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POLYBIUS  
THE HISTORIES  
VOLUME I



*Translated by*  
W. R. PATON

POLYBIUS (born ca. 208 BC) of Megalopolis in the Peloponnese (Morea), served the Achaean League in arms and diplomacy for many years, favouring alliance with Rome. From 168 to 151 he was hostage in Rome where he became a friend of Aemilius Paulus and his two sons, and especially adopted Scipio Aemilianus whose campaigns he attended later. In late life he was a trusted mediator between Greece and the Romans whom he admired; helped in the discussions which preceded the final war with Carthage; and, after 146, was entrusted by the Romans with details of administration in Greece. He died at the age of 82 after a fall from his horse.

The main part of Polybius' history covers the years 264–146 BC. It describes the rise of Rome to the destruction of Carthage and the domination of Greece by Rome. It is a great work, accurate, thoughtful, largely impartial, based on research, full of insight into customs, institutions, geography, causes of events and character of people; it is a vital achievement of first rate importance, despite the incomplete state in which all but the first five of the forty books have reached us. Polybius' overall theme is how and why the Romans spread their power as they did.

The Loeb Classical Library edition of Polybius is in six volumes.

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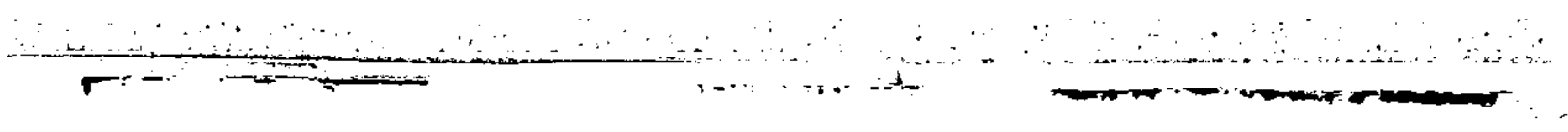


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# POLYBIUS

## THE HISTORIES

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

W. R. PATON

VOLUME I



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# CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	vii
THE HISTORIES	
Book I	2
Book II	240
INDEX	417

Quare historiae huius non postrema haec laus est, quod in parte versetur rerum Romanarum longe nobilissima, sive virorum virtutem spectes, sive publica instituta aut mores, sive gestorum magnitudinem. Cum autem inter excellentis historiae condiciones doctissimi veterum hanc cum primis ponant, ut certi intervallo temporis circumscribatur, et a notabili principio ad notabilem finem perducatur, hanc historiae legem, ut quidem illis placet, a Polybio mirifice esse observatam invenimus.

CASAUBON.

# INTRODUCTION

POLYBIUS was born about 208 B.C. at Megalopolis in Arcadia. His father, Lycortas, who spent the greater part of his life—more especially the years 181–168 B.C.—in the service of the Achaean League, was a friend and supporter of Philopoemen; he went as ambassador to Rome in 189, to Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt, in 186 and again in 181; and he was Strategus of the League in 184. In his youth Polybius began to take part in public affairs. He seems to have served with the Romans in the campaign of 189 against the Gauls in Asia Minor; he carried the urn of Philopoemen to burial in 183; he was associated with his father Lycortas in the embassy to Egypt in 181; and he was Hipparchus of the Achaean League for the year 169–8.

Throughout the period (181–168) of political association with his father Polybius consistently maintained the view that the supremacy of Rome in Greece must be accepted, and that the Greek states must conduct their affairs, whether singly or collectively, and preserve their freedom, without giving any offence, or cause of complaint, to the Roman republic. But there was much intriguing, in Greece and at Rome, against this policy of legal independence; and the suspicions of the Romans were so far aroused

## INTRODUCTION

that they came to regard the independents with no less displeasure than the avowed enemies of the republic. Thus, though the Achaean League maintained correctly enough this policy of a strict legality during the third war between Rome and Macedon (172–168), its leaders were quickly brought to account after the defeat of King Perseus at Pydna (168 B.C.), and no less than a thousand Achaeans were transported to Italy to be tried for their alleged opposition to the sovereignty of Rome. Of this company was Polybius—we hear nothing more of his father Lycortas: he may have died about this time. Quartered in Italian cities, these Greeks waited for the trial which never came; and at last in 151 B.C., when after sixteen years liberty was given to them to return home, there were less than three hundred of the thousand left to go back.

Polybius was more fortunate than the rest. He had become acquainted with Aemilius Paulus and his two sons during the campaign against Perseus and afterwards in Macedonia, and now in 167 he was allowed to remain in Rome in the house of Aemilius, to act as tutor to the two boys. This was the beginning of that famous friendship between Polybius and the younger son, who became by adoption Publius Scipio Aemilianus. Panaetius, the Stoic philosopher, was also an inmate of Aemilius Paulus' house about this time, exercising—perhaps in rivalry with Polybius—a tutorial influence upon the sons. Polybius had access through Aemilius Paulus to the best of Roman society during those sixteen years of expatriation in Italy, and he made good use of his opportunities. He studied the history and institutions of Rome, doubtless with a view to

## INTRODUCTION

the history that he meant to write himself; he observed Roman life and character, in the individual and in the state<sup>1</sup>; he hunted the boar with the younger sportsmen.

The Romans appreciated the ability and the versatility of Polybius, and in 149 B.C.—less than two years after his return to Arcadia—invited his assistance in the diplomatic discussions that preceded the last Punic War. And when Publius Scipio rejoined the army before Carthage in 147 as commander-in-chief, Polybius was in close attendance, to advise on questions of siege operations, or to conduct explorations on the coast of Africa in ships officially supplied. He stood by Scipio's side while Carthage was burning (146 B.C.); and when that destruction was finished he returned to Greece, in time, if not to witness the sack of Corinth by Mummius, at any rate to modify the executions of the Romans and to rescue some of the treasures of art from destruction or deportation. And when the Roman commissioners withdrew from Greece, they left Polybius with authority to settle the details for the administration of each surviving city. Thus he came to be regarded as a public benefactor, for he had done his work well; and statues were raised to him in Megalopolis, Mantinea, Tegea, Olympia, and elsewhere.

Polybius lived for some twenty years after this work was done, but we know little or nothing about his employments. He may have joined Scipio during the siege of Numantia in Spain (134–132): he visited Egypt again: his travels in Europe, Asia, and perhaps in Africa, may have been continued and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. vi. 56, on the moral tone of the Romans.

## INTRODUCTION

extended in this period; and his literary work—there were, in addition to the *History*, a *Life of Philopoemen* in three books, a *Treatise on Tactics*, and a *History of the Numantine War*—must have occupied much of his time. A sportsman to the last, he met his death at eighty-two by an accidental fall from his horse as he was returning from the country.

The project of writing a history of the age probably suggested itself to Polybius, and was certainly developed, during the years of his detention in Italy. Expatriation loosened the links with Greece, and tightened the connexion with Rome. His original scheme was to record the rise of Rome to supremacy over the Mediterranean states in the years 220–168 B.C., *i.e.* from the beginning of the Second Punic War to the end of the Third Macedonian War. He subsequently extended this scheme in order to include an account of events from the first expedition of the Romans outside Italy (*i.e.* from the beginning of the First Punic War, in 264 B.C., the point where the history of Timaeus had ended) and to continue the record to the year (146 B.C.) which witnessed the destruction of Carthage and of Corinth. In the end the *History* consisted of forty books, of which the first two were introductory (*προκατασκευή*), the next thirty dealt with the main subject, and the last eight with the corollary. Of the forty books the first five only are preserved complete: of the rest there are only sections and fragments—numerous, it is true, but of varying length and importance—gathered from epitomes and excerpts.

Polybius was keenly alive to the greatness of his subject: he never forgot *it* himself, and he did

## INTRODUCTION

not allow his readers to forget it. "Fruitful as Fortune is in change, and constantly as she is producing dramas in the life of men, yet assuredly never before this did she work such a marvel, or act such a drama, as that which we have witnessed."<sup>1</sup>

"What man is so indifferent or so idle that he would not wish to know how and under what form of government almost all the inhabited world came under the single rule of the Romans in less than fifty-three years (220–168 B.C.)?"<sup>2</sup> Thus at the outset he stated the scheme of his work; several times in the earlier books<sup>3</sup> he repeated the formula, for such it was, explaining in due course the extension of the scheme<sup>4</sup> in order to provide a proper introduction and conclusion; and in the last surviving chapter of the last book<sup>5</sup> he acknowledged the completion of his purpose. Careful to observe throughout the proportion and the continuity of things, he composed his systematic history (*πραγματεία*) to be at once "catholic" (*καθ' ὅλου*) in its relation to the general history of the world, and "pragmatic" or "apodeictic" in its conscious demonstration of the principle of cause and effect.<sup>6</sup> And so he made his work "perhaps the greatest *universal history*, or history of the civilized world, attempted in old times."<sup>7</sup> Was there ever a book, indeed, written so strictly according to plan, by a person so well qualified?

For indeed it seemed that destiny itself had called and trained Polybius to this task. The son of a statesman, he spent the first forty years of his life in actual connexion with politics, diplomacy, and war;

<sup>1</sup> i. 4.

<sup>2</sup> i. 1.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. iii. 1–3, 31, 32.

<sup>4</sup> iii. 4.

<sup>5</sup> xl. 14.

<sup>6</sup> iii. 6–8.

<sup>7</sup> Mahaffy, *Greek Life and Thought*, p. 556.



## INTRODUCTION

and he naturally came to regard it as an indispensable qualification of a historian that he should be able to record his own experiences of peace and war, describing from his own knowledge men and circumstances, events and localities. As a man of action himself, he felt the necessity of first-hand evidence wherever it was obtainable, and spared no pains to obtain it; and he had no opinion of stay-at-home historians (like Timaeus) who lived in libraries and wrote as bookmen. Nevertheless, in the technical preparation of his work Polybius was cautious and painstaking beyond all others: he was a practical man, but he did not despise theory. So far and with his travels, extensive and systematic<sup>1</sup> as they were, he made a special study of geography—embodying many of his observations in Book xxxiv., which is almost entirely geographical; and with his visits, official or unofficial, to various countries, he combined an examination of documents and records—and all, no doubt, to make his work correct, continuous, and complete. He may not have been a great general, or diplomat, or even topographer; but he was always careful, and generally right in his conclusions. He was impelled and guided by a natural instinct for truth: “For as a living creature is rendered wholly useless if deprived of its eyes, so if you take truth from history, what is left is but an idle unprofitable tale?”<sup>2</sup> Truth, he says elsewhere, is shown by nature to mankind as supreme in divinity and power: sooner or later, truth must prevail over all opposition.<sup>3</sup>

It is worth while to consider a little further what

<sup>1</sup> *e.g.* he crossed the Alps by the pass which Hannibal was believed to have used.

<sup>2</sup> i. 14.

<sup>3</sup> xiii. 5.



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## INTRODUCTION

proverbial. Was he not nicknamed ἐπιτίμαιος for his treatment of Timaeus in particular? He divides historians into three classes: those who write for pay—to suit the pleasure or the plans of kings and states; those who write for rhetorical display; those who write for truth, and for the good of mankind.<sup>1</sup> He appreciates the power of rhetoric in history for good and ill; but he avoids such assistance in his own work, for fear that he may fail to tell “the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.” He employs the vocabulary of ordinary usage; and though his statements are always clear, and generally adequate, the style is seldom remarkable or attractive. Yet in the opinion of a great historian “the narrative is a model of completeness, simplicity, and clearness”<sup>2</sup>: it is the concentration of intellect upon a task—a vital century in the history of Rome—for which something besides intellect was needed, something of moral judgment, of spiritual understanding. In this respect—the larger humanity, where a sense of imagination joins with a sense of humour to modify the mechanism of intellect—Polybius is certainly lacking; and his narrative, for all its simplicity and clearness, fails often to interest just because it is so uniformly correct, so invariably instructive.

The work of Polybius was valued in ancient times, and not least by the Romans. Was his *History* intended primarily for Roman readers? Possibly: but at first it would scarcely be comprehended by more than a few of them, such as the Scipionic circle.

<sup>1</sup> xvi. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Mommsen, *History of Rome* (English Translation), vol. iii. p. 467.

## INTRODUCTION

And to many, if not most, of the Greeks of his own day he must have seemed something of a suspect, and no proper patriot, who could devote forty books to an outspoken appreciation of all things Roman. Yet, save for his lack of rhetoric, he was thought to have exemplified every virtue of history: his opinions were frequently quoted, his works were compressed into epitomes and reproduced in excerpts. The pity is that by such abridged editions we have been deprived of the means of forming a just estimate of his work as a whole. For what was chosen for survival in epitome or excerpt, because it appeared most interesting or important in the generations that followed his own, cannot give us the whole story as Polybius told it—the *σχῆμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ μέρος*, we might almost say—nor reveal the whole mind of Polybius. Yet enough remains to establish his worth, as a historian who was generally right in point of fact and reasonable in point of view, who “accomplished what he had intended, a history to guide life, to proclaim truth, and in all sagacity to forecast the future from the past.”<sup>1</sup>

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For the books (i.-v.) which are still extant in complete form the best Manuscript is **A**, Codex Vaticanus 124, of the eleventh century. Fragments of the lost books are to be seen in **F**, Codex Urbinas 102, of the eleventh century, in the Constantine Excerpts, and in **M**, Codex Vaticanus 73, of the tenth century, a palimpsest containing excerpts. The Constantine Excerpts, so called because they

<sup>1</sup> Wyttenbach, *Praefatio ad selecta principum historicorum*.

## INTRODUCTION

were made by direction of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine (A.D. 912–959) as part of an Encyclopaedia of History and Political Science, give passages of Polybius arranged under various headings according to the subject matter.

COL. H. J. EDWARDS, C.B.

The Translator died suddenly in 1921, and the Editors have seen the work through the press. The Introduction has been supplied by Colonel Edwards, C.B.

*Addendum* (1992): Special mention must be made of F. W. Walbank's monumental *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, 3 vols, Oxford 1957 (1–6), 1967 (7–18), and 1979 (19–[40]); and of his *Polybius* (Sather Classical Lectures), Berkeley 1972, the best introduction to Polybius. See also the Penguin *Polybius; The Rise of the Roman Empire*, translated by Ian Scott-Kilvert and selected and introduced by F. W. Walbank (Harmondsworth 1979, with bibliography on pages 37–9).

THE HISTORIES OF  
POLYBIUS

# ΠΟΛΥΒΙΟΥ

## ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΗ

1 Εἰ μὲν τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν ἀναγράφουσι τὰς πρά-  
ξεις παραλελείφθαι συνέβαινε τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς  
ἱστορίας ἔπαινον, ἴσως ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τὸ προτρέ-  
πεσθαι πάντας πρὸς τὴν αἵρεσιν καὶ παραδοχὴν  
τῶν τοιούτων ὑπομνημάτων, διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν ἐτοι-  
μοτέραν εἶναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις διόρθωσιν τῆς τῶν  
2 προγεγενημένων πράξεων ἐπιστήμης. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐ  
τινὲς οὐδ' ἐπὶ ποσόν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν  
ἀρχῇ καὶ τέλει κέχρηται τούτῳ, φάσκοντες ἀλη-  
θινωτάτην μὲν εἶναι παιδείαν καὶ γυμνασίαν πρὸς  
τὰς πολιτικὰς πράξεις τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας μάθησιν,  
ἐναργεστάτην δὲ καὶ μόνην διδάσκαλον τοῦ δύνα-  
σθαι τὰς τῆς τύχης μεταβολὰς γενναίως ὑποφέρειν  
τὴν τῶν ἀλλοτρίων περιπετειῶν ὑπόμνησιν, δῆλον  
3 ὡς οὐδενὶ μὲν ἂν δόξαι καθήκειν περὶ τῶν καλῶς  
καὶ πολλοῖς εἰρημένων ταυτολογεῖν, ἥκιστα δ' ἡμῖν.  
4 αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ παράδοξον τῶν πράξεων, ὑπὲρ ὧν  
προηρήμεθα γράφειν, ἰκανόν ἐστι προκαλέσασθαι  
καὶ παρορμηῆσαι πάντα καὶ νέον καὶ πρεσβύτερον  
5 πρὸς τὴν ἔντευξιν τῆς πραγματείας. τίς γὰρ οὕτως  
ὑπάρχει φαῦλος ἢ ράθυμος ἀνθρώπων ὃς οὐκ ἂν  
βούλοιτο γνῶναι πῶς καὶ τίνι γένει πολιτείας ἐπι-

# THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

## BOOK I

I. HAD previous chroniclers neglected to speak in praise of History in general, it might perhaps have been necessary for me to recommend everyone to choose for study and welcome such treatises as the present, since men have no more ready corrective of conduct than knowledge of the past. But all historians, one may say without exception, and in no half-hearted manner, but making this the beginning and end of their labour, have impressed on us that the soundest education and training for a life of active politics is the study of History, and that the surest and indeed the only method of learning how to bear bravely the vicissitudes of fortune, is to recall the calamities of others. Evidently therefore no one, and least of all myself, would think it his duty at this day to repeat what has been so well and so often said. For the very element of unexpectedness in the events I have chosen as my theme will be sufficient to challenge and incite everyone, young and old alike, to peruse my systematic history. For who is so worthless or indolent as not to wish to know by what means and under what system of polity the Romans in



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

κρατηθέντα σχεδὸν ἅπαντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν οὐχ ὅλοις πεντήκοντα καὶ τρισὶν ἔτεσιν ὑπὸ μίαν ἀρχὴν ἔπεσε τὴν Ῥωμαίων, ὃ πρότερον οὐχ  
6 εὐρίσκεται γεγονός, τίς δὲ πάλιν οὕτως ἐκπαθῆς πρὸς τι τῶν ἄλλων θαμάτων ἢ μαθημάτων ὃς προυργιαίτερον ἂν τι ποιήσαιτο τῆσδε τῆς ἐμπειρίας;

2 Ὡς δ' ἔστι παράδοξον καὶ μέγα τὸ περὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ὑπόθεσιν θεώρημα γένοιτ' ἂν οὕτως μάλιστ' ἐμφανές, εἰ τὰς ἐλλογιμωτάτας τῶν προγεγενημένων δυναστειῶν, περὶ ἃς οἱ συγγραφεῖς τοὺς πλείστους διατέθινται λόγους, παραβάλοιμεν καὶ συγκρίνα-  
2 μεν πρὸς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ὑπεροχὴν. εἰσὶ δ' αἱ τῆς παραβολῆς ἄξιοι καὶ συγκρίσεως αὐταί. Πέρσαι κατὰ τινὰς καιροὺς μεγάλην ἀρχὴν κατεκτήσαντο καὶ δυναστείαν· ἀλλ' ὅσάκις ἐτόλμησαν ὑπερβῆναι τοὺς τῆς Ἀσίας ὄρους, οὐ μόνον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς,  
3 ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ σφῶν ἐκινδύνευσαν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολλοὺς ἀμφισβητήσαντες χρόνους ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίας, ἐπειδὴ ποτ' ἐκράτησαν, μόλις  
4 ἔτη δώδεκα κατεῖχον αὐτὴν ἀδήριτον. Μακεδόνες τῆς μὲν Εὐρώπης ἤρξαν ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ἀδρίαν τόπων ἕως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον ποταμόν, ὃ βραχὺ παντε-  
5 λῶς ἂν φανείη μέρος τῆς προειρημένης χώρας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα προσέλαβον τὴν τῆς Ἀσίας ἀρχὴν, καταλύσαντες τὴν τῶν Περσῶν δυναστείαν. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὗτοι, πλείστων δόξαντες καὶ τόπων καὶ πραγμάτων γενέσθαι κύριοι, τὸ πολὺ μέρος ἀκμὴν ἀπέλιπον  
6 τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀλλότριον. Σικελίας μὲν γὰρ καὶ Σαρδοῦς καὶ Λιβύης οὐδ' ἐπεβάλοντο καθάπαξ ἀμφισβητεῖν, τῆς δ' Εὐρώπης τὰ μαχιμώτατα γένη τῶν προσεσπερίων ἐθνῶν ἰσχνῶς εἶπεῖν οὐδ' ἐγί-



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## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

7 νωσκον. Ῥωμαῖοί γε μὴν οὐ τινὰ μέρη, σχεδὸν δὲ  
 πᾶσαν πεποιημένοι τὴν οἰκουμένην ὑπήκουον αὐτοῖς,  
 . . . σιν, ἀνυπέκρβλητον δὲ καὶ > τοῖς ἐπιγι-  
 <νομένοις ὑπερ>οχὴν κακτέχουσι τῆς αὐτῶν >  
 8 δυναστ<είας . . . ἐκ τῆς γρα>φῆς<sup>1</sup> ἐξέσται  
 σαφέστερον κατανοεῖν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ  
 τοῦ πόσα καὶ πηλίκᾳ συμβάλλεσθαι πέφυκε  
 τοῖς φιλομαθοῦσιν ὁ τῆς πραγματικῆς ἱστορίας  
 τρόπος.

3 Ἄρξει δὲ τῆς πραγματείας ἡμῖν τῶν μὲν χρόνων  
 ὀλυμπιάς ἑκατοστῆ καὶ τετταρακοστῆ, τῶν δὲ πρά-  
 ξων παρὰ μὲν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ὁ προσαγορευθεὶς συμ-  
 μαχικὸς πόλεμος, ὃν πρῶτον ἐξήνεγκε μετ' Ἀχαιῶν  
 πρὸς Αἰτωλοῦς Φίλιππος, Δημητρίου μὲν υἱός,  
 πατὴρ δὲ Περσέως, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς τὴν Ἀσίαν κατ-  
 οικοῦσιν ὁ περὶ Κοίλης Συρίας, ὃν Ἀντίοχος καὶ  
 2 Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλοπάτωρ ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς ἀλλή-  
 λους· ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ Λιβύην  
 τόποις ὁ συστὰς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις, ὃν  
 οἱ πλεῖστοι προσαγορεύουσιν Ἀννιβιακόν. ταῦτα  
 δ' ἔστι συνεχῆ τοῖς τελευταίοις τῆς παρ' Ἀράτου  
 3 Σικυωνίου συντάξεως. ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς πρὸ τούτων  
 χρόνοις ὡς ἂν εἰ σποράδας εἶναι συνέβαινε τὰς τῆς  
 οἰκουμένης πράξεις, διὰ τὸ καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐπιβολάς,  
 ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰς συντελείας αὐτῶν ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ  
 τοὺς τόπους ἀπέχειν ἕκαστα τῶν πεπραγμένων.  
 4 ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν καιρῶν οἷον εἰ σωματοειδῆ  
 συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι τὴν ἱστορίαν, συμπλέκεσθαι τε  
 τὰς Ἰταλικὰς καὶ Λιβυκὰς πράξεις ταῖς τε κατὰ τὴν

<sup>1</sup> In this passage the ms. A is partly illegible. The English is only meant to show the probable sense of what is missing.

## BOOK I. 2.7 – 3.4

simple truth, unknown to them. But the Romans have subjected to their rule not portions, but nearly the whole of the world [and possess an empire which is not only immeasurably greater than any which preceded it, but need not fear rivalry in the future]. In the course of this work it will become more clearly intelligible [by what steps this power was acquired], and it will also be seen how many and how great advantages accrue to the student from the systematic treatment of history.

3. The date from which I propose to begin my history is the 140th Olympiad [220–216 B.C.], and the events are the following: (1) in Greece the so-called Social War, the first waged against the Aetolians by the Achaeans in league with and under the leadership of Philip of Macedon, the son of Demetrius and father of Perseus, (2) in Asia the war for Coele-Syria between Antiochus and Ptolemy Philopator, (3) in Italy, Libya, and the adjacent regions, the war between Rome and Carthage, usually known as the Hannibalic War. These events immediately succeed those related at the end of the work of Aratus of Sicyon. Previously the doings of the world had been, so to say, dispersed, as they were held together by no unity of initiative, results, or locality; but ever since this date history has been an organic whole, and the affairs of Italy and Libya have been inter-

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

Ἰᾶσιν καὶ ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς καὶ πρὸς ἓν γίνεσθαι  
 5 τέλος τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἀπάντων. διὸ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν  
 τῆς αὐτῶν πραγματείας ἀπὸ τούτων πεποιήμεθα  
 6 τῶν καιρῶν. τῷ γὰρ προειρημένῳ πολέμῳ κρατή-  
 σαντες Ῥωμαῖοι Καρχηδονίων, καὶ νομίσαντες τὸ  
 κυριώτατον καὶ μέγιστον μέρος αὐτοῖς ἠνύσθαι πρὸς  
 τὴν τῶν ὄλων ἐπιβολήν, οὕτως καὶ τότε πρῶτον  
 ἐθάρσησαν ἐπὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτείνειν καὶ  
 περαιοῦσθαι μετὰ δυνάμεως εἰς τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ  
 τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἰᾶσιν τόπους.

7 Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν ἦν συνήθη καὶ γνώριμα τὰ  
 πολιτεύματα τὰ περὶ τῆς τῶν ὄλων ἀρχῆς ἀμφισβη-  
 τήσαντα, ἴσως οὐδὲν ἂν ἡμᾶς ἔδει περὶ τῶν πρὸ  
 τοῦ γράφειν, ἀπὸ ποίας προθέσεως ἢ δυνάμεως  
 ὀρμηθέντες ἐνεχείρησαν τοῖς τοιούτοις καὶ τηλι-  
 8 κούτοις ἔργοις. ἐπεὶ δ' οὔτε τοῦ Ῥωμαίων οὔτε  
 τοῦ Καρχηδονίων πολιτεύματος πρόχειρός ἐστι  
 τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἢ προγεγεννημένη  
 δύναμις οὐδ' αἱ πράξεις αὐτῶν, ἀναγκαῖον ὑπ-  
 ελάβομεν εἶναι συντάξασθαι ταύτην καὶ τὴν ἐξῆς  
 9 βύβλον πρὸ τῆς ἱστορίας, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἐπιστὰς ἐπ'  
 αὐτὴν τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξήγησιν τότε διαπορῆ  
 καὶ ζητῆ ποίοις διαβουλίαις ἢ ποίαις δυνάμεσι καὶ  
 χορηγίαις χρησάμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς ταύτας ὤρμη-  
 σαν τὰς ἐπιβολάς, δι' ὧν καὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ τῆς θα-  
 λάττης τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐγένοντο πάσης ἐγκρατεῖς,  
 10 ἀλλ' ἐκ τούτων τῶν βύβλων καὶ τῆς ἐν ταύταις  
 προκατασκευῆς δῆλον ἦ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ὅτι καὶ  
 λίαν εὐλόγοις ἀφορμαῖς χρησάμενοι πρὸς τε τὴν  
 ἐπίνοιαν ὤρμησαν καὶ πρὸς τὴν συντέλειαν ἐξ-  
 4 ἴκοντο τῆς τῶν ὄλων ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας. τὸ  
 γὰρ τῆς ἡμετέρας πραγματείας ἴδιον καὶ τὸ θαυ-  
 8

## BOOK I. 3.4 - 4.1

linked with those of Greece and Asia, all leading up to one end. And this is my reason for beginning their systematic history from that date. For it was owing to their defeat of the Carthaginians in the Hannibalic War that the Romans, feeling that the chief and most essential step in their scheme of universal aggression had now been taken, were first emboldened to reach out their hands to grasp the rest and to cross with an army to Greece and the continent of Asia.

Now were we Greeks well acquainted with the two states which disputed the empire of the world, it would not perhaps have been necessary for me to deal at all with their previous history, or to narrate what purpose guided them, and on what sources of strength they relied, in entering upon such a vast undertaking. But as neither the former power nor the earlier history of Rome and Carthage is familiar to most of us Greeks, I thought it necessary to prefix this Book and the next to the actual history, in order that no one after becoming engrossed in the narrative proper may find himself at a loss, and ask by what counsel and trusting to what power and resources the Romans embarked on that enterprise which has made them lords over land and sea in our part of the world; but that from these Books and the preliminary sketch in them, it may be clear to readers that they had quite adequate grounds for conceiving the ambition of a world-empire and adequate means for achieving their purpose. 4. For what gives my work its peculiar quality, and what is most remarkable in the present

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

μάσιον τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς καιρῶν τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ὅτι καθ-  
άπερ ἢ τύχη σχεδὸν ἅπαντα τὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης  
πράγματα πρὸς ἓν ἔκλινε μέρος καὶ πάντα νεύειν  
ἠνάγκασε πρὸς ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν σκοπὸν, οὕτως  
2 καὶ δεῖ διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας ὑπὸ μίαν σύνοψιν ἀγαγεῖν  
τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι τὸν χειρισμὸν τῆς τύχης, ᾧ κέ-  
χρηται πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων συντέλειαν.  
καὶ γὰρ τὸ προκαλεσάμενον ἡμᾶς καὶ παρορμησαν  
πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβολὴν τῆς ἱστορίας μάλιστα τοῦτο  
γέγονε· σὺν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τὸ μηδένα τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς  
ἐπιβεβλησθαι τῇ τῶν καθόλου πραγμάτων συντά-  
ξει· πολὺ γὰρ ἂν ἦττον ἔγωγε πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος  
3 ἐφιλοτιμήθην. νῦν δ' ὁρῶν τοὺς μὲν κατὰ μέρος  
πολέμους καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἅμα τούτοις πράξεων καὶ  
πλείους πραγματευομένους, τὴν δὲ καθόλου καὶ  
συλλήβδην οἰκονομίαν τῶν γεγονότων, πότε καὶ  
πόθεν ὠρμήθη καὶ πῶς ἔσχε τὴν συντέλειαν, ταύ-  
την οὐδ' ἐπιβαλόμενον οὐδένα βασανίζειν, ὅσον γε  
4 καὶ ἡμᾶς εἰδέναί, παντελῶς ὑπέλαβον ἀναγκαῖον  
εἶναι τὸ μὴ παραλιπεῖν μηδ' εἶσαι παρελθεῖν ἀνεπι-  
στάτως τὸ κάλλιστον ἅμα κῶφελιμώτατον ἐπιτή-  
5 δευμα τῆς τύχης. πολλὰ γὰρ αὕτη καινοποιοῦσα  
καὶ συνεχῶς ἐναγωνιζομένη τοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
βίοις οὐδέπω τοιόνδ' ἀπλῶς οὔτ' εἰργάσατ' ἔργον  
οὔτ' ἠγωνίσατ' ἀγώνισμα, οἷον τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς.  
6 ὅπερ ἐκ μὲν τῶν κατὰ μέρος γραφόντων τὰς ἱστο-  
ρίας οὐχ οἷόν τε συνιδεῖν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὰς ἐπιφα-  
νεστάτας πόλεις τις κατὰ μίαν ἐκάστην ἐπελθὼν ἢ  
καὶ νῆ Δία γεγραμμένας χωρὶς ἀλλήλων θεασάμενος  
εὐθέως ὑπολαμβάνει κατανενοηκέναί καὶ τὸ τῆς  
ὅλης οἰκουμένης σχῆμα καὶ τὴν σύμπασαν αὐτῆς  
7 θέσιν καὶ τάξιν· ὅπερ ἔστιν οὐδαμῶς εἰκός. καθό-

## BOOK I. 4. 1 - 7

age, is this. Fortune has guided almost all the affairs of the world in one direction and has forced them to incline towards one and the same end ; a historian should likewise bring before his readers under one synoptical view the operations by which she has accomplished her general purpose. Indeed it was this chiefly that invited and encouraged me to undertake my task ; and secondarily the fact that none of my contemporaries have undertaken to write a general history, in which case I should have been much less eager to take this in hand. As it is, I observe that while several modern writers deal with particular wars and certain matters connected with them, no one, as far as I am aware, has even attempted to inquire critically when and whence the general and comprehensive scheme of events originated and how it led up to the end. I therefore thought it quite necessary not to leave unnoticed or allow to pass into oblivion this the finest and most beneficent of the performances of Fortune. For though she is ever producing something new and ever playing a part in the lives of men, she has not in a single instance ever accomplished such a work, ever achieved such a triumph, as in our own times. We can no more hope to perceive this from histories dealing with particular events than to get at once a notion of the form of the whole world, its disposition and order, by visiting, each in turn, the most famous cities, or indeed by looking at separate plans of each : a result by no means likely. He indeed who believes



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

λου μὲν γὰρ ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσιν οἱ πεπεισμένοι διὰ τῆς κατὰ μέρος ἱστορίας μετρίως συνόψεσθαι τὰ ὅλα παραπλήσιόν τι πάσχειν, ὡς ἂν εἴ τινες ἐμφύχου καὶ καλοῦ σώματος γεγονότος διερριμμένα τὰ μέρη θεώμενοι νομίζοιεν ἰκανῶς αὐτόπται γίνεσθαι 8 τῆς ἐνεργείας αὐτοῦ τοῦ ζῶου καὶ καλλονῆς. εἰ γάρ τις αὐτίκα μάλα συνθεῖς καὶ τέλειον αὐθις ἀπεργασάμενος τὸ ζῶον τῷ τ' εἶδει καὶ τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς εὐπρεπείᾳ, κ᾿πειτα πάλιν ἐπιδεικνύοι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις, ταχέως ἂν οἶμαι πάντας αὐτοὺς ὁμολογήσειν διότι καὶ λίαν πολὺ τι τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπελείποντο πρόσθεν καὶ παραπλήσιοι τοῖς ὄνει- 9 ρώττουσιν ἦσαν. ἔννοϊαν μὲν γὰρ λαβεῖν ἀπὸ μέρους τῶν ὅλων δυνατόν, ἐπιστήμην δὲ καὶ γνώμην 10 ἀτρεκῆ σχεῖν ἀδύνατον. διὸ παντελῶς βραχὺ τι νομιστέον συμβάλλεσθαι τὴν κατὰ μέρος ἱστορίαν 11 πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἐμπειρίαν καὶ πίστιν. ἐκ μέντοι γε τῆς ἀπάντων πρὸς ἄλληλα συμπλοκῆς καὶ παραθέσεως, ἔτι δ' ὁμοιότητος καὶ διαφορᾶς, μόνως ἂν τις ἐφίκοιτο καὶ δυνηθείη κατοπτεύσας ἅμα καὶ τὸ χρήσιμον καὶ τὸ τερπνὸν ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας ἀναλαβεῖν.

5 Ὑποθησόμεθα δὲ ταύτης ἀρχὴν τῆς βύβλου τὴν πρώτην διάβασιν ἐξ Ἰταλίας Ῥωμαίων. αὕτη δ' ἔστι συνεχῆς μὲν τοῖς ἀφ' ὧν Τίμαιος ἀπέλιπε, πίπτει δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐνάτην καὶ εἰκοστὴν πρὸς ταῖς 2 ἑκατὸν ὀλυμπιάδα. διὸ καὶ ῥητέον ἂν εἴη πῶς καὶ πότε συστησάμενοι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ τίσιν ἀφορμαῖς μετὰ ταῦτα χρησάμενοι, διαβαίνειν ὤρμησαν εἰς Σικελίαν· ταύτη γὰρ τῇ γῇ πρῶτον ἐπέ- 3 βησαν τῶν ἐκτὸς τόπων τῆς Ἰταλίας. καὶ ῥητέον αὐτὴν τὴν τῆς διαβάσεως αἰτίαν ψιλῶς, ἵνα μὴ τῆς



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## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

αἰτίας αἰτίαν ἐπιζητούσης ἀνυπόστατος ἢ τῆς ὅλης  
4 ὑποθέσεως ἀρχὴ γένηται καὶ θεωρία. ληπτέον δὲ  
καὶ τοῖς καιροῖς ὁμολογουμένην καὶ γνωριζομένην  
ἀρχὴν παρ' ἅπασιν, καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι δυναμένην  
αὐτὴν ἐξ αὐτῆς θεωρεῖσθαι, κὰν δέη τοῖς χρόνοις  
βραχὺ προσαναδραμόντας κεφαλαιώδη τῶν μεταξύ  
5 πράξεων ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀνάμνησιν. τῆς γὰρ  
ἀρχῆς ἀγνοουμένης ἢ καὶ νῆ Δί' ἀμφισβητου-  
μένης οὐδὲ τῶν ἐξῆς οὐδὲν οἶόν τε παραδοχῆς  
ἀξιωθῆναι καὶ πίστεως· ὅταν δ' ἢ περὶ ταύτης  
ὁμολογουμένη παρασκευασθῇ δόξα, τότε ἤδη καὶ  
πᾶς ὁ συνεχῆς λόγος ἀποδοχῆς τυγχάνει παρὰ  
τοῖς ἀκούουσιν.

6 Ἔτος μὲν οὖν ἐνειστήκει μετὰ μὲν τὴν ἐν Αἰ-  
γὸς ποταμοῖς ναυμαχίαν ἐννεακαιδέκατον, πρὸ δὲ  
2 τῆς ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχης ἐκκαιδέκατον, ἐν ᾧ Λα-  
κεδαιμόνιοι μὲν τὴν ἐπ' Ἀνταλκίδου λεγομένην  
εἰρήνην πρὸς βασιλέα τῶν Περσῶν ἐκύρωσαν καὶ  
πρεσβύτερος Διονύσιος τῇ περὶ τὸν Ἑλλέπορον  
ποταμὸν μάχῃ νενικηκῶς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν  
Ἕλληνας ἐπολιόρκει Ῥήγιον, Γαλάται δὲ κατὰ κρά-  
τος ἐλόντες αὐτὴν τὴν Ῥώμην κατεῖχον πλὴν τοῦ  
3 Καπετωλίου. πρὸς οὓς ποιησάμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι σπον-  
δὰς καὶ διαλύσεις εὐδοκουμένας Γαλάταις, καὶ γε-  
νόμενοι πάλιν ἀνελπίστως τῆς πατρίδος ἐγκρατεῖς,  
καὶ λαβόντες οἶον ἀρχὴν τῆς συναυξήσεως, ἐπολέ-  
μουν ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς χρόνοις πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας.  
4 γενόμενοι δ' ἐγκρατεῖς ἀπάντων τῶν Λατίνων διά-  
τε τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὴν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἐπιτυχίαν,  
μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐπολέμουν Τυρρηνοῖς, ἔπειτα Κελτοῖς,  
ἐξῆς δὲ Σαυνίταις, τοῖς πρὸς τε τὰς ἀνατολὰς καὶ  
τὰς ἄρκτους συντερμονοῦσι τῇ τῶν Λατίνων χώρᾳ.

cause of the cause and so on, my whole work would have no clear starting-point and principle. The starting-point must be an era generally agreed upon and recognized, and one self-apparent from the events, even if this involves my going back a little in point of date and giving a summary of intervening occurrences. For if there is any ignorance or indeed any dispute as to what are the facts from which the work opens, it is impossible that what follows should meet with acceptance or credence; but once we produce in our readers a general agreement on this point they will give ear to all the subsequent narrative.

6. It was, therefore, the nineteenth year after the 387- battle of Aegospotami and the sixteenth before that of Leuctra, the year in which the Spartans ratified the peace known as that of Antalcidas with the King of Persia, that in which also Dionysius the Elder, after defeating the Italiot Greeks in the battle at the river Elleporos, was beseiging Rhegium, and that in which the Gauls, after taking Rome itself by assault, occupied the whole of that city except the Capitol. The Romans, after making a truce on conditions satisfactory to the Gauls and being thus contrary to their expectation reinstated in their home and as it were now started on the road of aggrandizement, continued in the following years to wage war on their neighbours. After subduing all the Latins by their valour and the fortune of war, they fought first against the Etruscans, then against the Celts, and next against the Samnites, whose territory was conterminous with that of the Latins on the East

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

5 μετὰ δὲ τινα χρόνον Ταραντίνων διὰ τὴν εἰς τοὺς  
 πρεσβευτὰς Ῥωμαίων ἀσέλγειαν καὶ τὸν διὰ ταῦτα  
 φόβον ἐπισπασαμένων Πύρρον τῷ πρότερον ἔτει τῆς  
 τῶν Γαλατῶν ἐφόδου τῶν τε περὶ Δελφοὺς φθαρέν-  
 6 των καὶ περαιωθέντων εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, Ῥωμαῖοι  
 Τυρρηνοὺς μὲν καὶ Σαυνίτας ὑφ' αὐτοὺς πεποιοη-  
 μένοι, τοὺς δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Κελτοὺς πολλαῖς  
 μάχαις ἤδη νενικηκότες, τότε πρῶτον ἐπὶ τὰ λοιπὰ  
 μέρη τῆς Ἰταλίας ὤρμησαν, οὐχ ὡς ὑπὲρ ὀθνείων,  
 ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ πλεῖον ὡς ὑπὲρ ἰδίων ἤδη καὶ καθηκόν-  
 των σφίσι πολεμήσοντες, ἀθληταὶ γεγονότες ἀληθινοὶ  
 τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἔργων ἐκ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς  
 7 Σαυνίτας καὶ Κελτοὺς ἀγώνων. ὑποστάντες δὲ  
 γενναίως τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον  
 τὰς τε δυνάμεις καὶ Πύρρον ἐκβαλόντες ἐκ τῆς  
 Ἰταλίας, αὐθις ἐπολέμουν καὶ κατεστρέφοντο τοὺς  
 8 κοινωνήσαντας Πύρρῳ τῶν πραγμάτων. γενόμενοι  
 δὲ παραδόξως ἀπάντων ἐγκρατεῖς, καὶ ποιησάμενοι  
 τοὺς τὴν Ἰταλίαν οἰκοῦντας ὑφ' αὐτοὺς πλὴν Κελτῶν,  
 μετὰ ταῦτα πολιορκεῖν ἐνεχείρησαν τοὺς τότε κατ-  
 έχοντας τὸ Ῥήγιον Ῥωμαίους.

7 Ἴδιον γάρ τι συνέβη καὶ παραπλήσιον ἑκατέραις  
 ταῖς περὶ τὸν πορθμὸν ἐκτισμέναις πόλεσιν· εἰσὶ δ'  
 2 αὐταὶ Μεσσήνη καὶ Ῥήγιον. Μεσσήνην μὲν γὰρ  
 οὐ πολλοῖς ἀνώτερον χρόνοις τῶν νῦν λεγομένων  
 καιρῶν Καμπανοὶ παρ' Ἀγαθοκλεῖ μισθοφοροῦντες,  
 καὶ πάλαι περὶ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν εὐδαι-  
 μονίαν τῆς πόλεως ὀφθαλμιῶντες, ἅμα τῷ λαβεῖν  
 3 καιρὸν εὐθὺς ἐπεχείρησαν παρασπονδεῖν· παρ-  
 εισελθόντες δ' ὡς φίλιοι, καὶ κατασχόντες τὴν  
 πόλιν, οὓς μὲν ἐξέβαλον τῶν πολιτῶν, οὓς δ' ἀπ-  
 4 ἐσφαξαν. πράξαντες δὲ ταῦτα, τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας

and North. After some time the Tarentines, fearing the consequences of their insolence to the Roman envoys, begged for the intervention of Pyrrhus. (This was in the year preceding the expedition of those Gauls who met with the reverse at Delphi and then crossed to Asia.) The Romans had ere this reduced the Etruscans and Samnites and had vanquished the Italian Celts in many battles, and they now for the first time attacked the rest of Italy not as if it were a foreign country, but as if it rightfully belonged to them. Their struggle with the Samnites and Celts had made them veritable masters in the art of war, and after bravely supporting this war with Pyrrhus and finally expelling himself and his army from Italy, they continued to fight with and subdue those who had sided with him. When, with extraordinary good fortune, they had reduced all these peoples and had made all the inhabitants of Italy their subjects excepting the Celts, they undertook the siege of Rhegium now held by certain of their compatriots. 280

7. For very much the same fortune had befallen the two cities on the Straits, Messene and Rhegium. Certain Campanians serving under Agathocles had long cast covetous eyes on the beauty and prosperity of Messene; and not long before the events I am speaking of they availed themselves of the first opportunity to capture it by treachery. After being admitted as friends and occupying the city, they first expelled or massacred the citizens and then took 274

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

καὶ τὰ τέκνα τῶν ἠκληρηκότων, ὡς ποθ' ἢ τύχη  
 διένειμε παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν τῆς παρανομίας καιρὸν  
 ἑκάστοις, οὕτως ἔσχον· τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς βίους καὶ  
 5 τὴν χώραν μετὰ ταῦτα διελόμενοι κατεῖχον. ταχὺ  
 δὲ κατ' ῥαδίως καλῆς χώρας καὶ πόλεως ἐγκρατεῖς  
 γενόμενοι, παρὰ πόδας εὖρον μιμητὰς τῆς πράξεως.  
 6 Ῥηγῖνοι γάρ, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν Πύρρος εἰς Ἰταλίαν  
 ἐπεραιούτο, καταπλαγεῖς γενόμενοι τὴν ἔφοδον αὐ-  
 τοῦ, δεδιότες δὲ καὶ Καρχηδονίους θαλαττοκρα-  
 τοῦντας, ἐπεσπάσαντο φυλακὴν ἅμα καὶ βοήθειαν  
 7 παρὰ Ῥωμαίων. οἱ δ' εἰσελθόντες χρόνον μὲν τινα  
 διετήρουν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν πίστιν, ὄντες  
 τετρακισχίλιοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ὧν ἠγεῖτο Δέκιος Καμ-  
 8 πανός· τέλος δὲ ζηλώσαντες τοὺς Μαμερτίους, ἅμα  
 δὲ καὶ συνεργοὺς λαβόντες αὐτούς, παρεσπόνδησαν  
 τοὺς Ῥηγίνους, ἐκπαθεῖς ὄντες ἐπὶ τε τῇ τῆς πόλεως  
 εὐκαιρίᾳ καὶ τῇ τῶν Ῥηγίνων περὶ τοὺς ἰδίους  
 βίους εὐδαιμονίᾳ· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐκβαλόντες, τοὺς  
 δ' ἀποσφάξαντες τῶν πολιτῶν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον  
 τοῖς Καμπανοῖς κατέσχον τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ  
 9 Ῥωμαῖοι βαρέως μὲν ἔφερον τὸ γεγονός· οὐ μὲν  
 εἶχόν γε ποιεῖν οὐδὲν διὰ τὸ συνέχεσθαι τοῖς προ-  
 10 ειρημένοις πολέμοις. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπὸ τούτων ἐγένοντο,  
 συγκλείσαντες αὐτοὺς ἐπολιόρκουν τὸ Ῥήγιον,  
 καθάπερ ἐπάνω προεῖπον. κρατήσαντες δὲ τοὺς  
 11 μὲν πλείστους ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ καταλήψει διέφθειραν,  
 ἐκθύμως ἀμυνομένους διὰ τὸ προορᾶσθαι τὸ μέλλον,  
 ζωγρία δ' ἐκυρίευσαν πλειόνων ἢ τριακοσίων. ὧν  
 12 ἀναπεμφθέντων εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, οἱ στρατηγοὶ  
 προαγαγόντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ μαστιγώσαντες  
 ἅπαντας κατὰ τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔθος ἐπελέκισαν,  
 βουλόμενοι διὰ τῆς εἰς ἐκείνους τιμωρίας, καθ' ὅσον

## BOOK I. 7. 4 - 12

possession of the wives and families of the dispossessed victims, just as chance assigned them each at the time of the outrage. They next divided among themselves the land and all other property. Having thus possessed themselves so quickly and easily of a fine city and territory, they were not long in finding imitators of their exploit. For the people of Rhegium, when Pyrrhus crossed to Italy, dreading an attack by him and fearing also the Carthaginians who commanded the sea, begged from the Romans a garrison and support. The force which came, four thousand in number and under the command of Decius, a Campanian, kept the city and their faith for some time, but at length, anxious to rival the Mamertines and with their co-operation, played the people of Rhegium false, and eagerly coveting a city so favourably situated and containing so much private wealth, expelled or massacred the citizens and possessed themselves of the city in the same manner as the Campanians had done. The Romans were highly displeased, yet could do nothing at the time, as they were occupied with the wars I have already mentioned. But when they had a free hand they shut up the culprits in the city and proceeded to lay siege to it as I have stated above. When Rhegium fell, most of the besieged were slain in the actual assault, having defended themselves desperately, as they knew what awaited them, but more than three hundred were captured. When they were sent to 271 Rome the Consuls had them all conducted to the forum and there, according to the Roman custom, scourged and beheaded; their object being to recover as far as possible by this punishment their reputation



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

οἷοί τ' ἦσαν, διορθοῦσθαι παρὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις τὴν  
 13 αὐτῶν πίστιν. τὴν δὲ χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν παρα-  
 χρήμα τοῖς Ῥηγίνοις ἀπέδωσαν.

8 Οἱ δὲ Μαμερτῖνοι, τοῦτο γὰρ τοῦνομα κυριεύ-  
 σαντες οἱ Καμπανοὶ τῆς Μεσσήνης προσηγόρευσαν  
 σφᾶς αὐτοῦς· ἕως μὲν συνεχρῶντο τῇ τῶν Ῥω-  
 μαίων συμμαχίᾳ τῶν τὸ Ῥήγιον κατασχόντων, οὐ  
 μόνον τῆς ἑαυτῶν πόλεως καὶ χώρας ἀσφαλῶς κατ-  
 εκράτουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῆς συνορούσης οὐχ ὡς  
 ἔτυχε παρηνώχλουν τοῖς τε Καρχηδονίοις καὶ τοῖς  
 Συρακοσίοις, καὶ πολλὰ μέρη τῆς Σικελίας ἐφορο-  
 2 λόγουν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐστερήθησαν τῆς προειρημένης  
 ἐπικουρίας, συγκλεισθέντων τῶν τὸ Ῥήγιον κατ-  
 εχόντων εἰς τὴν πολιορκίαν, παρὰ πόδας ὑπὸ τῶν  
 Συρακοσίων αὐτοὶ πάλιν συνεδιώχθησαν εἰς τὴν  
 3 πόλιν διὰ τινὰς τοιαύτας αἰτίας· χρόνοις οὐ πολλοῖς  
 πρότερον αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν Συρακοσίων διενεχθεῖσαι  
 πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ διατρίβουσαι περὶ τὴν  
 Μεργάνην, κατέστησαν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἄρχοντας, Ἀρτεμί-  
 δωρόν τε καὶ τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα βασιλεύσαντα τῶν  
 Συρακοσίων Ἰέρωνα, νέον μὲν ὄντα κομιδῆ, πρὸς  
 δέ τι γένος εὐφυῆ βασιλικῆς καὶ πραγματικῆς οἰκο-  
 4 νομίας. ὁ δὲ παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ παρεισελθὼν  
 εἰς τὴν πόλιν διὰ τινῶν οἰκείων καὶ κύριος γενό-  
 μενος τῶν ἀντιπολιτευομένων, οὕτως ἐχρήσατο  
 πράως καὶ μεγαλοψύχως τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὥστε τοὺς  
 Συρακοσίους, καίπερ οὐδαμῶς εὐδοκουμένους ἐπὶ  
 ταῖς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀρχαιρεσίαις, τότε πάντας  
 ὁμοθυμαδὸν εὐδοκῆσαι στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν ὑπάρχειν  
 5 Ἰέρωνα. ὃς ἐκ τῶν πρώτων ἐπινοημάτων εὐθέως  
 δῆλος ἦν τοῖς ὀρθῶς σκοπούμενοις μειζόνων ὀρεγό-  
 μενος ἐλπίδων ἢ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν. θεωρῶν



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## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

9 γὰρ τοὺς Συρακοσίους, ἐπειδὴν ἐκπέμψωσι τὰς δυνά-  
 μεις καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας μετὰ τῶν δυνάμεων, αὐτοὺς  
 ἐν αὐτοῖς στασιάζοντας καὶ καινοτομοῦντας αἰεὶ τι,  
 2 τὸν δὲ Λεπτίνην εἰδὼς καὶ τῇ προστασίᾳ καὶ τῇ  
 πίστει πολὺ διαφέροντα τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν, εὐδο-  
 κιμοῦντα δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῷ πλήθει διαφερόντως, συν-  
 ἄπτεται κηδεῖαν πρὸς αὐτόν, βουλόμενος οἷον ἐφε-  
 δρεῖαν ἀπολιπεῖν ἐν τῇ πόλει τοῦτον, ὅτ' αὐτόν  
 3 ἐξιέναι δέοι μετὰ τῶν δυνάμεων ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις.  
 γήμας δὲ τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ προειρημένου, καὶ  
 συνθεωρῶν τοὺς ἀρχαίους μισθοφόρους καχέκτας  
 ὄντας καὶ κινητικούς, ἐξάγει στρατεῖαν ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 4 βαρβάρους τοὺς τὴν Μεσσήνην κατασχόντας. ἀντι-  
 στρατοπεδεύσας δὲ περὶ Κεντόριπα, καὶ παρα-  
 ταξάμενος περὶ τὸν Κυμαμόσωρον ποταμόν, τοὺς μὲν  
 πολιτικούς ἵππεῖς καὶ πεζοὺς αὐτὸς ἐν ἀποστήματι  
 συνεῖχεν, ὡς κατ' ἄλλον τόπον τοῖς πολεμίοις  
 συμμίξων, τοὺς δὲ ξένους προβαλόμενος εἴασε  
 5 πάντας ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων διαφθαρῆναι· κατὰ δὲ  
 τὸν τῆς ἐκείνων τροπῆς καιρὸν ἀσφαλῶς αὐτὸς  
 6 ἀπεχώρησε μετὰ τῶν πολιτῶν εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας.  
 συντελεσάμενος δὲ τὸ προκείμενον πραγματικῶς,  
 καὶ παρηρηκῶς πᾶν τὸ κινητικὸν καὶ στασιῶδες  
 τῆς δυνάμεως, ξενολογήσας δι' αὐτοῦ πλήθος  
 ἱκανὸν μισθοφόρων, ἀσφαλῶς ἤδη τὰ κατὰ τὴν  
 7 ἀρχὴν διεξῆγε. θεωρῶν δὲ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐκ τοῦ  
 προτερήματος θρασέως καὶ προπετῶς ἀναστρεφο-  
 μένους, καθοπλίσας καὶ γυμνάσας ἐνεργῶς τὰς  
 πολιτικὰς δυνάμεις ἐξῆγε, καὶ συμβάλλει τοῖς  
 πολεμίοις ἐν τῷ Μυλαίῳ πεδίῳ περὶ τὸν Λογγανὸν  
 8 καλούμενον ποταμόν. τροπὴν δὲ ποιήσας αὐτῶν  
 ἰσχυράν, καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐγκρατῆς γενόμενος

9. For observing that the Syracusans, every time they dispatch their forces on an expedition accompanied by their supreme magistrates, begin quarrelling among themselves and introducing continual changes, and knowing that Leptines had a wider circle of dependents and enjoyed more credit than any other burgher and had an especially high name among the common people, he allied himself with him by marriage, so that whenever he had to take the field himself he might leave him behind as a sort of reserve force. He married, then, the daughter of this Leptines, and finding that the veteran mercenaries were disaffected and turbulent, he marched out in force professedly against the foreigners who had occupied Messene. He met the enemy near Centuripa and offered battle near the river Cyamosorus. He held back the citizen cavalry and infantry at a distance under his personal command as if he meant to attack on another side, but advancing the mercenaries he allowed them all to be cut up by the Campanians. During their rout he himself retired safely to Syracuse with the citizens. Having thus efficiently accomplished his purpose and purged the army of its turbulent and seditious element, he himself enlisted a considerable number of mercenaries and henceforth continued to rule in safety. Observing that the Mamertines, owing to their success, were behaving in a bold and reckless manner, he efficiently armed and trained the urban levies and leading them out engaged the enemy in the Mylaean plain near the river Longanus, and inflicted a severe defeat on

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

ζωγρία, τὴν μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων κατέπαυσε τόλμαν, αὐτὸς δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ πάντων προσηγορεύθη τῶν συμμάχων.

