give up Cappadocia. He  
did so, and then sent another embassy to sign the  
agreements. But now Sulla had died, and as the b.c. 78  
Senate was otherwise occupied the consuls did not  
admit them. So Mithridates persuaded his son-in-  
law, Tigranes, to make an incursion into Cappadocia  
as though it were on his own account. This artifice  
did not deceive the Romans, but the Armenian king  
drew a cordon round Cappadocia, carried off about  
300,000 people to his own country and settled them,  
with others, in a certain place where he had first  
assumed the diadem of Armenia and which he had  
called after himself, Tigranocerta, or the city of  
Tigranes.

68. While these things were taking place in Asia Mithridates  
Sertorius, the governor of Spain, incited that province forms an  
and all the neighbouring country to rebel against the alliance  
Romans, and selected from his associates a senate in with  
Sertorius b.c. 75

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

<sup>CAP.</sup> κατέλεγεν. δύο δ' αὐτοῦ τῶν στασιωτῶν, Λεύκιοι,  
<sup>X</sup> Μάγιος τε καὶ Φάννιος, Μιθριδάτην ἔπειθον  
 συμμαχῆσαι τῷ Σερτωρίῳ, πολλὰ περὶ τῆς  
 Ἀσίας αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν ἐγγὺς ἐθνῶν ἐπελπίζοντες.  
 ὁ μὲν δὴ πεισθεὶς ἐς τὸν Σερτώριον ἔπειψεν· ὁ δὲ  
 τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐς τὴν έαυτοῦ σύγκλητον παραγαγών  
 τε, καὶ μεγαλοφρονησάμενος ὅτι τὸ κλέος αὐτοῦ  
 καὶ ἐς τὸν Ποντὸν δύκετο καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἔξοι  
 πολιορκεῖν ἀπό τε δύσεως καὶ ἐξ ἀνατολῆς, συν-  
 ετίθετο τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ δώσειν Ἀσίαν τε καὶ Βιθυ-  
 νίαν καὶ Παφλαγονίαν καὶ Καππαδοκίαν καὶ  
 Γαλατίαν, στρατηγόν τε αὐτῷ Μᾶρκον Οὐάριον  
 καὶ συμβούλους τοὺς Λευκίους, Μάγιον τε καὶ  
 Φάννιον, ἔπειψεν. μεθ' ὧν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἔξ-  
 ἔφαινε τὸν τρίτον καὶ τελευταῖόν οἱ γενόμενον ἐς  
 Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον, ἐν φάσαν ἀπώλεσε τὴν  
 ἀρχὴν Σερτωρίου μὲν ἀποθανόντος, ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ,  
 ἐπιπεμφθέντων δέ οἱ στρατηγῶν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης  
 προτέρου Λευκόλλου τοῦδε τοῦ νεναναρχηκότος  
 Σύλλα, ὑστέρου δὲ Πομπηίου, ἐφ' ὅτου πάντα  
 ὅσα ἦν Μιθριδάτου καὶ ὅσα αὐτοῖς γειτονεύοντα,  
 μέγρι ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην, προφύσει καὶ  
 ὄρμῇ τοῦ Μιθριδατείου πολέμου ἐς Ῥωμαίους  
 ἄπαντα περιηνέχθη.

69. Μιθριδάτης μὲν οὖν, οἴλα Ῥωμαίων πολ-  
 λάκις ἐς πεῖραν ἐλθών, καὶ τόνδε μάλιστα τὸν  
 πόλεμον ἡγούμενος, ἀπροφασίστως δὴ καὶ δξέως  
 γενόμενον, ἀσπειστον ἔξειν, πᾶσαν ἐπενόει παρα-  
 σκευὴν ὡς ἄρτι δὴ κριθησόμενος περὶ ἀπάντων.  
 καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ θέρους καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα  
 ὅλον ὑλοτομῶν ἐπήγυνυτο ναῦς καὶ ὅπλα, καὶ  
 σίτου διακοσίας μεδίμνων μυριάδας ἐπὶ θαλάσση

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

imitation of that of Rome. Two members of his CHAP.  
faction, Lucius Magius and Lucius Fannius, proposed X  
to Mithridates that he should ally himself with Sertorius, holding out to him great hopes of Asia and the neighbouring nations. Mithridates fell in with this suggestion and sent ambassadors to Sertorius. The latter introduced them to his senate and prided himself that his fame had extended to Pontus, and that he could now besiege the Roman power from both the east and the west. So he made a treaty with Mithridates to give him Asia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, and Galatia, and sent Marcus Varius to him as a general and the two Luciuses, Magius and Fannius, as counsellors. With their assistance Mithridates began his third and last war against the Romans, in the course of which he lost his entire kingdom, and Sertorius lost his life in Spain. Two generals were sent against Mithridates from Rome ; the first, Lucullus, the same who had served as prefect of the fleet under Sulla ; the second, Pompey, by whom the whole of his dominions, and the adjoining territory as far as the river Euphrates, owing to the pretext and impulse for annexation which the Mithridatic war supplied, were brought under Roman sway.

69. Mithridates had been in collision with the Romans so often that he knew that this war, above all, so inexcusably and hastily begun, would be an implacable one. He made every preparation with the thought that all would now be at stake. The remainder of the summer and the whole of the winter he spent in cutting timber, building ships, and making arms. He distributed 2,000,000 medimni

He prepares  
for war

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

**ΧΑΡ.** διετίθει. σύμμαχοί τε αὐτῷ προσεγίγνουντο, χωρὶς τῆς προτέρας δυνάμεως, Χάλυβες Ἀρμένιοι Σκύθαι Ταῦροι Ἀχαιοὶ Ἡνίοχοι Λευκόσυροι, καὶ ὅσοι περὶ Θερμώδοντα ποταμὸν γῆν ἔχουσι τὴν Ἀμαζόνων λεγομένην. τοσαῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν προσεγίγνετο, περάσαντι δ' ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην Σαυροματῶν οἵ τε Βασιλεῖοι καὶ Ἰάζυγες καὶ Κόραλλοι, καὶ Θρᾳκῶν ὅσα γένη παρὰ τὸν "Ιστρον ἡ Ροδόπην ἡ τὸν Αἴμον οἰκοῦσι, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε Βαστέρναι, τὸ ἀλκιμώτατον αὐτῶν γένος. τοσάδε μὲν δὴ καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης τότε προσέλαμβανεν ὁ Μιθριδάτης. καὶ μυριάδες ἐκ πάντων ἐς τὸ μάχιμον αὐτῷ συνελέγοντο τεσσαρεσκαΐδεκα μάλιστα πεζῶν, καὶ ἵππεῖς ἐπὶ μυρίοις ἔξακισχίλιοι. πολὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὅμιλος ὁδοποιῶν καὶ σκευοφόρων εἴπετο καὶ ἐμπόρων.

70. Ἀρχομένου δ' ἥρος ἀπόπειραν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ποιησάμενος, ἔθυε τῷ στρατίῳ Διὶ τὴν συνήθη θυσίαν, καὶ Ποσειδῶνι λευκῶν ἵππων ἄρμα καθεὶς ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἐπὶ Παφλαγονίας ἡπείγετο, στρατηγούντων αὐτῷ Ταξίλου τε καὶ Ἐρμοκράτους. ὡς δ' ἀφίκετο, ἐδημηγόρησε τῷ στρατῷ περὶ τε τῶν προγόνων μάλα σεμνολόγως καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ μεγαληγόρως, ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ βραχέος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον προαγαγὼν οὕποτε Ρωμαίων ἡττηθείη παρών. εἶτα κατηγόρησεν αὐτῶν ἐς πλεονεξίαν καὶ ἀμετρίαν, ὑφ' ἥς, ἔφη, καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὴν πατρίδα αὐτὴν δεδούλωνται. καὶ τὰς γενομένας οἱ τελευταίας συνθήκας ἐπέφερεν ὡς οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ἀναγράψασθαι, καιροφυλακοῦντες αὖθις

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

of corn along the coast. Besides his former forces he CHAP.  
had for allies the Chalybes, Armenians, Scythians,  
<sup>X</sup> Taurians, Achaeans, Heniochi, Leucosyrians, and those who occupy the territory about the river Thermelon, called the country of the Amazons. These additions to his former strength were from Asia. In Europe he drew from the Sarmatian tribes, both the Basilidae and the Iazyges, the Coralli, and those Thracians who dwelt along the Danube and on the Rhodope and Haemus mountains, and besides these the Bastarnae, the bravest nation of all. Altogether Mithridates recruited a fighting force of about 140,000 foot and 16,000 horse. A great crowd of road-makers, baggage-carriers, and sutlers followed.

70. At the beginning of spring Mithridates made <sup>B.C. 74</sup>

trial of his navy and sacrificed to Zeus Stratius in the customary manner, and also to Poseidon by plunging a chariot with white horses into the sea. Then he hastened against Paphlagonia with his two generals, Taxiles and Hermocrates, in command of his army.

When he arrived there he made a speech to his soldiers, speaking proudly about his ancestors and boastfully about himself, telling how he had raised his kingdom to greatness from small beginnings, and how his army had never been defeated by the Romans when he was present. He accused the Romans of boundless greed, "dominated by which," he said, "they have even enslaved Italy and their own fatherland." He accused them of bad faith respecting the last treaty, saying that they were not willing to register it because they were watching for an oppor-

His speech  
to his  
soldiers

CAP. ἐπιθέσθαι. καὶ τοῦτο αἴτιον τοῦ πολέμου τιθέ-  
<sup>X</sup> μενος, ἐπῆγε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ στρατιὰν ὅλην καὶ  
 παρασκευήν, καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀσχολίαν πολεμου-  
 μένων ὑπὸ Σερτωρίου κατὰ κράτος ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ  
 στασιαζόντων ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν.  
 “διὸ καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης,” ἔφη, “καταφρονοῦσι  
 ληστευομένης πολὺν ἥδη χρόνον, καὶ σύμμαχος  
 αὐτοῖς οὐδεὶς ἐστιν, οὐδὲ ὑπήκοος ἐκούσιος ἔτι.  
 οὐχ ὄρατε δ' αὐτῶν,” ἔφη, “καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους,”  
 ἐπιδεικνὺς Οὐάριόν τε καὶ τοὺς Λευκίους, “πολε-  
 μίους μὲν ὅντας τῇ πατρίδι, συμμάχους δ' ἡμῖν;

71. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐρεθίσας  
 ἐνέβαλεν ἐς Βιθυνίαν, Νικομήδους ἄρτι τεθιεώτος  
 ἄπαιδος καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ῥωμαίοις ἀπολιπόντος.  
 Κόττας δ' ἡγούμενος αὐτῆς, ἀσθενῆς τὰ πολέμια  
 πάμπαν, ἔφυγεν ἐς Χαλκηδόνα μεθ' ἣς εἶχε δυνά-  
 μεως. καὶ Βιθυνία μὲν ἦν αὐθις ὑπὸ τῷ Μιθρι-  
 δάτῃ, τῶν πανταχοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἐς Χαλκηδόνα πρὸς  
 Κότταν συνθεόντων. ἐπιόντος δὲ καὶ τῇ Χαλκη-  
 δόνι τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, Κόττας μὲν ὑπ' ἀπραξίας  
 οὐ προήει, Νοῦδος δὲ ὁ ναύαρχος αὐτοῦ, σὺν μέρει  
 τινὶ στρατοῦ τὰ ὀχυρώτατα τοῦ πεδίου κατα-  
 λαβὼν καὶ ἔξελαθείς, ἔφυγεν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας τῆς  
 Χαλκηδόνος διὰ θριγκίων πολλῶν πάνυ δυσχερῶς.  
 ἀμφί τε τὰς πύλας ὠθισμὸς ἦν ἐσπηδώντων ὁμοῦ  
 ὅθεν οὐδὲν τοῖς διώκουσιν αὐτοὺς βέλος ἡτύχει.  
 ὡς δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν πυλῶν δείσαντες οἱ φύλακες  
 τὰ κλεῖθρα καθῆκαν ἐς αὐτὰς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς,  
 Νοῦδον μὲν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων τινὰς καλω-  
 δίοις ἀνιμήσαντο, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ μεταξὺ τῶν τε  
 φίλων καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπώλλυντο, τὰς χείρας

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

tunity to violate it again. After thus setting forth the cause of the war he dwelt upon the composition of his army and his resources, upon the preoccupation of the Romans, who were waging a difficult war with Sertorius in Spain, and were torn with civil dissensions throughout Italy, "for which reason," he said, "they have allowed the sea to be overrun by pirates a long time, and have not a single ally, nor any subjects who still obey them willingly. Do you not see," he added, "some of their noblest citizens (pointing to Varius and the two Luciuses) at war with their own country and allied with us?"

71. When he had finished speaking and exciting his army, he invaded Bithynia. Nicomedes had lately died childless and bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans. Cotta, its governor, a man altogether unwarlike, fled to Chalcedon with what forces he had, and thus Bithynia again passed under the rule of Mithridates, and the Romans flocked from all directions to Cotta at Chalcedon. When Mithridates advanced to that place Cotta did not go out to meet him because he was inexperienced in military affairs, but his naval prefect, Nudus, with a part of the army occupied the strongest positions on the plain. He was driven out of it, however, and fled to the gates of Chalcedon over many walls which greatly obstructed his movement. There was a struggle at the gates among those trying to gain entrance simultaneously, for which reason no missile cast by the pursuers missed its mark. The guards, fearing also for the gates, let the bolt down from the machine. Nudus and some of the other officers were drawn up by ropes. The remainder perished between their friends and their foes, holding out their

He invades  
Bithynia

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. ἐς ἑκατέρους ὁρέγοντες. ὅ τε Μιθριδάτης τῇ  
 X φορᾷ τῆς εὐτυχίας χρώμενος ἐπῆγεν αὐτῆς ἡμέρας  
 ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα τὰς ναῦς, καὶ τὸ κλεῖθρον ἀλύσει  
 χαλκῆ δεδεμένον ἀπορρήξας τέσσαρας μὲν ἐνέ-  
 πρησε τῶν πολεμίων, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ἔξηκοντα  
 ἀνεδίσατο, οὐδὲν οὔτε Νούδου κωλύοντος ἔτι οὔτε  
 Κόττα, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰ τείχη συγκεκλεισμένων. ἀπέ-  
 θανον δὲ Ρωμαίων μὲν ἐς τρισχιλίους, καὶ Λεύκιος  
 Μάλλιος, ἀνὴρ ἀπὸ Βουλῆς, Μιθριδάτου δὲ Βασ-  
 τερνῶν τῶν πρώτων ἐσπεσόντων ἐς τὸν λιμένα  
 εἴκοσιν.

### XI

CAP. 72. Λεύκιος δὲ Λεύκολλος ὑπατεύειν καὶ στρα-  
 XI τηγεῖν αἱρεθεὶς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου τέλος μὲν τι  
 στρατιωτῶν ἦγεν ἐκ Ρώμης, δύο δ' ἄλλα τὰ  
 Φιμβρίου καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔτερα δύο προσλαβών,  
 σύμπαντας ἔχων πεζοὺς τρισμυρίους καὶ ἴππεας  
 ἐς χιλίους ἐπὶ ἔξακοσίοις, παρεστρατοπέδευε τῷ  
 Μιθριδάτῃ περὶ Κύζικου. καὶ δι' αὐτομόλων  
 ἐπιγνοὺς εἶναι τῷ βασιλεῖ στρατιὰν μὲν ἀνδρῶν  
 ἀμφὶ μυριάδας τριάκοντα, ἀγορὰν δὲ εἴ τι σιτο-  
 λογοῦντες ἦ ἐκ θαλάσσης λάβοιεν, ἔφη πρὸς τοὺς  
 ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀμαχὶ λήψεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους  
 αὐτίκα, καὶ τοῦ ἐπαγγέλματος αὐτοῖς ἐνεκελεύετο  
 μνημονεύειν. ὄρος δὲ ἵδων εὔκαιρον ἐς στρατο-  
 πεδείαν, ὅθεν αὐτὸς μὲν εὐπορήσειν ἔμελεν  
 ἀγορᾶς, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἀποκλείσειν, ἐπεχείρει  
 καταλαβεῖν ὡς ἐν τῷδε τὴν νίκην ἀκίνδυνον ἔξων.  
 μιᾶς δ' οὕσης ἐς αὐτὸν διόδου στενῆς, ὁ Μιθριδάτης  
 αὐτὴν ἐφύλαττεν ἐγκρατῶς, ὥδε καὶ Ταξίλου καὶ

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

hands in entreaty to both. Mithridates made good use CHAP.  
X  
of his success. He moved his ships up to the harbour the same day, broke the brazen chain that closed the entrance, burned four of the enemy's ships, and towed the remaining sixty away, neither Nudus nor Cotta offering further resistance, for they remained shut up inside the walls. The Roman loss was about 3000, including Lucius Manlius, a man of senatorial rank. Mithridates lost twenty of his Bastarnae, who were the first to break into the harbour.

### XI

72. Lucius Lucullus, who had been chosen consul CHAP.  
XI  
and general for this war, led one legion of soldiers from Rome, joined with it the two of Fimbria, and added two others, making in all 30,000 foot and about 1600 horse, with which he pitched his camp near that of Mithridates at Cyzicus. When he learned from deserters that the king's army contained about 300,000 men and that all his supplies were furnished by foragers or came by sea, he said to those around him that he would at once reduce the enemy without fighting, and he told them to remember his promise. Seeing a mountain well suited for a camp, where he could readily obtain supplies, and could cut off those of the enemy, he moved forward to occupy it in order to gain a victory by that means without danger. There was only one narrow pass leading to it, and Mithridates held it with a strong guard, having been advised to do so by

Lucullus takes the command and cuts off his supplies at Cyzicus

**CAP. XI.** τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων αὐτῷ παραινοῦντων. Λεύκιος δὲ Μάγιος ὁ Σερτωρίω καὶ Μιθριδάτη τὰ ἐς ἀλλήλους διαιτήσας, ἀνηρημένου τοῦ Σερτωρίου πρὸς Λεύκολλον ἐπεπόμφει κρύφα, καὶ πίστιν λαβὼν μετέπειθε τὸν Μιθριδάτην ὑπεριδεῖν Ῥωμαίων παροδευόντων τε καὶ στρατοπεδευόντων ὅπη θελήσειαν. τὰ γὰρ ὑπὸ Φιμβρίᾳ γενόμενα δύο τέλη βουλεύειν αὐτομολίαν, καὶ αὐτίκα τῷ βασιλεῖ προσέσεσθαι· τί οὖν χρήζειν αὐτὸν ἀγῶνος καὶ φόιον, δυνάμενον ἀμαχὶ κρατῆσαι τῶν πολεμίων; οἷς ὁ Μιθριδάτης συνθέμενος ἀνοήτως μάλα καὶ ἀνυπόπτως, περιεῖδε Ῥωμαίους διὰ στενοῦ παροδεύοντας ἀδεῶς καὶ ἐπιτειχίζοντας αὐτῷ μέγα ὄρος, οὐ κρατοῦντες αὐτοὶ μὲν ὅπισθεν ἔμελλον ἀγορὰν ἀδεῶς ἐπάξεσθαι, Μιθριδάτην δὲ λίμνῃ καὶ ὄρεσι καὶ ποταμοῖς ἀποκλείσειν τῶν κατὰ γῆν ἀπάντων, ὅ τι μὴ γλίσχρως ποτὲ λάβοι, οὔτε ἔξόδους εὑρείας ἔτι ἔχοντα, οὔτε βιάζεσθαι δυνάμενον ἔτι Λεύκολλον ὑπὸ τῆς δυσχωρίας, ἃς κρατῶν κατεφρόνησεν. ὅ τε χειμῶν ἥδη πλησιάζων ἔμελλε καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης αὐτὸν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ καταστήσειν. ἀ θεωρῶν ὁ Λεύκολλος τοὺς φίλους ἀνεμίμνησκε τῆς ὑποσχέσεως, καὶ τὸ ἐπαγγελθὲν ὡς παρὸν ἐδείκνυ.

73. Ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης δυνηθεὶς ἀν ἵσως καὶ τότε διὰ τὸ πλῆθος διὰ μέσων ὕστασθαι τῶν πολεμίων, τούτου μὲν ὑπερεῖδε, Κυζίκῳ δὲ οἷς παρεσκεύασε πρὸς πολιορκίαν ἐπετίθετο, νομίσας ἐν τῷδε διορθώσειν τὴν δυσχωρίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀπορίαν. οἷα δὲ εὐπορῶν στρατοῦ πολλοῦ, πᾶσιν ἔργοις

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

Taxiles and his other officers. But Lucius Magius, CHAP. XI  
who had brought about the alliance between Sertorius and Mithridates, now that Sertorius was dead, opened secret communications with Lucullus, and having secured pledges from him persuaded Mithridates to allow the Romans to pass through and encamp where they pleased. "The two legions of Fimbria," he said, "want to desert, and will come over to you directly. What is the use of a battle and bloodshed when you can conquer the enemy without fighting?" Mithridates assented to this advice heedlessly and without suspicion. He allowed the Romans to go through the pass unmolested and to fortify the great hill on his front, the possession of which would enable them to draw supplies themselves from their rear with security, while Mithridates, on the other hand, would be cut off by a lake, by mountains, and by rivers, from all provisions on the landward side, except an occasional supply secured with difficulty; he would have no easy way out and would no longer be able to overcome Lucullus on account of the impregnability of his position, which he had overlooked when himself in possession of the ground. Moreover, winter was now approaching and would soon interrupt his supplies by sea. Lucullus, observing this, reminded his friends of his promise, and showed them that his prediction was practically accomplished.

73. Although Mithridates might perhaps even now have been able to break through the enemy's lines by force of numbers, he neglected to do so, but pressed the siege of Cyzicus with the apparatus he had prepared, thinking that he shold find a remedy in this way both for the badness of his position and for his want of supplies. As he had plenty of

Mithridates  
besieges  
Cyzicus

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

**CAP. XI.** ἐπεχείρει, τόν τε σταθμὸν ἀποτειχίζων τείχει διπλῷ, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀποταφρεύων. χώματά τε ἥγειρε πολλά, καὶ μηχανὰς ἐπήγυνυτο, πύργους καὶ χελώνας κριοφόρους, ἐλέπολίν τε ἔκατὸν πήχεων, ἐξ ἡς ἔτερος πύργος ἐπῆρτο καταπέλτας καὶ λίθους καὶ βέλη ποικίλα ἀφιείσ. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς λιμένας δύο πεντήρεις ἔζευγμέναι πύργον ἔτερον ἔφερον, ἐξ οὐ γέφυρα, ὅπότε προσπελάσειαν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, ὑπὸ μηχανῆς ἐξήλλετο. ὡς δὲ ἔτοιμα αὐτῷ πάντα ἐγεγένητο, πρῶτα μὲν τρισχιλίους αἰχμαλώτους Κυζικηνοὺς ἐπὶ νεῶν τῇ πόλει προσῆγεν, οὐχι χεῖρας ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ὀρέγοντες ἐδέοντο σφῶν κινδυνευόντων φείσασθαι τοὺς πολίτας, μέχρι Πεισίστρατος αὐτοῖς, ὁ στρατηγὸς ὁ τῶν Κυζικηνῶν, ὑπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐκίρυξε φέρειν τὸ συμβαῖνον ἐγκρατῶς, αἰχμαλώτους γεγονότας.

74. Ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ὡς ἀπέγνω τῆσδε τῆς πείρας, ἐπῆγε τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν μηχανήν· καὶ ἡ τε γέφυρα ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐξήλατο ἄφινω, καὶ τέσσαρες ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἄνδρες ἐξέδραμον. Ὡς δὴ καὶ μάλιστα καινοτρόπῳ φανέντι καταπλαγέντες οἱ Κυζικηνοὶ ἐπὶ μέν τι ὑπεχώρησαν, οὐκ ὀξέως δὲ ἐτέρων ἐπιδραμόντων ἀνεθάρρησάν τε καὶ τοὺς τέσσαρας κατέωσαν ἐς τὸ ἔξω, ταῖς τε ναυσὶ πῦρ καὶ πίσσαν ἐπιχέαντες ἡνάγκασαν πρύμναν τε κρούσασθαι καὶ ὑποχωρεῦν ὀπίσω μετὰ τοῦ μηχανήματος. ὥδε μὲν δὴ τῶν κατὰ θύλασσαν ἐπενεχθέντων ἐκράτουν οἱ Κυζικηνοί· τρίτα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπήγετο τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ μηχανήματα ὁμοῦ πάντα, πονουμένοις τε καὶ μεταθέουσιν ἐς τὸ ἀεὶ βιαζόμενον. τοὺς μὲν οὖν κριοὺς λίθοις ἀπεκαύ-

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

soldiers he pushed the siege in every possible way. CHAP.  
He blockaded the harbour with a double sea wall XI  
and dug a trench around the rest of the city. He raised numerous mounds, built machines, towers, and penthouses with rams. He constructed a siege tower 100 cubits high, from which rose another tower, from which catapult-bolts, stones, and various missiles were discharged. Two quinqueremes joined together carried another tower against the port, from which a bridge could be projected by a mechanical device when brought near the wall. When all was in readiness he first sent up to the city on ships 3000 inhabitants of Cyzicus whom he had taken prisoners. These raised their hands toward the wall in supplication and besought their fellow-citizens to spare them in their dangerous position, but Pisistratus, the Cyzicean general, proclaimed from the walls that as they were in the enemy's hands they must meet their fate resolutely.

74. When this attempt had failed Mithridates brought up the machine erected on the ships and suddenly projected the bridge upon the wall and four of his men ran across. The Cyziceans were at first dumbfounded by the novelty of the device and gave way somewhat, but as the rest of the enemy were slow in following, they plucked up courage and thrust the four over the wall. Then they poured burning pitch on the ships and compelled them to back out stern foremost with the machine. In this way the Cyziceans beat off the invaders by sea. On the same day, as a third resort, all the machines on the landward side were massed against the toiling citizens, who flew this way and that way to meet the constantly shifting assault. They knocked off the

Valiant defence of the city

**ΟΑΡ.** λιξον ἡ βρόχοις ἀνέκλων ἡ φορμοῖς ἐρίων τῆς  
**ΧΙ** βίας ἔξελυνον, τῶν δὲ βελῶν τοῖς μὲν πυρφόροις  
 ὑπήντων ὕδατι καὶ ὅξει, τὰ δ' ἄλλα προβολαῖς  
 ἴματίων ἡ ὁθόναις κεχαλασμέναις τῆς φορᾶς  
 ἀνέλυνον, ὅλως τε οὐδὲν προθυμίας ἀνδρὶ δυνατῆς  
 ἔξελειπον. καὶ τάδε αὐτοῖς φερεπονώτατα δὴ  
 κακοπαθοῦσιν ὅμως γε τοῦ τείχους ἐκαύθη τι καὶ  
 συνέπεσεν ἐς ἐσπέραν. οὐ μὴν ἔφθασέ τις ἐσα-  
 λάμενος ἔτι θερμόν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς νυκτὸς αὐτίκα  
 περιῳδόμησαν οἱ Κυζικηνοί. τῶν δὲ αὐτῶν  
 ἡμερῶν πνεῦμα σφοδρὸν ἐπιγενόμενον περιέκλασε  
 τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν μηχανημάτων τοῦ βασιλέως.

75. Λέγεται δ' ἡ πόλις ἐμπροίκιον ὑπὸ Διὸς τῇ  
 κόρῃ δοθῆναι, καὶ σέβουσιν αὐτὴν οἱ Κυζικηνοὶ  
 μάλιστα θεῶν. ἐπελθούσης δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς, ἐν ᾧ  
 θύουσι βοῦν μέλαιναν, οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐπ-  
 λαττον ἀπὸ σίτου, μέλαινα δὲ βοῦς ἐκ πελάγους  
 πρὸς αὐτοὺς διενήχετο, καὶ τὸ κλεῖθρον τοῦ στό-  
 ματος ὑποδύσα τε καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσδραμοῦσα  
 ὥδευσεν ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τοῖς βωμοῖς  
 παρέστη. ταύτην μὲν οὖν οἱ Κυζικηνοὶ μετὰ  
 χρηστῆς ἐλπίδος ἔθυον, οἱ δὲ φίλοι τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ  
 συνεβούλευον ὡς ἱερᾶς τῆς πόλεως ἀποπλεῦσαι.  
 ὁ δ' οὐ πεισθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸ Δίνδυμον ὅρος ὑπερκεί-  
 μενον ἀγέει, καὶ χῶμα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν πόλιν  
 ἔχου, πύργους τε ἐφίστη, καὶ ὑπονόμοις τὸ τείχος  
 ἀνεκρήμνη. τοὺς δ' ἵππους ἀχρείους οἱ τότε  
 ὄντας, καὶ ἀσθενεῖς δι' ἀτροφίαν καὶ χωλεύοντας  
 ἔξι ὑποτριβῆς, ἐς Βιθυνίαν περιέπεμπεν οἷς ὁ  
 Λεύκολλος περῶσι τὸν Ῥύνδακον ἐπιπεσὼν ἔκ-

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

heads of the rams with stones, or broke them off with CHAP.  
the aid of nooses, or deadened their blows with baskets XI  
of wool. They extinguished the enemy's fire-bearing  
missiles with water and vinegar, and broke the force  
of others by means of garments or linen cloths held  
loosely in front. In short, they left nothing untried  
that was within the compass of human energy.  
Although they toiled most perseveringly, yet a  
portion of the wall, that had been weakened by fire,  
gave way towards evening; but on account of the  
heat nobody was in a hurry to dash in. The Cyziceans  
built another wall around it that night, and about  
this time a tremendous wind rose and broke the  
rest of the king's machines.