10 Οἱ δὲ Μαμερτῖνοι, πρότερον μὲν ἐστερημένοι τῆς ἐπικουρίας τῆς ἐκ τοῦ Ῥηγίου, καθάπερ ἀνώτερον εἶπον, τότε δὲ τοῖς ἰδίῳις πράγμασιν ἐπταικότες ὀλοσχερῶς διὰ τὰς νῦν ῥηθείσας αἰτίας, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίους κατέφευγον, καὶ τούτοις ἐν-

2 εχειρίζον σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν ἄκραν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπρέσβευον, παραδιδόντες τὴν πόλιν καὶ δεόμενοι βοηθήσειν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ὁμοφύλοις ὑπάρ-

3 χουσι. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ πολὺν μὲν χρόνον ἠπόρησαν διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν ἐξόφθαλμον εἶναι τὴν ἀλογίαν τῆς

4 βοηθείας. τὸ γὰρ μικρῶ πρότερον τοὺς ἰδίους πολίτας μετὰ τῆς μεγίστης ἀνηρηκότας τιμωρίας, ὅτι Ῥηγίους παρεσπόνδησαν, παραχρῆμα Μαμερτῖνοις βοηθεῖν ζητεῖν τοῖς τὰ παραπλήσια πεποιηκόσιν οὐ μόνον εἰς τὴν Μεσσηνίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Ῥηγίωνων

5 πόλιν, δυσαπολόγητον εἶχε τὴν ἀμαρτίαν. οὐ μὴν ἀγνοοῦντές γε τούτων οὐδέν, θεωροῦντες δὲ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους οὐ μόνον τὰ κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ὑπήκοα πολλὰ μέρη πεποιημένους, ἔτι δὲ τῶν νήσων ἀπασῶν ἐγκρατεῖς ὑπάρχοντας τῶν κατὰ τὸ Σαρδόνιον καὶ Τυρρηρικὸν πέλαγος,

6 ἠγωνίων, εἰ Σικελίας ἔτι κυριεύσαιεν, μὴ λίαν βαρεῖς καὶ φοβεροὶ γείτονες αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχοιεν, κύκλῳ σφᾶς περιέχοντες καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τῆς Ἰταλίας μέρεσιν

7 ἐπικείμενοι. διότι δὲ ταχέως ὑφ' αὐτοὺς ποιήσονται τὴν Σικελίαν, μὴ τυχόντων ἐπικουρίας τῶν Μαμερτῖνων, προφανὲς ἦν. κρατήσαντες γὰρ ἐγχει-

8 ριζομένης αὐτοῖς τῆς Μεσσήνης ἔμελλον ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ τὰς Συρακούσας ἐπανελέσθαι διὰ τὸ πάσης

them, capturing their leaders. This put an end to the audacity of the Mamertines, and on his return to Syracuse he was with one voice proclaimed king by all the allies.

10. The Mamertines had previously, as I above narrated, lost their support from Rhegium and had now suffered complete disaster at home for the reasons I have just stated. Some of them appealed to the Carthaginians, proposing to put themselves and the citadel into their hands, while others sent an embassy to Rome, offering to surrender the city and begging for assistance as a kindred people. The Romans were long at a loss, the succour demanded being so obviously unjustifiable. For they had just inflicted on their own fellow-citizens the highest penalty for their treachery to the people of Rhegium, and now to try to help the Mamertines, who had been guilty of like offence not only at Messene but at Rhegium also, was a piece of injustice very difficult to excuse. But fully aware as they were of this, they yet saw that the Carthaginians had not only reduced Libya to subjection, but a great part of Spain besides, and that they were also in possession of all the islands in the Sardinian and Tyrrhenian Seas. They were therefore in great apprehension lest, if they also became masters of Sicily, they would be most troublesome and dangerous neighbours, hemming them in on all sides and threatening every part of Italy. That they would soon be supreme in Sicily, if the Mamertines were not helped, was evident; for once Messene had fallen into their hands, they would shortly subdue Syracuse also, as they were

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

9 σχεδὸν δεσπόζειν τῆς ἄλλης Σικελίας. ὁ προορώμενοι  
Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ νομίζοντες ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι σφίσι τὸ  
μὴ προέσθαι τὴν Μεσσήνην, μηδ' εἶσαι Καρχηδο-  
νίους οἷον εἰ γεφυρῶσαι τὴν εἰς Ἰταλίαν αὐτοῖς  
11 διάβασιν, πολὺν μὲν χρόνον ἐβουλεύσαντο, καὶ τὸ  
μὲν συνέδριον οὐδ' εἰς τέλος ἐκύρωσε τὴν γνώμην  
διὰ τὰς ἄρτι ῥηθείσας αἰτίας. ἐδόκει γὰρ τὰ περὶ  
τὴν ἀλογίαν τῆς τοῖς Μαμερτίνοις ἐπικουρίας  
2 ἰσορροπεῖν τοῖς ἐκ τῆς βοηθείας συμφέρουσιν. οἱ  
δὲ πολλοί, τετρυμένοι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν προγεγονότων  
πολέμων καὶ προσδεόμενοι παντοδαπῆς ἐπανορ-  
θώσεως, ἅμα δὲ τοῖς ἄρτι ῥηθείσι περὶ τοῦ κοινῆ  
συμφέρειν τὸν πόλεμον καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ἐκάστοις  
ὠφελείας προδήλους καὶ μεγάλας ὑποδεικνυόντων  
3 τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἔκριναν βοηθεῖν. κυρωθέντος δὲ  
τοῦ δόγματος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, προχειρισάμενοι τὸν  
ἕτερον τῶν ὑπάτων στρατηγὸν Ἄππιον Κλαύδιον  
ἐξαπέστειλαν, κελεύσαντες βοηθεῖν καὶ διαβαίνειν  
4 εἰς Μεσσήνην. οἱ δὲ Μαμερτῖνοι τὸν μὲν τῶν  
Καρχηδονίων στρατηγόν, ἤδη κατέχοντα τὴν ἄκραν,  
ἐξέβαλον, τὰ μὲν καταπληξάμενοι, τὰ δὲ παρα-  
λογισάμενοι· τὸν δ' Ἄππιον ἐπεσπῶντο, καὶ τούτῳ  
5 τὴν πόλιν ἐνεχείριζον. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ τὸν μὲν  
στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν ἀνεσταύρωσαν, νομίσαντες αὐτὸν  
ἀβούλως, ἅμα δ' ἀνάνδρως, προέσθαι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν·  
6 αὐτοὶ δὲ τῇ μὲν ναυτικῇ δυνάμει περὶ Πελωριάδα  
στρατοπεδεύσαντες, τῷ δὲ πεζῷ στρατεύματι περὶ  
τὰς Σύνεις καλουμένας, ἐνεργῶς προσέκειντο τῇ  
7 Μεσσήνῃ. κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον Ἰέρων,  
νομίσας εὐφυῶς ἔχειν τὰ παρόντα πρὸς τὸ τοὺς  
βαρβάρους τοὺς τὴν Μεσσήνην κατέχοντας ὀλο-  
σχερῶς ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας, τίθεται πρὸς τοὺς

absolute lords of almost all the rest of Sicily. The Romans, foreseeing this and viewing it as a necessity for themselves not to abandon Messene and thus allow the Carthaginians as it were to build a bridge for crossing over to Italy, debated the matter for long, (11) and, even at the end, the Senate did not sanction the proposal for the reason given above, considering that the objection on the score of inconsistency was equal in weight to the advantage to be derived from intervention. The commons, however, worn out as they were by the recent wars and in need of any and every kind of restorative, listened readily to the military commanders, who, besides giving the reasons above stated for the general advantageousness of the war, pointed out the great benefit in the way of plunder which each and every one would evidently derive from it. They were therefore in favour of sending help ; and when the measure had been passed by the people they appointed to the command one of the Consuls, Appius Claudius, who was ordered to cross to Messene. The Mamertines, partly by menace<sup>264 B</sup> and partly by stratagem, dislodged the Carthaginian commander, who was already established in the citadel, and then invited Appius to enter, placing the city in his hands. The Carthaginians crucified their general, thinking him guilty of a lack both of judgement and of courage in abandoning the citadel. Acting for themselves they stationed their fleet in the neighbourhood of Cape Pelorias, and with their land forces pressed Messene close in the direction of Sunes. Hiero now, thinking that present circumstances were favourable for expelling from Sicily entirely the foreigners who occupied Messene, made



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

Καρχηδονίους συνθήκας. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἀναζεύξας  
 8 ἐκ τῶν Συρακουσῶν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ τὴν  
 προειρημένην πόλιν· καταστρατοπεδεύσας δ' ἐκ  
 θατέρου μέρους περὶ τὸ Χαλκιδικὸν ὄρος καλούμενον  
 ἀπέκλεισε καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἐξόδου τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει.  
 9 ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων Ἄππιος νυκτὸς καὶ  
 παραβόλως περαιωθεὶς τὸν πορθμὸν ἤκεν εἰς τὴν  
 10 Μεσσήνην. ὄρων δὲ πανταχόθεν ἐνεργῶς προση-  
 ρεικότας τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ συλλογισάμενος ἅμα  
 μὲν αἰσχροῦ, ἅμα δ' ἐπισφαλῆ γίνεσθαι τὴν πολιορ-  
 11 κίαν αὐτῷ, τῆς τε γῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπικρατούν-  
 των καὶ τῆς θαλάττης, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διεπρε-  
 γβεύετο πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους, βουλόμενος ἐξελέσθαι  
 12 τοῦ πολέμου τοὺς Μαμερτίνους· οὐδενὸς δὲ  
 προσέχοντος αὐτῷ, τέλος ἐπαναγκαζόμενος ἔκρινε  
 13 διακινδυνεύειν καὶ πρῶτον ἐγχειρεῖν τοῖς Συρακο-  
 σίοις. ἐξαγαγὼν δὲ τὴν δύναμιν παρέταξε πρὸς  
 μάχην, ἐτοίμως εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα συγκαταβάντος  
 14 αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ τῶν Συρακοσίων βασιλέως· ἐπὶ  
 πολὺν δὲ χρόνον διαγωνισάμενος ἐπεκράτησε τῶν  
 πολεμίων, καὶ κατεδίωξε τοὺς ὑπεναντίους ἕως εἰς  
 15 τὸν χάρακα πάντας. Ἄππιος μὲν οὖν σκυλεύσας  
 τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐπανῆλθε πάλιν εἰς τὴν Μεσσήνην.  
 ὁ δ' Ἰέρων, ὀττευσάμενός τι περὶ τῶν ὄλων πραγμά-  
 των, ἐπιγενομένης τῆς νυκτὸς ἀνεχώρησε κατὰ  
 12 σπουδὴν εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας. τῇ δὲ κατὰ πόδας  
 ἡμέρᾳ γνοὺς Ἄππιος τὴν ἀπόλυσιν τῶν προειρη-  
 μένων, καὶ γενόμενος εὐθαρσής, ἔκρινε μὴ μέλλειν,  
 2 ἀλλ' ἐγχειρεῖν τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις. παραγγείλας  
 οὖν τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐν ὥρᾳ γίνεσθαι τὴν θεραπείαν,  
 3 ἅμα τῷ φωτὶ τὴν ἐξοδὸν ἐποιεῖτο. συμβαλὼν δὲ  
 τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινε,



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## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἠνάγκασε φυγεῖν προτροπάδην εἰς  
 4 τὰς παρακειμένας πόλεις. χρησάμενος δὲ τοῖς  
 εὐτυχήμασι τούτοις καὶ λύσας τὴν πολιορκίαν,  
 λοιπὸν ἐπιπορευόμενος ἀδεῶς ἐπόρθει τὴν τε τῶν  
 Συρακοσίων καὶ τὴν τῶν συμμαχούντων αὐτοῖς  
 χώραν, οὐδενὸς ἀντιποιουμένου τῶν ὑπαίθρων· τὸ  
 δὲ τελευταῖον προσκαθίσας αὐτὰς ἐπεβάλετο πολιορ-  
 κεῖν τὰς Συρακούσας.

5 Ἡ μὲν οὖν πρώτη Ῥωμαίων ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας  
 διάβασις μετὰ δυνάμεως ἦδε καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ κατὰ  
 6 τούτους ἐγένετο τοὺς καιροὺς, ἣν οἰκειοτάτην κρί-  
 ναντες ἀρχὴν εἶναι τῆς ὅλης προθέσεως, ἀπὸ ταύτης  
 ἐποησάμεθα τὴν ἐπίστασιν, ἀναδραμόντες ἔτι τοῖς  
 χρόνοις, τοῦ μηδὲν ἀπόρημα καταλιπεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν  
 7 κατὰ τὰς αἰτίας ἀποδείξεων. τῷ γὰρ πῶς καὶ πότε  
 πταίσαντες αὐτῇ τῇ πατρίδι Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ  
 βέλτιον ἤρξαντο προκοπῆς, καὶ πότε πάλιν καὶ πῶς  
 κρατήσαντες τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν τοῖς ἐκτὸς ἐπι-  
 χειρεῖν ἐπεβάλλοντο πράγμασιν ἀναγκαῖον ὑπελάβο-  
 μεν εἶναι παρακολουθῆσαι τοῖς μέλλουσι καὶ τὸ  
 κεφάλαιον αὐτῶν τῆς νῦν ὑπεροχῆς δεόντως συν-  
 8 ὀψεσθαι. διόπερ οὐ χρὴ θαυμάζειν οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς  
 ἐξῆς, εἴαν που προσανατρέχωμεν τοῖς χρόνοις περὶ  
 9 τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων πολιτευμάτων. τοῦτο γὰρ  
 ποιήσομεν χάριν τοῦ λαμβάνειν ἀρχὰς τοιαύτας, ἐξ  
 ὧν ἔσται σαφῶς κατανοεῖν ἐκ τίνων ἕκαστοι καὶ  
 πότε καὶ πῶς ὀρμηθέντες εἰς ταύτας παρεγένοντο  
 τὰς διαθέσεις, ἐν αἷς ὑπάρχουσι νῦν. ὃ δὲ καὶ περὶ  
 Ῥωμαίων ἄρτι πεποιήκαμεν.

13 Ἀφεμένους δὲ τούτων λέγειν ὥρα περὶ τῶν  
 προκειμένων, ἐπὶ βραχὺ καὶ κεφαλαιωδῶς προεκ-  
 2 θεμένους τὰς ἐν τῇ προκατασκευῇ πράξεις. ὧν εἰσι

retreat in disorder to the neighbouring cities. Having raised the siege by these successes, he advanced fearlessly, devastating the territory of the Syracusans and of their allies, no one disputing the open country with him. Finally he sat down before Syracuse and commenced to besiege it.

Such then was the occasion and motive of this the first crossing of the Romans from Italy with an armed force, an event which I take to be the most natural starting-point of this whole work. I have therefore made it my serious base, but went also somewhat further back in order to leave no possible obscurity in my statements of general causes. To follow out this previous history—how and when the Romans after the disaster to Rome itself began their progress to better fortunes, and again how and when after conquering Italy they entered on the path of foreign enterprise—seemed to me necessary for anyone who hopes to gain a proper general survey of their present supremacy. My readers need not therefore be surprised if, even in the further course of this work, I occasionally give them in addition some of the earlier history of the most famous states; for I shall do so in order to establish such a fundamental view as will make it clear, in the sequel starting from what origins and how and when they severally reached their present position. This is exactly what I have just done about the Romans.

13. Enough of such explanations. It is now time to come to my subject after a brief summary of the events included in these introductory Books. To

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

πρῶται κατὰ τὴν τάξιν αἱ γενόμεναι Ῥωμαίοις καὶ  
 8 Καρχηδονίοις ἐν τῷ περὶ Σικελίας πολέμῳ. ταύ-  
 ταις συνεχῆς ὁ Λιβυκὸς πόλεμος ᾧ συνάπτει τὰ  
 κατ' Ἰβηρίαν Ἀμίλκα, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Ἀσδρούβα  
 4 πραχθέντα καὶ Καρχηδονίοις. οἷς ἐγένετο κατὰ τὸν  
 αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἢ πρώτη Ῥωμαίων διάβασις εἰς τὴν  
 Ἰλλυρίδα καὶ ταῦτα τὰ μέρη τῆς Εὐρώπης, ἐπὶ δὲ  
 τοῖς προειρημένοις οἱ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ Κελτοὺς  
 5 ἀγῶνες. τούτοις δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν παρὰ  
 τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ὁ Κλεομενικὸς καλούμενος ἐνηργεῖτο  
 πόλεμος, εἰς ὃν καὶ τὴν καταστροφὴν ἐποιησάμεθα  
 τῆς ὅλης κατασκευῆς καὶ τῆς δευτέρας βύβλου.  
 6 Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐξαριθμεῖσθαι τὰ κατὰ μέρος ὑπὲρ  
 τῶν προειρημένων πράξεων οὐδὲν οὔθ' ἡμῖν ἀναγ-  
 7 καῖον οὔτε τοῖς ἀκούουσι χρήσιμον. οὐ γὰρ ἱστο-  
 ρεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν προτιθέμεθα, μνησθῆναι δὲ κε-  
 φαιαιδῶς προαιρούμεθα χάριν τῆς προκατασκευῆς  
 τῶν μελλουσῶν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἱστορεῖσθαι πράξεων.  
 8 διόπερ ἐπὶ κεφαλαίων ψαύοντες κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς  
 τῶν προειρημένων πειρασόμεθα συνάψαι τὴν τε-  
 λευτὴν τῆς προκατασκευῆς τῇ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἱστορίας  
 9 ἀρχῇ καὶ προθέσει. τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν τρόπον συν-  
 εχοῦς γινομένης τῆς διηγήσεως, ἡμεῖς τε δόξομεν  
 εὐλόγως ἐφάπτεσθαι τῶν ἤδη προῖστορημένων ἑτέ-  
 ροις, τοῖς τε φιλομαθοῦσιν ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης οἰκο-  
 νομίας εὐμαθῆ καὶ ῥαδίαν ἐπὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ῥηθή-  
 10 σεσθαι παρασκευάσομεν τὴν ἔφοδον. βραχὺ δ' ἐπι-  
 μελέστερον πειρασόμεθα διελθεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πρώτου  
 συστάντος πολέμου Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις  
 11 περὶ Σικελίας. οὔτε γὰρ πολυχρονιώτερον τούτου  
 πόλεμον εὐρεῖν ῥάδιον οὔτε παρασκευὰς ὀλοσχερε-

take them in order we have first the incidents of the war between Rome and Carthage for Sicily. Next follows the war in Libya and next the achievements of the Carthaginians in Spain under Hamilcar and afterwards under Hasdrubal. At the same time occurred the first crossing of the Romans to Illyria and these parts of Europe, and subsequently to the preceding events their struggle with the Italian Celts. Contemporary with this the so-called Cleomenic war was proceeding in Greece, and with this war I wind up my Introduction as a whole and my second Book.

Now to recóunt all these events in detail is neither incumbent on me nor would it be useful to my readers ; for it is not my purpose to write their history but to mention them summarily as introductory to the events which are my real theme. I shall therefore attempt by such summary treatment of them in their proper order to fit in the end of the Introduction to the beginning of the actual History. Thus there will be no break in the narrative and it will be seen that I have been justified in touching on events which have been previously narrated by others, while this arrangement will render the approach to what follows intelligible and easy for students. I shall, however, attempt to narrate somewhat more carefully the first war between Rome and Carthage for the possession of Sicily ; since it is not easy to name any war which lasted longer, nor one which exhibited on both sides more extensive preparations,

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

στέρας οὔτε συνεχεστέρας πράξεις οὔτε πλείους  
 ἀγῶνας οὔτε περιπετείας μείζους τῶν ἐν τῷ προειρη-  
 12 μένω πολέμῳ συμβάντων ἑκατέροις. αὐτά τε τὰ  
 πολιτεύματα κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς καιροὺς ἀκμὴν  
 ἀκέραια μὲν ἦν τοῖς ἔθισμοῖς, μέτρια δὲ ταῖς τύχαις,  
 13 πάρισα δὲ ταῖς δυνάμεσι. διὸ καὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις  
 καλῶς συνθεάσασθαι τὴν ἑκατέρου τοῦ πολιτεύματος  
 ιδιότητα καὶ δύναμιν οὐχ οὕτως ἐκ τῶν ἐπιγενομέ-  
 νων πολέμων ὡς ἐκ τούτου ποιητέον τὴν σύγκρισιν.  
 14 Οὐχ ἦττον δὲ τῶν προειρημένων παρωξύνθην  
 ἐπιστῆσαι τούτῳ τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐμπει-  
 ρότατα δοκοῦντας γράφειν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, Φιλῖνον καὶ  
 Φάβιον, μὴ δεόντως ἡμῖν ἀπηγγελκέναι τὴν ἀλή-  
 2 θειαν. ἐκόντας μὲν οὖν ἐψεῦσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας οὐχ  
 ὑπολαμβάνω, στοχαζόμενος ἐκ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς αἰ-  
 ρέσεως αὐτῶν· δοκοῦσι δέ μοι πεπονθέναι τι παρα-  
 3 πλήσιον τοῖς ἔρωσι. διὰ γὰρ τὴν αἵρεσιν καὶ τὴν  
 ὄλην εὐνοίαν Φιλίνῳ μὲν πάντα δοκοῦσιν οἱ Καρ-  
 χηδόνιοι πεπραῆχθαι φρονίμως, καλῶς, ἀνδρωδῶς,  
 οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰναντία, Φαβίῳ δὲ τοῦμπαλιν τού-  
 4 των. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ λοιπῷ βίῳ τὴν τοιαύτην ἐπι-  
 εἰκειαν ἴσως οὐκ ἂν τις ἐκβάλλοι· καὶ γὰρ φιλό-  
 φιλον εἶναι δεῖ τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα καὶ φιλόπατριν καὶ  
 συμμισεῖν τοῖς φίλοις τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ συναγαπᾶν  
 5 τοὺς φίλους· ὅταν δὲ τὸ τῆς ἱστορίας ἦθος ἀναλαμ-  
 βάνῃ τις, ἐπιλαθέσθαι χρὴ πάντων τῶν τοιούτων,  
 καὶ πολλάκις μὲν εὐλογεῖν καὶ κοσμεῖν τοῖς μεγί-  
 στοις ἐπαίνοις τοὺς ἐχθροὺς, ὅταν αἱ πράξεις ἀπαι-  
 τῶσι τοῦτο, πολλάκις δ' ἐλέγχειν καὶ ψέγειν ἐπονει-  
 δίστως τοὺς ἀναγκαιοτάτους, ὅταν αἱ τῶν ἐπιτη-  
 6 δευμάτων ἀμαρτίαι τοῦθ' ὑποδεικνύωσιν. ὥσπερ  
 γὰρ ζῶου τῶν ὄψεων ἀφαιρεθεισῶν ἀχραιοῦται τὸ

more unintermittent activity, more battles, and greater changes of fortune. The two states were also at this period still uncorrupted in morals, moderate in fortune, and equal in strength, so that a better estimate of the peculiar qualities and gifts of each can be formed by comparing their conduct in this war than in any subsequent one.

14. An equally powerful motive with me for paying particular attention to this war is that, to my mind, the truth has not been adequately stated by those historians who are reputed to be the best authorities on it, Philinus and Fabius. I do not indeed accuse them of intentional falsehood, in view of their character and principles, but they seem to me to have been much in the case of lovers ; for owing to his convictions and constant partiality Philinus will have it that the Carthaginians in every case acted wisely, well, and bravely, and the Romans otherwise, whilst Fabius takes the precisely opposite view. In other relations of life we should not perhaps exclude all such favouritism ; for a good man should love his friends and his country, he should share the hatreds and attachments of his friends ; but he who assumes the character of a historian must ignore everything of the sort, and often, if their actions demand this, speak good of his enemies and honour them with the highest praises while criticizing and even reproaching roundly his closest friends, should the errors of their conduct impose this duty on him. For just as a living creature which has lost its



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

ὄλον, οὕτως ἐξ ἱστορίας ἀναιρεθείσης τῆς ἀληθείας  
 τὸ καταλειπόμενον αὐτῆς ἀνωφελές γίνεται δι-  
 7 ἡγήματα. διόπερ οὔτε τῶν φίλων κατηγορεῖν οὔτε  
 τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπαιεῖν ὀκνητέον, οὔτε δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς  
 ψέγειν, ποτὲ δ' ἐγκωμιάζειν εὐλαβητέον, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς  
 ἐν πράγμασιν ἀναστρεφομένους οὔτ' εὐστοχεῖν αἰεὶ  
 8 δυνατὸν οὔθ' ἀμαρτάνειν συνεχῶς εἰκός. ἀποστάντας  
 οὖν τῶν πραττόντων αὐτοῖς τοῖς πραττομένοις ἐφαρ-  
 μοστέον τὰς πρεπούσας ἀποφάσεις καὶ διαλήψεις ἐν  
 9 τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν.

15 Ὡς δ' ἔστιν ἀληθῆ τὰ νῦν ὑφ' ἡμῶν εἰρημένα  
 σκοπεῖν ἐκ τούτων πάρεστιν. ὁ γὰρ Φιλῖνος  
 ἀρχόμενος ἅμα τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς δευτέρας  
 βύβλου φησὶ προσκαθῆσθαι τῇ Μεσσήνῃ πολεμοῦν-  
 2 τας τοὺς τε Καρχηδονίους καὶ τοὺς Συρακοσίους,  
 παραγενομένους δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους κατὰ θάλατταν  
 εἰς τὴν πόλιν εὐθὺς ἐξελθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς Συρακοσίους·  
 λαβόντας δὲ πολλὰς πληγὰς ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς τὴν  
 Μεσσήνην· αὐθις δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους  
 ἐκπορευθέντας οὐ μόνον πληγὰς λαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 ζωγρία τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἱκανοὺς ἀποβαλεῖν. ταῦτα  
 3 δ' εἰπὼν τὸν μὲν Ἰέρωνα φησὶ μετὰ τὴν γενομένην  
 συμπλοκὴν οὕτως ἔξω γενέσθαι τοῦ φρονεῖν ὥστε  
 μὴ μόνον παραχρῆμα τὸν χάρακα καὶ τὰς σκηναὶς  
 ἐμπρήσαντα φυγεῖν νυκτὸς εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ φρούρια πάντα καταλιπεῖν τὰ κείμενα  
 κατὰ τῆς τῶν Μεσσηνίων χώρας· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ  
 4 τοὺς Καρχηδονίους μετὰ τὴν μάχην εὐθέως ἐκλιπόν-  
 τας τὸν χάρακα διελεῖν σφᾶς εἰς τὰς πόλεις, τῶν  
 δ' ὑπαίθρων οὐδ' ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τολμᾶν ἔτι· διὸ  
 καὶ συνθεωρήσαντας τοὺς ἡγουμένους αὐτῶν ἀπο-  
 δεδειλιακότας τοὺς ὄχλους βουλεύσασθαι μὴ κρίνειν



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## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

5 διὰ μάχης τὰ πράγματα· τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίους  
 ἐπομένους αὐτοῖς οὐ μόνον τὴν χώραν πορθεῖν  
 τῶν Καρχηδονίων καὶ Συρακοσίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς  
 Συρακούσας αὐτὰς προσκαθίσαντας ἐπιβαλέσθαι  
 6 πολιορκεῖν. ταῦτα δ', ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, τῆς πάσης  
 ἐστὶν ἀλογίας πλήρη, καὶ διαστολῆς οὐ προσδεῖται  
 7 τὸ παράπαν. οὓς μὲν γὰρ πολιορκοῦντας τὴν Μεσ-  
 σήνην καὶ νικῶντας ἐν ταῖς συμπλοκαῖς ὑπέθετο,  
 τούτους φεύγοντας καὶ τῶν ὑπαίθρων ἐκχωροῦντας  
 καὶ τέλος πολιορκουμένους καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀποδε-  
 8 δειλιακότας ἀπέφηνεν· οὓς δ' ἠττωμένους καὶ πο-  
 λιορκουμένους ὑπεστήσατο, τούτους διώκοντας καὶ  
 παραχρῆμα κρατοῦντας τῶν ὑπαίθρων καὶ τέλος  
 9 πολιορκοῦντας τὰς Συρακούσας ἀπέδειξε. ταῦτα δὲ  
 συνάδειν ἀλλήλοις οὐδαμῶς δύναται· πῶς γάρ;  
 ἀλλ' ἀναγκαῖον ἢ τὰς ὑποθέσεις εἶναι τὰς πρώτας  
 ψευδεῖς ἢ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν συμβαινόντων ἀποφάσεις.  
 10 εἰσὶ δ' αὐταὶ μὲν ἀληθεῖς· καὶ γὰρ ἐξεχώρησαν οἱ  
 Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ Συρακόσιοι τῶν ὑπαίθρων, καὶ  
 τὰς Συρακούσας ἐπολιόρκουν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατὰ  
 πόδας, ὡς δ' οὗτός φησι, καὶ τὴν Ἐχέτλαν, ἐν μέσῃ  
 κειμένην τῇ τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ Καρχηδονίων  
 11 ἐπαρχίᾳ. λοιπὸν ἀνάγκη συγχωρεῖν τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ  
 τὰς ὑποθέσεις εἶναι ψευδεῖς, καὶ νικῶντων εὐθέως  
 τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐν ταῖς περὶ τὴν Μεσσήνην συμπλο-  
 καῖς ἠττημένους αὐτοὺς ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ συγγραφέως  
 ἀπηγγέλλθαι.

12 Φιλῖνον μὲν οὖν παρ' ὄλην ἂν τις τὴν πραγ-  
 ματείαν εὔροι τοιοῦτον ὄντα, παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ  
 Φάβιον, ὡς ἐπ' αὐτῶν δειχθήσεται τῶν καιρῶν.

13 ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπειδὴ τοὺς ἀρμόζοντας πεποιήμεθα λόγους  
 ὑπὲρ τῆς παρεκβάσεως, ἐπανελθόντες ἐπὶ τὰς πρά-

## BOOK I. 15. 5 - 13

decisive engagement, and the Romans following up the enemy not only laid waste the territory of the Carthaginians and Syracusans, but sat down before Syracuse and undertook its siege. This account is, it seems to me, full of inconsistencies and does not require a lengthy discussion. For those whom he introduced as besieging Messene and victorious in the engagements, he now represents as in flight and abandoning the open country and finally besieged and dispirited, while those whom he represented as defeated and besieged are now stated to be in pursuit of their foes, and at once commanding the open country and finally besieging Syracuse. It is absolutely impossible to reconcile the two assertions, and either his initial statements or his account of what followed must be false. But the latter is true; for as a fact the Carthaginians and Syracusans abandoned the open country, and the Romans at once began to lay siege to Syracuse and, as he says, even to Echetla too, which lies between the Syracusan and Carthaginian provinces. We must therefore concede that Philinus's initial statements are false, and that, while the Romans were victorious in the engagements before Messene, this author announces that they were worsted.

We can trace indeed the same fault throughout the whole work of Philinus and alike through that of Fabius, as I shall show when occasion arises. Now that I have said what is fitting on the subject of this digression, I will return to facts and attempt in a

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

ξεις πειρασόμεθα προστιθέντες αἰεὶ τὸν ἐξῆς λόγον εἰς ἀληθινὰς ἐννοίας ἄγειν διὰ βραχέων τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ὑπὲρ τοῦ προειρημένου πολέμου.

16 Προσπεσόντων γὰρ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἄππιον καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα προτερημάτων, καταστήσαντες ὑπάτους Μάνιον Ὀτακίλιον καὶ Μάνιον Οὐαλέριον τὰς τε δυνάμεις ἀπάσας ἐξαπέστελλον καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς ἀμφοτέρους εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν. ἔστι δὲ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις τὰ πάντα τέτταρα στρατόπεδα Ῥωμαϊκὰ χωρὶς τῶν συμμάχων, ἃ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν προχειρίζονται· τούτων ἕκαστον ἀνὰ τετρακισχιλίους πεζούς, ἵππεῖς δὲ

2 3 τριακοσίους. ὧν παραγενομένων ἀπὸ τε τῶν Καρχηδονίων αἱ πλείους ἀφιστάμεναι πόλεις προσ-

4 5 6 7 8 9

ετίθεντο τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀπὸ τε τῶν Συρακοσίων. ὁ δ' Ἰέρων θεωρῶν τὴν διατροπὴν καὶ κατάπληξιν τῶν Σικελιωτῶν, ἅμα δὲ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὸ βάρος τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν στρατοπέδων, ἐκ πάντων συνελογίζετο τούτων ἐπικυδεστέρας εἶναι τὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἢ τὰς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐλπίδας. διόπερ ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ὀρμήσας τοῖς λογισμοῖς διεπέμπετο πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγούς, ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης καὶ φιλίας ποιούμενος τοὺς λόγους. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι προσεδέξαντο, καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὰς χορηγίας· θαλαττοκρατούντων γὰρ τῶν Καρχηδονίων εὐλαβοῦντο μὴ πανταχόθεν ἀποκλεισθῶσι τῶν ἀναγκαίων, διὰ τὸ καὶ περὶ τὰ πρὸ τοῦ διαβάντα στρατόπεδα πολλὴν ἔνδειαν γεγονέναι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. διόπερ ὑπολαβόντες τὸν Ἰέρωνα μεγάλην εἰς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος αὐτοῖς παρεῖσθαι χρεῖαν ἀσμένως προσεδέξαντο τὴν φιλίαν. ποιησάμενοι δὲ συνθήκας ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ μὲν αἰχμάλωτα χωρὶς λύτρων ἀποδοῦναι τὸν βασιλέα Ῥωμαίοις,

narrative that strictly follows the order of events to guide my readers by a short road to a true notion of this war.

16. When news of the successes of Appius and his legions reached Rome, they elected Manius Otacilius and Manius Valerius Consuls, and dispatched their whole armed force and both commanders to Sicily. The Romans have four legions of Roman citizens in all apart from the allies. These they enrol annually, each legion comprising four thousand foot and three hundred horse. On their arrival in Sicily most of the cities revolted from the Carthaginians and Syracusans and joined the Romans. Hiero, observing both the confusion and consternation of the Sicilians, and at the same time the numbers and powerful nature of the Roman forces, reached from all this the conclusion that the prospects of the Romans were more brilliant than those of the Carthaginians. His conviction therefore impelling him to side with the Romans, he sent several messages to the Consuls with proposals for peace and alliance. The Romans accepted his overtures, especially for the sake of their supplies; for since the Carthaginians commanded the sea they were apprehensive lest they should be cut off on all sides from the necessities of life, in view of the fact that the armies which had previously crossed to Sicily had run very short of provisions. Therefore, supposing that Hiero would be of great service to them in this respect, they readily accepted his friendly advances. Having made a treaty by which the king bound himself to give up his prisoners to the Romans without ransom, and in addition to this

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

ἀργυρίου δὲ προσθεῖναι τάλαντα τούτοις ἑκατόν,  
 λοιπὸν ἤδη Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ὡς φίλοις καὶ συμμάχοις  
 10 ἔχρῳντο τοῖς Συρακοσίοις. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἰέρων  
 ὑποστείλας ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ τὴν Ῥωμαίων σκέπην,  
 καὶ χορηγῶν ἀεὶ τούτοις εἰς τὰ κατεπείγοντα τῶν  
 πραγμάτων, ἀδεῶς ἐβασίλευε τῶν Συρακοσίων τὸν  
 μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνον, φιλοστεφανῶν καὶ φιλοδοξῶν  
 11 εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. ἐπιφανέστατος γὰρ δὴ πάντων  
 οὗτος δοκεῖ καὶ πλεῖστον χρόνον ἀπολελαυκέσαι τῆς  
 ἰδίας εὐβουλίας ἐν τε τοῖς κατὰ μέρος καὶ τοῖς  
 καθόλου πράγμασιν.

17 Ἐπανενεχθεισῶν δὲ τῶν συνθηκῶν εἰς τὴν Ῥώ-  
 μην, καὶ προσδεξαμένου τοῦ δήμου καὶ κυρώσαν-  
 τος τὰς πρὸς Ἰέρωνα διαλύσεις, λοιπὸν οὐκέτι πά-  
 σας ἔκρινον ἐξαποστέλλειν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς δυνά-  
 2 μεις, ἀλλὰ δύο μόνον στρατόπεδα, νομίζοντες ἅμα  
 μὲν κεκουφίσθαι τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς προσκεχωρηκό-  
 τος τοῦ βασιλέως, ἅμα δὲ μᾶλλον ὑπολαμβάνοντες  
 3 οὕτως εὐπορήσειν τὰς δυνάμεις τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις. οἱ  
 δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι, θεωροῦντες τὸν μὲν Ἰέρωνα πολέ-  
 μιον αὐτοῖς γεγονότα, τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίους ὀλοσχερέ-  
 στερον ἐμπλεκομένους εἰς τὰ κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν,  
 ὑπέλαβον βαρυτέρας προσδεῖσθαι παρασκευῆς, δι'  
 ἧς ἀντοφθαλμεῖν δυνήσονται τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ  
 4 συνέχειν τὰ κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν. διὸ καὶ ξενολογή-  
 σαντες ἐκ τῆς ἀντιπέρας χώρας πολλοὺς μὲν Λιγυ-  
 στίνοὺς καὶ Κελτούς, ἔτι δὲ πλείους τούτων  
 5 Ἰβηρας, ἅπαντας εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν ἀπέστειλαν.  
 ὄρῳντες δὲ τὴν τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων πόλιν εὐφρε-  
 στάτην οὖσαν πρὸς τὰς παρασκευὰς καὶ βαρυτάτην  
 ἅμα τῆς αὐτῶν ἐπαρχίας, εἰς ταύτην συνήθροισαν  
 τὰ τε χορήγια καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις, ὀρμητηρίῳ

to pay them a hundred talents, the Romans henceforth treated the Syracusans as allies and friends. King Hiero having placed himself under the protection of the Romans, continued to furnish them with the resources of which they stood in urgent need, and ruled over Syracuse henceforth in security, treating the Greeks in such a way as to win from them crowns and other honours. We may, indeed, regard him as the most illustrious of princes and the one who reaped longest the fruits of his own wisdom in particular cases and in general policy.

17. When the terms of the treaty were referred to Rome, and when the people had accepted and ratified this agreement with Hiero, the Romans decided not to continue to employ all their forces in the expedition, but only two legions, thinking on the one hand that, now the king had joined them, the war had become a lighter task and calculating that their forces would thus be better off for supplies. The Carthaginians, on the contrary, when they saw that Hiero had become their enemy, and that the Romans were becoming more deeply involved in the enterprise in Sicily, considered that they themselves required stronger forces in order to be able to confront their enemies and control Sicilian affairs. They therefore enlisted foreign mercenaries from the opposite coasts, many of them Ligurians, Celts, and still more Iberians, and dispatched them all to Sicily. Perceiving that the city of Agrigentum had the greatest natural advantages for making their preparations, it being also the most important city in their province, they collected their troops and



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

6 κρίνοντες χρῆσθαι ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον.

Τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων οἱ μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ἰέρωνα ποιησάμενοι στρατηγοὶ τὰς συνθήκας ἀνακεχωρήκισαν· οἱ δὲ μετὰ τούτους κατασταθέντες Λεύκιος Ποστούμιος καὶ Κόιντος Μαμίλιος ἤκον εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν μετὰ  
 7 τῶν στρατοπέδων. θεωροῦντες δὲ τὴν τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπιβολὴν καὶ τὰς περὶ τὸν Ἀκράγαντα παρασκευὰς ἔγνωσαν τολμηρότερον ἐγχειρεῖν τοῖς πράγμασι·  
 8 διὸ καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μέρη τοῦ πολέμου παρῆκαν, φέροντες δὲ παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀκράγαντα προσήρρισαν· καὶ στρατοπεδεύσαντες ἐν ὀκτῶ σταδίοις ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως συνέκλεισαν ἐντὸς τειχῶν τοὺς Καρχηδονίους. ἀκμαζούσης δὲ τῆς τοῦ σίτου συναγωγῆς, καὶ προφαινομένης χρονίου πολιορκίας, ὤρμησαν ἐκθυμότερον τοῦ  
 10 δέοντος οἱ στρατιῶται πρὸς τὸ σιτολογεῖν. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι κατιδόντες τοὺς πολεμίους ἐσκεδασμένους κατὰ τῆς χώρας, ἐξελθόντες ἐπέθεντο τοῖς σιτολογοῦσι. τρεψάμενοι δὲ τούτους ῥαδίως οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ χάρακος ἀρπαγὴν ὤρμησαν, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὰς  
 11 ἐφεδρείας. ἀλλ' ἢ τῶν ἐθισμῶν διαφορὰ καὶ τότε καὶ πολλάκις ἤδη σέσωκε τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα. τὸ γὰρ πρόστιμον παρ' αὐτοῖς θάνατός ἐστι τῷ προεμένῳ τὸν τόπον καὶ φυγόντι τὸ παράπαν ἐξ ἐφ-  
 12 εδρείας. διὸ καὶ τότε πολλαπλασίους ὄντας τοὺς ὑπεναντίους ὑποστάντες γενναίως πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἰδίων ἀπέβαλον, ἔτι δὲ πλείους τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπέκτειναν. τέλος δὲ κυκλώσαντες τοὺς πολεμίους ὅσον οὕτω διασπῶντας τὸν χάρακα, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν διέφθειραν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐπικείμενοι καὶ φονεύοντες συνεδίωξαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.



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**18** Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συνέβη τοὺς μὲν Καρχηδονίους  
 εὐλαβέστερον διακεῖσθαι πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθέσεις, τοὺς  
 δὲ Ῥωμαίους φυλακτικώτερον χρῆσθαι ταῖς προ-  
 2 νομαῖς. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἀντεξήεσαν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι πλὴν  
 ἕως ἀκροβολισμοῦ, διελόντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ῥω-  
 μαίων εἰς δύο μέρη τὴν δύναμιν τῷ μὲν ἐνὶ περὶ  
 τὸ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως Ἀσκληπιεῖον ἔμενον, θατέρῳ δὲ  
 κατεστρατοπέδευσαν ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Ἡράκλειαν κεκλι-  
 3 μένοις μέρεσι τῆς πόλεως. τὰ δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν στρα-  
 τοπέδων ἕξ ἑκατέρου τοῦ μέρους τῆς πόλεως ὠχυ-  
 ρώσαντο, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐντὸς αὐτῶν τάφρον προ-  
 βάλλοντο χάριν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἐξιόντας ἐκ τῆς  
 πόλεως ἀσφαλείας, τὴν δ' ἐκτὸς αὐτῶν περιεβά-  
 λοντο, φυλακὴν ποιούμενοι τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐπιθέσεων  
 καὶ τῶν παρεισάγεσθαι καὶ παρεισπίπτειν εἰωθότων  
 4 εἰς τὰς πολιορκουμένας πόλεις. τὰ δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν  
 τάφρων καὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων διαστήματα φυλακαῖς  
 διέλαβον, ὀχυροποιησάμενοι τοὺς εὐκαίρους τῶν  
 5 τόπων ἐν διαστάσει. τὰ δὲ χορήγια καὶ τὴν ἄλλην  
 παρασκευὴν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι πάντες ἤθροιζον  
 αὐτοῖς καὶ παρήγον εἰς Ἐρβησόν, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐκ ταύ-  
 τῆς τῆς πόλεως οὐ μακρὰν ὑπαρχούσης ἄγοντες καὶ  
 φέροντες συνεχῶς τὰς ἀγορὰς δαψιλῆ τὰναγκαῖα  
 6 σφίσι παρεσκεύαζον. πέντε μὲν οὖν ἴσως μῆνας ἐπὶ  
 τῶν αὐτῶν διέμενον, οὐδὲν ὀλοσχερὲς προτέρημα  
 δυνάμενοι λαβεῖν κατ' ἀλλήλων πλὴν τῶν ἐν αὐ-  
 7 τοῖς τοῖς ἀκροβολισμοῖς συμβαινόντων. συναγομέ-  
 νων δὲ τῷ λιμῷ τῶν Καρχηδονίων διὰ τὸ πλῆθος  
 τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει συγκεκλεισμένων ἀνδρῶν, οὐ γὰρ  
 ἐλάττους πέντε μυριάδων ὑπῆρχον, δυσχρηστούμε-  
 νος Ἀννίβας ἤδη τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὁ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ  
 τῶν πολιορκουμένων δυνάμεων, διεπέμπετο συν-

## BOOK I. 18. 1 - 7

18. After this the Carthaginians were more inclined to be cautious in taking the offensive, while the Romans were more on their guard in foraging. As the Carthaginians did not advance beyond skirmishing range, the Roman generals divided their force into two bodies, remaining with one near the temple of Asclepius outside the walls and encamping with the other on that side of the city that is turned towards Heraclea. They fortified the ground between their camps on each side of the city, protecting themselves by the inner trench from sallies from within and encircling themselves with an outer one to guard against attacks from outside, and to prevent that secret introduction of supplies and men which is usual in the case of beleaguered cities. On the spaces between the trenches and their camps they placed pickets, fortifying suitable places at some distance from each other. Their supplies and other material were collected for them by all the other members of the alliance, and brought to Herbesus, and they themselves constantly fetching in live stock and provisions from this city which was at no great distance, kept themselves abundantly supplied with what they required. So for five months or so matters were at a standstill, neither side being able to score any decisive advantage, nothing in fact beyond incidental success in their exchange of shots; but when the Carthaginians began to be pressed by famine owing to the number of people cooped up in the city—fifty thousand at least in number—Hannibal, the commander of the besieged forces, found himself in a difficult situation and sent

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

εχῶς εἰς τὴν Καρχηδόνα τὴν τε περίστασιν δια-  
 8 σαφῶν καὶ βοηθεῖν παρακαλῶν. οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Καρ-  
 χηδόνι τῶν ἐπισυνηγμένων στρατιωτῶν καὶ θηρίων  
 γεμίσαντες τὰς ναῦς ἐξέπεμψαν εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν  
 9 πρὸς Ἄννωναν τὸν ἕτερον στρατηγόν. ὃς συναγα-  
 γῶν τὰς παρασκευὰς καὶ δυνάμεις εἰς Ἡράκλειαν,  
 πρῶτον μὲν πραξικοπήσας κατέσχε τὴν τῶν Ἐρβη-  
 σέων πόλιν, καὶ παρέιλετο τὰς ἀγορὰς καὶ τὴν τῶν  
 ἀναγκαίων χορηγίαν τοῖς τῶν ὑπεναντίων στρατο-  
 10 πέδοις. ἐξ οὗ συνέβη τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπ' ἴσου πο-  
 λιορκεῖν καὶ πολιορκεῖσθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν. εἰς γὰρ  
 τοῦτο συνήγοντο τῇ σιτοδείᾳ καὶ σπάνει τῶν ἀναγ-  
 καίων ὥστε πολλάκις βουλευέσθαι περὶ τοῦ λύειν  
 11 τὴν πολιορκίαν. ὃ δὴ καὶ τέλος ἂν ἐποίησαν, εἰ  
 μὴ πᾶσαν σπουδὴν καὶ μηχανὴν προσφερόμενος Ἰέ-  
 ρων τὰ μέτρια καὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα σφίσι παρεσκεύαζε  
 19 τῶν χορηγίων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θεωρῶν ὁ προειρη-  
 μένος ἀνὴρ τοὺς μὲν Ῥωμαίους ὑπὸ τε τῆς νόσου  
 καὶ τῆς ἐνδείας ἀσθενῶς διακειμένους διὰ τὸ λοι-  
 μικὴν εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῖς κατάστασιν, τὰ δὲ σφέτερα  
 στρατόπεδα νομίζων ἀξιόχρεα πρὸς μάχην ὑπάρχειν,  
 2 ἀναλαβὼν τὰ τε θηρία περὶ πεντήκοντα τὸν ἀριθ-  
 μὸν ὄντα καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν δύναμιν ἅπασαν προῆγε  
 κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἡρακλείας, παραγγείλας τοῖς  
 Νομαδικοῖς ἵππεῦσι προπορεύεσθαι, καὶ συνεγγί-  
 σασι τῷ χάρακι τῶν ἐναντίων ἐρεθίζειν καὶ πειρᾶ-  
 σθαι τοὺς ἵππεῖς αὐτῶν ἐκκαλεῖσθαι, καῖπειτα πάλιν  
 ἐκκλίνας ἀποχωρεῖν, ἕως ἂν αὐτῷ συμμίξωσι.  
 3 πραξάντων δὲ τὸ συνταχθὲν τῶν Νομάδων καὶ  
 προσμιξάντων θατέρῳ τῶν στρατοπέδων, εὐθύς οἱ  
 τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἵππεῖς ἐξεχέοντο καὶ θρασέως ἐπ-  
 4 ἔκειντο τοῖς Νομάσιν. οἱ δὲ Λίβυες ὑπεχώρουν

constant messages to Carthage explaining his position and begging for reinforcements. The Carthaginian government shipped the troops they had collected and their elephants and sent them to Sicily to Hanno their other general. Hanno concentrated his troops and material of war at Heraclea and in the first place surprised and occupied Herbesus, cutting off the enemy's camps from their provisions and necessary supplies. The result of this was that the Romans were as a fact both besieged and besiegers at the same time; for they were so hard pressed by want of food and scarcity of the necessities of life, that they often contemplated raising the siege, and would in the end have done so, had not Hiero, by using every effort and every device, provided them with a moderate amount of strictly necessary supplies. 19. In the next place Hanno, perceiving that the Romans were weakened by disease and privation, owing to an epidemic having broken out among them, and thinking that his own troops were in fit fighting condition, took with him all his elephants, about fifty in number, and all the rest of his force, and advanced rapidly from Heraclea. He had ordered the Numidian horse to precede him, and approaching the enemy's fortified camp to provoke him and attempt to draw his cavalry out, after which they were to give way and retire until they rejoined himself. The Numidians acting on these orders advanced up to one of the camps, and the Roman cavalry at once issued forth and boldly attacked them. The Libyans retreated as they had been

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

κατὰ τὸ παράγγελμα, μέχρι συνέμιξαν τοῖς περὶ τὸν  
Ἄνωνα· λοιπὸν τ' ἐκ μεταβολῆς περιχυθέντες ἐπ-  
έκειντο τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπ-  
έκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἕως εἰς τὸν χάρακα  
5 συνεδίωξαν. γενομένων δὲ τούτων ἐπεστρατοπέδευ-  
σαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄνωνα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, καταλαβό-  
μενοι τὸν λόφον τὸν καλούμενον Τόρον, ὡς δέκα  
6 σταδίους ἀπέχοντες τῶν ὑπεναντίων. καὶ δύο μὲν  
μῆνας ἔμενον ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποκειμένων, οὐδὲν ὄλο-  
σχερὲς πράττοντες πλὴν ἀκροβολιζόμενοι καθ' ἑκά-  
7 στην ἡμέραν. τοῦ δ' Ἄννίβου διαπυρσευομένου καὶ  
διαπεμπομένου συνεχῶς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πρὸς τὸν  
Ἄνωνα, καὶ δηλοῦντος ὅτι τὰ πλήθη τὸν λιμὸν  
οὐχ ὑπομένει, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους  
αὐτομολοῦσι διὰ τὴν ἔνδειαν, ἔγνω διακινδυνεύειν  
ὁ τῶν Καρχηδονίων στρατηγός, οὐχ ἦττον ἐπὶ τοῦτο  
φερομένων καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διὰ τὰς προειρημένας  
8 αἰτίας. διόπερ ἐξαγαγόντες ἀμφότεροι τὰς δυνά-  
μεις εἰς τὸν μεταξὺ τόπον τῶν στρατοπέδων συν-  
9 έβαλλον ἀλλήλοις. ἐπὶ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον γενομένης  
τῆς μάχης τέλος ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς προκινδυνεύσαντας  
10 μισθοφόρους τῶν Καρχηδονίων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι. τού-  
των δὲ πεσόντων εἰς τὰ θηρία καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς τάξεις  
τὰς ἐφεστηκυίας συνέβη πᾶν συνταραχθῆναι τὸ  
11 τῶν Φοινίκων στρατόπεδον. γενομένου δ' ἐγκλί-  
ματος ὀλοσχεροῦς οἱ μὲν πλείστοι διεφθάρησαν αὐ-  
τῶν, τινὲς δ' εἰς Ἡράκλειαν ἀπεχώρησαν· οἱ δὲ  
Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν τε πλείστων ἐκυρίευσαν θηρίων καὶ  
12 τῆς ἐπισκευῆς ἀπάσης. ἐπιγενομένης δὲ τῆς νυκτός,  
καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῶν κατορθωμάτων χαρὰν καὶ διὰ  
τὸν κόπον ῥαθυμότερον ταῖς φυλακαῖς αὐτῶν χρη-  
σαμένων, ἀπελπίσας Ἄννίβας τὰ πράγματα, καὶ νο-

## BOOK I. 19. 4 - 12

ordered until they joined Hanno's army and then, wheeling round and encircling the enemy, they attacked them, killing many and pursuing the rest as far as the camp. After this Hanno encamped opposite the Romans, occupying the hill called Torus, at a distance of about ten stades from the enemy. For two months they remained stationary, without any action more decisive than shooting at each other every day; but as Hannibal kept on announcing to Hanno by fire-signals and messengers from the city that the population could not support the famine, and that deserters to the enemy were numerous owing to privation, the Carthaginian general decided to risk battle, the Romans being no less eager for this owing to the reasons I stated above. Both therefore led out their forces to the space between the camps and engaged. The battle lasted for long, but at the end the Romans put to flight the advanced line of Carthaginian mercenaries, and as the latter fell back on the elephants and the other divisions in their rear, the whole Phoenician army was thrown into disorder. A complete rout ensued, and most of them were put to the sword, some escaping to Heraclea. The Romans captured most of the elephants and all the baggage. But after nightfall, while the Romans, partly from joy at their success and partly from fatigue, had relaxed the vigilance of their watch, Hannibal, regarding his situation as desperate, and thinking for the above reasons that



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

μίσας ἔχειν εὐφυῆ καιρὸν πρὸς σωτηρίαν διὰ τὰς  
 προειρημένας αἰτίας, ὤρμησε περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἐκ  
 13 τῆς πόλεως, ἔχων τὰς ξενικὰς δυνάμεις. χώσας δὲ  
 φορμοῖς ἀχύρων σεσαγμένοις τὰς τάφρους ἔλαθε  
 τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπαγαγὼν ἀσφαλῶς τὴν δύναμιν.  
 14 οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπελθούσης συνέντες τὸ  
 γεγονός, καὶ τῆς οὐραγίας τῆς τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἄν-  
 νίβαν ἐπὶ βραχὺ καθαψάμενοι, μετὰ ταῦτα πάντες  
 15 ὤρμησαν πρὸς τὰς πύλας. οὐδενὸς δ' ἐμποδῶν  
 αὐτοῖς ἰσταμένου παρεισπεσόντες διήρπασαν τὴν  
 πόλιν, καὶ πολλῶν μὲν σωμάτων, πολλῆς δὲ καὶ  
 παντοδαπῆς ἐγένοντο κατασκευῆς ἐγκρατεῖς.  
 20 Τῆς δ' ἀγγελίας ἀφικομένης εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον  
 τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπὲρ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ἀκράγαντα,  
 περιχαρεῖς γενόμενοι καὶ ταῖς διανοίαις ἐπαρθέντες  
 οὐκ ἔμενον ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς λογισμῶν, οὐδ' ἤρ-  
 κούντο σεσωκέναι τοὺς Μαμερτίνους οὐδὲ ταῖς ἐξ  
 2 αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολέμου γενομέναις ὠφελείαις, ἐλπίσαν-  
 τες δὲ καθόλου δυνατὸν εἶναι τοὺς Καρχηδονίους  
 ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς νήσου, τούτου δὲ γενομένου μεγάλην  
 ἐπίδοσιν αὐτῶν λήψεσθαι τὰ πράγματα, πρὸς τού-  
 τοις ἦσαν τοῖς λογισμοῖς καὶ ταῖς περὶ τοῦτο τὸ  
 3 μέρος ἐπινοίαις. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὰς πεζικὰς δυ-  
 4 νάμεις ἐώρων κατὰ λόγον σφίσι προχωροῦντα· μετὰ  
 γὰρ τοὺς τὸν Ἀκράγαντα πολιορκήσαντας οἱ κατα-  
 σταθέντες στρατηγοὶ Λεύκιος Οὐαλέριος καὶ Τίτος  
 Ὀτακίλιος ἐδόκουν ἐνδεχομένως χειρίζειν τὰ κατὰ  
 5 τὴν Σικελίαν. τῆς δὲ θαλάττης ἀκονιτὶ τῶν Καρ-  
 χηδονίων ἐπικρατούντων ἐζυγοστατεῖτ' αὐτοῖς ὁ πό-  
 6 λεμος· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἐξῆς χρόνοις, κατεχόντων αὐ-  
 τῶν ἤδη τὸν Ἀκράγαντα, πολλαὶ μὲν πόλεις προσ-  
 ετίθεντο τῶν μεσογαίων τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ἀγωνιῶσαι



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## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

τὰς πεζικὰς δυνάμεις, ἔτι δὲ πλείους ἀφίσταντο τῶν  
 παραθαλαττίων, καταπεπληγμένοι τὸν τῶν Καρχη-  
 7 δονίων στόλον. ὅθεν ὄρωντες αἰεὶ καὶ μάλλον εἰς  
 ἑκάτερα τὰ μέρη ῥοπὰς λαμβάνοντα τὸν πόλεμον  
 διὰ τὰς προειρημένας αἰτίας, ἔτι δὲ τὴν μὲν Ἴτα-  
 λίαν πορθουμένην πολλάκις ὑπὸ τῆς ναυτικῆς δυ-  
 νάμεως, τὴν δὲ Λιβύην εἰς τέλος ἀβλαβῆ διαμένου-  
 σαν, ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸ συνεμβαίνειν τοῖς Καρχηδο-  
 8 νίοις εἰς τὴν θάλατταν. διὸ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος  
 οὐχ ἦκιστά με παρώρμησε ποιήσασθαι μνήμην ἐπὶ  
 πλείον τοῦ προειρημένου πολέμου, χάριν τοῦ μηδὲ  
 ταύτην ἀγνοεῖσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, πῶς καὶ πότε καὶ δι'  
 ἂς αἰτίας πρῶτον ἐνέβησαν εἰς θάλατταν Ῥωμαῖοι.  
 9 Θεωροῦντες δὲ τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς τριβὴν λαμβά-  
 νοντα, τότε πρῶτον ἐπεβάλοντο ναυπηγεῖσθαι σκά-  
 10 φη, πεντηρικὰ μὲν ἑκατόν, εἴκοσι δὲ τριήρεις. τῶν  
 δὲ ναυπηγῶν εἰς τέλος ἀπείρων ὄντων τῆς περὶ τὰς  
 πεντήρεις ναυπηγίας διὰ τὸ μηδένα τότε τῶν κατὰ  
 τὴν Ἰταλίαν κεχρηῆσθαι τοιούτοις σκάφεσι, πολλὴν  
 11 αὐτοῖς παρέϊχε τοῦτο τὸ μέρος δυσχέρειαν. ἐξ ὧν  
 καὶ μάλιστα συνίδοι τις ἂν τὸ μεγαλόψυχον καὶ  
 12 παράβολον τῆς Ῥωμαίων αἰρέσεως. οὐ γὰρ οἶον  
 εὐλόγους ἀφορμὰς ἔχοντες, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀφορμὰς  
 καθάπαξ, οὐδ' ἐπίνοιαν οὐδέποτε ποιησάμενοι τῆς  
 θαλάττης, τότε δὴ πρῶτον ἐν νῶ λαμβάνοντες  
 οὕτως τολμηρῶς ἐνεχείρησαν ὥστε πρὶν ἢ πειραθῆ-  
 ναι τοῦ πράγματος, εὐθὺς ἐπιβαλέσθαι Καρχηδονίοις  
 ναυμαχεῖν τοῖς ἐκ προγόνων ἔχουσι τὴν κατὰ θάλατ-  
 13 ταν ἡγεμονίαν ἀδήριτον. μαρτυρίῳ δ' ἂν τις χρή-  
 σαιτο πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν νῦν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ λεγο-  
 μένων καὶ πρὸς τὸ παράδοξον αὐτῶν τῆς τόλμης.  
 ὅτε γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ἐπεχείρησαν διαβιβάζειν εἰς τὴν

Romans from dread of their land forces, still more seaboard cities deserted their cause in terror of the Carthaginian fleet. Hence when they saw that the balance of the war tended more and more to shift to this side or that for the above reasons, and that while Italy was frequently ravaged by naval forces, Libya remained entirely free from damage, they took urgent steps to get on the sea like the Carthaginians. And one of the reasons which induced me to narrate the history of the war named above at some length is just this, that my readers should, in this case too, not be kept in ignorance of the beginning—how, when, and for what reasons the Romans first took to the sea.

When they saw that the war was dragging on, they undertook for the first time to build ships, a hundred quinqueremes and twenty triremes. As their shipwrights were absolutely inexperienced in building quinqueremes, such ships never having been in use in Italy, the matter caused them much difficulty, and this fact shows us better than anything else how spirited and daring the Romans are when they are determined to do a thing. It was not that they had fairly good resources for it, but they had none whatever, nor had they ever given a thought to the sea; yet when they once had conceived the project, they took it in hand so boldly, that before gaining any experience in the matter they at once engaged the Carthaginians who had held for generations undisputed command of the sea. Evidence of the truth of what I am saying and of their incredible pluck is this. When they first undertook to send their

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

Μεσσήνην τὰς δυνάμεις, οὐχ οἷον κατάφρακτος αὐ-  
τοῖς ὑπῆρχε ναῦς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ καθόλου μακρὸν πλοῖον  
14 οὐδὲ λέμβος οὐδ' εἷς, ἀλλὰ παρὰ Ταραντίνων καὶ  
Λοκρῶν ἔτι δ' Ἐλεατῶν καὶ Νεαπολιτῶν συγχρη-  
σάμενοι πεντηκοντόρους καὶ τριήρεις ἐπὶ τούτων  
15 παραβόλως διεκόμισαν τοὺς ἄνδρας. ἐν ᾧ δὴ καιρῷ  
τῶν Καρχηδονίων κατὰ τὸν πορθμὸν ἐπαναχθέντων  
αὐτοῖς, καὶ μιᾶς νεὸς καταφράκτου διὰ τὴν προ-  
θυμίαν προπεσοῦσης, ὥστ' ἐποκείλασαν γενέσθαι  
τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὑποχείριον, ταύτῃ παραδείγματι  
χρώμενοι τότε πρὸς ταύτην ἐποιοῦντο τὴν τοῦ  
16 παντὸς στόλου ναυπηγίαν, ὡς εἰ μὴ τοῦτο συνέβη  
γενέσθαι, δῆλον ὡς διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν εἰς τέλος ἂν  
21 ἐκωλύθησαν τῆς ἐπιβολῆς. οὐ μὲν ἀλλ' οἷς μὲν  
ἐπιμελὲς ἦν τῆς ναυπηγίας, ἐγίνοντο περὶ τὴν τῶν  
πλοίων κατασκευήν, οἱ δὲ τὰ πληρώματα συναθροί-  
σαντες ἐδίδασκον ἐν τῇ γῆ κωπηλατεῖν τὸν τρόπον  
2 τοῦτον. καθίσαντες ἐπὶ τῶν εἰρεσιῶν ἐν τῇ χέρσῳ  
τοὺς ἄνδρας τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντας τάξιν ταῖς ἐπ' αὐτῶν  
τῶν πλοίων καθέδραις, μέσον δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς στήσαντες  
τὸν κελευστήν, ἅμα πάντας ἀναπίπτειν ἐφ' αὐτοὺς  
ἄγοντας τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ πάλιν προνεύειν ἐξωθού-  
ντας ταύτας συνείθιζον ἄρχεσθαί τε καὶ λήγειν τῶν  
κινήσεων πρὸς τὰ τοῦ κελευστοῦ παραγγέλματα.  
8 προκατασκευασθέντων δὲ τούτων ἅμα τῷ συντελε-  
σθῆναι τὰς ναῦς καθελκύσαντες, καὶ βραχὺν χρό-  
νον ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας ἐν θαλάττῃ πειραθέν-  
τες, ἔπλεον παρὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν κατὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα  
4 τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. ὁ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως

forces across to Messene not only had they not any decked ships, but no long warships at all, not even a single boat, and borrowing fifty-oared boats and triremes from the Tarentines and Locrians, and also from the people of Elea and Naples they took their troops across in these at great hazard. On this occasion the Carthaginians put to sea to attack them as they were crossing the straits, and one of their decked ships advanced too far in its eagerness to overtake them and running aground fell into the hands of the Romans. This ship they now used as a model, and built their whole fleet on its pattern ; so that it is evident that if this had not occurred they would have been entirely prevented from carrying out their design by lack of practical knowledge. 21. Now, however, those to whom the construction of the ships was committed were busy in getting them ready, and those who had collected the crews were teaching them to row on shore in the following fashion. Making the men sit on rowers' benches on dry land, in the same order as on the benches of the ships themselves, and stationing the fogle-man in the middle, they accustomed them to fall back all at once bringing their hands up to them, and again to come forward pushing out their hands, and to begin and finish these movements at the word of command of the fogle-man. When the crews had been trained, they launched the ships as soon as they were completed, and having practised for a brief time actual rowing at sea, they sailed<sup>a</sup> along the coast of Italy as their commander had ordered. For the Consul appointed by the Romans to the command 260

<sup>a</sup> It is often necessary to use the word "sail," but it should be borne in mind that the ships were propelled chiefly by oars.

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

τεταγμένος τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις Γνάιος Κορνήλιος,  
 ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις πρότερον, συντάξας τοῖς ναυάρχοις,  
 ἐπειδὴν καταρτίσῃσι τὸν στόλον, πλεῖν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν  
 πορθμόν, αὐτὸς ἀναχθεὶς μετὰ νεῶν ἑπτακαίδεκα  
 προκατέπλευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Μεσσήνην, σπουδάζων τὰ  
 κατεπείγοντα πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν παρασκευάσαι τῷ  
 5 στόλῳ. προσπεσοῦσης δ' αὐτῷ πράξεως ἐκεῖ περὶ  
 τῆς τῶν Λιπαραίων πόλεως, δεξάμενος τὴν ἐλπίδα  
 προχειρότερον τοῦ δέοντος ἔπλει ταῖς προειρημέναις  
 6 ναυσὶ καὶ καθωρμίσθη πρὸς τὴν πόλιν. ὁ δὲ τῶν  
 Καρχηδονίων στρατηγὸς Ἀννίβας, ἀκούσας ἐν τῷ  
 Πανόρμῳ τὸ γεγονός, ἐξαποστέλλει Βοώδη τῆς γε-  
 7 ρουσίας ὑπάρχοντα, ναῦς εἴκοσι δούς. ὃς ἐπιπλεύ-  
 σας νυκτὸς ἐν τῷ λιμένι συνέκλεισε τοὺς περὶ τὸν  
 Γνάιον. ἡμέρας δ' ἐπιγενομένης τὰ μὲν πληρώματα  
 πρὸς φυγὴν ὤρμησεν εἰς τὴν γῆν, ὁ δὲ Γνάιος ἐκπλα-  
 γῆς γενόμενος καὶ ποιεῖν ἔχων οὐδὲν τέλος παρέδω-  
 8 κεν αὐτὸν τοῖς πολεμίοις. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τὰς  
 τε ναῦς καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν ὑπεναντίων ὑποχεί-  
 9 ριον ἔχοντες παραχρῆμα πρὸς τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἀπῆραν.  
 μετ' οὐ πολλὰς δ' ἡμέρας, οὕτως ἐναργοῦς ὄντος καὶ  
 προσφάτου τοῦ περὶ τὸν Γνάιον ἀτυχήματος, παρ'  
 ὀλίγον αὐτὸς Ἀννίβας εἰς τὸ παραπλήσιον ἀμάρ-  
 10 τημα προφανῶς ἐνέπεσεν. ἀκούσας γὰρ τὸν τῶν  
 Ῥωμαίων στόλον κομιζόμενον παρὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν  
 σύνεγγυς εἶναι, κατιδεῖν βουλόμενος τό τε πλῆθος  
 καὶ τὴν ὄλην σύνταξιν τῶν ὑπεναντίων, λαβὼν πεν-  
 11 τήκοντα ναῦς ἐπιπλεῖ. κάμπτων δὲ περὶ τὸ τῆς  
 Ἰταλίας ἀκρωτήριον ἐμπίπτει τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐν  
 κόσμῳ καὶ τάξει ποιουμένοις τὸν πλοῦν, καὶ τὰς  
 μὲν πλείους ἀπέβαλε τῶν νεῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν  
 ὑπολειφθεισῶν ἀνελπίστως καὶ παραδόξως διέφυγεν.

of their naval force, Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio, had a few days previously given orders to the captains to sail in the direction of the Straits whenever the fleet was ready, while he himself, putting to sea with seventeen ships, preceded them to Messene, being anxious to provide for all the urgent needs of the fleet. While there a proposal happened to be made to him with regard to the city of Lipara, and embracing the prospect with undue eagerness he sailed with the above-mentioned ships and anchored off the town. The Carthaginian general Hannibal, hearing at Panormus what had happened, sent off Boödes, a member of the Senate, giving him twenty ships. Boödes sailed up to Lipara at night and shut up Gnaeus in the harbour. When day dawned the Roman crews hastily took refuge on land, and Gnaeus, falling into a state of terror and being unable to do anything, finally surrendered to the enemy. The Carthaginians now set off at once to rejoin Hannibal with the captured ships and commander of the enemy. But a few days later, though Gnaeus' disaster was so signal and recent, Hannibal himself came very near falling into the same error with his eyes open. For hearing that the Roman fleet which was sailing along the coast of Italy was near at hand, and wishing to get a glimpse of the numbers and general disposition of the enemy, he sailed towards them with fifty ships. As he was rounding the Cape of Italy he came upon the enemy sailing in good order and trim. He lost most of his ships and escaped himself with the remainder, which was more than he expected or hoped.



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

**22** Οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι μετὰ ταῦτα συνεγγίσαντες τοῖς  
κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν τόποις, καὶ συνέντες τὸ γεγο-  
νὸς σύμπτωμα περὶ τὸν Γνάιον, παραυτίκα μὲν δι-  
επέμποντο πρὸς Γάιον Βίλιον τὸν ἡγούμενον τῆς  
**2** πεζῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ τοῦτον ἀνέμενον, ἅμα δ'  
ἀκούοντες οὐ μακρὰν εἶναι τὸν τῶν πολεμίων στό-  
λον, ἐγίνοντο πρὸς παρασκευὴν τοῦ ναυμαχεῖν.  
**3** ὄντων δὲ τῶν πλοίων φαύλων ταῖς κατασκευαῖς καὶ  
δυσκινήτων, ὑποτίθεται τις αὐτοῖς βοήθημα πρὸς  
τὴν μάχην τοὺς ἐπικληθέντας μετὰ ταῦτα κόρακας  
**4** ὧν συνέβαινε τὴν κατασκευὴν εἶναι τοιαύτην. στῦ-  
λος ἐν πρῶρρα στρογγύλος εἰστήκει, μῆκος μὲν ὄρ-  
γυιῶν τεττάρων, κατὰ δὲ τὸ πλάτος τριῶν παλαι-  
**5** στῶν ἔχων τὴν διάμετρον. οὗτος αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ  
τῆς κορυφῆς τροχιλίαν εἶχε, περιετίθετο δ' αὐτῷ  
κλίμαξ ἐπικαρσίαις σανῖσι καθηλωμένη, πλάτος μὲν  
**6** ποδῶν τεττάρων, τὸ δὲ μῆκος ἕξ ὄργυιῶν. τὸ δὲ  
τρῆμα τοῦ σανιδώματος ἦν παράμηκες καὶ περι-  
έβαινε περὶ τὸν στῦλον μετὰ τὰς πρώτας εὐθέως τῆς  
κλίμακος δὺ' ὄργυιάς. εἶχε δὲ καὶ δρύφακτον αὕτη  
παρ' ἑκατέραν τὴν ἐπιμήκη πλευρὰν εἰς γόνυ τὸ  
**7** βάθος. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ πέρατος αὐτοῦ προσήρμοστο  
σιδηροῦν οἶον ὑπερον ἀπωξυσμένον, ἔχον δακτύλιον  
ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς, ὡς τὸ ὄλον φαίνεσθαι παραπλή-  
**8** σιον ταῖς σιτοποιϊκαῖς μηχανήσεσιν. εἰς δὲ τοῦτον  
τὸν δακτύλιον ἐνεδέδετο κάλως, ᾧ κατὰ τὰς ἐμβο-  
λὰς τῶν πλοίων ἐξαίροντες τοὺς κόρακας διὰ τῆς  
ἐν τῷ στύλῳ τροχιλίας ἀφίεσαν ἐπὶ τὸ κατάστρομα  
τῆς ἀλλοτρίας νεὼς ποτὲ μὲν κατὰ πρῶρραν, ποτὲ  
δ' ἀντιπεριάγοντες <εἰς><sup>1</sup> τὰς ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων

<sup>1</sup> I insert *eis*.



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## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

9 προσπιπτούσας ἐμβολάς. ὅτε δὲ ταῖς σανῖσι τῶν  
 καταστρωμάτων ἐμπαγέντες οἱ κόρακες ὁμοῦ  
 συνδήσαιεν τὰς ναῦς, εἰ μὲν πλάγιαῖ παραβάλοιεν  
 ἀλλήλαις, πανταχόθεν ἐπεπήδων, εἰ δὲ κατὰ πρῶρ-  
 ραν, δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ κόρακος ἐπὶ δύο συνεχεῖς ἐποιοῦν-  
 10 το τὴν ἔφοδον· ὧν οἱ μὲν ἡγούμενοι τὴν κατὰ  
 πρόσωπον ἐπιφάνειαν ἐσκέπαζον ταῖς τῶν θυρεῶν  
 προβολαῖς, οἱ δ' ἐπόμενοι τὰς ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων  
 ἡσφάλιζον πλευρὰς ὑπὲρ τὸν δρύφακτον ὑπερτιθέ-  
 11 μενοι τὰς ἴτυς τῶν ὀπλων. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν τοιαύτη  
 κεχρημένοι παρασκευῇ καιρὸν ἐπετήρουν πρὸς  
 ναυμαχίαν.

23 Ὁ δὲ Γάιος Βίλιος ὡς θᾶπτον ἔγνω τὴν περι-  
 πέτειαν τοῦ τῆς ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως ἡγουμένου,  
 παραδοὺς τὰ πεζικὰ στρατόπεδα τοῖς χιλιάρχοις  
 2 αὐτὸς διεκομίσθη πρὸς τὸν στόλον. πυθόμενος δὲ  
 τοὺς πολεμίους πορθεῖν τὴν Μυλαῖτιν χώραν, ἐπιπλεῖ  
 3 στόλῳ παντί. συνιδόντες δ' οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι μετὰ  
 χαρᾶς καὶ σπουδῆς ἀνήγοντο ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν καὶ  
 τριάκοντα, καταφρονοῦντες τῆς ἀπειρίας τῶν Ῥω-  
 μαίων, καὶ πάντες ἔπλεον ἀντίπρωρροι τοῖς πολεμί-  
 οῖς, οὐδὲ τάξεως καταξιώσαντες τὸν κίνδυνον, ἀλλ'  
 4 ὡς ἐπὶ λείαν τινὰ πρόδηλον. ἡγεῖτο δ' Ἀννίβας  
 αὐτῶν—οὗτος δ' ἦν ὁ τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκκλέψας νυκτὸς  
 ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων πόλεως—ἔχων ἐπτήρη  
 5 τὴν γενομένην Πύρρου τοῦ βασιλέως. ἅμα δὲ τῷ  
 πλησιάζειν συνθεωροῦντες ἀνανενευκότας τοὺς κό-  
 ρακας ἐν ταῖς ἐκάστων πρῶρραις, ἐπὶ ποσὸν μὲν  
 ἠπόρουν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, ξενιζόμενοι ταῖς τῶν  
 ὀργάνων κατασκευαῖς· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τελέως  
 κατεγνωκότες τῶν ἐναντίων ἐνέβαλον οἱ πρῶτοι  
 6 πλείοντες τετολμηκότως. τῶν δὲ συμπλεκομένων

broadsides. Once the ravens were fixed in the planks of the enemy's deck and grappled the ships together, if they were broadside on, they boarded from all directions but if they charged with the prow, they attacked by passing over the gangway of the raven itself two abreast. The leading pair protected the front by holding up their shields, and those who followed secured the two flanks by resting the rims of their shields on the top of the railing. Having, then, adopted this device, they awaited an opportunity for going into action.

23. As for Gaius Duilius, no sooner had he learnt of the disaster which had befallen the commander of the naval forces than handing over his legions to the military tribunes he proceeded to the fleet. Learning that the enemy were ravaging the territory of Mylae, he sailed against them with his whole force. The Carthaginians on sighting him put to sea with a hundred and thirty sail, quite overjoyed and eager, as they despised the inexperience of the Romans. They all sailed straight on the enemy, not even thinking it worth while to maintain order in the attack, but just as if they were falling on a prey that was obviously theirs. They were commanded by Hannibal—the same who stole out of Agrigentum by night with his army—in the seven-banked galley that was formerly King Pyrrhus'. On approaching and seeing the ravens nodding aloft on the 'prow of each ship, the Carthaginians were at first nonplussed, being surprised at the construction of the engines. However, as they entirely gave the enemy up for lost, the front ships attacked daringly. But when the ships that came into collision were in

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

σκαφῶν αἰεὶ δεδεμένων τοῖς ὀργάνοις, καὶ τῶν  
 ἀνδρῶν εὐθὺς ἐπιπορευομένων δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ κόρακος  
 καὶ συμπλεκομένων ἐπὶ τοῖς καταστρώμασιν, οἱ  
 μὲν ἐφονεύοντο τῶν Καρχηδονίων, οἱ δὲ παρεδίδουσαν  
 ἑαυτοὺς ἐκπληττόμενοι τὸ γινόμενον· παραπλήσιον  
 7 γὰρ πεζομαχίας συνέβαινε τὸν κίνδυνον ἀποτελεῖ-  
 σθαι. διὸ καὶ τριάκοντα μὲν τὰς πρώτας συμβα-  
 λούσας ναῦς αὐτάνδρους ἀπέβαλον, σὺν αἷς ἐγένετ'  
 αἰχμάλωτον καὶ τὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πλοῖον· Ἀννίβας  
 8 δ' ἀνελπίστως καὶ παραβόλως αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ σκάφῃ  
 διέφυγε. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος τῶν Καρχηδονίων  
 ἐποιεῖτο μὲν τὸν ἐπίπλουν ὡς εἰς ἐμβολήν, ἐν δὲ τῷ  
 συνεγγίζειν θεωροῦντες τὸ συμβεβηκὸς περὶ τὰς προ-  
 πλεύσας ναῦς, ἐξέκλινον καὶ διένευον τὰς τῶν  
 9 ὀργάνων ἐπιβολάς. πιστεύοντες δὲ τῷ ταχυναυτεῖν,  
 οἱ μὲν ἐκ πλαγίων, οἱ δὲ κατὰ πρύμναν ἐκπερι-  
 πλέοντες ἀσφαλῶς ἠλπίζον ποιήσασθαι τὰς ἐμβολάς.  
 10 πάντα δὲ καὶ πάντως ἀντιπερισταμένων καὶ συν-  
 διανευόντων τῶν ὀργάνων οὕτως ὥστε κατ' ἀνάγκη  
 τοὺς ἐγγίσαντας συνδεδέσθαι, τέλος ἐγκλίναν-  
 τες ἔφυγον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, καταπλαγέντες τὴν  
 καινοτομίαν τοῦ συμβαίνοντος, πεντήκοντα ναῦς  
 ἀποβαλόντες.

**24** Οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι παραδόξως ἀντιπεποιημένοι τῆς  
 κατὰ θάλατταν ἐλπίδος, διπλασίως ἐπερρώσθησαν  
 2 ταῖς ὀρμαῖς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. τότε μὲν οὖν προσ-  
 σχόντες τῇ Σικελίᾳ τὴν τ' Αἰγεσταίων ἔλυσαν πο-  
 λιορκίαν, ἐσχάτως αὐτῶν ἤδη διακειμένων, κατὰ  
 τε τὴν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγέστης ἀναχώρησιν Μάκελλαν πό-  
 λιν κατὰ κράτος εἶλον.

3 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ναυμαχίαν Ἀμίλκας ὁ τῶν Καρχη-  
 δονίων στρατηγὸς ὁ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τῶν πεζικῶν

every case held fast by the machines, and the Roman crews boarded by means of the ravens and attacked them hand to hand on deck, some of the Carthaginians were cut down and others surrendered from dismay at what was happening, the battle having become just like a fight on land. So the first thirty ships that engaged were taken with all their crews, including the commander's galley, Hannibal himself managing to escape beyond his hopes by a miracle in the jolly-boat. The rest of the Carthaginian force was bearing up as if to charge the enemy, but seeing, as they approached, the fate of the advanced ships they turned aside and avoided the blows of the engines. Trusting in their swiftness, they veered round the enemy in the hope of being able to strike him in safety either on the broadside or on the stern, but when the ravens swung round and plunged down in all directions and in all manner of ways so that those who approached them were of necessity grappled, they finally gave way and took to flight, terror-stricken by this novel experience and with the loss of fifty ships.

24. When the Romans had thus, contrary to all expectation, gained the prospect of success at sea their determination to prosecute the war became twice as strong. On this occasion they put in on the coast of Sicily, raised the siege of Segesta which was in the last stage of distress, and in leaving Segesta took the city of Macella by assault.

After the battle at sea Hamilcar, the Carthaginian commander of their land forces, who was quartered

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

δυνάμεων, διατρίβων περὶ Πάνορμον, γνοὺς ἐν τοῖς  
 Ῥωμαϊκοῖς στρατοπέδοις στασιάζοντας τοὺς συμμά-  
 χους πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις  
 4 πρωτείων, καὶ πυνθανόμενος στρατοπεδεύειν αὐτοὺς  
 καθ' ἑαυτοὺς τοὺς συμμάχους μεταξὺ τοῦ Παρώπου  
 καὶ τῶν Θερμῶν τῶν Ἰμεραίων, ἐπιπεσὼν αὐτοῖς  
 αἰφνιδίως ἀναστρατοπεδεύουσι μετὰ πάσης τῆς  
 δυνάμεως σχεδὸν εἰς τετρακισχιλίους ἀπέκτεινε.  
 5 μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν πράξιν ὁ μὲν Ἀννίβας ἔχων τὰς  
 διασωθείσας ναῦς ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Καρχηδόνα,  
 μετ' οὐ πολὺ δ' ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Σαρδόνα διῆρε, προσ-  
 λαβὼν ναῦς καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἐνδόξων τριηράρχων.  
 6 χρόνοις δ' οὐ πολλοῖς κατόπιν ἐν τῇ Σαρδόνι  
 συγκλεισθεῖς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐν τινι λιμένι καὶ πολ-  
 λὰς ἀποβαλὼν τῶν νεῶν, παραυτίκα συλληφθεῖς  
 ὑπὸ τῶν διασωθέντων Καρχηδονίων ἀνεσταυρώθη.  
 7 Ῥωμαῖοι γὰρ ἅμα τῆς θαλάττης ἤψαντο καὶ τῶν  
 κατὰ Σαρδόνα πραγμάτων εὐθέως ἀντείχοντο.  
 8 Τὰ δ' ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ στρατόπεδα τῶν Ῥωμαίων  
 9 B.C. κατὰ μὲν τὸν ἐξῆς ἐνιαυτὸν οὐδὲν ἄξιον ἔπραξαν  
 λόγου, τότε δὲ προσδεξάμενοι τοὺς ἐπικαθεσταμέ-  
 10 B.C. νους ἄρχοντας Αὐλον Ἀτίλιον καὶ Γάιον Σουλπί-  
 κιον ὤρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸν Πάνορμον διὰ τὸ τὰς τῶν  
 11 Καρχηδονίων δυνάμεις ἐκεῖ παραχειμάζειν. οἱ δὲ  
 στρατηγοὶ συνεγγίσαντες τῇ πόλει μετὰ πάσης τῆς  
 δυνάμεως παρετάξαντο. τῶν δὲ πολεμίων οὐκ ἀντ-  
 εξιόντων, πάλιν ἐντεῦθεν ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ὄρμην ἐπὶ  
 12 πόλιν Ἰππάναν, καὶ ταύτην μὲν ἐξ ἐφόδου κατὰ  
 κράτος ἔλαβον, εἶλον δὲ καὶ τὸ Μυττίστρατον, πολ-  
 λούς χρόνους ὑπομεμενηκὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν διὰ τὴν  
 12 ὀχυρότητα τοῦ τόπου. τὴν δὲ Καμαριναίων πόλιν,  
 μικρῶ πρότερον ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀποστᾶσαν, τότε προσ-

in the neighbourhood of Panormus, heard that in the Roman camp the allies and the Romans were at variance as to which had most distinguished themselves in the battles, and that the allies were encamped by themselves between the Paropus and the Hot Springs of Himera. Suddenly falling on them with his whole force as they were breaking up their camp he killed about four thousand. After this action Hannibal with the ships that escaped sailed away to Carthage and shortly after crossed from there to Sardinia, taking with him additional ships and some of the most celebrated naval officers. Not long afterwards he was blockaded in one of the harbours of Sardinia by the Romans and after losing many of his ships was summarily arrested by the surviving Carthaginians and crucified. The Romans, I should explain, from the moment they concerned themselves with the sea, began to entertain designs on Sardinia.

The Roman troops in Sicily did nothing worthy of note during the following year; but at its close when they had received their new commanders the Consuls of next year, Aulus Atilius and Gaius Sulpicius, they started to attack Panormus, because the Carthaginian forces were wintering there. The Consuls, when they got close up to the city, offered battle with their whole forces, but as the enemy did not come out to meet them they left Panormus and went off to attack Hippana. This city they took by assault and they also took Myttistratum which withstood the siege for long owing to its strong situation. They then occupied Camarina which had lately deserted their cause, bringing up a siege battery and



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

ενέγκαντες ἔργα καὶ καταβαλόντες τὰ τεῖχη κατ-  
 έσχον· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἐνναν καὶ ἕτερα πλείω  
 13 πολισμάτια τῶν Καρχηδονίων. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων γε-  
 νόμενοι Λιπαραίους ἐπεχείρησαν πολιορκεῖν.  
 25 Τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἐνιαυτῷ Γάιος Ἀτίλιος ὁ στρατηγὸς  
 B.C. τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρὸς Τυνδαρίδα καθορμισθεὶς, καὶ  
 συνθεασάμενος ἀτάκτως παραπλέοντα τὸν τῶν  
 Καρχηδονίων στόλον, παραγγείλας τοῖς ἰδίοις  
 πληρώμασιν ἔπεσθαι τοῖς ἡγουμένοις, αὐτὸς ὤρμησε  
 2 πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, ἔχων δέκα ναῦς ὁμοπλοούσας. οἱ  
 δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι, συνιδόντες τῶν ὑπεναντίων τοὺς  
 μὲν ἀκμὴν ἐμβαίνοντας, τοὺς δ' ἀναγομένους, τοὺς  
 δὲ πρώτους πολὺ προειληφότας τῶν ἄλλων, ἐπι-  
 3 στρέψαντες αὐτοῖς ἀπήντων. καὶ κυκλώσαντες τὰς  
 μὲν ἄλλας διέφθειραν, τὴν δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ναῦν  
 παρ' ὀλίγον αὐτανδρον ἔλαβον. οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' αὕτη  
 μὲν ταῖς ὑπηρεσίαις ἐξηρτυμένη καὶ ταχυναυτοῦσα  
 4 διέφυγε παραδόξως τὸν κίνδυνον, αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ  
 τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιπλέουσαι κατὰ βραχὺ συνηθροί-  
 ζοντο. γενόμεναι δ' ἐν μετώπῳ συνέβαλλον τοῖς  
 πολεμίοις, καὶ δέκα μὲν αὐτάνδρους ναῦς ἔλαβον,  
 ὀκτὼ δὲ κατέδυσαν. αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ τῶν Καρχηδονίων  
 ἀπεχώρησαν εἰς τὰς Λιπαραίας καλουμένας νήσους.  
 5 Ἐκ δὲ ταύτης τῆς ναυμαχίας ἀμφότεροι νομίζον-  
 τες ἐφάμιλλον πεποιῆσθαι τὸν κίνδυνον, ὤρμησαν  
 ὀλοσχερέστερον ἐπὶ τὸ συνίστασθαι ναυτικὰς δυνά-  
 6 μεις καὶ τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀντέχεσθαι πραγμάτων.  
 αἱ δὲ πεζικαὶ δυνάμεις ἐν τοῖς κατὰ ταῦτα καιροῖς  
 οὐδὲν ἔπραξαν ἄξιον μνήμης, ἀλλὰ περὶ μικρὰς καὶ  
 7 τὰς τυχούσας πράξεις κατέτριψαν τοὺς χρόνους.  
 B.C. διὸ παρασκευασάμενοι, καθάπερ εἶπον, εἰς τὴν  
 ἐπιφερομένην θερείαν ἀνήχθησαν Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν



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## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

τριάκοντα καὶ τριακοσίαις μακραιῖς ναυσὶ καταφρά-  
 8 κτοῖς, καὶ κατέσχον εἰς Μεσσήνην. ὅθεν ἀναχθέντες  
 ἔπλεον δεξιὰν ἔχοντες τὴν Σικελίαν, κάμψαντες δὲ  
 τὸν Πάχυνον ὑπερῆραν εἰς Ἔκνομον διὰ τὸ καὶ τὸ  
 9 πεζὸν στράτευμα περὶ τούτους αὐτοὺς εἶναι τοὺς  
 τόπους. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακο-  
 σίαις ναυσὶ καταφράκτοῖς ἀναπλεύσαντες Λιλυβαίῳ  
 προσέσχον, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ πρὸς Ἡράκλειαν τὴν  
 26 Μινώαν καθωρμίσθησαν. ἦν δὲ τῶν μὲν Ῥωμαίων  
 πρόθεσις εἰς τὴν Λιβύην πλεῖν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκεῖ  
 περισπᾶν, ἵνα τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις μὴ περὶ Σικελίας,  
 ἀλλὰ περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς ἰδίας χώρας ὁ  
 2 κίνδυνος γίνηται. τοῖς δὲ Καρχηδονίοις τὰναντία  
 τούτων ἐδόκει· συνιδόντες γὰρ ὡς εὐέφοδός ἐστιν  
 ἡ Λιβύη καὶ πᾶς ὁ κατὰ τὴν χώραν λαὸς εὐχείρωτος  
 τοῖς ἅπαξ εἰς αὐτὴν ἐμβαλοῦσιν, οὐχ οἰοί τ' ἦσαν  
 3 ἐπιτρέπειν, ἀλλὰ διακινδυνεύειν καὶ ναυμαχεῖν  
 ἔσπευδον. ὄντων δὲ τῶν μὲν πρὸς τὸ κωλύειν, τῶν  
 δὲ πρὸς τὸ βιάζεσθαι, προφανῆς ἦν ὁ μέλλων ἀγὼν  
 4 ἐκ τῆς ἐκατέρων συνίστασθαι φιλοτιμίας. οἱ μὲν  
 οὖν Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς ἀμφοτέρα τὴν παρασκευὴν  
 ἀρμόζουσαν ἐποιοῦντο, πρὸς τε τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν  
 5 χρείαν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀπόβασιν τὴν εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν.  
 διόπερ ἐπιλέξαντες ἐκ τῶν πεζικῶν στρατοπέδων  
 τὰς ἀρίστας χεῖρας διεῖλον τὴν πᾶσαν δύναμιν, ἣν  
 6 ἤμελλον ἀναλαμβάνειν, εἰς τέτταρα μέρη. τὸ δὲ  
 μέρος ἕκαστον διττὰς εἶχε προσηγορίας· πρῶτον  
 μὲν γὰρ ἐκαλεῖτο στρατόπεδον καὶ πρῶτος στόλος,  
 καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κατὰ λόγον. τὸ δὲ τέταρτον καὶ τρίτην  
 ἐπωνυμίαν ἔτι προσειλήφει· τριάριοι γὰρ ὀνομά-  
 7 ζοντο κατὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πεζικοῖς στρατοπέδοις  
 συνήθειαν. καὶ τὸ μὲν σύμπαν ἦν στράτευμα

a fleet of three hundred and thirty decked ships of war and put in to Messene. Starting again from there they sailed with Sicily on their right hand, and doubling Cape Pachynus they came round to Ecnomus, because their land forces too happened to be just in that neighbourhood. The Carthaginians, setting sail with three hundred and fifty decked vessels, touched at Lilybaeum, and proceeding thence came to anchor off Heraclea Minoa. 26. The plan of the Romans was to sail to Libya and deflect the war to that country, so that the Carthaginians might find no longer Sicily but themselves and their own territory in danger. The Carthaginians were resolved on just the opposite course, for, aware as they were that Africa is easily accessible, and that all the people in the country would be easily subdued by anyone who had once invaded it, they were unable to allow this, and were anxious to run the risk of a sea-battle. The object of the one side being to prevent and that of the other to force a crossing, it was clear that their rival aims would result in the struggle which followed. The Romans had made suitable preparations for both contingencies—for an action at sea and for a landing in the enemy's country. For the latter purpose, selecting the best men from their land forces, they divided into four corps the total force they were about to embark. Each corps had two names; it was called either the First Legion or the First Squadron, and the others accordingly. The fourth had a third name in addition; they were called *triarii* after the usage in the land forces. The whole body embarked on the ships numbered about a

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

- τούτων τῆς ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως περὶ τέτταρας καὶ δέκα μυριάδας, ὡς ἂν ἐκάστης νεῶς λαμβανούσης  
8 ἐρέτας μὲν τριακοσίους, ἐπιβάτας δ' ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τὸ μὲν πλεῖον καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἡρμόζοντο πρὸς τὸν κατὰ θάλατταν κίνδυνον· τό γε μὴν  
9 πλήθος αὐτῶν ἦν ὑπὲρ πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδας κατὰ τὸν τῶν νεῶν λόγον. ἐφ' οἷς οὐχ οἶον ἂν τις παρὼν καὶ θεώμενος ὑπὸ τὴν ὄψιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκούων καταπλαγείη τὸ τοῦ κινδύνου μέγεθος καὶ τὴν τῶν πολιτευμάτων ἀμφοτέρων μεγαλομερίαν καὶ δύναμιν, στοχαζόμενος ἕκ τε τοῦ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ τῶν νεῶν πλήθους.
- 10 Οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι συλλογιζόμενοι διότι τὸν μὲν πλοῦν εἶναι συμβαίνει πελάγιον, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ταχυναυτεῖν, πανταχόθεν ἐπειρῶντο ποιεῖσθαι τὴν  
11 τάξιν ἀσφαλῆ καὶ δυσπρόσοδον. τὰς μὲν οὖν ἐξήρεις δὴ οὐσας, ἐφ' ὧν ἔπλεον οἱ στρατηγοὶ Μάρκος Ἀτίλιος καὶ Λεύκιος Μάλιος, πρῶτας ἐν μετώπῳ παραλλήλους ἔταξαν. τούτων δ' ἑκατέρᾳ  
12 συνεχεῖς κατὰ μίαν ναῦν ἐπιτάττοντες τῇ μὲν τὸν πρῶτον, τῇ δὲ τὸν δεύτερον στόλον ἐπέστησαν, αἰεὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ναῦν ἑκατέρου τοῦ στόλου μεῖζον τὸ μεταξὺ ποιοῦντες διάστημα. ταῖς δὲ πρῶραις  
13 ἔξω νεύοντα τὰ σκάφη τὴν ἐπίστασιν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις εἶχεν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸν πρῶτον καὶ δεύτερον στόλον ἀπλῶς εἰς ἔμβολον ἔταξαν, ἐπέβαλον τούτοις ἐπὶ μίαν ναῦν ἐν μετώπῳ τὸ τρίτον στρατόπεδον· ὧν  
14 ἐπιστάντων ἀπετελέσθη τρίγωνον τὸ πᾶν εἶδος τῆς τάξεως. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἐπέστησαν τὰς ἱππηγούς, ῥύματα δόντες ἐξ αὐτῶν ταῖς τοῦ τρίτου στόλου

<sup>a</sup> This can only mean that the prow of each ship was

hundred and forty thousand, each ship holding three hundred rowers and a hundred and twenty marines. The Carthaginians were chiefly or solely adapting their preparations to a maritime war, their numbers being, to reckon by the number of ships, actually above one hundred and fifty thousand. These are figures calculated to strike not only one present and with the forces under his eyes but even a hearer with amazement at the magnitude of the struggle and at that lavish outlay and vast power of the two states, if he estimates them from the number of men and ships.

The Romans taking into consideration that the voyage was across the open sea and that the enemy were their superiors in speed, tried by every means to range their fleet in an order which would render it secure and difficult to attack. Accordingly, they stationed their two six-banked galleys, on which the commanders, Marcus Atilius Regulus and Lucius Manlius, were sailing, in front and side by side with each other. Behind each of these they placed ships in single file, the first squadron behind the one galley, the second behind the other, so arranging them that the distance between each pair of ships in the two squadrons grew ever greater. The ships were stationed in column with their prows directed outwards.<sup>a</sup> Having thus arranged the first and second squadrons in the form of a simple wedge, they stationed the third in a single line at the base, so that when these ships had taken their places the resulting form of the whole was a triangle. Behind these ships at the base they stationed the horse- transports, attaching them by towing-lines to the

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directed to the open sea and not to the ship in front of it; *i.e.* they were in echelon.

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

**15** ναυσί. ταύταις δὲ κατόπιν ἐπέβαλον τὸν τέταρτον  
 στόλον, τοὺς τριαρίους κληθέντας, ἐπὶ μίαν παρεκτεί-  
 ναντες ναῦν, ὡς ὑπερτείνειν ἐξ ἑκατέρου τοῦ μέρους  
**16** τοὺς πρὸ ἑαυτῶν. καὶ συναρμοσθέντων πάντων  
 κατὰ τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον, τὸ μὲν ὄλον ἀπετελέσθη  
 σχῆμα τῆς τάξεως ἔμβολον, οὗ τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν  
 κορυφὴν μέρος ἦν κοῖλον, τὸ δὲ πρὸς τῇ βάσει  
 στερεόν, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν ἐνεργὸν καὶ πρακτικόν, ἅμα  
 δὲ καὶ δυσδιάλυτον.

**27** Οἱ δὲ τῶν Καρχηδονίων στρατηγοὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν  
 καιρὸν παρακαλέσαντες τὰ πλήθη διὰ βραχείων, καὶ  
 συνυποδείξαντες αὐτοῖς ὅτι νικήσαντες μὲν τῇ ναυ-  
 μαχίᾳ περὶ Σικελίας ποιήσονται τὸν πόλεμον, ἡττη-  
 θέντες δὲ περὶ τῆς σφετέρας πατρίδος κινδυνεύσουσι  
**2** καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων, οὕτως αὐτοῖς παρήγγειλαν  
 ἐμβαίνειν εἰς τὰς ναῦς. προθύμως δὲ πάντων ποιούν-  
 των τὸ παραγγελλόμενον διὰ τὸ προορᾶσθαι τὸ  
 μέλλον ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων, εὐθαρσῶς ἀνήγοντο καὶ  
**3** καταπληκτικῶς. θεωροῦντες δὲ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων  
 τάξιν οἱ στρατηγοί, καὶ πρὸς ταύτην ἀρμοζόμενοι, τὰ  
 μὲν τρία μέρη τῆς αὐτῶν δυνάμεως ἐπὶ μίαν ἔταπτον  
 ναῦν, πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος ἀνατείναντες τὸ δεξιὸν  
 κέρασ, ὡς κυκλώσοντες τοὺς ὑπεναντίους, πάσας  
 ἰστάντες ἀντιπρώρρους τὰς ναῦς τοῖς πολεμίοις.  
**4** τὸ δὲ τέταρτον εὐώνυμον τῆς ὅλης τάξεως ἐποίουν,  
**5** ἐν ἐπικαμπίῳ νεῦον πρὸς τὴν γῆν. ἡγοῦντο δὲ τῶν  
 Καρχηδονίων, τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ κέρως, ἔχων ἐπίπλους  
 καὶ πεντήρεις τὰς μάλιστα ταχυναυτούσας πρὸς τὴν  
 ὑπερκέρασιν, Ἄννων ὁ περὶ τὸν Ἀκράγαντα  
**6** λειφθεὶς τῇ παρατάξει· τῶν δ' εὐωνύμων εἶχε τὴν  
 ἐπιμέλειαν Ἀμίλκας ὁ περὶ τὴν Τυνδαρίδα ναυμα-  
 χήσας· ὃς τότε κατὰ μέσσην τὴν τάξιν ποιούμενος

vessels of the third squadron. Finally, behind these they stationed the fourth squadron, known as *triarii*, making a single long line of ships so extended that the line overlapped that in front of it at each extremity. When all had been put together in the manner I have described, the whole arrangement had the form of a wedge, the apex of which was open, the base compact, and the whole effective and practical, while also difficult to break up.

27. About the same time the Carthaginian commanders briefly addressed their forces. They pointed out to them that in the event of victory in the battle they would be fighting afterwards for Sicily, but that if defeated they would have to fight for their own country and their homes, and bade them take this to heart and embark. When all readily did as they were ordered, as their general's words had made clear to them the issues at stake, they set to sea in a confident and menacing spirit. The commanders when they saw the enemy's order adapted their own to it. Three-quarters of their force they drew up in a single line, extending their right wing to the open sea for the purpose of encircling the enemy and with all their ships facing the Romans. The remaining quarter of their force formed the left wing of their whole line, and reached shoreward at an angle with the rest. Their right wing was under the command of the same Hanno who had been worsted in the engagement near Agrigentum. He had vessels for charging and also the swiftest quinqueremes for the outflanking movement. The left wing was in charge of Hamilcar, the one who commanded in the sea-battle at Tyndaris, and he, fighting as he was in the centre of the line,



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

7 τὸν κίνδυνον ἐχρήσατό τινι στρατηγήματι κατὰ τὸν  
 ἀγῶνα τοιῶδε. τῶν γὰρ Ῥωμαίων-συνθεασαμένων  
 ἐπὶ λεπτὸν ἐκτεταμένους τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, καὶ  
 ποιησαμένων τὴν ὄρμην ἐπὶ μέσους, τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν  
 8 ὁ κίνδυνος ἔλαβε τοιαύτην. ταχὺ δὲ τῶν περὶ τὰ  
 μέσα Καρχηδονίων ἐκ παραγγέλματος κλινάντων  
 πρὸς φυγὴν χάριν τοῦ διασπάσαι τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων  
 τάξιν, οὗτοι μὲν ὑπεχώρουν μετὰ σπουδῆς, οἱ δὲ  
 9 Ῥωμαῖοι κατόπιν ἠκολούθουν ἐκθύμως. ὁ μὲν  
 οὖν πρῶτος καὶ δεύτερος στόλος ἐπέκειτο τοῖς  
 φεύγουσι, τὸ δὲ τρίτον καὶ τὸ τέταρτον στρατόπεδον  
 ἀπεσπᾶτο, τῶν μὲν ῥυμουλκούντων τὰς ἵππηγους  
 10 ναῦς, τῶν δὲ τριαρίων συμμενόντων καὶ συνεφεδρευ-  
 ὄντων τούτοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν πρῶτον καὶ δεύτερον  
 στόλον ἰκανὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἐδόκουν ἀπεσπακέναι  
 τόπον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, συνθήματος ἀρθέντος ἐκ τῆς  
 Ἀμίλκου νεὺς μετεβάλλοντο πάντες ἅμα καὶ συνέβα-  
 11 λον τοῖς ἐπικειμένοις. ἀγῶνος δὲ συστάντος καρτε-  
 ροῦ, τῷ μὲν ταχυναυτεῖν ἐκπεριπλέοντες καὶ ῥαδίως  
 μὲν προσιόντες, ὀξέως δ' ἀποχωροῦντες, πολὺ περι-  
 12 ἦσαν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, τῷ δὲ βιαιομαχεῖν κατὰ τὰς  
 συμπλοκάς καὶ συνδεῖν τοῖς κόραξι τοὺς ἅπαξ  
 ἐγγίσαντας, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῷ συναγωνιζομένων  
 ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐν ὄψει τῶν ἡγουμένων  
 ποιεῖσθαι τὸν κίνδυνον, οὐχ ἦττον ἐπικυδεστέρας  
 εἶχον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν Καρχηδονίων τὰς ἐλπίδας.  
 13 ἢ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τούτους μάχη τοιαύτην εἶχε διάθεσιν.  
 28 κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας ἔχων  
 Ἄννων, τὸ μεῖναν ἐν ἀποστάσει κατὰ τὴν πρώτην  
 συμβολήν, τό τε πέλαγος ὑπεράρας ἐνέβαλε ταῖς  
 τῶν τριαρίων ναυσὶ καὶ πολλὴν ἀπορίαν παρείχε  
 2 καὶ δυσχρηστίαν αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ παρὰ τὴν γῆν



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τεταγμένοι τῶν Καρχηδονίων, παραγεγονότες εἰς  
 μέτωπον ἐκ τῆς προῦπαρχούσης τάξεως, καὶ  
 ποιήσαντες ἀντιπρώρους τὰς ναῦς, ἐνέβαλον τοῖς  
 ῥυμουλκοῦσι τὰς ἵππηγούς· οἱ δ' ἀφέμενοι τὰ  
 ῥύματα συνεπλέκοντο καὶ διηγωνίζοντο τοῖς πολε-  
 3 μίοις. ἦν δὲ τρία μέρη τῆς ὅλης συμπλοκῆς καὶ  
 τρεῖς ναυμαχίαι συνέστησαν πολὺ κεχωρισμένα  
 4 τοῖς τόποις ἀλλήλων· τῷ δ' ἑκατέρων πᾶρισα τὰ  
 μέρη γενέσθαι κατὰ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς χειρισμὸν  
 ἐφάμιλλον εἶναι συνέβαινε καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον. οὐ  
 5 μὴν ἀλλὰ τὸ κατὰ λόγον ἐν ἑκάστοις ἐπετελεῖτο  
 περὶ τὴν μάχην, ὅπερ εἰκὸς ὅταν ἡ παραπλήσια  
 6 πάντα τὰ τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων. οἱ γὰρ πρῶτοι <κιν-  
 δυνεύσαντες πρῶτοι> καὶ διεκρίθησαν· τέλος γὰρ  
 ἐκβιασθέντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀμίλκαν εἰς φυγὴν ὤρμη-  
 7 σαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Λεύκιος ἀνεδεῖτο τὰς αἰχμαλώτους  
 ναῦς· ὁ δὲ Μάρκος, συνορῶν τὸν περὶ τοὺς τριαρί-  
 ους καὶ τὰς ἵππηγούς ἀγῶνα, κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐβοήθει  
 τούτοις, ἔχων τοῦ δευτέρου στόλου τὰς ἀκεραίους  
 8 ναῦς. συνάψαντος δὲ καὶ προσμίζαντος αὐτοῦ τοῖς  
 περὶ τὸν Ἄνωνα, ταχέως ἀναθαρρήσαντες οἱ τριά-  
 ριοι, καίπερ ἤδη κακῶς ἀπαλλάττοντες, πάλιν ἐπερ-  
 9 ρώσθησαν πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι,  
 τῶν μὲν κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῖς προσμαχομένων,  
 τῶν δὲ κατὰ νώτου προσπιπτόντων, δυσχρηστού-  
 μενοι, καὶ παραδόξως ὑπὸ τῶν βοηθησάντων κυ-  
 κλούμενοι, κλίναντες πελαγίαν ἐποιοῦντο τὴν ὑπο-  
 10 χώρησιν. κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ὃ τε Λεύκιος,  
 ἐπαναπλέων ἤδη καὶ θεωρῶν συγκεκλεισμένον πρὸς  
 τῇ γῇ τὸν τρίτον στόλον ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν Καρχηδονίων  
 εὐωνύμου κέρατος, ὃ τε Μάρκος, ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ κατα-  
 λιπὼν τὰς ἵππηγούς καὶ τοὺς τριαρίους, ὤρμη-

force which was posted near the shore, changing their former formation and deploying into line with their prows facing the enemy, attacked the vessels which were towing the horse- transports. Letting go their tow-lines this squadron met and engaged the enemy. Thus the whole conflict consisted of three parts, and three sea-battles were going on at a wide distance from each other. As the respective forces were in each case of equal strength owing to their disposition at the outset, the battle also was fought on equal terms. However, in each case things fell out as one would expect, when the forces engaged are so equally matched. Those who had commenced the battle were the first to be separated, for Hamilcar's division was finally forced back and took to flight. Lucius was now occupied in taking the prizes in tow, and Marcus, observing the struggle in which the *triarri* and horse- transports were involved, hastened to their assistance with such of the ships of the second squadron as were undamaged. When he reached Hanno's division and came into conflict with it, the *triarri* at once took heart, though they had had much the worst of it, and recovered their fighting spirit. The Carthaginians, attacked both in front and in the rear, were in difficulties, finding themselves surrounded, to their surprise, by the relieving force, and giving way, they began to retreat out to sea. Meanwhile both Lucius, who was by this time sailing up and observed that the third squadron was shut in close to the shore by the Carthaginian left wing, and Marcus, who had now left the horse- transports and *triarri* in

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

**11** σαν ἀμφοτέρω μοι βοθηεῖν τοῖς κινδυνεύουσι. παρα-  
 πλήσιον γὰρ ἦν ἤδη τὸ γινόμενον πολιορκία· καὶ  
 πάντες ἂν ἀπολώλεισαν οὗτοί γε προφανῶς, εἰ μὴ  
 δεδιότες τοὺς κόρακας οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι περιφράξαντες  
 μὲν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τῇ γῆ συνεῖχον, πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἐμ-  
**12** ἦσαν. ταχέως δ' ἐπιγενόμενοι καὶ κυκλώσαντες οἱ  
 στρατηγοὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους αὐτάνδρους μὲν ἔλα-  
 βον πεντήκοντα ναῦς τῶν πολεμίων, ὀλίγαι δέ τι-  
**13** νες παρὰ τὴν γῆν ἐξελίξασαι διέφυγον. ὁ μὲν οὖν  
 κατὰ μέρος κίνδυνος τοιαύτην ἔσχε τὴν διάθεσιν,  
 τὸ δὲ τέλος τῆς συμπάσης ναυμαχίας ἐγένετο κατὰ  
**14** τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. διεφθάρη δὲ τούτων μὲν εἴκοσι  
 καὶ τέτταρα σκάφη, τῶν δὲ Καρχηδονίων ὑπὲρ τριά-  
 κοντα. ναῦς δὲ τῶν μὲν Ῥωμαίων αὐτάνδρος οὐ-  
 δεμία τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγένεθ' ὑποχείριος, τῶν δὲ  
 Καρχηδονίων ἐξήκοντα καὶ τέτταρες.