75. It is said that the city of Cyzicus was given by  
Zeus to Proserpina by way of dowry, and of all the  
gods the inhabitants have most veneration for her.  
Her festival now came around, on which they are  
accustomed to sacrifice a black heifer to her, and as  
they had none they made one of paste. Just then a  
black heifer swam to them from the sea, dived under  
the chain at the mouth of the harbour, ran into the  
city, found her own way to the temple, and took her  
place by the altar. The Cyziceans sacrificed her  
with joyful hopes. Thereupon the friends of Mith-  
ridates advised him to sail away from the place since  
it was sacred, but he would not do so. He ascended  
Mount Dindymus, which overhung the city, and  
built a mound extending from it to the city walls, on  
which he constructed towers, and, at the same time,  
undermined the wall with tunnels. As his horses  
were not useful here, and were weak for want of  
food and had sore hoofs, he sent them by a round-  
about way to Bithynia. Lucullus fell upon them as

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

**CAP. XI.** τεινε πολλούς, καὶ αἰχμαλώτους ἔλαβεν ἄνδρας  
μὲν ἐς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους, ἵππους δὲ  
ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ σκευοφόρα πολλά.

Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν περὶ Κύζικον, τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ  
χρόνῳ Φρυγίαν Εῦμαχος Μιθριδάτου στρατηγὸς  
ἐπιτρέχων ἔκτεινε Ρωμαίων πολλοὺς μετὰ παίδων  
καὶ γυναικῶν, Πισίδας τε καὶ Ἰσαύρους ὑπήγετο  
καὶ Κιλικίαν, μέχρι τῶν τις Γαλατικῶν τετραρχῶν  
Δηιόταρος ἐπιπολάζοντα αὐτὸν συνεδίωξε καὶ  
πολλοὺς διέφειρεν.

76. Καὶ περὶ μὲν Φρυγίαν τοιάδε ἐγίγνετο,  
Μιθριδάτου δὲ χειμῶν ἐπιγενόμενος ἀφῆρητο καὶ  
τὴν ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ἀγοράν, εἴ τις ἦν, ὥστε  
πάμπαν ὁ στρατὸς ἐλίμωττε, καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν  
ἀπέθυησκον, εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ σπλάγχνων ἐγεύοντο  
βαρβαρικῶς οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ποηφαγοῦντες ἐνόσουν.  
καὶ τὰ νεκρὰ σφῶν ἀγχοῦ ἄταφα ῥιπτούμενα  
λοιμὸν ἐπῆγεν ἐπὶ τῷ λιμῷ. διεκαρτέρει δὲ ὅμως  
ὁ Μιθριδάτης, ἐλπίζων ἔτι τὴν Κύζικον αἱρήσειν  
τοῖς χώμασι τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ Δινδύμου. ὡς δὲ καὶ  
ταῦθ' ὑπεσύροντο οἱ Κυζικηνοί, καὶ τὰς ἐπ' αὐτῶν  
μηχανὰς ἐπίμπρασαν, καὶ αἰσθήσει τοῦ λιμοῦ  
πολλάκις ἐπεκθέοντες τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀσθενε-  
στάτοις γεγονόσιν ἐπετίθεντο, δρασμὸν ὁ Μιθρι-  
δάτης ἐβούλευε, καὶ ἔφευγε νυκτὸς αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τῶν νεῶν ἐς Πάριον, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ κατὰ γῆν  
ἐς Λάμψακον. περῶντας δὲ αὐτοὺς τὸν Αἴσηπον ὁ  
τε ποταμὸς τότε μάλιστα ἀρθεὶς μέγας, καὶ ἐπὶ<sup>2</sup>  
τῷ ποταμῷ Λεύκολλος ἐπιδραμὼν ἔφειρεν. ὥδε  
μὲν οἱ Κυζικηνοὶ πολλὴν βασιλέως παρασκευὴν  
διέφυγον, αὐτοί τε γενναίως ἀγωνισάμενοι, καὶ  
λιμῷ πιεσθέντος ὑπὸ Λευκόλλου. ἀγῶνά τε αὐτῷ

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

they were crossing the river Rhyndacus, killed a large number, and captured about 15,000 men, 6000 horses, and a large amount of baggage-animals.

While these things were transpiring at Cyzicus Eumachus, one of Mithridates' generals, overran Phrygia and killed a great many Romans, with their wives and children, subjugated the Pisidians and the Isaurians and also Cilicia. Finally Deiotarus, one of the tetrarchs of Galatia, drove the marauder away and slew many of his men. Such was the course of events in and around Phrygia.

76. When winter came Mithridates was deprived of any supplies which came to him by sea, so that his whole army suffered from hunger, and many of them died. There were some who even after the fashion of the barbarians ate the entrails. Others were made sick by subsisting on herbs. Moreover the corpses that were thrown out in the neighbourhood unburied brought on a plague in addition to the famine. Nevertheless Mithridates continued his efforts, hoping still to capture Cyzicus by means of the mounds extending from Mount Dindymus. But when the Cyziceans undermined them and burned the machines on them, and made frequent sallies upon his forces, knowing that they were weakened by want of food, Mithridates began to think of flight. He fled by night, going himself with his fleet to Parius, and his army by land to Lampsacus. Many lost their lives in crossing the river Aesepus, which was then greatly swollen, and where Lucullus attacked them. Thus the Cyziceans escaped the vast siege preparations of the king by means of their own bravery and of the famine that Lucullus brought upon the enemy. They instituted games in his

Famine  
in the  
besieging  
army

B.C. 73  
Flight of  
Mithridates

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

**CAP. XI.** θέμενοι μέχρι νῦν τελοῦσι, τὰ Λευκόλλεια καλούμενα. Μιθριδάτης δὲ τοὺς ἐς Λάμψακον ἐσφυγόντας, ἔτι τοῦ Λευκόλλου περικαθημένου, ναῦς ἐπιπέμψας ἔξεκόμισε σὺν αὐτοῖς Λαμψακηνοῖς. μυρίους δ' ἐπιλέκτους ἐπὶ νεῶν πεντήκοντα Οὔαρίφ, πεμφθέντι οἱ στρατηγεῖν ὑπὸ Σερτωρίου, καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Παφλαγόνι καὶ Διονυσίῳ τῷ εὐνούχῳ καταλιπών, ταῖς πλέοσιν αὐτῶν ἐς Νικομήδειαν ἔπλει. καὶ χειμὼν ἐπιγενόμενος πολλὰς ἐκατέρων διέφθειρεν.

77. Λεύκολλος δ' ἐπεὶ τὸ κατὰ γῆν εἴργαστο διὰ τοῦ λιμοῦ, ναῦς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀγείρας διέδωκε τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν στρατηγοῦσιν. καὶ Τριάριος μὲν Ἀπάμειαν εἶλεν ἐπιπλεύσας, καὶ πολλὴ τῶν Ἀπαμέων συμφυγόντων ἐς τὰ Ἱερὰ ἐγένετο σφαγή· Βάρβας δὲ Προυσιάδα εἶλε τὴν πρὸς τῷ ὅρει, καὶ Νίκαιαν ἔλαβε, τῶν Μιθριδάτου φρουρῶν ἐκφυγόντων. Λεύκολλος δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀχαιῶν λιμένα τρισκαίδεκα ναῦς εἶλε τῶν πολεμίων. Οὐάριον δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Διονύσιον περὶ Λῆμνον ἐν ἐρήμῃ νῆσῳ καταλαβών, ἔνθα δείκυνται βωμὸς Φιλοκτήτου καὶ χαλκοῦς ὄφις καὶ τόξα καὶ θώραξ ταινίαις περίδετος, μυῆμα τῆς ἐκείνου πάθης, ἐπέπλει μὲν αὐτοῖς ῥοθίφ τε πολλῷ καὶ μετὰ καταφρονήσεως, εὐσταθῶς δ' ἐκείνων ὑπομενόντων ἔστησε τὴν εἰρεσίαν, καὶ κατὰ δύο ναῦς ἐπιπέμπων ἡρέθιζεν ἐς ἕκπλονν. οὐ σαλευόντων δ' ἐκείνων ἀλλ' ἀπὸ γῆς ἀμυνομένων, περιέπλευσε τὴν νῆσον ἐτέραις ναυσί, καὶ πεζοὺς ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκβιβάσας συνήλασε τοὺς ἔχθροὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς. οἱ δ' ἐς μὲν

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

honour, which they celebrate to this day, called the CHAP.  
Lucullean games. Mithridates sent ships for those  
xi who had taken refuge in Lampsacus, where they  
were still besieged by Lucullus, and carried them  
away, together with the citizens of Lampsacus them-  
selves. Leaving 10,000 picked men and fifty ships  
under Varius (the general sent to him by Sertorius),  
and Alexander the Paphlagonian, and Dionysius the  
eunuch, he sailed with the bulk of his force for  
Nicomedia. A storm came up in which many of both  
divisions perished.

77. When Lucullus had accomplished this result Lucullus pursues him on land by starving his enemies, he collected a fleet from the Asiatic province and distributed it to the generals serving under him. Trirarius sailed to Apamea, captured it, and slew a great many of the inhabitants who had taken refuge in the temples. Barba took Prusias, situated at the base of a mountain, and occupied Nicaea, which had been abandoned by the Mithridatic garrison. At the harbour of the Achaeans Lucullus captured thirteen of the enemy's ships. He overtook Varius and Alexander and Dionysius near Lemnos on a barren island (where the altar of Philoctetes is shown with the brazen serpent, the bow, and the breast-plate bound with fillets, a memorial of the sufferings of that hero), and sailed against them contemptuously at full speed. But as they resisted steadily, he checked his oarsmen and sent his ships towards them by twos in order to entice them out to sea. As they declined the challenge, but continued to defend themselves on land, he sent a part of his fleet round to another side of the island, disembarked a force of infantry, and drove the enemy to their ships. Still

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

**CAP. τὸ πέλαγος οὐκ ἡφίεσται, τὸν Λευκόλλου στρατὸν  
 XI δεδιότες, παρὰ δὲ τὴν γῆν πλέοντες, ἔκ τε τῆς γῆς  
 καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀμφίβολοι γιγνόμενοι κατε-  
 τιρώσκοντο, καὶ φόνος πολὺς ἦν αὐτῶν καὶ φυγὴ.  
 ἐλήφθησαν δ' ἐν σπηλαίῳ κρυπτόμενοι Οὐάριος τε  
 καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ εὔνοῦχος. καὶ  
 αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν Διονύσιος, πιὼν ὅπερ ἥγετο φάρ-  
 μακον, αὐτίκα ἀπέθανε, Οὐάριον δ' ἀναιρεθῆναι  
 προσέταξε Λεύκολλος· οὐ γάρ ἐδόκει Ῥωμαῖον  
 ἄνδρα βουλευτὴν θριαμβεύειν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ  
 ἐς τὴν πομπὴν ἐφυλάσσετο. καὶ Λεύκολλος περὶ  
 τῶνδε Ῥωμαίοις ἐπέστελλε, τὰ γράμματα δάφνῃ  
 περιβαλών, ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶν ἐπὶ νίκαις· αὐτὸς δὲ  
 ἡπείγετο ἐς Βιθυνίαν.**

78. Μιθριδάτη δ' ἐς Πόντον ἐσπλέοντι χειμῶν  
 ἐς δὶς ἐπιγίγνεται, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀμφὶ τοὺς  
 μυρίους καὶ νῆες ἀμφὶ τὰς ἔξηκοντα διεφθάρησαν  
 αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ διερρίφησαν, ὡς ἐκάστην ὁ χειμῶν  
 ἐξήνεγκεν. αὐτὸς δὲ ὥργυνυμένης τῆς στρατηγίδος  
 ἐς ληστῶν σκάφος, ἀπαγορεύοντων τῶν φίλων,  
 ὅμως ἐνέβη. καὶ ἐς Σινώπην αὐτὸν οἱ λησταὶ  
 διέσωσαν. ὅθεν ὁ μὲν ἐς Ἀμισὸν ἀπὸ κάλω  
 διαπλέων, πρός τε τὸν κηδεστὴν Τιγράνην τὸν  
 Ἀρμένιον καὶ ἐς Μαχάρην τὸν νίόν, ἄρχοντα  
 Βοσπόρου, περιέπεμπεν, ἐπικουρεῖν ἐπείγων ἐκά-  
 τερον. ἐς τε Σκύθας τοὺς ὁμόρους χρυσὸν καὶ  
 δῶρα πολλὰ Διοκλέα φέρειν ἐκέλευεν. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν  
 αὐτοῖς τε δώροις καὶ αὐτῷ χρυσίῳ πρὸς Λεύκολλον  
 ηύτομόλησε, Λεύκολλος δ' ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ θρασέως  
 προϊὼν ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν καὶ τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ἄπαντα  
 χειρούμενος προυνόμενεν. οἷα δ' εὐδαίμονος χώρας  
 καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀπολεμήτου, τὸ μὲν ἀνδράποδον

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

they did not venture out to sea, but defended CHAP.  
themselves from the shore, because they were afraid XI  
of the army of Lucullus. Thus they were exposed to missiles on both sides, landward and seaward, and received a great many wounds, and after heavy slaughter took to flight. Varius, Alexander, and Dionysius the eunuch were captured in a cave where they had concealed themselves. Dionysius drank poison which he had with him and immediately expired. Lucullus gave orders that Varius should be put to death, for it did not seem good to lead a Roman senator in triumph, but he kept Alexander to adorn his procession. He then sent letters wreathed with laurel to Rome, as is the custom of victors, and then pressed forward to Bithynia.

78. As Mithridates was sailing to Pontus a second tempest overtook him and he lost about 10,000 men and about sixty ships, and the remainder were scattered wherever the wind blew them. His own ship sprang a leak and he went aboard a small piratical craft although his friends tried to dissuade him. The pirates landed him safely at Sinope. From that place he was towed to Amisus, whence he sent appeals to his son-in-law, Tigranes the Armenian, and his son, Machares, the ruler of the Cimmerian Bosporus, that they should hasten to his assistance. He ordered Diocles to take a large quantity of gold and other presents to the neighbouring Scythians, but Diocles took the gold and the presents and deserted to Lucullus. Lucullus moved forward boldly after B.C. 72 his victory, subduing everything in his path and subsisting on the country. As it was a rich district, exempt from the ravages of war, the price of a slave

Mithridates  
suffers  
shipwreck

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. τεττάρων δραχμῶν αὐτίκα ἐγίγνετο, ὁ δὲ βοῦς  
<sup>XI</sup> μιᾶς, αἰγες δὲ καὶ πρόβατα καὶ ἑσθὴς καὶ  
 τὰ λοιπὰ τούτων κατὰ λόγον. Λεύκολλος δὲ  
 Ἀμισόν τε καὶ Εὐπατορίαν, ἦν τινα τῇ Ἀμισῷ  
 παρφκοδόμησεν ὁ Μιθριδάτης Εὐπατορίαν τε  
 ὠνόμαζεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ βασίλεια ἡγεῖτο, περι-  
 καθήμενος ἐπολιόρκει, καὶ ἔτέρῳ στρατῷ Θεμί-  
 σκυραν, ἥ τῶν Ἀμαζόνων τινὸς ἐπώνυμος οὖσα  
 παρὰ τὸν Θερμώδοντα ποταμὸν ἔστιν. τούτων δὲ  
 οἱ μὲν τοῖς Θεμισκυρίοις ἐπικαθήμενοι πύργους  
 ἐπῆγον αὐτοῖς καὶ χώματα ἔχώννυνον καὶ ὑπονό-  
 μους ὤρυττον, οὕτω δή τι μεγάλους ὡς ἐν αὐτοῖς  
 ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν ἀλλήλοις κατὰ πλῆθος ἐπιχειρεῖν·  
 καὶ οἱ Θεμισκύριοι ὅπας ἄνωθεν ἐς αὐτοὺς ὀρύτ-  
 τοντες, ἄρκτους τε καὶ θηρία ἔτερα καὶ σμήνη  
 μελισσῶν ἐς τοὺς ἐργαζομένους ἐνέβαλλον. οἱ δὲ  
 ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἀμισὸν ἔτερον τρόπον ἐμόχθουν, ἀπο-  
 μαχομένων αὐτοὺς τῶν Ἀμισέων καὶ πολλάκις ἐκ-  
 θεόντων καὶ ἐς μονομαχίας προκαλουμένων. Μιθρι-  
 δάτης δὲ αὐτοῖς πολλὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ ὅπλα καὶ  
 στρατιὰν ἐπεμπει ἐκ Καβείρων, ἔνθα χειμάζων  
 στρατὸν ἄλλον συνέλεγεν. καὶ συνῆλθον αὐτῷ  
 πεζοὶ μὲν ἐς τετρακισμυρίους, ἵππεῖς δὲ ἐς τετρα-  
 κισχιλίους.

## XII

CAP. 79. Ἰσταμένου δὲ ἥρος ὁ μὲν Λεύκολλος διὰ τῶν  
<sup>XII</sup> ὁρῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἐχώρει. προφυλακαὶ δὲ  
 ἥσαν ἐκείνων κωλύειν τε Λεύκολλον, καὶ διαπυρ-

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

at once became four drachmas, of an ox one, and of <sup>CHAP.</sup> <sub>XI</sub> goats, sheep, clothing, and other things in proportion. Lucullus laid siege to Amisus and also to Eupatoria, which Mithridates had built alongside of Amisus<sup>1</sup> naming it after himself, and regarding it as his seat of empire. With another army he besieged Themiscyra, which is named after one of the Amazons and is situated on the river Thermodon. The besiegers of this place brought up towers, built mounds, and dug tunnels so large that great subterranean battles were fought in them. The inhabitants cut openings into these tunnels from above and thrust bears and other wild animals and swarms of bees into them against the workers. Those who were besieging Amisus suffered in other ways. The inhabitants repelled them bravely, made frequent sallies, and often challenged them to single combat. Mithridates sent them plenty of supplies and arms and soldiers from Cabira, where he wintered and collected a new army. Here he brought together about 40,000 foot and 4000 horse.

## XII

79. WHEN spring came Lucullus marched over the mountains against Mithridates, who had stationed advanced posts to hinder his approach, and to signal

<sup>1</sup> Another geographical error. Amisus was on the sea-coast, and Eupatoria a considerable distance inland.

CHAP.  
XII

B.C. 71

Second

campaign of  
Lucullus  
against  
Mithridates

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

**CAP.** σεύειν οἱ συνεχῶς, εἴ τι γίγνοιτο. καὶ ἥρχε τῆσδε  
 XII τῆς φυλακῆς ἐκ Μιθριδάτου τις ἀνὴρ τοῦ βασιλείου  
 γένους, ὄνομα Φοῖνιξ· ὃς, ἐπεὶ Λεύκολλος ἐπέλαζε,  
 Μιθριδάτη μὲν διεπύρσευσεν, ἐς δὲ Λεύκολλον  
 ηὐτομόλησε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. καὶ ὁ Λεύκολλος  
 ἀδεῶς ἥδη τὰ ὅρη διεξελθὼν ἐς Κάβειρα κατέβη.  
 γενομένης δ' αὐτῷ τε καὶ Μιθριδάτη τινὸς ἵπ-  
 πομαχίας, ἡττώμενος αὗθις ἐς τὸ ὅρος ἀνέθορεν.  
 ὁ δὲ ἵππαρχος αὐτοῦ Πομπώνιος ἐς Μιθριδάτην  
 τετρωμένος ἀνήχθη· καὶ πυθομένῳ βασιλεῖ τίνα  
 χάριν οἱ περισωθεὶς δύναιτο ἀποδοῦναι, “εἰ μέν,”  
 ἔφη, “σὺ φίλος γένοιο Λευκόλλῳ, πάνυ πολλοῦ  
 ἀξίαν· εἰ δ' ἔχθρὸς εἴης, οὐδὲ βουλεύσομαι.” ὥδε  
 μὲν ὁ Πομπώνιος ἀπεκρίνατο· καὶ αὐτὸν τῶν  
 βαρβάρων κτείνειν ἀξιούντων, ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπεν  
 οὐκ ἔξυβριεν ἐς ἀτυχοῦσαν ἀρετήν. ἐκτάσσων  
 δὲ συνεχῶς, οὐ κατιόντος ἐς μάχην τοῦ Λευκόλλου,  
 περιών ἀνάβασιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔζητει. καί τις ἀνὴρ  
 ἐν τούτῳ Σκύθης, ὄνομα Ὀλκάβας, αὐτόμολος ὥν  
 ἐς Λεύκολλον ἐκ πολλοῦ, καὶ παρὰ τήνδε τὴν  
 ἵππομαχίαν πολλοὺς περισώσας, καὶ δι' αὐτὸν  
 παρὰ τοῦ Λευκόλλου τραπέζης τε καὶ γνώμης καὶ  
 ἀπορρήτων ἀξιούμενος, ἥκεν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν  
 αὐτοῦ περὶ μεσημβρίαν ἀναπαυομένου, καὶ ἐσελ-  
 θεῖν ἐβιάζετο, βραχὺ καὶ σύνηθες ἐπὶ τοῦ ζωστῆ-  
 ρος ἐγχειρίδιον περικείμενος. κωλυόμενος δ'  
 ἥγανάκτει, καὶ χρείαν τινὰ ἐπείγειν ἔλεγεν ἔξανα-  
 στῆσαι τὸν στρατηγόν. τῶν δὲ θεραπευτήρων  
 οὐδὲν εἰπόντων χρησιμώτερον εἶναι Λευκόλλῳ  
 τῆς σωτηρίας, ἐπέβη τὸν ἵππον αὐτίκα καὶ ἐς τὸν

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

continuously with beacons whenever anything should happen. He appointed a member of the royal family, named Phoenix, commander of this advanced guard. When Lucullus drew near, Phoenix gave the fire-signal to Mithridates and then deserted to Lucullus with his forces. Lucullus now passed over the mountains without difficulty and came down to Cabira, but was beaten by Mithridates in a cavalry engagement and retreated again to the mountain. Pomponius, his master of horse, was wounded and taken prisoner and brought to the presence of Mithridates. The king asked him what favour Pomponius could render him if his life were spared. The Roman replied, "A most valuable favour if you make peace with Lucullus, but if you continue his enemy I will not even consider your question." The barbarians wanted to put him to death, but the king said that he would not do violence to bravery overtaken by misfortune. He drew out his forces for battle several days in succession, but Lucullus would not come down and fight; so he looked about for some way to reach him by ascending the mountain. At this juncture a Scythian, named Olcaba, who had deserted to Lucullus some time before and had saved the lives of many in the recent cavalry fight, and for that reason was deemed worthy to share Lucullus' table, his confidence, and his secrets, came to his tent while he was taking his noonday rest and tried to force his way in. He was wearing a short dagger in his belt as was his custom. When he was prevented from entering he became angry and said that there was a pressing need that the general should be aroused. The servants replied that there was nothing more needful to Lucullus than his safety. Thereupon the Scythian mounted his horse

CAP. Μιθριδάτην ἔξήλασεν, εἴτε ἐπιβουλεύων καὶ δόξας  
 XII ὑποπτεύεσθαι, εἴτε σὺν ὄργῃ, περιυβρίσθαι νομί-  
 ζων. ἔτερόν τε Σκύθην, ὅνομα Σοβάδακον,  
 ἐνέφηνε τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ βουλεύειν ἐς Λεύκολλον  
 αὐτομολίαν. Σοβάδακος μὲν δὴ συνελαμβάνετο,

80. Λεύκολλος δὲ τὴν κάθοδον τὴν ἐς τὸ πεδίον  
 ἵπποκρατούντων τῶν πολεμίων ἐκτρεπόμενος, καὶ  
 περίοδον ἐτέραν οὐχ ὄρων, ηὔρεν ἐν σπηλαίῳ  
 κυνηγὸν ὄρείων ἀτραπῶν ἐπιστήμονα, φῶν χρώμενος  
 ἥγεμόνι κατὰ ὁδοὺς ἀτριβεῖς περιῆλθεν ὑπὲρ  
 κεφαλῆς τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, καὶ κατήει μὲν ἐκκλίνας  
 καὶ τότε τὸ πεδίον διὰ τοὺς ἵππους, χαράδραν δὲ  
 ὕδατος ἐν προβολῇ θέμενος ἐστρατοπέδευσεν.  
 ἀπορῶν δ' ἀγορᾶς ἐς Καππαδοκίαν ἐπεμπεν ἐπὶ  
 σῖτον, καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἡκροβολίζετο, μέχρι,  
 φευγόντων ποτὲ τῶν βασιλικῶν, ὁ Μιθριδάτης  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ χάρακος ἐπιδραμὼν καὶ ἐπιπλήξας  
 ἐπέστρεφεν αὐτούς, καὶ Ὦρμαίους οὕτω κατεφό-  
 βησεν ώς ἄνω διὰ τῶν ὄρῶν φεύγοντας οὐδὲ ἀπο-  
 στάντων αἰσθέσθαι τῶν πολεμίων ἐς πολύ, ἀλλ'  
 ἔκαστον ἥγεῖσθαι τὸν συμφεύγοντά οἱ καὶ ἐπιόντα  
 ὅπισθεν εἶναι πολέμιον οὕτω πάνυ κατεπεπλή-  
 γεσαν. καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτης περὶ τῆσδε τῆς νίκης  
 πανταχοῦ γράφων περιέπεμπεν. τῶν δ' ἵππων  
 πολὺ μέρος, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τὸ μαχιμώτατον,  
 ἐφεδρεύειν ἔταξε τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Καππαδοκίας τὴν  
 ἀγορὰν τῷ Λευκόλλῳ φέρουσιν, ἐλπίζων ἐν ἀπορίᾳ  
 τροφῶν αὐτὸν γενομένον πείσεσθαι οἷον αὐτὸς  
 ἔπαθε περὶ Κύζικον.

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

and went immediately to Mithridates, either because CHAP.  
he had plotted against Lucullus and now thought XII  
that he was suspected, or because he considered himself insulted and was angry on that account. He exposed to Mithridates another Scythian, named Sobadacus, who was meditating deserting to Lucullus, and Sobadacus was accordingly arrested.

80. Lucullus hesitated about going down directly into the plain since the enemy was so much superior in horse, nor could he discover any way round, but he found a hunter in a cave who was familiar with the mountain paths. With him for a guide he made a circuitous descent by rugged paths over Mithridates' head. On this occasion too he avoided the plain on account of the cavalry, and came down and chose a place for his camp where he had a mountain stream on his front. As he was short of supplies he sent to Cappadocia for corn, and skirmished with the enemy until one day, when the royal forces were put to flight, Mithridates came running to them from his camp and, with reproachful words, rallied them, and so terrified the Romans that they fled up the mountain side with such swiftness that they did not know for a long time that the hostile force had desisted from the pursuit, but each one thought that the fleeing comrade behind him was an enemy, so great was the panic that had overtaken them. Mithridates sent bulletins everywhere announcing this victory. He then sent a large detachment composed of the bravest of his horse to intercept the convoy that was bringing supplies from Cappadocia to Lucullus, hoping to bring upon him the same scarcity of provisions from which he had himself suffered at Cyzicus.

He crosses  
a mountain  
range

CAP.  
XII 81. Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐνθύμημα μεγα ἦν, ἀποκλεῖσαι  
τροφῶν Λεύκολλου, ἐκ μόνης ἔχοντα Καππα-  
δοκίας· οἱ δὲ ἵππεῖς οἱ βασιλέως τοῖς προδρόμοις  
τῶν σιτοφόρων ἐν στενῷ περιτυχόντες, καὶ οὐκ  
ἀναμείναντες ἐς εὐρυχωρίαν προελθεῖν, ἀχρεῖον ως  
ἐν στενῷ σφίσι τὴν ἵππον ἐποίησαν. ἐν φέτῳ καὶ  
Ῥωμαῖοι φθάσαντες ἐξ ὁδοιπορίας ἐς μάχην  
παρασκευάσασθαι, τοὺς μὲν ἕκτειναν τῶν βασιλι-  
κῶν, βοηθούσης οὖλα πεζοῖς τῆς δυσχωρίας, τοὺς  
δὲ ἐς τὰς πέτρας κατήραξαν, τοὺς δὲ διέρριψαν  
ὑποφεύγοντας. ὀλίγοι δὲ νυκτὸς ἐς τὸ στρατό-  
πεδον διαδραμόντες τε καὶ μόνοι περιγενέσθαι  
λέγοντες, μέγα δὲ σφίσι τὸ συμβάν μειζόνως  
διεθρόησαν. Μιθριδάτης δ' αὐτὸ πρὸ τοῦ Λευ-  
κόλλου πυθόμενός τε, καὶ Λεύκολλου ἐλπίσας  
ἐπὶ τοσῆδε ἵππεων ἀπωλείᾳ αὐτίκα οἱ προσπε-  
σεῖσθαι, φυγὴν ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως ἐπενόει, καὶ τόδε  
τοῖς φίλοις εὐθὺς ἐξέφερεν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ. οἱ δέ,  
πρίν τι γενέσθαι παράγγελμα, νυκτὸς ἔτι, σπουδῇ  
τὰ ἴδια ἔκαστος ἐξέπεμπεν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου·  
καὶ ὡθουμένων περὶ τὰς πύλας σκευοφόρων πολὺ<sup>ν</sup>  
πλῆθος ἦν. ὅπερ ἡ στρατιὰ θεωμένη καὶ τοὺς  
φέροντας ἐπιγιγνώσκουσα, καὶ τοπάζουσα πολλὰ  
ἀτοπώτερα, σὺν δέει, καὶ ἀγανακτήσει τοῦ μηδὲν  
αὐτοῖς ἐπηγγέλθαι, τὸν χάρακα σφῶν ἐπιδρα-  
μόντες ἐλυον, καὶ διέφευγον ως ἐκ πεδίου πάντοθεν  
ἀκόσμως, ὅπῃ δύναιτο ἔκαστος αὐτῶν, ἄνευ στρα-  
τηγοῦ καὶ ἐπιστάτου παραγγέλματος. ὃν ὁ  
Μιθριδάτης ὁξύτερον τε καὶ σὺν ἀταξίᾳ γιγνο-  
μένων αἰσθόμενος, ἐξέδραμεν ἐκ τῆς σκηνῆς ἐς

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

81. It was an excellent idea, to cut off Lucullus' supplies, which were drawn from Cappadocia alone, but when the king's cavalry came upon the advance guard of the convoy in a narrow defile, they did not wait till their enemies had reached the open country. Consequently their horses were useless in the narrow space, where the Romans hastily put their marching column in line of battle. Aided, as foot-soldiers would naturally be, by the difficulties of the ground, they killed some of the king's troops, drove others over precipices, and scattered the rest in flight. A few of them escaped to their camp by night, and said that they were the only survivors, so that rumour magnified the calamity, which was indeed sufficiently great. Mithridates heard of this affair before Lucullus did, and he expected that Lucullus would take advantage of so great a slaughter of his horsemen to attack him forthwith. Accordingly in his panic he began to contemplate flight, and at once communicated his purpose to his friends in his tent. They did not wait for the signal to be given, but while it was still night each one hastily sent his own baggage out of the camp, and there was a great crush of pack animals around the gates. When the soldiers perceived the commotion, and saw what the baggage-carriers were doing, they imagined every sort of absurdity. Filled with terror, mingled with anger that the signal had not been given to them also, they ran and demolished their own fortification and scattered in every direction, as it was a plain, helter-skelter, without orders from the commanding general or any other officer. When Mithridates perceived the hurried and disorderly rush he dashed out of his tent among them and attempted to say

XII

Panic in the  
camp of  
Mithridates

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. αύτοὺς καὶ λέγειν τι ἐπεχείρει, οὐδενὸς δ' ἐσακού-  
 XII. ουτος ἔτι, συνθλιβεὶς ως ἐν πλήθει κατέπεσε, καὶ  
 ἐς τὸν ἵππον ἀναβληθεὶς ἐς τὰ ὅρη σὺν ὄλίγοις  
 ἐφέρετο.