**29** Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι προσεπισιτι-  
 σάμενοι καὶ τὰς αἰχμαλώτους ναῦς καταρτίσαντες,  
 ἔτι δὲ τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν τοῖς προτερήμασιν ἐπι-  
 μέλειαν ποιησάμενοι τῶν πληρωμάτων, ἀνήγοντο  
**2** ποιούμενοι τὸν πλοῦν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Λιβύην. προσ-  
 σχόντες δὲ ταῖς πρώταις πλεούσαις ναυσὶν ὑπὸ τὴν  
 ἄκραν τὴν Ἐρμαίαν ἐπονομαζομένην, ἣ πρὸ παντὸς  
 τοῦ περὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα κόλπου κειμένη προτείνει  
 πελάγιος ὡς πρὸς τὴν Σικελίαν, καὶ προσδεξάμενοι  
 τὰς ἐπιπλεύσασας ἐνταῦθα ναῦς, καὶ πάντα συν-  
 αθροίσαντες τὸν στόλον, ἔπλεον παρὰ τὴν χώραν,  
 ἕως ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσπίδα καλουμένην πόλιν ἀφίκοντο.  
**3** ποιησάμενοι δὲ τὴν ἀπόβασιν ἐνταῦθα καὶ νεωλκή-  
 σαντες, ἔτι δὲ τάφρω καὶ χάρακι περιλαβόντες τὰς  
 ναῦς, ἐγίνοντο πρὸς τὸ πολιορκεῖν αὐτήν, οὐ βου-



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λομένων ἐκουσίως σφίσι προσχωρήσαι τῶν κατ-  
 4 εχόντων τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ διαφυγόντες ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ  
 τὴν ναυμαχίαν κινδύνου τῶν Καρχηδονίων κατα-  
 πλεύσαντες, καὶ πεπεισμένοι τοὺς ὑπεναντίους ἐκ  
 τοῦ γεγονότος προτερήματος ἐπαρθέντας εὐθέως  
 ποιήσεσθαι τὸν ἐπίπλουν ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν Καρχη-  
 δόνα, παρετήρουν ταῖς πεζικαῖς καὶ ναυτικαῖς δυνά-  
 5 μεσι τοὺς προκειμένους τῆς πόλεως τόπους. ἐπι-  
 γνόντες δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀσφαλῶς ἀποβεβηκότας  
 καὶ πολιορκοῦντας τὴν Ἀσπίδα, τοῦ μὲν παρα-  
 φυλάττειν τὸν ἐπίπλουν ἀπέγνωσαν, συνήθροισον δὲ  
 τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ περὶ φυλακὴν ἐγίνοντο τῆς τε  
 πόλεως καὶ τῆς χώρας. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι κυριεύ-  
 σαντες τῆς Ἀσπίδος καὶ φυλακὴν ἀπολιπόντες τῆς  
 6 πόλεως καὶ χώρας, ἔτι δὲ πρεσβευτὰς εἰς τὴν  
 Ῥώμην πέμψαντες τοὺς ἀπαγγελοῦντας μὲν περὶ  
 τῶν γεγονότων, ἐρησομένους δὲ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων,  
 τί δεῖ ποιεῖν καὶ πῶς χρῆσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι, μετὰ  
 δὲ ταῦτα πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει κατὰ σπουδὴν ἀναζεύ-  
 7 ξαντες, ὤρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸ πορθεῖν τὴν χώραν. οὐδενὸς  
 δ' ἐμποδῶν ἰσταμένου, πολλὰς μὲν οἰκῆσεις περιπτῶς  
 κατεσκευασμένας διέφθειραν, πολὺ δὲ πλῆθος τῆς  
 τετραπόδου λείας περιεβάλλοντο· σώματα δὲ πλείω  
 8 τῶν δισμυρίων ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀνήγαγον. ἐν δὲ  
 τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ παρήσαν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης οἱ διασα-  
 φοῦντες ὅτι δεῖ τὸν μὲν ἓνα τῶν στρατηγῶν μένειν  
 ἔχοντα δυνάμεις τὰς ἀρκούσας, τὸν δ' ἕτερον ἀπο-  
 9 κομίζειν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην τὸν στόλον. ὁ μὲν οὖν  
 Μάρκος ἔμενεν, ὑπολειπόμενος ναῦς τετταράκοντα  
 καὶ πεζοὺς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους, ἵππεῖς δὲ  
 10 πεντακοσίους· ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος ἀναλαβὼν τὰ πληρώ-  
 ματα καὶ τὸ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων πλῆθος, καὶ κομι-

which refused to surrender voluntarily. Those Carthaginians who made good their escape from the naval battle sailed home, and being convinced that the enemy, elated by their recent success, would at once attack Carthage itself from the sea, kept watch at different points over the approaches to the city with their land and sea forces. But when they learnt that the Romans had safely landed and were laying siege to Aspis, they abandoned the measures taken to guard against an attack from the sea, and uniting their forces devoted themselves to the protection of the capital and its environs. The Romans, after making themselves masters of Aspis, where they left a garrison to hold the town and district, sent a mission to Rome to report on recent events, and to inquire what they should do in future and how they were to deal with the whole situation. They then hastily advanced with their whole force and set about plundering the country. As nobody tried to prevent them, they destroyed a number of handsome and luxuriously furnished dwelling-houses, possessed themselves of a quantity of cattle, and captured more than twenty thousand slaves, taking them back to their ships. Messengers from Rome now arrived with instructions for one of the Consuls to remain on the spot with an adequate force and for the other to bring the fleet back to Rome. Marcus Regulus, therefore, remained, retaining forty ships and a force of fifteen thousand infantry and five hundred horse, while Lucius, taking with him the ship's crews and all



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

σθεῖς παρὰ τὴν Σικελίαν ἀσφαλῶς, ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην.

30 Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι θεωροῦντες τὴν τῶν πολεμίων παρασκευὴν χρονιωτέραν οὔσαν, πρῶτον μὲν στρατηγοὺς ἑαυτῶν εἵλοντο δύο, τὸν τ' Ἄννωνος Ἄσδρούβαν καὶ Βώσταρον, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Ἀμίλκαν ἔπεμπον εἰς τὴν Ἡράκλειαν, καλοῦντες  
 2 κατὰ τάχος αὐτόν. ὁ δ' ἀναλαβὼν ἵππεῖς πεντακοσίους καὶ πεζοὺς πεντακισχιλίους παρῆν εἰς τὴν Καρχηδόνα· καὶ κατασταθεὶς στρατηγὸς τρίτος, ἐβουλεύετο μετὰ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἄσδρούβαν πῶς δεῖ  
 3 χρῆσθαι τοῖς παροῦσιν. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς βοθηεῖν τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ μὴ περιορᾶν αὐτὴν ἀδεῶς πορθουμένην.  
 4 ὁ δὲ Μάρκος μετὰ τινὰς ἡμέρας ἐπεπορεύετο, τὰ μὲν ἀτείχιστα τῶν ἐρυμάτων ἐξ ἐφόδου διαρπάζων, τὰ δὲ τετειχισμένα πολιορκῶν. ἀφικόμενος δὲ πρὸς πόλιν Ἀδὺν ἀξιόχρεω, περιστρατοπεδεύσας ταύτην συνίστατο μετὰ σπουδῆς ἔργα καὶ πολιορκίαν.  
 6 οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τῇ τε πόλει σπουδάζοντες βοθηῆσαι καὶ τῶν ὑπαίθρων ἀντιποιεῖσθαι κρινόντες ἐξῆγον τὴν δύναμιν. καὶ καταλαβόμενοι λόφον ὑπερδέξιον μὲν τῶν πολεμίων, ἀφυῆ δὲ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν δυνάμεσιν, ἐν τούτῳ κατεστρατοπέδευσαν.  
 8 λοιπὸν ἔχοντες μὲν τὰς πλείστας ἐλπίδας ἐν τοῖς ἵππεῦσι καὶ τοῖς θηρίοις, ἀφέμενοι δὲ τῶν ἐπιπέδων χωρίων καὶ συγκλείσαντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰς τόπους ἐρυμνοὺς καὶ δυσβάτους, ἔμελλον διδάξειν τοὺς πολεμίους ὃ δέον ἦν πράττειν κατ' αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ  
 9 δὴ καὶ συνέβη γενέσθαι. συννοήσαντες γὰρ οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμόνες ἐμπείρως ὅτι τὸ πρακτικώτατον καὶ φοβερώτατον τῆς τῶν ὑπεναντίων δυνάμεως



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ἡχρεΐωται διὰ τοὺς τόπους, οὐκ ἀνέμειναν ἕως ἐκεῖ-  
 10 νοι καταβάντες εἰς τὰ πεδία παρετάξαντο, χρώμενοι  
 δὲ τοῖς ἰδίοις καιροῖς ἅμα τῷ φωτὶ προσέβαινον ἐξ  
 11 ἑκατέρου τοῦ μέρους πρὸς τὸν λόφον. οἱ μὲν οὖν  
 ἵππεῖς καὶ τὰ θηρία τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἦν ἄχρηστα  
 τελέως· οἱ δὲ μισθοφόροι πάνυ γενναίως καὶ προ-  
 θύμως ἐκβοηθήσαντες τὸ μὲν πρῶτον στρατόπεδον  
 12 ἠνάγκασαν ἐκκλῖναι καὶ φυγεῖν· ἐπεὶ δὲ προπεσόν-  
 τες καὶ κυκλωθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ θατέρου μέρους  
 προσβαινόντων ἐτράπησαν, μετὰ ταῦτα πάντες εὐ-  
 13 θὺς ἐκ τῆς στρατοπεδείας ἐξέπεσον. τὰ μὲν οὖν  
 θηρία μετὰ τῶν ἵππέων, ἐπεὶ τάχιστα τῶν ὀμαλῶν  
 ἦψατο, μετ' ἀσφαλείας ἐποιοῦντο τὴν ἀποχώρησιν·  
 14 οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς πεζοὺς βραχὺν ἐπιδιώξαντες  
 τόπον καὶ τὸν χάρακα διαρπάσαντες, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα  
 πᾶσαν ἐπιπορευόμενοι τὴν χώραν καὶ τὰς πόλεις  
 15 ἀδεῶς ἐπόρθουν. γενόμενοι δὲ τῆς προσαγορευο-  
 μένης πόλεως Τύνητος ἐγκρατεῖς, εὐφυοῦς ὑπαρ-  
 χούσης πρὸς τὰς προκειμένας ἐπιβολάς, ἔτι δὲ κει-  
 μένης εὐκαίρως κατὰ τε τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς σύνεγ-  
 γυς ταύτης χώρας, κατεστρατοπέδευσαν εἰς αὐτήν.  
 31 Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι μικρῶ μὲν πρότερον κατὰ  
 θάλατταν, τότε δὲ κατὰ γῆν ἐπταικότες, οὐ διὰ τὴν  
 τῶν πολλῶν ἀνανδρίαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν τῶν ἡγουμέ-  
 νων ἀβουλίαν, κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ἐνεπεπτώκεισαν  
 2 εἰς δυσχερῆ διάθεσιν. ἅμα γὰρ τοῖς προειρημένοις  
 καὶ τὸ τῶν Νομάδων ἔθνος συνεπιτιθέμενον αὐτοῖς  
 οὐκ ἐλάττω, πλείω δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἰργάζετο κακὰ  
 3 τὴν χώραν. ἐξ ὧν διὰ τὸν φόβον συμφευγόντων  
 εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας δυσθυμία καὶ  
 λιμὸς ἦν ὀλοσχερής, τὰ μὲν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος, τὰ δὲ

enemy's force was rendered unserviceable by their position, did not wait for the Carthaginians to come down and offer battle on the plain, but, seizing on their own opportunity, advanced at daybreak on the hill from both sides. And so their elephants and cavalry were absolutely useless to the Carthaginians, but their mercenaries sallying out with great gallantry and dash compelled the first legion to give way and take to flight; but on their advancing too far and being surrounded and driven back by the force that was attacking on the other side, the whole Carthaginian army were at once dislodged from their camp. The elephants and cavalry, as soon as they reached level ground, effected their retreat in safety, and the Romans, after pursuing the infantry for a short distance and destroying the camp, henceforth over-ran and plundered the country and its towns unmolested. Having made themselves masters of the town named Tunis, which was a suitable base for these raids, and also well situated for operations against the capital and its immediate environs, they established themselves there.

31. The Carthaginians, having thus been twice defeated, shortly before at sea and now on land, in both cases owing to no lack of bravery in their troops, but owing to the incompetence of their commanders, had now fallen into a thoroughly difficult position. For, in addition to the misfortunes I have mentioned, the Numidians, attacking them at the same time as the Romans, inflicted not less but even more damage on the country than the latter. The terror-stricken inhabitants took refuge in the city of Carthage where utter despondency and extreme famine prevailed, the latter owing to overcrowding and the former

4 διὰ τὴν προσδοκίαν τῆς πολιορκίας. ὁ δὲ Μάρκος  
 ὄρων τοὺς Καρχηδονίους καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ  
 θάλατταν ἐσφαλμένους, καὶ νομίζων ὅσον οὕτω  
 κρατήσῃ τῆς πόλεως, ἀγωνιῶν δὲ μὴ συμβῆ τὸν  
 ἐπιπαραγινόμενον στρατηγὸν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης φθά-  
 5 σαντα τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τῶν πραγμάτων λαβεῖν, πρου-  
 καλεῖτο τοὺς Καρχηδονίους εἰς διαλύσεις. οἱ δ'  
 ἀσμένως ἀκούσαντες ἐξέπεμψαν αὐτῶν τοὺς πρῶ-  
 6 τους ἄνδρας· οἱ καὶ συμμίζαντες αὐτῷ τοσοῦτον  
 ἀπέσχον τοῦ ῥέπειν ταῖς γνώμαις ἐπὶ τὸ ποιεῖν τι  
 τῶν λεγομένων ὥστ' οὐδ' ἀκούοντες ὑπομένειν ἐδύ-  
 8 ναντο τὸ βάρος τῶν ἐπιταγμάτων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Μάρ-  
 κος, ὡς ἤδη κεκρατηκῶς τῶν ὄλων, ὅτι ποτὲ συν-  
 εχώρει, πᾶν ᾤετο δεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐν χάριτι καὶ δωρεᾷ  
 7 λαμβάνειν· οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι θεωροῦντες ὅτι καὶ  
 γενομένοις αὐτοῖς ὑποχειρίοις οὐδὲν ἂν συνεξακο-  
 λουθήσαι βαρύτερον τῶν τότε προσταγμάτων, οὐ  
 μόνον δυσαραστήσαντες τοῖς προτεινομένοις ἐπανήλ-  
 8 θον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσκόψαντες τῇ βαρύτητι τοῦ Μάρ-  
 κου. τὸ δὲ συνέδριον τῶν Καρχηδονίων διακοῦσαν  
 τὰ προτεινόμενα παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων,  
 καίπερ σχεδὸν ἀπεγνωκὸς τὰς τῆς σωτηρίας ἐλπί-  
 9 δας, ὅμως οὕτως ἀνδρωδῶς ἔστη καὶ γενναίως ὥστε  
 πᾶν ὑπομένειν εἴλετο καὶ παντὸς ἔργου καὶ καιροῦ  
 πείραν λαμβάνειν, ἐφ' ᾧ μηδὲν ἀγεννὲς μηδ' ἀν-  
 10 άξιον τῶν πρὸ τοῦ πράξεων ὑπομεῖναι.

32 Περὶ δὲ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους καταπλεῖ τις εἰς  
 τὴν Καρχηδόνα ξενολόγος τῶν ἀπεσταλμένων εἰς  
 τὴν Ἑλλάδα πρότερον [εἰς τὴν Καρχηδονίων], ἄγων  
 στρατιώτας πλείστους, ἐν οἷς καὶ Ξάνθιππὸν τινα  
 Λακεδαιμόνιον, ἄνδρα τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἀγωγῆς μετ-



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## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

εσχηκότα καὶ τριβὴν ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἔχοντα  
2 σύμμετρον. ὃς διακούσας τὸ γεγονὸς ἐλάττωμα καὶ  
πῶς καὶ τίνι τρόπῳ γέγονε, καὶ συνθεωρήσας τὰς  
τε λοιπὰς παρασκευὰς τῶν Καρχηδονίων καὶ τὸ  
πλήθος τῶν ἰππέων καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων, παραυτίκα  
συνελογίσατο καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἐνεφάνισε διότι  
συμβαίνει τοὺς Καρχηδονίους οὐχ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων,  
αὐτοὺς δ' ὑφ' αὐτῶν ἠττᾶσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν  
3 τῶν ἡγουμένων. ταχὺ δὲ διὰ τὴν περίστασιν τῶν  
τοῦ Ξανθίππου λόγων διαδοθέντων εἰς τὰ πλήθη  
καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς, ἔγνωσαν οἱ προεστῶτες ἀνα-  
4 καλεῖσθαι καὶ πείραν αὐτοῦ λαμβάνειν. ὁ δὲ παρα-  
γενόμενος εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ἔφερε τοῖς ἄρχουσι τοὺς  
ἀπολογισμοὺς καὶ παρὰ τί νῦν σφαιλείησαν, καὶ  
διότι πεισθέντες αὐτῷ καὶ χρησάμενοι τοῖς ἐπιπέ-  
δοις τῶν τόπων ἐν τε ταῖς πορείαις καὶ στρατο-  
πεδείαις καὶ παρατάξεσιν εὐχερῶς ἑαυτοῖς τε τὴν  
ἀσφάλειαν δυνήσονται παρασκευάζειν καὶ τοὺς ὑπ-  
5 εναντίους νικᾶν. οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ δεξάμενοι τὰ  
λεγόμενα καὶ πεισθέντες αὐτῷ παραχρῆμα τὰς δυ-  
6 νάμεις ἐνεχείρισαν. ἦν μὲν οὖν καὶ κατὰ ταύτην  
τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Ξανθίππου διαδιδομένην φωνὴν ὁ  
θροῦς καὶ λαλιά τις εὐέλπις παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς·  
7 ὡς δ' ἐξαγαγὼν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως τὴν δύναμιν ἐν  
κόσμῳ παρενέβαλε καὶ τι καὶ κινεῖν τῶν μερῶν ἐν  
τάξει καὶ παραγγέλλειν κατὰ νόμους ἤρξατο, τηλι-  
καύτην ἐποίει διαφορὰν παρὰ τὴν τῶν πρότερον  
στρατηγῶν ἀπειρίαν ὥστε μετὰ κραυγῆς ἐπιση-  
μαίνεσθαι τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ σπεύδειν ὡς τάχιστα  
συμβαλεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις, πεπεισμένους μηδὲν ἂν  
8 παθεῖν δεινὸν ἡγουμένου Ξανθίππου. τούτων δὲ

brought up in the Spartan discipline, and had had a fair amount of military experience. On hearing of the recent reverse and how and in what way it occurred, and on taking a comprehensive view of the remaining resources of the Carthaginians and their strength in cavalry and elephants, he at once reached the conclusion and communicated it to friends that the Carthaginians owed their defeat not to the Romans but to themselves, through the inexperience of their generals. Owing to the critical situation Xanthippus's remarks soon got abroad and reached the ears of the generals, whereupon the government decided to summon him before them and examine him. He presented himself before them and communicated to them his estimate of the situation, pointing out why they were now being worsted, and urging that if they would take his advice and avail themselves of the level country for marching, encamping and offering battle they could easily not only secure their own safety, but defeat the enemy. The generals, accepting what he said and resolving to follow his advice, at once entrusted their forces to him. Now even when the original utterance of Xanthippus got abroad, it had caused considerable rumour and more or less sanguine talk among the populace, but on his leading the army out and drawing it up in good order before the city and even beginning to manœuvre some portions of it correctly and give the word of command in the orthodox military terms, the contrast to the incompetency of the former generals was so striking that the soldiery expressed their approval by cheers and were eager to engage the enemy, feeling sure that if Xanthippus was in command no disaster could



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

γυνομένων οἱ στρατηγοὶ συνιδόντες τοὺς ὄχλους ἀνατεθαρρηκότας παραδόξως ταῖς ψυχαῖς, παρακαλέσαντες αὐτοὺς τὰ πρέποντα τῷ καιρῷ, μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ὤρμησαν ἀναλαβόντες τὴν δύναμιν. αὕτη δ' ἦν πεζοὶ μὲν εἰς μυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους, ἵππεῖς δὲ τετρακισχίλιοι, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἐλεφάντων πλῆθος ἔγγιστά που τῶν ἑκατόν.

**33** Οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι θεωροῦντες τοὺς Καρχηδονίους τὰς τε πορείας ποιουμένους διὰ τῶν ὄμαλῶν τόπων καὶ τὰς στρατοπεδείας τιθέντας ἐν τοῖς ἐπιπέδοις τῶν χωρίων, κατ' αὐτὸ μὲν τοῦτο ξενιζόμενοι διετρέποντο, τοῖς γε μὴν ὄλοις ἔσπευδον ἐγγίσει τοῖς **2** πολεμίοις. συνάψαντες δὲ τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἡμέραν κατεστρατοπέδευσαν ὡς δέκα σταδίους ἀποσχόντες **3** τῶν ὑπεναντίων. τῇ δὲ κατὰ πόδας οἱ μὲν προεστῶτες τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐβουλεύοντο πῶς καὶ τί **4** πρακτέον εἶη κατὰ τὸ παρόν· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ προθύμως ἔχοντες πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον, συστρεφόμενοι κατὰ μέρη καὶ κατ' ὄνομα τὸν Ξάνθιππον ἀναβοῶν- **5** τες ἐξάγειν σφᾶς ὄντο δεῖν τὴν ταχίστην. οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ τὴν τε τῶν ὄχλων ὄρμην καὶ προθυμίαν θεωροῦντες, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ξανθίππου διαμαρτυρομένου μὴ παριέναι τὸν καιρόν, παρήγγειλαν τῷ μὲν πλῆθει διασκευάζεσθαι, τῷ δὲ Ξανθίππῳ χρῆ- **6** σθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπέτρεψαν ὡς ποτ' αὐτῷ δοκεῖ συμφέρειν. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν τὴν ἐξουσίαν, τοὺς μὲν ἐλέφαντας ἐξαγαγὼν ἐφ' ἓνα πρὸ πάσης τῆς δυνά- **7** μεως ἐν μετώπῳ κατέστησε, τὴν δὲ φάλαγγα τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐν ἀποστήματι συμμέτρῳ τούτοις κατ- **8** ὅπιν ἐπέστησε. τῶν δὲ μισθοφόρων τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρασ παρενέβαλε, τοὺς δ' εὐκίνητοτάτους ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἵππεῦσιν ἑκατέρου τοῦ κέρατος προέστη-



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8 σεν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι συνιδόντες παραταπτομένους  
 9 τοὺς ὑπεναντίους ἀντεξήεσαν ἐτοίμως. καταπλητ-  
 τόμενοι δὲ καὶ προορώμενοι τὴν τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἔφ-  
 οδον, προθέμενοι τοὺς γροσφομάχους πολλὰς ἐπ'  
 ἀλλήλαις κατόπιν ἴστασαν σημείας, τοὺς δ' ἵππεῖς  
 10 ἐμέρισαν ἐφ' ἐκάτερον τὸ κέρας. τὴν δὲ σύμπασαν  
 τάξιν βραχυτέραν μὲν ἢ πρόσθεν, βαθυτέραν δὲ  
 ποιήσαντες, τῆς μὲν πρὸς τὰ θηρία μάχης δεόντως  
 ἦσαν ἐστοχασμένοι, τῆς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἵππεῖς, πολ-  
 λαπλασίους ὄντας τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὀλοσχερῶς ἠστό-  
 11 χησαν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀμφότεροι κατὰ τὰς ἑαυτῶν προ-  
 αιρέσεις καὶ καθόλου καὶ κατὰ μέρος ἐκάστους ἔθη-  
 καν εἰς τὰς ἀρμοζούσας τάξεις, ἔμενον ἐν κόσμῳ,  
 караδοκοῦντες τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀλλήλων ἐπιθέσεως.  
 34 ἅμα δὲ τῷ τὸν Ξάνθιππον τοῖς μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν θη-  
 ρίων παραγγεῖλαι προάγειν καὶ διασπᾶν τὰς τῶν  
 ὑπεναντίων τάξεις, τοῖς δ' ἵππεῦσιν ἐφ' ἐκατέρου  
 τοῦ κέρατος κυκλοῦν καὶ προσβάλλειν τοῖς πολεμί-  
 2 οῖς, τότε δὴ καὶ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον κατὰ  
 τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔθη συνεψόφησαν τοῖς ὄπλοις καὶ  
 3 συναλαλάξαντες ὤρμησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. οἱ  
 μὲν οὖν ἵππεῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ταχέως ἀφ' ἐκατέρων  
 τῶν κεράτων ἔφυγον, διὰ τὸ πολλαπλασίους εἶναι  
 4 τοὺς Καρχηδονίους. τῶν δὲ πεζῶν οἱ ταχθέντες ἐπὶ  
 τοῦ λαιοῦ κέρως, ἅμα μὲν ἐκκλίνοντες τὴν τῶν θηρί-  
 ων ἔφοδον, ἅμα δὲ καταφρονοῦντες τῶν μισθοφόρων,  
 ὤρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας τῶν Καρχηδονίων.  
 τρεψάμενοι δὲ τούτους ἐπέκειντο καὶ κατεδίωκον  
 5 αὐτοὺς ἕως εἰς τὸν χάρακα. τῶν δὲ κατὰ τοὺς  
 ἐλέφαντας ταχθέντων οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι συμπεσόντες  
 ὑπὸ τῆς βίας τῶν ζώων ἐξωθούμενοι καὶ καταπα-  
 τούμενοι σωρηδὸν ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ διεφθείροντο,

the enemy drawn up to offer battle, issued forth to meet them with alacrity. Alarmed at the prospect of the elephants' charge, they stationed the *velites* in the van and behind them the legions many maniples deep, dividing the cavalry between the two wings. In thus making their whole line shorter and deeper than before they had been correct enough in so far as concerned the coming encounter with the elephants, but as to that with the cavalry, which largely outnumbered theirs, they were very wide of the mark. When both sides had made that general and detailed disposition of their forces that best suited their plan, they remained drawn up in order, each awaiting a favourable opportunity to attack.

34. No sooner had Xanthippus ordered the elephant-drivers to advance and break the enemy's line and the cavalry on each wing to execute a turning movement and charge, than the Roman army, clashing their shields and spears together, as is their custom and uttering their battle-cry, advanced against the foe. As for the Roman cavalry on both wings it was speedily put to flight owing to the superior numbers of the Carthaginians; while of the infantry, the left wing, partly to avoid the onset of the elephants, and partly owing to the contempt they felt for the mercenary force, fell upon the Carthaginian right wing, and having broken it, pressed on and pursued it as far as the camp. But the first ranks of those who were stationed opposite the elephants, pushed back when they encountered them and trodden under foot by the strength of the animals, fell in heaps in the *mêlée*, while the formation of the

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

τῆς γε μὴν ὅλης τάξεως τὸ σύστημα διὰ τὸ βάθος  
 τῶν ἐφεστώτων ἕως τινὸς ἀδιάσπαστον ἔμεινεν.  
 6 ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ μὲν τὰς ἐσχάτας ἔχοντες τάξεις κυκλού-  
 μενοι πανταχόθεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἰππέων ἠναγκάζοντο  
 πρὸς τούτους στρεφόμενοι κινδυνεύειν, οἱ δὲ διὰ  
 μέσων τῶν ἐλεφάντων εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ἐκβιαζόμενοι  
 καὶ κατὰ νώτου παριστάμενοι τῶν θηρίων εἰς ἀκέ-  
 7 ραιον καὶ συντεταγμένην ἐμπίπτοντες τὴν τῶν Καρ-  
 χηδονίων φάλαγγα διεφθείροντο, τότε δὴ πανταχό-  
 θεν πονοῦντες, οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων συν-  
 επατήθησαν ὑπὸ τῆς ὑπερφυοῦς βίας τῶν ζώων, οἱ  
 8 δὲ λοιποὶ συνηκοντίσθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν  
 ἰππέων ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τῆς παρατάξεως τόπῳ, τελέως  
 9 δὲ τινες ὀλίγοι πρὸς φυγὴν ὤρμησαν. οὐσῶν δὲ  
 πεδινῶν τῶν ὑποχωρήσεων, καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ  
 τῶν θηρίων καὶ τῶν ἰππέων ἀπώλλυντο, πεντα-  
 κόσιοι δ' ἴσως οἱ μετὰ Μάρκου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ φυ-  
 γόντες μετ' ὀλίγον ὑποχείριοι γινόμενοι σὺν αὐτῷ  
 10 ἔκείνῳ πάντες ἐζωγρήθησαν. τῶν μὲν οὖν παρὰ  
 τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις μισθοφόρων ἔπεσον εἰς ὀκτα-  
 κοσίους οἱ κατὰ τὸ λαιὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ταχθέντες,  
 τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐσώθησαν μὲν εἰς δισχιλίους οἱ  
 11 κατὰ τὸ δίωγμα τῶν προειρημένων ἐκτὸς γινόμενοι  
 τοῦ κινδύνου, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλήθος διεφθάρη πλὴν  
 Μάρκου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τῶν ἅμα τούτῳ φυγόν-  
 12 των. αἱ μὲν οὖν σημαῖαι τῶν Ῥωμαίων αἱ σωθεῖ-  
 σαι διέπεσον εἰς τὴν Ἀσπίδα παραδόξως· οἱ δὲ  
 Καρχηδόνιοι τοὺς νεκροὺς σκυλεύσαντες καὶ τὸν  
 στρατηγὸν ἅμα μετὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἄγοντες ἐπαν-  
 ἦλθον περιχαρεῖς τοῖς παροῦσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.  
 35 Ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ πολλά τις ἂν ὀρθῶς ἐπισημαινό-  
 μενος εὖροι πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων



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- 2** βίου συντελεσθέντα. καὶ γὰρ τὸ διαπιστεῖν τῇ τύχῃ,  
καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὰς εὐπραγίας, ἐναργέστατον  
ἐφάνη πᾶσι τότε διὰ τῶν Μάρκου συμπτωμάτων·  
**3** ὁ γὰρ μικρῶ πρότερον οὐ διδοὺς ἔλεον οὐδὲ συγ-  
γνώμην τοῖς, πταίουσι παρὰ πόδας αὐτὸς ἤγετο δεη-  
**4** σόμενος τουτων περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίας. καὶ  
μὴν τὸ παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ πάλαι καλῶς εἰρήσθαι δο-  
κοῦν ὡς “ ἐν σοφὸν βούλευμα τὰς πολλὰς χέρας  
νικᾷ ” τότε δι' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἔλαβε τὴν πίστιν.  
**5** εἷς γὰρ ἄνθρωπος καὶ μία γνώμη τὰ μὲν ἀήττητα  
πλήθη καὶ πραγματικὰ δοκοῦντ' εἶναι καθεῖλε, τὸ  
δὲ προφανῶς πεπτωκὸς ἄρδην πολίτευμα καὶ τὰς  
ἀπηλγηκυίας ψυχὰς τῶν δυνάμεων ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον  
**6** ἤγαγεν. ἐγὼ δὲ τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην χάριν τῆς τῶν  
**7** ἐντυγχανόντων τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι διορθώσεως. δυεῖν  
γὰρ ὄντων τρόπων πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ  
βέλτιον μεταθέσεως, τοῦ τε διὰ τῶν ἰδίων συμπτω-  
μάτων καὶ τοῦ διὰ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων, ἐναργέστερον  
μὲν εἶναι συμβαίνει τὸν διὰ τῶν οἰκείων περι-  
πετειῶν, ἀβλαβέστερον δὲ τὸν διὰ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων.  
**8** διὸ τὸν μὲν οὐδέποθ' ἐκουσίως αἰρετέον, ἐπεὶ μετὰ  
μεγάλων πόνων καὶ κινδύνων ποιεῖ τὴν διόρθωσιν,  
τὸν δ' αἰεὶ θηρευτέον, ἐπεὶ χωρὶς βλάβης ἔστι συν-  
**9** ιδεῖν ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ βέλτιον. ἐξ ὧν συνιδόντι καλλί-  
στην παιδείαν ἠγητέον πρὸς ἀληθινὸν βίον τὴν ἐκ  
τῆς πραγματικῆς ἱστορίας περιγυνομένην ἐμπειρίαν·  
**10** μόνη γὰρ αὕτη χωρὶς βλάβης ἐπὶ παντὸς καιροῦ  
καὶ περιστάσεως κριτὰς ἀληθινοὺς ἀποτελεῖ τοῦ  
βελτίονος. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον  
εἰρήσθω.
- 36** Καρχηδόνιοι δέ, κατὰ νοῦν ἀπάντων σφίσι κε-  
χωρηκότων, ὑπερβολὴν χαρᾶς οὐκ ἀπέλιπον διὰ τε

the better conduct of human life. For the precept to distrust Fortune, and especially when we are enjoying success, was most clearly enforced on all by Regulus's misfortunes. He who so short a time previously had refused to pity or take mercy on those in distress was now, almost immediately afterwards, being led captive to implore pity and mercy in order to save his own life. And again Euripides' words, so long recognized as just, that "one wise counsel conquers many hands" were then confirmed by the actual facts. For one man and one brain laid low that host which seemed so invincible and efficient, and restored the fortunes of a state which in the eyes of all was utterly fallen and the deadened spirit of its soldiers. This I mention for the sake of the improvement of the readers of this history. For there are two ways by which all men can reform themselves, the one through their own mischances, the other through those of others, and of these the former is the more impressive, but the latter the less hurtful. Therefore we should never choose the first method if we can help it, as it corrects by means of great pain and peril, but ever pursue the other, since by it we can discern what is best without suffering hurt. Reflecting on this we should regard as the best discipline for actual life the experience that accrues from serious history; for this alone makes us, without inflicting any harm on us, the most competent judges of what is best at every time and in every circumstance. Well, on this subject I have said enough.

36. All having now fallen out with the Carthaginians as they could best desire, there was no extravagance of rejoicing in which they did not



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

- τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐχαριστίας καὶ διὰ τῆς μετ'  
 2 ἀλλήλων φιλοφροσύνης. Ξάνθιππος δὲ τηλικαύτην  
 ἐπίδοσιν καὶ ῥοπὴν ποιήσας τοῖς Καρχηδονίων πράγ-  
 μασι μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἀπέπλευσε πάλιν, φρο-  
 3 νίμως καὶ συνετῶς βουλευσάμενος. αἱ γὰρ ἐπιφα-  
 νεῖς καὶ παράδοξοι πράξεις βαρεῖς μὲν τοὺς φθό-  
 νους, ὀξείας δὲ τὰς διαβολὰς γεννῶσιν· ἃς οἱ μὲν  
 ἐγχώριοι διὰ τε τὰς συγγενείας καὶ τὸ τῶν φίλων  
 πλῆθος οἰοί τ' ἂν <εἶεν ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον> ἀνα-  
 φέρειν, οἱ δὲ ξένοι ταχέως ὑφ' ἑκατέρων τούτων  
 4 ἡττῶνται καὶ κινδυνεύουσι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἕτερος  
 ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς τῆς Ξανθίππου λόγος, ὃν πει-  
 ρασόμεθα διασαφεῖν οἰκειότερον λαβόντες τοῦ παρ-  
 όντος καιρόν.
- 5 Ῥωμαῖοι δέ, προσπεσόντων σφίσι παρ' ἐλπίδα  
 τῶν ἐν Λιβύῃ συμβεβηκότων, εὐθέως ἐγίνοντο πρὸς  
 τὸ καταρτίζειν τὸν στόλον καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξαι-  
 6 ρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ διασσεσωμένους. οἱ δὲ  
 Καρχηδόνιοι μετὰ ταῦτα στρατοπεδεύσαντες ἐπο-  
 λιόρκουν τὴν Ἀσπίδα, σπουδάζοντες ἐγκρατεῖς γε-  
 7 νέσθαι τῶν ἐκ τῆς μάχης διαφυγόντων. διὰ δὲ  
 τὴν γενναιότητα καὶ τόλμαν τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐδαμῶς  
 ἐλεῖν δυνάμενοι τέλος ἀπέστησαν τῆς πολιορκίας.  
 8 προσπεσόντος δ' αὐτοῖς ἐξαρτύειν τὸν στόλον τοὺς  
 Ῥωμαίους, καὶ μέλλειν αὐθις ἐπὶ τὴν Λιβύην ποι-  
 εῖσθαι τὸν πλοῦν, τὰ μὲν ἐπεσκεύαζον σκάφη, τὰ  
 9 δ' ἐκ καταβολῆς ἐναυπηγοῦντο. ταχὺ δὲ συμπλη-  
 ρώσαντες ναῦς διακοσίας ἀνήχθησαν καὶ παρεφύ-  
 λαττον τὸν ἐπίπλου τῶν ὑπεναντίων.
- 10 Οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς θερείας ἀρχομένης καθελκύ-  
 σαντες τριακόσια καὶ πενήκοντα σκάφη, καὶ  
 στρατηγοὺς ἐπιστήσαντες Μάρκον Αἰμίλιον καὶ



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## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

Σερούιον Φόλουιον ἔξαπέστελλον. οἱ δ' ἀναχθέντες  
 11 ἔπλεον παρὰ τὴν Σικελίαν ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς Λιβύης.  
 συμμίζαντες δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἑρμαίαν τῷ τῶν Καρχη-  
 δονίων στόλῳ, τούτους μὲν ἔξ ἐφόδου καὶ ῥαδίως  
 12 τρεψάμενοι ναῦς ἔλαβον αὐτάνδρους ἑκατὸν δεκα-  
 τέτταρας· τοὺς δ' ἐν Λιβύῃ διαμείναντας νεανίσκους  
 ἀναλαμβάνοντες ἐκ τῆς Ἀσπίδος ἔπλεον αὐθις ἐπὶ τῆς  
 37 Σικελίας. διάραντες δὲ τὸν πόρον ἀσφαλῶς καὶ  
 προσμίζαντες τῇ τῶν Καμαριναίων χώρα, τηλικούτῳ  
 περιέπεσον χειμῶνι καὶ τηλικαύταις συμφοραῖς  
 ὥστε μηδ' ἂν εἰπεῖν ἀξίως δύνασθαι διὰ τὴν ὑπερ-  
 2 βολὴν τοῦ συμβάντος. τῶν γὰρ ἑξήκοντα καὶ  
 τεττάρων πρὸς ταῖς τριακοσίαις ναυσὶν ὀγδοήκοντα  
 μόνον συνέβη περιλειφθῆναι σκάφη, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν  
 τὰ μὲν ὑποβρύχια γενέσθαι, τὰ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς ῥαχίας  
 πρὸς ταῖς σπιλάσι καὶ τοῖς ἀκρωτηρίοις καταγνύ-  
 3 μενα πλήρη ποιῆσαι σωμάτων τὴν παραλίαν καὶ  
 ναυαγίων. ταύτης δὲ μείζω περιπέτειαν ἐν ἐνὶ  
 καιρῷ κατὰ θάλατταν οὐδ' ἱστορηῆσθαι συμβέβηκεν.  
 4 ἥς τὴν αἰτίαν οὐχ οὕτως εἰς τὴν τύχην ὡς εἰς τοὺς  
 ἡγεμόνας ἐπανοιστέον· πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν κυβερνητῶν  
 διαμαρτυραμένων μὴ πλεῖν παρὰ τὴν ἔξω πλευρὰν  
 τῆς Σικελίας τὴν πρὸς τὸ Λιβυκὸν πέλαγος ἐστραμ-  
 μένην, διὰ τὸ τραχεῖαν εἶναι καὶ δυσπροσόρμιστον,  
 ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὴν μὲν οὐδέπω καταλήγειν ἐπισημασίαν,  
 τὴν δ' ἐπιφέρεσθαι· μεταξὺ γὰρ ἐποιοῦντο τὸν πλοῦν  
 5 τῆς Ὠρίωνος καὶ κυνὸς ἐπιτολῆς· οὐθενὶ προσσχόν-  
 τες τῶν λεγομένων ἔπλεον ἔξω πελάγιοι, σπουδάζον-  
 τές τινας τῶν ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ πόλεις τῇ τοῦ γε-  
 6 γονότος εὐτυχήματος φαντασίᾳ καταπληξάμενοι  
 προσλαβέσθαι. πλὴν οὗτοι μὲν μικρῶν ἐλπίδων  
 ἔνεκα μεγάλοις περιτυχόντες ἀτυχήμασι τότε τὴν

Fulvius, who proceeded along the coast of Sicily making for Libya. Encountering the Carthaginian fleet near the Hermaeum they fell on them and easily routed them, capturing one hundred and fourteen ships with their crews. Then having taken on board at Aspis the lads who remained in Libya they set sail again for Sicily. 37. They had crossed the strait in safety and were off the territory of Camarina when they were overtaken by so fierce a storm and so terrible a disaster that it is difficult adequately to describe it owing to its surpassing magnitude. For of their three hundred and sixty-four ships only eighty were saved ; the rest either foundered or were dashed by the waves against the rocks and headlands and broken to pieces, covering the shore with corpses and wreckage. History tells of no greater catastrophe at sea taking place at one time. The blame must be laid not so much on ill-fortune as on the commanders ; for the captains had repeatedly urged them not to sail along the outer coast of Sicily, that turned towards the Libyan sea, as it was very rugged and had few safe anchorages : they also warned them that one of the dangerous astral periods was not over and another just approaching (for it was between the rising of Orion and that of Sirius<sup>a</sup> that they undertook the voyage). The commanders, however, paid no attention to a single word they said, they took the outer course and there they were in the open sea thinking to strike terror into some of the cities they passed by the brilliancy of their recent success and thus win them over. But now, all for the sake of such meagre expectations, they exposed themselves to this great disaster, and were obliged

<sup>a</sup> Sirius rises in July, Orion early in December.

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

**7** αὐτῶν ἀβουλίαν ἔγνωσαν. καθόλου δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι  
 πρὸς πάντα χρώμενοι τῇ βία, καὶ τὸ προτεθὲν  
 οἰόμενοι δεῖν κατ' ἀνάγκην ἐπιτελεῖν καὶ μηδὲν  
 ἀδύνατον εἶναι σφίσι τῶν ἅπαξ δοξάντων, ἐν πολλοῖς  
 μὲν κατορθοῦσι διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην ὀρμὴν, ἐν τισὶ δὲ  
 προφανῶς σφάλονται, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς κατὰ  
**8** θάλατταν. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῆς γῆς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους  
 καὶ τὰ τούτων ἔργα ποιούμενοι τὰς ἐπιβολὰς τὰ μὲν  
 πολλὰ κατορθοῦσι διὰ τὸ πρὸς παραπλησίους δυνά-  
 μεις χρῆσθαι τῇ βία, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ σπανίως ἀπο-  
**9** τυγχάνουσι· πρὸς δὲ τὴν θάλατταν καὶ πρὸς τὸ  
 περιέχον ὅταν παραβάλλωνται καὶ βιαιομαχῶσι,  
**10** μεγάλοις ἐλαττώμασι περιπίπτουσιν. ὃ καὶ τότε  
 καὶ πλεονάκις αὐτοῖς ἤδη συνέβη καὶ συμβήσεται  
 πάσχειν, ἕως ἂν ποτε διορθώσωνται τὴν τοιαύτην  
 τόλμαν καὶ βίαν, καθ' ἣν οἴονται δεῖν αὐτοῖς πάντα  
 καιρὸν εἶναι πλωτὸν καὶ πορευτόν.

**38** Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι, συνέντες τὸν γεγονότα φθό-  
 ρον τοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στόλου, καὶ νομίσαντες κατὰ  
 μὲν γῆν ἀξιόχρεως σφᾶς εἶναι διὰ τὸ προγεγονὸς  
 εὐτύχημα, κατὰ δὲ θάλατταν διὰ τὴν εἰρημένην τῶν  
 Ῥωμαίων περιπέτειαν, ὤρμησαν προθυμότερον ἐπί-  
**2** τε τὰς ναυτικὰς καὶ πεζικὰς παρασκευάς. καὶ τὸν  
 μὲν Ἀσδρούβαν εὐθὺς ἐξαπέστειλλον εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν,  
 δόντες αὐτῷ τοὺς τε προϋπάρχοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ  
 τῆς Ἡρακλείας παραγεγονότας στρατιώτας, ἅμα δὲ  
**3** τούτοις ἐλέφαντας ἑκατὸν καὶ τετταράκοντα. τοῦτον  
 δ' ἐκπέμψαντες διακοσίας κατεσκευάζοντο ναῦς καὶ  
**4** τᾶλλα τὰ πρὸς τὸν πλοῦν ἡτοιμάζον. ὁ δ' Ἀσδρού-  
 βας διακομισθεὶς εἰς τὸ Λιλύβαιον ἀσφαλῶς τὰ



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## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

τε θηρία καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἐγύμναζε, καὶ δῆλος ἦν  
 5 ἀντιποιησόμενος τῶν ὑπαίθρων.

Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ναυαγίας ἀνακομισθέντων  
 διακούσαντες τὸ κατὰ μέρος, βαρέως μὲν ἤνεγκαν τὸ  
 γεγονός· οὐ βουλόμενοι δὲ καθάπαξ εἶκειν, αὐθις  
 ἔγνωσαν ἐκ δρυόχων εἴκοσι καὶ διακόσια ναυπηγεῖ-  
 6 σθαι σκάφη. τούτων δὲ τὴν συντέλειαν ἐν τριμήνῳ  
 λαβόντων, ὅπερ οὐδὲ πιστεῦσαι ῥάδιον, εὐθέως οἱ  
 κατασταθέντες ἄρχοντες Αὐλὸς Ἀτίλιος καὶ Γνάιος  
 7 Κορνήλιος καταρτίσαντες τὸν στόλον ἀνήχθησαν,  
 καὶ πλεύσαντες διὰ πορθμοῦ προσέλαβον ἐκ τῆς  
 Μεσσήνης τὰ διασωθέντα τῶν πλοίων ἐκ τῆς ναυα-  
 γίας, καὶ κατάραντες εἰς Πάνορμον τῆς Σικελίας  
 τριακοσίαις ναυσίν, ἥπερ ἦν βαρυτάτη πόλις τῆς  
 8 Καρχηδονίων ἐπαρχίας, ἐνεχείρησαν αὐτὴν πολιορ-  
 κεῖν. συστησάμενοι δὲ κατὰ διττοὺς τόπους ἔργα  
 9 καὶ τᾶλλα παρασκευασάμενοι, προσήγαγον τὰς  
 μηχανάς. ῥαδίως δὲ τοῦ παρὰ θάλατταν πύργου  
 πεσόντος, καὶ βιασαμένων ταύτῃ τῶν στρατιωτῶν,  
 ἡ μὲν καλουμένη Νέα πόλις ἐαλώκει κατὰ κράτος·  
 ἡ δὲ Παλαιὰ προσαγορευομένη τούτου συμβάντος  
 10 ἐκινδύνευσε. διὸ καὶ ταχέως ἐνέδωκαν αὐτὴν οἱ  
 κατοικοῦντες, γενόμενοι δ' ἐγκρατεῖς οὗτοι μὲν  
 ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἀπολιπόντες φυλακὴν  
 τῆς πόλεως.

39 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῆς θερείας ἐπιγενομένης οἱ  
 κατασταθέντες ἄρχοντες Γνάιος Σερουίλιος καὶ  
 Γάιος Σεμπρώνιος ἀνέπλευσαν παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ, καὶ  
 2 διάραντες εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν ἀφώρμησαν ἐντεῦθεν  
 εἰς τὴν Λιβύην. κομιζόμενοι δὲ παρὰ τὴν χώραν  
 ἐποιοῦντο καὶ πλείστας ἀποβάσεις. ἐν αἷς οὐδὲν  
 ἀξιόλογον πράττοντες παρεγίνοντο πρὸς τὴν τῶν

his elephants and the rest of his force, and plainly intended to dispute the possession of the open country.

The Romans, on receiving full information about the disaster from the survivors of the shipwreck, were deeply grieved, but being resolved on no account to give in, they decided to put on the stocks a fresh fleet of two hundred and twenty ships. In three months they were completed—a thing difficult to believe—and the new Consuls, Aulus 254 Atilius and Gnaeus Cornelius, having fitted out the fleet, put to sea, and passing the straits picked up at Messene the ships that had escaped shipwreck. Descending with their total fleet of three hundred sail on Panormus, the most important city in the Carthaginian province, they undertook its siege. They threw up works in two places and after making the other necessary preparations brought up their battering-rams. The tower on the sea shore was easily knocked down, and, the soldiers pressing in through this breach, the so-called New Town was stormed, and the part known as the Old Town being now in imminent danger, its inhabitants soon surrendered it. Having taken possession of it the Consuls sailed back to Rome leaving a garrison in the town.

39. Their successors, Gnaeus Servilius and Gaius 253 Sempronius, put to sea with their whole fleet as soon as it was summer and after crossing to Sicily proceeded thence to Libya, and sailing along the coast, made a number of descents in which they accomplished nothing of importance, and finally



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

Λωτοφάγων νῆσον, ἣ καλεῖται μὲν Μῆνιγξ, οὐ  
 3 μακρὰν δ' ἀπέχει τῆς μικρᾶς Σύρτεως. ἐν ἣ προσπε-  
 σόντες εἰς τινα βραχέα διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν, γενομένης  
 4 ἀμπώτεως καὶ καθισάντων τῶν πλοίων εἰς πᾶσαν  
 ἦλθον ἀπορίαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πάλιν ἀνελπίστως  
 μετὰ τινα χρόνον ἐπενεχθείσης τῆς θαλάττης,  
 ἐκρίψαντες ἐκ τῶν πλοίων πάντα τὰ βάρη μόλις  
 5 ἐκούφισαν τὰς ναῦς. οὐ γενομένου φυγῆ παρα-  
 πλήσιον ἐποιήσαντο τὸν ἀπόπλουν. ἀψάμενοι δὲ  
 6 τῆς Σικελίας καὶ κάμψαντες τὸ Λιλύβαιον καθωρ-  
 μίσθησαν εἰς Πάνορμον. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ποιούμενοι  
 παραβόλως καὶ διὰ πόρου τὸν πλοῦν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην  
 πάλιν περιέπεσον χειμῶνι τηλικούτῳ τὸ μέγεθος  
 ὥστε πλείω τῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ πενήκοντα πλοίων  
 ἀποβαλεῖν.  
 7 Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τούτων συμβάντων, καίπερ ὄν-  
 τες ἐν παντὶ φιλότιμοι διαφερόντως, ὅμως τότε διὰ  
 τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συμπτωμάτων τοῦ  
 μὲν ἔτι στόλον ἀθροίζειν ἀναγκασθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν  
 8 πραγμάτων ἀπέστησαν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς πεζικαῖς δυνάμεσι  
 τὰς ὑπολοίπους ἔχοντες ἐλπίδας, τοὺς μὲν στρατη-  
 γοὺς ἀπέστελλον Λεύκιον Καικέλιον καὶ Γάιον Φού-  
 ριον καὶ στρατόπεδα μετὰ τούτων εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν,  
 ἐξήκοντα δὲ μόνον ἐπλήρωσαν ναῦς χάριν τοῦ τὰς  
 9 ἀγορὰς κομίζειν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις. ἐκ δὲ τῶν εἰρη-  
 μένων περιπετειῶν συνέβη πάλιν ἐπικυδέστερα γενέ-  
 10 σθαι τὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων πράγματα. τῆς μὲν γὰρ  
 θαλάττης ἀδεῶς ἐπεκράτουν ἐκκεχωρηκότων τῶν  
 Ῥωμαίων, ἐν δὲ ταῖς πεζικαῖς δυνάμεσι μεγάλας  
 11 εἶχον ἐλπίδας. καὶ τοῦτ' ἔπασχον οὐκ ἀλόγως· οἱ  
 γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι, διαδοθείσης φήμης περὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ  
 Λιβύῃ μάχης ὅτι τὰ θηρία τὰς τε τάξεις αὐτῶν



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διασπάσαι καὶ τοὺς πλείστους διαφθείραι τῶν ἀν-  
 12 δρῶν, οὕτως ἦσαν κατάφοβοι τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ὡς  
 ἐπὶ δὺ' ἐνιαυτοὺς τοὺς ἐξῆς τῶν προειρημένων και-  
 ρῶν πολλάκις μὲν ἐν τῇ Λιλυβαίτιδι χώρα, πολλάκις  
 δ' ἐν τῇ Σελινουντία παραταπτόμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις  
 ἐν ἕξ καὶ πέντε σταδίοις οὐκ ἐθάρρησαν οὐδέποτε  
 κατάρξαι τῆς μάχης οὐδ' εἰς τοὺς ὀμαλοὺς καθόλου  
 συγκαταβῆναι τόπους, δεδιότες τὴν τῶν ἐλεφάντων  
 13 ἔφοδον. Θέρμαν δὲ μόνον καὶ Λιπάραν ἐξεπολιόρ-  
 κησαν ἐν τούτοις τοῖς καιροῖς, ἀντεχόμενοι τῶν  
 14 ὄρεινῶν καὶ δυσδιαβάτων τόπων. διὸ καὶ θεωροῦν-  
 τες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἐν τοῖς πεζικοῖς στρατοπέδοις  
 πτοίαν καὶ δυσελπιστίαν, αὐθις ἔγνωσαν ἐκ μετα-  
 15 μελείας ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῆς θαλάττης. καὶ κατα-  
 στήσαντες στρατηγοὺς Γάιον Ἀτίλιον καὶ Λεύκιον  
 Μάλιον ναυπηγοῦνται πεντήκοντα σκάφη, καὶ κατ-  
 ἔγραφον καὶ συνήθριζον στόλον ἐνεργῶς.  
 40 Ὁ δὲ προεστὼς τῶν Καρχηδονίων Ἀσδρούβας,  
 ὄρων ἀποδειλιῶντας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐν ταῖς προγε-  
 γενημέναις παρατάξεσι, πυθόμενος τὸν μὲν ἕνα τῶν  
 στρατηγῶν μετὰ τῆς ἡμισείας δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Ἰτα-  
 λίαν ἀπηλλάχθαι, τὸν δὲ Καικέλιον ἐν τῷ Πανόρμῳ  
 διατρίβειν τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος ἔχοντα τῆς στρατιᾶς,  
 βουλόμενον ἐφεδρεῦσαι τοῖς τῶν συμμάχων καρ-  
 2 ποῖς, ἀκμαζούσης τῆς συγκομιδῆς, ἀναλαβὼν ἐκ τοῦ  
 Λιλυβαίου τὴν δύναμιν ὤρμησε καὶ κατεστρατοπέ-  
 δευσε πρὸς τοῖς ὄροις τῆς χώρας τῆς Πανορμίτιδος.  
 3 Ὁ δὲ Καικέλιος, θεωρῶν αὐτὸν κατατεθαρρηκότα,  
 καὶ σπουδάζων ἐκκαλεῖσθαι τὴν ὄρμην αὐτοῦ, συν-  
 4 εἶχε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐντὸς τῶν πυλῶν. οἷς ἐπαι-  
 ρόμενος Ἀσδρούβας, ὡς οὐ τολμῶντος ἀντεξιέναι  
 τοῦ Καικελίου, θρασέως ὄρμήσας παντὶ τῷ στρα-

Romans' ranks and killed most of their men, grew so afraid of the beasts that for the two years following this period, though often both in the district of Lilybaeum and in that of Selinus they were drawn up at a distance of five or six stades from the enemy, they never dared to begin a battle, and in fact never would come down at all to meet the enemy on flat ground, so much did they dread a charge of the elephants. During this period all they accomplished was the reduction by siege of Therma and Lipara, keeping as they did to mountainous and difficult country. Consequently the Government, observing the timidity and despondency that prevailed in their land forces, changed their minds and decided to try their fortunes at sea again. In the consulship of Gaius Atilius and Lucius Manlius we find them building fifty ships and actively enrolling sailors and getting a fleet together. 250

40. The Carthaginian commander-in-chief, Hasdrubal, had noted the lack of courage which the Romans exhibited, on the occasions when they were in presence of the enemy, and when he learnt that while one of the Consuls with half the whole force had left for Italy, Caecilius and the rest of the army remained at Panormus with the object of protecting the corn of the allies—it now being the height of the harvest—removed his forces from Lilybaeum and encamped on the frontier of the territory of Panormus. Caecilius, observing Hasdrubal's aggressive spirit and wishing to provoke him to attack, kept his own soldiers within the gates. Hasdrubal gained fresh confidence from this, thinking that Caecilius did not venture to come out, and boldly advancing with his

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

τεύματι κατῆρε διὰ τῶν στενῶν εἰς τὴν Πανορ-  
 5 μίτιν. φθείροντος δὲ τοὺς καρποὺς αὐτοῦ μέχρι  
 τῆς πόλεως, ἔμενεν ἐπὶ τῆς ὑποκειμένης γνώμης ὁ  
 Καικέλιος, ἕως αὐτὸν ἐξεκαλέσατο διαβῆναι τὸν πρὸ  
 6 τῆς πόλεως ποταμόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ θηρία διεβίβασαν  
 οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ τὴν δύναμιν, τὸ τηνικαῦτα δὲ  
 τοὺς εὐζώνους ἐξαποστέλλων ἠρέθιζε, μέχρι πάν  
 7 αὐτοὺς ἐκτάξαι τὸ στρατόπεδον ἠνάγκασε. συνθεα-  
 σάμενος δὲ γινόμενον ὁ προύθετο, τινὰς μὲν τῶν  
 εὐκινήτων πρὸ τοῦ τείχους καὶ τάφρου παρεν-  
 έβαλε, προστάξας, ἂν ἐγγίξῃ τὰ θηρία πρὸς αὐτοὺς,  
 8 χρῆσθαι τοῖς βέλεσιν ἀφθόνως, ὅταν δ' ἐκπιέζων-  
 ται, καταφεύγειν εἰς τὴν τάφρον, καὶ πάλιν ἐκ ταύ-  
 τῆς ὀρμωμένους εἰσακοντίζειν εἰς τὰ προσπίπτοντα  
 9 τῶν ζώων· τοῖς δ' ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς βαναύσοις φέ-  
 ρειν προσέταξε τὰ βέλη, καὶ παραβάλλειν ἔξω παρὰ  
 10 τὸν θεμέλιον τοῦ τείχους. αὐτὸς δὲ τὰς σημείας  
 ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ λαιὸν κέρας τῶν ὑπεναντίων  
 κειμένης πύλης ἐφειστήκει, πλείους αἰεὶ καὶ πλείους  
 11 ἐπαποστέλλων τοῖς ἀκροβολιζομένοις. ἅμα δὲ τῷ  
 τούτων ὀλοσχερεστέραν γενέσθαι τὴν συμπλοκὴν  
 ἀντιφιλοδοξοῦντες οἱ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐπιστάται πρὸς  
 τὸν Ἄσδρούβαν, καὶ βουλόμενοι δι' αὐτῶν ποιῆσαι  
 τὸ προτέρημα, πάντες ὤρμησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς προκινδυ-  
 νεύοντας· τρεψάμενοι δὲ τούτους ῥαδίως συνεδίω-  
 12 ξαν εἰς τὴν τάφρον. προσπεσόντων δὲ τῶν θη-  
 ρίων, καὶ τιτρωσκομένων μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ τεί-  
 χους τοξευόντων, συνακοντιζομένων δ' ἐνεργοῖς καὶ  
 πυκνοῖς τοῖς ὕσσοις καὶ τοῖς γρόσφοις ὑπ' ἀκεραίων  
 13 τῶν πρὸ τῆς τάφρου διατεταγμένων, συμβελῆ γινό-  
 μενα καὶ κατατραυματιζόμενα ταχέως διεταράχθη,  
 καὶ στραφέντα κατὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἐφέρετο, τοὺς μὲν



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ἄνδρας καταπατοῦντα καὶ διαφθείροντα, τὰς δὲ τά-  
 14 ξεις συγχέοντα καὶ κατασπῶντα τὰς αὐτῶν. ἃ καὶ  
 κατιδῶν ὁ Καικέλιος ἐξῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐνεργῶς·  
 καὶ συμπεσῶν ἐκ πλαγίου κατὰ κέρας τεταραγμέ-  
 νοις τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀκεραίους ἔχων καὶ συντεταγ-  
 μένους, τροπὴν ἐποίει τῶν ὑπεναντίων ἰσχυράν,  
 καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς  
 15 ἠνάγκασε φεύγειν προτροπάδην. θηρία δὲ σὺν αὐ-  
 τοῖς μὲν Ἰνδοῖς ἔλαβε δέκα, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν τοὺς  
 Ἰνδοὺς ἀπερριφότων, μετὰ τὴν μάχην περιελασάμε-  
 16 νος ἐκυρίευσεν πάντων. ταῦτα δ' ἐπιτελεσάμενος  
 ὁμολογουμένως αἴτιος ἐδόκει γεγονέναι τοῖς Ῥω-  
 μαίων πράγμασι τοῦ πάλιν ἀναθαρρῆσαι τὰς πεζικὰς  
 δυνάμεις καὶ κρατῆσαι τῶν ὑπαίθρων.