82. Λεύκολλος δὲ τῆς περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν εὐπρα-  
 γίας πυθόμενος, καὶ τὴν φυγὴν τῶν πολεμίων  
 ἴδων, ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς ἐκφυγόντας ἐπεμπε διώκειν  
 ἵππεας πολλούς, τοῖς δὲ συσκευαζομένοις ἔτι κατὰ  
 τὸ στρατόπεδον τοὺς πεζοὺς περιστήσας ἐκέλευε  
 μὴ διαρπάξειν ἐν τῷ τότε μηδέν, ἀλλὰ κτείνειν  
 ἀφειδῶς. οἱ δὲ σκεύη τε χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ  
 πολλὰ καὶ ἐσθῆτας πολυτελεῖς θεώμενοι ἔξε-  
 στησαν τοῦ παραγγέλματος. αὐτὸν τε τὸν  
 Μιθριδάτην οἱ καταλαμβάνοντες, ἡμίονόν τινα  
 τῶν χρυσοφόρων ἐς τὸ σάγμα πατάξαντες, προ-  
 πεσόντος τοῦ χρυσίου περὶ τόδε γενόμενοι δια-  
 φυγεῖν ἐς Κόμανα περιεῖδον· ὅθεν ἐς Τιγράνην  
 ἐφυγε σὺν ἵππεῦσι δισχιλίοις. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς  
 ὅψιν οὐ προσέμενος, ἐν χωρίοις ἐκέλευσε διαίτης  
 βασιλικῆς ἀξιοῦσθαι, ὅτε δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τῆς  
 ἀρχῆς ἀπογνοὺς ὁ Μιθριδάτης Βάκχον εύνοοῦχων  
 ἐπεμπεν ἐς τὰ βασίλεια, τὰς ἀδελφὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ  
 τὰς γυναικας καὶ παλλακάς, ὅπῃ δύναιτο, ἀνε-  
 λοῦντα. αἱ μὲν δὴ διεφθείροντο ξίφεσι καὶ φαρ-  
 μάκοις καὶ βρόχοις, δεινὰ ποιοῦσαι· ταῦτα δ'  
 ὄρωντες οἱ φρουράρχοι τοῦ Μιθριδάτου ἀθρόως  
 ἐς τὸν Λεύκολλον μετετίθεντο, χωρὶς ὄλιγων. καὶ  
 ὁ Λεύκολλος αὐτοὺς ἐπιὼν καθίστατο, καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ  
 τοῦ Πόντου πόλεις περιπλέων ἥρει, "Αμαστρίν τε  
 καὶ Ἡράκλειαν καὶ ἑτέρας.

83. Σινώπη δ' ἀντεῖχεν ἔτι καρτερῶς, καὶ διεναυ-  
 μάχησεν οὐ κακῶς. πολιορκούμενοι δὲ τὰς ναῦς

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

something, but nobody would listen to him. He was CHAP.  
crushed in the crowd and knocked from his horse,  
but remounted and was borne to the mountains with  
a few followers.

82. When Lucullus heard of the success of his provision train and observed the enemy's flight, he sent out a large force of cavalry in pursuit of the fugitives. Those who were still collecting baggage in the camp he surrounded with his infantry, whom he ordered for the time to abstain from plunder, and to kill indiscriminately. But the soldiers, seeing vessels of gold and of silver in abundance and much costly clothing, disregarded the order. Those who overtook Mithridates himself cut open the pack saddle of a mule that was loaded with gold, which fell out, and while they were busy with it they allowed him to escape to Comana. From thence he fled to Tigranes with 2000 horsemen. Tigranes did not admit him to his presence, but ordered royal entertainment to be provided for him on his estates. Mithridates, in utter despair of his kingdom, sent the eunuch Bacchus to his palace to put his sisters, wives and concubines to death in any way he could. They were stabbed, poisoned, and hanged, lamenting their fate, but when the garrison commanders of Mithridates saw these things they went over to Lucullus in a body, all but a few. Lucullus marched to these towns and regulated them. He also sailed round among the cities on the Pontic coast and captured Amastris, Heraclea and some others.

83. Sinope continued to resist him vigorously, and the inhabitants fought him on the water not without

Mithridates takes refuge with Tigranes

B.C. 70  
Lucullus regulates the Pontic cities

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

ΣΑΡ. τὰς βαρυτέρας σφῶν διέπρησαν, καὶ ἐς τὰς κουφότερας ἐμβάντες ἀπέδρασαν. Λεύκολλος δὲ τὴν πόλιν εὐθὺς ἐλευθέραν ἦφίει δι' ἐνύπνιον, ὃ τοιόνδε ἦν. Αὐτόλυκον φασιν, ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας Ἡρακλεῖ συστρατεύοντα, ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἐς Σινώπην καταχθῆναι καὶ τῆς πόλεως κρατῆσαι· ἀνδριάς τε σεβάσμιος τοῖς Σινωπεῦσιν ἔχρα, ὃν οἱ μὲν Σινωπεῖς οὐ φθάσαντες ἐς φυγὴν ἐπαγαγέσθαι, ὅθόναις καὶ καλωδίοις περιέδησαν· οὐδὲν δ' ὁ Λεύκολλος εἰδὼς οὐδὲ προμαθὼν ἔδοξεν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κληθεὶς ὄρāν αὐτόν, καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης τὸν ἀνδριάντα τινῶν περιβεβλημένον παραφερόντων ἐκλῦσαι κελεύσας, εἶδεν οἷον ἔδοξε νυκτὸς ἑωρακέναι. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἐνύπνιον τοιόνδε ἦν, Λεύκολλος δὲ καὶ Ἀμισὸν ἐπὶ τῇ Σινώπῃ συνῳκιζεν, ἐκφυγόντων μὲν ὄμοιώς τῶν Ἀμισέων διὰ θαλάσσης, πυνθανόμενος δ' ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων αὐτοὺς θαλασσοκρατούντων συνῳκίσθαι, καὶ δημοκρατίᾳ χρησαμένους ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῖς Περσικοῖς βασιλεῦσ' νπακοῦσαι, ἀναγαγόντος δ' αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἐκ προστάγματος Ἀλεξάνδρου πάλιν δουλεῦσαι τοῖς Ποντικοῖς. ἐφ' οἷς ἄρα συμπαθής ὁ Λεύκολλος γενόμενός τε, καὶ φιλοτιμούμενός γε καὶ ὅδε ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ περὶ γένος Ἀττικόν, αὐτόνομον ἦφίει τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς Ἀμισέας κατὰ τάχος συνεκάλει. ὅδε μὲν δὴ Σινώπην καὶ Ἀμισὸν Λεύκολλος ἐπόρθει τε καὶ συνῳκιζε, καὶ Μαχάρη τῷ παιδὶ τῷ Μιθριδάτου, Βοσπόρου τε βασιλεύοντι

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

success, but when they were besieged they burned their heavier ships, embarked on the lighter ones, and went away. Lucullus at once made it a free city, being moved thereto by the following dream. It is said that Autolycus, the companion of Hercules in his expedition against the Amazons, was driven by a tempest into Sinope and made himself master of the place, and that his consecrated statue gave oracles to the Sinopeans. They had not time to take it with them in their flight, so they wrapped it up with linen cloths and ropes. Nobody told Lucullus of this beforehand, and he knew nothing about it, but he dreamed that he saw Autolycus calling him, and the following day, when some men passed him carrying the image wrapped up, he ordered them to take off the covering and then he saw what he thought he had seen in the night. Such was his dream. After Sinope Lucullus restored to their homes the citizens of Amisus, who had fled by sea in like manner, because he learned that they had been settled there by Athens when she held the empire of the sea; that they had had a democratic form of government at first, and afterwards had been subject for a long time to the kings of Persia; that their democracy had been restored to them by decree of Alexander; and that they had finally been compelled to serve the kings of Pontus. Lucullus sympathized with them, and in emulation of the favour shown to the Attic race by Alexander he gave the city its freedom and recalled the citizens with all haste. After thus desolating and repeopling both Sinope and Amisus Lucullus entered into friendly relations with Machares, the son of Mithridates and ruler of the Bosphorus, who had sent him a crown of

XII

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. καὶ στέφαινόν οἱ πεμψαντι ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ, φιλίαν  
 XII συνέθετο, Μιθριδάτην δ' ἐξήτει παρὰ Τιγράνους.  
 καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν αὐτὸς ἐπανελθών, ὁφείλουσαν  
 ἔτι τῶν Συλλείων ἐπιβολῶν, τέταρτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς  
 καρποῖς, τέλη δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς θεράπουσι καὶ ταῖς  
 οἰκίαις ὥριζεν. καὶ ἐπινίκια ἔθυεν ὡς δὴ τὸν  
 πόλεμον κατωρθωκώς.

84. Ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς θυσίαις ἐπὶ τὸν Τιγράνην, οὐκ  
 ἐκδιδόντα οἱ τὸν Μιθριδάτην, ἐστράτευε σὺν δύο  
 τέλεσιν ἐπιλέκτοις καὶ ἵππεῦσι πεντακοσίοις. καὶ  
 τὸν Εὐφράτην περάσας, μόνα τὰ χρήσιμα τοὺς  
 βερβάρους αἰτῶν διώδευεν· οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες οὐκ  
 ἐπολέμουν, οὐδὲ ἡξίουν τι πάσχειν, ἔστε Λεύκολλον  
 καὶ Τιγράνην ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις διακριθῆναι. Τιγράνη  
 δ' οὐδεὶς ἐμήνυεν ἐπιόντα Λεύκολλον· ὁ γάρ τοι  
 πρῶτος εἰπὼν ἐκεκρέμαστο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, συνταράσ-  
 σειν αὐτὸν τὰς πόλεις νομίσαντος. ὡς δέ ποτε  
 ἦσθετο, Μιθροβαρζάνην προύπεμπε μετὰ δισχι-  
 λίων ἵππεων, Λεύκολλον ἐπισχεῖν τοῦ δρόμου.  
 Μαγκαίφ δὲ Τιγρανόκερτα φυλάττειν ἐπέτρεψεν,  
 ἦν τινα πόλιν, ὡς μοι προείρηται, ἐπὶ τιμῇ τῇ  
 ἑαυτοῦ βασιλεὺς ἐν ἐκείνῳ γενέσθαι τῷ χωρίῳ  
 συνώκιζε, καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐς αὐτὴν συνεκάλει,  
 ζημίαν ἐπιτιθείς, ὅσα μὴ μεταφέροιεν, δεδημεῦ-  
 σθαι. τείχη τε αὐτοῖς περιέβαλε πεντηκοντα-  
 πήχη τὸ ὑψος, ἵπποστασίων ἐν τῷ βάθει γέμοντα,  
 καὶ βασίλεια καὶ παραδείσους κατὰ τὸ προάστειον  
 ἐποίει μακρούς, καὶ κυνηγέσια πολλὰ καὶ λίμνας·  
 ἀγχοῦ δὲ καὶ φρούριον ἀνίστη καρτερόν. καὶ  
 πάντα τότε Μαγκαίφ ταῦτ' ἐπιτρέψας, περιήει

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

gold, and demanded the surrender of Mithridates CHAP. XII from Tigranes. Then he went back in person to the province of Asia, which still owed part of the fine imposed by Sulla, and imposed on it a twenty-five per cent. tax on crops, and taxes on slaves and house-property. He offered a triumphal sacrifice to the gods, as though he had brought the war to a successful issue.

84. After the sacrifice had been performed he B.C. 69 marched with two picked legions and 500 horse He marches against Tigranes against Tigranes to Mithridates to him. Having crossed the Euphrates, he only required the barbarians, through whose territory he passed, to furnish necessary supplies, since they did not want to fight, or to expose themselves to suffering, but preferred to leave Lucullus and Tigranes to decide the issue by themselves. No one told Tigranes that Lucullus was advancing, for he had hanged the first man who had brought such a report, considering him a disturber of the good order of the cities. But when at last he learned the truth, he sent Mithrobarzanes forward with 2000 horse to hinder Lucullus' march. He entrusted to Mancaeus the He besieges Tigran- defence of Tigranocerta, which city, as I have already said, the king had built in this region in honour of himself, and to which he had summoned the principal inhabitants of the country under penalty of confiscation of all of their goods that they did not transfer to it. He surrounded it with walls fifty cubits high, the base of which was full of stables. In the suburbs he built a palace and laid out large parks, hunting-grounds and lakes. He also erected a strong fortress near by. All these he put in charge of Mancaeus, and then he went through the country to collect an

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

**CAP. ΧII** στρατιὰν ἀγείρων. Μιθροβαρζάνην μὲν οὖν ὁ Λεύκολλος εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς πρώτης συμβολῆς τρεψάμενος ἐδίωκε, Μαγκαῖον δὲ Σεξτῖλιος ἐς Τιγρανόκερτα κατακλείσας τὰ μὲν βασίλεια αὐτίκα, ἀτέχιστα ὅντα, διήρπασε, τὴν δὲ πόλιν καὶ τὸ φρούριον ἀπετάφρευε, καὶ μηχανὰς ἐφίστη, καὶ ὑπονόμοις ἀνεκρήμνη τὸ τεῖχος.

85. Καὶ Σεξτῖλιος μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἐγύγνετο, Τιγράνης δέ, πεζῶν ἐς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας ἀγείρας καὶ ἵππεας ἐς πεντακισμυρίους, προύπεμψεν αὐτῶν ἐς Τιγρανόκερτα περὶ ἔξακισχιλίους, οἱ διὰ μέσων Ῥωμαίων ἐς τὸ φρούριον ὡσάμενοί τε καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς τοῦ βασιλέως ἔξαρπάσαντες ἐπανῆλθον. τῷ δὲ λοιπῷ στρατῷ Τιγράνης αὐτὸς ἥλαυιεν ἐπὶ Λεύκολλον. καὶ αὐτῷ τότε πρῶτον Μιθριδάτης ἐς ὅψιν ἐλθὼν συνεβούλευε μὴ συμπλέκεσθαι Ῥωμαίους, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἵππικῷ μόνῳ περιτρέχοντα καὶ τὴν γῆν λυμαινόμενον ἐς λιμὸν αὐτούς, εἰ δύγαιτο, περικλεῖσαι, φέτοπερ καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Λευκόλλου περὶ Κύζικον ἀμαχὶ κάμνων τὸν στρατὸν ἀπολέσαι. ὁ δὲ γελάσας αὐτοῦ τὴν στρατηγίαν, προήει συνεσκευασμένος ἐς μάχην καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ὄλιγότητα ἴδων ἐπέσκωψεν οὕτως· “εἰ μὲν πρέσβεις εἰσὶν οἵδε, πολλοί, εἰ δὲ πολέμου, πάμπαν ὄλιγοι.” Λεύκολλος δὲ λόφον εὔκαιρον ἴδων ὅπισθεν τοῦ Τιγράνους, τοὺς μὲν ἵππεας ἐκ μετώπου προσέτασσεν ἐνοχλεῦν αὐτῷ καὶ περισπᾶν ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ὑποχωρεῦν ἐκόντας, ἵνα τῶν βαρβάρων διωκόντων ἡ τάξις παραλυθείη· τοῖς δὲ πεζοῖς αὐτὸς ἐς τὸν λόφον περιοδεύσας ἀνήιει λαθών. καὶ ὡς εἰδε τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπὸ τῆς διέξεως οὐα νικῶν-

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

army. Lucullus, at his first encounter with Mithro- CHAP  
barzanes, defeated him and put him to flight. Sex- XI  
tilius shut up Mancaeus in Tigranocerta, plundered  
the palace, which was not fortified, drew a ditch  
around the city and fortress, stationed engines against  
them, and began to undermine the wall.

85. While Sextilius was doing this Tigranes brought together some 250,000 foot and 50,000 horse. He sent about 6000 of the latter to Tigranocerta, who broke through the Roman line to the tower, and seized and brought away the king's concubines. With the rest of his army Tigranes marched in person against Lucullus. Mithridates, who was now for the first time admitted to his presence, advised him not to come to close quarters with the Romans, but to circle round them with his horse only, to devastate the country, and to reduce them by famine if possible, in the same way that he himself had been served by Lucullus at Cyzicus, where he lost his army through exhaustion without fighting. Tigranes derided such generalship and advanced ready for battle. When he saw how small the Roman force was, he said sarcastically, "If they are here as ambassadors they are too many; if as enemies, altogether too few." Lucullus saw a hill favourably situated in the rear of Tigranes, and accordingly stationed his cavalry for a frontal attack, to harass the enemy and draw him on against themselves, retiring voluntarily, so that the barbarians should break their own ranks in the pursuit; but he himself went round with his infantry to the hill and took possession of it unobserved. When he saw the enemy pursuing as though they had won the fight, and scattered in all directions, with their entire

Battle  
Tigran-  
ocerta

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

**CAP. XII** τας ἐς πολλὰ διεσκεδασμένους, τὰ δὲ σκευοφόρα αὐτῶν πάντα ύποκείμενα, ἀνεβόησε· “νικῶμεν, ὁ ἄνδρες,” καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα πρῶτος ἦτο δρόμῳ. τὰ δὲ αὐτίκα σὺν θορύβῳ φεύγοντα τοῖς πεζοῖς ἐνέπιπτε, καὶ τοῖς ἵππεῦσιν οἱ πεζοί. τροπή τε ἦν εὐθὺς ὀλοσχερής οἵ τε γάρ ἐν τῇ διώξει μακρὰν ἀπεσπασμένοι τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἵππέων ἐπιστρεψάντων ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀπώλυντο, καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐνέπιπτεν ὡς ἐνοχλούμενα. πάντων τε ὡς ἐν τοσῷδε πλιόθει θλιβομένων, καὶ τὸ ἀκριβὲς οὐκ εἰδότων, ὅπόθεν ἡ ἥσσα αὐτοῖς ἄρχοιτο, πολὺς ἦν φόνος, οὐδενὸς σκυλεύοντος οὐδένι ἀπηγόρευτο γάρ ἐκ Λευκόλλου μετ' ἀπειλῆς, ὅστε καὶ ψέλια καὶ περιαυχένια παροδεύοντες ἔκτεινον ἐπὶ σταδίους ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσιν, ἔστε νὺξ ἐπέλαβε. τότε δ' ἀναστρέφοντες ἐσκύλευον· ἐδίδουν γάρ ὁ Λεύκολλος ἥδη.

86. Γιγνομένην δὲ τὴν ἥτταν ὁ Μαγκαῖος ἐφορῶν ἀπὸ Τιγρανοκέρτων, τοὺς “Ἐλληνας, οἱ ἐμισθοφόρουν αὐτῷ, πάντας ἔξωπλισεν ὑποπτεύων· οἱ σύλληψιν δεδιότες, ἀθρόοι σκυτάλας ἔχοντες ἐβάδιξόν τε καὶ ηὐλίζοντο. Μαγκαίου δὲ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπάγοντος αὐτοῖς ὠπλισμένους, διαδῆσάμενοι τὰ ιμάτια ταῖς λαιαις ἀντὶ ἀσπίδων, μετὰ τόλμης ἐσέδραμον ἐς αὐτούς· καὶ ὅσους ἀνέλοιεν, εὐθὺς ἐμερίζοντο τὰ ὅπλα. ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν εἶχον αὐτάρκως, μεσοπύργιά τινα κατέλαβον, καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἔξωθεν ἐκάλουν τε καὶ ἀναβαίνοντας ἐδέχοντο. οὕτω μὲν ἐάλω Τιγρανόκερτα, καὶ πλοῦτος διηρπάζετο πολύς, οἷα πόλεως νεοκατασκεύου, φιλοτίμως συνφκισμένης.

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

baggage-train lying at the foot of the hill, he CHAP.  
exclaimed, " Soldiers, we are victorious," and dashed XII  
first upon their baggage-carriers. These immediately Total defeat  
fled in confusion and ran against their own infantry,<sup>of Tigranes</sup>  
and the infantry against the cavalry. In a moment  
the rout was complete. After drawing their pursuer  
a long distance, the Roman horse turned and cut  
them to pieces, and the baggage-train in their con-  
fusion came into collision with the others. And as  
they all jostled each other in the crowd, and did not  
know with any certainty from what quarter their dis-  
comfiture proceeded, there was a great slaughter. No-  
body stopped to plunder, for Lucullus had forbidden  
it with threats of punishment, so that they passed  
by bracelets and necklaces on the road, and con-  
tinued killing for a distance of 120 stades until  
nightfall. Then they returned and betook them-  
selves to plunder with the permission of Lucullus.

86. When Mancaeus beheld this defeat from Tigranocerta he disarmed all his Greek mercenaries because he suspected them. They, in fear of arrest, went about together and rested together with clubs in their hands. Mancaeus set upon them with his armed barbarians. They wound their clothing round their left arms, to serve as shields, ran upon their assailants courageously, and immediately shared the arms of all those they killed. When they were thus as far as possible provided with weapons they seized some of the spaces between the towers, called to the Romans outside, and admitted them when they came up. In this way was Tigranocerta taken, and much wealth was plundered, as was natural in a city newly built and founded on an ambitious scale.

Capture of  
Tigran-  
ocerta

## XIII

CAP.  
XIII 87. Τιγράνης δὲ καὶ Μιθριδάτης στρατὸν ἄλλον ἥθροιζον περιιόντες, οὐ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐπετέτραπτο Μιθριδάτης, ἡγουμένου Τιγράνους αὐτῷ γεγονέναι τὰ παθήματα διδάγματα. ἔπειταν δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν Παρθυαῖον, ἐπικουρεῖν σφίσι παρακαλοῦντες. ἀντιπρεσβεύοντος δὲ Λευκόλλου, καὶ ἀξιοῦντος ἡ οἱ συμμαχῆσαι ἡ ἀμφοτέροις ἐκστῆναι τοῦ ἀγῶνος, ὁ μὲν κρύφα συντιθέμενος ἑκατέροις, οὐκ ἔφθασεν οὐδετέροις ἀμῦναι, ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ὅπλα τε εἰργάζετο κατὰ πόλιν ἐκάστην, καὶ ἐστρατολόγει σχεδὸν ἄπαντας Ἀρμενίους. ἐπιλεξάμενος δ' αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους, ἐς ἐπτακισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἵππεας ἡμίσεας, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀπέλυσε, τοὺς δ' ἐς Ἰλας τε καὶ σπείρας ἀγχοτάτῳ τῆς Ἰταλικῆς συντάξεως καταλέγων Ποντικοῖς ἀνδράσι γυμνάζειν παρεδίδου. προσιόντος δ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ Λευκόλλου, ὁ μὲν Μιθριδάτης τὸ πεζὸν ἄπαν καὶ μέρος τι τῶν ἵππεων ἐπὶ λόφου συνεῖχε, τῇ λοιπῇ δὲ ἵππῳ Τιγράνης τοῖς σιτολογοῦσι Ῥωμαίοις περιπεσὼν ἡσσάτο. καὶ μᾶλλον ἀδεῶς ἀπὸ τοῦδε οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πλησίον αὐτοῦ Μιθριδάτου ἐσιτολόγουν τε καὶ ἐστρατοπέδευνον. κονιορτὸς δ' αὐθις ἡγείρετο πολὺς ὡς ἐπιόντος τοῦ Τιγράνους· καὶ τὸ ἐνθύμημα ἦν ἐν μέσῳ Λεύκολλον ἀμφοῖν γενέσθαι. ὁ δὲ αἰσθόμενος τοὺς μὲν ἀρίστους τῶν ἵππεων προύπεμψε πορρωτάτῳ συμπλέκεσθαι τῷ Τιγράνῃ καὶ κωλύειν αὐτὸν ἐξ ὁδοιπορίας ἐς τάξιν καθίστασθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν Μιθριδάτην προκαλούμενος ἐς

# THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

## XIII

87. TIGRANES and Mithridates traversed the country collecting a new army, the command of which was committed to Mithridates, because Tigranes thought that his disasters must have taught him some lessons. They also sent messengers to Parthia to solicit aid from that quarter. Lucullus sent opposing legates asking that the Parthians should either help him or remain neutral. Their king made secret agreements with both, but was in no haste to help either of them. Mithridates manufactured arms in every town and enrolled almost the whole population of Armenia. From these he selected the bravest, to the number of about 70,000 foot and half that number of horse, and dismissed the rest. He divided them into squadrons and cohorts as nearly as possible according to the Italian system, and handed them over to Pontic officers to be trained. When Lucullus moved toward them Mithridates, with all the foot-soldiers and a part of the horse, held his forces together on a hill. Tigranes, with the rest of the horse, attacked the Roman foragers and was beaten, for which reason the Romans foraged more freely afterwards even in the vicinity of Mithridates himself, and encamped near him. Again a great dust arose indicating the approach of Tigranes; and the plan was that the two kings should surround Lucullus. But he, perceiving their movement, sent forward the pick of his horse very far in advance, to engage Tigranes, and prevent him from deploying from his line of march into order of battle. He also challenged Mithridates to fight, and began to

CHAP.  
XIII  
B.C. 68  
Tigranes collects a new army

Indecisive movements

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. μάχην . . . .<sup>1</sup> καὶ περιταφρεύων οὐκ ἡρέθιζεν,  
 XIII ἔως χειμῶν ἐπιπεσῶν διέλυσε τὸ ἔργον ἄπασιν.

88. Καὶ Τιγράνης μὲν ἐξ ὅλης Ἀρμενίας ἐς τὰ  
 ἐντὸς ἀνεζεύγνυεν, ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἐς τὸν Πόντον  
 ἐπὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς ἴδιας ἀρχῆς ἡπείγετο, τετρακισ-  
 χιλίους οἰκείους ἔχων, καὶ τοσούσδε ἐτέρους παρὰ  
 Τιγράνους λαβών. ἐφείπετο δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ  
 Λεύκολλος, ἀναζευγνὺς καὶ ὅδε διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν.  
 φθάσας δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐπέθετο Φαβίῳ τῷ  
 δεῦρῳ ἐκ Λευκόλλου στρατηγεῖν ὑπολελειμένῳ,  
 καὶ τρεψάμενος αὐτὸν ἔκτεινε πεντακοσίους.  
 ἐλευθερώσαντος δὲ τοῦ Φαβίου θεράποντας ὅσοι  
 ἦσαν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας  
 αὐθις ἀγωνιζομένου, παλίντροπος ἦν ὁ ἀγών, μέχρι  
 τὸν Μιθριδάτην, πληγέντα λίθῳ τε ἐς τὸ γόνυ καὶ  
 ὑπὸ τὸν ὄφθαλμὸν βέλει, κατὰ σπουδὴν ἀπο-  
 κομισθῆναι, καὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας τοὺς μὲν φόβῳ  
 τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς σωτηρίας, τοὺς δὲ ὑπὸ πλήθους  
 τραυμάτων ἡρεμῆσαι. Μιθριδάτην μὲν οὖν ἐθερά-  
 πευον "Αγαροί, Σκυθικὸν ἔθνος, ιοῖς ὅφεων ἐς τὰς  
 θεραπείας χρώμενοι καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἀεὶ βασιλεῖ  
 συνόντες· Φαβίῳ δὲ Τριάριος, ἔτερος Λευκόλλου  
 στρατηγός, ἐπελθὼν μετ' οἰκείου στρατοῦ, τὴν τε  
 ἀρχὴν παρὰ τοῦ Φαβίου καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα παρελαμ-  
 βανεν. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ χωρούντων ἐς μάχην  
 αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Μιθριδάτου, πνεῦμα, οἷον οὐκ ἐμνη-  
 μονεύετο γενέσθαι, τάς τε σκηνὰς ἀμφοτέρων  
 διέριψε καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια παρέσυρε καὶ τῶν  
 ἀνδρῶν ἔστιν οὓς κατεκρήμνισεν.

<sup>1</sup> There is a lacuna in the text here.

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

surround him with a ditch, but could not draw him out. Finally, winter came on and interrupted the work on both sides.