41 Τοῦ δὲ προτερήματος τούτου προσπεσόντος εἰς  
 τὴν Ῥώμην, περιχαρεῖς ἦσαν οὐχ οὕτως ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς  
 πολεμίους ἠλαττώσθαι τῶν θηρίων ἐστερημένους,  
 ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς ἰδίους τεθαρρηκέναι τῶν ἐλεφάν-  
 2 των κεκρατηκότας. διὸ καὶ πάλιν ἐπερρώσθησαν  
 διὰ ταῦτα κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρόθεσιν εἰς τὸ μετὰ  
 στόλου καὶ ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐπὶ  
 τὰς πράξεις ἐκπέμπειν, σπουδάζοντες εἰς δύναμιν  
 3 πέρας ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ πολέμῳ. παρασκευασθέντων δὲ  
 τῶν ἐπιτηδείων πρὸς τὴν ἐξαποστολὴν ἔπλεον οἱ  
 στρατηγοὶ διακοσίαις ναυσὶν ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς Σικελίας.  
 4 ἔτος δ' ἦν τῷ πολέμῳ τετταρεσκαιδέκατον. καθορ-  
 μισθέντες δὲ πρὸς τὸ Λιλύβαιον, ἅμα καὶ τῶν πε-  
 ζικῶν ἐκεῖ στρατοπέδων αὐτοῖς ἀπηντηκότων, ἐνεχεί-  
 ρουν πολιορκεῖν, ὅτι κρατήσαντες ταύτης ῥαδίως  
 5 μεταβιβάσουσι τὸν πόλεμον εἰς τὴν Λιβύην. σχε-  
 δὸν δὲ περὶ γε τούτου τοῦ μέρους καὶ τῶν Καρ-  
 χηδονίων οἱ προεστῶτες ὠμοδόξουν καὶ τοὺς αὐ-

trampling down and killing the men and disturbing and breaking the ranks. Caecilius, on seeing this, made a vigorous sally and falling on the flank of the enemy, who were now in disorder, with his own fresh and well-ordered troops caused a severe rout among them, killing many and compelling the rest to quit the field in headlong flight. He took ten elephants with their mahouts, and after the battle, having penned up the others who had thrown their mahouts, he captured them all. By this exploit he was universally acknowledged to have caused the Roman land forces to pluck up courage again and gain the command of the open country.

41. When news of this success reached Rome it caused great rejoicing, not so much because of the enemy being weakened by the loss of their elephants as because of the confidence which the capture of these gave to their own troops. They were consequently encouraged to revert to their original plan of sending out the Consuls to the campaign with a fleet and naval force; for they were eager by all means in their power to put an end to the war. When all that was required for the expedition was ready, the Consuls set sail for Sicily with two hundred ships. This was in the fourteenth year of the war. Anchor- 250  
ing off Lilybaeum, where they were joined by their land forces, they undertook its siege, thinking that if it fell into their possession it would be easy for them to transfer the war to Libya. On this matter at least the Carthaginian Government agreed more



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

6 τοὺς εἶχον λογισμοὺς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. διὸ καὶ τᾶλλα  
 πάρεργα ποιησάμενοι περὶ τὸ βοηθεῖν ἐγίνοντο καὶ  
 παραβάλλεσθαι καὶ πᾶν ὑπομένειν ὑπὲρ τῆς προ-  
 ειρημένης πόλεως διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν ἀφορμὴν κατα-  
 λείπεσθαι σφισι, πάσης δὲ τῆς ἄλλης Σικελίας ἐπι-  
 κρατεῖν Ῥωμαίους πλὴν Δρεπάνων.

Ἵνα δὲ μὴ τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι τοὺς τόπους ἀσαφῆ τὰ  
 λεγόμενα γίνηται, πειρασόμεθα διὰ βραχέων ἀγα-  
 γεῖν εἰς ἔννοιαν τῆς εὐκαιρίας καὶ θέσεως αὐτῶν  
 12 τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας. τὴν μὲν οὖν σύμπασαν Σικε-  
 λίαν τῇ θέσει τετάχθαι συμβαίνει πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν  
 καὶ τὰ κείνης πέρατα παραπλησίως τῇ τῆς Πελοπον-  
 2 νήσου θέσει πρὸς τὴν λοιπὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὰ  
 ταύτης ἄκρα, τούτῳ δ' αὐτῷ διαφέρειν ἀλλήλων,  
 ἧ ἡ κείνη μὲν χερρόνησός < ἐστίν, αὕτη δὲ νῆσος >·  
 ἧς μὲν γὰρ ὁ μεταξὺ τόπος ἐστὶ πορευτός, ἧς δὲ  
 3 πλωτός. τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τῆς Σικελίας ἐστὶ μὲν  
 τρίγωνον, αἱ δὲ κορυφαὶ τῶν γωνιῶν ἐκάστης  
 4 ἀκρωτηρίων λαμβάνουσι τάξεις, ὧν τὸ μὲν πρὸς  
 μεσημβρίαν νεῦον, εἰς δὲ τὸ Σικελικὸν πέλαγος  
 5 ἀνατεῖνον, Πάχυνος καλεῖται, τὸ δ' εἰς τὰς ἄρκτους  
 κεκλιμένον ὀρίζει μὲν τοῦ πορθμοῦ τὸ πρὸς δύσεις  
 μέρος, ἀπέχει δὲ τῆς Ἰταλίας ὡς δεκαδύο στάδια,  
 6 προσαγορεύεται δὲ Πελωριάς. τὸ δὲ τρίτον τέτρα-  
 πται μὲν εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν Λιβύην, ἐπίκειται δὲ τοῖς  
 προκειμένοις τῆς Καρχηδόνης ἀκρωτηρίοις εὐκαί-  
 ρως, διέχον ὡς χιλίους σταδίους, νεύει δ' εἰς χει-  
 μερινὰς δύσεις, διαιρεῖ δὲ τὸ Λιβυκὸν καὶ τὸ Σαρ-  
 7 δῶον πέλαγος, προσαγορεύεται δὲ Λιλύβαιον. ἐπὶ  
 δὲ τούτῳ πόλις ὀμώνυμος κεῖται τῷ τόπῳ, περὶ ἣν  
 τότε συνέβαινε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους συνίστασθαι τὴν πο-  
 λιορκίαν, τείχεσί τε διαφερόντως ἠσφαλισμένην καὶ



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## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

πέριξ τάφρω βαθεία καὶ τενάγεσιν ἐκ θαλάττης, δι' ὧν ἔστιν εἰς τοὺς λιμένας εἴσπλους πολλῆς δεόμενος ἐμπειρίας καὶ συνηθείας.

8 Ταύτη δὲ προσστρατοπεδεύσαντες ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ τὰ μεταξὺ τῶν στρατοπέδων τάφρω καὶ χάρακι καὶ τείχει διαλαβόντες, ἤρξαντο προσάγειν ἔργα κατὰ τὸν ἔγγιστα κείμενον  
9 τῆς θαλάττης πύργον ὡς πρὸς τὸ Λιβυκὸν πέλαγος. προσκατασκευάζοντες δ' αἰεὶ τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις καὶ παρεκτείνοντες τῶν ἔργων τὰς κατασκευάς, τέλος ἐξ πύργους τοὺς συνεχεῖς τῷ προειρημένῳ κατ-  
10 ἔβαλον, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς πάντας ἅμα κριοκοπεῖν ἐνεχείρησαν. γινομένης δ' ἐνεργοῦ καὶ καταπληκτικῆς τῆς πολιορκίας, καὶ τῶν πύργων τῶν μὲν πονούντων ἀν' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, τῶν δ' ἐρειπομένων, ἅμα δὲ  
11 καὶ τῶν ἔργων ἐπιβαινόντων αἰεὶ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐντὸς τῆς πόλεως, ἦν ἰσχυρὰ διατροπὴ καὶ κατάπληξις παρὰ τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις, καίπερ ὄντων ἐν τῇ πόλει χωρὶς τοῦ πολιτικοῦ πλήθους αὐτῶν τῶν  
12 μισθοφόρων εἰς μυρίους. οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ὃ γε στρατηγὸς αὐτῶν Ἰμίλκων οὐδὲν παρέλειπε τῶν δυνατῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἀντοικοδομῶν, τὰ δ' ἀντιμεταλλεύων οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἀπορίαν παρείχε τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις.  
13 ἔτι δὲ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπιπορευόμενος καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐγχειρῶν, εἴ πως δύναίτο πῦρ ἐμβαλεῖν, πολλοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτου τοῦ μέρους καὶ παραβόλους ἀγῶνας δὴ συνίστατο καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ, ὥστε πλείους ἐνίοτε γίνεσθαι νεκροὺς ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις συμπλοκαῖς τῶν εἰωθότων πίπτειν ἐν ταῖς παρατάξεσι.

43 Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους τῶν ἡγεμόνων τινὲς τῶν τὰς μεγίστας χώρας ἐχόντων ἐν τοῖς μι-

side facing the sea by shoaly water, the passage through which into the harbour requires great skill and practice.

The Romans encamped by this city on either side, fortifying the space between their camps with a trench, a stockade, and a wall. They then began to throw up works against the tower that lay nearest the sea on the Libyan side, and, gradually advancing from the base thus acquired and extending their works, they succeeded at last in knocking down the six adjacent towers, and attacked all the others at once with battering rams. The siege was now so vigorously pursued and so terrifying, each day seeing some of the towers shaken or demolished and the enemy's works advancing further and further into the city, that the besieged were thrown into a state of utter confusion and panic, although, besides the civil population, there were nearly ten thousand mercenaries in the town. Their general, Himilco, however, omitted no means of resistance in his power, and by counter-building and counter-mining caused the enemy no little difficulty. Every day he would advance and make attempts on the siege works, trying to succeed in setting them on fire, and with this object was indeed engaged by night and day in combats of so desperate a character, that at times more men fell in these encounters than usually fall in a pitched battle.

43. About this time some of the superior officers in the mercenary force, after talking the

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

σθοφόροις, συλλαλήσαντες ἑαυτοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν πόλιν ἐνδοῦναι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ πεπεισμένοι πειθαρχήσειν σφίσι τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους, ἐξεπήδησαν νυκτὸς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ διελέγοντο τῷ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγῷ περὶ τούτων. ὁ δ' Ἀχαιὸς Ἀλέξων, ὁ καὶ τοῖς Ἀκραγαντίνοις κατὰ τοὺς ἐπάνω χρόνους αἴτιος γενόμενος τῆς σωτηρίας, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ἐπεβάλλοντο παρασπονδεῖν αὐτοὺς οἱ τῶν Συρακοσίων μισθοφόροι, καὶ τότε πρῶτος συνεῖς τὴν πράξιν ἀνήγγειλε τῷ στρατηγῷ τῶν Καρχηδονίων. ὁ δὲ διακούσας παρακρήμα συνῆγε τοὺς καταλειπομένους τῶν ἡγεμόνων, καὶ παρεκάλει μετὰ δεήσεως, μεγάλας δωρεὰς καὶ χάριτας ὑπισχνούμενος, εἰ μὴ ἐμμείνωσι τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν πίστει καὶ μὴ κοινωνήσωσι τοῖς ἐξεληλυθόσι τῆς ἐπιβολῆς. δεχομένων δὲ προθύμως τοὺς λόγους, εὐθέως μετ' αὐτῶν ἀπέστειλε πρὸς μὲν τοὺς Κελτοὺς Ἀννίβαν τὸν υἱὸν τὸν Ἀννίβου τοῦ μεταλλάξαντος ἐν Σαρδόνι διὰ τὴν προγεγεννημένην ἐν τῇ στρατείᾳ πρὸς αὐτοὺς συνήθειαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους μισθοφόρους Ἀλέξωνα διὰ τὴν παρ' ἐκείνοις ἀποδοχὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ πίστιν· οἱ καὶ συναγαγόντες τὰ πλήθη καὶ παρακαλέσαντες, ἔτι δὲ πιστωσάμενοι τὰς προτεινομένας ἐκάστοις δωρεὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, ῥαδίως ἔπεισαν αὐτοὺς μένειν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποκειμένων. διὸ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, τῶν ἐκπηδησάντων < ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς ἐρχομένων > πρὸς τὰ τείχη, καὶ βουλομένων παρακαλεῖν καὶ λέγειν τι περὶ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπαγγελίας, οὐχ οἷον προσεῖχον αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς οὐδ' ἀκούειν ἤξιουν, βάλλοντες δὲ τοῖς λίθοις καὶ συνακοντίζοντες ἀπεδίωξαν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους. Καρχηδόνιοι μὲν οὖν διὰ τὰς προειρη-



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μένας αἰτίας παρὰ μικρὸν ἦλθον ἀπολέσαι τὰ πράγ-  
 8 ματα, παρασπονδηθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν μισθοφόρων.  
 Ἄλέξων δὲ πρότερον Ἀκραγαντίνοις ἔσωσε διὰ τὴν  
 πίστιν οὐ μόνον τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, τότε δὲ  
 Καρχηδονίοις αἴτιος ἐγένετο τοῦ μὴ σφαλῆναι τοῖς  
 ὅλοις.

44 Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Καρχηδόνι τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν εἰ-  
 δότες, συλλογιζόμενοι δὲ τὰς ἐν ταῖς πολιορκίαις  
 χρείας, πληρώσαντες στρατιωτῶν πεντήκοντα ναῦς,  
 καὶ παρακαλέσαντες τοῖς ἀρμόζουσι λόγοις τῆς πρά-  
 ξεως, τὸν ἐπὶ τούτοις τεταγμένον Ἀννίβαν, ὃς ἦν  
 Ἀμίλκου μὲν υἱός, τριήραρχος δὲ καὶ φίλος Ἀτάρ-  
 βου πρῶτος, ἐξαπέστειλαν κατὰ σπουδὴν, ἐντειλά-  
 μενοι μὴ καταμελλῆσαι, χρησάμενον δὲ σὺν καιρῷ  
 2 τῇ τόλμῃ βοηθῆσαι τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις. ὁ δ' ἀν-  
 αχθεὶς μετὰ μυρίων στρατιωτῶν, καὶ καθορμισθεὶς  
 ἐν ταῖς καλουμέναις Αἰγούσσαις, μεταξὺ δὲ κειμέ-  
 ναις Λιλυβαίου καὶ Καρχηδόνης, ἐπετήρει τὸν πλοῦν.  
 3 λαβὼν δ' οὐρίον καὶ λαμπρὸν ἄνεμον, ἐκπετάσας  
 πᾶσι τοῖς ἀρμένοις καὶ κατουρώσας ἐπ' αὐτὸ τὸ  
 στόμα τοῦ λιμένος ἐποιεῖτο τὸν πλοῦν, ἔχων καθ-  
 ωπλισμένους καὶ πρὸς μάχην ἐτοίμους τοὺς ἄνδρας  
 4 ἐπὶ τῶν καταστρωμάτων. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι, τὰ μὲν  
 αἰφνιδίου γενομένης τῆς ἐπιφανείας, τὰ δὲ φο-  
 βούμενοι μὴ σὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑπὸ τῆς βίας τοῦ  
 πνεύματος συγκατενεχθῶσιν εἰς τὸν λιμένα τῶν  
 ὑπεναντίων, τὸ μὲν διακωλύειν τὸν ἐπίπλουν τῆς  
 βοηθείας ἀπέγνωσαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς θαλάττης ἔστησαν  
 5 καταπεπληγμένοι τὴν τῶν πολεμίων τόλμαν. τὸ δ'  
 ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πλῆθος ἠθροισμένον ἐπὶ τὰ τεῖχη  
 πᾶν ἅμα μὲν ἠγωνία τὸ συμβησόμενον, ἅμα δ' ἐπὶ

narrowly escaped a complete disaster due to the treachery of their mercenaries, and Alexon, who had previously saved by his loyalty not only the city and district but the laws and liberties of Agrigentum, now was the cause of the Carthaginians being saved from total ruin.

44. The Carthaginian government knew nothing of all this, but calculating the requirements of a besieged town, they filled fifty ships with troops. After addressing the soldiers in terms befitting the enterprise, they sent them off at once under the command of Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar, trierarch and most intimate friend of Adherbal, with orders not to delay, but at the first opportunity to make a bold attempt to relieve the besieged. Setting sail with ten thousand troops on board, he came to anchor off the islands called Aegusae, which lie between Lilybaeum and Carthage, and there awaited favourable weather. As soon as he had a fine stern breeze he hoisted all sail and running before the wind sailed straight for the mouth of the harbour, his men drawn up on deck armed ready for action. The Romans, partly owing to the suddenness of the fleet's appearance and partly because they feared being carried into the hostile harbour by the force of the wind together with their enemies, made no effort to prevent the entrance of the relieving force, but stood out at sea amazed at the audacity of the Carthaginians. The whole population had assembled on the walls in an agony of suspense on the one hand as to what would happen, and at the same time so overjoyed at the unexpected prospect of



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

- τῷ παραδόξῳ τῆς ἐλπίδος ὑπερχαρὲς ὑπάρχον μετὰ κρότου καὶ κραυγῆς παρεκάλει τοὺς εἰσπλέοντας.
- 6 Ἄννίβας δὲ παραβόλως καὶ τεθαρρηκότως εἰσδραμῶν καὶ καθορμισθεὶς εἰς τὸν λιμένα μετ' ἀσφα-
- 7 λείας ἀπεβίβασε τοὺς στρατιώτας. οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντες οὐχ οὕτως ἦσαν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς βοηθείας παρουσίᾳ περιχαρεῖς, καίπερ μεγάλην ἐλπίδα καὶ χεῖρα προσειληφότες, ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ τετολμηκέναι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους κωλύσαι τὸν ἐπίπλουν τῶν Καρχηδονίων.
- 45 Ἴμίλκων δ' ὁ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως στρατηγός, θεωρῶν τὴν ὄρμην καὶ προθυμίαν τῶν μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει διὰ τὴν παρουσίαν τῆς βοηθείας, τῶν δὲ παραγεγονότων διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῶν περιεστῶ-
- 2 των κακῶν, βουλόμενος ἀκεραίοις ἀποχρήσασθαι ταῖς ἐκατέρων ὀρμαῖς πρὸς τὴν διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐπίθεσιν τοῖς ἔργοις, συνῆγε πάντας εἰς ἐκκλησίαν.
- 3 παρακαλέσας δὲ τῷ καιρῷ τὰ πρέποντα διὰ πλειόνων, καὶ παραστήσας ὄρμην ὑπερβάλλουσαν διὰ τε τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν τοῖς κατ' ἰδίαν ἀνδραγαθήσασιν καὶ τὰς κατὰ κοινὸν ἐσομένας χάριτας
- 4 αὐτοῖς καὶ δωρεὰς παρὰ Καρχηδονίων, ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐπισημαινομένων καὶ βοώντων μὴ μέλλειν, ἀλλ' ἄγειν αὐτούς, τότε μὲν ἐπαινέσας καὶ δεξάμενος τὴν προθυμίαν ἀφῆκε, παραγγείλας ἀναπαύεσθαι
- 5 καθ' ὥραν καὶ πειθαρχεῖν τοῖς ἡγουμένοις. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς προεστῶτας αὐτῶν διένειμε τοὺς ἀρμόζοντας πρὸς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ἐκάστοις τόπους, καὶ τὸ σύνθημα καὶ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἐπιθέσεως ἐδήλωσε, καὶ παρήγγειλε τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν μετὰ πάντων τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ἐπὶ τοῖς τόποις



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6 ἔωθινῆς εἶναι φυλακῆς. τῶν δὲ πειθαρχησάντων,  
 ἔξαγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἅμα τῷ φωτὶ κατὰ πλείους  
 7 τόπους ἐνεχείρει τοῖς ἔργοις. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι διὰ  
 τὸ προορᾶσθαι τὸ μέλλον οὐκ ἀργῶς οὐδ' ἀπαρα-  
 σκεύως εἶχον, ἀλλ' ἐτοίμως ἐβοήθουν πρὸς τὸ δεό-  
 μενον καὶ διεμάχοντο τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐρρωμένως.  
 8 πάντων δ' ἐν βραχεῖ χρόνῳ συμπεσόντων ἀλλήλοις  
 ἦν ἀγὼν παράβολος περίξ τοῦ τείχους· οἱ μὲν γὰρ  
 ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἦσαν οὐκ ἐλάττους δισμυρίων, οἱ  
 9 δ' ἔξωθεν ἔτι πλείους τούτων. ὅσῳ δὲ συνέβαινε  
 τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐκτὸς τάξεως ποιεῖσθαι τὴν μάχην ἀνα-  
 μίξ κατὰ τὰς αὐτῶν προαιρέσεις, τοσοῦτῳ λαμπρό-  
 τερος ἦν ὁ κίνδυνος, ὡς ἂν ἐκ τοσοῦτου πλήθους  
 κατ' ἄνδρα καὶ κατὰ ζυγὸν οἷον εἰ μονομαχικῆς συν-  
 εστῶσης περὶ τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους τῆς φιλοτιμίας.  
 10 οὐ μὲν ἀλλ' ἢ τε κραυγὴ καὶ τὸ σύστρεμμα δια-  
 11 φέρον ἦν πρὸς αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἔργοις. οἱ γὰρ ἀρχῆθεν  
 ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ παρ' ἀμφοῖν ταχθέντες, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ  
 τῷ τρέψασθαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ  
 προέσθαι ταῦτα, τηλικαύτην ἐποιοῦντο φιλοτιμίαν  
 καὶ σπουδὴν, οἱ μὲν ἐξῶσαι σπεύδοντες, οἱ δ' οὐ-  
 δαμῶς εἶξαι τούτοις τολμῶντες, <ὥστε> διὰ τὴν  
 12 προθυμίαν τέλος ἐν αὐταῖς μένοντες ταῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 χώραις ἀπέθνησκον. οἳ γε μὲν ἅμα τούτοις  
 ἀναμεμιγμένοι, δᾶδα καὶ στυππίον καὶ πῦρ ἔχοντες,  
 οὕτῳ τολμηρῶς καὶ πανταχόθεν ἅμα προσπίπτοντες  
 ἐνέβαλλον ταῖς μηχαναῖς ὥστε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εἰς  
 τὸν ἔσχατον παραγενέσθαι κίνδυνον, μὴ δυναμέ-  
 13 νους κατακρατῆσαι τῆς τῶν ἐναντίων ἐπιβολῆς. ὁ  
 δὲ τῶν Καρχηδονίων στρατηγός, θεωρῶν ἐν μὲν τῷ  
 κινδύνῳ πολλοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας, οὐ δ' ἔνεκα ταῦτ'

watch, and his orders having been executed, he led the whole force out as it was getting light and attacked the works in several places. The Romans, who had foreseen what was coming, were not idle or unprepared, but promptly ran to defend the threatened points and opposed a vigorous resistance to the enemy. Soon the whole of both forces were engaged, and a desperate fight was going on all round the walls, the salliers numbering not less than twenty thousand and the force outside being rather more numerous. Inasmuch as they were fighting confusedly and in no order, each man as he thought best, the battle was all the more fierce, such a large force being engaged man to man and company to company, so that there was something of the keenness of single combat in the whole contest. It was, however, particularly at the siege-works themselves that there was most shouting and pressure. For those on both sides whose task from the outset was on the one hand to drive the defenders from the works, and on the other not to abandon them, exhibited such emulation and resolution, the assailants doing their very best to turn the Romans out, and the latter refusing to give way, that at last owing to this resolute spirit the men remained and fell on the spot where they had first stood. Yet, in spite of all, the bearers of pine-brands, tow, and fire intermingled with the combatants, attacked the engines from every side, hurling the burning matter at them with such pluck that the Romans were in the utmost peril, being unable to master the onset of the enemy. But the Carthaginian general, observing that many were falling in the battle, and that his object of

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

ἔπραττεν, οὐ δυναμένους κρατῆσαι τῶν ἔργων,  
**14** ἀνακαλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παρήγγειλε τοῖς σαλπισταῖς. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι παρ' οὐδὲν ἐλθόντες τοῦ πάσας ἀποβαλεῖν τὰς παρασκευάς, τέλος ἐκράτησαν τῶν ἔργων καὶ πάντα διετήρησαν ἀσφαλῶς. ὁ  
**46** μὲν οὖν Ἀννίβας μετὰ τὴν χρεῖαν ταύτην ἐξέπλευσε νύκτωρ ἔτι μετὰ τῶν νεῶν λαθῶν τοὺς πολεμίους εἰς τὰ Δρέπανα πρὸς Ἀτάρβαν τὸν τῶν  
**2** Καρχηδονίων στρατηγόν. διὰ γὰρ τὴν εὐκαιρίαν τοῦ τόπου καὶ τὸ κάλλος τοῦ περὶ τὰ Δρέπανα λιμένος αἰεὶ μεγάλην ἐποιοῦντο σπουδὴν οἱ Καρχηδό-  
**3** νιοι περὶ τὴν φυλακὴν αὐτοῦ. συμβαίνει δὲ τοῦ Λιλυβαίου τοῦτον ἀπέχειν τὸν τόπον ὡς ἂν ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι στάδια.  
**4** Τοῖς δ' ἐν τῇ Καρχηδόνι βουλομένοις μὲν εἰδέναι τὰ περὶ τὸ Λιλύβαιον, οὐ δυναμένοις δὲ διὰ τὸ τοὺς μὲν συγκεκλεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ παραφυλάττεσθαι φιλοτίμως, ἐπηγγείλατό τις ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐνδόξων, Ἀννίβας ἐπικαλούμενος Ῥόδιος, εἰσπλεύσας εἰς τὸ Λιλύβαιον καὶ γενόμενος αὐτόπτης ἅπαντα  
**5** διασαφήσειν. οἱ δὲ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας μὲν ἀσμένως ἤκουσαν, οὐ μὴν ἐπίστευόν γε διὰ τὸ τῷ στόλῳ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν εἰσπλουν στόμα-  
**6** τος ἐφορμεῖν. ὁ δὲ καταρτίσας τὴν ἰδίαν ναῦν ἀνήχθη· καὶ διάρας εἰς τινα τῶν πρὸ τοῦ Λιλυβαίου κειμένων νήσων, τῇ κατὰ πόδας ἡμέρᾳ λαβὼν εὐκαίρως ἄνεμον οὐριον περὶ τετάρτην ὥραν ἀπάντων τῶν πολεμίων ὀρώντων καὶ καταπεπληγμένων  
**7** τὴν τόλμαν εἰσέπλευσε. καὶ τὴν κατόπιν εὐθέως  
**8** ἐγένετο περὶ ἀναγωγὴν. ὁ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς βουλόμενος ἐπιμελέστερον τὸν κατὰ τὸν εἰσπλουν τόπον τηρεῖν, ἐξηρτυκῶς ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ δέκα



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ναῦς τὰς ἄριστα πλεύσας, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ λι-  
 μένος ἐστὼς ἐθεώρει τὸ συμβαῖνον, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ  
 9 πᾶν τὸ στρατόπεδον· αἱ δὲ νῆες τοῦ στόματος ἐξ  
 ἀμφοῖν τοῖν μεροῖν, ἐφ' ὅσον ἦν δυνατόν ἔγγιστα  
 τοῖς τενάγεσι προσάγειν, ἐπεῖχον, ἐπτερωκυῖαι πρὸς  
 τὴν ἐμβολὴν καὶ σύλληψιν τῆς ἐκπλεῖν μελλούσης  
 10 νεώς. ὁ δὲ Ῥόδιος ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς τὴν ἀναγω-  
 γὴν ποιησάμενος οὕτως κατανέστη τῶν πολεμίων  
 τῇ τε τόλμῃ καὶ τῷ ταχυναυτεῖν ὥστ' οὐ μόνον  
 ἄτρωτον ἐξέπλευσε τὴν ναῦν ἔχων καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας,  
 οἷον ἐστῶτα παραδραμῶν τὰ σκάφη τῶν ὑπ-  
 11 ἐναντίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ βραχὺ προπλεύσας ἐπέστη πτε-  
 ρώσας τὴν ναῦν, ὡς ἂν εἰ προκαλούμενος τοὺς  
 12 πολεμίους. οὐδενὸς δὲ τολμῶντος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀνταν-  
 ἀγεσθαι διὰ τὸ τάχος τῆς εἰρεσίας, ἀπέπλευσε κατ-  
 αναστὰς μιᾷ νηὶ παντὸς τοῦ τῶν ἐναντίων στόλου.  
 13 καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη πλεονάκεις ποιῶν ταῦτο τοῦτο  
 μεγάλην χρεῖαν παρείχετο, τοῖς μὲν Καρχηδονίοις  
 αἰεὶ τὰ κατεπείγοντα διασαφῶν, τοὺς δὲ πολιορκου-  
 μένους εὐθαρσεῖς παρασκευάζων, τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίους  
 47 καταπληττόμενος τῷ παραβόλῳ. μέγιστα δὲ συν-  
 εβάλλετο πρὸς τὴν τόλμαν αὐτοῦ τὸ διὰ τῶν προβρα-  
 χέων ἐκ τῆς ἐμπειρίας ἀκριβῶς σεσημειῶσθαι τὸν  
 2 εἴσπλουν· ὑπεράρας γὰρ καὶ φαινόμενος ἔπειτ' ἂν  
 ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν μερῶν ἐλάμβανε τὸν ἐπὶ  
 τῆς θαλάττης πύργον κατὰ πρῶρραν οὕτως ὥστε  
 τοῖς πρὸς τὴν Λιβύην τετραμμένοις πύργοις τῆς πό-  
 λεως ἐπιπροσθεῖν ἅπασιν· δι' οὗ τρόπου μόνως ἐστὶ  
 δυνατόν ἐξ οὐρίας τοῦ κατὰ τὸν εἴσπλουν στόματος  
 3 εὐστοχεῖν. τῇ δὲ τοῦ Ῥοδίου τόλμῃ πιστεύσαντες  
 καὶ πλείους ἀπεθάρρησαν τῶν εἰδότων τοὺς τόπους  
 τὸ παραπλήσιον ποιεῖν· ἐξ ὧν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι δυσχρη-

ten of his fastest ships, and now he himself and his whole army stood by the harbour waiting to see what would happen. The ships were waiting on either side of the entrance as near as the shoals would allow them to approach, their oars out and ready to charge and capture the ship that was about to sail out. But the "Rhodian," getting under weigh in the sight of all, so far outbraved the Romans by his audacity and speed that not only did he bring his ship and her whole crew out unhurt, passing the enemy's ships just as if they were motionless, but after sailing on a short way, he pulled up without shipping his oars as if to challenge the enemy, and no one venturing to come out against him owing to the speed of his rowing, he sailed off, after thus having with one ship successfully defied the whole Roman fleet. After this he several times performed the same feat and was of great service by continuing to report at Carthage the news of most urgent importance, while at the same time he kept up the spirits of the besieged and struck terror into the Romans by his venturesomeness. 47. What tended most to give him confidence was that from experience he had accurately noted the course to be followed through the shoals in entering. For as soon as he had crossed and come into view, he would get the sea-tower on the Italian side on his bows so that it covered the whole line of towers turned towards Africa; and this is the only way that a vessel running before the wind can hit the mouth of the harbour in entering. Several others who had local knowledge, gaining confidence from the "Rhodian's" audacity, undertook to do the same, and in consequence the Romans, to whom this was a



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

στούμενοι τῷ συμβαίνοντι χωννύειν τὸ στόμα τοῦ  
 4 λιμένος ἐπεχείρησαν. κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὸ πλεῖστον  
 μέρος τῆς ἐπιβολῆς οὐδὲν ἦνυον διὰ τὸ βάθος τῆς  
 θαλάττης καὶ διὰ τὸ μηθὲν δύνασθαι τῶν ἐμβαλλο-  
 μένων στήναι μηδὲ συμμείναι τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλ'  
 ὑπὸ τε τοῦ κλύδωνος καὶ τῆς τοῦ ῥοῦ βίας τὸ  
 ῥιπτούμενον εὐθέως ἐν τῇ καταφορᾷ παρωθεῖσθαι  
 5 καὶ διασκορπίζεσθαι, κατὰ δέ τινα τόπον ἔχοντα  
 βραχέα συνέστη χῶμα μετὰ πολλῆς ταλαιπωρίας,  
 ἐφ' ᾧ τετρήρης ἐκτρέχουσα νυκτὸς ἐκάθισε καὶ τοῖς  
 πολεμίοις ὑποχείριος ἐγένετο, διαφέρουσα τῇ κατα-  
 6 σκευῇ τῆς ναυπηγίας. ἥς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κρατήσαντες  
 καὶ πληρώματι καταρτίσαντες ἐπιλέκτω, πάντα  
 7 τοὺς εἰσπλέοντας, μάλιστα δὲ τὸν Ῥόδιον, ἐπετή-  
 ρουν. ὁ δὲ κατὰ τύχην εἰσπλεύσας νυκτὸς μετὰ  
 ταῦτα πάλιν ἀνήγετο φανερώς. θεωρῶν δ' ἐκ  
 καταβολῆς αὐτῷ τὴν τετρήρη συνεξορμήσασαν,  
 8 γνοὺς τὴν ναῦν διετράπη. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον  
 ὤρμησεν ὡς καταταχήσων· τῇ δὲ τοῦ πληρώματος  
 παρασκευῇ καταλαμβανόμενος, τέλος ἐπιστρέψας  
 9 ἠναγκάσθη συμβαλεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις. καταπροτε-  
 ρούμενος δὲ τοῖς ἐπιβατικοῖς διὰ τε τὸ πλῆθος καὶ  
 διὰ τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἐγένετο τοῖς ἐχθροῖς  
 10 ὑποχείριος. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι, κυριεύσαντες καὶ  
 ταύτης τῆς νεὸς εὖ κατεσκευασμένης, καὶ καταρτί-  
 σαντες αὐτὴν τοῖς πρὸς τὴν χρείαν, οὕτως ἐκώλυσαν  
 τοὺς κατατολμῶντας καὶ πλέοντας εἰς τὸ Λιλύ-  
 βαιον.

48 Τῶν δὲ πολιορκουμένων ταῖς μὲν ἀντοικοδομίαις  
 ἐνεργῶς χρωμένων, τοῦ δὲ λυμαίνεσθαι καὶ δια-  
 φθείρειν τὰς τῶν ὑπεναντίων παρασκευὰς ἀπεγνω-  
 2 κότων, γίνεται τις ἀνέμου στάσις ἔχουσα τηλικαύτην



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βίαν καὶ φορὰν εἰς αὐτὰς τὰς τῶν μηχανημάτων  
 προσαγωγὰς ὥστε καὶ τὰς στοὰς διασαλεύειν καὶ  
 τοὺς προκειμένους τούτων πύργους τῇ βίᾳ βαστά-  
 3 ζειν. ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ συννοήσαντές τινες τῶν Ἑλλη-  
 νικῶν μισθοφόρων τὴν ἐπιτηδειότητα τῆς περιστά-  
 σεως πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἔργων διαφθορὰν προσφέρουσι  
 4 τῷ στρατηγῷ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν. τοῦ δὲ δεξαμένου καὶ  
 ταχέως ἐτοιμάσαντος πᾶν τὸ πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν ἀρμό-  
 ζον, συστραφέντες οἱ νεανίσκοι κατὰ τριττοὺς τό-  
 5 πους ἐνέβαλον πῦρ τοῖς ἔργοις. ὡς δ' ἂν τῶν μὲν  
 κατασκευασμάτων διὰ τὸν χρόνον εὖ παρεσκευα-  
 σμένων πρὸς τὸ ῥαδίως ἐμπρησθῆναι, τῆς δὲ τοῦ  
 πνεύματος βίας φυσώσης κατ' αὐτῶν τῶν πύργων  
 καὶ μηχανημάτων, τὴν μὲν νομὴν τοῦ πυρὸς ἐνεργ-  
 γὸν συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι καὶ πρακτικὴν, τὴν δ' ἐπάρ-  
 κειαν καὶ βοήθειαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις εἰς τέλος ἄπρα-  
 6 κτον καὶ δυσχερῆ. τοιαύτην γὰρ ἔκπληξιν παρίστα  
 τὸ συμβαῖνον τοῖς βοηθοῦσιν ὥστε μήτε συννοῆσαι  
 μήτε συνιδεῖν δύνασθαι τὸ γινόμενον, ἀλλ' ἀπο-  
 σκοτουμένους ὑπὸ τῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς φερομένης λιγνύος  
 καὶ τῶν φεψαλύγων, ἔτι δὲ τῆς τοῦ καπνοῦ πολυ-  
 πληθίας, οὐκ ὀλίγους ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ πίπτειν, μὴ  
 δυναμένους ἐγγίσει πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς βοή-  
 7 θειαν. ὅσω δὲ μείζω συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι τὴν δυσ-  
 χρηστίαν περὶ τοὺς ὑπεναντίους διὰ τὰς προειρη-  
 μένας αἰτίας, τοσοῦτῳ πλείων εὐχρηστία περὶ τοὺς  
 8 ἐνιέντας ἦν τὸ πῦρ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐπισκοτοῦν καὶ  
 βλάπτειν δυνάμενον πᾶν ἐξεφυσᾶτο καὶ προωθείτο  
 κατὰ τῶν ὑπεναντίων, τὸ δὲ βαλλόμενον ἢ ῥιπτού-  
 μενον ἐπὶ τε τοὺς βοηθοῦντας καὶ τὴν τῶν ἔργων  
 διαφθορὰν εὖστοχον μὲν ἐπεγίνετο διὰ τὸ συνορᾶν  
 τοὺς ἀφιέντας τὸν πρὸ αὐτῶν τόπον, πρακτικὸν δὲ

such violence and fury on the actual apparatus for advancing the engines, that it shook the protecting pent-houses from their foundations and carried away the wooden towers in front of these by its force. During the gale it struck some of the Greek mercenaries that here was an admirable opportunity for destroying the works, and they communicated their notion to the general, who approved it and made all suitable preparations for the enterprise. The soldiers in several bodies threw fire on the works at three separate points. The whole apparatus being old and readily inflammable, and the wind blowing very strongly on the actual towers and engines, the action of the flames as they spread was most effective, whereas the efforts of the Romans to succour and save the works were quite the reverse, the task being most difficult. The defenders were indeed so terrified by the outbreak that they could neither realize nor understand what was happening, but half blinded by the flames and sparks that flew in their faces and by the dense smoke, many of them succumbed and fell, unable even to get near enough to combat the actual conflagration. The difficulties that the enemy encountered for these various reasons were immense, while the exertions of the incendiaries were correspondingly facilitated. Everything that could blind or injure the enemy was blown into flame and pushed at them, missiles and other objects hurled or discharged to wound the rescuers or to destroy the works being easily aimed because the throwers could see in front

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

διὰ τὸ γίνεσθαι σφοδρὰν τὴν πληγὴν, συνεργούσης  
 9 τοῖς βάλλουσι τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος βίας. τὸ δὲ πέρασ  
 τοιαύτην συνέβη γενέσθαι τὴν παντέλειαν τῆς κατα-  
 φθορᾶς ὥστε καὶ τὰς βάσεις τῶν πύργων καὶ τὰ  
 10 στύπη τῶν κριῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀχρειωθῆναι. τού-  
 των δὲ συμβάντων, τὸ μὲν ἔτι διὰ τῶν ἔργων πο-  
 λιορκεῖν ἀπέγνωσαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι· περιταφρεύσαντες  
 δὲ καὶ χάρακι περιλαβόντες κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν, ἔτι  
 δὲ τῆς ἰδίας στρατοπεδείας τεῖχος προβαλόμενοι, τῷ  
 11 χρόνῳ παρέδοσαν τὴν πρᾶξιν. οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ Λιλυ-  
 βαίῳ τὸ πεπτωκὸς ἐξοικοδομησάμενοι τεῖχος εὐθαρ-  
 σῶς ὑπέμενον ἤδη τὴν πολιορκίαν.

49 Εἰς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην προσπεσόντων τούτων, καὶ  
 μετὰ ταῦτα πλειόνων ἀναγγελλόντων διότι συμβαί-  
 νει τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόλου πληρωμάτων τὸ πλεῖστον  
 μέρος ἐν τε τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ τῇ καθόλου πολιορκίᾳ  
 2 διεφθάρθαι, σπουδῇ κατέγραφον ναύτας, καὶ συναθ-  
 ροίσατες εἰς μυρίους ἐξέπεμψαν εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν.  
 3 ὧν διὰ τοῦ πορθμοῦ περαιωθέντων καὶ πεζῇ παρα-  
 γενομένων εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, συναγαγὼν τοὺς  
 χιλιάρχους ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων Πόπλιος  
 Κλαύδιος ἔφη καιρὸν εἶναι πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ Δρέπανα  
 4 παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ. τὸν γὰρ στρατηγὸν τῶν Καρχη-  
 δονίων Ἀτάρβαν τὸν τεταγμένον ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀπαρά-  
 σκευον εἶναι πρὸς τὸ μέλλον, ἀγνοοῦντα μὲν τὴν  
 παρουσίαν τῶν πληρωμάτων, πεπεισμένον δὲ μὴ  
 δύνασθαι πλεῖν τὸν αὐτῶν στόλον διὰ τὴν γεγενημέ-  
 νην ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ καταφθορὰν τῶν ἀνδρῶν. προ-  
 5 χείρως δ' αὐτῶν συγκατατιθεμένων, εὐθέως ἐνεβί-  
 βαζε τὰ τε προὔπάρχοντα καὶ τὰ προσφάτως παρα-  
 γεγονότα πληρώματα, τοὺς δ' ἐπιβάτας ἐκ παντὸς  
 ἐπέλεξε τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐθελοντὴν τοὺς ἀρίστους,



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ἄτε δὴ τοῦ μὲν πλοῦ σύνεγγυς ὄντος, τῆς δ' ὠφε-  
 6 λείας ἐτοίμου προφαινομένης. ταῦτα δὲ παρα-  
 σκευασάμενος ἀνήχθη περὶ μέσας νύκτας, λαθὼν τοὺς  
 πολεμίους. καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ἄθρους ἔπλει, δεξιὰν  
 7 ἔχων τὴν γῆν. ἅμα δὲ τῷ φωτὶ τῶν πρώτων ἐπὶ  
 τὰ Δρέπανα νεῶν ἐπιφαινομένων, κατιδὼν Ἀτάρ-  
 βας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐξενίσθη διὰ τὸ παράδοξον.  
 8 ταχὺ δ' ἐν αὐτῷ γενόμενος, καὶ νοήσας τὸν ἐπί-  
 πλουν τῶν ὑπεναντίων, ἔκρινε παντὸς ἔργου πεί-  
 ραν λαμβάνειν καὶ πᾶν ὑπομένειν χάριν τοῦ μὴ  
 περιδεῖν σφᾶς εἰς πρόδηλον συγκλεισθέντας πο-  
 9 λιορκίαν. διόπερ εὐθέως τὰ μὲν πληρώματα συν-  
 10 ἤγε πρὸς τὸν αἰγιαλόν, τοὺς δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως  
 μισθοφόρους ἤθροιζε μετὰ κηρύγματος. τῶν δὲ  
 συλληθέντων, ἐπεβάλετο διὰ βραχέων εἰς ἔννοιαν  
 αὐτοὺς ἄγειν τῆς τε τοῦ νικᾶν ἐλπίδος, εἰὰν τολμή-  
 σωσι ναυμαχεῖν, καὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ δυσχρη-  
 11 στίας, εἰὰν καταμελλήσωσι προἰδόμενοι τὸν κίνδυ-  
 νον. ἐτοίμως δ' αὐτῶν παρορμηθέντων πρὸς τὴν  
 ναυμαχίαν, καὶ βοῶντων ἄγειν καὶ μὴ μέλλειν,  
 ἐπαινέσας καὶ δεξάμενος τὴν ὄρμην παρήγγειλε κατὰ  
 12 τάχος ἐμβαίνειν, καὶ βλέποντας πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ  
 ναῦν ἔπεσθαι ταύτῃ κατὰ πρύμναν. διασαφήσας  
 δὲ τὰ προειρημένα κατὰ σπουδὴν πρῶτος ἐποιεῖτο  
 τὸν ἀνάπλουν, ὑπ' αὐτὰς τὰς πέτρας ἐπὶ θάτερα  
 50 μέρη τοῦ λιμένος ἐξάγων τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων εἰσ-  
 πλου. Πόπλιος δ' ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγός, θεω-  
 ρῶν τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ δόξαν οὔτ'  
 2 εἴκοντας οὔτε καταπεπληγμένους τὸν ἐπίπλουν, ἀλλὰ  
 πρὸς τῷ ναυμαχεῖν ὄντας, τῶν δὲ σφετέρων νεῶν  
 τὰς μὲν ἐντὸς ἤδη τοῦ λιμένος οὔσας, τὰς δ' ἐν  
 αὐτῷ τῷ στόματι, τὰς δὲ φερομένας ἐπὶ τὸν εἰσ-

voyage was but a short one and the prospect of booty seemed certain. After making these preparations he put to sea about midnight unobserved by the enemy, and at first sailed in close order with the land on his right. At daybreak when the leading ships came into view sailing on Drepana, Adherbal was at first taken by surprise at the unexpected sight, but soon recovering his composure and understanding that the enemy had come to attack, he decided to make every effort and incur every sacrifice rather than expose himself to the certitude of a blockade. He therefore at once collected the crews on the beach and summoned by crier the mercenaries from the city. On all being assembled he tried in a few words to impress on their minds the prospect of victory if they risked a battle, and the hardships of a siege should they delay now that they clearly foresaw the danger. Their spirit for the fight was readily aroused, and on their calling on him to lead them on and not delay, he thanked them, praised their zeal, and then ordered them to get on board at once, and keeping their eyes on his ship, to follow in his wake. Having made these orders quite clear to them he quickly got under weigh and took the lead, making his exit close under the rocks on the opposite side of the harbour from that on which the Romans were entering. 50. Publius, the Roman commander, had expected that the enemy would give way and would be intimidated by his attack, but when he saw that on the contrary they intended to fight him, and that his own fleet was partly inside the harbour, partly at the very mouth, and partly still sailing up to enter,



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

**3** πλουν, πάσαις ἀναστρέφειν παρήγγειλε καὶ ποιεί-  
 σθαι τὸν πλοῦν ἔξω πάλιν. ἔνθα δὴ τῶν μὲν ἐν  
 τῷ λιμένι, τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὸν εἴσπλουν ἐκ τῆς  
 μεταβολῆς συμπιπτουσῶν, οὐ μόνον θόρυβος ἦν ἐκ  
**4** τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄπλετος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ταρσοὺς ἐθραύ-  
 ονθ' αἰ νῆες ἀλλήλαις συγκρούουσαι. ὅμως δ' οὖν  
 αἰεὶ τοὺς ἀνατρέχοντας ἐκτάττοντες οἱ τριήραρχοι  
 παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν γῆν ταχέως ἐποίουν ἀντιπρώρρους  
**5** τοῖς πολεμίοις. ὁ δὲ Πόπλιος αὐτὸς ἐπέπλει μὲν  
 ἀρχῆθεν κατόπιν ἐπὶ παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ, τότε δ' ἐπι-  
 στρέψας κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν πλοῦν πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος  
**6** ἔλαβε τὴν εὐώνυμον τῆς ὅλης δυνάμεως τάξιν.  
 Ἀτάρβας δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ὑπεράρας τὸ  
 λαιὸν τῶν πολεμίων [Ῥωμαίων], ἔχων πέντε ναῦς  
 ἐπίπλους, ὑπέστησε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ναῦν ἀντίπρωρον  
**7** τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὸ πέλαγος μέρους·  
 ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιπλεόντων αἰεὶ τοῖς συνάπτουσι  
**8** προσεπιταπτομένοις ταῦτ' οὖν ποιεῖν παραγγείλας διὰ  
 τῶν ὑπηρετῶν, καταστάντων δὲ πάντων εἰς μέτω-  
 πον σημήνας διὰ τῶν συνθημάτων, τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς  
 ἐποιεῖτο τὸν ἐπίπλου ἐν τάξει, μενόντων πρὸς τῇ  
**9** γῆ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διὰ τὸ προσδέχεσθαι τὰς ἐκ τοῦ  
 λιμένος ἀνατρεχούσας ναῦς. ἐξ οὗ συνέβαινε με-  
**51** γάλα τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐλαττωθῆναι πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ γῆ  
 ποιησαμένους τὴν συμπλοκὴν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ σύνεγγυς  
**2** αὐτῶν ἦσαν, ἀρθέντων τῶν συνθημάτων ἐφ' ἑκα-  
 τέρας τῆς ναυαρχίδος, συνέβαλλον ἀλλήλοις. τὸ  
 μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἰσόρροπος ἦν ὁ κίνδυνος, ὡς ἂν  
**3** ἀμφοτέρων τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἐκ τῆς πεζικῆς δυνάμεως  
 ἐπιβάταις χρωμένων· αἰεὶ δὲ μᾶλλον ὑπερεῖχον οἱ  
**4** Καρχηδόνιοι διὰ τὸ πολλὰ προτερήματα παρ' ὅλον  
 ἔχειν τὸν ἀγῶνα. τῷ τε γὰρ ταχυναυτεῖν πολὺ



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περιῆσαν διὰ τὴν διαφορὰν τῆς ναυπηγίας καὶ τὴν  
 τῶν πληρωμάτων ἕξιν, ἣ τε χώρα μεγὰλα συνεβάλ-  
 5 λετ' αὐτοῖς, ἅτε πεποιημένων τὴν ἕκταξιν ἀπὸ τῶν  
 κατὰ τὸ πέλαγος τόπων. εἴτε γὰρ πιέζοντό τινες  
 ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, κατόπιν ἀνεχώρουν ἀσφαλῶς  
 6 διὰ τὸ ταχυναυτεῖν εἰς τὸν ἀναπεπταμένον τόπον·  
 κᾶπειτ' ἐκ μεταβολῆς τοῖς προπίπτουσι τῶν διω-  
 κόντων, τοτὲ μὲν περιπλέοντες, τοτὲ δὲ πλάγιοι  
 προσπίπτοντες στρεφομένοις καὶ δυσχρηστοῦσι διὰ  
 τὸ βάρος τῶν πλοίων καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῶν  
 7 πληρωμάτων ἐμβολάς τε συνεχεῖς ἐδίδοσαν καὶ  
 πολλὰ τῶν σκαφῶν ἐβάπτιζον· εἴτε κινδυνεῦοι τις  
 τῶν συμμάχων, ἐτοίμως παρεβοήθουν ἔξω τοῦ δει-  
 νοῦ καὶ μετ' ἀσφαλείας, παρὰ τὰς πρύμνας κατὰ  
 8 τὸ πέλαγος ποιούμενοι τὸν πλοῦν. τοῖς γε μὴν  
 Ῥωμαίοις τὰναντία τούτων συνέβαινε· τοῖς τε γὰρ  
 πιεζομένοις οὐκ ἦν εἰς τοῦπισθεν δυνατὸν ἀποχω-  
 ρεῖν, πρὸς τῇ γῇ ποιούμενοις τὸν κίνδυνον, αἰεὶ δὲ  
 τὸ θλιβόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ πρόσωπον σκάφος ἢ  
 τοῖς βραχέσι περιπίπτον ἐκάθιζε κατὰ πρύμναν ἢ  
 9 πρὸς τὴν γῆν φερόμενον ἐπώκελλε. διεκπλεῖν μὲν  
 οὖν διὰ τῶν πολεμίων νεῶν καὶ κατόπιν ἐπιφαί-  
 νεσθαι τοῖς ἤδη πρὸς ἑτέρους διαμαχομένοις, ὅπερ  
 ἐν τῷ ναυμαχεῖν ἐστὶ πρακτικώτατον, ἀδυνάτως  
 εἶχον, διὰ τε τὴν βαρύτητα τῶν πλοίων, προσέτι  
 10 δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῶν πληρωμάτων. οὐδὲ μὴν  
 ἐπιβοηθεῖν τοῖς δεομένοις κατὰ πρύμναν ἐδύναντο  
 διὰ τὸ συγκεκλειῖσθαι πρὸς τῇ γῇ καὶ μηδὲ μικρὸν  
 ἀπολείπεσθαι τόπον τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐπαρκεῖν τῷ  
 11 δεομένῳ. τοιαύτης δὲ δυσχρηστίας ὑπαρχούσης περὶ

much surpassed the Romans in speed, owing to the superior build of their ships and the better training of the rowers, and their position was very favourable to them, as they had freely developed their line in the open sea. For if any ships found themselves hard pressed by the enemy it was easy for them owing to their speed to retreat safely to the open water and from thence, fetching round on the ships that pursued and fell on them, they either got in their rear or attacked them on the flank, and as the enemy then had to turn round and found themselves in difficulty owing to the weight of the hulls and the poor oarsmanship of the crews, they rammed them repeatedly and sunk many. Again if any other of their own ships were in peril they were ready to render assistance with perfect security to themselves, as they were out of immediate danger and could sail in open water past the sterns of their own line. It was, however, just the opposite with the Romans. Those in distress could not retire backwards, as they were fighting close to the land, and the ships, hard pressed by the enemy in front, either ran on the shallows stern foremost or made for the shore and grounded. To sail on the one hand through the enemy's line and then appear on the stern of such of his ships as were engaged with others (one of the most effective manœuvres in naval warfare) was impossible owing to the weight of the vessels and their crews' lack of skill. Nor again could they give assistance where it was required from astern, as they were hemmed in close to the shore, and there was not even a small space left for those who wished to come to the rescue of their comrades in distress. Such being their difficult

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

τὸν ὅλον ἀγῶνα, καὶ τῶν μὲν καθιζόντων ἐν τοῖς  
 βραχέσι, τῶν δ' ἐκπιπτόντων σκαφῶν, κατιδὼν ὁ  
 στρατηγὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὸ συμβαῖνον, ὤρμησε  
 πρὸς φυγὴν, ἀπὸ τῶν εὐωνύμων παρὰ τὴν γῆν ἐξ-  
 ελίξας, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ περὶ τριάκοντα νῆες, αἴπερ  
 12 ἔτυχον ἐγγὺς οὔσαι· τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν σκαφῶν, ὄν-  
 των ἐνενήκοντα καὶ τριῶν, ἐκυρίευσαν οἱ Καρχη-  
 δόνιοι, καὶ τῶν πληρωμάτων, ὅσοι μὴ τῶν ἀνδρῶν  
 τὰς ναῦς εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐκβαλόντες ἀπεχώρησαν.