88. Tigranes now withdrew into the interior of Armenia and Mithridates hastened to what was left of his own kingdom of Pontus, taking with him 4000 of his own troops and as many more that he had received from Tigranes. He was followed by Lucullus, who was also forced to move owing to lack of provisions. Before Lucullus could stop him, Mithridates attacked Fabius, who had been left in command by Lucullus, put him to flight, and killed 500 of his men. Fabius freed the slaves who had been in his camp and fought again an entire day, but the battle was going against him until Mithridates was struck by a stone on the knee and wounded by a dart under the eye, and was hastily carried out of the fight. For many days thereafter his forces were alarmed for the king's life, and the Romans were quiet on account of the great number of wounds they had received. Mithridates was cured by the Agari, a Scythian tribe, who make use of the poison of serpents as remedies, and for this reason always accompany the king. Triarius, another general of Lucullus, now came with his own army to the assistance of Fabius and received from the latter his command and authority. He and Mithridates not long afterwards joined battle, during which a tempest of wind, the like of which had not been known in the memory of man, tore down the tents of both, swept away the beasts of burden, and dashed some of their men over precipices. Both sides then retreated for the time.

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. 89. Καὶ τότε μὲν ἀνεχώρουν ἑκάτεροι, ἀπαγ-  
 ΧΙΙΙ γελλομένου δὲ Λευκόλλου προσιέναι, προλαβεῖν τὸ  
 ἔργον ὁ Τριάριος ἐπειγόμενος ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐπεχείρει  
 ταῖς Μιθριδάτου προφυλακαῖς. ἵσομάχου δ' ἐς  
 πολὺ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ὅντος, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐς τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν  
 μέρος ἐπιβαρήσας ἔκρινε τὴν μάχην, καὶ δια-  
 σπάσας τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ πεζὸν αὐτῶν κατέκλει-  
 σεν ἐς διώρυχα πηλοῦ, ἐνθα διεφθείροντο στῆναι  
 μὴ δυνάμενοι. τοὺς δ' ἵππεας ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον  
 ἐδίωκεν, ἐκθύμως τῇ φορᾷ τῆς εύτυχίας κατα-  
 χρώμενος, ἔστε τις αὐτὸν Ἀρμαῖος λοχαγός, οὐλα  
 θεράπων αὐτῷ συντροχάζων, ἐς τὸν μηρὸν ἐπά-  
 ταξε ἔιφει πληγὴν βαθεῖαν, οὐκ ἐλπίσας ἐς τὰ  
 νῶτα διὰ τοῦ θώρακος ἐφίξεσθαι. καὶ τόνδε μὲν  
 εὐθὺς οἱ πλησίον συνέκοπτον, ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης  
 ἀπεφέρετο ὀπίσω, καὶ οἱ φίλοι τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπὸ  
 νίκης λαμπρᾶς ἀνεκάλουν σὺν ἐπείξει βαρείᾳ.  
 ἐνέπιπτε δὲ τοῖς μαχομένοις ἐπὶ τῷ παραλόγῳ  
 τῆς ἀνακλήσεως θόρυβός τε καὶ ἀπορία, μή τι  
 δεινὸν ἐτέρωθεν εἴη, μέχρι μαθόντες εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ  
 πεδίῳ τὸ σῶμα περιίσταντο καὶ ἐθορύβουν, ἔως  
 Τιμόθεος αὐτοῖς ὁ ἱατρός, ἐπισχὼν τὸ αἷμα, ἐπέ-  
 δειξεν αὐτὸν ἐκ μετεώρου, οἶόν τι καὶ Μακεδόσιν  
 ἐν Ἰνδοῖς, ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου δεδιόσιν, ὁ Ἀλέ-  
 ξανδρος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ νεῶς θεραπευόμενον ἐπέδειξεν.  
 ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ὡς ἀνήνεγκεν, αὐτίκα τοῖς  
 ἀνακαλέσασιν ἐκ τῆς μάχης κατεμέμφετο, καὶ  
 τὸν στρατὸν αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἥγεν αὐθις ἐπὶ τὸ  
 Ἀρμαίων στρατόπεδον. οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε ἐπε-  
 φεύγεσαν ἥδη σὺν δέει. σκυλευομένων δὲ τῶν  
 νεκρῶν ἐφαίνοντο χιλίαρχοι μὲν εἴκοσι καὶ τέσ-  
 σαρες, ἑκατόνταρχοι δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν,

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

89. When, however, news was brought that Lucullus was coming, Triarius hastened to anticipate his action and attacked the outposts of Mithridates before daybreak. The fight continued for a long time doubtful, until the king weighed down the division of the enemy opposed to him and decided the battle. He scattered their ranks and drove their infantry into a muddy trench, where they were unable to stand and were slaughtered. He pursued their horse over the plain and made the most spirited use of his good fortune until a certain Roman centurion, who was running beside him in the guise of an attendant, gave him a severe wound with a sword in the thigh, as he could not expect to pierce his back through his corselet. Those who were near immediately cut the centurion in pieces. Mithridates was carried to the rear and his friends recalled the army from that brilliant victory with melancholy haste. Confusion befell them by reason of the unexpectedness of the recall, and fear lest some disaster had happened elsewhere. When they learned what it was they at once gathered on the plain round the person of the king, and were in consternation, until Timotheus, his physician, had staunched the blood and lifted the king up so that he could be seen, just as in India, when Alexander was being cured, he showed himself on a ship to the Macedonians, who were alarmed about him. As soon as Mithridates came to himself he reproved those who had recalled the army from the fight, and led his men again the same day against the camp of the Romans. But they had already fled from it in terror. In stripping the dead there were found 24 tribunes and 150 centurions. So great a

CHAP.  
XIII  
B.C. 67  
Mithridates  
defeats  
Fabius and  
Triarius

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. οὅσον ἡγεμόνων πλῆθος οὐ ράδίως συνέπεσε 'Ρωμαίοις ἐν ἥττῃ μιᾶ.

90. 'Ο δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἐς Αρμενίαν, ἦν δὴ νῦν 'Ρωμαῖοι βραχυτέραν 'Αρμενίαν καλοῦσιν, ἀνεξέγνυν, τὰ μὲν εὐκόμιστα πάντα σιτολογῶν, τὰ δὲ δυσχερῆ διαφθείρων τε καὶ Λεύκολλον ἐπιόντα προαφαιρούμενος. καὶ τις ἀνὴρ 'Ρωμαῖος, ἀπὸ Βουλῆς, 'Αττίδιος ὄνομα, διὰ δίκην φυγὴν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἐς Μιθριδάτην πρὸ πολλοῦ καὶ φιλίας ἀξιούμενος, ἔάλω τότε ἐπιβουλεύων αὐτῷ. καὶ τόνδε μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐ δικαιῶν βασανίσαι, 'Ρωμαίων ποτὲ βουλευτὴν γενόμενον, ἔκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ συναμαρτόντας ἤκιστο δεινῶς. ἀπελεύθεροι δ' ὅσοι τῷ 'Αττίδιῳ συνεγνώκεσσαν, ἀπαθεῖς ἀφῆκεν ὡς δεσπότη διακονησαμένους. Λευκόλλου δ' ἥδη τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ παραστρατοπεδεύοντος, ὁ τῆς 'Ασίας στρατηγὸς περιπέμπων ἐκήρυσσε 'Ρωμαίους ἐπικαλεῖν Λευκόλλῳ πέρα τοῦ δέοντος πολεμοῦντι, καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῷ τῆς στρατείας ἀφιέναι, καὶ τῶν οὐ πειθομένων τὰ ὄντα δημεύσειν. ὃν ἐξαγγελθέντων ὁ στρατὸς αὐτίκα διελύετο, χωρὶς ὀλίγων. ὅσοι πάνυ πένητες ὄντες καὶ τὴν ζημίαν οὐ δεδιότες τῷ Λευκόλλῳ παρέμενον.

## XIV

CAP. 91. \*Ωδε μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ Λευκόλλου πρὸς Μιθριδάτην πόλεμος ἐς οὐδὲν βέβαιον οὐδὲ κεκριμένον τέλος ἔλληξεν· ἀφισταμένης γὰρ τῆς 'Ιταλίας ἐνοχλούμενοι, καὶ ληστευομένης τῆς θαλάσσης λιμῷ πιεζόμενοι, οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ σφίσιν ἥγοῦντο

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

number of officers had seldom fallen in any single Roman defeat.

CHAP.  
XIII

90. Mithridates withdrew into the country which the Romans now call Lesser Armenia, taking all the provisions he could and spoiling what he could not carry, so as to prevent Lucullus from getting any on his march. At this juncture a certain Roman of senatorial rank, named Attidius, a fugitive from justice, who had been with Mithridates a long time and had enjoyed his friendship, was detected in a conspiracy against him. The king condemned him to death, but not to torture, because he had once been a Roman Senator, but his fellow-conspirators were subjected to dreadful torments. The freedmen who were cognizant of the designs of Attidius he dismissed unharmed, because they had only helped their master. When Lucullus was already encamped near Mithridates, the proconsul of Asia sent heralds to proclaim that Rome had accused Lucullus of unnecessarily prolonging the war, and had ordered that the soldiers under him be dismissed, and that the property of those who did not obey this order should be confiscated. When this information was received the army disbanded at once, except a few who remained with Lucullus because they were very poor and did not fear the penalty.

Intrigue  
against  
Lucullus  
at Rome

## XIV

91. So it turned out that the Mithridatic war under Lucullus, like the preceding wars, came to no fixed and definite conclusion. The Romans, torn by revolts in Italy and threatened with famine by pirates on the sea, considered it inopportune to undertake

CHAP.  
XIV

<sup>CAP.</sup> πολεμεῖν ἄλλον τοσόνδε πόλεμον, πρὶν τὰ  
<sup>XIV</sup> ἐνοχλοῦντα διαθέσθαι. ὡν καὶ ὁ Μιθριδά-  
 της αἰσθανόμενος ἐς Καππαδοκίαν ἐσέβαλε  
 καὶ τὴν ἴδιαν ἀρχὴν ὠχύρου. καὶ τάδε  
 αὐτὸν πράσσοντα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι περιεώρων ἐφ'  
 ὅσον αὐτοῖς ἡ θάλασσα ἐκαθαίρετο. ὡς δὲ  
 ἐκεκάθαρτο καὶ ὁ καθήρας Πομπίγιος ἔτι ἦν ἐν  
 Ἀσίᾳ, τὸν Μιθριδάτειον πόλεμον ἀνελάμβανον  
 αὐτίκα, καὶ ἐπέστελλον καὶ τοῦδε τῷ Πομπηϊώ  
 στρατηγῆσαι. διό μοι δοκεῖ μέρος ὅντα τῆς  
 Πομπηίου στρατείας τὰ περὶ τὴν θάλασσαν  
 αὐτῷ πρὸ Μιθριδάτου κατειργασμένα, καὶ ἐς  
 οὐδεμίαν συγγραφὴν οἰκείαν ἄλλην ἀπαντῶντα,  
 ἐς τόδε τὸ μέρος συναγαγεῖν τε καὶ ἐπιδραμεῖν, ὡς  
 ἐγένετο.

92. Μιθριδάτης ὅτε πρῶτον Ῥωμαίοις ἐπολέμει  
 καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐκράτει, Σύλλα περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα  
 πονουμένου, ἥγούμενος οὐκ ἐς πολὺ καθέξειν τῆς  
 Ἀσίας, τά τε ἄλλα, ὡς μοι προείρηται, πάντα  
 ἐλυμαίνετο, καὶ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν πειρατὰς καθῆ-  
 κεν, οὐ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὀλίγοις σκάφεσι καὶ μικροῖς  
 οἷα λῃσταὶ περιπλέοντες ἐλύπουν, ὡς δὲ ὁ πόλεμος  
 ἐμηκύνετο, πλέονες ἐγίγνοντο καὶ ναυσὶ μεγάλαις  
 ἐπέπλεον. γευσάμενοι δὲ κερδῶν μεγάλων, οὐδὲ  
 ἡττωμένους καὶ σπενδομένου τοῦ Μιθριδάτου καὶ  
 ἀναχωροῦντος ἔτι ἐπαύοντο· οἱ γὰρ βίου καὶ  
 πατρίδων διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀφηρημένοι, καὶ ἐς  
 ἀπορίαν ἐμπεσόντες ἀθρόαν, ἀντὶ τῆς γῆς ἐκαρ-  
 ποῦντο τὴν θάλασσαν, μυοπάρωσι πρῶτον καὶ  
 ἡμιοιλίαις, εἶτα δικρότοις καὶ τριήρεσι κατὰ μέρη  
 περιπλέοντες, ἥγουμένων ληστάρχων οἷα πολέμου  
 στρατηγῶν. ἐς τε ἀτειχίστους πόλεις ἐμπίπτοντες,

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

another war of this magnitude until their present CHAP. XIV  
troubles were ended. When Mithridates perceived this he again invaded Cappadocia and fortified his own kingdom, and the Romans overlooked these transactions while they were clearing the sea. But when this was accomplished, and while Pompey, the destroyer of the pirates, was still in Asia, the Mithridatic war was at once resumed and the command of it also given to Pompey. Since the campaign at sea, which preceded his war against Mithridates, was a part of the operations under his command, and does not find a fitting place in any other portion of my history, it seems well to introduce it here and to run over the events as they occurred.

The command given to Pompey

92. When Mithridates first went to war with the B.C. 88 Romans and subdued the province of Asia (Sulla being The pirates in the Mediterranean then pre-occupied with difficulties respecting Greece), he thought that he should not hold the province long, and accordingly plundered it in all sorts of ways, as I mentioned above, and sent out pirates on the sea. In the beginning they sailed around with a few small boats harassing the inhabitants like robbers. As the war lengthened they became more numerous and navigated larger ships. Having once tasted large gains, they did not desist even when Mithridates was defeated, made peace and retired. Having lost both B.C. 85 livelihood and country by reason of the war and fallen into extreme destitution, they harvested the sea instead of the land, at first with pinnaces and hemiolii, then with two-bank and three-bank ships, sailing in squadrons under pirate chiefs, who were like generals of an army. They fell upon unfortified

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. καὶ ἑτέρων τὰ τείχη διορύττουτες ἢ κόπτουτες ἢ  
 XIV πολιορκίᾳ λαμβάνοντες, ἐσύλων· καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας,  
 οἵς τι πλέον εἴη, ἐς ναυλοχίαν ἐπὶ λύτροις ἀπῆγον.  
 καὶ τάδε τὰ λίγματα, ἀδοξοῦντες ἥδη τὸ τῶν ληστῶν  
 ὄνομα, μισθοὺς ἐκάλουν στρατιωτικούς. χειροτέχνας  
 τε εἶχον ἐπ' ἔργοις δεδεμένους, καὶ ὑλὴν ξύλου καὶ  
 χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου συμφέροντες οὕποτε ἐπαύοντο·  
 ἐπαιρόμενοι γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ κέρδους, καὶ τὸ ληστεύειν  
 οὐκ ἐγνωκότες ἔτι μεθεῖναι, βασιλεῦσι δὲ ἥδη καὶ  
 τυράννοις ἢ στρατοπέδοις μεγάλοις ἐαυτοὺς ὅμοι-  
 οῦντες, καὶ νομίζοντες, ὅτε συνέλθοιεν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ-  
 πάντες, ἄμαχοι γενήσεσθαι, ναῦς τε καὶ ὅπλα  
 πάντα ἐτεκταίνοντο, μάλιστα περὶ τὴν τραχεῖαν  
 λεγομένην Κιλικίαν, ἣν κοινὸν σφῶν ὕφορμον ἢ  
 στρατόπεδον ἐτίθεντο εἶναι, φρούρια μὲν καὶ ἄκρας  
 καὶ νήσους ἐρίμους καὶ ναυλοχίας ἔχοντες  
 πολλαχοῦ, κυριωτάτας δὲ ἀφέσεις ἥγούμενοι τὰς  
 περὶ τήνδε τὴν Κιλικίαν, τραχεῖάν τε καὶ ἀλίμενον  
 οὖσαν καὶ κορυφαῖς μεγάλαις ἔξεχονσαν. ὅθεν  
 δὴ καὶ πάντες ὄνόματι κοινῷ Κίλικες ἐκαλοῦντο,  
 ὑρξαμένου μὲν ἵσως τοῦ κακοῦ παρὰ τῶν Τραχεω-  
 τῶν Κιλίκων, συνεπιλαβόντων δὲ Σύρων τε καὶ  
 Κυπρίων καὶ Παμφύλων καὶ τῶν Ποντικῶν καὶ  
 σχεδὸν ἀπάντων τῶν ἑώρων ἐθνῶν οἱ πολλοῦ καὶ  
 χρονίου σφίσιν ὄντος τοῦ Μιθριδατείου πολέμου  
 δρᾶν τι μᾶλλον ἢ πάσχειν αἴρούμενοι τὴν θάλασ-  
 σαν ἀντὶ τῆς γῆς ἐπελέγοντο, 93. ὥστε πολλαὶ  
 τάχιστα αὐτῶν μυριάδες ἥσαι, καὶ οὐ μόνης ἔτι  
 τῆς ἑώρας θαλάσσης ἐκράτουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐντὸς  
 Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν ἀπάσης· καὶ γάρ τινας ἥδη  
 Ρωμαίων στρατηγοὺς ναυμαχίᾳ ἐνευκήκεσαν,

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

towns, and undermined or battered down the walls CHAP  
of others, or captured them by regular siege and XIV  
plundered them, carrying off the wealthier citizens to their haven of refuge and holding them for ransom. They now scorned the name of robbers and called their takings prizes of war. They had artisans chained to their tasks, and were continually bringing in materials of timber, brass and iron. Being elated by their gains and having given up all thought of changing their mode of life, they now likened themselves to kings, rulers and great armies, and thought that if they should all unite they would be invincible. They built ships and made all kinds of arms, their chief seat being the part of Cilicia called Tracheia (Craggy), which they had chosen as their common anchorage and encampment. They had forts and peaks and desert islands and retreats everywhere, but they chose for their principal rendezvous this part of the coast of Cilicia which was rough and harbourless and rose in high mountain peaks, for which reason they were all called by the common name of Cilicians. Perhaps this evil had its beginning among the men of Cilicia Tracheia, who were joined by men of Syrian, Cyprian, Pamphylian, and Pontic origin and those of almost all the Eastern nations, who, on account of the severity and length of the Mithridatic war, preferred to do wrong rather than to suffer it, and for this purpose chose the sea instead of the land.

93. Thus, in a very short time, they increased in number to tens of thousands. They dominated now not only the Eastern waters, but the whole Mediterranean to the Pillars of Hercules. They now even vanquished some of the Roman generals in naval en-

CAP. <sup>XIV</sup> ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν τῆς Σικελίας περὶ αὐτῇ Σικελίᾳ.  
 ἅπλωτά τε ἥδη πάντα ἦν, καὶ ἡ γῆ τῶν ἔργων  
 ἐνδεής διὰ τὴν ἀνεπιμιξίαν. ἡ τε πόλις ἡ Ῥωμαίων  
 ἥσθετο μάλιστα τοῦ κακοῦ, τῶν τε ὑπηκόων σφίσι  
 καμιόντων, καὶ αὐτὸὶ διὰ πλῆθος ἕδιον ἐπιπόνως  
 λιμώττοντες. τὸ δὲ ἔργον αὐτοῖς ἐφαίνετο μέγα<sup>1</sup>  
 καὶ δυσχερές, ἔξελεν τοσάδε στρατόπεδα ἀνδρῶν  
 ναυτικῶν, μεμερισμένα μὲν ἐς πᾶσαν ἐν κύκλῳ  
 γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, κοῦφα δὲ ταῖς κατασκευαῖς ἐς  
 τὸ ὑποφεύγειν, οὐκ ἐκ πατρίδων ἢ φανερᾶς χώρας  
 ὀρμώμενα, οὐδὲ οἰκεῖον οὐδὲν ἢ ἕδιον ἀλλ' ἀεὶ τὸ  
 προστυχὸν ἔχοντα. ὥστε πολὺς ὁν ὁ τοῦδε τοῦ  
 πολέμου παράλογος, ἔννομον οὐδὲν ἔχοντος οὐδὲ  
 βέβαιον οὐδὲ φανερόν, ἀμηχανίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ φόβον  
 εἰργάζετο. Μουρήνας τε ἐγχειρίσας αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν  
 ἔξειργαστο μέγα. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Σερούλιος Ἰσαυρικὸς  
 ἐπὶ τῷ Μουρήνᾳ, ἀλλ' ἥδη καὶ τῆς γῆς τῆς  
 Ἰταλικῆς τοῖς παραλίοις, ἀμφί τε τὸ Βρεντέσιον  
 καὶ τὴν Τυρρηνίαν, ἐπέβαινον οἱ λησταὶ σὺν  
 καταφρονίσει, καὶ γύναια παροδεύοντα τῶν εὐ-  
 πατριδῶν καὶ δύο στρατηγούς αὐτοῖς σημείοις  
 συνηρπάκεσαν.

94. <sup>2</sup>Ων οὔτε τὴν βλάβην οὔτε τὴν αἰσχύνην ἔτι  
 φέροντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν τότε σφῶν ἐπὶ δόξης  
 ὄντα μεγίστης Γναῖον Πομπίγιον αἴροῦνται νόμῳ  
 στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τριετὲς αὐτοκράτορα εἶναι θαλάσ-  
 σης τε ἀπάσης ἢ στηλῶν Ἡρακλείων ἐντός ἐστι,  
 καὶ γῆς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐπὶ σταδίους τετρακοσίους  
 ἄνω. βασιλεῦσί τε καὶ δυνάσταις καὶ ἔθνεσι καὶ  
 πόλεσι πάσαις ἐπέστελλον ἐς πάντα συλλαμ-  
 βάιειν τῷ Πομπηίῳ, καὶ αὐτῷ στρατιὰν κατα-

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

gagements, and among others the praetor of Sicily CHAP.  
on the Sicilian coast itself. No sea could be navi- XIV  
gated in safety, and land remained untilled for want  
of commercial intercourse. The city of Rome felt Distress  
this evil most keenly, her subjects being distressed and anxiety  
and herself suffering grievously from hunger by at Rome  
reason of her own populousness. But it appeared to  
her to be a great and difficult task to destroy so  
large a force of seafaring men scattered everywhither  
on land and sea, with no fixed possession to encumber  
their flight, sallying out from no particular country  
or any known places, having no property or anything  
to call their own, but only what they might chance  
to light upon. Thus the unexampled nature of this  
war, which was subject to no laws and had nothing  
tangible or visible about it, caused perplexity and  
fear. Murena had attacked them, but accomplished  
nothing worth mention, nor had Servilius Isauricus,  
who succeeded him. And now the pirates contemp-  
tuously assailed the very coasts of Italy, around  
Brundusium and Etruria, and seized and carried off  
some women of noble families who were travelling,  
and also two praetors with their very insignia of  
office.

94. When the Romans could no longer endure the b.c. 67  
damage and disgrace they made Gnaeus Pompey, Pompey  
who was then their man of greatest reputation, assigned  
commander by law for three years, with absolute  
power over the whole sea within the Pillars of Her-  
cules, and of the land for a distance of 400 stades  
from the coast. They sent letters to all kings, rulers,  
peoples and cities, that they should aid Pompey in  
all ways. They gave him power to raise troops and  
against the  
pirates

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. λέγειν ἔδοσαν καὶ χρήματα ἀγείρειν. συνέπεμψαν  
 XIV δὲ καὶ παρὰ σφῶν στρατὸν πολὺν ἐκ καταλόγου,  
 καὶ ναῦς ὅσας εἶχον, καὶ χρημάτων ἐς ἔξακισ-  
 χίλια τάλαντα Ἀττικά. οὕτω μέγα καὶ δυσεργὲς  
 ἥγοῦντο εἶναι τοσῶνδε κρατῆσαι στρατοπέδων,  
 ἐν τοσῇδε θαλάσσῃ καὶ μυχοῖς τοσοῖσδε διαλανθα-  
 νόντων τε εὐμαρῶς καὶ ὑποχωρούντων ῥᾳδίως καὶ  
 ἐμπιπτόντων αὐθις ἀφανῶς. ἀνήρ τε τε οὐδείς πω  
 πρὸ τοῦ Πομπήιου ἐπὶ τοσήνδε ἀρχὴν αἱρεθεὶς  
 ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐξέπλευσεν, φᾶσθαι μὲν αὐτίκα  
 ἦν ἐν δώδεκα μυριάσι πεζῶν καὶ ἵππεis τετρα-  
 κισχίλιοι, νῆες δὲ σὺν ἡμιολίαις ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ  
 διακόσιαι, ὑπηρέται δ' ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, οὓς  
 καλοῦσι πρεσβευτάς, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν οἷς ὁ  
 Πομπήιος ἐπιδιήρει τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ ναῦς  
 ἐδίδουν καὶ ἵππεας ἑκάστῳ καὶ στρατὸν πεζόν,  
 καὶ στρατηγίας σημεῖα περικεῖσθαι, ἵν' αὐτο-  
 κράτωρ ἐντελὴς οὖν πιστεύοιτο μέρους ἕκαστος  
 ὑπάρχοι, αὐτὸς δ', οἷα δὴ βασιλεὺς βασιλέων,  
 αὐτοὺς περιθέοι καὶ ἐφορῷ μένοντας ἐφ' ὧν  
 ἐτάχθησαν, μηδὲ μεταδιώκων τοὺς ληστὰς περιφέ-  
 ροιτο ἐξ ἔργων ἀτελῶν ἔτι ὅντων ἐς ἔτερα, ἀλλ'  
 εἰεν οἱ πανταχόθεν αὐτοῖς ἀπαντῶντές τε καὶ τὰς  
 ἐς ἀλλήλους διαδρομὰς ἀποκλείοντες.

95. Οὕτω διαθεὶς ὁ Πομπήιος ἄπαντα, ἐπεστη-  
 σεν Ἰβηρία μὲν καὶ ταῖς Ἡρακλείοις στήλαις  
 Τιβέριον Νέρωνα καὶ Μάλλιον Τορκουάτον, ἀμφὶ<sup>το</sup>  
 δὲ τὴν Λιγυστικήν τε καὶ Κελτικὴν θάλασσαν  
 Μᾶρκον Πομπώνιον, Λιβύη δὲ καὶ Σαρδόνι  
 καὶ Κύρνῳ, καὶ ὅσαι πλησίν νῆσοι, Λέντλον  
 τε Μαρκελλῖνον καὶ Πόπλιον Ἀτίλιον, περὶ

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

to collect money from the provinces, and they fur- CHAP.  
nished a large army from their own muster-roll, and XIV  
all the ships they had, and money to the amount of 6000 Attic talents,—so great and difficult did they consider the task of overcoming such great forces, dispersed over so wide a sea, hiding easily in so many nooks, retreating quickly and darting out again unexpectedly. Never did any man before Pompey set forth with so great authority conferred upon him by the Romans. Presently he had an army of 120,000 foot and 4000 horse, and 270 ships, including hemiolii. He had twenty-five assistants of senatorial rank, whom they call *legati*,<sup>1</sup> among whom he divided the sea, giving ships, cavalry and infantry to each, and investing them with the insignia of praetors, in order that each one might have absolute authority over the part entrusted to him, while he, Pompey, like a king of kings, should move to and fro among them to see that they remained where they were stationed, lest, while he was pursuing the pirates in one place, he should be drawn to something else before his work was finished, and in order that there might be forces to encounter them everywhere and to prevent them from forming junctions with each other.

95. Pompey disposed of the whole in the following manner. He put Tiberius Nero and Manlius Torquatus in command of Spain and the Pillars of Hercules. He assigned Marcus Pomponius to the Gallic and Ligurian waters. Africa, Sardinia, Corsica and the neighbouring islands were committed to Lentulus Marcellinus and Publius Atilius, and the

His arrangements for attacking them

<sup>1</sup> Official assistants given to a general or the governor of a province.

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

ΟΑΡ. δὲ αὐτὴν Ἰταλίαν Λεύκιον Γέλλιον καὶ Γναῖον  
 Σικελίαν δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον ἐφύ-  
 λασσον αὐτῷ Πλάτιος τε Οὐάρος καὶ Τερέντιος  
 Οὐάρρων μέχρι Ἀκαρνανίας, Πελοπόννησον δὲ καὶ  
 τὴν Ἀττικήν, ἕτι δὲ Εὔβοιαν καὶ Θεσσαλίαν καὶ  
 Μακεδονίαν καὶ Βοιωτίαν Λεύκιος Σισιννᾶς, τὰς  
 δὲ νῆσους καὶ τὸ Αἰγαῖον ἄπαν καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσ-  
 ποντον ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ Λεύκιος Λόλλιος, Βιθυνίαν  
 δὲ καὶ Θράκην καὶ τὴν Προποντίδα καὶ τὸ τοῦ  
 Πόντου στόμα Πούπλιος Πείσων, Λυκίαν δὲ καὶ  
 Παμφυλίαν καὶ Κύπρον καὶ Φοινίκην Μέτελλος  
 Νέπως. ὅδε μὲν αὐτῷ διετετάχατο οἱ στρατηγοὶ  
 ἐπιχειρεῖν τε καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι, καὶ φυλάσσειν τὰ  
 τεταγμένα, καὶ τὸν παρ' ἀλλήλων ἐκφεύγοντας  
 ὑπολαμβάνειν, ἵνα μὴ διώκοντες ἀφίσταιντο  
 μακράν, μηδὲ ὡς ἐν δρόμῳ περιφέροιντο, καὶ  
 χρόνιον εἴη τὸ ἔργον, αὐτὸς δὲ ἄπαντας ἐπέπλει.  
 καὶ τὰ ἐς δύσιν πρῶτα ἡμέραις τεσσαράκοντα  
 ἐπιδὼν ἐς Ρώμην παρῆλθεν. ὅθεν ἐς Βρευτέσιον,  
 καὶ ἐκ Βρευτεσίου τοσῷδε διαστήματι τὴν ἔω  
 περιπλεύσας, ἐξέπληξεν ἄπαντας τάχει τε ἐπί-  
 πλου καὶ μεγέθει παρασκευῆς καὶ φόβῳ δόξης,  
 ὥστε τὸν ληστὰς ἐλπίσαντας αὐτῷ προεπιχειρή-  
 σειν, ἢ οὐκ εὐμαρές γε τὸ κατὰ σφῶν ἔργον ἀποδεί-  
 ξειν, δείσαντας εὐθὺς τῶν τε πόλεων ἃς ἐποιιόρκουν  
 ἐξαναχθῆναι, καὶ ἐς τὰς συνήθεις ἄκρας καὶ  
 ναυλοχίας ὑποφεύγειν, καὶ Πομπηίῳ τὴν μὲν  
 θάλασσαν αὐτίκα ἀμαχὶ κεκαθάρθαι, τὸν δὲ  
 ληστὰς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀλίσκεσθαι πανταχοῦ  
 κατὰ μέρη.

96. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς Κιλικίαν ἡπείγετο μετὰ ποικί-

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

coast of Italy itself to Lucius Gellius and Gnaeus CHAP.  
Lentulus. Sicily and the Adriatic as far as Acarnania XIV  
were assigned to Plotius Varus, and Terentius Varro ;  
the Peloponnesus, Attica, Euboea, Thessaly, Mace-  
donia and Boeotia to Lucius Sisenna ; the Greek  
islands, the whole Aegean sea, and the Hellespont  
in addition, to Lucius Lollius ; Bithynia, Thrace, the  
Propontis and the mouth of the Euxine to Publius  
Piso ; Lycia, Pamphylia, Cyprus and Phoenicia to  
Metellus Nepos. Thus were the commands of the  
praetors arranged for the purpose of attacking, de-  
fending and guarding their respective assignments,  
so that each might catch the pirates put to flight by  
others, and not be drawn a long distance from their  
own stations by the pursuit, nor carried round and  
round as in a race, and the time for doing the work  
protracted. Pompey himself made a tour of the  
whole. He first inspected the western stations, ac-  
complishing the task in forty days, and passing  
through Rome on his return. Thence he went to  
Brundusium and, proceeding from this place, he oc-  
cupied an equal time in visiting the eastern stations.  
He astonished all by the rapidity of his movement,  
the magnitude of his preparations, and his formidable  
reputation, so that the pirates, who had expected to  
attack him first, or at least to show that the task he  
had undertaken against them was no easy one, became  
straightway alarmed, abandoned their assaults upon  
the towns they were besieging, and fled to their ac-  
customed peaks and inlets. Thus the sea was cleared  
by Pompey forthwith and without a fight, and the  
pirates were everywhere subdued by the praetors at  
their several stations.

96. Pompey himself hastened to Cilicia with forces He proceeds  
to Cilicia

CAP. λου στρατοῦ καὶ μηχανημάτων πολλῶν, ἐλπίσας  
 XIV παντοίας μάχης καὶ πολιορκίας αὐτῷ δεήσειν ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
 ἄκρας ἀποκρήμνους. οὐδενὸς δὲ ἐδέησε· τὸ γὰρ  
 κλέος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν οἱ λησταὶ κατα-  
 πλαγέντες, καὶ ἐλπίσαντες, εἰ μὴ διὰ μάχης  
 ἔλθοιεν, τεύξεσθαι φιλανθρώπου, πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ  
 Κράγον καὶ Ἀντίκραγον εἶχον, φρούρια μέγιστα,  
 μετὰ δὲ ἑκείνους οἱ ὅρειοι Κίλικες καὶ ἐφεξῆς  
 ἄπαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐνεχείρισαν, ὅπλα τε ὁμοῦ  
 πολλά, τὰ μὲν ἔτοιμα τὰ δὲ χαλκευόμενα, παρέ-  
 δωκαν, καὶ ναῦς τὰς μὲν ἔτι πηγνυμένας τὰς  
 δὲ ἥδη πλεούσας, χαλκόν τε καὶ σίδηρον ἐς  
 ταῦτα συνενηγμένον καὶ ὅθόνας καὶ κάλως  
 καὶ ὕλην ποικίλην, αἰχμαλώτων τε πλῆθος,  
 τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ λύτροις τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ ἔργοις δεδεμέ-  
 νων. ὃν ὁ Πομπήιος τὴν μὲν ὕλην ἐνέπρησε,  
 τὰς δὲ ναῦς ἀπήγαγε, τοὺς δὲ αἰχμαλώτους  
 ἐς τὰς πατρίδας ἀφῆκε· καὶ πολλοὶ κενοτά-  
 φια σφῶν κατέλαβον ὡς ἐπὶ νεκροῖς γενόμενα.  
 τοὺς δὲ πειρατὰς οἱ μάλιστα ἐδόκουν οὐχ ὑπὸ<sup>2</sup>  
 μοχθηρίας ἀλλ' ἀπορίᾳ βίου διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ<sup>3</sup>  
 ταῦτα ἐλθεῖν, ἐς Μαλλὸν καὶ Ἀδανα καὶ Ἐπι-  
 φάνειαν, ἢ εἴ τι ἄλλο πόλισμα ἔρημον ἢ ὀλιγάν-  
 θρωπον ἦν τῆσδε τῆς τραχείας Κιλικίας, συνώκιζε·  
 τοὺς δέ τινας αὐτῶν καὶ ἐς Δύμην τῆς Ἀχαΐας  
 ἐξέπεμπεν. ὃδε μὲν ὁ ληστρικὸς πόλεμος, χαλεπώ-  
 τατος ἐσεσθαι νομισθείς, ὀλιγήμερος ἐγένετο τῷ  
 Πομπηίῳ· καὶ ναῦς ἔλαβε τὰς μὲν ἀλούτας μίαν  
 καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα, τὰς δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν παραδεθείσας  
 ἐξ καὶ τριακοσίας, πόλεις δὲ καὶ φρούρια καὶ ὄρμη-  
 τήρια ἄλλα αὐτῶν ἐς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. λησταὶ  
 δὲ ἀνηρέθησαν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους.

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

of various kinds and many engines, as he expected CHAP.  
that there would be need of every kind of fighting XIV  
and every kind of siege against their precipitous  
peaks; but he needed nothing. The terror of his  
name and the greatness of his preparations had pro-  
duced a panic among the robbers. They hoped that  
if they did not resist they might receive lenient  
treatment. First, those who held Cragus and Anti-  
cragus, their largest citadels, surrendered themselves,  
and after them the mountaineers of Cilicia, and,  
finally, all, one after another. They gave up at the  
same time a great quantity of arms, some completed,  
others in the workshops; also their ships, some still  
on the stocks, others already afloat; also brass and  
iron collected for building them, and sail-cloth, rope  
and timber of all kinds; and finally a multitude of  
captives either held for ransom or chained to their  
tasks. Pompey burned the timber, carried away the  
ships and sent the captives back to their respective  
countries. Many of them there found their own  
cenotaphs, for they were supposed to be dead.  
Those pirates who had evidently fallen into this way  
of life not from wickedness, but from poverty  
consequent upon the war, Pompey settled in Mallus,  
Adana, and Epiphaneia, or any other uninhabited or  
thinly peopled town in Cilicia Tracheia. Some of  
them, too, he sent to Dyme in Achaia. Thus the war  
against the pirates, which it was supposed would  
prove very difficult, was brought to an end by  
Pompey in a few days. He took seventy-one ships  
by capture and 306 by surrender from the pirates,  
and about 120 of their towns, fortresses and other  
places of rendezvous. About 10,000 of the pirates  
were slain in battles.

He captures  
and  
destroys  
their  
strongholds

## XV

CAP. <sup>XV</sup> 97. Ἐπὶ δὴ τούτοις ὁξέως τε οὕτω καὶ παραδόξως γενομένοις οἱ Ἀρωμαῖοι τὸν Πομπήιον μέγα ἐπαίρουντες, ἔτι δύντα περὶ Κιλικίαν εἴλοντο τοῦ πρὸς Μιθριδάτην πολέμου στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ὁμιλίας ἔξουσίας, αὐτοκράτορα δύντα, ὅπῃ θέλοι, συντίθεσθαί τε καὶ πολεμεῖν, καὶ φίλους ἢ πολεμίους Ἀρωμαῖοις οὓς δοκιμάσειε ποιεῖσθαι στρατιᾶς τε πάσης, ὅση πέραν ἐστὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἄρχειν ἔδωκαν. ἀπέρ οὐδενί πω παντάπασι πρὸ τοῦδε ὁμοῦ πάντα ἐδόθη. καὶ ἵσως αὐτὸν καὶ διὰ τάδε μέγαν ὀνομάζουσιν· ὁ γάρ τοι πόλεμος ὁ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν προτέρων στρατηγῶν ἔξήνυστο ἥδη.

Πομπήιος μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας στρατὸν ἀγείρας μετεστρατοπέδευσεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρους τοῦ Μιθριδάτου. Μιθριδάτη δὲ ἦν ἐπίλεκτος οἰκεῖος στρατός, τρισμύριοι πεζοὶ καὶ ἵππεῖς τρισχίλιοι, καὶ προύκάθητο τῆς χώρας. ἄρτι δ' αὐτὴν Λευκόλλου διεφθαρκότος ἀπόρως εἶχεν ἀγορᾶς ὅθεν αὐτομολίαις ἐπετίθεντο πολλοί. καὶ τούσδε μὲν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐρευνώμενος ἐκρήμνη καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀνώρυττε καὶ ἔκαιεν. καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν αὐτομολιῶν ἡσσον ἡνώχλει διὰ φόβον τῶν κολάσεων, ἐπέτριβε δ' ή ἀπορίᾳ.

98. Πρέσβεις οὖν ἐς Πομπήιον πέμψας ἡξίου μαθεῖν, τίς ἀν εἴη τοῦ πολέμου διάλυσις. ὁ δὲ “ἐὰν τοὺς αὐτομόλους ἡμῖν παραδῶς” ἔφη, “καὶ σεαυτὸν ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέψῃς.” ὃν ὁ Μιθριδάτης πυθόμενος τοῖς αὐτομόλοις τὸ περὶ αὐτῶν ἔφρασε, καὶ δεδιότας ὄρῶν ὤμοσεν ὅτι οἱ τὰ πρὸς Ἀρωμαίους

# THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

## XV

97. For this victory, so swiftly and unexpectedly CHAP.  
gained, the Romans extolled Pompey greatly; XV  
and while he was still in Cilicia they chose him Extra-  
commander of the war against Mithridates, giving ordinary  
him the same unlimited powers as before, to powers  
make war and peace as he liked, and to proclaim given to  
nations friends or enemies according to his own Pompey  
judgment. They gave him command of all the  
forces beyond the borders of Italy. All these powers  
together had never been given to any one general  
before; and this is perhaps the reason why they call  
him Pompey the Great, for the Mithridatic war  
had been already finished by his predecessors. He  
accordingly collected his army and marched to the He marches  
territory of Mithridates. The latter had an army, against  
selected from his own forces, of 30,000 foot and  
3000 horse, stationed on his frontier; but since  
Lucullus had lately devastated that region there was  
a scant supply of provisions, and for this reason  
many of his men deserted. The deserters whom he  
caught he crucified, put out their eyes, or burned  
them alive. But while the fear of punishment lessened  
the number of deserters, the scarcity of provisions  
weakened him.

98. So he sent envoys to Pompey asking on  
what terms he could obtain peace. Pompey re-  
plied, "By delivering up our deserters and sur-  
rendering at discretion." When Mithridates was  
made acquainted with these terms he communicated  
them to the deserters, and when he observed  
their consternation he swore that on account of  
the cupidity of the Romans he would never make

CAP. ἔστιν ἀσπονδα διὰ τὴν πλεονεξίαν αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐκ  
 ΧV ἐκδώσει τινά, οὐδὲ πράξει ποτὲ ὁ μὴ κοινῆ πᾶσι  
 συνοίσει. ὁ μὲν δὴ ὡδε εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος  
 ἐνέδραν ποι καθεὶς ἵππεων, ἐτέρους ἔπειμπεν ἐκ  
 φανεροῦ τοῖς προφύλαξι τοῦ βασιλέως ἐνοχλεῖν  
 καὶ εἴρητο αὐτοῖς . . . ἐρεθίζειν καὶ ὑποφεύγειν  
 ὥσπερ ἡττωμένους, . . . ἔστε περ οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας  
 περιλαβόντες αὐτοὺς ἐτρέψαντο. καὶ φεύγουσι  
 τάχ' ἀν καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον συνεσεπήδησαν, εἰ  
 μὴ δείσας ὁ βασιλεὺς προήγαγε τὸ πεζόν. οἱ δὲ  
 ἀπεχώρουν. καὶ τέλος ἦν τοῦτο τῇ πρώτῃ Πομ-  
 πήιον καὶ Μιθριδάτου πείρᾳ ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ  
 ἰππομαχίᾳ.

99. Ἐνοχλούμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας ὁ βασι-  
 λεὺς ἀκων ὑπεχώρει, καὶ ἐσεδέχετο Πομπήιον ἐς  
 τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, ἐλπίζων καθήμενον ἐν τῇδε τῇ διε-  
 φθαρμένῃ κακοπαθήσειν. ὁ δὲ ἀγορὰν μὲν ἐπακτὸν  
 ἐκ τῶν ὅπισθεν εἶχε, περιελθὼν δὲ τὰ πρὸς ἕω τοῦ  
 Μιθριδάτου, καὶ φρούρια αὐτῷ καὶ στρατόπεδα  
 πολλὰ ἐς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίους περι-  
 θεὶς ἀπετάφρευε τοῦ μὴ σιτολογεῖν αὐτὸν ἔτι  
 εὔμαρῶς. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποταφρεύοντι μὲν οὐκ  
 ἐπετίθετο, εἴθ' ὑπὸ δέους εἴθ' ὑπ' ἀνοίας, ἢ πᾶσιν  
 ἐγγίγνεται πλησιαζόντων τῶν κακῶν, κάμνων δὲ  
 αὐθις ἐξ ἀπορίας τὰ ὑποζύγια ὅσα εἶχε κατέκοπτε,  
 τοὺς ἵππους μόνους περιποιούμενος, ἔστε μόλις ἐς  
 πεντήκοντα διαρκέσας ἡμέρας νυκτὸς ἀπεδίδρασκε  
 σὺν σιωπῇ βαθείᾳ δι' ὄδῶν δυσχερῶν. ὡς δὲ  
 αὐτὸν μόλις ἡμέρας ὁ Πομπήιος καταλαβὼν  
 εἶχετο τῶν ὑστάτων, ὁ μὲν καὶ τότε τῶν φίλων

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

peace with them, nor would he give up anybody to CHAP  
them, nor would he ever do anything that was XV  
not for the common advantage of all. So spake Mithridates. Then Pompey placed a cavalry force in ambush, and sent forward others to harass the king's outposts openly, and ordered them to provoke <the enemy> and then retreat, as though vanquished. <This was done> until those in ambush took their enemy in the rear and put them to flight. The Romans might have broken into the enemy's camp along with the fugitives had not the king, apprehending this danger, led forward his infantry, whereupon the Romans retired. This was the result of the first trial of arms and cavalry engagement between Pompey and Mithridates.

99. The king, being distressed by lack of pro- b.c. 66  
visions, retreated reluctantly and allowed Pompey The king  
to enter his territory, expecting that he also would suffer from scarcity when encamped in the devastated region. But Pompey had arranged to have his supplies sent after him. He passed round to the eastward of Mithridates, established a series of fortified posts and camps in a circle of 150 stades, and drew a line of circumvallation around him in order to make foraging no longer easy for him. The king did not oppose this work, either from fear, or from that mental paralysis which afflicts all men on the approach of calamity. Being again pressed for supplies he slaughtered his pack animals, keeping only his horses. Finally, when he had scarcely fifty days' provisions left he fled by night, in profound silence, by bad roads. Pompey overtook him with difficulty in the daytime and assailed his rearguard. The king's friends then again urged him to prepare for him Pompey  
overtakes  
and defeats

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. έκταξαι κελευόντων οὐκ ἐμάχετο, ἀλλὰ τοῖς  
 XV ἵππεῦσι μόνοις τοὺς πλησιάζοντας ἀνακόπτων  
 ἐσπέρας ἐν ὅλαις ηὔλισατο πυκναῖς. τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ  
 χωρίον κατέλαβε περίκρημνον, οὗ μία ἐς αὐτὸ  
 ἄνοδος ἦν, καὶ τέσταρες αὐτὴν σπεῖραι πρού-  
 φύλασσον. ἀντεφύλασσον δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὴ  
 διαφυγεῖν Μιθριδάτην.

100. "Αμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ τὸν μὲν στρατὸν αὐτῶν  
 ὥπλιζεν ἑκάτερος, οἱ προφύλακες δ' ἀλλήλων  
 κατὰ τὸ πρανὲς ἀπεπειρῶντο· καὶ τινες ἵππεῖς τοῦ  
 Μιθριδάτου χωρίς τε τῶν ἵππων καὶ χωρὶς ἐπαγ-  
 γέλματος ἐβοήθουν τοῖς σφετέροις προφύλαξιν.  
 πλειόνων δέ σφισι Ῥωμαίων ἵππεων ἐπιόντων,  
 οἱ ἄνιπποι τῶν Μιθριδατείων οἵδε ἀθρόως ἐς τὸ  
 στρατόπεδον ἀνεπήδων, ἀναβησόμενοι τε τοὺς  
 ἵππους καὶ ἔξ ἵσου τοῖς ἐπιοῦσι Ῥωμαίοις συνοι-  
 σόμενοι. κατιδόντες δ' αὐτοὺς οἱ ἄνω ἔτι ὥπλι-  
 ζόμενοι σὺν δρόμῳ καὶ βοῇ προσθέοντας, καὶ τὸ  
 γιγνόμενον οὐκ εἰδότες ἀλλὰ φεύγειν αὐτοὺς  
 ὑπολαβόντες, ὡς εἰλημμένου σφῶν ἥδη καθ'  
 ἑκάτερα τοῦ στρατοπέδου, τὰ ὅπλα μεθέντες  
 ἔφευγον. ἀδιεξόδου δ' ὅντος τοῦ χωρίου προσέπ-  
 ταιον ἀλλήλοις ἀναστρεφόμενοι, μέχρι καθῆλαντο  
 κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν. οὕτω μὲν ἡ στρατιὰ τῷ  
 Μιθριδάτῃ διὰ προπέτειαν τῶν ἀνευ προστάγ-  
 ματος τοῖς προμάχοις ἐπικουρεῖν ἐλομένων θορυ-  
 βηθεῖσα διέφθαρτο, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔργον εὔκολον  
 ἦν τῷ Πομπήῳ, κτείνοντι καὶ συλλαμβάνοντι  
 ἀνόπλους ἔτι καὶ ἐν περικρήμνῳ συγκεκλεισμένους.  
 καὶ ἀνηρέθησαν ἐς μυρίους, καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον  
 δλη τῇ παραπκευῇ κατελήφθη.

101. Μιθριδάτης δὲ μετὰ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

battle, but he would not fight. He merely drove back the assailants with his horse and retired into the thick woods in the evening. The following day he took up a strong position defended by rocks, to which there was access by only one road, which he held with an advance guard of four cohorts. The Romans put an opposing force on guard there to prevent Mithridates from escaping.

XV

100. At daybreak both commanders put their forces under arms. The outposts began skirmishing on the slope and some of the king's horsemen, without their horses and without orders, went to the assistance of their advance guard. A larger number of the Roman cavalry came up against them, and these horseless soldiers of Mithridates rushed in a body back to their camp to mount their horses and meet the advancing Romans on equal terms. When those who were still arming on the higher ground looked down and saw their own men running towards them with haste and outcries, but did not know the reason, they thought that they had been put to flight. They threw down their arms and fled, thinking that their camp had already been captured on either side. As there was no road out of the place they fell foul of each other in the confusion, until finally they leaped down the precipices. Thus the army of Mithridates perished through the rashness of those who caused a panic by going to the assistance of the advance guard without orders. Pompey was left the easy task of killing and capturing men not yet armed and shut up in a rocky defile. About 10,000 were slain and the camp with all its war-material was taken.

101. Mithridates, forcing his way to the cliffs, accom-

μόνων ὡσάμενος ἐς τὰ κατάκρημα καὶ διαφυ-  
 CAP. XV γῶν ἐνέτυχέ τισιν ἵππεῦσι μισθοφόροις καὶ  
 πεζοῖς ὡς τρισχιλίοις, οἱ εὐθὺς αὐτῷ συνεί-  
 ποντο ἐς Σινόρηγα φρούριον, ἔνθα αὐτῷ χρι-  
 ματα πολλὰ ἐσεσώρευτο· καὶ δωρεὰν καὶ μισθὸν  
 ἐνιαυτοῦ τοῖς συμφυγοῦσι διέδωκεν. φέρων δ'  
 ἐς ἔξακισχίλια τάλαντα ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ Εὐφρά-  
 του πηγὰς ἥπειγετο ὡς ἐκεῖθεν ἐς Κόλχους περά-  
 σων. δρόμῳ δ' ἀπαύστῳ χρώμενος τὸν μὲν  
 Εὐφράτην ὑπερῆλθεν ἡμέρᾳ μάλιστα τετάρτῃ,  
 τρισὶ δ' ἄλλαις καθιστάμενος καὶ ὀπλίζων τοὺς  
 συνόντας ἦ προσιόντας ἐς τὴν Χωτηνὴν Ἀρμενίαν  
 ἐνέβαλεν, ἔνθα Χωτηνοὺς μὲν καὶ Ἰβηρας, κωλύ-  
 οντας αὐτὸν βέλεσι καὶ σφενδόναις, ἐλαύνων  
 διῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀψαρον ποταμόν. Ἰβηρας δὲ  
 τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ οἱ μὲν προγόνους οἱ δ' ἀποίκους  
 ἥγονται τῶν Εὐρωπαίων Ἰβήρων, οἱ δὲ μόνον  
 ὅμωνύμους· ἔθος γὰρ οὐδὲν ἦν ὅμοιον, ἢ γλωσσα. Μιθριδάτης δ' ἐν Διοσκούροις χειμάζων, ἦν τινα  
 πόλιν οἱ Κόλχοι σύμβολον ἥγονται τῆς Διο-  
 σκούρων σὺν Ἀργοναύταις ἐπιδημίᾳς, οὐδὲν  
 σμικρόν, οὐδὲ οἶον ἐν φυγῇ, διενοεῖτο, ἀλλὰ τὸν  
 Πόντον ὅλον ἐν κύκλῳ καὶ Σκύθας ἐπὶ τῷ Πόντῳ  
 καὶ τὴν Μαιώτιδα λίμνην ὑπερελθὼν ἐς Βόσπορον  
 ἐμβαλεῖν, τήν τε Μαχάρους τοῦ παιδὸς ἀρχήν,  
 ἀχαρίστου περὶ αὐτὸν γενομένου, παραλαβὼν  
 αὗθις ἐκ μετώπου Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι, καὶ πολε-  
 μεῖν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης οὖσιν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, τὸν πόρον  
 ἐν μέσῳ θέμενος, διηκληθῆναι νομίζουσι Βόσπορον  
 Ιοῦς διανηξαμένης, ὅτε βοῦς γενομένη κατὰ  
 ζηλοτυπίαν Ἡρας ἔφευγεν.

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

panied only by his body-guard, effected his escape, CHAP.  
and fell in with a troop of mercenary horse and about XV  
3000 foot who followed him directly to the fortress  
of Sinorex, where he had accumulated a large sum  
of money. Here he gave rewards and a year's pay to  
those who had fled with him. Taking about 6000  
talents he hastened to the head waters of the  
Euphrates, intending to proceed thence to Colchis.  
Marching without halt, he crossed the Euphrates on  
about the fourth day. Three days later he put Mithridates  
flees to  
Armenia  
in order and armed the forces that had accompanied  
or joined him, and entered Armenia at Chotene.  
There the Choteneans and Iberians tried with darts  
and slings to prevent him from coming in, but he  
advanced through them and proceeded to the river  
Apsarus. Some people think that the Iberians  
of Asia were the ancestors of the Iberians of  
Europe: others think that the former emigrated  
from the latter; still others think they merely have  
the same name, as their customs and languages were  
not similar. Mithridates wintered at Dioscurias in  
Colchis, which city, the Colchians think, preserves  
the remembrance of the sojourn there of the  
Dioscuri with the Argonautic expedition. Here he  
conceived the vast plan, a strange one for a fugitive,  
of making the circuit of the whole Pontus, and then  
of Scythia and the sea of Azov, thus arriving at the  
And thence  
to the  
Scythians  
Bosporus. He intended to take away the kingdom  
of Machares, his ungrateful son, and confront the  
Romans once more; wage war against them from the  
side of Europe while they were in Asia, and put  
between them the strait which is believed to have  
been called the Bosporus because Io swam across it  
when she was changed into a cow and fled from the  
jealousy of Hera.

CAP. XV 102. Ἐς τοσοῦτο παραδοξολογίας ἐπειγόμενος  
 ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐφικέσθαι ὅμως ἐπενόει, καὶ διώδευεν ἔθνη Σκυθικὰ καὶ πολεμικὰ καὶ ἀλλότρια πείθων ἡ βιαζόμενος· οὕτω καὶ φεύγων καὶ ἀτυχῶν αἰδέσιμος ἔτι καὶ φοβερὸς ἦν. Ἡνιόχους μὲν οὖν δεχομένους αὐτὸν παρώδευεν, Ἀχαιοὺς δὲτρέψατο διώκων· οὓς ἀπὸ Τροίας ἐπανιόντας φασὶν ἐς τὸν Πόντον ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἐκπεσεῖν, καὶ πολλὰ παθεῖν ὡς "Ελληνας ὑπὸ βαρβάρων, πέμψαντας δὲ ἐπὶ ναῦς ἐς τὰς πατρίδας καὶ ὑπεροφθέντας μηνῖσαι τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ γένει, καὶ Σκυθικῶς ὅσους ἔλοιεν Ἑλλήνων καταθύειν, πρῶτα μὲν ἀπαντας ὑπὸ ὄργῆς, σὺν χρόνῳ δὲ τοὺς καλλίστους αὐτῶν μόνους, μετὰ δὲ τοὺς κληρουμένους. καὶ τάδε μὲν περὶ Ἀχαιῶν τῶν Σκυθικῶν· ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἐς τὴν Μαιῶτιν ἐμβαλὼν, ἥς εἰσὶ πολλοὶ δυνάσται, πάντων αὐτὸν κατὰ κλέος ἔργων τε καὶ ἀρχῆς, καὶ δυνάμεως ἔτι οἱ παρούσης ἀξιολόγου, δεχομένων τε καὶ παραπεμπόντων, καὶ δῶρα πολλὰ φερόντων καὶ κομιζομένων ἔτερα, ὁ δὲ καὶ συμμαχίαν αὐτοῖς ἐτίθετο, ἐπιγοῶν ἔτερα καινότερα, διὰ Θράκης ἐς Μακεδονίαν καὶ διὰ Μακεδόνων ἐς Παίονας ἐμβαλὼν ὑπερελθεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τὰ Ἀλπεια ὅρη γάμους τε θυγατέρων ἐπὶ τῇδε τῇ συμμαχίᾳ τοῖς δυνατωτέροις αὐτῶν ἥγγύα. Μαχάρης δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ παῖς πυνθανόμενος ὁδόν τε τοσαύτην ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ καὶ ἄγρια ἔθνη καὶ τὰ καλούμενα κλεῖθρα Σκυθῶν, οὐδενὶ πω

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

102. Such was the chimerical project that Mithri- CHAP.  
dates now eagerly pursued. He imagined nevertheless,  
that he should accomplish it. He pushed  
on through strange and warlike Scythian tribes,  
partly by permission, partly by force, so respected  
and feared was he still, although a fugitive and  
in misfortune. He passed through the country  
of the Heniochi, who received him willingly. The  
Achaeans, who resisted him, he put to flight. These,  
it is said, when returning from the siege of Troy,  
were driven by a storm into the Euxine sea and  
underwent great sufferings there at the hands of the  
barbarians because they were Greeks; and when  
they sent to their home for ships and their request  
was disregarded, they conceived such a hatred for the  
Grecian race that whenever they captured any Greeks  
they immolated them in Scythian fashion. At  
first in their anger they served all in this way, after-  
wards only the handsomest ones, and finally a few  
chosen by lot. So much for the Achaeans of Scythia.  
Mithridates finally reached the Azov country, of  
which there were many princes, all of whom received  
him, escorted him, and exchanged numerous presents  
with him, on account of the fame of his deeds, his  
empire, and his power, which was still not to be  
despised. He even formed an alliance with them in  
contemplation of other and more novel exploits, such  
as marching through Thrace to Macedonia, through  
Macedonia to Pannonia, and passing over the Alps  
into Italy. With the more powerful of these princes  
he cemented the alliance by giving them his daughters  
in marriage. When his son, Machares, learned that  
he had made such a journey in so short a time among  
savage tribes, and through the so-called Scythian

XV  
B.C. 65

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. γεγονότα περατά, διοδεῦσαι, πρέσβεις μέν τινας  
 XV ἐς αὐτὸν ἔπειμπεν ἀπολογησομένους ως ἀνάγκη  
 θεραπεύσειε 'Ρωμαίους, ὅργὴν δὲ ἄκρον εἰδὼς  
 ἔφευγεν ἐς τὴν ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ χερρόνησον, τὰς ναῦς  
 διαπρίσας, ἵνα μὴ διώξειεν αὐτὸν ὁ πατήρ. ἑτέρας  
 δ' ἐπιπέμψαντος ἐκείνου, προλαβὼν ἑαυτὸν ἔκ-  
 τεινεν. ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης αὐτοῦ τῶν φίλων οὓς  
 μὲν αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπιόντι ἐδεδώκει, πάντας  
 ἔκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀπαθεῖς ως ὑπηρέτας  
 ἰδίου φίλου γενομένους ἀφῆκεν.

103. Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν ἀμφὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην, οὐ  
 δὲ Πομπήιος αὐτὸν εὐθὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ φυγῇ μέχρι  
 Κόλχων ἐδίωξε, μετὰ δέ, οὐδαμὰ δόξας αὐτὸν  
 οὔτε τὸν Πόντον οὔτε τὴν Μαιώτιδα λίμνην  
 περιελεύσεσθαι, οὐδὲ μεγάλοις ἔτι πράγμασιν  
 ἔγχειρήσειν ἐκπεσόντα, τοὺς Κόλχους ἐπήει καθ'  
 ιστορίαν τῆς Ἀργοναυτῶν καὶ Διοσκούρων καὶ  
 Ἡρακλέους ἐπιδημίας, τὸ πάθος μάλιστα ἰδεῖν  
 ἐθέλων ὁ Προμηθεῖ φασὶ γενέσθαι περὶ τὸ  
 Καύκασον ὅρος. χρυσοφοροῦσι δ' ἐκ τοῦ Καυκά-  
 σου πηγαὶ πολλαὶ ψῆγμα ἀφανές· καὶ οἱ περίοικοι  
 κώδια τιθέντες ἐς τὸ ρέῦμα βαθύμαλλα, τὸ ψῆγμα  
 ἐνισχόμενον αὐτοῖς ἐκλέγουσιν. καὶ τοιοῦτον ἦν  
 ἴσως καὶ τὸ χρυσόμαλλον Αἴγιτον δέρος. τὸν οὖν  
 Πομπήιον ἐπὶ τῇ ιστορίᾳ ἀνιόντα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι  
 παρέπεμπον, ὅσα ἔθνη γείτονα· Ὁροίζης δ' ὁ  
 τῶν Ἀλβανῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ Ἀρτώκης ὁ Ἰβίρων  
 ἐπτὰ μυριάσιν ἐλόχων ἀμφὶ τὸν Κύρτον ποταμόν,  
 δις δώδεκα στόμασι πλωτοῖς ἐς τὴν Κασπίαν  
 θάλασσαν ἐρεύγεται, πολλῶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐμβαλέν-

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

Gates, which had never been passed by any one CHAP before, he sent envoys to him to defend himself, saying that he had been under the necessity of conciliating the Romans. But, knowing his father's violent temper, he fled to the Pontic Chersonesus, burning XV his ships to prevent his father from pursuing him. When the latter procured other ships and sent them after him, he anticipated his fate by killing himself. Mithridates put to death all of his own friends whom he had left here in places of authority when he went away, but those of his son he dismissed unharmed, as they had acted under the obligations of private friendship. 103. This was the state of things with Mithridates.

Pompey at once pursued Mithridates in his flight b.c. 66 as far as Colchis, but he thought that his foe would never get round to Pontus or to the sea of Azov, to Colchis or undertake anything great now that he had been driven out of his kingdom. He advanced to Colchis in order to gain knowledge of the country visited by the Argonauts, the Dioscuri, and Hercules, and he especially desired to see the place where they say that Prometheus was fastened to Mount Caucasus. Many streams issue from Caucasus bearing gold-dust so fine as to be invisible. The inhabitants put sheepskins with shaggy fleece into the stream and thus collect the floating particles; and perhaps the golden fleece of Aeetes was of this kind. All the neighbouring tribes accompanied Pompey on his exploring expedition. Only Oroezes, king of the Albanians, and Artoces, king of the Iberians, placed 70,000 men in ambush for him at the river Cyrtus, which empties into the Caspian sea by twelve navigable mouths, receiving the waters of several

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

σαρ. των ποταμῶν, καὶ μεγίστου παντων Αράξου.  
 αἰσθόμενος δὲ τῆς ἐνέδρας ὁ Πομπήιος τὸν  
 ποταμὸν ἔζεύγνυ, καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους συνελάσας  
 ἐς λόχμην βαθεῖαν (ὑλομαχῆσαι δ' εἰσὶ δεινοί,  
 κρυπτόμενοί τε καὶ ἐπιόντες ὑφανῶς) αὐτῇ λόχμῃ  
 τὸν στρατὸν περιστήσας ἐνέπρησε, καὶ τοὺς  
 ἐκφεύγοντας ἐδίωκεν, ἕως ἅπαντες ὅμηρά τε καὶ  
 δῶρα ἥνεγκαν. καὶ ἐθριάμβευσεν ἐς Ῥώμην καὶ  
 ἀπὸ τῶνδε. πολλαὶ δὲ ἐν τε τοῖς ὅμηροις καὶ  
 τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ηὔρεθησαν γυναῖκες, οὐ μείονα  
 τῶν ἀνδρῶν τραύματα ἔχουσαι· καὶ ἐδόκουν  
 Ἀμαζόνες εἶναι, εἴτε τι ἔθνος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς  
 γειτονεῦον αἱ Ἀμαζόνες, ἐπίκλητοι τότε ἐς συμ-  
 μαχίαν γενόμεναι, εἴτε τινὰς πολεμικὰς ὅλως  
 γυναῖκας οἱ τῇδε βάρβαροι καλοῦσιν Ἀμαζόνας.

104. Ἐπανὶὼν δ' ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐστρά-  
 τευσεν ἐς Ἀρμενίαν, ἔγκλημα ἐς Τιγράνη τιθέμενος  
 ὅτι συνεμάχει Μιθριδάτη· καὶ ἦν ἥδη περὶ  
 Ἀρτάξατα τὴν βασίλειον. Τιγρίνη δὲ οὐκ ἔγνω-  
 στο μὲν πολεμεῖν ἔτι, παῖδες δ' ἐκ τῆς Μιθριδάτου  
 θυγατρὸς αὐτῷ ἐγεγένηντο, ὧν δύο μὲν αὐτὸς ὁ  
 Τιγράνης ἀνηρήκει, τὸν μὲν ἐν μάχῃ, πολεμοῦντά  
 οἱ, τὸν δ' ἐν κυνηγεσίοις, αὐτοῦ πεσόντος ἀμελή-  
 σαντα καὶ τὸ διάδημα περιθέμενον ἔτι κειμένου.  
 ὁ δὲ τρίτος, Τιγράνης, ἐν μὲν τοῖς κυνηγεσίοις  
 ὑπεραλγήσας τοῦ πατρὸς ἐστεφάνωτο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ,  
 μικρὸν δὲ διαλιπὼν ἀπέστη καὶ ὅδε, καὶ πολεμῶν

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

large streams, the greatest of which is the Araxes. CHAP. XV  
Pompey, discovering the ambush, bridged the river and drove the barbarians into a thick wood. These people are skilful forest-fighters, taking cover and attacking without shewing themselves. So Pompey surrounded the wood with his army, set it on fire, and pursued the fugitives when they ran out, until they all surrendered and brought him hostages and presents. Pompey was afterwards awarded one of his triumphs at Rome for these exploits. Among the hostages and prisoners many women were found, who had suffered wounds no less than the men. These were supposed to be Amazons, but whether the Amazons are a neighbouring nation, who were called to their aid at that time, or whether any war-like women are called Amazons by the barbarians there, is not known.

He fights  
a battle  
with the  
barbarians

104. On his return from that quarter Pompey He marches against Tigranes made it a cause of war against Tigranes that he had assisted Mithridates. He was now not far from the royal residence, Artaxata. Tigranes was resolved to fight no longer. He had had three sons by the daughter of Mithridates, two of whom he had himself killed—one in battle, where the son was fighting against the father, and the other in the hunting-field because he had neglected to assist his father who had been thrown, but had put the diadem on his own head while the father was lying on the ground. The third one, whose name was Tigranes, had seemed to be much distressed by his father's hunting accident, and had received a crown from him, but, nevertheless, he also deserted him after a short interval, waged war against him, was defeated, and fled to

CAP. τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἡττώμενος ἐς Φραάτην ἐπεφεύγει  
 XV τὸν Παρθυαίων βασιλέα, ἅρτι τὴν Σιντρίκου τοῦ  
 πατρὸς ἀρχὴν διαδεδεγμένον. πλησιάσαντος δὲ τοῦ  
 Πομπήιου κοινωσάμενος Φραάτη, συγχωροῦντός τι  
 κάκείνου καὶ φιλίαν ἴδιαν ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον μνω-  
 μένου, κατέφυγεν ὁ παῖς ἵκετης ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον,  
 καὶ ταῦτα ὡν Μιθριδάτου θυγατριδοῦς. ἀλλὰ  
 μέγα δικαιοσύνης καὶ πίστεως κλέος ἦν τοῦ Πομ-  
 πήιου παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις, ὡς δὴ πίσυνος καὶ ὁ  
 πατὴρ Τιγράνης οὐδὲ ἐπικηρυκευσάμενος ἦει, τά  
 τε ἄλλα πάντα ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέψας ἐς τὰ δίκαια  
 Πομπήιῳ, καὶ κατηγορήσων τοῦ παιδὸς ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
 Πομπήιου. χιλιάρχους δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἵππάρχους ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
 τιμῇ κελεύσαντος ὑπαντάν τοῦ Πομπήιου, οἱ μὲν  
 ὄντες ἀμφὶ τὸν Τιγράνη τὸ ἀκήρυκτον τῆς ὁδοῦ  
 δεδιότες ἔφευγον ὅπιστα, ὁ δὲ Τιγράνης ἥλθε, καὶ  
 τὸν Πομπήιον ὡς κρείττονα βαρβαρικῶς προσε-  
 κύνησεν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ λέγουσιν ὑπὸ ῥαβδούχοις  
 αὐτὸν ἀχθῆναι, μετάπεμπτον ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομπήιου  
 γενόμενον. ὅποτέρως δὲ ἥλθεν, ἐξελογεῖτο περὶ  
 τῶν γεγονότων, καὶ ἐδίδου Πομπήιῳ μὲν αὐτῷ  
 τάλαντα ἔξακισχίλια, τῇ στρατιᾷ δὲ δραχμὰς  
 πεντήκοντα ἑκάστῳ, καὶ λοχαγῷ χιλίας, καὶ  
 χιλιάρχῳ μυρίας.

105. Καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος αὐτῷ συνεγίγνωσκε τῶν  
 γεγονότων καὶ συνῆλασσε τῷ παιδί, καὶ διήτησε  
 τὸν μὲν νιὸν ἄρχειν τῆς Σωφηνῆς καὶ Γορδυηνῆς,  
 αἱ νῦν ἄρα εἰσὶν Ἀρμενία βραχυτέρα, τὸν δὲ  
 πατέρα τῆς ἄλλης Ἀρμενίας ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ παιδὶ<sup>2</sup>  
 κληρονόμῳ. τὴν δὲ ἐπίκτητον αὐτὸν ἀρχὴν  
 ἐκέλευεν ἥδη μεθεῖναι. καὶ μεθίει Συρίαν τὴν ἀπ'  
 Εὐφράτου μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης· εἶχε γὰρ δὴ καὶ

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

Phraates, king of the Parthians, who had lately succeeded his father Sintricus in the government of that country. As Pompey drew near, this young Tigranes, after communicating his intentions to Phraates and receiving his approval (for Phraates also desired Pompey's friendship), took refuge with Pompey as a suppliant; and this although he was a grandson of Mithridates. But Pompey's reputation among the barbarians for justice and good faith was great, so that trusting to it Tigranes the father also came to him unheralded to submit all his affairs to Pompey's decision and to make complaint against his son. Pompey ordered tribunes and cavalry officers to meet him on the road, as an act of courtesy, but those who accompanied Tigranes feared to advance without the sanction of a herald and fled back. Tigranes came forward, however, and prostrated himself before Pompey as his superior, in barbarian fashion. There are those who relate that he was led up by lictors when sent for by Pompey. However that may be, he came and made explanations of the past, and gave to Pompey for himself 6000 talents, and for the army fifty drachmas to each soldier, 1000 to each centurion, and 10,000 to each tribune.

CHAP. XV

Tigranes comes to him as a suppliant

105. Pompey pardoned him for the past, reconciled him with his son, and decided that the latter should rule Sophene and Gordyene (which are now called Lesser Armenia), and the father the rest of Armenia, and that at his death the son should succeed him in that also. He required that Tigranes should now give up the territory that he had gained by war. Accordingly he gave up the whole of Syria from the Euphrates to the sea; for he held that and a part

Pompey pardons him and settles the affairs of Armenia

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. τήνδε καὶ Κιλικίας τινὰ ὁ Τιγράνης, Ἀντίοχον  
 XV ἐκβαλὼν τὸν εὐσεβῆ προσαγορευθέντα. Ἀρμε-  
 νίων δ' ὅσοι τὸν Τιγράνη πρὸς Πομπήιον ὀδεύοντα  
 ἐγκατελελοίπεσαν, ἐν ὑποψίᾳ τοῦτ' ἔχοντες, τὸν  
 παῖδα αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῷ Πομπήιῳ ἦτι ὄντα πείθου-  
 σιν ἐπιθέσθαι τῷ πατρί. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐλήφθη καὶ  
 ἐδέθη, καὶ μεταξὺ Παρθναίους ἐρεθίζων ἐπὶ  
 τὸν Πομπήιον ἐθριαμβεύθη καὶ ἀνηρέθη ὁ δὲ  
 Πομπήιος ἐκτετελέσθαι οἱ τὸν πάντα πόλεμον  
 ιγούμενος, ὡκιζε πόλιν ἐνθα τὴν μάχην ἐνίκα  
 Μιθριδάτην, ἵ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου Νικόπολις κλήζεται,  
 καὶ ἔστιν Ἀρμενίας τῆς βραχυτέρας λεγομένης.  
 Ἀριοβαρζάνη δ' ἀπεδίδον βασιλεύειν Καππαδο-  
 κίας, καὶ προσεπέδωκε Σωφηνὴν καὶ Γορδυηνὴν, ἀ  
 τῷ παιδὶ ἐμεμέριστο τῷ Τιγράνους· καὶ στρατη-  
 γεῖται νῦν ἄμα τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ καὶ τάδε. ἔδωκε  
 δὲ καὶ τῆς Κιλικίας πόλιν Καστάβαλα καὶ ἄλλας.  
 Ἀριοβαρζάνης μὲν οὖν τὴν βασιλείαν ὅλην τῷ  
 παιδὶ περιών ἐνεχείρισε. καὶ πολλαὶ μεταβολαὶ  
 μέχρι Καίσαρος ἐγένοντο τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, ἐφ' οὐ,  
 καθάπερ τὰ λοιπά, καὶ ἥδε ἡ βασιλεία περιῆλθεν  
 ἐς στρατηγίαν.

## XVI

CAP. 106. Ο δὲ Πομπήιος καὶ τὸν Ταῦρον ὑπερελθὼν  
 XVI ἐπολέμησε <μὲν> Ἀντίοχῳ τῷ Κομμαγηνῷ, ἕως  
 ἐς φιλίαν ὁ Ἀντίοχος αὐτῷ συνῆλθεν, ἐπολέμησε  
 δὲ καὶ Δαρείῳ τῷ Μήδῳ, μέχρι ἔφυγεν, εἴτε  
 Ἀντίοχῳ συμμαχῶν εἴτε Τιγράνῃ πρότερον.  
 ἐπολέμησε δὲ καὶ Ἀραψὶ τοῖς Ναβαταίοις,

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

of Cilicia, which he had taken from Antiochus, CHAP. surnamed Pius. Those Armenians who deserted Tigranes on the road, when he was going to Pompey, because they were suspicious, persuaded his son, who was still with Pompey, to make an attempt upon his father. Pompey thereupon seized and put him in chains. As he meanwhile tried to stir up the Parthians against Pompey, he was led in the latter's triumph and afterwards put to death. And now Pompey, thinking that the whole war was at an end, founded a city on the place where he had overcome Mithridates in battle, which is called Nicopolis (the city of victory) from that affair, and is situated in Lesser Armenia. To Ariobarzanes he gave back the kingdom of Cappadocia and added to it Sophene and Gordyene, which he had partitioned to the son of Tigranes, and which are now administered as parts of Cappadocia. He gave him also the city of Castabala and some others in Cilicia. Ariobarzanes, however, intrusted his whole kingdom to his son while he was still living. Many changes took place until the time of Caesar Augustus, under whom this kingdom, like the others, became a Roman province.

## XVI

106. POMPEY then passed over Mount Taurus and CHAP. made war against Antiochus, the king of Commagene, until the latter entered into friendly relations with him. He also fought against Darius the Mede, and put him to flight, either because he had helped Antiochus, or Tigranes before him. He made war B.C. 63 against the Nabataean Arabs, whose king was

XVI

B.C. 64

Other wars  
of Pompey

CAP. **XVI** Ἀρέτα βασιλεύοντος αὐτῶν, καὶ Ἰουδαίοις, Ἀρι-  
στοβούλου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποστάντος, ἥως εἰλευ-  
‘Ιεροσόλυμα τὴν ἀγιωτάτην αὐτοῖς πόλιν. καὶ  
Κιλικίας δὲ ὅσα οὕπω Ῥωμαίοις ὑπήκουε, καὶ τὴν  
ἄλλην Συρίαν, ὅση τε περὶ Εὐφράτην ἐστὶ καὶ  
κοίλη καὶ Φοινίκη καὶ Παλαιστίνη λέγεται, καὶ  
τὴν Ἰδουμαίων καὶ Ἰτουραίων, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα  
ὄνόματα Συρίας, ἐπιὼν ἀμαχὶ Ῥωμαίοις καθί-  
στατο, ἔγκλημα μὲν οὐδὲν ἔχων ἐς Ἀντίοχον τὸν  
εὐσεβοῦν, παρόντα καὶ δεόμενον ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς  
πατρώας, ἵγούμενος δέ, Τιγράνη τὸν κρατήσαντα  
τοῦ Ἀντίοχου τῆς γῆς ἀπελάσας, Ῥωμαίοις αὐτὴν  
κατὰ τόδε προσκεκτῆσθαι. ταῦτα δ' αὐτῷ διοι-  
κουμένῳ πρέσβεις ἀφίκοντο Φραάτου καὶ Τιγρά-  
νους ἐς πόλεμον ἀλλήλοις συμπεσόντων, οἱ μὲν  
Τιγράνους ὡς φίλῳ συμμαχεῖν τὸν Πομπίουν  
ἀξιοῦντες, οἱ δὲ τοῦ Παρθυαίου φιλίαν αὐτῷ πρὸς  
Ῥωμαίους τιθέμενοι. καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος οὐκ ἀξιῶν  
Παρθυαίοις πολεμεῖν ἀνευ Ῥωμαίων ψηφίσματος,  
ἔπειμψεν ἀμφοτέροις διαλλακτάς.

107. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἦν, Μιθριδάτη δὲ ἡ  
περίοδος ἦνυστο τοῦ Πόντου· καὶ Παντικάπαιον,  
ἐμπόριον Εὐρωπαίων ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκβολῆς τοῦ Πόντου  
καταλαβὼν κτείνει τῶν νιέων Ξιφάρην ἐπὶ τοῦ  
πόρου διὰ μητρὸς ἀμάρτημα τοιόνδε. φρούριον  
ἦν τι Μιθριδάτη, ἔνθα λανθάνοντες ὑπόγειοι  
θησαυροὶ πολλῶν σιδηροδέτων χαλκέων πολλὰ

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

Aretas, and against the Jews (whose king, Aristobulus, had revolted), until he had captured their holiest city, Jerusalem. He advanced against, and brought under Roman rule without fighting, those parts of Cilicia that were not yet subject to it, and the remainder of Syria which lies along the Euphrates, and the countries called Coele-Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine, also Idumea and Ituraea, and the other parts of Syria by whatever name called ; not that he had any complaint against Antiochus, the son of Antiochus Pius, who was present and asked for his paternal kingdom, but because he thought that, since he had himself dispossessed Tigranes, the conqueror of Antiochus, it belonged to the Romans by right of war. While he was settling these affairs ambassadors came to him from Phraates and Tigranes, who had gone to war with each other. Those of Tigranes asked Pompey to aid one who was his friend, while those of the Parthian sought to establish friendship between him and the Roman people. As Pompey did not think good to fight the Parthians without a decree of the Senate, he sent mediators to compose their differences.

107. While Pompey was about this business Mithridates had completed his circuit of the Euxine and occupied Panticapaeum, a European market-town at the outlet of that sea.<sup>1</sup> There at the Bosphorus he put to death Xiphares, one of his sons, on account of the following fault of his mother. Mithridates had a castle where, in a secret underground treasury, a great deal of money lay concealed

<sup>1</sup> On the contrary, Panticapaeum was at the outlet of the Palus Maeotis (Sea of Azov) on the site of the modern city of Kertsch.

XVI  
He brings  
Syria under  
the Roman  
rule

B.C. 65  
Mithridates  
in the  
Crimea

CAP. <sup>XVI</sup> χρήματα ἔκρυπτον. Στρατονίκη δέ, μία τῶν  
 Μιθριδάτου παλλακῶν ἡ γυναικῶν, ἡ τοῦδε τοῦ  
 φρουρίου τὴν ἐπιστήμην καὶ φυλακὴν ἐπετέ-  
 τραπτο, περιεόντος ἔτι τὸν Πόντον τοῦ Μιθριδάτου  
 τὸ φρούριον ἐνεχείρισε τῷ Πομπηίῳ καὶ τοὺς  
 θησαυροὺς ἀγνοούμενους ἐμήνυσεν, ἐπὶ συνθήκῃ  
 μόνη τῇδε, ὅτι οἱ τὸν νίὸν Ξιφάρην ὁ Πομπίος, εἰ  
 λάβοι, περισώσει. καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῖς χρήμασιν  
 ἐπιτυχὼν ὑπέσχητο αὐτῆς τὸν Ξιφάρην καὶ ἐδε-  
 δώκει φέρεσθαι καὶ τὰ ἴδια· αἰσθόμενος δὲ τῶν  
 γεγονότων ὁ Μιθριδάτης κτείνει τὸν Ξιφάρην ἐπὶ  
 τοῦ πόρου, ἐφορώσης τῆς μητρὸς πέραθεν, καὶ  
 ἐξέρριψεν ἄταφον. καὶ ὁ μὲν νίον κατεφρόνησεν  
 ἐς ἀνίαν τῆς ἀμαρτούσης, καὶ πρέσβεις ἐς τὸν  
 Πομπίον, ἔτι περὶ Συρίαν ὅντα καὶ οὐκ αἰσθανό-  
 μενον αὐτὸν παρόντος, ἐπεμπεν, οὐ τῆς πατρώας  
 ἀρχῆς αὐτὸν Ῥωμαίοις τελέσειν φόρους ὑπισχ-  
 νοῦντο· Πομπήιον δ' αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα δεῖσθαι τὸν  
 Μιθριδάτην κελεύοντος, καθὰ καὶ Τιγράνης ἀφί-  
 κετο, τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἔφη ποτὲ ὑποστήσεσθαι,  
 Μιθριδάτης γε ᾧν, πέμψειν δὲ τῶν παίδων τινὰς  
 καὶ φίλους. ἅμα δὲ ταῦτ' ἐλεγε, καὶ στρατιὰν  
 ἀθρόως κατέλεγεν ἐλευθέρων τε καὶ δούλων, ὅπλα  
 τε πολλὰ καὶ βέλη καὶ μηχανὰς ἐπίγυνυ, φειδό-  
 μενος οὕτε τινὸς ὕλας οὕτε βοῶν ἀροτίρων ἐς τὰ  
 νεῦρα, ἐσφοράς τε πᾶσιν ἐς τὰ βραχύτατα τῆς  
 περιουσίας ἐπέγραφεν. οἱ δὲ ὑπηρέται τούτου  
 πολλοὺς ἐνύβριζον, οὐκ αἰσθανομένου τοῦ Μιθρι-  
 δάτου· νόσον γάρ τινα ἐλκώδη τοῦ προσώπου  
 νοσῶν ὑπὸ τριῶν εὔνοούχων ἐθεραπεύετο καὶ  
 ἐωράτο.

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

in numerous iron-bound brazen vessels. Stratonice, CHAP.  
one of the king's concubines or wives, had been put  
in charge of this castle, and while he was still  
making his journey round the Euxine she delivered  
it up to Pompey and revealed to him the secret  
treasures, on the sole condition that he should  
spare her son, Xiphares, if he should capture him.  
Pompey took the money and promised her that he  
would spare Xiphares, and also allowed her to take  
away her own things. When Mithridates learned  
these facts he killed Xiphares at the straits, while  
his mother was looking on from the opposite shore,  
and cast away his body unburied, thus wreaking  
his spite on the son in order to grieve the mother  
who had offended him. And now he sent ambassadors  
to Pompey, who was still in Syria and who did  
not know that the king was at the straits. They  
promised that the king would pay tribute to the  
Romans if they would let him have his paternal  
kingdom. When Pompey required that Mithridates  
should come himself and make his petition as  
Tigranes had done, he said that as long as he was  
Mithridates he would never agree to that, but that  
he would send some of his sons and his friends to do  
so. Even while he was saying these things he was  
levying an army of freemen and slaves promiscuously,  
manufacturing arms, projectiles, and engines, helping  
himself to timber, and killing plough-oxen for the  
sake of their sinews. He levied tribute on all, even  
those of the slenderest means. His ministers were  
often brutal in their exactions, without his know-  
ledge, for he had fallen sick with ulcers on his  
face and allowed himself to be seen only by three  
eunuchs, who treated him.

He prepares  
for another  
war

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. XVI 108. Ως δ' ἔληγε τὸ πάθος, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτῷ ἀγήγερτο ἥδη, ἐπίλεκτοι μὲν ἔξηκοντα σπεῖραι, ἀνὰ ἔξακοσίους ἄνδρας, πολὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὅμιλος καὶ νῆες, καὶ χωρία ὅσα οἱ στρατηγοὶ παρὰ τὴν νόσον ἥρικεσαν, ἐπέρα τοῦ στρατοῦ μέρος ἐς Φαναγόρειαν, ἔτερον ἐμπόριον ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος, ὡς ἑκατέρωθεν ἔχων τὰς ἐσβολάς, ἔτι Πομπήιου περὶ Συρίαν ὅντος. Κάστωρ δὲ Φαναγορεὺς ἡκισμένος ποτὲ ὑπὸ Τρύφωνος εὐνούχου βασιλικοῦ, τὸν Τρύφωνα ἐσιόντα κτείνει προσπεσών, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐς ἐλευθερίαν συνεκάλει. οἱ δέ, καίπερ ἥδη τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἔχομένης ὑπὸ Ἀρταφέρνους τε καὶ ἔτέρων υἱέων τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, ξύλα περιθέντες τὴν ἄκραν ἐνεπίμπρασαν, ἔως ὁ μὲν Ἀρταφέρνης καὶ Δαρεῖος καὶ Ξέρξης καὶ Ὁξάθρης καὶ Εὐπάτρα, παῖδες τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, δείσαντες ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ παρέδοσαν ἑαυτοὺς ἄγεσθαι. καὶ ἦν αὐτῶν Ἀρταφέρνης ἀμφὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη μόνος, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ παῖδες εὔμορφοι. Κλεοπάτρα δὲ ἀντεῖχεν, ἔτέρα παῖς τοῦ Μιθριδάτου· καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ πατὴρ ἀγάμενος τῆς εὐψυχίας, δίκροτα πολλὰ ἐπιπέμψας ἔξήρπασεν. ὅσα δὲ ἐγγὺς ἦν φρούρια, ἀρτίληπτα τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ γενόμενα, πρὸς τὴν θερμούργιαν τῶν Φαναγορέων ἀφίστατο τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, Χερρόνησός τε καὶ Θεοδοσία καὶ Νύμφαιον, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα περὶ τὸν Πόντον ἐστὶν εὔκαιρα ἐς πόλεμον. ὁ δὲ τὰς ἀποστάσεις ὄρῶν πυκνάς, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐν ὑποψίᾳ ἔχων μὴ οὐ βέβαιος ἢ διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην τῆς στρατείας καὶ δι' ἐσφορῶν βαρύτητα καὶ τὴν ἀεὶ τοῖς στρατοῖς ἐς ἡγεμόνας ἀτυχοῦντας ἀπιστίαν, ἐπεμπεν ἐς τοὺς

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

108. When he had recovered from his illness and CHAP  
his army was collected (it consisted of sixty picked XVI  
cohorts of 600 men each and a great multitude of B.C. 64  
other troops, besides ships and strongholds that had  
been captured by his generals while he was sick) he  
sent a part of it across the strait to Phanagoria,  
another trading-place at the mouth of the sea, in  
order to possess himself of the passage on either side  
while Pompey was still in Syria. Castor of Phanagoria,  
who had once been maltreated by Trypho, the king's  
eunuch, fell upon him as he was entering the town,  
killed him, and summoned the citizens to revolt.  
Although the citadel was already held by Artaphernes and other sons of Mithridates, the inhabitants  
Revolt  
against  
Mithridates  
piled wood around it and set it on fire, in consequence  
of which Artaphernes, Darius, Xerxes, and Oxathres,  
sons, and Eupatra, a daughter, of Mithridates, in  
fear of the fire, surrendered themselves and were led  
into captivity. Of these Artaphernes alone was  
about forty years of age ; the others were handsome  
children. Cleopatra, another daughter, resisted, and  
her father, in admiration of her courageous spirit,  
sent a number of biremes and rescued her. All the  
neighbouring castles that had been lately occupied  
by Mithridates now revolted from him in emulation  
of the daring action of the Phanagoreans, namely,  
Chersonesus, Theodosia, Nymphaeum, and all the  
others around the Euxine which are well situated for  
purposes of war. Mithridates, observing these  
frequent defections, and having suspicions of the  
army itself, lest it should fail him because the  
service was compulsory and the taxes very heavy,  
and because soldiers always lack confidence in  
unlucky commanders, sent his daughters in charge

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

**CAP. XVI.** Σκύθας δι' εύνουχων τοῖς δυνάσταις τὰς θυγατέρας  
 ἐς γάμους, αἰτῶν στρατιὰν κατὰ τάχος ἥδη οἱ  
 παρεῖναι. πεντακόσιοι δ' αὐτὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ  
 παρέπεμπον ἄνδρες· οἱ Μιθριδάτου βραχὺ δια-  
 σχόντες ἔκτεινάν τε τοὺς ἄγοντας εύνούχους, ἀεὶ  
 πρὸς εύνούχους κρατοῦντας τοῦ Μιθριδάτου  
 πεπολεμωμένοι, καὶ τὰς κόρας ἐς τὸν Πομπίου  
 ἀπήγαγον.