52 Γενομένης δὲ τῆς ναυμαχίας τοιαύτης, Ἀτάρβας  
 μὲν εὐδοκίμει παρὰ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις, ὡς δι' αὐτὸν  
 καὶ διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν πρόνοιαν καὶ τόλμαν κατωρθω-  
 2 κῶς, Πόπλιος δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἠδόξει καὶ  
 διεβέβλητο μεγάλως, ὡς εἰκῆ κάλογίστως τοῖς πράγ-  
 μασι κεχρημένος, καὶ τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν οὐ μικροῖς  
 3 ἐλαττώμασι περιβεβληκῶς τὴν Ῥώμην· διὸ καὶ  
 μετὰ ταῦτα μεγάλαις ζημίαις καὶ κινδύνοις κριθεὶς  
 περιέπεσεν.

4 Οὐ μὲν οἷ γε Ῥωμαῖοι, καίπερ τοιούτων συμβε-  
 βηκότων, διὰ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων φιλοτιμίαν οὐδὲν  
 ἀπέλειπον τῶν ἐνδεχομένων, ἀλλ' εἶχοντο τῶν  
 5 ἐξῆς πραγμάτων. διὸ καὶ συνάψαντος τοῦ κατὰ τὰς  
 ἀρχαιρεσίας χρόνου, στρατηγοὺς ὑπάτους κατα-  
 στήσαντες παραυτίκα τὸν ἕτερον αὐτῶν ἐξέπεμ-  
 πον Λεύκιον Ἰούνιον, τὰς τε σιταρχίας παρακομί-  
 ζοντα τοῖς τὸ Λιλύβαιον πολιορκούσι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας  
 ἀγορὰς καὶ χορηγίας τῷ στρατοπέδῳ· πρὸς δὲ καὶ  
 παραπομποῦς τούτοις ἐπλήρωσαν ἐξήκοντα ναῦς.  
 6 ὁ δ' Ἰούνιος ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὴν Μεσσήνην, καὶ  
 προσλαβὼν τὰ συνηνηκότεα τῶν πλοίων ἀπὸ τε τοῦ  
 στρατοπέδου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Σικελίας, παρεκομίσθη  
 κατὰ σπουδὴν εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας, ἔχων ἑκατὸν



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εἴκοσι σκάφη καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν σχεδὸν ἐν ὀκτακο-  
**7** σίαις ναυσὶ φορτηγοῖς. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ παραδοὺς τοῖς  
 ταμίαις τὰς ἡμισείας φορτηγοὺς καὶ τινα τῶν μα-  
 κρῶν πλοίων ἐξαπέστειλε, διακομισθῆναι σπουδά-  
**8** ζων τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν. αὐτὸς  
 δ' ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις ὑπέμενε, τοὺς τε κατὰ  
 πλοῦν ἀφυστεροῦντας ἐκ τῆς Μεσσήνης ἀναδεχό-  
 μενος καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐκ τῆς μεσογαίου συμμάχων  
 σῖτον προσαναλαμβάνων.

**53** Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς Ἀτάρβας μὲν ἄν-  
 δρας τοὺς ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ληφθέντας καὶ τὰς αἰ-  
 χμαλώτους νῆας ἐξαπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν Καρχηδόνα,  
**2** Καρθάλωνα δὲ τὸν συνάρχοντα δούς τριάκοντα ναῦς  
 ἐξέπεμψε πρὸς αἷς ἔχων αὐτὸς ἑβδομήκοντα κατ-  
**3** ἐπλευσε, προστάξας ἄφνω προσπεσόντα ταῖς ὀρμού-  
 σαις παρὰ τὸ Λιλύβαιον τῶν πολεμίων ναυσίν, ὧν  
 μὲν ἂν δυνατὸς ἦ κυριεῦσαι, ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς πῦρ  
**4** ἐμβαλεῖν. πεισθέντος δὲ τοῦ Καρθάλωνος καὶ  
 ποιησαμένου τὸν ἐπίπλουν ὑπὸ τὴν ἑωθινήν, καὶ τὰ  
 μὲν ἐμπιπρῶντος, τὰ δ' ἀποσπῶντος τῶν πλοίων,  
 μεγάλην συνέπεσε γενέσθαι ταραχὴν περὶ τὸ τῶν  
**5** Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον. προσβοηθούντων γὰρ αὐ-  
 τῶν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς καὶ γινομένης κραυγῆς, συν-  
 νοήσας Ἰμίλκων ὁ τὸ Λιλύβαιον τηρῶν, καὶ θεωρῶν  
 ἤδη τῆς ἡμέρας ὑποφαινούσης τὸ συμβαῖνον, ἐπ-  
**6** αποστέλλει τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως μισθοφόρους. οἱ δὲ  
 Ῥωμαῖοι, τοῦ δεινοῦ πανταχόθεν αὐτοὺς περιστάν-  
 τος, οὐκ εἰς μικρὰν οὐδ' εἰς τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἦλθον  
**7** διατροπὴν. ὁ δὲ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ναύαρχος, ὀλίγα  
 τῶν σκαφῶν τὰ μὲν ἀποσπάσας, τὰ δὲ συντρίψας,  
 μετὰ ταῦτα μικρὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Λιλυβαίου παρακομι-  
 σθεὶς ὡς ἐφ' Ἡρακλείας ἐτήρει, βουλόμενος διακω-

having now a hundred and twenty ships and the supplies in about eight hundred transports. There he entrusted half the transports and a few of the war-ships to the Quaestors and sent them on, as he was anxious to have what the troops required conveyed to them at once. He himself remained in Syracuse waiting for the ships that were left behind on the voyage from Messene and procuring additional supplies and corn from the allies in the interior.

53. At about the same time Adherbal sent the prisoners from the naval battle and the captured ships to Carthage, and giving Carthalo his colleague thirty vessels in addition to the seventy with which he had arrived, dispatched him with orders to make a sudden descent on the enemy's ships that were moored near Lilybaeum, capture all he could and set fire to the rest. When Carthalo acting on these orders made the attack at dawn and began to burn some of the ships and carry off others, there was a great commotion in the Roman camp. For as they rushed to rescue the ships with loud cries, Himilco, on the watch at Lilybaeum, heard them, and as day was just beginning to break, he saw what was happening, and sent out the mercenaries from the town to attack the Romans also. The Romans were now, in danger from all sides and in no little or ordinary distress. The Carthaginian admiral, having made off with a few ships and broken up others, shortly afterwards left Lilybaeum, and after coasting along for some distance in the direction of Heraclea remained on the watch, as his design was to intercept



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

- 8 λύειν τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον πλέοντας. προσαγ-  
 γειλάντων δὲ τῶν σκοπῶν πλήθος ἱκανὸν πλοίων  
 προσφέρεσθαι παντοδαπῶν καὶ συνεγγίζειν, ἀν-  
 αχθεῖς ἔπλει, συμμίξαι σπεύδων διὰ τὸ καταφρονεῖν  
 τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκ τοῦ προγεγενημένου προτερήμα-  
 9 τος. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν Συρακουσῶν προ-  
 απεσταλμένοις ταμίαις ἀνήγγειλαν οἱ προπλεῖν εἰ-  
 10 θισμένοι λέμβοι τὸν ἐπίπλου τῶν ὑπεναντίων. οἱ δὲ  
 νομίσαντες οὐκ ἀξιόχρεως σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἶναι πρὸς  
 ναυμαχίαν, καθωρμίσθησαν πρὸς τι πολισμάτιον  
 τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοὺς ταττομένων, ἀλίμενον μὲν, σάλους  
 δ' ἔχον καὶ προβολὰς περικλειούσας ἐκ τῆς γῆς  
 11 εὐφυεῖς. οὗ ποιησάμενοι τὴν ἀπόβασιν, καὶ τοὺς  
 τε καταπέλτας καὶ τοὺς πετροβόλους τοὺς ἐκ τῆς  
 πόλεως ἐπιστήσαντες, προσεδόκων τὸν ἐπίπλου  
 12 τῶν ὑπεναντίων. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι συνεγγίσαν-  
 τες τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπεβάλοντο πολιορκεῖν τούτους,  
 ὑπολαβόντες τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας καταπλαγέντας εἰς τὸ  
 πολισμάτιον ἀποχωρήσειν, τῶν δὲ πλοίων ἀσφαλῶς  
 13 κυριεύσειν· οὐ προχωρούσης δὲ τῆς ἐλπίδος, ἀλλὰ  
 τοῦναντίον ἀμυνομένων γενναίως, καὶ τοῦ τόπου  
 πολλὰς ἔχοντος καὶ παντοδαπὰς δυσχρηστίας, ὀλίγα  
 τῶν τὰς ἀγορὰς ἐχόντων πλοίων ἀποσπάσαντες ἀπ-  
 ἔπλευσαν πρὸς τινα ποταμόν, ἐν ᾧ καθορμισθέντες  
 ἐπετήρουν τὸν ἀνάπλου αὐτῶν.
- 54 Ὁ δ' ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις ὑπολειφθεὶς στρατη-  
 γός, ἐπεὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν πρόθεσιν ἐπετέλεσε, κάμψας  
 τὸν Πάχυνον ἐποιεῖτο τὸν πλοῦν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ Λιλύ-  
 βαιον, οὐδὲν εἰδὼς τῶν περὶ τοὺς προπλέοντας συμ-  
 2 βεβηκότων. ὁ δὲ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ναύαρχος, ση-



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μηνάντων τῶν σκοπῶν αὐτῷ πάλιν τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν  
 τῶν ὑπεναντίων, ἀναχθεὶς ἔπλει μετὰ σπουδῆς,  
 βουλόμενος αὐτοῖς ὡς πλεῖστον ἀπέχουσι τῶν οἰ-  
 3 κείων νεῶν συμβαλεῖν. ὁ δ' Ἰούνιος κατιδὼν ἐκ  
 πολλοῦ τὸν στόλον τὸν τῶν Καρχηδονίων καὶ τὸ  
 πλῆθος τῶν σκαφῶν, οὔτε συμβαλεῖν τολμῶν οὔτ'  
 ἐκφυγεῖν ἔτι δυνατὸς ὦν διὰ τὸ σύνεγγυς εἶναι τοὺς  
 πολεμίους, ἐγκλίνας εἰς τόπους τραχεῖς καὶ κατὰ  
 4 πάντα τρόπον ἐπισφαλεῖς καθωρμίσθη, κρίνων αἰ-  
 ρετώτερον ὑπάρχειν ὅ τι δέοι παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς  
 πολεμίοις αὐτανδρον τὸ σφέτερον στρατόπεδον ὑπο-  
 5 χεῖριον ποιῆσαι. συνιδὼν δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ τούτου  
 γεγονὸς ὁ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ναύαρχος, τὸ μὲν παρα-  
 βάλλεσθαι καὶ προσάγειν τοιούτοις τόποις ἀπεδο-  
 κίμασε, λαβὼν δ' ἄκραν τινὰ καὶ προσορμισθεὶς  
 ταύτῃ, μεταξὺ τῶν στόλων ἐτήρει καὶ προσεῖχε τὸν  
 6 νοῦν ἀμφοτέροις. ἐπιγενομένου δὲ χειμῶνος καὶ  
 περιστάσεως προφαινομένης ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους ὄλο-  
 σχερεστέρας, οἱ μὲν τῶν Καρχηδονίων κυβερνήται  
 διὰ τε τὴν τῶν τόπων καὶ τὴν τοῦ πράγματος ἐμ-  
 πειρίαν προορώμενοι τὸ μέλλον καὶ προλέγοντες  
 τὸ συμβησόμενον, ἔπεισαν τὸν Καρθάλωνα φυ-  
 γεῖν τὸν χειμῶνα καὶ κάμψαι τὴν ἄκραν τοῦ Πα-  
 7 χύνου. πεισθέντος δὲ νουνεχῶς, οὔτοι μὲν πολλὰ  
 μοχθήσαντες καὶ μόλις ὑπεράραντες τὴν ἄκραν ἐν  
 8 ἀσφαλεῖ καθωρμίσθησαν, οἱ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στό-  
 λοι, τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐπιγενομένου καὶ τῶν τόπων εἰς  
 τέλος ὑπαρχόντων ἀλιμένων, οὔτως διεφθάρησαν  
 ὥστε μηδὲ τῶν ναυαγίων μηδὲν γενέσθαι χρήσιμον,  
 ἀλλ' ἀμφοτέρους αὐτοὺς ἄρδην καὶ παραλόγως  
 ἀχρειωθῆναι.

55 Τούτου δὲ συμβάντος, τὰ μὲν τῶν Καρχηδο-

look-outs again reported that the enemy were in sight, put to sea and sailed with all haste, as he wished to engage them at as great a distance as possible from their own ships. Junius had sighted the Carthaginian fleet for some time, and noticed the number of their ships, but he neither dared to engage them nor could he now escape them, as they were so near. He therefore diverted his course to a rugged and in every way perilous part of the coast and anchored there, thinking that, no matter what happened to him, it would be preferable to his whole force of ships and men falling into the hands of the enemy. The Carthaginian admiral, on seeing what Junius had done, decided not to incur the risk of approaching such a dangerous shore, but, gaining a certain cape and anchoring off it, remained on the alert between the two fleets, keeping his eye on both. When the weather now became stormy, and they were threatened with a heavy gale from the open sea, the Carthaginian captains who were acquainted with the locality and with the weather signs, and foresaw and prophesied what was about to happen, persuaded Carthalo to escape the tempest by rounding Cape Pachynus. He very wisely consented, and with great labour they just managed to get round the cape and anchor in a safe position. But the two Roman fleets, caught by the tempest, and the coast affording no shelter at all, were so completely destroyed that not even the wrecks were good for anything. In this unlooked for manner, then, the Romans had both their fleets disabled.

55. Owing to this occurrence the hopes of the

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

νίων αὖθις ἀνέκυψε καὶ πάλιν ἐπιρρεπεστέρας εἶχε  
 2 τὰς ἐλπίδας, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι, πρότερον μὲν ἐπὶ πο-  
 σὸν ἡτυχηκότες, τότε δ' ὀλοσχερῶς, ἐκ μὲν τῆς θα-  
 λάττης ἐξέβησαν, τῶν δ' ὑπαίθρων ἐπεκράτουν·  
 Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ τῆς μὲν θαλάττης ἐκυρίευν, τῆς δὲ  
 3 γῆς οὐχ ὄλως ἀπήλπιζον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάντες  
 ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ὄλοις ἐσχετλίαζον, οἳ τ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ  
 καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸ Λιλύβαιον στρατόπεδα, διὰ τὰ προ-  
 4 ειρημένα συμπτώματα· τῆς γε μὴν προθέσεως οὐκ  
 ἀφίσταντο τῆς κατὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν  
 ἐχορήγουν κατὰ γῆν ἀπροφασίστως, οἱ δὲ προσ-  
 5 εκαρτέρουν ταύτῃ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν. ὁ δ' Ἰούνιος,  
 ἀνακομισθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκ τῆς ναυαγίας  
 καὶ περιπαθῆς ὤν, ἐγένετο πρὸς τὸ καινοτομῆσαι  
 τι καὶ πράξαι τῶν δεόντων, σπουδάζων ἀναμαχέ-  
 6 σασθαι τὴν γεγεννημένην περιπέτειαν. διὸ καὶ βρα-  
 χείας αὐτῷ παραπεσοῦσης ἀφορμῆς, καταλαμβάνει  
 πραξικοπήσας τὸν Ἐρυκα, καὶ γίνεται τοῦ τε τῆς  
 7 Ἀφροδίτης ἱεροῦ καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐγκρατῆς. ὁ δ'  
 Ἐρυξ ἔστι μὲν ὄρος παρὰ θάλατταν τῆς Σικελίας  
 ἐν τῇ παρὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν κειμένη πλευρᾷ μεταξύ  
 Δρεπάνων καὶ Πανόρμου, μᾶλλον δ' ὄμορον καὶ  
 συνάπτον πρὸς τὰ Δρέπανα, μεγέθει δὲ παρὰ πολὺ  
 διαφέρον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν ὄρων πλὴν τῆς  
 8 Αἴτνης. τούτου δ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς μὲν τῆς κορυφῆς, οὐ-  
 σης ἐπιπέδου, κεῖται τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τῆς Ἐρυ-  
 κίνης ἱερόν, ὅπερ ὁμολογουμένως ἐπιφανέστατόν ἐστι  
 τῷ τε πλούτῳ καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ προστασίᾳ τῶν κατὰ  
 9 τὴν Σικελίαν ἱερῶν· ἡ δὲ πόλις ὑπ' αὐτὴν τὴν κο-  
 ρυφὴν τέταται, πάνυ μακρὰν ἔχουσα καὶ προσάντη  
 10 πανταχόθεν τὴν ἀνάβασιν. ἐπὶ τε δὴ τὴν κορυφὴν  
 ἐπιστήσας φυλακὴν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ Δρεπά-



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## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

νων πρόσβασιν, ἐτήρει φιλοτίμως ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς τόπους, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι τὸν τῆς ἀναβολῆς, πεπεισμένος οὕτως καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀσφαλῶς καὶ τὸ σὺμπαν ὄρος ὑφ' αὐτὸν ἔξειν.

56 Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι μετὰ ταῦτα στρατηγὸν καταστήσαντες αὐτῶν Ἀμίλκαν τὸν Βάρκαν ἐπικαλούμενον, τούτῳ τὰ κατὰ τὸν στόλον ἐνεχείρισαν· ὃς παραλαβὼν τὰς ναυτικὰς δυνάμεις ὤρμησε πορθήσων τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ἔτος δ' ἦν ὀκτωκαιδέκατον τῷ πολέμῳ. κατασύρας δὲ τὴν Λοκρίδα καὶ τὴν Βρεττιανὴν χώραν, ἀποπλέων ἐντεῦθεν κατῆρε παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ πρὸς τὴν Πανορμίτιν, καὶ καταλαμβάνει τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς Εἰρκτῆς λεγόμενον τόπον, ὃς κεῖται μὲν Ἐρυκος καὶ Πανόρμου μεταξὺ πρὸς θαλάττη, πολὺ δέ τι τῶν ἄλλων δοκεῖ διαφέρειν τόπων ἐπιτηδειότητι πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν στρατοπέδων καὶ χρονισμόν. ἔστι γὰρ ὄρος περίτομον ἔξανεστηκὸς ἐκ τῆς περικειμένης χώρας εἰς ὕψος ἰκανόν. τούτου δ' ἡ περίμετρος τῆς ἄνω στεφάνης οὐ λείπει τῶν ἑκατὸν σταδίων, ὑφ' ἧς ὁ περιεχόμενος τόπος εὐβοτος ὑπάρχει καὶ γεωργήσιμος, πρὸς μὲν τὰς πελαγίους πνοιὰς εὐφυῶς κείμενος, θανασίμων δὲ θηρίων εἰς τέλος ἄμοιρος. περιέχεται δὲ κρημνοῖς ἀπροσίτοις ἔκ τε τοῦ κατὰ θάλατταν μέρους καὶ τοῦ παρὰ τὴν μεσόγαιαν παρήκοντος, τὰ δὲ μεταξὺ τούτων ἔστιν ὀλίγη καὶ βραχείας δεόμενα κατασκευῆς. ἔχει δ' ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ μαστόν, ὃς ἅμα μὲν ἀκροπόλεως, ἅμα δὲ σκοπῆς εὐφυοῦς λαμβάνει τάξιν κατὰ τῆς ὑποκειμένης χώρας. κρατεῖ δὲ καὶ λιμένος εὐκαίρου πρὸς τὸν ἀπὸ Δρεπάνων καὶ Λιλυβαίου δρόμον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἐν ᾧ πλῆθος ὕδατος ἀφθονον ὑπάρχει. προσόδους δὲ τὰς πάσας ἔχει τριττὰς δυσχερεῖς,

jealously guarded both these positions, especially the latter, in the conviction that by this means he would securely hold the city and the whole mountain.

56. The Carthaginians shortly afterwards appointed <sup>247</sup> Hamilcar surnamed Barcas to the command and entrusted naval operations to him. He started with the fleet to ravage the Italian coast (this, I should say, was in the eighteenth year of the war) and after laying waste Locris and the Bruttii quitted those parts and descended with his whole fleet on the territory of Panormus. Here he seized on a place called Hercte <sup>a</sup> lying near the sea between Eryx and Panormus, and thought to possess peculiar advantages for the safe and prolonged stay of an army. It is an abrupt hill rising to a considerable height from the surrounding flat country. The circumference of its brow is not less than a hundred stades and the plateau within affords good pasturage and is suitable for cultivation, being also favourably exposed to the sea-breeze and quite free of animals dangerous to life. On the side looking to the sea and on that which faces the interior of the island, this plateau is surrounded by inaccessible cliffs, while the parts between require only a little slight strengthening. There is also a knoll on it which serves for an acropolis as well as for an excellent post of observation over the country at the foot of the hill. Besides this Hercte commands a harbour very well situated for ships making the voyage from Drepana and Lilybaeum to Italy to put in at, and with an abundant supply of water.<sup>b</sup> The hill has only three approaches,

<sup>a</sup> Now Monte Pellegrino.

<sup>b</sup> This cannot be the harbour of Palermo, which was in the hands of the Romans, and must be looked for on the opposite side of Monte Pellegrino.



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

δύο μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας, μίαν δ' ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης.  
 9 ἐν ᾧ καταστρατοπεδεύσας παραβόλως Ἀμίλκας, ὡς  
 ἂν μήτε πόλεως οἰκείας μήτ' ἄλλης ἐλπίδος μηδε-  
 μιᾶς ἀντεχόμενος, εἰς μέσους δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους  
 ἑαυτὸν δεδωκώς, ὅμως οὐ μικροὺς οὐδὲ τοὺς τυχόν-  
 τας Ῥωμαίοις ἀγῶνας καὶ κινδύνους παρεσκεύασε.  
 10 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν ὀρμώμενος κατὰ θάλατ-  
 ταν τὴν παραλίαν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπόρθει μέχρι τῆς  
 11 Κυμαίων χώρας, δεύτερον δὲ κατὰ γῆν παραστρα-  
 τοπεδουσάντων αὐτῷ Ῥωμαίων πρὸ τῆς Πανορμι-  
 τῶν πόλεως ἐν ἴσως πέντε σταδίοις, πολλοὺς καὶ  
 ποικίλους ἀγῶνας συνεστήσατο κατὰ γῆν σχεδὸν ἐπὶ  
 57 τρεῖς ἐνιαυτούς. περὶ ὧν οὐχ οἶόν τε διὰ τῆς γρα-  
 φῆς τὸν κατὰ μέρος ἀποδοῦναι λόγον· καθάπερ  
 γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν διαφερόντων πυκτῶν καὶ ταῖς γενναιό-  
 τησι καὶ ταῖς εὐεξίαις, ὅταν εἰς τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ  
 τοῦ στεφάνου συγκαταστάντες καιρὸν διαμάχωνται  
 πληγὴν ἐπὶ πληγῇ τιθέντες ἀδιαπαύστως, λόγον μὲν  
 ἢ πρόνοιαν ἔχειν ὑπὲρ ἐκάστης ἐπιβολῆς καὶ πλη-  
 γῆς οὔτε τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις οὔτε τοῖς θεωμένοις  
 2 ἐστὶ δυνατόν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς καθόλου τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐνερ-  
 γείας καὶ τῆς ἐκατέρου φιλοτιμίας ἔστι καὶ τῆς ἐμ-  
 πειρίας αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῆς  
 εὐψυχίας, ἱκανὴν ἔννοιαν λαβεῖν, οὕτως δὲ καὶ περὶ  
 3 τῶν νῦν λεγομένων στρατηγῶν. τὰς μὲν γὰρ αἰ-  
 τίας ἢ τοὺς τρόπους, δι' ὧν ἂν ἐκάστην ἡμέραν  
 ἐποιοῦντο κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐνέδρας, ἀντενέδρας, ἐπι-  
 θέσεις, προσβολάς, οὔτ' ἂν ὁ γράφων ἐξαριθμού-  
 μενος ἐφίκοιτο, τοῖς τ' ἀκούουσιν ἀπέραντος ἅμα  
 δ' ἀνωφελῆς ἂν ἐκ τῆς ἀναγνώσεως γίνοιτο χρεία·  
 4 ἐκ δὲ τῆς καθολικῆς ἀποφάσεως περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ  
 τέλους τῆς φιλοτιμίας μάλλον ἂν τις εἰς ἔννοιαν ἔλ-



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## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

**5** θοι τῶν προειρημένων. οὔτε γὰρ τῶν ἐξ ἱστορίας  
 στρατηγημάτων οὔτε τῶν ἐκ τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ τῆς  
 ὑποκειμένης περιστάσεως ἐπινοημάτων οὔτε τῶν εἰς  
 παράβολον καὶ βίαιον ἀνηκόντων τόλμαν οὐδὲν παρ-  
**6** ελείφθη. κρίσιν γε μὴν ὀλοσχερῇ γενέσθαι διὰ πλεί-  
 ους αἰτίας οὐχ οἷόν τ' ἦν· αἶ τε γὰρ δυνάμεις ἀμ-  
 φοτέρων ἦσαν ἐφάμιλλοι, τά τε κατὰ τοὺς χάρακας  
 ὁμοίως ἀπρόσιτα διὰ τὴν ὀχυρότητα, τό τε διάστημα  
**7** τῶν στρατοπέδων βραχὺ παντελῶς. ὅπερ αἴτιον ἦν  
 μάλιστα τοῦ τὰς μὲν κατὰ μέρος συμπτώσεις ἀπαύ-  
 στους γίνεσθαι καθ' ἡμέραν, ὀλοσχερὲς δὲ συν-  
**8** τελεῖσθαι μηδέν. τούτους γὰρ αὐτοὺς αἰεὶ συνέβαινε  
 διαφθείρεσθαι κατὰ τὰς συμπλοκάς, τοὺς ἐν χειρῶν  
 νόμῳ περιπεσόντας· οἱ δ' ἅπαξ ἐγκλίναντες εὐθέως  
 ἐκτὸς τοῦ δεινοῦ πάντες ἦσαν ὑπὸ ταῖς αὐτῶν  
 ἀσφαλείαις, καὶ πάλιν ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἐκινδύνευον.

**58** Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀγαθὸς βραβευτῆς ἢ τύχη  
 μεταβιβάσασα παραβόλως αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ προειρη-  
 μένου τόπου καὶ τοῦ προὔπαρχοντος ἀθλήματος εἰς  
 παραβολώτερον ἀγώνισμα καὶ τόπον ἐλάττω συν-  
**2** ἐκλείσεν. ὁ γὰρ Ἀμίλκας, τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὸν Ἐρυκα-  
 τηρούντων ἐπὶ τε τῆς κορυφῆς καὶ παρὰ τὴν ρίζαν,  
 καθάπερ εἶπομεν, κατελάβετο τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ἐρυ-  
 κίνων, ἣτις ἦν μεταξὺ τῆς τε κορυφῆς καὶ τῶν πρὸς  
**3** τῇ ρίζῃ στρατοπεδευσάντων. ἐξ οὗ συνέβαινε παρα-  
 βόλως μὲν ὑπομένειν καὶ διακινδυνεύειν πολιορ-  
 κουμένους τοὺς τὴν κορυφὴν κατέχοντας τῶν Ῥω-  
 μαίων, ἀπίστως δὲ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἀντέχειν, τῶν  
 τε πολεμίων πανταχόθεν προσκειμένων καὶ τῶν χο-  
 ρηγιῶν οὐ ραδίως αὐτοῖς παρακομιζομένων, ὡς ἂν  
 τῆς θαλάττης καθ' ἓνα τόπον καὶ μίαν πρόσοδον  
 ἀντεχομένοις. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πάλιν ἐνταῦθα πάσαις

can be conveyed. Nothing was neglected; neither traditional tactics nor plans suggested by the occasion and by actual pressure of circumstances, nor those strokes which depend on a bold and strong initiative. Yet there were several reasons why no decisive success could be obtained. For the forces on each side were evenly matched; their trenches were so strong as to be equally unapproachable, and the camps were at a quite small distance from each other, this being the chief reason why there were daily conflicts at certain points, but no decisive engagement. The losses in these combats consisted only of those who fell in the hand-to-hand fighting, while the side which once gave way used to get out of danger at once behind their defences, from whence they would issue again and resume the fight.

58. But Fortune, however, like a good umpire, unexpectedly shifted the scene and changed the nature of the contest, confining both in a narrower field, where the struggle grew even more desperate. The Romans, as I said, had garrisons at Eryx on the summit of the mountain and at the foot. Hamilcar now seized the town which lies between <sup>244</sup> the summit and the spot at the foot where the garrison was. The consequence of this was that the Romans on the summit—a thing they had never expected—remained besieged and in considerable peril, and that the Carthaginians, though it is scarcely credible, maintained their position though the enemy were pressing on them from all sides and the conveyance of supplies was not easy, as they only held one place on the sea and one single road connecting with it. However, here again both sides employed

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

**4** μὲν ἀμφότεροι ταῖς πολιορκητικαῖς ἐπινοίαις καὶ βί-  
 αῖς χρησάμενοι κατ' ἀλλήλων, πᾶν δὲ γένος ἐνδείας  
 ἀνασχόμενοι, πάσης δ' ἐπιθέσεως καὶ μάχης πείραν  
**5** λαβόντες, τέλος οὐχ, ὡς Φάβιός φησιν, ἐξαδυνα-  
 τοῦντες καὶ περικακοῦντες, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν ἀπαθείς  
 κἀήττητοί τινες ἄνδρες, ἱερὸν ἐποίησαν τὸν στέφα-  
**6** νον. πρότερον γὰρ ἢ ἑκείνους ἀλλήλων ἐπικρατή-  
 σαι, καίπερ δὺ' ἔτη πάλιν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ δι-  
 αγωνισαμένους, δι' ἄλλου τρόπον συνέβη λαβεῖν τὸν  
 πόλεμον τὴν κρίσιν.

**7** Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν Ἑρκα καὶ τὰς πεζικὰς  
 δυνάμεις τοιαύτην ἔσχε διάθεσιν. τὰ δὲ πολιτεύ-  
 ματ' ἦν ἀμφοτέρων παραπλήσια τοῖς ψυχομαχοῦσι  
**8** τῶν εὐγενῶν ὀρνίθων. ἐκεῖνοί τε γὰρ πολλάκις  
 ἀπολωλεκότες τὰς πτέρυγας διὰ τὴν ἀδυναμίαν,  
 αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ μένοντες ἐκβάλλουσι τὰς πληγὰς,  
 ἕως ἂν αὐτομάτως ποτὲ περιπεσόντες αὐτοῖς και-  
 ρίως ἀλλήλων διαδράξωνται, κἄπειτα τούτου γενο-  
**9** μένου συμβῆ τὸν ἕτερον αὐτῶν προπεσεῖν· οἳ τε  
 Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι κάμνοντες ἤδη τοῖς πό-  
 νοις διὰ τὴν συνέχειαν τῶν κινδύνων εἰς τέλος  
 ἀπήλγουν, τὴν τε δύναμιν παρελέλυντο καὶ παρείντο  
**59** διὰ τὰς πολυχρονίους εἰσφοράς καὶ δαπάνας. ὅμως  
 δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ψυχομαχοῦντες, καίπερ ἔτη σχεδὸν ἤδη  
 πέντε τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν πραγμάτων ὀλοσχερῶς  
 ἀφεστηκότες διὰ τε τὰς περιπετείας καὶ διὰ τὸ πε-  
 πείσθαι δι' αὐτῶν τῶν πεζικῶν δυνάμεων κρινεῖν  
**2** τὸν πόλεμον, τότε συνορῶντες οὐ προχωροῦν αὐτοῖς  
 τοῦργον κατὰ τοὺς ἐκλογισμοὺς καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν  
 τόλμαν τοῦ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἡγεμόνος, ἔκριναν τὸ  
 τρίτον ἀντιποιήσασθαι τῶν ἐν ταῖς ναυτικαῖς δυνά-  
**3** μεσιν ἐλπίδων, ὑπολαμβάνοντες διὰ τῆς ἐπινοίας



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ταύτης, εἰ καιρίως ἄψαιντο τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, μόνως ἂν  
 οὕτως πέρας ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ πολέμῳ συμφέρον. ὁ  
 4 καὶ τέλος ἐποίησαν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ἐξεχώρη-  
 σαν τῆς θαλάττης εἴξαντες τοῖς ἐκ τῆς τύχης συμ-  
 πτώμασι, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ἐλαττωθέντες τῇ περὶ τὰ  
 5 Δρέπανα ναυμαχίᾳ· τότε δὲ τρίτην ἐποιοῦντο ταύ-  
 την τὴν ἐπιβολήν, δι' ἧς νικήσαντες καὶ τὰ περὶ  
 τὸν Ἐρυκα στρατόπεδα τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀποκλεί-  
 σαντες τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν χορηγίας τέλος ἐπέθηκαν  
 6 τοῖς ὄλοις. ἦν δὲ τῆς ἐπιβολῆς τὸ πλεῖον ψυχο-  
 μαχία. χορηγία μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ὑπῆρχε πρὸς τὴν πρό-  
 θεσιν ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς· οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν τῶν  
 προεστώτων ἀνδρῶν εἰς τὰ κοινὰ φιλοτιμίαν καὶ  
 7 γενναιότητα προσευρέθη πρὸς τὴν συντέλειαν. κατὰ  
 γὰρ τὰς τῶν βίων εὐκαιρίας καθ' ἓνα καὶ δύο καὶ  
 τρεῖς ὑφίσταντο παρέξιν πεντήρη κατηρτισμένην,  
 ἐφ' ᾧ τὴν δαπάνην κομιοῦνται, κατὰ λόγον τῶν  
 8 πραγμάτων προχωρησάντων. τῷ δὲ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ  
 ταχέως ἐτοιμασθέντων διακοσίων πλοίων πεντηρι-  
 κῶν, ὧν ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ναυπηγίαν πρὸς [παρά-  
 δειγμα] τὴν τοῦ Ῥοδίου ναῦν, μετὰ ταῦτα στρατη-  
 γὸν καταστήσαντες Γάϊον Λυτάτιον ἐξέπεμψαν ἀρ-  
 9 χομένης τῆς θερείας. ὃς καὶ παραδόξως ἐπιφανεῖς  
 τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν τόποις τὸν τε περὶ τὰ Δρέ-  
 πανα λιμένα κατέσχε καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸ Λιλύβαιον  
 ὄρμους, παντὸς ἀνακεχωρηκότος εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν τοῦ  
 10 τῶν Καρχηδονίων ναυτικοῦ. συστησάμενος δὲ περὶ  
 τὴν ἐν τοῖς Δρεπάνοις πόλιν ἔργα καὶ τᾶλλα πρὸς  
 τὴν πολιορκίαν παρασκευασάμενος, ἅμα μὲν ταύτη  
 11 προσεκαρτέρει τὰ δυνατὰ ποιῶν, ἅμα δὲ προορώ-  
 μενος τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ Καρχηδονίων στόλου, καὶ  
 μνημονεύων τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς προθέσεως ὅτι μόνως

but strike a deadly blow, was the only way of bringing the war to a favourable conclusion. And this they finally accomplished. It was yielding to the blows of Fortune that they had retired from the sea on the first occasion; the second time it was owing to their defeat at Drepana, but now they made this third attempt, and through it, by gaining a victory and cutting off the supplies from the sea of the Carthaginian army at Eryx, they put an end to the whole war. The attempt was indeed of the nature of a struggle for existence. For there were no funds in the public treasury for this purpose; but yet, owing to the patriotic and generous spirit of the leading citizens, enough was found to carry out the project; as either one, two, or three of them, according to their means, undertook to provide a quinquereme fully equipped on the understanding that they would be repaid if all went well. In this way a fleet of two hundred quinqueremes was rapidly got ready, all built on the the model of the "Rhodian's" ship. They then appointed Gaius Lutatius to the 242 command and dispatched him at the beginning of summer. Suddenly appearing off the coast of Sicily, he seized on the harbour of Drepana and the roadsteads near Lilybaeum, the whole Carthaginian navy having retired to their own country. First of all he constructed works round the city of Drepana and made all preparations for its siege, but while continuing to prosecute this by every means in his power, he foresaw that the Carthaginian fleet would arrive, and was not forgetful of the original motive of the expedi-



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

δύναται διὰ τοῦ κατὰ θάλατταν κινδύνου κρίσεως  
 τὰ ὅλα τυχεῖν, οὐκ ἀχρεῖον οὐδ' ἀργὸν εἶα γίνε-  
 12 σθαι τὸν χρόνον, ἀλλ' ἀν' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀναπείρας  
 καὶ μελέτας ποιῶν τοῖς πληρώμασιν οἰκείως τῆς  
 ἐπιβολῆς, τῇ τε λοιπῇ τῇ κατὰ τὴν δίαιταν ἐπι-  
 μελείᾳ προσκαρτερῶν, ἀθλητὰς ἀπετέλεσε πρὸς τὸ  
 προκείμενον ἐν πάνυ βραχεῖ χρόνῳ τοὺς ναύτας.

60 Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι, παρὰ τὴν ὑπόνοιαν προσ-  
 πεσόντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ πεπλευκέναι στόλῳ τοὺς Ῥω-  
 μαίους καὶ πάλιν ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τῆς θαλάττης, παρ-  
 2 αὐτίκα κατήρτιζον τὰς ναῦς, καὶ πληρώσαντες σί-  
 του καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων, ἐξέπεμπον τὸν στό-  
 λον, βουλόμενοι μηδὲν ἐλλείπειν τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἑρυκα  
 3 στρατόπεδα τῶν ἀναγκαίων. κατέστησαν δὲ καὶ  
 στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως Ἄννωνα· ὃς  
 ἀναχθεὶς καὶ κατάρας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἱερὰν καλουμένην  
 νῆσον ἔσπευδε τοὺς πολεμίους λαθῶν διακομισθῆ-  
 ναι πρὸς τὸν Ἑρυκα, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀγορὰς ἀποθέ-  
 σθαι καὶ κουφίσαι τὰς ναῦς, προσλαβὼν δ' ἐπιβά-  
 τας ἐκ τῶν μισθοφόρων τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους καὶ Βάρ-  
 καν μετ' αὐτῶν, οὕτως συμμίσγειν τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις.

4 ὁ δὲ Λυτάτιος συνεὶς τὴν παρουσίαν τῶν περὶ τὸν  
 Ἄννωνα, καὶ συλλογισάμενος τὴν ἐπίνοιαν αὐτῶν,  
 ἀναλαβὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατεύματος τοὺς ἀρί-  
 στους ἄνδρας ἔπλευσε πρὸς τὴν Αἰγοῦσσαν νῆσον  
 5 τὴν πρὸ τοῦ Λιλυβαίου κειμένην. κἀνταῦθα παρα-  
 καλέσας τὰ πρέποντα τῷ καιρῷ τὰς δυνάμεις δι-  
 εσάφει τοῖς κυβερνήταις ὡς ἐσομένης εἰς τὴν αὔριον  
 6 ναυμαχίας. ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἑωθινήν, ἤδη τῆς ἡμέρας  
 ὑποφαινούσης, ὄρων τοῖς μὲν ἐναντίοις φορὸν ἀνε-  
 μον καταρρέοντα καὶ λαμπρόν, σφίσι δὲ δυσχερῆ  
 γινόμενον τὸν ἀνάπλουν πρὸς ἀντίον τὸ πνεῦμα,



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κοίλης καὶ τραχείας οὔσης τῆς θαλάττης, τὸ μὲν  
 7 πρῶτον διηπόρει τί δεῖ χρῆσθαι τοῖς παροῦσι. συλ-  
 λογιζόμενος δ' ὡς εἴαν μὲν παραβάλληται χειμῶνος  
 ὄντος, πρὸς Ἄνωνα ποιήσεται τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ πρὸς  
 αὐτὰς τὰς ναυτικὰς δυνάμεις καὶ πρὸς ἔτι γέμοντα  
 8 τὰ σκάφη, εἴαν δὲ τηρῶν εὐδίαν καὶ καταμέλλων  
 εἶσθαι διᾶραι καὶ συμμίξαι τοῖς στρατοπέδοις τοὺς  
 πολεμίους, πρὸς τε τὰς ναῦς εὐκινήτους καὶ κεκου-  
 φισμένας ἀγωνιεῖται πρὸς τε τοὺς ἀρίστους ἄνδρας  
 τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατευμάτων, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον  
 πρὸς τὴν Ἀμίλκου τόλμαν, ἧς οὐδὲν ἦν τότε φο-  
 9 βερώτερον· διόπερ ἔκρινε μὴ παρῆναι τὸν ἐνεστῶτα  
 καιρόν· συνιδὼν δὲ τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ναῦς ἰστιο-  
 δρομούσας, ἀνήγετο μετὰ σπουδῆς. τῶν δὲ πλη-  
 ρωμάτων εὐχερῶς ἀναφερόντων τὸν κλύδωνα ταῖς  
 εὐεξίαις, ταχέως ἐπὶ μίαν ἐκτεῖνας ναῦν ἀντίπρωρ-  
 61 ρον κατέστησε τοῖς πολεμίους τὸν στόλον. οἱ δὲ  
 Καρχηδόνιοι κατιδόντες τὸν διάπλουν αὐτῶν προ-  
 κατέχοντας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, καθελόμενοι τοὺς ἰστούς  
 καὶ παρακαλέσαντες κατὰ ναῦν σφᾶς αὐτοῦς, συν-  
 2 ἔβαλλον τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις. τῆς δ' ἑκατέρων παρα-  
 σκευῆς τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐχούσης διάθεσιν τῇ περὶ τὰ  
 Δρέπανα γενομένη ναυμαχίᾳ, καὶ τὸ τέλος ἑκατέροις  
 3 τῆς μάχης εἰκότως ἐναντίον ἀπέβη. οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι  
 μὲν γὰρ τὴν τε ναυπηγίαν μετειλήφεσαν, καὶ τὰ βάρη  
 πάντα χωρὶς τῶν πρὸς τὴν ναυμαχίαν ἐπιτηδείων  
 ἐξετέθειντο· τὰ τε πληρώματα συγκεκροτημένα δια-  
 φέρουσαν αὐτοῖς τὴν χρεῖαν παρείχετο, τοὺς τ'  
 ἐπιβάτας κατ' ἐκλογὴν ἄνδρας ἀπαραχωρήτους ἐκ  
 4 τῶν πεζικῶν στρατοπέδων εἶχον. περὶ δὲ τοὺς  
 Καρχηδονίους τᾶναντία τούτοις ὑπῆρχεν. αἱ μὲν  
 γὰρ νῆες γέμουσαι δυσχρήστως διέκειντο πρὸς τὸν

sea too being heavy and rough. At first he hesitated much what to do under the circumstances, but reflected that if he risked an attack now that the weather was stormy, he would be fighting against Hanno and the naval forces alone and also against heavily laden ships, whereas if he waited for calm weather and by his delay allowed the enemy to cross and join the army, he would have to face ships now lightened and manageable as well as the pick of the land forces and above all the bravery of Hamilcar which was what they dreaded most at that time. He therefore decided not to let the present opportunity slip. When he saw the Carthaginian ships under full sail he at once got under weigh. As his crews easily mastered the waves owing to their good training, he soon brought his fleet into a single line with their prows to the enemy. 61. The Carthaginians, seeing that the Romans were intercepting their crossing, lowered their masts and cheering each other on in each ship closed with the enemy. As the outfit of each force was just the reverse of what it had been at the battle of Drepana, the result also was naturally the reverse for each. The Romans had reformed their system of shipbuilding and had also put ashore all heavy material except what was required for the battle; their crews rendered excellent service, as their training had got them well together, and the marines they had were men selected from the army for their steadfastness. With the Carthaginians it was just the opposite. Their ships, being loaded, were not in a serviceable condition for battle, while

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

κίνδυνον, τὰ δὲ πληρώματα τελέως ἦν ἀνάσκητα  
καὶ πρὸς καιρὸν ἐμβεβλημένα, τὰ δ' ἐπιβατικὰ νεο-  
σύλλογα καὶ πρωτόπειρα πάσης κακοπαθείας καὶ  
5 παντὸς δεινοῦ. διὰ γὰρ τὸ μηδέποτ' ἂν ἔτι τοὺς  
Ῥωμαίους ἐλπῖσαι τῆς θαλάττης ἀντιποιήσασθαι  
καταφρονήσαντες ὀλιγώρουν τῶν ναυτικῶν δυνά-  
6 μεων. τοιγαροῦν ἅμα τῷ συμβαλεῖν κατὰ πολλὰ  
μέρη τῆς μάχης ἐλαττούμενοι ταχέως ἐλείφθησαν,  
καὶ πεντήκοντα μὲν αὐτῶν ναῦς κατέδυσαν, ἑβδο-  
7 μήκοντα δ' ἐάλωσαν αὐτανδροί. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆ-  
θος ἐπαράμενον τοὺς ἰστούς καὶ κατουρῶσαν αὐθις  
ἀπεχώρει πρὸς τὴν Ἱερὰν νῆσον, εὐτυχῶς καὶ παρα-  
δόξως ἐκ μεταβολῆς αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸν δέοντα και-  
8 ρὸν τοῦ πνεύματος συνεργήσαντος. ὁ μὲν οὖν  
Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς ἀποπλεύσας πρὸς τὸ Διλύ-  
βαιον καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα περὶ τὴν τῶν αἰχμαλώτων  
πλοίων καὶ τῶν σωμάτων οἰκονομίαν ἐγένετο,  
μεγάλην οὔσαν· οὐ γὰρ πολὺ τῶν μυρίων ἔλειπε  
σωμάτων τὰ ληφθέντα ζωγρία κατὰ τὸν κίνδυνον.

62 Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι, προσπεσοῦσης αὐτοῖς ἀπροσ-  
δοκῆτως τῆς ἥττης, ταῖς μὲν ὀρμαῖς καὶ ταῖς φιλο-  
τιμίαις ἀκμὴν ἔτοιμοι πολεμεῖν ἦσαν, τοῖς δὲ λογι-  
2 σμοῖς ἐξηπόρουν. οὔτε γὰρ χορηγεῖν ἔτι ταῖς ἐν τῇ  
Σικελίᾳ δυνάμεσιν οἰοί τ' ἦσαν, κρατούντων τῆς  
θαλάττης τῶν ὑπεναντίων· ἀπογνόντες δὲ ταύτας,  
καὶ προδόται τρόπον τινὰ γενόμενοι, ποίαις χερσὶν  
3 ἢ ποίοις ἡγεμόσι πολεμήσειαν οὐκ εἶχον. διόπερ  
ὀξέως διαπεμφάμενοι πρὸς τὸν Βάρκαν ἐπέτρεψαν  
ἐκείνῳ περὶ τῶν ὄλων. ὁ δὲ καὶ λίαν ἐποίησεν  
4 ἔργον ἡγεμόνος ἀγαθοῦ καὶ φρονίμου. μέχρι μὲν  
γὰρ ἐκ τῶν κατὰ λόγον ἦν τις ἐλπίς ἐν τοῖς ὑποκει-  
μένοις, οὐδὲν τῶν παραβόλων ἢ δεινῶν δοκούντων



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εἶναι παρέλιπεν, ἀλλὰ πάσας τὰς τοῦ νικᾶν ἐν τῷ  
 πολεμῆν ἐλπίδας, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος ἡγεμόνων, ἐξ-  
 5 ἤλεγξεν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ περιέστη τὰ πράγματα, καὶ τῶν  
 κατὰ λόγον οὐδὲν ἔτι κατελείπετο πρὸς τὸ σώζειν  
 τοὺς ὑποταττομένους, πάνυ νουνεχῶς καὶ πραγμα-  
 τικῶς εἶξας τοῖς παροῦσιν ὑπὲρ σπονδῶν καὶ δια-  
 6 λύσεων ἐξαπέστειλε πρεσβευτάς. τοῦ γὰρ αὐτοῦ  
 νομιστέον ἡγεμόνος εἶναι τὸ δύνασθαι βλέπειν τὸν τε  
 7 τοῦ νικᾶν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸν τοῦ λείπεσθαι καιρόν.  
 τοῦ δὲ Λυτατίου προθύμως δεξαμένου τὰ παρακα-  
 λούμενα διὰ τὸ συνειδέναι τοῖς σφετέροις πράγμασι  
 τετρυμένοις καὶ κάμνουσιν ἤδη τῷ πολέμῳ, συνέβη  
 τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι τῇ διαφορᾷ τοιούτων τινῶν συνθη-  
 8 κῶν διαγραφεισῶν· “ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε φιλίαν εἶναι Καρ-  
 χηδονίοις καὶ Ῥωμαίοις, εἴαν καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν  
 Ῥωμαίων συνδοκῆ. ἐκχωρεῖν Σικελίας ἀπάσης  
 Καρχηδονίους καὶ μὴ πολεμῆν Ἰέρωνι μηδ’ ἐπι-  
 φέρειν ὄπλα Συρακοσίοις μηδὲ τῶν Συρακοσίων  
 9 συμμάχοις. ἀποδοῦναι Καρχηδονίους Ῥωμαίοις  
 χωρὶς λύτρων ἅπαντας τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους. ἀρ-  
 γυρίου κατενεγκεῖν Καρχηδονίους Ῥωμαίοις ἐν  
 ἔτεσιν εἴκοσι δισχίλια καὶ διακόσια τάλαντ’  
 63 Εὐβοϊκά.” τούτων δ’ ἐπανενεχθέντων εἰς τὴν  
 Ῥώμην, οὐ προσεδέξατο τὰς συνθήκας ὁ δῆμος, ἀλλ’  
 ἐξαπέστειλεν ἄνδρας δέκα τοὺς ἐπισκεψομένους  
 2 ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων. οἱ καὶ παραγενόμενοι τῶν  
 μὲν ὄλων οὐδὲν ἔτι μετέθηκαν, βραχέα δὲ προσεπέτει-  
 3 ναν τοὺς Καρχηδονίους. τὸν τε γὰρ χρόνον τῶν  
 φόρων ἐποίησαν ἡμισυν, χίλια τάλαντα προσθέντες,  
 τῶν τε νήσων ἐκχωρεῖν Καρχηδονίους προσεπέτα-  
 ξαν, ὅσαι μεταξὺ τῆς Ἰταλίας κεῖνται καὶ τῆς  
 Σικελίας.

venturesome it seemed, unemployed, and if there ever was a general who put to proof in a war every chance of success, it was he. But now that fortunes were reversed and there was no reasonable prospect left of saving the troops under his command, he showed his practical good sense in yielding to circumstance and sending an embassy to treat for peace. For our opinion should be that a general ought to be qualified to discern both when he is victorious and when he is beaten. Lutatius readily consented to negotiate, conscious as he was that the Romans were by this time worn out and enfeebled by the war, and he succeeded in putting an end to the contest by a treaty more or less as follows. "There shall be friendship between the Carthaginians and Romans on the following terms if approved by the Roman people. The Carthaginians to evacuate the whole of Sicily and not to make war on Hiero or bear arms against the Syracusans or the allies of the Syracusans. The Carthaginians to give up to the Romans all prisoners without ransom. The Carthaginians to pay to the Romans by instalments in twenty years two thousand two hundred Euboean talents." 63. But when these terms were referred to Rome, the people did not accept the treaty, but sent ten commissioners to examine the matter. On their arrival they made no substantial changes in the terms, but only slight modifications rendering them more severe for Carthage: for they reduced the term of payment by one half, added a thousand talents to the indemnity, and demanded the evacuation by the Carthaginians of all islands lying between Sicily and Italy.



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

4 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις συστάς  
 περὶ Σικελίας πόλεμος ἐπὶ τοιούτοις καὶ τοιούτον  
 ἔσχε τὸ τέλος, ἔτη πολεμηθεὶς εἴκοσι καὶ τέτταρα  
 συνεχῶς, πόλεμος ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν ἀκοῇ μαθόντες  
 5 πολυχροنيώτατος καὶ συνεχέστατος καὶ μέγιστος.  
 ἐν ᾧ χωρὶς τῶν λοιπῶν ἀγώνων καὶ παρασκευῶν,  
 καθάπερ εἶπομεν ἀνώτερον, ἅπαξ μὲν οἱ συνάμφω  
 πλείοσιν ἢ πεντακοσίοις, πάλιν δὲ μικρῶ λείπουσιν  
 ἑπτακοσίοις σκάφεσι πεντηρικοῖς ἐναυμάχησαν πρὸς  
 6 ἀλλήλους. ἀπέβαλόν γε μὴν Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐν τῷ  
 πολέμῳ τούτῳ πεντήρεις μετὰ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ναυα-  
 γίαις διαφθαρεισῶν εἰς ἑπτακοσίας, Καρχηδόνιοι δ'  
 7 εἰς πεντακοσίας. ὥστε τοὺς θαυμάζοντας τὰς Ἀν-  
 τιγόνου καὶ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Δημητρίου ναυμαχίας  
 καὶ τοὺς στόλους εἰκότως ἂν περὶ τούτων ἱστορή-  
 σαντας ἐκπεπλήχθαι τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῶν πράξεων.  
 8 εἰ δέ τις βουλευθεῖη συλλογίσασθαι τὴν διαφορὰν  
 τῶν πεντηρικῶν πλοίων πρὸς τὰς τριήρεις, αἷς οἷ  
 τε Πέρσαι πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ πάλιν Ἀθηναῖοι  
 καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐναυμάχουν, οὐδ'  
 ἂν καθόλου δυνηθεῖη τηλικαύτας δυνάμεις εὐρεῖν  
 9 ἐν θαλάττῃ διηγωνισμένας. ἐξ ὧν δῆλον τὸ προ-  
 τεθὲν ἡμῖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὡς οὐ τύχη Ῥωμαῖοι, καθάπερ  
 ἔνιοι δοκοῦσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὐδ' αὐτομάτως, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ λίαν εἰκότως ἐν τοιούτοις καὶ τηλικούτοις πράγ-  
 μασιν ἐνασκήσαντες οὐ μόνον ἐπεβάλλοντο τῇ τῶν  
 ὄλων ἡγεμονίᾳ καὶ δυναστείᾳ τολμηρῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 64 καθίκοντο τῆς προθέσεως. καὶ τί δή ποτ' ἔστι τὸ  
 αἴτιον, ἀπορήσαι τις ἂν, ὅτι κεκρατηκότες τῶν ὄλων  
 καὶ πολλαπλασίαν ἔχοντες ὑπεροχὴν νῦν ἢ πρόσθεν  
 οὔτ' ἂν πληρῶσαι τοσαύτας ναῦς οὔτ' ἀναπλεῦσαι  
 2 τηλικούτοις στόλοις δυνηθεῖεν; οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ περὶ



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μὲν ταύτης τῆς ἀπορίας σαφῶς ἐξέσται τὰς αἰτίας  
 κατανοεῖν, ὅταν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξήγησιν αὐτῶν τῆς πολι-  
 3 τείας ἔλθωμεν· ὑπὲρ ἧς οὐθ' ἡμῖν ἐν παρέργῳ ῥη-  
 μέον οὔτε τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ἀργῶς προσεκτέον. τὸ  
 μὲν γὰρ θέαμα καλόν, σχεδὸν δ' ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν  
 4 ἄγνωστον ἕως τοῦ νῦν, χάριν τῶν περὶ αὐτῆς συγ-  
 γεγραφότων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἠγνοήκασιν, οἱ δ' ἀσαφῆ  
 5 καὶ τελέως ἀνωφελῆ πεποίηνται τὴν ἐξήγησιν. πλὴν  
 ἐν γε τῷ προειρημένῳ πολέμῳ τὰς μὲν τῶν πολι-  
 τευμάτων ἀμφοτέρων προαιρέσεις ἐφαμίλλους εὔροι-  
 6 τισ ἂν γεγενημένας, οὐ μόνον ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ ταῖς μεγαλοψυχίαις, μάλιστα δὲ τῇ περὶ τῶν  
 πρωτείων φιλοτιμίᾳ, τοὺς γε μὴν ἄνδρας οὐ μικρῶ,  
 πολλῶ δὲ γενναιοτέρους ἐν παντὶ Ῥωμαίους· ἠγε-  
 μόνα δὲ καὶ γνώμη καὶ τόλμη θετέον ἄριστον Ἀμίλ-  
 καν τῶν τότε γεγονέναι τὸν Βάρκαν ἐπικαλούμενον,  
 πατέρα δὲ κατὰ φύσιν Ἀννίβου τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα  
 πολεμήσαντος Ῥωμαίοις.

**65** Μετὰ δὲ τὰς διαλύσεις ταύτας ἰδιὸν τι καὶ  
 2 παραπλήσιον ἀμφοτέροις συνέβη παθεῖν. ἐξεδέξατο  
 γὰρ πόλεμος ἐμφύλιος Ῥωμαίους μὲν ὁ πρὸς τοὺς  
 Φαλίσκους καλουμένους, ὃν ταχέως καὶ συμφερόντως  
 ἐπετέλεσαν, ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ἐγκρατεῖς γενόμενοι  
 3 τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν, Καρχηδονίους δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐ-  
 τὸν καιρὸν οὐ μικρὸς οὐδ' εὐκαταφρόνητος ὁ πρὸς  
 τοὺς ξένους καὶ τοὺς Νομάδας καὶ τοὺς ἅμα τού-  
 4 τοις ἀποστάντας Λίβυας, ἐν ᾧ πολλοὺς καὶ μεγά-  
 λους ὑπομείναντες φόβους τέλος οὐ μόνον ὑπὲρ τῆς  
 χώρας ἐκινδύνευσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν  
 5 καὶ τοῦ τῆς πατρίδος ἐδάφους. ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν πόλεμον  
 τοῦτον ἐπιστῆσαι μὲν ἄξιον διὰ πλείους αἰτίας, ἐπὶ  
 κεφαλαίου δὲ καὶ διὰ βραχέων αὐτοῦ ποιήσασθαι

Those, however, who are puzzled by this, will be enabled to understand the reason clearly when we come to deal with their political institutions, a subject not to be treated incidentally by the writer or followed inattentively by the reader. It offers a noble spectacle and one almost wholly unrevealed hitherto, owing to the incompetence of the authors who have dealt with it, some of whom sinned from lack of knowledge, while the account given by others is wanting in clearness and entirely unprofitable. As regards, however, the war of which we are speaking, one will find its purpose and prosecution on the part of the two states equally characterized on both sides by enterprise, by lofty spirit, and above all by ambition for supremacy. In individual courage indeed the Romans were far superior on the whole, but the general to whom the palm must be given both for daring and for genius is Hamilcar called Barcas, the actual father of that Hannibal who afterwards made war on the Romans.

65. Shortly after this treaty it so happened that both states found themselves placed in circumstances peculiarly similar. For at Rome there followed a civil war against the Falisci, but this they brought to a speedy and favourable conclusion, taking Falerii in a few days. But the war the Carthaginians had to face was no little or contemptible one, being against their mercenaries, the Numidians and those Libyans who joined in the revolt. In this war they encountered many great perils and finally were in danger of losing not only their territory, but their own liberty and the soil of their native town. For several reasons I think it worth my while to dwell on this war, and, according to the plan I stated at the outset, to give a summary and brief

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

**6** τὴν ἐξήγησιν κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρόθεσιν. τὸν τε γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς λεγόμενον ἄσπονδον πόλεμον, τίνα φύσιν ἔχει καὶ διάθεσιν, μάλιστα ἂν τις  
**7** ἐκ τῶν τότε γεγονότων ἐπιγνοίῃ, τοὺς τε χρωμένους μισθοφορικαῖς δυνάμεσι τίνα δεῖ προορᾶσθαι καὶ φυλάττεσθαι μακρόθεν ἐναργέστατ' ἂν ἐκ τῆς τότε περιστάσεως συνθεωρήσειε, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τί διαφέρει καὶ κατὰ πόσον ἦθη σύμμικτα καὶ βάρ-  
**8** βαρα τῶν ἐν παιδείαις καὶ νόμοις καὶ πολιτικοῖς ἔθεσιν ἐκτεθραμμένων· τὸ δὲ μέγιστον τὰς αἰτίας ἐκ τῶν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς καιροῖς πεπραγμένων κατανοήσειε, δι' ἧς ὁ κατ' Ἀννίβαν συνέστη Ῥωμαίοις  
**9** καὶ Καρχηδονίοις πόλεμος. ὑπὲρ οὗ διὰ τὸ μὴ μόνον παρὰ τοῖς συγγραφεῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πεπολεμηκόσιν ἔτι νῦν ἀμφισβητεῖσθαι τὰς αἰτίας, χρήσιμόν ἐστι τὴν ἀληθινωτάτην παραστήσαι διάληψιν τοῖς φιλομαθοῦσιν.

**66** Ὡς γὰρ θάπτον ἐπιτελεσθεισῶν τῶν προειρημένων διαλύσεων ἀποκατέστησε τὰς περὶ τὸν Ἐρυκανὰς δυνάμεις εἰς τὸ Λιλύβαιον ὁ Βάρκας, εὐθέως αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπέθετο τὴν ἀρχήν, ὁ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως στρατηγὸς Γέσκων ἐγένετο περὶ τὸ περαιουῖν τοὺς  
**2** στρατιώτας εἰς τὴν Λιβύην. προῖδόμενος δὲ τὸ μέλλον ἐμφρόνως ἐνεβίβαζε κατὰ μέρη διαιρῶν αὐ-  
**3** τοὺς καὶ διαλείμματα ποιῶν τῆς ἐξαποστολῆς, βουλόμενος ἀναστροφὴν διδόναι τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις εἰς τὸ τοὺς καταπλεύσαντας καὶ μισθοδοτηθέντας τὰ προσοφειλόμενα τῶν ὀψωνίων φθάνειν ἀπαλλαττο-  
**4** μένους ἐκ τῆς Καρχηδόνης εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν πρὶν ἢ τοὺς ἐξῆς περαιουμένους ἐπικαταλαβεῖν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Γέσκων ἐχόμενος ταύτης τῆς ἐννοίας οὕτως ἐχείριζε  
**5** τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐξαποστολήν. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τὰ



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μὲν οὐκ εὐπορούμενοι χρημάτων διὰ τὰς προγεγε-  
 νημένας δαπάνας, τὰ δὲ καὶ πεπεισμένοι παραιτή-  
 σεσθαι τοὺς μισθοφόρους μέρος τι τῶν προσοφειλο-  
 μένων ὀψωνίων, εἴαν καὶ συναθροίσωσι καὶ δέξων-  
 ται πάντας εἰς τὴν Καρχηδόνα, παρακατεῖχον ἐκεῖ  
 τοὺς καταπλέοντας διὰ ταύτην τὴν ἐλπίδα καὶ συν-  
 6 εἶχον ἐν τῇ πόλει. γινομένων δὲ πλειόνων ἀδικη-  
 μάτων καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον  
 ὑπιδόμενοι τὸν ὄχλον καὶ τὴν συμβαίνουσαν ἀκρα-  
 σίαν ἠξίωσαν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ἕως ἂν ἐτοιμασθῇ  
 μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὰς σιταρχίας αὐτοῖς, προσδέξωνται  
 δὲ τοὺς ἀπολειπομένους, ἀναχωρῆσαι πάντας εἰς  
 7 τινὰ πόλιν τὴν προσαγορευομένην Σίκκαν, λαβόν-  
 τας εἰς τὰ κατεπείγοντα χρυσοῦν ἕκαστον. προθύ-  
 μως δὲ συνυπακουσάντων πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον, καὶ  
 βουλομένων αὐτοῦ καταλιπεῖν τὰς ἀποσκευάς, καθ-  
 ἄπερ καὶ τὸν πρῶτον χρόνον ὑπῆρχον, ὡς θᾶπτον  
 ἐσομένης τῆς ἐπανόδου πρὸς τοὺς ὀψωνιασμούς,  
 8 ἀγωνιῶντες οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι μήποτε διὰ χρόνου  
 παραγεγονότες, καὶ τινὲς μὲν τέκνων, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ  
 γυναικῶν ἰμείροντες, οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἐκπορευθῶσι τὸ  
 παράπαν, οἱ δ' ἐκπορευθέντες αὐθις ἀνακάμπτωσι  
 πρὸς ταῦτα, καὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ μηδὲν ἥττον  
 ἀδίκημα γίνηται κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ταῦτα προορώμε-  
 9 νοι μετὰ πολλῆς ἀπεχθείας οὐδαμῶς βουλομένους  
 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἠνάγκασαν τὰς ἀποσκευὰς μεθ'  
 10 ἑαυτῶν ἀπαγαγεῖν. οἱ δὲ μισθοφόροι συναναχθέν-  
 τες εἰς τὴν Σίκκαν, καὶ διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου τετευ-  
 χότες ἀνέσεως καὶ σχολῆς, ὅπερ ἀφυέστατον ὑπάρ-  
 χει ξενικαῖς δυνάμεσι, καὶ σχεδὸν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀρχη-  
 γὸν καὶ μόνον αἴτιον γίνεται στάσεως, διῆγον  
 11 ἀδεῶς. ἅμα δὲ ῥαθυμοῦντες, τινὲς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐξ-

partly because, owing to their recent outlay, they were not very well off for money, and partly because they were convinced that the mercenaries would let them off part of their arrears of pay, once they had got them all collected in Carthage, detained them there on their arrival in this hope, confining them to the city. As they committed frequent offences there both by night and by day, the government in the first place, suspicious of their numbers and their present licentious spirit, asked their commanding officers, until arrangements had been made for paying them in full and those who were still missing had arrived, to withdraw them all to a town called Sicca, each man receiving a gold stater for pressing expenses. The troops readily consented to leave the capital, but wished to leave their baggage there, as they had formerly done, thinking that they would be soon returning to be paid off. The Carthaginians, however, were afraid lest, longing to be with their wives or children after their recent protracted absence, they might in many cases refuse to leave Carthage, or, if they did, would come back again to their families, so that there would be no decrease of outrages in the city. In anticipation then of this, they compelled the men, much against their will and in a manner calculated to cause much offence, to take their baggage with them. The mercenaries, when assembled in Sicca, lived in a free and easy manner, having not enjoyed for a long time relaxation of discipline and leisure, things most prejudicial to a force raised abroad, and nearly always the very arch-instigators and sole causes of mutiny. At the same time, as they had nothing else to do, some of them began



ελογίζοντο τὰ προσοφειλόμενα σφίσι τῶν ὄψωνίων ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖον, καὶ συγκεφαλαιούμενοι πολλαπλάσια τῶν καθηκόντων, ταῦτ' ἔφασαν δεῖν ἀπαιτεῖν τοὺς  
**12** Καρχηδονίους· πάντες δ' ἀναμιμνησκόμενοι τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν, ὧν οἱ στρατηγοὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἐπισφαλεῖς τῶν καιρῶν παρακαλοῦντες σφᾶς ἐπεποίηντο, μεγά-  
**67** λας εἶχον ἐλπίδας καὶ μεγάλην προσδοκίαν τῆς ἐσο-  
 μένης περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐπανορθώσεως. διόπερ ἅμα τῷ συλλεχθῆναι πάντας εἰς τὴν Σίκκαν, καὶ παρα-  
 γενόμενον Ἄνωνα τὸν ὑπάρχοντα στρατηγὸν ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ τότε τῶν Καρχηδονίων μὴ οἶον τὰς ἐλπίδας καὶ τὰς ἐπαγγελίας ἐκπληροῦν, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον λέγοντα τὸ βάρος τῶν φόρων καὶ τὴν καθόλου στενοχωρίαν τῆς πόλεως ἐγχειρεῖν παραιτεῖσθαι μέρος τι τῶν ἐξ ὁμολόγου προσοφειλομένων ὄψωνίων, εὐθέως διαφορὰ καὶ στάσις ἐγεννᾶτο καὶ συν-  
**2**δρομαὶ συνεχεῖς ἐγίνοντο, ποτὲ μὲν κατὰ γένη, ποτὲ  
**3** δ' ὁμοῦ πάντων. ὡς δ' ἂν μήθ' ὁμοεθνῶν μήθ' ὁμογλώττων ὑπαρχόντων, ἦν ἀμιξίας καὶ θορύβου καὶ τῆς λεγομένης τύρβης πλήρες τὸ στρατόπεδον.  
**4** Καρχηδόνιοι γὰρ αἰεὶ χρώμενοι ποικίλαις καὶ μισθοφορικαῖς δυνάμεσι, πρὸς μὲν τὸ μὴ ταχέως συμφρονήσαντας ἀπειθεῖν μηδὲ δυσκαταπλήκτους εἶναι τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ὀρθῶς στοχάζονται, ποιοῦντες ἐκ  
**5** πολλῶν γενῶν τὴν δύναμιν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ γενομένης ὀργῆς ἢ διαβολῆς ἢ στάσεως διδάξαι καὶ πραῦναι καὶ μεταθεῖναι τοὺς ἡγνοηκότας ὀλοσχερῶς ἀστο-  
**6**χοῦσιν. οὐ γὰρ οἶον ἀνθρωπίνῃ χρησθαι κακίᾳ συμβαίνει τὰς τοιαύτας δυνάμεις, ὅταν ἅπαξ εἰς ὀργὴν καὶ διαβολὴν ἐμπέσωσι πρὸς τινὰς, ἀλλ' ἀπο-



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θηριοῦσθαι τὸ τελευταῖον καὶ παραστατικὴν λαμ-  
 7 βάνειν διάθεσιν. ὃ καὶ τότε συνέβη γενέσθαι περὶ  
 αὐτούς· ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ μὲν Ἰβηρες, οἱ δὲ Κελτοί,  
 τινὲς δὲ Λιγυστῖνοι καὶ Βαλιαρεῖς, οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ  
 μιξέλληνες, ὧν οἱ πλείους αὐτόμολοι καὶ δοῦλοι.  
 8 τὸ δὲ μέγιστον μέρος αὐτῶν ἦν Λίβυες. διόπερ  
 οὔτ' ἐκκλησιάσαι συναθροίσαντα πάντας ὁμοῦ δυ-  
 νατὸν ἦν οὔτ' ἄλλην οὐδεμίαν εὑρέσθαι πρὸς τοῦτο  
 9 μηχανήν. πῶς γὰρ οἶόν τε; τὸν μὲν γὰρ στρατηγὸν  
 εἰδέναι τὰς ἐκάστων διαλέκτους ἀδύνατον· διὰ  
 πλειόνων δ' ἑρμηνέων ἐκκλησιάζειν, ἅμα τετράκισ  
 καὶ πεντάκισ περὶ ταῦτοῦ λέγοντα πράγματος, σχε-  
 10 δὸν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἔτι τοῦ πρόσθεν ἀδυνατώτερον. λοι-  
 πὸν ἦν διὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀξιώσεις  
 καὶ παρακλήσεις· ὅπερ ἐπειρᾶτο τότε συνεχῶς  
 11 ποιεῖν ὁ Ἄννων. ἀκμὴν δὲ καὶ τούτους συνέβαινε  
 ἃ μὲν οὐκ αἰσθάνεσθαι τῶν λεγομένων, ἃ δὲ καὶ  
 συναινέσαντας ἐνίοτε τῷ στρατηγῷ τάναντία πρὸς  
 τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀναγγέλλειν, τοὺς μὲν δι' ἄγνοιαν, τοὺς  
 δὲ διὰ κακίαν· ἐξ ὧν ἦν ἀσαφείας, ἀπιστίας, ἀμι-  
 12 ξίας, ἅπαντα πλήρη. πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὤοντο  
 καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐπίτηδες τοὺς μὲν εἰδότας  
 στρατηγοὺς τὰς γεγενημένας χρείας κατὰ Σικελίαν  
 ἐξ αὐτῶν, καὶ πεποιημένους σφίσι τὰς ἐπαγγελίας,  
 οὐκ ἐξαποστέλλειν ὡς αὐτούς, τὸν δὲ μηδενὶ τού-  
 13 των παρηκολουθηκότα τοῦτον ἐκπεπομφένοι. τέλος  
 δ' οὖν ἀπαξιώσαντες μὲν τὸν Ἄννονα, διαπιστή-  
 σαντες δὲ τοῖς κατὰ μέρος ἡγεμόσιν, ἐξοργισθέντες  
 δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, ὤρμησαν πρὸς τὴν  
 πόλιν· καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσαν ἀπέχοντες ὡς ἂν  
 ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι στάδια τῆς Καρχηδόνης ἐπὶ τῷ  
 καλουμένῳ Τύνητι, πλείους ὄντες τῶν δισμυρίων.

wild beasts or men deranged, as happened in the present case. Some of these troops were Iberians, some Celts, some Ligurians, and some from the Balearic islands; there were a good many Greek half-breeds, mostly deserters and slaves, but the largest portion consisted of Libyans. It was therefore impossible to assemble them and address them as a body or to do so by any other means; for how could the general be expected to know all their languages? And again to address them through several interpreters, repeating the same thing four or five times, was, if anything, more impracticable. The only means was to make demands or entreaties through their officers, as Hanno continued to attempt on the present occasion, and even these did not understand all that was told them, or at times, after seeming to agree with the general, addressed their troops in just the opposite sense either from ignorance or from malice. The consequence was that everything was in a state of uncertainty, mistrust and confusion. For one thing, they thought the Carthaginians had acted purposely in not communicating with them through the generals who were acquainted with their performances in Sicily and who had made them the promises of bounties, but in sending one who had not been present on any of those occasions. At length, then, refusing to treat with Hanno, thoroughly distrusting their divisional officers, and highly indignant with the Carthaginians, they marched on the capital and encamped at a distance of about one hundred and twenty stades from Carthage at the place called Tunis. They were more than twenty thousand in number.

68 Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τότε πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἐλάμβα-  
 2 νον τὴν αὐτῶν ἄγνοιαν, ὅτ' ἦν οὐδὲν ὄφελος. με-  
 γάλα μὲν γὰρ ἤμαρτον, εἰς ἓνα τόπον ἀθροίσαντες  
 τοσοῦτο πλῆθος μισθοφόρων, ἔχοντες οὐδεμίαν  
 3 ἐλπίδα πολεμικῆς χρείας ἐν ταῖς πολιτικαῖς δυνά-  
 μεσι, τούτου δὲ μεῖζον ἔτι, προέμενοι τὰ τέκνα καὶ  
 τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ σὺν τούτοις τὰς ἀποσκευάς· οἷς  
 ἐξῆν ὀμήροις χρησαμένους ἀσφαλέστερον μὲν αὐ-  
 4 τοὺς βουλευσασθαι περὶ τῶν ὑποπιπτόντων, εὐπει-  
 θεστέροις δ' ἐκείνοις χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὸ παρακαλού-  
 μενον, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ καταπλαγέντες τὴν στρατο-  
 5 πεδείαν πᾶν ὑπέμενον, σπουδάζοντες ἐξιλάσασθαι  
 τὴν ὀργὴν αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰς τε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀγο-  
 ρὰς ἐκπέμποντες δαψιλεῖς ἐπώλουν, καθὼς ἐκείνοι  
 βούλοιντο καὶ τάττοιεν τὰς τιμάς, τῶν τε τῆς γε-  
 6 ρουσίας αἰεὶ τινὰς ἐξαπέστελλον πρέσβεις, ὑπισχνού-  
 μενοι ποιήσειν πᾶν ὅ, τι ποτ' ἂν αὐτοὺς ἀξιώσαιεν  
 εἰ κατὰ δύναμιν. ἦν δὲ πολὺ τὸ καθ' ἐκάστην  
 ἡμέραν παρὰ τοῖς μισθοφόροις ἐπινοούμενον, ἅτε  
 7 δὴ κατατεθαρρηκότων μὲν καὶ συντεθεωρηκότων  
 τὴν κατάπληξιν καὶ πτοίαν τῶν Καρχηδονίων, πε-  
 φρονηματισμένων δὲ καὶ πεπεισμένων διὰ τοὺς  
 προγεγονότας αὐτοῖς ἐν Σικελίᾳ πρὸς τὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰ  
 στρατόπεδα κινδύνους μὴ οἶον Καρχηδονίους ἀντο-  
 8 φθαλμῆσαί ποτ' ἂν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις, ἀλλὰ  
 μηδὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνθρώπων μηδένα ῥαδίως. διό-  
 περ ἅμα τῷ συγχωρῆσαι τὰ περὶ τῶν ὄψωνίων αὐ-  
 τοῖς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους εὐθέως ἐπέβαινον, καὶ τῶν  
 9 τεθνεώτων ἵππων ἀπήτουν τὰς ἀξίας. προσδεξα-  
 μένων δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, πάλιν τῆς προσοφειλομένης  
 σιτομετρίας ἐκ πλείονος χρόνου τὴν μεγίστην γε-  
 γονυῖαν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τιμὴν ἔφασκον αὐτοὺς δεῖν



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- 10 κομίζεσθαι. καθόλου δ' αεί τι νέον καὶ καινὸν  
προσεξεύρισκον, εἰς ἀδύνατον ἐκβάλλοντες τὴν διά-  
λυσιν, διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς καχέκτας καὶ στασιώδεις ἐν
- 11 αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πᾶν τὸ δυνατὸν  
ὑπισχνουμένων τῶν Καρχηδονίων, κατένευσαν ἐπι-  
τρέψειν περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων ἐνὶ τῶν ἐν
- 12 Σικελίᾳ γεγονότων στρατηγῶν. πρὸς μὲν οὖν  
Ἄμίλκαν τὸν Βάρκαν, μεθ' οὗ συγκεκινδυνεύκεσαν  
ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ, δυσχερῶς εἶχον, δοκοῦντες οὐχ  
ἦκιστα δι' ἐκεῖνον ὀλιγωρεῖσθαι, τῷ μήτε πρε-  
σβεύειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν τε στρατηγίαν ἐκουσίως
- 13 δοκεῖν ἀποθεθεῖσθαι· πρὸς δὲ Γέσκωνα πάνυ δι-  
έκειντο φιλανθρώπως, ὃς ἐγεγόνει μὲν ἐν Σικελίᾳ  
στρατηγός, ἐπεποιήτο δ' αὐτῶν πρόνοϊαν τὴν ἐν-  
δεχομένην ἐν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τὴν  
ἀνακομιδὴν. διόπερ ἐπέτρεψαν τούτῳ περὶ τῶν
- 69 ἀμφισβητουμένων. ὃς παραγενόμενος κατὰ θάλατ-  
ταν μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων, καὶ προσπλεύσας πρὸς  
τὸν Τύνητα, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον λαμβάνων τοὺς ἡγε-  
μόνας, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συναθροίζων κατὰ γένη τοὺς
- 2 πολλοὺς, ἃ μὲν ἐπετίμα περὶ τῶν γεγονότων, ἃ δὲ  
διδάσκειν ἐπειράτο περὶ τῶν παρόντων· τὸ δὲ πλεῖον  
παρεκάλει πρὸς τὸ μέλλον, ἀξιῶν αὐτοὺς εὖνους
- 3 ὑπάρχειν τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς μισθοδόταις. τέλος δ' ὤρ-  
μησε πρὸς τὸ διαλύειν τὰ προσοφειλόμενα τῶν  
ὀψωνίων, κατὰ γένη ποιούμενος τὴν μισθοδοσίαν.
- 4 ἦν δέ τις Καμπανὸς ἠὺτομοληκῶς παρὰ τῶν Ῥω-  
μαίων δοῦλος, ἔχων σωματικὴν δύναμιν καὶ τόλμαν  
ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς παράβολον, ὄνομα Σπένδιος.
- 5 οὗτος εὐλαβούμενος μὴ παραγενόμενος αὐτὸν ὁ  
δεσπότης κομίσηται, καὶ κατὰ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων νόμους  
αἰκισθεὶς διαφθαρῇ, πᾶν ἐτόλμα καὶ λέγειν καὶ

at during the war. In short they always went on devising some new claim, putting matters off so as to make it impossible to come to terms, a great many of them being disaffected and mutinous. However, on the Carthaginians promising to concede everything in their power, they agreed to refer the disputed points to one of the generals who had been present in Sicily. Now to Hamilcar Barcas, with whom they had served there, they were ill disposed, thinking that it was largely his fault that they had been slighted, since he never came himself as an envoy to them and was believed to have resigned his command voluntarily. But being very favourably inclined to Gesco, who had been general in Sicily and had been full of attention to them in other matters and in that of their transport, they submitted the points in dispute to him. 69. Gesco, on reaching Tunis by sea bringing the money, at first conferred privately with the officers, and subsequently held meetings of the troops according to their nationalities. He rebuked them for their past conduct, attempted to enlighten them about the present, but most of all dwelt on the future, begging them to show themselves well-disposed to those in whose pay they had been from the outset. Finally he proceeded to discharge their arrears, paying off each 'nationality separately. There was a certain Campanian, a runaway Roman slave, called Spendius, a man of great physical strength and remarkable courage in war. He was afraid of his master coming to claim him, when, if given up, he would by Roman law be tortured and put to death. He therefore hesitated at nothing in his endeavour both by speech



πράττειν, σπουδάζων διακόψαι τὰς διαλύσεις τὰς  
 6 πρὸς Καρχηδονίους. ἅμα δὲ τούτῳ καὶ Λίβυς τις  
 Μάθως, ὃς ἦν μὲν ἐλεύθερος καὶ τῶν συνεστρατευ-  
 μένων, πλείστα δὲ κεκινηκῶς κατὰ τὰς προειρημένας  
 παραχὰς. ἀγωνιῶν οὖν μὴ <sup>τίσῃ</sup> καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν  
 λοιπῶν δίκην, ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐγένετο γνώμης τοῖς  
 7 περὶ τὸν Σπένδιον. καὶ λαμβάνων τοὺς Λίβυας  
 ὑπεδείκνυε διότι μετὰ τὸν ὀψωνιασμὸν χωρισθέντων  
 τῶν ἄλλων γενῶν εἰς τὰς πατρίδας ἀπερείσονται  
 καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ὀργὴν εἰς αὐτοὺς οἱ Καρχη-  
 δόνιοι, καὶ βουλήσονται διὰ τῆς εἰς <sup>σφᾶς</sup> τιμωρίας  
 8 ἅπαντας καταπλήξασθαι τοὺς ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ. ταχὺ  
 δὲ προσανασεισθέντες οἱ πολλοὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις λό-  
 γοις, καὶ λαμβανόμενοι βραχείας ἀφορμῆς ἐκ τοῦ  
 τὸν Γέσκωνα τὰ μὲν ὀψώνια διαλύειν, τὰς δὲ τιμὰς  
 τοῦ τε σίτου καὶ τῶν ἵππων ὑπερτίθεσθαι, συν-  
 9 ἔτρεχον εὐθέως εἰς ἐκκλησίαν. καὶ τοῦ μὲν Σπεν-  
 δίου καὶ τοῦ Μάθω διαβαλλόντων καὶ κατηγορούν-  
 των τοῦ τε Γέσκωνος καὶ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἤκουον,  
 καὶ προσεῖχον ἐπιμελῶς τὸν νοῦν τοῖς λεγομένοις.  
 10 εἰ δὲ τις ἕτερος προπορευθείη συμβουλεύσων, οὐδ'  
 αὐτὸ τοῦτο περιμείναντες ἕως τοῦ γνῶναι πότερον  
 ἀντερῶν ἢ συνηγορήσων πάρεστι τοῖς περὶ τὸν  
 Σπένδιον, παραχρῆμα βάλλοντες τοῖς λίθοις ἀπ-  
 11 ἔκτεινον. καὶ πολλοὺς δὴ τῷ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ κατὰ  
 τὰς συνδρομὰς καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν  
 12 διέφθειρον. καὶ μόνον τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο κοινῇ συν-  
 ἴεσαν τὸ βάλλε διὰ τὸ συνεχῶς αὐτὸ πράττειν. μά-  
 λιστα δὲ τοῦτ' ἐποίουν, ὅποτε μεθυσθέντες ἀπὸ  
 13 τῶν ἀρίστων συνδράμοιεν. διόπερ ὅτε τις ἄρξαιτο  
 βάλλε λέγειν, οὕτως ἐγένετο πανταχόθεν ἅμα καὶ  
 ταχέως ὥστε μηδένα δύνασθαι διαφυγεῖν τῶν ἀπαξ



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- 14 προελθόντων. πλὴν οὐδενὸς ἔτι τολμῶντος συμβουλεύειν διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν, κατέστησαν αὐτῶν στρατηγοὺς Μάθω καὶ Σπένδιον.
- 70 ὁ δὲ Γέσκων ἐώρα μὲν τὴν ὅλην ἀκαταστασίαν καὶ ταραχὴν, περὶ πλείστου δὲ ποιούμενος τὸ τῆ πατρίδι συμφέρον, καὶ θεωρῶν ὅτι τούτων ἀποθηριωθέντων κινδυνεύουσι προφανῶς οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τοῖς
- 2 ὅλοις πράγμασι, παρεβάλλετο καὶ προσεκαρτέρει, ποτὲ μὲν τοὺς προεστῶτας αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας
- 3 λαμβάνων, ποτὲ δὲ κατὰ γένη συναθροίζων καὶ παρακαλῶν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν Λιβύων οὐδέπω κεκομισμένων τὰς σιταρχίας, οἰομένων δὲ δεῖν ἀποδεδόσθαι σφίσι, καὶ προσιόντων θρασέως, βουλόμενος ὁ Γέσκων ἐπιπλήξαι τὴν προπέτειαν αὐτῶν, Μάθω τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀπαιτεῖν ἐκέλευεν. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον διωργίσθησαν ὥστ' οὐδὲ τὸν
- 4 τυχόντα χρόνον ἀναστροφὴν δόντες ὤρμησαν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπὶ τὸ διαρπάζειν τὰ πρόχειρα τῶν χρημάτων, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συλλαμβάνειν τὸν τε Γέσκωνα καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ Καρχηδονίους. οἱ δὲ περὶ
- 5 τὸν Μάθω καὶ τὸν Σπένδιον ὑπολαμβάνοντες τάχιστ' ἂν οὕτως ἐκκαυθῆναι τὸν πόλεμον, εἰ παράνομόν τι πράξειαν καὶ παράσπονδον, συνήργουν ταῖς τῶν ὄχλων ἀπονοίαις, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀποσκευὴν τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἅμα τοῖς χρήμασι διήρπαζον, τὸν δὲ Γέσκωνα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ δήσαντες ὑβριστικῶς εἰς φυλακὴν
- 6 παρεδίδοσαν. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπολέμουν ἤδη φανερῶς πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, συνωμοσίας ἀσεβεῖς καὶ παρὰ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔθνη ποιησάμενοι.
- 7 Ὁ μὲν οὖν πρὸς τοὺς ξένους καὶ Λιβυκὸς ἐπικληθεὶς πόλεμος διὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοιαύτην ἔλαβε τὴν

for this reason no one dared any longer to express an opinion, they appointed Mathos and Spendius Generals.

70. Gesco saw how complete was the disorganization and disturbance, but valuing more than anything the interest of his country and foreseeing that if these troops became utterly deaf to all considerations of humanity, Carthage would evidently be in the gravest danger, he persisted, at great personal risk, in his conciliatory efforts, sometimes conferring privately with their officers, and at other times summoning and addressing meetings of the separate nations. The Libyans, however, had not yet received their pay, and considering it overdue, came to him to demand it in a very insolent manner, when Gesco, thinking to rebuke their presumption, told them to go and ask Mathos their "General" for it. This aroused their anger to such a pitch, that without a moment's delay they, first of all, seized on what money they could lay their hands on and next arrested Gesco and the Carthaginians who were with him. As for Mathos and Spendius, thinking that the most expeditious means of setting war ablaze would be to commit some violation of law or good faith, they co-operated in the excesses of the soldiery, plundering the personal effects as well as the money-chests of the Carthaginians, and after subjecting Gesco and those with him to the outrage of putting them in fetters, gave them into custody. From this time forward they were at open war with Carthage, having bound themselves by certain impious oaths contrary to the principles recognized by all mankind.

Such then was the origin and beginning of the <sup>240</sup> war against the mercenaries, generally known as the

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

8 ἀρχήν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Μάθω συντελεσάμενοι τὰ  
 προειρημένα παραυτικά μὲν ἔξαπέστελλον πρέσβεις  
 ἐπὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην πόλεις, παρακαλοῦντες  
 ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ δεόμενοι σφίσι βοηθεῖν καὶ  
 9 συνεπιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα  
 πάντων σχεδὸν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην ἐτοίμως συν-  
 υπακουσάντων αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Καρχη-  
 δονίων ἀπόστασιν, καὶ τὰς τε χορηγίας καὶ τὰς βοη-  
 θείας προθύμως ἔξαποστελλόντων, διελόντες σφᾶς  
 πολιορκεῖν ἐνεχείρησαν οἱ μὲν τὴν Ἰτύκην, οἱ δὲ  
 τοὺς Ἰππακρίτας, διὰ τὸ ταύτας τὰς πόλεις μὴ βού-  
 λεσθαι μετασχεῖν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀποστάσεως.

71 Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ τοὺς μὲν κατ' ἰδίαν βίους αἰεὶ  
 διεξαγαγόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας γεννημάτων,  
 τὰς δὲ κοινὰς παρασκευὰς καὶ χορηγίας ἀθροίζοντες  
 ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην προσόδων, ἔτι δὲ πολεμεῖν  
 2 εἰθισμένοι ξενικαῖς δυνάμεσι, τότε πάντων ἅμα τού-  
 των οὐ μόνον ἐστερημένοι παραλόγως, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ'  
 αὐτῶν ὀρώντες ἕκαστα τῶν προειρημένων ἐπιστρέ-  
 φοντα, τελέως ἐν μεγάλῃ δυσθυμίᾳ καὶ δυσελπιστίᾳ  
 καθέστασαν, ἅτε παρὰ τὴν προσδοκίαν αὐτοῖς τῶν  
 3 πραγμάτων ἀποβεβηκότων. τετρυμένοι γὰρ ἐν τῷ  
 περὶ Σικελίας πολέμῳ συνεχῶς, ἤλπιζον ἐπιτελεσθει-  
 σῶν τῶν διαλύσεων ἀναπνοῆς τινός τεύξεσθαι καὶ  
 4 καταστάσεως εὐδοκουμένης. συνέβαινε δ' αὐτοῖς  
 τὰναντία· μείζονος γὰρ ἐνίστατο πολέμου καταρχὴ  
 5 καὶ φοβερωτέρου. πρόσθεν μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ Σικελίας  
 ἠμφισβήτουν Ῥωμαίοις, τότε δὲ περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν  
 καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἔμελλον κινδυνεύσειν, πόλεμον  
 6 ἀναλαμβάνοντες ἐμφύλιον. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὐχ  
 ὄπλων πλῆθος, οὐ ναυτικὴ δύναμις, οὐ πλοίων κατα-  
 σκευὴ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἦν, ὡς ἂν τοσαύταις ναυμα-



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χίαις περιπεπτωκότων· καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ χορηγιῶν διά-  
 θεσις οὐδὲ φίλων οὐδὲ συμμάχων τῶν-βοηθησόντων  
 7 ἔξωθεν ἐλπίς οὐδ' ἠτισοῦν ὑπῆρχε. διὸ καὶ τότε  
 σαφῶς ἔγνωσαν ἠλίκην ἔχει διαφορὰν ξενικὸς καὶ  
 8 διαπόντιος πόλεμος ἐμφυλίου στάσεως καὶ ταραχῆς.  
 72 Οὐχ ἠκιστα δ' αὐτοὶ σφίσι τῶν τοιούτων καὶ τη-  
 λικούτων κακῶν ἐγεγόνεισαν αἴτιοι. κατὰ γὰρ τὸν  
 προγεγονότα πόλεμον εὐλόγους ἀφορμὰς ἔχειν ὑπο-  
 λαμβάνοντες, πικρῶς ἐπεστάτησαν τῶν κατὰ τὴν  
 2 Λιβύην ἀνθρώπων, παραιρούμενοι μὲν τῶν ἄλλων  
 πάντων τῶν καρπῶν τοὺς ἡμίσεις διπλασίους δὲ  
 ταῖς πόλεσι τοὺς φόρους ἢ πρὶν ἐπιτάττοντες, συγ-  
 γνώμην δὲ τοῖς ἀπόροις ἢ συμπεριφορὰν οὐδ' ἦν-  
 3 τινούν ἐπ' οὐδενὶ τῶν πραττομένων διδόντες, θαυ-  
 μάζοντες δὲ καὶ τιμῶντες τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐ τοὺς  
 πράως καὶ φιλανθρώπως τῷ πλήθει χρωμένους,  
 ἀλλὰ τοὺς αὐτοῖς μὲν ἐτοιμάζοντας πλείστας χορη-  
 γίας κάπισκευάς, τοῖς δὲ κατὰ τὴν χώραν πικρό-  
 4 τατα χρωμένους, ὧν εἷς ἦν Ἄννων. τοιγαροῦν οἱ  
 μὲν ἄνδρες οὐχ οἷον παρακλήσεως πρὸς τὴν ἀπό-  
 5 στασιν, ἀλλ' ἀγγέλου μόνον ἐδεήθησαν· αἱ δὲ γυ-  
 ναῖκες αἱ τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον ἀπαγομένους περι-  
 ορῶσαι τοὺς σφετέρους ἄνδρας καὶ γονεῖς πρὸς τὰς  
 εἰσφοράς, τότε συνομνύουσαι κατὰ πόλεις ἐφ' ᾧ  
 μηδὲν κρύψειν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐταῖς, ἀφαιρού-  
 μεναι τὸν κόσμον εἰσέφερον ἀπροφασίστως εἰς τοὺς  
 6 ὀψωνιασμούς. καὶ τοιαύτην παρεσκεύασαν εὐπορίαν  
 τοῖς περὶ τὸν Μάθω καὶ Σπένδιον ὥστε μὴ μόνον  
 διαλύσαι τὰ προσοφειλόμενα τῶν ὀψωνίων τοῖς μι-  
 σθοφόροις κατὰ τὰς ἐπαγγελίας, ἃς ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς  
 τὴν ἀπόστασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ συνεχὲς εὐπορη-  
 7 σαι χορηγίας. οὕτως οὐδέποτε δεῖ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν

had been engaged at sea. They had not even the means of providing supplies and not a single hope of external assistance from friends or allies. So it was now that they thoroughly realized how great is the difference between a war against a foreign state carried on over sea and civil discord and disturbance.

72. They had chiefly themselves to thank for all these grievous mischances. During the former war they had thought themselves reasonably justified in making their government of the Libyans very harsh. They had exacted from the peasantry, without exception, half of their crops, and had doubled the taxation of the townsmen without allowing exemption from any tax or even a partial abatement to the poor. They had applauded and honoured not those governors who treated the people with gentleness and humanity, but those who procured for Carthage the largest amount of supplies and stores and used the country people most harshly—Hanno for example. The consequence was that the male population required no incitement to revolt—a mere messenger was sufficient—while the women, who had constantly witnessed the arrest of their husbands and fathers for non-payment of taxes, solemnly bound themselves by oath in each city to conceal none of their belongings, and stripping themselves of their jewels contributed them ungrudgingly to the war fund. Mathos and Spendius were thus so well off that not only could they pay the soldiers their arrears, as they had promised in inciting them to mutiny, but found themselves furnished with ample means for a protracted war. This teaches us that it is the right policy not only to look to the



μόνον, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἀποβλέπειν ἀεὶ τοὺς ὀρθῶς βουλευομένους.

73 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἐν τοιούτοις κακοῖς ὄντες οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, προστησάμενοι τὸν Ἄνωνα στρατηγὸν διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν τοῦτον καὶ πρότερον αὐτοῖς τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἑκατοντάφυλον τῆς Λιβύης καταστρέψασθαι, συνήθροίζον μὲν μισθοφόρους, καθώπλιζον δὲ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἡλικίαις τῶν πολιτῶν· ἐγύμναζον δὲ 2 καὶ συνέταττον τοὺς πολιτικούς ἵππεῖς· παρεσκεύαζον δὲ καὶ τὰ περιλιπῆ τῶν πλοίων, τριήρεις καὶ πεντηκοντόρους καὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἀκατίων. οἱ δὲ περὶ 3 τὸν Μάθω, παραγενομένων αὐτοῖς εἰς ἑπτὰ μυριάδας Λιβύων, ἐπιδιελόντες τούτους ἀσφαλῶς ἐπολιόρκουν τοὺς Ἴτυκαίους καὶ τοὺς Ἴππακρίτας, βεβαίως δὲ τὴν ἐν τῷ Τύνητι στρατοπεδείαν κατεῖχον, ἀποκεκλείκεσαν δὲ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἀπάσης τῆς ἐκτὸς Λιβύης. ἡ γὰρ Καρχηδὼν αὐτὴ μὲν ἐν κόλπῳ 4 κεῖται, προτείνουσα καὶ χερρονησίζουσα τῇ θέσει, τὸ μὲν τῇ θαλάττῃ, τὸ δέ τι καὶ λίμνη περιεχομένη κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον· ὁ δὲ συνάπτων ἰσθμὸς αὐτὴν τῇ 5 Λιβύῃ τὸ πλάτος ὡς εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε σταδίων ἐστί. τούτου δ' ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος νεύοντος μέρους οὐ μακρὰν ἢ τῶν Ἴτυκαίων κεῖται πόλις, ἐπὶ δὲ θατέρου παρὰ τὴν λίμνην ὁ Τύνης. ἐφ' ὧν 6 ἑκατέρων τότε στρατοπεδεύσαντες οἱ μισθοφόροι, καὶ διακλείσαντες ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, λοιπὸν ἐπεβούλευον αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει, καὶ ποτὲ 7 μὲν ἡμέρας, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ νύκτωρ παραγινόμενοι πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος, εἰς φόβους καὶ θορύβους ὀλοσχερεῖς ἐνέβαλλον τοὺς ἔνδον.

74 Ἄνων δὲ περὶ μὲν τὰς παρασκευὰς ἐνδεχομένως ἐγίνετο· καὶ γὰρ ἦν πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος εὐφυής·



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## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

ἐξορμήσας δὲ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἕτερος ἦν· καὶ  
2 γὰρ τοῖς καιροῖς ἀστόχως ἐχρήτο καὶ τοῖς ὅλοις  
πράγμασιν ἀπείρως καὶ νωθῶς. διὸ καὶ τὸ μὲν  
3 πρῶτον εἰς Ἰτύκην παραβοηθήσας τοῖς πολιορκου-  
μένοις καὶ καταπληξάμενος τοὺς ὑπεναντίους τῶ  
πλήθει τῶν θηρίων· εἶχε γὰρ οὐκ ἐλάττους ἑκατὸν  
ἐλεφάντων· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα λαβὼν προτερήματος  
ἀρχὴν ὀλοσχεροῦς οὕτως ἐχρήσατο κακῶς ὥστε  
κινδυνεῦσαι προσαπολέσαι καὶ τοὺς πολιορκου-  
μένους. κομίσας γὰρ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τοὺς κατα-  
4 πέλτας καὶ τὰ βέλη καὶ συλλήβδην ἀπάσας τὰς  
πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν παρασκευάς, καὶ στρατοπε-  
δεύσας πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἐνεχείρησε προσβάλλειν  
πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὑπεναντίων χάρακα. τῶν δὲ θηρίων  
5 βιασαμένων εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν, οὐ δυνάμενοι  
τὸ βάρος οὐδὲ τὴν ἔφοδον οἱ πολέμιοι μεῖναι,  
πάντες ἐξέπεσον ἐκ τῆς στρατοπεδείας. καὶ πολλοὶ  
μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον τρωθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων,  
6 τὸ δὲ διασωζόμενον μέρος πρὸς τινα λόφον ἐρυ-  
μνὸν καὶ σύμφυτον ἔμενε, πιστεῦον ταῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν  
7 τῶν τόπων ἀσφαλείαις. ὁ δ' Ἄννων, εἰθισμένος  
Νομάσι καὶ Λίβυσι πολεμεῖν, οἷτινες ὅταν ἅπαξ ἐγ-  
κλίνωσι, ποιοῦνται τὴν φυγὴν ἐπὶ δὺ' ἡμέρας καὶ  
τρεῖς ἐκτοπίζοντες αὐτούς, ὑπολαβὼν καὶ τότε πέ-  
ρας ἔχειν τοῦ πολέμου καὶ νενικηκέναι τοῖς ὅλοις,  
8 τῶν μὲν στρατιωτῶν ὀλιγώρησε καὶ καθόλου τῆς  
παραμβολῆς, αὐτὸς δ' εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐγί-  
9 νετο περὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος θεραπείαν. οἱ δὲ συμ-  
πεφευγότες τῶν μισθοφόρων εἰς τὸν λόφον, σύν-  
τροφοὶ μὲν γεγονότες τῆς Βάρκα τόλμης, συνήθεις  
δ' ἐκ τῶν κατὰ Σικελίαν ἀγώνων πολλάκις τῆς αὐ-  
τῆς ἡμέρας ποτὲ μὲν ὑποχωρεῖν, ποτὲ δὲ πάλιν ἐκ

when it came to taking the field with his forces, he was another man. He had no idea how to avail himself of opportunities and generally showed an entire lack of experience and energy. It was then that, as regards Utica, he began by coming to the help of the besieged and terrifying the enemy by his strong force of elephants, of which he had no less than a hundred; but when, in consequence of this, he had a chance of gaining a decisive success, he made such poor use of his advantage that he very nearly brought a catastrophe on the besieged, as well as on himself. For bringing from Carthage catapults, missiles and all requirements for a siege and encamping before the city he undertook the assault of the enemy's entrenched camp. When the elephants forced their way into the camp, the enemy unable to face the weight of their attack all evacuated it. Many of them were mangled and killed by the elephants, but those who escaped rallied on a steep hill overgrown with brushwood, relying on the natural security of the position. Hanno had been accustomed to fight with Numidians and Libyans, who once they give way continue their flight for two or three days, trying to get as far away as possible. Thinking then, on the present occasion too, that the war was over and he had secured a complete victory he took no precaution for the safety of his army and camp, but entered the city and occupied himself with the care of his person. The mercenaries, who had rallied on the hill, were men schooled in the daring tactics of Barcas and accustomed from their fighting in Sicily to make in one day repeated retirements followed by fresh

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

- 10 μεταβολῆς ἐγχειρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ τότε συν-  
ιδόντες τὸν μὲν στρατηγὸν ἀπηλλαγμένον εἰς τὴν  
πόλιν, τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς διὰ τὸ προτέρημα ῥαθυ-  
11 μοῦντας καὶ διαρρέοντας ἐκ τῆς στρατοπεδείας, συ-  
στραφέντες ἐπιτίθενται τῷ χάρακι, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν  
αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἠνάγκασαν φυ-  
12 γεῖν αἰσchrῶς ὑπὸ τὰ τείχη καὶ τὰς πύλας· ἐκυρίευ-  
σαν δὲ τῆς ἀποσκευῆς ἀπάσης καὶ τῆς τῶν πολιορ-  
κουμένων παρασκευῆς· ἦν Ἄννων πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις  
ἐκκομίσας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐποίησε τοῖς ἐχθροῖς  
13 ὑποχείριον. οὐ μόνον δὲ περὶ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν  
οὕτως ἀνεστράφη νωθρῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας  
ἡμέρας περὶ τὴν καλουμένην Γόρζαν ἀντιστρατοπε-  
δουσάντων αὐτῷ τῶν πολεμίων, λαβὼν καιροὺς  
δὲ μὲν ἐκ παρατάξεως εἰς τὸ νικᾶν, δὲ δ' ἐξ ἐπι-  
14 θέσεως ἄτε καὶ στρατοπεδευόντων σύνεγγυς αὐτῷ  
τῶν ὑπεναντίων, ἀμφοτέρους δοκεῖ τούτους εἰκῆ  
καὶ παραλόγως προέσθαι.
- 75 Διόπερ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, θεωροῦντες αὐτὸν κακῶς  
χειρίζοντα τὰς πράξεις, Ἀμίλκαν τὸν ἐπικαλού-  
2 μενον Βάρκαν αὐθις προεστήσαντο, καὶ τοῦτον ἐξ-  
έπεμπον εἰς τὸν ἐνεστῶτα πόλεμον στρατηγόν, δόν-  
τες ἑβδομήκοντα μὲν ἐλέφαντας καὶ τοὺς ἐπισυν-  
ηγμένους τῶν μισθοφόρων καὶ τοὺς ἠῦτομοληκότας  
ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πολιτικοὺς ἵπ-  
πεῖς καὶ πεζοὺς, ὥστε τοὺς σύμπαντας εἰς μυρίους  
3 ὑπάρχειν. ὃς κατὰ τὴν πρώτην εὐθέως ἔξοδον κατα-  
πληξάμενος τῷ παραδόξῳ τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ἠττησε  
μὲν τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ὑπεναντίων, ἔλυσε δὲ τὴν τῆς  
Ἰτύκης πολιορκίαν, ἐφάνη δ' ἄξιος τῶν προγεγονό-  
των ἔργων καὶ τῆς παρὰ τῷ πλήθει προσδοκίας.  
4 τὸ δὲ πραχθὲν ἦν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τὴν χρεῖαν ταύ-



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## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

την τοιοῦτον. τῶν γεωλόφων τῶν ἐπιζευγνύντων  
 τὸν αὐχένα τὸν συνάπτοντα τὴν Καρχηδόνα πρὸς  
 τὴν Λιβύην ὄντων δυσβάτων, καὶ χειροποιήτους  
 ἔχόντων διεκβολὰς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, συνέβαινε τοὺς  
 5 περὶ τὸν Μάθω πάντας τοὺς διὰ τῶν προειρημέ-  
 νων λόφων εὐκαίρως κειμένους τόπους φυλακαῖς δι-  
 ειληφέναι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τοῦ προσαγορευομένου  
 Μακάρα ποταμοῦ διείργοντος κατὰ τινὰς τόπους πα-  
 ραπλησίως τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τοῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως  
 ἔξοδον, καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ ρεύματος ἀβάτου  
 6 κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ὑπάρχοντος, μιᾶς δ' οὔσης ἐπ'  
 αὐτῷ γεφύρας, καὶ ταύτην τηρεῖν τὴν δίοδον ἀσφα-  
 λῶς, πόλιν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ὠκοδομηκότας. ἐξ ὧν συν-  
 ἐβαινε τοὺς Καρχηδονίους μὴ οἶον στρατοπέδῳ τῆς  
 χώρας ἐπιβαίνειν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τοὺς κατ' ἰδίαν θέ-  
 λοντας διαπεσεῖν ῥαδίως ἂν δύνασθαι λαθεῖν τοὺς  
 7 ὑπεναντίους. εἰς ἃ βλέπων Ἀμίλκας, καὶ παντὸς  
 πράγματος καὶ καιροῦ πείραν λαμβάνων διὰ τὸ δυσ-  
 χρηστεῖν περὶ τὴν ἔξοδον, διενοήθη τι τοιοῦτον.  
 8 τοῦ προειρημένου ποταμοῦ κατὰ τὴν εἰς θάλατταν  
 ἐκβολὴν συνθεωρήσας κατὰ τινὰς ἀνέμων στάσεις  
 ἀποθινούμενον τὸ στόμα καὶ τεναγώδη γινομένην  
 τὴν παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ στόμα πάροδον, ποιήσας εὐτρεπῆ  
 τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον, καὶ κρύπτων  
 ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιβολήν, ἐτήρει τὸ προειρημένον  
 9 σύμπτωμα. παραπεσόντος δὲ τοῦ καιροῦ, νυκτὸς  
 ἔξορμήσας ἔλαθε πάντας ἅμα τῷ φωτὶ τὸν προ-  
 10 ειρημένον τόπον διαβιβάσας τὴν δύναμιν. παρα-  
 δόξου δὲ τοῦ πράγματος φανέντος καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ  
 πόλει καὶ τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις, ὁ μὲν Ἀμίλκας προῆγε  
 διὰ τοῦ πεδίου, ποιούμενος τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 76 τὴν γέφυραν φυλάττοντας. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Σπέν-

the neck of land connecting Carthage with Libya is a chain of hills difficult of access and with several passes to the country artificially cut in them. Mathos had posted guards in all those spots which were favourable for the passage of the hills. In addition to this there is a river called Macaras<sup>a</sup> which shuts off in certain places the access from the town to the country. This river is for the most part unfordable owing to the volume of water, and there is only one bridge, which Mathos had also secured, building a town at the bridge-head. So that not only was it impossible for the Carthaginians to reach the country with an army, but it was not even an easy matter for single persons wishing to get through to elude the vigilance of the enemy. Hamilcar, seeing all these obstacles, after passing in review every means and every chance of surmounting this difficulty about a passage, thought of the following plan. He had noticed that when the wind blew strongly from certain quarters the mouth of the river got silted up and the passage became shallow just where it falls into the sea. He therefore got his force ready to march out, and keeping his project to himself, waited for this to occur. When the right time came he started from Carthage at night, and without anyone noticing him, had by daybreak got his army across at the place mentioned. Both those in the city and the enemy were taken by surprise, and Hamilcar advanced through the plain making for the guardians of the bridge. 76.