109. 'Ο δὲ καὶ τέκνων τοσῶνδε καὶ φρουρίων καὶ  
 τῆς ἀρχῆς ὅλης ἀφηρημένος, καὶ ἐς οὐδὲν ἀξιόμα-  
 χος ἔτι ὡν, οὐδὲ τῆς Σκυθῶν συμμαχίας ἡγού-  
 μενος ἀν τυχεῖν, ὅμως οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τότε ἢ ταπεινὸν  
 ἢ συμφορῶν ἄξιον ἐνεθυμεῖτο, ἀλλ' ἐς Κελτούς, ἐκ  
 πολλοῦ φίλους ἐπὶ τῷδε οἱ γεγονότας, ἐπενόει  
 διελθῶν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν σὺν ἑκείνοις ἐμβαλεῖν,  
 ἐλπίζων οἱ πολλὰ καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας αὐτῆς ἔχθει  
 Ῥωμαίων προσέσεσθαι, πυνθανόμενος ὡδε καὶ  
 Ἀννίβαν πρᾶξαι πολεμούμενον ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, καὶ  
 ἐπιφοβώτατον ἐκ τοῦδε Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι. ἥδει  
 δὲ καὶ ἔναγχος τὴν Ἰταλίαν σχεδὸν ἀπασαν ἀπὸ<sup>1</sup>  
 Ῥωμαίων ἀποστᾶσαν ὑπὸ ἔχθους, καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖσ-  
 τον αὐτοῖς πεπολεμηκυῖαν, Σπαρτάκῳ τε μονο-  
 μάχῳ συστᾶσαν ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἀνδρὶ ἐπ' οὐδεμιᾶς  
 ἀξιώσεως ὅντι. ταῦτα ἐνθυμούμενος ἐς Κελτοὺς  
 ἡπείγετο. τοῦ δὲ τολμήματος ἀν αὐτῷ λαμπροτά-  
 του γενομένου, ὁ στρατὸς ὥκνει δι' αὐτὸ μάλιστα  
 τῆς τόλμης τὸ μέγεθος, ἐπὶ τε χρόνιον στρατείαν  
 καὶ ἐς ἀλλοτρίαν γῆν ἀγόμενοι, καὶ ἐπὶ ἄνδρας ὧν  
 οὐδ' ἐν τῇ σφετέρᾳ κρατοῦσιν. αὐτόν τε τὸν  
 Μιθριδάτην ἡγούμενοι, πάντων ἀπογιγνώσκοντα,

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

of eunuchs to the Scythian princes as wives, asking CHAP.  
them at the same time to send him reinforcements XVI  
as quickly as possible. Five hundred soldiers accom-  
panied them from his own army. Soon after the  
soldiers left the presence of Mithridates they killed  
the eunuchs who were leading the women (for they  
always hated these persons, who were all-powerful  
with Mithridates) and conducted the young women  
to Pompey.

109. Although bereft of so many children and castles and of his whole kingdom, and in no way fit for war, and although he could not expect any aid from the Scythians, there was still no trace in his designs of that humility which befitted his present fortunes. He proposed to turn his course to the Gauls, whose friendship he had cultivated a long time for this purpose, and with them to invade Italy, hoping that many of the Italians themselves would join him on account of their hatred of the Romans; for he had heard that such had been Hannibal's policy when the Romans were waging war against him in Spain, and that he had become in this way an object of the greatest terror to them. He knew also that almost all of Italy had lately revolted from the Romans by reason of their hatred and had waged war against them for a very long time, and had joined Spartacus, the gladiator, against them, although he was a man of no repute. Filled with these ideas he was for hastening to the Gauls; but the very boldness of the plan, which would have brought him great glory, made the soldiers shrink from prolonged service in a foreign land, against men whom they could not overcome even in their own country. They thought also that Mithridates,

He plans  
an invasion  
of Italy

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

**CAP. XVI.** Βούλεσθαι τι δρῶντα καὶ βασιλιζόμενον μᾶλλον  
 ἢ δί' ἀργίας ἀποθανεῖν, ὅμως ἐνεκαρτέρουν καὶ  
 ἡσύχαζον· οὐ γάρ τοι σμικρὸς οὐδὲ εὐκαταφρόνητος  
 ἦν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐδὲ ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς.

110. Ὡδε δὲ ἔχόντων ἀπάντων, Φαρνάκης ὁ τῶν  
 παιδῶν αὐτῷ τιμιώτατός τε καὶ πολλάκις ὑπ'  
 αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀποδειγμένος ἔσεσθαι διά-  
 δοχος, εἴτε δείσας περὶ τοῦδε τοῦ στόλου καὶ τῆς  
 ἀρχῆς, ὡς νῦν μὲν ἔτι συγγνωσομένων τι Ῥωμαίων,  
 ἀπολουμένης δὲ πάμπαν ὄλοκλίρως εἰ ἐπὶ τὴν  
 Ἰταλίαν ὁ πατὴρ στρατεύσειν, εἴθ' ἐτέραις αἰτίαις  
 καὶ λογισμῶν ἐπιθυμίαις, ἐπεβούλευε τῷ πατρί.  
 ληφθέντων δὲ τῶν συνεγνωκυτῶν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐς  
 βασάνους ἀγομένων, Μηνοφάίνης μετέπεισε τὸν  
 Μιθριδάτην ὡς οὐ δέον, ἀποπλέοντα ἥδη, τὸν ἔτι  
 οἱ τιμιώτατον νιὸν ἀνελεῖν· εἶναι δ' ἔφη τὰς  
 τοιαύτας τροπὰς ἔργα πολέμων, ὃν παυσαμένων  
 καὶ τάδε καθίστασθαι. ὁ μὲν δὴ πεισθεὶς προσ-  
 τεινε τῷ παιδὶ συγγνώμην. ὁ δὲ δείσας τι μήνυμα  
 καὶ τὸν στρατὸν εἰδὼς κατοκυοῦντα τὴν στρατείαν,  
 νυκτὸς ἐς πρώτους τοὺς Ῥωμαίων αὐτομόλους,  
 ἀγχοτάτῳ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου στρατοπεδεύοντας,  
 ἐσῆλθε, καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον αὐτοῖς ίοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὴν  
 Ἰταλίαν, ὅσος εἴη, σαφῶς εἰδόσιν ὑπερεπαίρων,  
 πολλὰ δὲ μένουσιν ἐπελπίσας ἔσεσθαι παρ'  
 ἑαυτοῦ, προήγαγεν ἐς ἀπόστασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρός.  
 ὡς δὲ ἐπείσθησαν οὖδε, τῆς αὐτῆς νυκτὸς ἐς τὰ  
 ἐγγὺς ἄλλα στρατόπεδα ἐπεμπεν ὁ Φαρνάκης.  
 συνθεμένων δὲ κὰκείνων, πρῶτοι μὲν ἄμα ἔω  
 ἡλάλαξαν οἱ αὐτόμολοι, ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκείνοις οἱ ἀεὶ

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

in utter despair, wanted to end his life in harness, CHAP.  
like a king, rather than in idleness. However, they <sup>XVI</sup> remained steadfast and silent, for there was nothing mean or contemptible about him even in his misfortunes.

110. While affairs were in this plight Pharnaces, B.C. 63  
the son who was most esteemed by him and whom he had often designated as his successor, either alarmed about the expedition and the kingdom (for he still had hopes of pardon from the Romans, but considered that the kingdom would be completely ruined if his father should invade Italy), or spurred by other motives and calculations of self-interest, formed a conspiracy against his father. His fellow-conspirators were captured and put to the torture, but Menophanes persuaded the king that it would not be seemly, just as he was starting on his expedition, to put to death the son who was still the dearest to him. Such aberrations were, he said, a common feature of wars, and subsided when the wars ended. In this way Mithridates was persuaded to pardon his son, but the latter, still fearing his father's anger, and knowing that the army shrank from the expedition, went by night first to the Roman deserters, who were encamped very near the king, and by magnifying to them the danger, which they well knew, of invading Italy, and by making them many promises if they would refuse to go, induced them to desert from his <sup>Mutiny in  
the army</sup> father. Then after he had persuaded them he sent emissaries the same night to the other camps near by, and won them over too. Early in the morning the deserters first raised a shout, and then those next to them took it up, one after another. Even the naval

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

**CAP. XVI** πλησίου τὴν βοήν μετελάμβανον. καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν αὐτοῖς ἐπήχησεν, οὐ προειδότες μὲν ἄπαντες ἵσως, δέξυροποι δ' ὅντες ἐς μεταβολὰς καὶ τὸ δυστυχοῦν ὑπερορῶντες, ἐν δὲ τῷ καινῷ τὸ εὔελπι ἀεὶ τιθέμενοι. οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν συνεγνωκότων, ἥγούμενοι πάντας διεφθάρθαι καὶ μόνοι ἔτι ὅντες ἔσεσθαι τοῖς πλείσιν εὐκαταφρόνητοι, φόβῳ καὶ ἀνάγκῃ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκουσίῳ γνώμῃ συνεπήχουν. Μιθριδάτης δ' ἐγρόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς βοῆς ἐπεμπέ τινας ἐρησομένους ὅ τι χρήζοιεν οἱ βοῶντες. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐγκαλυψάμενοι, "τὸν νίόν," ἔφασαν, "βασιλεύειν, νέον ἀντὶ γέροντος εὐνούχοις τε ἐκδεδομένου καὶ κτείναντος ἦδη πολλοὺς νιέας τε καὶ ἥγεμόνας καὶ φίλους."

111. Ὡν ὁ Μιθριδάτης πυθόμενος, ἐξήει διαλεξόμενος αὐτοῖς. καί τι πλῆθος ἐκ φρουρίου τοῖς αὐτομόλοις συνέτρεχεν. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔφασαν αὐτοὺς προσήσθαι πρίν τι ἀνήκεστον ἐς πίστιν ἐργασθαι, δεικνύντες ὁμοῦ τὸν Μιθριδάτην. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸν ἵππον ἔφθασαν αὐτοῦ κτεῖναι φυγόντος, καὶ τὸν Φαρνάκην ὡς ἦδη κρατοῦντες ἀνεῖπον βασιλέα· καὶ βύβλον τις πλατείαν φέρων ἐξ ἱεροῦ ἐστεφάνωσεν αὐτὸν ἀντὶ διαδήματος. ἅπερ ἄνωθεν ἐκ περιπάτου θεώμενος ἐπεμπεν ἐς τὸν Φαρνάκην ἄλλον ἐπ' ἄλλῳ, φυγὴν αἰτῶν ἀσφαλῆ. οὐδενὸς δὲ τῶν πεμπομένων ἐπανιόντος, δείσας μὴ Ῥωμαίοις ἐκδοθείη, τοὺς μὲν σωματοφύλακας αὐτοῦ καὶ φίλους ἔτι παραμένοντας ἐπαινέσας ἐπεμψεν ἐς τὸν νέον βασιλέα, καὶ αὐτῶν τινας

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

force joined in the cry, not because all of them had <sup>CHAP</sup> XVI been advised beforehand perhaps, but being fickle, as ever, contemptuous of the unfortunate, and always ready to attach themselves to a new hope. Others, who were ignorant of the conspiracy, thought that all had been corrupted, and that if they remained alone they would not be able to offer a serious resistance against overwhelming numbers, and so from fear and necessity rather than inclination joined in the outcry. Mithridates, being awakened by the noise, sent messengers out to inquire what the shouters wanted. The latter made no concealment, but said, "We want your son to be king; we want a young man instead of an old one who is ruled by eunuchs, the slayer of so many of his sons, his generals, and his friends."

111. When Mithridates heard this he went out to reason with them. A number of troops from a guard-post then ran to join the deserters, but the latter refused to admit them unless they would do some irreparable deed as a proof of their fidelity, pointing at the same time to Mithridates. The king fled, but they had killed his horse first, and at the same time saluted Pharnaces as king, as though the rebels were already victorious, and one of them brought a broad papyrus leaf from a temple and crowned him with it in place of a diadem. The king saw these things from a high portico, and he sent messenger after messenger to Pharnaces asking permission to fly in safety. When none of his messengers returned, fearing lest he should be delivered up to the Romans, he praised those of his body-guard and friends who remained faithful to him, and sent them to the new king, but the army

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. <sup>XVI</sup> προσιόντας ἔκτεινει ἡ στρατιὰ παραλόγως, αὐτὸς δὲ παραλύσας ὃ περὶ τῷ ξίφει φάρμακον ἀεὶ περιέκειτο ἐκίρνη. δύο δ' αὐτῷ θυγατέρες ἔτι κόραι συντρεφόμεναι, Μιθριδάτις τε καὶ Νύσσα, τοῖς Αἰγύπτου καὶ Κύπρου βασιλεῦσιν ἡγγυμέναι, προλαβεῖν τοῦ φαρμάκου παρεκάλουν, καὶ σφόδρα εἴχοντο, καὶ πίνοντα κατεκώλυνον ἔως ἔπιον λαβοῦσαι. καὶ τῶν μὲν αὐτίκα τὸ φάρμακον ἥπτετο, τοῦ δὲ Μιθριδάτου, καίτοι συντόνως ἔξεπίτηδες βαδίζοντος, οὐκ ἐφικνεῖτο δι’ ἔθος καὶ συντροφίαν ἐτέρων φαρμάκων, οἷς ἐς ἄμυναν δηλητηρίων ἐχρῆτο συνεχῶς· καὶ νῦν ἔτι φάρμακα Μιθριδάτεια λέγεται. Βίτοιτον οὖν τινὰ ἴδων, ἡγεμόνα Κελτῶν, “πολλὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς σῆς,” ἔφη, “δεξιᾶς ἐς πολεμίους ὠιάμην, ὀνήσομαι δὲ μέγιστον εἰ νῦν με κατεργάσαιο, κινδυνεύοντα ἐς πομπὴν ἀπαχθῆναι θριάμβου τὸν μέχρι πολλοῦ τοσῆσδε ἀρχῆς αὐτοκράτορα καὶ βασιλέα, ἀδυνατοῦντα ἐκ φαρμάκων ἀποθανεῖν δι’ εὐήθη προφυλακὴν ἐτέρων φαρμάκων· τὸ γὰρ δὴ χαλεπώτατον καὶ σύνοικον ἀεὶ βασιλεῦσι φάρμακον, ἀπιστίαν στρατοῦ καὶ παιδῶν καὶ φίλων, οὐ προειδόμην ὁ τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ διαιτῃ πάντα προϊδὼν καὶ φυλαξάμενος.” ὁ μὲν δὴ Βίτοιτος ἐπικλασθεὶς ἐπεκούρησε χρήζοντι τῷ βασιλεῖ, 112. καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἀπέθνησκεν, ἐκ-καιδέκατος ὧν ἐκ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὀστάσπου Περσῶν

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

killed some of them under a misapprehension as they CHAP.  
were approaching. Mithridates then took out some poi- XVI  
son that he always carried in his sheath with his sword,  
and mixed it. Then two of his daughters, who were still girls growing up together, named Mithridatis and Nyssa, who had been betrothed to the kings of Egypt and of Cyprus, asked him to let them have some of the poison first, and insisted strenuously and prevented him from drinking it until they had taken some and swallowed it. The drug took effect on them at once ; but upon Mithridates, although he walked about rapidly to hasten its action, it had no effect, because he had accustomed himself to other drugs by continually trying them as a means of protection against poisoners ; and these are still called "Mithridatic drugs." Seeing a certain Bituitus there, an officer of the Gauls, he said to him, "I have profited much from your right arm against my enemies. I shall profit from it most of all if you will kill me, and save from the danger of being led in a Roman triumph one who has been so many years the absolute monarch of so great a kingdom, but who is now unable to die by poison because, like a fool, he has used other drugs as antidotes. Although I have kept watch and ward against all the poisons that a man takes with his food, I have not provided against that most deadly of all poisons, which is to be found in every king's house, the faithlessness of army, children and friends." Bituitus, His death much moved, rendered the king the service that he desired.

112. So died Mithridates, who was the sixteenth in descent from Darius, the son of Hystaspes, king of Character and career of Mithridates

Mithridates takes poison, but without effect

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. <sup>XVI</sup> βασιλέως, ὅγδοος δ' ἀπὸ Μιθριδάτου τοῦ Μακεδόνων ἀποστάντος τε καὶ κτησαμένου τὴν Ποντικὴν ἀρχὴν. ἐβίω δ' ὁκτὼ ἡ ἐννέα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔξικοντα ἔτεσι, καὶ τούτων ἑπτὰ καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεσιν ἐβασίλευσεν· ἐς γὰρ ὄρφανὸν ὅντα περιῆλθεν ἡ ἀρχὴ. ἐχειρώσατο δὲ τὰ περίοικα τῶν Βαρβάρων, καὶ Σκυθῶν ὑπηγάγετο πολλούς, Ῥωμαίοις τε σαρακοντούτη πόλεμον ἐγκρατῶς ἐπολέμησεν, ἐν ὦ Βιθυνίας ἐκράτησε πολλάκις καὶ Καππαδοκίας, Ἀσίαν τε ἐπέδραμε καὶ Φρυγίαν καὶ Παφλαγονίαν καὶ Γαλατίαν καὶ Μακεδόνας, ἐς τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐμβαλὼν πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἔδρασε, καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀπὸ Κιλικίας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον ἥρξε, μέχρι Σύλλας αὐτὸν αὐθις ἐς τὴν πατρῷαν ἀρχὴν συνέκλεισεν, ἐκκαιδεκα στρατοῦ μυριάδας ἀποβαλόντα. καὶ τοσῷδε πταίσματι συμπεσὼν ὅμως ἀνεκίνησε τὸν πόλεμον εὔμαρῶς. στρατηγοῖς τε συνενεχθεὶς ἐς μάχας τοῖς ἀρίστοις, Σύλλα μὲν ἡττάτο καὶ Λευκόλλου καὶ Πομπηίου, πολλὰ καὶ τῶνδε πλεονεκτήσας πολλάκις, Λεύκιον δὲ Κάστιον καὶ Ὁππιον Κόιντον καὶ Μάνιον Ἀκύλιον αἰχμαλώτους ἐλὼν περιήγετο, μέχρι τὸν μὲν ἕκτεινεν, αἴτιον τοῦ πολέμου γενόμενον, τοὺς δὲ ἀπέδωκε τῷ Σύλλᾳ. ἐνίκα δὲ καὶ Φιμβριαν καὶ Μουρήναν καὶ Κότταν ὑπατον καὶ Φάβιον καὶ Τριάριον. τὸ φρόνημα δ' ἦν ἀεί, καν ταῖς συμφοραῖς, μέγας καὶ φερέπονος. οὐδεμίαν γέ τοι κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ὄδὸν ἐς ἐπιχείρησιν, οὐδ' ἡττώμενος,

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

the Persians, and the eighth<sup>1</sup> from that Mithridates CHAP  
XVI  
who left the Macedonians and acquired the kingdom of Pontus. He lived sixty-eight or sixty-nine years, and of these he reigned fifty-seven, for the kingdom came to him when he was an orphan. He subdued the neighbouring barbarians and many of the Scythians, and waged a hard-fought war against the Romans for forty years, during which he frequently conquered Bithynia and Cappadocia, besides making incursions into the Roman province of Asia and into Phrygia, Paphlagonia, Galatia, and Macedonia. He invaded Greece, where he performed many remarkable exploits, and ruled the sea from Cilicia to the Adriatic, until Sulla confined him again to his paternal kingdom after destroying 160,000 of his soldiers. Notwithstanding this great disaster he renewed the war without difficulty. He fought with the greatest generals of his time. He was vanquished by Sulla, Lucullus, and Pompey, although several times he got the better of them also. Lucius Cassius, Quintus Oppius, and Manius Aquilius he took prisoners and carried about with him. The last he killed because he was the cause of the war. The others he surrendered to Sulla. He defeated Fimbria, Murena, the consul Cotta, Fabius, and Triarius. He was always high-spirited and indomitable even in misfortunes. Even when beaten he left no avenue of attack against the Romans untried. He made

<sup>1</sup> In Section 9, *supra*, Mithridates Eupator is called the sixth in line from the first of that name, which is probably the truth.

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. παρέλειπεν, ὃς καὶ Σαυσταις καὶ Κελτοῖς συν-  
 XVI ετίθετο, καὶ ἐσ Σερτώριον ἔπεμπεν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν.  
 τρωθεὶς τε τὸ σῶμα πολλάκις ὑπὸ πολεμίων, καὶ  
 ἐτέρων κατ' ἐπιβουλάς, οὐκ ἀπέστη τινὸς οὐδὲ ὡς,  
 καίπερ ὥν πρεσβύτης. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν ἐπι-  
 βουλῶν τις αὐτὸν ἔλαθεν, οὐδὲ ἡ τελευταία, ἀλλ'  
 ἐκὼν ταύτην ὑπεριδὼν ἀπώλετο δι' αὐτήν· οὕτως  
 ἀχάριστον ἡ πονηρία συγγνώμης τυγχάνουσα.  
 φονικὸς δὲ καὶ ὡμὸς ἐς πάντας ἦν, καὶ τὴν μητέρα  
 ἔκτεινε καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ τῶν παίδων τρεῖς  
 σίοὺς καὶ τρεῖς θυγατέρας. τὸ σῶμα δ' ἦν μέγας  
 μέν, ὡς ὑποδεικνύουσιν ὅσα ὅπλα αὐτὸς ἔπεμψεν  
 ἐς Νεμέαν τε καὶ Δελφούς, εὔρωστος δέ, ὡς μέχρι  
 τέλους ἵππεῦσαι τε καὶ ἀκοντίσαι καὶ χίλια  
 στάδια τῆς ήμέρας, περιμενόντων αὐτὸν ἐκ δια-  
 στημάτων ἵππων, δραμεῖν. καὶ ἄρμα ἥλαυνεν  
 ἐκκαίδεκα ἵππων ὁμοῦ. καὶ παιδείας ἐπεμέλετο  
 Ἐλληνικῆς, διὸ καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἥσθετο τῶν Ἐλλη-  
 νικῶν, καὶ μουσικὴν ἡγάπα. καὶ σώφρων ἐς  
 πολλὰ καὶ φερέπονος ὧν περὶ μόνας ἤττατο τὰς  
 τῶν γυναικῶν ἡδόνας.

113. Ὁ μὲν δὴ εὐπάτωρ τε καὶ Διόνυσος ἐπι-  
 κληθεὶς Μιθριδάτης ὡδε ἐτελεύτα, καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι  
 μαθόντες ἑώρταζον ὡς ἔχθροῦ δυσχεροῦς ἀπηλ-  
 λαγμένοι· Φαρνάκης δὲ Πομπήιῳ τὸν νέκυν τοῦ  
 πατρὸς ἐς Σινώπην ἐπὶ τριήρους ἔπεμπε, καὶ τοὺς  
 Μάνιον ἐλόντας, ὅμηρά τε πολλὰ ὅσα ἦν Ἐλλη-  
 νικά τε καὶ Βαρβαρικά, δεόμενος ἡ τῆς πατρώας  
 ἀρχῆς ἡ Βοσπόρου γε βασιλεύειν μόνου, ἦν τινα  
 καὶ Μαχάρης ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν παρὰ  
 Μιθριδάτου παρειλήφει. Πομπήιος δ' ἐς μὲν τὸ  
 σῶμα τοῦ Μιθριδάτου χορηγίαν ἔδωκε, καὶ θάψαι

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

alliances with the Samnites and the Gauls, and he sent legates to Sertorius in Spain. He was often wounded by enemies and by conspirators, but he never desisted from anything on that account, even when he was an old man. None of the conspiracies ever escaped his detection, not even the last one, but he voluntarily overlooked it and perished in consequence of it—so ungrateful is the wickedness that has been once pardoned. He was bloodthirsty and cruel to all—the slayer of his mother, his brother, three sons and three daughters. He had a large frame, as his armour, which he himself sent to Nemea and to Delphi, shows, and was so strong that he rode on horseback and hurled the javelin to the last, and could ride 1000 stades in one day, changing horses at intervals. He used to drive a chariot with sixteen horses at once. He cultivated Greek learning, and thus became acquainted with the religious cult of Greece, and was fond of music. He was abstemious and patient of labour for the most part, and yielded only to pleasures with women.

113. Such was the end of Mithridates, who bore the surnames of Eupator and Dionysus. When the Romans heard of his death, they held a festival because they were delivered from a troublesome enemy. Pharnaces sent his father's corpse to Pompey at Sinope in a trireme, together with the persons who captured Manius, and all the numerous hostages, both Greek and barbarian, and asked that he should be allowed to rule either his paternal kingdom, or Bosporus alone, which his brother, Machares, had received from Mithridates. Pompey provided for the expenses of the funeral of Mithridates. He is buried at Sinope

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

**CAP. XVI.** Βασιλείῳ ταφῇ τοῖς θεραπευτῆρσιν αὐτοῦ προσέταξε, καὶ ἐν Σινώπῃ τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐνθέσθαι τάφοις, ἀγάμενος αὐτὸν τῆς μεγαλουργίας ὡς τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν βασιλέων ἄριστον· Φαρνάκην δὲ ἀπαλλάξαντα πόνου πολλοῦ τὴν Ἰταλίαν φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον Ῥωμαίοις ἐποιήσατο, καὶ βασιλεύειν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ Βοσπόρου, χωρὶς Φαναγορέων, οὓς ἐλευθέρους καὶ αὐτονόμους ἀφῆκεν, ὅτι πρῶτοι μάλιστα οἵδε ἀναρρωννυμένῳ τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ, καὶ ναῦς καὶ στρατὸν ἄλλον καὶ ὄρμητήρια ἔχοντι, ἐπεχείρησαν, ἥγεμόνες τε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀποστάσεως ἐγένοντο, καὶ Μιθριδάτη καταλύσεως αἴτιοι.

## XVII

**CAP. XVII.** 114. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐνὶ τῷδε πολέμῳ τά τε ληστήρια καθήρας καὶ βασιλέα καθελὼν μέγιστον, καὶ συνειεχθεὶς ἐς μάχας, ἀνευ τοῦ Ποντικοῦ πόλεμου, Κόλχοις τε καὶ Ἀλβανοῖς καὶ Ἰβηρσὶ καὶ Ἀρμενίοις καὶ Μήδοις καὶ Ῥαψὶ καὶ Ιουδαίοις καὶ ἑτέροις ἔθνεσιν ἔώοις, τὴν ἀρχὴν ὠρίσατο Ῥωμαίοις μέχρι Αἰγύπτου. ἐς δὲ Αἴγυπτον αὐτὴν οὐ παρῆλθε, καίτοι στασιάζουσαν ἐς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ καλοῦντος αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ πέμψαντος αὐτῷ δῶρα καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἐσθῆτας ἐς τὸν στρατὸν ἄπαντα, εἴτε δείσας μέγεθος ἀρχῆς ἔτι εὔτυχούσης, εἴτε φυλαξάμενος ἔχθρῶν φθόνον ἢ χρησμῶν ἀπαγόρευσιν, εἴτε ἑτέροις λογισμοῖς, οὓς ἔξοιστος κατὰ τὰ Αἰγύπτια. τῶν δὲ εἰλημμένων ἔθνῶν τὰ μὲν αὐτόνομα ἥφιει συμμαχίας οὖνεκα, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

dates and directed his servants to give his remains a CHAP.  
royal burial, and to place them in the tombs of the XVI  
kings at Sinope, because he admired his great  
achievements and considered him the first of the  
kings of his time. Pharnaces, for delivering Italy  
from much trouble, he inscribed as a friend and ally  
of the Romans, and gave him Bosporus as his king-  
dom, except Phanagoria, whose inhabitants he made  
free and independent because they were about the  
first to resist Mithridates when he was recovering  
his strength, and in possession of a fleet, a new army  
and military posts, and because they led others to  
revolt and were the cause of his final collapse.

## XVII

114. POMPEY, having cleared out the robber dens, CHAP.  
and prostrated the greatest king then living, in one XVII  
and the same war, and having fought successful Pompey's  
battles, besides those of the Pontic war, with exploits in  
Colchians, Albanians, Iberians, Armenians, Medes,  
Arabs, Jews and other Eastern nations, extended  
the Roman sway as far as Egypt. But he did not  
advance into Egypt itself, although the king of that  
country invited him there to suppress a sedition, and  
sent gifts to himself and money and clothing for his  
whole army. He either feared the greatness of this  
still prosperous kingdom, or wished to guard against  
the envy of his enemies, or the warning voice of  
oracles, or for other reasons which I will publish in  
my Egyptian history. He let some of the subjugated  
nations go free, in order to make them allies.  
Others he placed at once under Roman rule, and

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. XVII εὐθὺς ἐγίγνετο, τὰ δὲ ἐς βασίλεια διεδίδουν, Τιγράνει μὲν Ἀρμενίαν καὶ Φαρνάκη Βόσπορον καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνη Καππαδοκίαν, καὶ ὅσα προεῖπον ἔτερα. Ἀντιόχῳ δὲ τῷ Κομμαγηνῷ Σελεύκειαν ἐπέτρεψε, καὶ ὅσα τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἄλλα κατέδραμεν. ἐποίει δὲ καὶ τετράρχας, Γαλλογραικῶν μέν, οὐ νῦν εἰσὶ Γαλάται Καππαδόκαις ὅμοροι, Δηιόταρον καὶ ἑτέρους, Παφλαγοίας δὲ Ἀτταλον καὶ Κόλχων Ἀρίσταρχον δυνάστην. ἀπέφηνε δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐν Κομάνοις θεᾶς Ἀρχέλαιον ἵερα, ὅπερ ἐστὶ δυναστεία βασιλική, καὶ τὸν Φαναγορέα Κάστορα Ῥωμαίων φίλον. πολλὴν δὲ καὶ ἑτέροις χώραν τε καὶ χρήματα ἔδωκεν.

115. Καὶ πόλεις ὥκισεν ἐν μὲν Ἀρμενίᾳ τῇ βραχυτέρᾳ Νικόπολιν ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ, ἐν δὲ Πόντῳ Εὐπατορίᾳν, ἦν αὐτὸς μὲν ὁ εὐπάτωρ Μιθριδάτης ἔκτισε καὶ Εὐπατορίαν ὡνόμασεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, ὑποδεξαμένην δὲ Ῥωμαίους καθηρήκει, καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐγείρας Μαγνóπολιν ἐκάλει. ἐν δὲ Καππαδοκίᾳ Μάζακα, ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου λελυμασμένην ἐς τέλος, ἤγειρεν αὐθίς. καὶ ἑτέρας πολλαχοῦ κατενεχθείσας ἦ Βεβλαμμένας διωρθοῦτο περὶ τε τὸν Πόντον καὶ Παλαιστίνην καὶ κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν, ἐν ἦ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ληστὰς συνάκιζε. καὶ ἡ πόλις ἡ πάλαι Σόλοι νῦν Πομπηίόπολις ἐστίν. ἐν δὲ Ταλαύροις, ἦν τινα πόλιν ὁ Μιθριδάτης εἶχε ταμιεῖον τῆς κατασκευῆς, δισχίλια μὲν ἐκπόμπατα λίθου τῆς ὄνυχίτιδος λεγομένης ηύρεθη χρυσοκόλλητα, καὶ φιάλαι καὶ ψυκτῆρες πολλοὶ καὶ ρυτὰ καὶ κλῖναι καὶ θρόνοι κατάκοσμοι, καὶ ἵππων χαλινοὶ καὶ προστερνίδια καὶ ἐπωμίδια, πάντα ὁμοίως διάλιθα

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

others he distributed to kings—to Tigranes, Armenia ; CHAP.  
to Pharnaces, Bosporus ; to Ariobarzanes, Cappadocia XVII  
and the other provinces before mentioned. To Antiochus of Commagene he handed over Seleucia  
and the parts of Mesopotamia that he conquered. He made Deiotarus and others tetrarchs of the  
Gallograecians, who are now the Galatians bordering  
on Cappadocia. He made Attalus prince of Paphla-  
gona and Aristarchus prince of Colchis. He also  
appointed Archelaus to the priesthood of the goddess  
worshipped at Comana, which is a royal office.  
Castor of Phanagoria was inscribed as a friend of the  
Roman people. Much territory and money were  
bestowed upon others.

115. He founded cities also,—in Lesser Armenia Cities  
Nicopolis, named after Victory; in Pontus Eupatoria, founded by him  
which Mithridates Eupator had built and named  
after himself, but destroyed because it had received  
the Romans. Pompey rebuilt it and named it  
Magnopolis. In Cappadocia he rebuilt Mazaca,  
which had been completely ruined by the war. He  
restored other towns in many places, that had been  
destroyed or damaged, in Pontus, Palestine, Coele-  
Syria, and also in Cilicia, where he had settled the  
greater part of the pirates, and where the city  
formerly called Soli is now known as Pompeiopolis.  
In the city of Talauri, which Mithridates used as a  
storehouse of furniture, were found 2000 drinking-  
cups made of onyx welded with gold, and many cups,  
wine-coolers, and drinking-horns, also ornamental  
couches and chairs, bridles for horses, and trappings  
for their breasts and shoulders, all ornamented in like  
manner with precious stones and gold. The quantity

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. XVII καὶ κατάχρυσα, ὡν ἡ παράδοσις διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἐς τριάκοντα ἡμέρας παρέτεινεν. καὶ ἦν τὰ μὲν ἐκ Δαρείου τοῦ Τστάσπου, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Πτολεμαίων ἀρχῆς, ὅσα Κλεοπάτρα Κώοις παρέθετο καὶ Κώοι Μιθριδάτη ἐδεδώκεσαν· τὰ δὲ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Μιθριδάτου κατεσκεύαστο καὶ συνείλεκτο, φιλοκάλου καὶ περὶ κατασκευὴν γενομένου.

116. Λήγοντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος διέδωκεν ὁ Πομπήιος ἀριστεῖα τῷ στρατῷ, καθ' ἕκαστον ἄνδρα χιλίας πεντακοσίας Ἀττικάς, καὶ τοῖς ἥγονυμένοις αὐτῶν ἀνάλογον· καὶ φασι γενέσθαι τάλαντα μύρια καὶ ἔξακισχίλια. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς Ἐφεσον καταβὰς διέπλευσεν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην ἡπείγετο, διαφεὶς ἐν Βρευτεσίῳ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα· ἐφ' ὅτῳ μάλιστα ὡς δημοτικῷ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἔξεπληξεν. καὶ αὐτῷ προσιόντι ἀπήντων κατὰ μέρος, πορρωτάτῳ μὲν οἱ νέοι, ἔξῆς δὲ ὡς ἐδύναντο καθ' ἡλικίαν ἕκαστοι, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἡ βουλὴ θαυμάζουσα τῶν γεγονότων· οὐ γάρ πώ τις ἐχθρὸν τηλικοῦτον ἐλὼν τοσάδε ὁμοῦ καὶ μέγιστα ἔθνη προσειλήφει, καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ὡρίκει. ὁ δὲ ἐθριάμβευσεν ἐπὶ λαμπροτάτης καὶ ἡς οὕτις πρὸ τοῦ δόξης, ἔτη ἔχων πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα, δύο ἐφεξῆς ἡμέραις, ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἀπό τε τοῦ Πόντου καὶ Ἀρμενίας καὶ Καππαδοκίας καὶ Κιλικίας καὶ Συρίας ὅλης καὶ Ἀλβανῶν καὶ Ἡνιόχων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ἐν Σκύθαις καὶ Ἰβηρίας τῆς ἑώας. καὶ παρῆγεν ἐς μὲν τοὺς λιμένας ἐπτακοσίας ναῦς ἐντελεῖς, ἐς δὲ

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

of this store was so great that the transfer of it CHAP.  
occupied thirty days. Some of these things had XVII  
been inherited from Darius, the son of Hystaspes ;  
others came from the kingdom of the Ptolemies,  
having been deposited by Cleopatra at the island of  
Cos and given by the inhabitants to Mithridates ;  
still others had been made or collected by Mithri-  
dates himself, as he was a lover of the beautiful in  
furniture as well as in other things.

116. At the end of the winter Pompey distributed B.C. 62  
rewards to the army ; 1500 Attic drachmas to each  
soldier and in like proportion to the officers, the  
whole, it is said, amounting to 16,000 talents. Then  
he marched to Ephesus, embarked for Italy, and  
hastened to Rome, having dismissed his soldiers at  
Brundusium to their homes, a democratic action  
which greatly surprised the Romans. As he  
approached the city he was met by successive  
processions, first of youths, farthest from the city,  
then bands of men of different ages came out as far  
as they severally could walk ; last of all came the  
Senate, which was lost in wonder at his exploits, for  
no one had ever before vanquished so powerful an  
enemy, and at the same time brought so many great  
nations under subjection and extended the Roman  
rule to the Euphrates. He was awarded a triumph His  
exceeding in brilliancy any that had gone before,  
being now only thirty-five years of age. It occupied  
two successive days, and many nations were repre-  
sented in the procession from Pontus, Armenia,  
Cappadocia, Cilicia and all Syria, besides Albanians,  
Heniochi, Achaeans of Scythia, and Eastern Iberians.  
Seven hundred undamaged ships were brought into  
the harbours. In the triumphal procession were two-

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. XVII τὴν πομπὴν τοῦ θριάμβου ζεύγη καὶ φορεῖα χρυσοφόρα καὶ ἔτερα κόσμου ποικίλου, καὶ τὴν Δαρείου τοῦ Τστάσπου κλίνην, καὶ τὸν τοῦ εὐπάτορος αὐτοῦ θρόνον. καὶ σκῆπτρον αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰκόνα ὀκτάπηχνυ ἀπὸ στερεοῦ χρυσίου παρῆγε, καὶ ἐπισήμου ἀργυρίου μυριάδας ἑπτακισχιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας καὶ δέκα, ἀμύξας δὲ ὅπλων ἀπείρους τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ νεῶν ἔμβολα, καὶ πλῆθος αἰχμαλώτων τε καὶ λῃστῶν, οὐδένα δεδεμένου ἀλλ' ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἐσταλμένους.

117. Αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ Πομπήιου προῆγον ὅσοι τῶν πεπολεμημένων βασιλέων ἡγεμόνες ἢ παῖδες ἢ στρατηγοὶ ἦσαν, οἱ μὲν αἰχμαλώτοι ὅντες οἱ δὲ ἐς ὁμηρείαν δεδομένοι, τριακόσιοι μάλιστα καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρες. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ ὁ Τιγράνους ἥν παῖς Τιγράνης, καὶ πέντε Μιθριδάτου, Ἀρταφέρνης τε καὶ Κῦρος καὶ Ὁξάθρης καὶ Δαρεῖος καὶ Ξέρξης, καὶ θυγατέρες Ὁρσάβαρίς τε καὶ Εὐπάτρα. παρῆγετο δὲ καὶ ὁ Κόλχων σκηπτοῦχος Ὄλθάκης, καὶ Ἰουδαίων βασιλεὺς Ἀριστόβουλος, καὶ οἱ Κιλίκων τύραννοι, καὶ Σκυθῶν βασίλειοι γυναικεῖς, καὶ ἡγεμόνες τρεῖς Ἰβήρων καὶ Ἀλβανῶν δύο, καὶ Μένανδρος ὁ Λαοδικεύς, ἵππαρχος τοῦ Μιθριδάτου γενούμενος. τῶν δὲ οὐκ ἀφικομένων εἰκόνες παρεφέροντο, Τιγράνους καὶ Μιθριδάτου, μαχομένων τε καὶ νικωμένων καὶ φευγόντων. Μιθριδάτου δὲ καὶ ἡ πολιορκία, καὶ ἡ νὺξ ὅτε ἔφευγεν, εἴκαστο, καὶ ἡ σιωπή. ἐπὶ τέλει δὲ ἐδείχθη καὶ ὡς ἀπέθανεν αἱ τε παρθένοι αἱ συναποθανεῖν αὐτῷ ἐλόμεναι παρεξωγράφητο, καὶ τῶν προαποθανόντων νιέων καὶ θυγατέρων ἦσαν γραφαί, θεῶν τε βαρβαρικῶν εἰκόνες καὶ κόσμοι πάτριοι. παρεφέρετο

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

horse-carriages and litters laden with gold or with other ornaments of various kinds, also the couch of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, the throne and sceptre of Mithridates Eupator himself, and his image, eight cubits high, made of solid gold, and 75,100,000 drachinas of silver coin ; also an infinite number of wagons carrying arms and beaks of ships, and a multitude of captives and pirates, none of them bound, but all arrayed in their native costumes.

117. Before Pompey himself, at the head of the procession, went the satraps, sons, and generals of the kings against whom he had fought, who were present (some having been captured and others given as hostages) to the number of 324. Among them were Tigranes, the son of Tigranes, and five sons of Mithridates, namely, Artaphernes, Cyrus, Oxathres, Darius and Xerxes, also his daughters, Orsabaris and Eupatra. Olthaces, chief of the Colchians, was also led in the procession, and Aristobulus, king of the Jews, the tyrants of the Cilicians, and the female rulers of the Scythians, three chiefs of the Iberians, two of the Albanians, and Menander the Laodicean, who had been chief of cavalry to Mithridates. There were carried in the procession images of those who were not present, of Tigranes and of Mithridates, representing them as fighting, as vanquished, and as fleeing. Even the besieging of Mithridates and his silent flight by night were represented. Finally it was shown how he died, and the daughters who chose to perish with him were pictured also, and there were figures of the sons and daughters who died before him, and images of the barbarian gods decked out in the fashion of their coun-

Captives  
led in his  
procession

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. δὲ καὶ πίναξ ἐγγεγραμμένων τῶνδε· “νῆσος ἔάλωσαν  
 XVII χαλκέμβολοι ὀκτακόσιαι· πόλεις ἐκτίσθησαν  
 Καππαδοκῶν ὄκτω, Κιλίκων δὲ καὶ κοίλης Συρίας  
 εἴκοσι, Παλαιστίνης δὲ ἡ νῦν Σελευκίς· βασιλεῖς  
 ἐνικήθησαν Τιγράνης Ἀρμένιος, Ἀρτώκης Ἰβηρ,  
 Ὁροίζης Ἀλβανός, Δαρεῖος Μῆδος, Ἀρέτας  
 Ναβαταῖος, Ἀντίοχος Κομμαγηνός.” τοσαῦτα  
 μὲν ἐδήλου τὸ διάγραμμα, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Πομπήιος  
 ἐπὶ ἄρματος ἦν, καὶ τοῦδε λιθοκολλήτου, χλαμύδα  
 ἔχων, ὡς φασιν, Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος, εἴ  
 τῳ πίστον ἔστιν· ἔοικε δὲ αὐτὴν εὑρεῖν ἐν Μιθρι-  
 δάτου, Κῷων παρὰ Κλεοπάτρας λαβόντων.  
 εἴποντο δὲ αὐτῷ μετὰ τὸ ἄρμα οἱ συστρατευσά-  
 μενοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ ἵππων οἱ δὲ πεζοί.  
 παρελθὼν δὲ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον οὐδένα τῶν αἰχμα-  
 λώτων ἕκτεινεν ὡς ἔτεροι τῶν θριάμβους παρα-  
 γόντων, ἀλλ’ ἐς τὰς πατρίδας ἔπειμψε δημοσίους  
 δαπανήμασι, χωρὶς τῶν βασιλικῶν. καὶ τούτων  
 μόνος Ἀριστόβουλος εὐθὺς ἀνηρέθη, καὶ Τιγράνης  
 ὕστερον. ὁ μὲν δὴ θρίαμβος ἦν τοιόσδε.

118. Ὡδε μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι Βιθυνοὺς καὶ Καππα-  
 δόκας ὅσα τε αὐτοῖς ὅμορα ἔθνη ἐπὶ τὸν Πόντον  
 κατοικεῖ τὸν Εὔξεινον, βασιλέα Μιθριδάτην  
 τεσσαράκοντα δύο ἔτεσι μάλιστα καθελόντες,  
 ὑπηράγοντο σφίσιν ὑπήκοα εἶναι. τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ  
 πολέμῳ καὶ Κιλικίας τὰ μήπω σφίσι κατήκοα  
 καὶ Συρίας τήν τε Φοινίκην καὶ κοίλην καὶ  
 Παλαιστίνην καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸ μεσόγειον ἐπὶ  
 ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην, οὐδὲν ἔτι τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ  
 προσήκοντα, ρύμη τῆσδε τῆς νίκης προσέλαβον,  
 καὶ φόρους τοῖς μὲν αὐτίκα τοῖς δὲ ὕστεροι  
 ἔταξαν. Παφλαγονίαν τε καὶ Γαλατίαν καὶ

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

tries. Moreover, a tablet was carried along with this CHAP. XVII inscription : " Ships with brazen beaks captured, 800 ; cities founded in Cappadocia, 8 ; in Cilicia and Coele-Syria, 20 ; in Palestine the one which is now Seleucis. Kings conquered : Tigranes the Armenian, Artoces the Iberian, Orozes the Albanian, Darius the Mede, Aretas the Nabataean, Antiochus of Commagene." These were the facts recorded on the inscription. Pompey himself was borne in a chariot studded with gems, wearing, it is said, a cloak of Alexander the Great, if anyone can believe that. It seems to have been found among the possessions of Mithridates that the inhabitants of Cos had received from Cleopatra. His chariot was followed by the officers who had shared the campaigns with him, some on horseback and others on foot. When he arrived at the Capitol he did not put any of the prisoners to death, as had been the custom of other triumphs, but sent them all home at the public expense, except the kings. Of these Aristobulus alone was at once put to death and Tigranes somewhat later. Such was the character of Pompey's triumph.

118. Thus the Romans, having conquered King Mithridates at the end of about forty-two years, reduced to subjection Bithynia, Cappadocia, and the other neighbouring peoples dwelling near the Euxine sea. In the same war that part of Cilicia which was not yet subject to them, together with the Syrian countries, Phoenicia, Coele-Syria, Palestine, and the country inland as far as the Euphrates, although they did not belong to Mithridates, were gained by the impetus of the victory over him and were required to pay tribute, some immediately and others later. Paphlagonia, Galatia, Phrygia, and the ad-

Inscription  
on his  
tablet

New  
countries  
added to  
the Roman  
sway

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

ΣΑΡ<sup>ΧVII</sup> Φρυγίαν καὶ τὴν ὅμορον τῇ Φρυγίᾳ Μυσίαν,  
 καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε Λυδίαν καὶ Καρίαν καὶ Ἰωνίαν  
 καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Ασίας τῆς περὶ τὸ Πέργα-  
 μόν ἔστι, καὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν Ἑλλάδα καὶ  
 Μακεδονίαν, Μιθριδάτου περισπάσαντος δξέως  
 ἀνελάβοντο· καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς αὐτῶν, οὕπω σφί-  
 σιν ὑποτελέσιν οὖσιν, ἐπέθηκαν φόρους. δι’ ἄ  
 μοι καὶ μάλιστα δοκοῦσι τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον  
 ἡγεῖσθαι μέγαν, καὶ τὴν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ νίκην μεγάλην  
 καλεῖν, καὶ τὸν στρατηγήσαντα Πομπήιον μέγαν  
 τῇ ἴδιᾳ φωιῇ μέχρι νῦν ἐπονομάζειν, ἐθνῶν τε  
 πλήθους ἔιρεκα ὡν ἀνέλαβον ἢ προσέλαβον, καὶ  
 χρόνου μήκους, τεσσαρακονταετοῦς γενομένου,  
 τόλμης τε αὐτοῦ Μιθριδάτου καὶ φερεπονίας,  
 δυνατοῦ σφίσιν ἐς ἅπαντα ὀφθέντος, 119. ὥς οὐκέτι  
 μὲν ἥσαν οἰκεῖαι πολλάκις πλείους τετρακοσίων,  
 ἵππεῖς δ’ ἔστιν ὅτε πεντακισμύριοι καὶ πεζῶν  
 μυριάδες πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ μηχαναὶ καὶ βέλη  
 κατὰ λόγον, συνεμάχουν δὲ βασιλεῖς καὶ δυνάσται  
 ὅ τε Ἀρμένιος καὶ Σκυθῶν τῶν περὶ τὸν Πόντον,  
 ἐπὶ τε Μαιώτιδα λίμνην καὶ ἀπ’ ἔκείνης ἐπὶ τὸν  
 Θράκιον Βόσπορον περιπλέοντι. ἐς τε τοὺς  
 Ῥωμαίων δυνατούς, στασιάζοντας ἀλλήλοις τότε  
 μάλιστα καὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἀνιστάντας ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους,  
 περιέπεμπε, καὶ Κελτοῦς φιλίαν ἐτίθετο ὡς καὶ  
 τῇδε ἐσβαλῶν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ληστῶν τε ἐνεπίμ-  
 πλη τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπὸ Κιλικίας ἐπὶ στήλας  
 Ἡρακλείους, οἱ πάντα ἄμικτα καὶ ἀπλωτα ταῖς  
 πόλεσιν ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐποίουν, καὶ λιμὸν ἐπίπονον  
 ἔξειργάσαντο ἐπὶ πλεῖστον. ὅλως τε οὐδὲν ἀνδρὶ<sup>ο</sup>  
 δυνατὸν ἔξελιπεν ἢ πράττων ἢ διανοούμενος, ὡς

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

joining country of Mysia, and in addition Lydia, CHAP. XVII Caria, Ionia, and all the rest of Asia Minor in the neighbourhood of Pergamus, together with old Greece and Macedonia, of which Mithridates had deprived them, were quickly recovered. Most of these people, who did not pay them tribute before, were now subjected to it. For these reasons especially I think they considered this a great war and called the victory which ended it the Great Victory and gave the title of Great (in Latin Magnus<sup>1</sup>) to Pompey who gained it for them (by which appellation he is called to this day); on account of the great number of nations recovered or added to their dominion, the length of time (forty years) that the war had lasted, and the courage and endurance of Mithridates, who had shown himself capable of meeting all emergencies.

119. Many times he had over 400 ships of his own, The armament of Mithridates and on some occasions as many as 50,000 cavalry, and 250,000 infantry, with engines and missiles in proportion. For allies he had the king of Armenia and the princes of the Scythian tribes round the Euxine and the sea of Azov and beyond, as far as the Thracian Bosphorus. He held communications with the leaders of the Roman civil wars, which were then fiercely raging, and with those who were inciting insurrection in Spain. He established friendly relations with the Gauls for the purpose of invading Italy by that route also. From Cilicia to the Pillars of Hercules he filled the sea with pirates, who stopped all commerce and navigation between cities and caused severe famine for a long time. In short, he left nothing within the power of man undone or unplanned in starting the

<sup>1</sup> See note on p. 477.

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. **XVII** μέγιστον δὴ τόδε τὸ κίνημα ἐξ ἀνατολῆς ἐπὶ δύσιν γενόμενον ἐνοχλῆσαι πᾶσιν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἢ πολεμουμένοις ἢ συμμαχοῦσιν ἢ ληστευομένοις ἢ γειτονεύουσιν. τοσόδε εἰς οὗτος πόλεμος καὶ ποικίλος ἐγένετο. καὶ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα λήγων συνινεγκε 'Ρωμαίοις· ὥρισαντο γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷδε τὴν ἱγεμονίαν ἐκ δύσεως ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην. διελεῖν δ' αὐτὰ κατὰ ἔθνος οὐκ ἦν, ὅμοι τε πραχθέντα καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἀναπεπλεγμένα. ἂ δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐδύνατο αὐτῶν κεχωρίσθαι, κατὰ μέρη τέτακται.

120. Φαρνάκης δ' ἐπολιόρκει Φαναγορέας καὶ τὰ περίοικα τοῦ Βοσπόρου, μέχρι τῶν Φαναγορέων διὰ λιμὸν ἐς μάχην προελθόντων ἐκράτει τῇ μάχῃ, καὶ βλάψας οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ φίλους ποιησάμενος καὶ λαβὼν ὅμηρα, ἀνεχώρει. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ Σινώπην εἶλε καὶ Ἀμισὸν ἐνθυμιζόμενος καὶ Καλούνινῳ στρατηγοῦντι ἐπολέμησεν, ω̄ χρόνῳ Πομπήιος καὶ Καίσαρ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἤσαν, ἔως αὐτὸν Ἀσανδρος ἐχθρὸς ἴδιος, 'Ρωμαίων οὐ σχολαζόντων, ἐξηλασε τῆς Ἀσίας. ἐπολέμησε δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ Καίσαρι καθελόντι Πομπήιον, ἐπανιόντι ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου, περὶ τὸ Σκότιον ὄρος, ἐνθα ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ 'Ρωμαίων τῶν ἀμφὶ Τριάριον ἐκεκρατήκει· καὶ ἡττηθεὶς ἔφευγε σὺν χιλίοις ἵππεῦσιν ἐς Σινώπην. Καίσαρος δ' αὐτὸν ὑπ' ἀσχολίας οὐ διώξαντος, ἀλλ' ἐπιπέμψαντος αὐτῷ Δομίτιον, παραδοὺς τὴν Σινώπην Δομιτίῳ ὑπόσπουδος ἀφείθη μετὰ τῶν ἵππων. καὶ τοὺς ἵππους

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

greatest possible movement, extending from the east CHAP.  
to the west, so as to trouble practically the whole XVII  
world, which was attacked in war, tangled in alliances, harassed by pirates, or affected by the nearness of the warfare. Such and so diversified was this one war; but in the end it brought the greatest gains to the Romans, for it pushed the boundaries of their dominion from the setting of the sun to the river Euphrates. It has been impossible to distinguish all these exploits by nations, since they were performed at the same time and were complicated with each other. Those, however, which could be separated I have arranged each by itself.

120. Pharnaces besieged the Phanagoreans and <sup>Career of  
Pharnaces</sup> the towns round the Bosphorus until the former were compelled by hunger to come out and fight, when he overcame them in battle; yet he did them no harm, but made friends with them, took hostages, and withdrew. Not long afterwards he took Sinope, <sup>B.C. 47</sup> and had a mind to take Amisus also, for which reason he made war against Calvinus, the Roman commander, at the time when Pompey and Caesar were contending against each other, until Asander, an enemy of his own, drove him out of Asia, while the Romans were still preoccupied. Afterwards he fought with Caesar himself (when the latter had overthrown Pompey and was returning from Egypt), near Mount Scotius, where his father had defeated the Romans under Triarius. He was beaten and fled to Sinope with 1000 cavalry. Caesar was too busy to follow him, but sent Domitius against him. He surrendered Sinope to Domitius, who agreed to let him go away with his cavalry. He killed his horses, though his men were extremely

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. **XVII.** ἔκτεινε πολλὰ δυσχεραινόντων τῶν ῥπέων, ναυσὶ δ' ἐπιβὰς ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἔφυγε, καὶ Σκυθῶν τινας καὶ Σαυροματῶν συναγαγὼν Θειδοσίαν καὶ Παντικάπαιον κατέλαβεν. ἐπιθεμένου δ' αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸ ἔχθος Ἀσάνδρου, οἱ μὲν ῥπεῖς ἀπορίᾳ τε ἵππων καὶ ἀμαθίᾳ πεζομαχίας ἐνικῶντο, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκης μόνος ἡγωνίζετο καλῶς, μέχρι κατατρωθεὶς ἀπέθανε, πεντηκοντούτης ὧν καὶ βασιλεύσας Βοσπόρου πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν.

121. Ὡδε μὲν δὴ καὶ Φαρνάκης ἔξέπεσε τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν Γάιος μὲν Καῖσαρ ἔδωκε Μιθριδάτῃ τῷ Περγαμηνῷ συμμαχήσαντί οἱ προθύμως ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ· νῦν δ' εἰσὶν οἰκεῖοι, Πόντου δὲ καὶ Βιθυνίας πέμπεται τις ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς στρατηγὸς ἐτίσιος τὰ δ' ἐτέροις ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου δεδομένα ὁ μὲν Γάιος, ἐπιμεμψάμενος τοῖς ἔχουσιν ὅτι Πομπηίῳ καθ' αὐτοῦ συνεμάχουν, ὅμως ἐφύλαξε, πλὴν τῆς ἐν Κομάνοις ιερωσύνης, ἣν ἦσται Λυκομίδην μετίνεγκεν ἀπὸ Ἀρχελάου· πάντα δὲ οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον, καὶ τάδε καὶ ὅσα Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἢ Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος ἔχειν ἐτέροις ἐδεδώκεσαν, ἐς στρατηγίας Ρωμαίων περιῆλθεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καισαρος ἐλόντος Αἰγυπτου, ὀλίγης ἔτι Ρωμαίων προφάσεως ἐστὶ οὐδέποτε δεομένων. ὅθεν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ Μιθριδατείῳ πολέμῳ προελθούσης ἐστὶ τε τὸν Πόντον τὸν Εὔξεινον καὶ ἐπὶ ψάμμου τὴν πρὸ Λιγύπτου καὶ ἐστὶ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἀπὸ Ἰβήρων τῶν παρὰ στήλαις Ἡρακλείοις, εἰκότως ἢ τε νίκη

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

dissatisfied at this, then took ship and fled to CHAP.  
the Bosporus.<sup>1</sup> Here he collected a force of Scythians and Sarmatians and captured Theodosia and Panticapaeum. His enemy, Asander, attacked him again, and his men were defeated for want of horses, and because they were not accustomed to fighting on foot. Pharnaces alone fought valiantly until he died of his wounds, being then fifty years of age and having been king of Bosporus fifteen years.

XVII

121. Thus Pharnaces was cut off from his kingdom and Caesar bestowed it upon Mithridates of Pergamus, who had rendered him very important help in Egypt. But the people of Bosporus are now a part of the Roman empire, and a praetor is sent by the Senate yearly to govern Pontus and Bithynia. Although Caesar was offended with the other rulers who held their possessions as gifts from Pompey, since they had aided Pompey against him, nevertheless he confirmed their titles, except the priesthood of Comana which he took from Archelaus and gave to Lycomedes. Not long after, all these countries, and those which Gaius Caesar or Mark Antony had given to others, were made Roman provinces by Augustus Caesar, after he had taken Egypt, as the Romans needed only the slightest pretext in each case. Thus, since their dominion had been advanced, in consequence of the Mithridatic war, from Spain and the Pillars of Hercules to the Euxine sea, and the sands which border Egypt, and the river Euphrates, it was fitting that this victory should be called the great one, and

Later history of  
Pontus

The text says, "to the Euxine," but Pharnaces, being at Sinope, was already at the Euxine. So Schweighäuser suggests "to the Bosporus."

## APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, BOOK XII

CAP. <sup>XVII</sup> μεγάλη καὶ ὁ στρατηγήσας Πομπήιος μέγας ἐκλήθη. ἔχουσι δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Λιβύην, ὅση μέχρι Κυρήνης (Κυρήνην γὰρ αὐτὴν Ἀπίων βασιλεὺς τοῦ Λαγιδῶν γένους νόθος ἐν διαθήκαις ἀπέλιπεν), Αἴγυπτος ἐς περίοδον τῆς ἐντὸς θαλάσσης ἔτι ἔλειπεν.

## THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

that Pompey, who accompanied the army, should be styled the Great.<sup>1</sup> As they held Africa also as far as Cyrene (for Apion, the king of that country, a bastard of the house of the Lagidae, left Cyrene itself to the Romans in his will), Egypt alone was lacking to complete the whole circuit of the Mediterranean.

<sup>1</sup> This is an anachronism. The title of Great was bestowed upon Pompey by Sulla, in consequence of his victory over the Marian faction in Africa, in the year 81 B.C.

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