<sup>a</sup> The same as Bagraclas.



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

διον συνέντες τὸ γεγονὸς ἀπήντων εἰς τὸ πεδῖον  
 καὶ παρεβοήθουν ἀλλήλοις, οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὴν  
 γέφυραν πόλεως ὄντες οὐκ ἐλάττους μυρίων, οἱ δ'  
 ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰτύκης ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχι-  
 2 λίους. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς σύνοπτον ἤκον ἀλλήλοις, νομί-  
 σαντες ἐν μέσῳ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἀπειληθέναι,  
 σπουδῇ παρηγγύων ἅμα παρακαλοῦντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς  
 3 καὶ συνῆπτον τοῖς πολεμίοις. ὁ δ' Ἀμίλκας ἤγε  
 μὲν τὴν πορείαν πρώτους ἔχων τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, ἐπὶ  
 δὲ τούτοις τοὺς ἵππεῖς καὶ τοὺς εὐζώνους, τελευ-  
 4 ταῖα δὲ τὰ βαρέα τῶν ὄπλων. κατιδὼν δὲ προχει-  
 ρότερον ἐπιφερομένους τοὺς ὑπεναντίους, ἀναστρέ-  
 5 φειν παρήγγειλε πᾶσι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ. καὶ τοὺς μὲν  
 ἀπὸ τῆς πρωτοπορείας ἀναστρέψαντας σπουδῇ ποι-  
 εῖσθαι τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ἐκέλευσε· τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ τῆς  
 οὐραγίας ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπάρχοντας ἐξ ἐπιστροφῆς περι-  
 σπῶν ἐξέταττε πρὸς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιφάνειαν.  
 6 οἱ δὲ Λίβυες καὶ μισθοφόροι, νομίσαντες αὐτοὺς  
 καταπεπληγμένους φυγεῖν, λύσαντες τὴν τάξιν ἐπ-  
 ἔκειντο καὶ συνῆπτον εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ἐρρωμένως,  
 7 ἅμα δὲ τῷ τοὺς ἵππεῖς συνεγγίσαντας τοῖς παρα-  
 τεταγμένοις ἐκ μεταβολῆς ὑποστήναι, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν  
 δύναμιν ἐπάγειν, ἐκπλαγεῖς γινόμενοι διὰ τὸ παρά-  
 δοξον οἱ Λίβυες ἐγκλίναντες εὐθέως ἔφευγον, ὡς  
 8 ἂν εἰκῆ καὶ σποράδην ἐπικείμενοι. λοιπὸν οἱ μὲν  
 τοῖς κατόπιν ἐπιφερομένοις περιπίπτοντες ἐσφάλ-  
 λοντο, καὶ διέφθειρον αὐτοὺς τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους·  
 οἱ δὲ πλείους συνεπατήθησαν, ἐκ χειρὸς τῶν ἵπ-  
 9 πέων ἐπικειμένων αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν θηρίων. ἀπ-



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ὄλοντο μὲν οὖν εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους τῶν Λιβύων καὶ  
 τῶν ξένων, ἐάλωσαν δὲ περὶ δισχιλίους· οἱ δὲ λοι-  
 ποὶ διέφυγον, οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν πρὸς τῇ γεφύρα πό-  
 10 λιν, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἰτύκῃ παρεμβολήν. Ἀμίλκας  
 δὲ ποιήσας τὸ προτέρημα τὸν προειρημένον τρόπον,  
 εἶπετο κατὰ πόδας τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ  
 τῆς γεφύρας πόλιν ἐξ ἐφόδου κατέσχε, προεμένων  
 καὶ φευγόντων εἰς τὸν Τύνητα τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πολε-  
 μίων, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν χώραν ἐπιπορευόμενος τὰς μὲν  
 11 προσήγετο, πλείστας δὲ κατὰ κράτος ἐξήρει. τοῖς  
 δὲ Καρχηδονίοις βραχὺ τι θάρσους ἐνεργάσατο καὶ  
 τόλμης, ἐπὶ ποσὸν αὐτοὺς ἀπαλλάξας τῆς προγεγε-  
 νημένης δυσελπιστίας.

77 Ὁ δὲ Μάθως αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν Ἰππα-  
 κριτῶν πολιορκίας ἐπέμενε, τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Αὐ-  
 τάριτον τὸν τῶν Γαλατῶν ἡγεμόνα καὶ Σπένδιον  
 2 ἔχουσαν τῶν ὑπεναντίων συνεβούλευε, τὰ μὲν πεδία  
 φεύγοντας διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ὑπεναν-  
 τίοις ἰππέων καὶ θηρίων, ταῖς δ' ὑπωρείαις ἀντι-  
 παράγοντας καὶ συνεπιτιθεμένους κατὰ τὰς ὑπο-  
 3 πιπτούσας αἰεὶ δυσχερείας. ἅμα δὲ ταῖς ἐπινοίαις  
 ταύταις καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Νομάδας καὶ τοὺς Λίβυας  
 ἐξέπεμπε, δεόμενος βοηθεῖν σφίσι καὶ μὴ κατα-  
 4 προῖεσθαι τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας καιροῦς. ὁ δὲ  
 Σπένδιος, προσλαβὼν ἐκ τοῦ Τύνητος ἀφ' ἑκάστου  
 τῶν γενῶν τοὺς πάντας εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους, προῆγε,  
 ταῖς ὑπωρείαις ἀντιπαράγων τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις,  
 ἔχων ἅμα τοῖς προειρημένοις καὶ τοὺς μετ' Αὐτα-  
 5 ρίτου Γαλάτας, ὄντας εἰς δισχιλίους. τὸ γὰρ λοιπὸν  
 μέρος αὐτῶν τοῦ κατ' ἀρχὰς συστήματος ἠὺτομο-  
 λήκει πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐν ταῖς περὶ τὸν Ἐρυκα  
 6 στρατοπεδείαις. τοῦ δ' Ἀμίλκου παρεμβεβληκότητος

## BOOK I. 76. 9 - 77. 6

About six thousand Libyans and mercenaries fell and nearly two thousand were made prisoners. The rest escaped, some to the town by the bridge and some to the camp before Utica. Hamilcar, successful in this fashion, followed closely on the retreating enemy and took by assault the town by the bridge, the enemy in it deserting it and flying to Tunis. He next traversed the rest of the country, winning over some towns and taking others by assault. He thus restored some confidence and courage to the Carthaginians, delivering them in a measure from their previous despondency.

77. Mathos for his own part continued to prosecute the siege of Hippacritae, advising Autaritus, the leader of the Gauls, and Spendius to harass the enemy, keeping away from the plains owing to the numbers of the cavalry and elephants opposed to them but marching along the foothills parallel to the Carthaginians and descending on them whenever they were on difficult ground. While adopting this plan he at the same time sent messages to the Numidians and Libyans, begging them to come to his assistance and not lose the chance of gaining their freedom. Spendius, taking with him from Tunis a force of about six thousand men in all drawn from all the tribes, advanced along the slopes parallel to the Carthaginians. He had also with him Autaritus and his Gauls numbering only about two thousand, the rest of the original corps having deserted to the Romans when encamped near Eryx. Hamilcar

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

ἐν τινι πεδίῳ πανταχόθεν ὄρεσι περιεχομένῳ, συνέβη τὰς παρὰ τῶν Νομάδων καὶ Λιβύων βοήθειας εἰς τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον συνάψαι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Σπένδιον. γενομένης δὲ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις τῆς μὲν τῶν Λιβύων ἐπιστρατοπεδείας αἰφνιδίου καὶ κατὰ πρόσωπον, τῆς δὲ τῶν Νομάδων ἀπ' οὐράς, τῆς δὲ περὶ τὸν Σπένδιον ἐκ πλαγίου, μεγάλην αὐτοῖς ἀπορίαν συνέβη περιστῆναι καὶ δυσέκφευκτον.

78 Κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον Ναραύας, ὃς ἦν μὲν Νομάς τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων εἰς, ἦν δὲ καὶ πλήρης ὄρμῆς πολεμικῆς, οὗτος αἰεὶ μὲν οἰκείως διέκειτο πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, πατρικὴν ἔχων σύστασιν, τότε δὲ μᾶλλον παρωρμήθη διὰ τὴν Ἀμίλκου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καταξίωσιν. διὸ καὶ νομίσας ἔχειν εὐφυῆ καιρὸν πρὸς ἔντευξιν αὐτῷ καὶ σύστασιν, ἦκεν εἰς τὴν στρατοπεδείαν, ἔχων περὶ αὐτὸν Νομάδας εἰς ἑκατόν. καὶ συνεγγίσας τῷ χάρακι τολμηρῶς ἔμενε, κατασείων τῇ χειρὶ. τοῦ δ' Ἀμίλκου θαυμάσαντος τὴν ἐπιβολήν, καὶ προπέμψαντός τινα τῶν ἰππέων, εἰς λόγους ἔφη βούλεσθαι συνελθεῖν τῷ στρατηγῷ. διαποροῦντος δ' ἀκμὴν καὶ διαπιστοῦντος τοῦ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἡγεμόνος, παραδοὺς ὃ Ναραύας τὸν ἵππον καὶ τὰς λόγχας τοῖς μεθ' αὐτοῦ, παρῆν ἄνοπλος εὐθαρσῶς εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν. οἱ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐθαύμαζον, τὰ δὲ κατεπλήττοντο τὴν τόλμαν· ὅμως δὲ προσεδέξαντο καὶ συνῆλθον εἰς τὰς χεῖρας. ὃ δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς λόγους ἔφη πᾶσι μὲν Καρχηδονίοις εὐνοεῖν, μάλιστα δ' ἐπιθυμεῖν Βάρκα γενέσθαι φίλος· διὸ καὶ νῦν παρεῖναι συσταθησόμενος αὐτῷ καὶ κοινωνήσων ἀδόλως παντὸς ἔργου καὶ πάσης ἐπιβολῆς. Ἀμίλκας δὲ ταῦτ' ἀκούσας οὕτως ἦσθη μεγάλως ἐπὶ τε τῷ



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κατὰ τὴν παρουσίαν θάρσει καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὴν ἔντευξιν ἀπλότητι τοῦ νεανίσκου, ὡς οὐ μόνον εὐδόκησε κοινωνῶν αὐτὸν προσλαβέσθαι τῶν πράξεων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα δώσειν ἐπηγγείλατο  
**9** μεθ' ὄρκου, διαφυλάξαντος αὐτοῦ τὴν πρὸς Καρχηδονίους πίστιν.

Γενομένων δὲ τῶν ὁμολογιῶν, ὁ μὲν Ναραύας ἦκε τοὺς ὑφ' αὐτὸν τεταγμένους ἔχων Νομάδας,  
**10** ὄντας εἰς δισχιλίους, ὁ δ' Ἀμίλκας, προσγενομένης αὐτῷ τῆς χειρὸς ταύτης, παρετάξατο τοῖς πολεμίοις. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Σπένδιον συνάψαντες ἐπὶ ταῦτό τοῖς Λίβυσι καὶ καταβάντες εἰς τὸ πεδῖον συνέβαλλον τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις.  
**11** γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἰσχυρᾶς, ἐνίκων οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀμίλκαν, καλῶς μὲν τῶν θηρίων ἀγωνισαμένων, ἐπιφανεστάτην δὲ τοῦ Ναραύα παρασχομένου  
**12** χρεῖαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Αὐτάριτος καὶ Σπένδιος διέφυγον, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἔπεσον μὲν εἰς μυρίους,  
**13** ἔάλωσαν δ' εἰς τετρακισχιλίους. ἐπιτελεσθέντος δὲ τοῦ κατορθώματος, Ἀμίλκας τοῖς μὲν βουλομένοις τῶν αἰχμαλώτων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ συστρατεύειν ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκε καὶ καθώπλιζε τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν  
**14** πολεμίων σκύλοις, τοὺς δὲ μὴ βουλομένους ἀθροίσας παρεκάλει, φάσκων, ἕως μὲν τοῦ νῦν συγγνώμην αὐτοῖς ἔχειν τῶν ἡμαρτημένων· διὸ καὶ συχωρεῖν τρέπεσθαι κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας ὁρμᾶς οὐ ποτ'  
**15** ἂν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν προαιρῆται. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διηπειλήσατο μηθένα φέρειν ὄπλον πολέμιον κατ' αὐτῶν, ὡς, εἰ ἂν ἄλῃ τις, ἀπαραιτήτου τευξόμενον τιμωρίας.

**79** Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς οἱ τὴν Σαρδόνα [τὴν νῆσον] παραφυλάττοντες τῶν μισθοφόρων,

## BOOK I. 78. 8 – 79. 1

coming to him and his simple frankness at their interview that not only did he consent to associate him in his undertakings but swore to give him his daughter in marriage if he remained loyal to Carthage.

The agreement having thus been made, Naravas came in with the Numidians under his command, about two thousand in number, and Hamilcar, thus reinforced, offered battle to the enemy. Spendius, after effecting a junction with the Libyans, descended into the plain and attacked the Carthaginians. The battle was a stubborn one, but ended in the victory of Hamilcar, the elephants fighting well and Naravas rendering brilliant services. Autaritus and Spendius escaped, but with the loss of about ten thousand killed and four thousand prisoners. After the victory Hamilcar gave permission to those of the prisoners who chose to join his own army, arming them with the spoils of the fallen enemies; those who were unwilling to do so he collected and addressed saying that up to now he pardoned their offences, and therefore they were free to go their several ways, wherever each man chose, but in future he threatened that if any of them bore arms against Carthage he would if captured meet with inevitable punishment.

79. About the same time the mercenaries who garrisoned Sardinia, emulous of the exploits of Mathos



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

ζηλώσαντες τοὺς περὶ τὸν Μάθω καὶ Σπένδιον,  
 2 ἐπιτίθενται τοῖς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Καρχηδονίοις. καὶ τὸν  
 μὲν τότε παρ' αὐτοῖς ὄντα βοήθarchon Βώσταρον  
 συγκλείσαντες εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν μετὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ  
 3 πολιτῶν ἀπέκτειναν. αὐθις δὲ τῶν Καρχηδονίων  
 στρατηγὸν ἐξαποστειλάντων μετὰ δυνάμεως Ἄννω-  
 να, καῖπειτα καὶ τούτων τῶν δυνάμεων ἐγκαταλιπου-  
 4 σῶν τὸν Ἄννωνα, καὶ μεταθεμένων πρὸς σφᾶς,  
 γενόμενοι ζωγρία κύριοι τοῦ προειρημένου, παρατί-  
 κα τοῦτον μὲν ἀνεσταύρωσαν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρηλ-  
 λαγμένας ἐπινοοῦντες τιμωρίας, πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ  
 νήσῳ Καρχηδονίους στρεβλοῦντες ἀπέκτειναν· καὶ  
 τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη ποιησάμενοι τὰς πόλεις ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦς  
 5 εἶχον ἐγκρατῶς τὴν νῆσον, ἕως οὗ στασιάσαντες  
 πρὸς τοὺς Σαρδονίους ἐξέπεσον ὑπ' ἐκείνων εἰς  
 6 τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ἢ μὲν οὖν Σαρδῶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον  
 ἀπηλλοτριώθη Καρχηδονίων, νῆσος καὶ τῷ μεγέθει  
 καὶ τῇ πολυανθρωπία καὶ τοῖς γεννήμασι δια-  
 7 φέρουσα. τῷ δὲ πολλοὺς καὶ πολὺν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς  
 πεποιῆσθαι λόγον οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἡγούμεθ' εἶναι  
 ταυτολογεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁμολογουμένων.  
 8 Μάθως δὲ καὶ Σπένδιος, ἅμα δὲ τούτοις Αὐτάριτος  
 ὁ Γαλάτης, ὑπιδόμενοι τὴν Ἀμίλκου φιλανθρωπίαν  
 εἰς τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, καὶ φοβηθέντες μὴ τῷ  
 τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ ψυχαγωγηθέντες ὀρμήσωσι πρὸς τῇ  
 ὑποδεικνυμένην ἀσφάλειαν οἷ τε Λίβυες καὶ τὸ τῶν  
 μισθοφόρων πλῆθος, ἐβουλεύοντο πῶς ἂν καινοτομή-  
 σαντές τι τῶν πρὸς ἀσέβειαν εἰς τέλος ἀποθηριώ-  
 9 σειαν τὰ πλήθη πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους. ἔδοξεν  
 οὖν αὐτοῖς συναθροῖσαι τοὺς πολλοὺς. γενομένου  
 δὲ τούτου γραμματοφόρον εἰσήγαγον, ὡς ἀπεσταλ-  
 10 μένον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Σαρδόνος αἰρετιστῶν. ἢ δ'



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ἐπιστολὴ διεσάφει τὸν τε Γέσκωνα καὶ τοὺς μετ'  
 αὐτοῦ πάντας, οὓς παρεσπόνδησαν ἐν τῷ Τύνητι,  
 καθάπερ ἐπάνω προεῖπον, φυλάττειν ἐπιμελῶς, ὡς  
 πραπτόντων τινῶν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῖς Καρχη-  
**11** δονίοις ὑπὲρ τῆς τούτων σωτηρίας. λαβόμενος δὲ  
 τῆς ἀφορμῆς ταύτης ὁ Σπένδιος, πρῶτον μὲν  
 παρεκάλει μὴ πιστεύειν τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τοῦ  
 τῶν Καρχηδονίων γεγενημένην φιλανθρωπίαν πρὸς  
**12** τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους· οὐ γὰρ σῶσαι προαιρούμενον  
 αὐτὸν ταῦτα βεβουλεῦσθαι περὶ τῶν ἀλόντων, ἀλλὰ  
 διὰ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀφέσεως ἡμῶν ἐγκρατῆ γενέσθαι  
 σπουδάζοντα, πρὸς τὸ μὴ τινάς, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἡμᾶς  
**13** ἅμα τιμωρήσασθαι πιστεύσαντας αὐτῷ. πρὸς δὲ  
 τούτοις φυλάττεσθαι παρήνει μὴ προέμενοι τοὺς περὶ  
 τὸν Γέσκωνα καταφρονηθῶσι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν,  
 μεγάλα δὲ βλάβῃσι τὰς ἰδίας πράξεις, ἄνδρα τοιοῦ-  
 τον καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀγαθὸν ἔασαντες διαφυγεῖν, ὃν  
**14** εἰκὸς ἐχθρὸν αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι φοβερώτατον. ἔτι δὲ  
 ταῦτα λέγοντος αὐτοῦ παρῆν ἄλλος γραμματοφόρος,  
 ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Τύνητος ἀπεσταλμένος, παρα-  
**80** πλήσια τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Σαρδόνοσ διασαφῶν. ἐφ' ὃν  
 Αὐτάριτος ὁ Γαλάτης ἐπιβαλὼν μίαν ἔφη σωτηρίαν  
 εἶναι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν πράγμασι τὸ πάσας ἀπογνῶναι  
**2** τὰς ἐν Καρχηδονίοις ἐλπίδας· ἕως δ' ἂν ἀντέχηταί  
 τις τῆς ἐκείνων φιλανθρωπίας, οὐ δυνατὸν αὐτοῖς  
**3** ἀληθινὸν γενέσθαι τὸν τοιοῦτον σύμμαχον. διόπερ  
 ἡξίου τούτοις πιστεύειν, τούτοις ἀκούειν, τοῖς τοι-  
 οῦτοις προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, οἵτινες ἂν αἰεί τι τῶν  
 ἀπεχθεστάτων καὶ πικροτάτων εἰσαγγέλλωσι κατὰ  
 Καρχηδονίων· τοὺς δ' ἐναντία τούτοις λέγοντας  
**4** προδότας καὶ πολεμίους ἡγεῖσθαι παρήνει. ταῦτα  
 δ' εἰπὼν συνεβούλευε τὸν τε Γέσκωνα καὶ τοὺς

advised them to keep careful guard over Gesco and all the others whom they had, as above narrated, treacherously arrested at Tunis, since some persons in the camp were negotiating with the Carthaginians about their release. Spendius, seizing on this pretext, begged them in the first place to have no reliance on the Carthaginian general's reported clemency to the prisoners. "It is not," he said, "with the intention of sparing their lives that he has taken this course regarding his captives, but by releasing them he designs to get us into his power, so that he may take vengeance not on some, but on all of us who trust him." Moreover, he warned them to take care lest by giving up Gesco and the others they incur the contempt of their enemies and seriously damage their own situation by allowing to escape them so able a man and so good a general, who was sure to become their most formidable enemy. He had not finished his speech when in came another post supposed to be from Tunis with a message similar to that from Sardinia. 80. Autaritus the Gaul was the next speaker. He said that the only hope of safety for them was to abandon all reliance on the Carthaginians. Whoever continued to look forward to clemency from them could be no true ally of their own. Therefore he asked them to trust those, to give a hearing to those, to attend to those only who bring the most hateful and bitterest accusations against the Carthaginians, and to regard speakers on the other side as traitors and enemies. Finally, he recommended them to torture and put to

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

μετ' αὐτοῦ συλληφθέντας καὶ τοὺς ὕστερον γενο-  
 μένους αἰχμαλώτους τῶν Καρχηδονίων αἰκισαμέ-  
 5 νους ἀποκτεῖναι. πρακτικώτατος δ' ἦν οὗτος ἐν  
 ταῖς συμβουλίαις διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς τὴν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ  
 6 συνιέναι. πάλαι γὰρ στρατευόμενος ἤδει διαλέγε-  
 σθαι φοινικιστί· ταύτῃ δέ πως οἱ πλείστοι συν-  
 7 εσαίνοντο τῇ διαλέκτῳ διὰ τὸ μῆκος τῆς προγεγενη-  
 μένης στρατείας. διόπερ ἐπαινέσαντος αὐτὸν ὁμο-  
 θυμαδὸν τοῦ πλήθους, οὗτος μὲν εὐδοκιμῶν ἀν-  
 8 εχώρησε. πολλῶν δὲ προπορευομένων ἀφ' ἑκάστου  
 γένους ἅμα, καὶ βουλομένων αὐτὴν παραιτεῖσθαι  
 τὴν αἰκίαν διὰ τὰς γεγενημένας ἐκ τοῦ Γέσκωνος  
 εἰς αὐτοὺς εὐεργεσίας, οὔτε μὲν τῶν λεγομένων  
 οὐθὲν ἦν συνετόν, ὡς ἂν ἅμα πολλῶν, ἑκάστου  
 9 δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν διάλεκτον συμβουλεύοντος· ἐπεὶ  
 δὲ καὶ παρεγυμνώθη διότι τὴν τιμωρίαν παραι-  
 τοῦνται, καὶ τις ἐκ τῶν καθημένων εἶπε βάλλε,  
 10 πάντας ἅμα κατέλευσαν τοὺς προπορευθέντας. καὶ  
 τούτους μὲν, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ θηρίων διεφθαρμένους,  
 11 ἐξέφερον οἱ προσήκοντες. τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν Γέ-  
 σκωνα λαβόντες, ὄντας εἰς ἑπτακοσίους, ἤγον ἐκ  
 τοῦ χάρακος οἱ περὶ τὸν Σπένδιον· καὶ προαγα-  
 γόντες βραχὺ πρὸ τῆς στρατοπεδείας πρῶτον μὲν  
 12 ἀπέκοπτον τὰς χεῖρας, ποιούμενοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ Γέσκωνος, ὃν βραχεῖ χρόνῳ πρότερον ἐκ πάν-  
 των Καρχηδονίων προκρίναντες ἀνέδειξαν μὲν  
 εὐεργέτην αὐτῶν, ἐπέτρεψαν δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβη-  
 13 τουμένων. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰς χεῖρας ἀπέκοψαν, ἠκρω-  
 τηρίαζον τοὺς ταλαιπώρους· κολοβώσαντες δὲ καὶ  
 συντρίψαντες τὸ σκέλε' ἔτι ζῶντας ἔρριψαν εἰς  
 τινα τάφρον.

81 Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι, τοῦ δυστυχήματος αὐτοῖς



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ἀναγγελθέντος, ποιεῖν μὲν οὐδὲν εἶχον, ἐσχετλία-  
ζον δέ, καὶ περιπαθεῖς γινόμενοι τῇ συμφορᾷ πρὸς  
μὲν Ἀμίλκαν καὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν στρατηγῶν Ἀν-  
ωνα πρεσβευτὰς ἐξέπεμπον, δεόμενοι βοηθεῖν καὶ  
2 τιμωρεῖν τοῖς ἡτυχηκόσι. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἡσεβηκότας  
κῆρυκας ἐξαπέστελλον περὶ τῆς τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναι-  
3 ρέσεως. οἱ δ' οὐτ' ἔδοσαν, προεῖπόν τε τοῖς παρ-  
οῦσι μήτε κῆρυκα πέμπειν πρὸς σφᾶς μήτε πρε-  
σβευτήν, ὡς τῆς αὐτῆς κολάσεως ὑπομενούσης τοὺς  
4 παραγενομένους ἧς νῦν Γέσκων τέτευχε. πρὸς δὲ  
τὸ λοιπὸν ἐδογματοποίησαν καὶ παρήνεσαν αὐτοῖς,  
ὄν μὲν ἂν λάβωσι Καρχηδονίων, τιμωρησαμένους  
ἀποκτείνειν· ὄν δ' ἂν τῶν συμμαχούντων αὐτοῖς,  
ἀποκόψαντας τὰς χεῖρας αὐθις εἰς Καρχηδόν' ἀπο-  
πέμπειν. ὃ δὴ καὶ διετέλεσαν ἐπιμελῶς ποιοῦντες.  
5 διόπερ εἰς ταῦτα βλέπων οὐκ ἂν τις εἰπεῖν ὀκνή-  
σειεν ὡς οὐ μόνον τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀνθρώπων καί  
τινα τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς γεννωμένων ἐλκῶν καὶ φυμά-  
των ἀποθηριοῦσθαι συμβαίνει καὶ τελέως ἀβοήθητα  
6 γίνεσθαι, πολὺ δὲ μάλιστα τὰς ψυχάς. ἐπὶ τε γὰρ  
τῶν ἐλκῶν, εἰ μὲν θεραπείαν τοῖς τοιούτοις προσ-  
άγη τις, ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐνίοτε ταύτης ἐρεθιζόμενα θᾶτ-  
τον ποιεῖται τὴν νομὴν· εἰ δὲ πάλιν ἀφῆ, κατὰ  
τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν φύσιν φθείροντα τὸ συνεχὲς οὐκ ἴσχει  
7 παῦλαν, ἕως ἂν ἀφανίσῃ τὸ ὑποκείμενον· ταῖς τε  
ψυχαῖς παραπλησίως τοιαῦται πολλάκις ἐπιφύονται  
μελανίαι καὶ σηπεδόνες ὥστε μηδὲν ἀσεβέστερον  
ἀνθρώπου μηδ' ὤμότερον ἀποτελεῖσθαι τῶν ζώων.  
8 οἷς εἰ μὲν συγγνώμην τινὰ προσάγῃς καὶ φιλαν-  
θρωπίαν, ἐπιβουλήν καὶ παραλογισμὸν ἡγούμενοι  
τὸ συμβαῖνον ἀπιστότεροι καὶ δυσμενέστεροι γί-  
9 νονται πρὸς τοὺς φιλανθρωποῦντας· εἰ δ' ἀντι-

unhappy event, could take no action, but their indignation was extreme, and in the heat of it they sent messengers to Hamilcar and their other general Hanno imploring them to come and avenge the unfortunate victims. To the assassins they sent heralds begging that the bodies might be given up to them. Not only was this request refused but the messengers were told to send neither herald nor envoy again, as any who came would meet with the same punishment that had just befallen Gesco. With regard to treatment of prisoners in the future, the mutineers passed a resolution and engaged each other to torture and kill every Carthaginian and send back to the capital with his hands cut off every ally of Carthage, and this practice they continued to observe carefully. No one looking at this would have any hesitation in saying that not only do men's bodies and certain of the ulcers and tumours afflicting them become so to speak savage and brutalized and quite incurable, but that this is true in a much higher degree of their souls. In the case of ulcers, if we treat them, they are sometimes inflamed by the treatment itself and spread more rapidly, while again if we neglect them they continue, in virtue of their own nature, to eat into the flesh and never rest until they have utterly destroyed the tissues beneath. Similarly such malignant lividities and putrid ulcers often grow in the human soul, that no beast becomes at the end more wicked or cruel than man. In the case of men in such a state, if we treat the disease by pardon and kindness, they think we are scheming to betray them or deceive them, and become more mistrustful and hostile to their would-be benefactors, but if, on the



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

- τιμωρῇ, διαμιλλώμενοι τοῖς θυμοῖς οὐκ ἔστι τι τῶν ἀπειρημένων ἢ δεινῶν ὅποιον οὐκ ἀναδέχονται, σὺν καλῶ τιθέμενοι τὴν τοιαύτην τόλμαν· τέλος δ' ἀποθηριωθέντες ἐξέστησαν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως.
- 10 τῆς δὲ διαθέσεως ἀρχηγὸν μὲν καὶ μεγίστην μερίδα νομιστέον ἔθῃ μοχθηρὰ καὶ τροφὴν ἐκ παίδων κακὴν, συνεργὰ δὲ καὶ πλείω, μέγιστα δὲ τῶν συνεργῶν, τὰς αἰὲ τῶν προεστώτων ὕβρεις καὶ πλεονεξίας. ἃ δὴ τότε συνέβαινε καὶ περὶ μὲν τὸ σύστημα τῶν μισθοφόρων, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον περὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτῶν ὑπάρχειν.
- 82 Ἀμίλκας δέ, δυσχρηστούμενος τῇ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπονοίᾳ, τὸν μὲν Ἄνωνα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐκάλει, πεπεισμένος ἀθροισθέντων ὁμοῦ τῶν στρατοπέδων 2 θᾶπτον ἐπιθήσειν τέλος τοῖς ὅλοις. τῶν δὲ πολεμίων οὓς ποτε κρατήσῃ, τοὺς μὲν ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ διέφθειρε, τοὺς δὲ ζωγρία πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰσαναχθέντας ὑπέβαλλε τοῖς θηρίοις, μίαν ὁρῶν λύσιν ταύτην, εἰ δυνηθεῖη τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἄρδην ἀφανίσει.
- 3 Δοκούντων δὲ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπικυδεστέρας ἐλπίδας ἔχειν ἤδη κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον, γίνεται τις ὀλοσχερῆς καὶ παράδοξος περὶ αὐτοὺς παλίρροια τῶν 4 πραγμάτων. οἳ τε γὰρ στρατηγοὶ συνελθόντες ἐπὶ ταῦτὸ διεστασίασαν πρὸς σφᾶς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὥστε μὴ μόνον τοὺς κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν παραλιπεῖν καιροὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν πολλὰς ἀφορμὰς διδόναι τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους 5 φιλονεικίαν. ἃ δὴ καὶ συνέντες οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῷ μὲν ἐνὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι προσέταξαν, τῷ δ' ἑτέρῳ μένειν, ὃν ἂν αἱ δυνάμεις προκρίνωσιν. 6 ἅμα δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὰς παρακομιζομένας ἀγο-



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ρὰς ἐκ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς καλουμένων Ἐμπορίων, ἐφ'  
 αἷς εἶχον τὰς μεγίστας ἐλπίδας περί-τε τῆς τροφῆς  
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων, διαφθαρῆναι συνέβη  
 7 κατὰ θάλατταν ὄλοσχερῶς ὑπὸ χειμῶνος. τὰ δὲ  
 κατὰ τὴν Σαρδόνα, καθάπερ ἐπάνω προεῖπον, ἐτύγ-  
 χανεν ἀπηλλοτριωμένα, μεγάλας αὐτοῖς αἰεὶ ποτε  
 χρείας παρεχομένης τῆς νήσου ταύτης κατὰ τὰς  
 8 περιστάσεις. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ἢ τῶν Ἰππακριτῶν  
 καὶ τῶν Ἰτυκαίων ἀπέστη πόλις, αἵτινες ἐτύγχανον  
 μόνοι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην οὐ μόνον τὸν ἐνεστῶτα  
 πόλεμον ἀναδεδεγμένοι γενναίως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς  
 κατ' Ἀγαθοκλέα καιροῦς καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἔφοδον  
 εὐγενῶς ὑπομεμενηκυῖαι, καὶ συλλήβδην οὐδέποτε  
 9 βεβουλευμένοι Καρχηδονίοις οὐδὲν ὑπεναντίον. τότε  
 δὲ χωρὶς τῆς ἀλόγου πρὸς τοὺς Λίβυας ἀποστάσεως  
 καὶ διὰ τῆς μεταθέσεως εὐθέως τούτοις μὲν τὴν  
 μεγίστην οἰκειότητα καὶ πίστιν ἐναπεδείξαντο, πρὸς  
 δὲ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἀπαραίτητον ὀργὴν ἐνεστή-  
 10 σαντο καὶ μῖσος. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ παραβεβοηθηκότας  
 αὐτοῖς παρ' ἐκείνων, ὄντας εἰς πεντακοσίους, καὶ  
 τὸν ἡγεμόνα τούτων ἀποκτείναντες ἅπαντας ἔρρι-  
 ψαν κατὰ τοῦ τείχους, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἐνεχείρισαν τοῖς  
 Λίβυσι· τοῖς γε μὴν Καρχηδονίοις οὐδὲ θάψαι συν-  
 11 εχώρησαν τοὺς ἡτυχηκότας αἰτουμένοις. τούτων δὲ  
 συμβαινόντων, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Μάθω καὶ Σπέν-  
 διον, ἐπαρθέντες τοῖς συμβεβηκόσι, πολιορκεῖν  
 12 ἐνεχείρησαν αὐτὴν τὴν Καρχηδόνα. Βάρκας δὲ  
 παραλαβὼν Ἀννίβαν τὸν στρατηγόν -τούτον γὰρ  
 ἐξαπέστειλαν οἱ πολῖται πρὸς τὰς δυνάμεις, ἐπεὶ  
 τὸν Ἄννωνα τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔκρινε δεῖν ἀπαλ-  
 λάττεσθαι, κατὰ τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν Καρχηδονίων αὐτοῖς

they suffered the total loss at sea in a storm, of the supplies they were conveying from the place they call Emporia, supplies on which they entirely relied for their commissariat and other needs. And again, as I said above, they had lost Sardinia, an island which had always been of great service to them in difficult circumstances. The severest blow of all, however, was the defection of Hippacritae and Utica, the only two cities in Libya which had not only bravely faced the present war, but had gallantly held out during the invasion of Agathocles and that of the Romans; indeed they never had on any occasion given the least sign of hostility to Carthage. But now, apart from their unjustifiable defection to the cause of the Libyans, their sympathies so suddenly changed, that they exhibited the greatest friendship and loyalty to the rebels, while beginning to show every symptom of passionate and determined hatred of Carthage. After butchering the troops the Carthaginians had sent to assist them, about five hundred in number, together with their commander, they threw all the bodies from the wall, and surrendered the city to the Libyans. They would not even give the Carthaginians the permission they requested to bury their unfortunate compatriots. Mathos and Spendius in the meantime, elated by these events, undertook the siege of Carthage itself. Barcas had now been joined in the command by Hannibal, the general whom the citizens had dispatched to the army, on the soldiers voting that Hanno should be the one to retire, when the decision was left in their hands by the Carthaginians at the

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

δοθεῖσαν ἐπιτροπὴν περὶ τὰς γενομένας τῶν στρα-  
13 τηγῶν στάσεις πρὸς ἀλλήλους—διόπερ Ἀμίλκας,  
ἔχων τοῦτόν τε καὶ Ναραύαν, ἐπήγει τὴν χώραν,  
διακλείων τὰς χορηγίας τοῖς περὶ τὸν Μάθω καὶ  
Σπένδιον, μεγίστην αὐτῷ παρεχομένου χρεῖαν περὶ  
τε ταῦτα καὶ τᾶλλα Ναραύα τοῦ Νομάδος.

14 Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὰς ὑπαίθρους δυνάμεις ἐν  
83 τούτοις ἦν. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι περικλειόμενοι παν-  
ταχόθεν ἠναγκάζοντο καταφεύγειν ἐπὶ τὰς συμμα-  
2 χίδων πόλεων ἐλπίδας. Ἰέρων δ' αἰεὶ μὲν ποτε κατὰ  
τὸν ἐνεστῶτα πόλεμον μεγάλην ἐποιεῖτο σπουδὴν  
3 εἰς πᾶν τὸ παρακαλούμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν, τότε δὲ καὶ  
μᾶλλον ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο, πεπεισμένος συμφέρειν ἑαυτῷ  
καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐν Σικελίᾳ δυναστείαν καὶ πρὸς τὴν  
'Ρωμαίων φιλίαν τὸ σώζεσθαι Καρχηδονίους, ἵνα μὴ  
παντάπασιν ἐξῆ τὸ προτεθὲν ἀκονιτὶ συντελεῖσθαι  
τοῖς ἰσχύουσι, πάνυ φρονίμως καὶ νουνεχῶς λογι-  
4 ζόμενος. οὐδέποτε γὰρ χρὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα παρορᾶν,  
οὐδὲ τηλικαύτην οὐδενὶ συγκατασκευάζειν δυνα-  
στείαν, πρὸς ἣν οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν ὁμολογουμένων ἐξ-  
5 ἔσται δικαίων ἀμφισβητεῖν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ  
'Ρωμαῖοι τηροῦντες τὰ κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας δίκαια  
6 προθυμίας οὐδὲν ἀπέλειπον. ἐν ἀρχαῖς μὲν γὰρ  
ἐγένετό τις ἀμφισβήτησις ἐξ ἀμφοῖν διὰ τινὰς  
7 τοιαύτας αἰτίας. τῶν Καρχηδονίων τοὺς πλείοντας ἐξ  
'Ἰταλίας εἰς Λιβύην καὶ χορηγοῦντας τοῖς πολεμίοις  
καταγόντων ὡς αὐτούς, καὶ σχεδὸν ἀθροισθέντων  
τούτων εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν εἰς τοὺς πεντακοσίους,  
8 ἠγανάκτησαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διαπρε-  
σβευσάμενοι, καὶ κομισάμενοι διὰ λόγου πάντας, ἐπὶ  
τοσοῦτον εὐδόκησαν ὥστε παραχρῆμα τοῖς Καρχη-  
δονίοις ἀντιδωρήσασθαι τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους παρ'



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## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

αὐτοῖς αἰχμαλώτους ἐκ τοῦ περὶ Σικελίαν πολέμου.  
 9 ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου τοῦ καιροῦ πρὸς ἕκαστα τῶν παρα-  
 καλουμένων ἐτοίμως καὶ φιλανθρώπως ὑπήκουον.  
 10 διὸ καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐπέτρεψαν τοῖς  
 ἐμπόροις ἐξαγαγεῖν αἰεὶ τὸ κατεπεῖγον, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς  
 11 πολεμίους ἐκώλυσαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν μὲν ἐν τῇ  
 Σαρδόνι μισθοφόρων, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ἀπὸ τῶν Καρ-  
 χηδονίων ἀπέστησαν, ἐπισπωμένων αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν  
 νῆσον οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν· τῶν δ' Ἴτυκαίων ἐγχειρι-  
 ζόντων σφᾶς, οὐ προσεδέξαντο, τηροῦντες τὰ κατὰ  
 τὰς συνθήκας δίκαια.  
 12 Καρχηδόνιοι μὲν οὖν τῆς παρὰ τῶν προειρημέ-  
 νων φίλων τυγχάνοντες ἐπικουρίας ὑπέμενον τὴν  
 84 πολιορκίαν. τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Μάθω καὶ Σπένδιον  
 οὐχ ἦττον πολιορκεῖσθαι συνέβαιεν ἢ πολιορκεῖν.  
 2 εἰς τοιαύτην γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀμίλκαν ἔν-  
 δειαν καθίστασαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ὥστ' ἀναγκα-  
 3 σθῆναι τέλος αὐτοὺς διαλύσαι τὴν πολιορκίαν. μετὰ  
 δὲ τινα χρόνον ἀθροίσαντες τῶν τε μισθοφόρων  
 τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ Λιβύων, τοὺς ἅπαντας εἰς πεν-  
 τακισμυρίους, μεθ' ὧν ἦν καὶ Ζάρζας ὁ Λίβυς ἔχων  
 τοὺς ὑφ' αὐτὸν ταττομένους, ὤρμησαν αὐθις ἀντι-  
 παράγειν ἐν τοῖς ὑπαίθροις καὶ τηρεῖν τοὺς περὶ  
 4 τὸν Ἀμίλκαν. τῶν μὲν οὖν πεδινῶν τόπων ἀπεί-  
 χοντο, καταπεπληγμένοι τὰ θηρία καὶ τοὺς περὶ  
 τὸν Ναραύαν ἵππεῖς, τοὺς δ' ὄρεινους καὶ στενοὺς  
 5 ἐπειρῶντο προκαταλαμβάνειν. ἐν οἷς καιροῖς συν-  
 ἔβη ταῖς μὲν ἐπιβολαῖς καὶ τόλμαις μηδὲν αὐτοὺς  
 λείπεσθαι τῶν ὑπεναντίων, διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπειρίαν  
 6 πολλάκις ἐλαττοῦσθαι. τότε γὰρ ἦν, ὡς ἔοικε, συν-  
 ιδεῖν ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας πηλίκην ἔχει διαφορὰν  
 ἐμπειρία μεθοδικὴ καὶ στρατηγικὴ δύναμις ἀπειρίας

the remaining prisoners from the Sicilian war and henceforth gave prompt and friendly attention to all their requests. They gave permission to their merchants to export all requirements for Carthage, but not for the enemy, and shortly afterwards, when the mercenaries in Sardinia on revolting from Carthage invited them to occupy the island, they refused. Again on the citizens of Utica offering to surrender to them they did not accept, but held to their treaty engagements.

The Carthaginians, then, on thus obtaining assist- 238  
ance from their friends continued to withstand the siege. 84. But Māthos and Spendius were just as much in the position of besieged as of besiegers. Hamilcar had reduced them to such straits for supplies that they were finally forced to raise the siege. A short time afterwards, collecting a picked force of mercenaries and Libyans to the number of about fifty thousand and including Zarzas the Libyan and those under his command, they tried again their former plan of marching in the open parallel to the enemy and keeping a watch on Hamilcar. They avoided level ground, as they were afraid of the elephants and Naravas' horse, but they kept on trying to anticipate the enemy in occupying positions on the hills and narrow passes. In this campaign they were quite equal to the enemy in terms of assault and enterprise, but were often worsted owing to their want of tactical skill. This was, it seems, an opportunity for seeing by the light of actual fact, how much the methods gained by experience and the skill of a general, differ from a soldier's inexperience



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

7 καὶ τριβῆς ἀλόγου στρατιωτικῆς. πολλοὺς μὲν γὰρ  
 αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς κατὰ μέρος χρείαις ἀποτεμνόμενος  
 καὶ συγκλείων ὥσπερ ἀγαθὸς πεττευτής, ἀμαχεῖ  
 8 διέφθειρε, πολλοὺς δ' ἐν τοῖς ὄλοσχερέσι κινδύνοις  
 τοὺς μὲν εἰς ἐνέδρας ἀνυπονοήτους ἐπαγόμενος  
 ἀνήρει, τοῖς δ' ἀνελπίστως καὶ παραδόξως ποτὲ μὲν  
 μεθ' ἡμέραν, ποτὲ δὲ νύκτωρ, ἐπιφαινόμενος ἐξ-  
 ἐπληττεν· ὧν ὅσους λάβοι ζωγρία, πάντα παρέβαλ-  
 9 λε τοῖς θηρίοις. τέλος δ' ἐπιστρατοπεδεύσας αὐτοῖς  
 ἀνυπονοήτως ἐν τόποις ἀφυέσι μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἐκεί-  
 νων χρείαν, εὐφυέσι δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν,  
 εἰς τοῦτ' ἤγαγε περιστάσεως ὥστε μήτε διακιν-  
 δυνεύειν τολμῶντας μήτ' ἀποδρᾶναι δυναμένους διὰ  
 τὸ τάφρω καὶ χάρακι περιειληφθαι πανταχόθεν τέ-  
 λος ὑπὸ τῆς λιμοῦ συναγομένους ἐσθίειν ἀλλήλων  
 10 ἀναγκασθῆναι, τοῦ δαιμονίου τὴν οἰκείαν ἀμοιβὴν  
 αὐτοῖς ἐπιφέροντος τῇ πρὸς τοὺς πέλας ἀσεβεία καὶ  
 11 παρανομία. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸν κίνδυνον οὐκ ἐτόλ-  
 μων ἐξιέναι, προδήλου τῆς ἥττης καὶ τῆς τιμωρίας  
 τοῖς ἀλισκομένοις ὑπαρχούσης, περὶ δὲ διαλύσεως  
 οὐδ' ὑπενόουν ποιεῖσθαι μνήμην, συνειδότες σφίσι  
 12 τὰ πεπραγμένα. προσανέχοντες δ' αἰεὶ ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ  
 Τύνητος βοηθείαις διὰ τὰς τῶν ἡγουμένων ἐπαγ-  
 γελίας πᾶν ὑπέμενον ποιεῖν κατὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν.  
 85 ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεχρήσαντο μὲν ἀσεβῶς τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους,  
 τροφῇ ταύτῃ χρώμενοι, κατεχρήσαντο δὲ τὰ δου-  
 λικὰ τῶν σωμάτων, ἐβοήθει δ' ἐκ τοῦ Τύνητος οὐ-  
 2 δείς, τότε προδήλου τῆς αἰκίας διὰ τὴν περικάκη-  
 σιν ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ὑπαρχούσης, ἔκρι-  
 ναν οἱ περὶ τὸν Αὐτάριτον καὶ Ζάρζαν καὶ Σπέν-



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διον ἐγχειρίζειν ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ δια-  
 3 λαλεῖν περὶ διαλύσεως Ἀμίλκα. πέμψαντες οὖν  
 κήρυκα καὶ λαβόντες συγχώρημα περὶ πρεσβείας,  
 4 ἤκον ὄντες δέκα πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους. πρὸς  
 οὓς Ἀμίλκας ὁμολογίας ἐποιήσατο τοιαύτας· ἐξ-  
 εἶναι Καρχηδονίοις ἐκλέξασθαι τῶν πολεμίων οὓς  
 ἂν αὐτοὶ βούλωνται δέκα· τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀφ-  
 5 ιέναι μετὰ χιτῶνος. γενομένων δὲ τούτων, εὐθέως  
 Ἀμίλκας ἔφη τοὺς παρόντας ἐκλέγεσθαι κατὰ τὰς  
 ὁμολογίας. τῶν μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν Αὐτάριτον καὶ  
 Σπένδιον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἡγε-  
 μόνων τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐκυρίευσαν οἱ Καρχηδό-  
 6 νιοι. τῶν δὲ Λιβύων, ἐπεὶ τὴν σύλληψιν ἤσθοντο  
 τῶν ἡγεμόνων, νομισάντων αὐτοὺς παρεσπονδῆσθαι  
 διὰ τὸ τὰς συνθήκας ἀγνοεῖν, καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν  
 7 αἰτίαν ὀρμησάντων ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα, περιστήσας αὐτοῖς  
 Ἀμίλκας τὰ τε θηρία καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν δύναμιν ἅπαν-  
 τας διέφθειρε πλείους ὄντας τῶν τετρακισμυρίων  
 περὶ τὸν τόπον τὸν Πρίονα καλούμενον· ὃν συμ-  
 βαίνει διὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα τοῦ σχήματος πρὸς τὸ νῦν  
 εἰρημένον ὄργανον ταύτης τετευχέναι τῆς προση-  
 γορίας.

86 Πράξας δὲ τὰ προδεδηλωμένα τοῖς μὲν Καρχη-  
 δονίοις αὐθις ἐλπίδα παρέστησε μεγάλην πρὸς τὸ  
 βέλτιον, καίπερ ἀπεγνωκόσιν ἤδη τὴν σωτηρίαν·  
 αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ Ναραύα καὶ μετ' Ἀννίβου τὴν χώ-  
 2 ραν ἐπήγει καὶ τὰς πόλεις. προσχωρούντων δὲ καὶ  
 μετατιθεμένων πρὸς αὐτοὺς τῶν Λιβύων διὰ τὸ  
 γεγονὸς εὐτύχημα, ποιησάμενοι τὰς πλείστας πόλεις  
 ὑφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἤκον ἐπὶ τὸν Τύνητα, καὶ πολιορκεῖν  
 3 ἐνεχείρησαν τοὺς περὶ τὸν Μάθω. κατὰ μὲν οὖν  
 τὴν ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνης πλευρὰν προσεστρατοπέδευσεν

give themselves up to the enemy and discuss terms with Hamilcar. They therefore dispatched a herald, and when they had obtained leave to send envoys, they went, ten in all, to the Carthaginians. The terms Hamilcar made with them were, that the Carthaginians might choose from the enemy any ten they wished, the remainder being free to depart with one tunic apiece. These terms having been agreed to, Hamilcar at once said that by virtue of them he chose the ten envoys. By this means the Carthaginians got into their power Autaritus, Spendius, and the other principal leaders. The Libyans, when they learnt of their officers' arrest, thought they had been betrayed, as they were ignorant of the treaty, and rushed to arms, but Hamilcar, surrounding them (more than forty thousand) with his elephants and the rest of his forces, cut them all to pieces. This occurred near the place called the Saw; it got this name from its resemblance to the tool so called.

86. By this achievement Hamilcar again made the Carthaginians very hopeful of better fortune, although by this time they had nearly given up all for lost. In conjunction with Naravas and Hannibal he now raided the country and its towns. The Libyans in general gave in and went over to them owing to the recent victory, and after reducing most of the cities, the Carthaginians reached Tunis and began to besiege Mathos. Hannibal encamped on the side of

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

Ἄννιβας, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπέναντι ταύτης Ἀμίλκας.  
 4 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα προσαγαγόντες πρὸς τὰ τείχη τοὺς  
 περὶ τὸν Σπένδιον αἰχμαλώτους ἐσταύρωσαν ἐπι-  
 5 φανῶς. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Μάθω, κατανοήσαντες τὸν  
 Ἄννιβαν ῥαθύμως καὶ κατατεθαρρηκότως ἀναστρε-  
 φόμενον, ἐπιθέμενοι τῷ χάρακι πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν  
 Καρχηδονίων ἀπέκτειναν, πάντας δ' ἐξέβαλον ἐκ  
 τῆς στρατοπεδείας, ἐκυρίευσαν δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀποσκευῆς  
 ἀπάσης, ἔλαβον δὲ καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἄννιβαν ζω-  
 6 γρία. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν παραχρῆμα πρὸς τὸν τοῦ  
 Σπενδίου σταυρὸν ἀγαγόντες καὶ τιμωρησάμενοι  
 πικρῶς, ἐκεῖνον μὲν καθεῖλον, τοῦτον δ' ἀνέθεσαν  
 ζῶντα καὶ περικατέσφαξαν τριάκοντα τῶν Καρχηδο-  
 νίων τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους περὶ τὸ τοῦ Σπενδίου  
 7 σῶμα, τῆς τύχης ὡσπερ ἐπίτηδες ἐκ παραθέσεως  
 ἀμφοτέροις ἐναλλάξ διδούσης ἀφορμὰς εἰς ὑπερβο-  
 8 λὴν τῆς κατ' ἀλλήλων τιμωρίας. ὁ δὲ Βάρκας ὄψε  
 μὲν συνῆκε τὴν ἐπίθεσιν τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως διὰ  
 τὴν ἀπόστασιν τῶν στρατοπέδων· οὐδὲ μὴν συνεῖς  
 οὐδ' οὕτως κατετάχει πρὸς τὴν βοήθειαν διὰ τὰς  
 9 μεταξὺ δυσχωρίας. διόπερ ἀναζεύξας ἀπὸ τοῦ Τύ-  
 νητος, καὶ παρελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν Μακάραν ποταμὸν,  
 κατεστρατοπέδευσε πρὸς τῷ στόματι τοῦ ποταμοῦ  
 καὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ.

87 Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι, παραδόξου τῆς περιπετείας  
 αὐτοῖς φανείσης δυσθύμως καὶ δυσελπίστως εἶχον  
 πάλιν· ἄρτι γὰρ ἀναθαρροῦντες ταῖς ψυχαῖς παρὰ  
 2 πόδας ἔπιπτον αὐθις ταῖς ἐλπίσιν. οὐ μὴν ἀφ-  
 3 ἴσταντο τοῦ ποιεῖν τὰ πρὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν. διὸ καὶ  
 τριάκοντα μὲν τῆς γερουσίας προχειρισάμενοι, καὶ  
 μετὰ τούτων τὸν πρότερον μὲν ἀπελθόντα στρα-  
 τηγὸν Ἄνωνα, (τότε δ' ἐπαναγαγόντα) σὺν δὲ



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## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

τούτοις τοὺς ὑπολοίπους τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἡλικίαις καθ-  
 οπλίσαντες, οἷον ἐσχάτην τρέχοντες ταύτην, ἕξαπ-  
 4 ἔστελλον πρὸς τὸν Βάρκαν, ἐντειλάμενοι πολλὰ τοῖς  
 τῆς γερουσίας κατὰ πάντα τρόπον διαλύσαι τοὺς  
 στρατηγοὺς ἐκ τῆς προγεγενημένης διαφορᾶς καὶ  
 συμφρονεῖν σφᾶς ἀναγκάσαι, βλέψαντας εἰς τὰ παρ-  
 5 ὄντα τῶν πραγμάτων. ὦν πολλοὺς καὶ ποικίλους  
 διαθεμένων λόγους, ἐπειδὴ συνήγαγον ὁμόσε τοὺς  
 στρατηγούς, ἠναγκάσθησαν συγχωρεῖν καὶ πείθε-  
 σθαι τοῖς λεγομένοις οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄνωνα καὶ τὸν  
 6 Βάρκαν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη συμφρονήσαντες μιᾷ  
 γνώμῃ πάντα κατὰ νοῦν ἔπραττον τοῖς Καρχηδο-  
 7 νίοις, ὥστε τοὺς περὶ τὸν Μάθω, δυσχρηστομένους  
 ἐν τοῖς κατὰ μέρος κινδύνοις, πολλοὺς γὰρ ἐποιή-  
 σαντο περὶ τε τὴν Λέπτιν προσαγορευομένην καὶ  
 τινὰς τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων, τέλος ἐπὶ τὸ διὰ μάχης  
 κρίνειν ὀρμηῆσαι τὰ πράγματα, προθύμως ἐχόντων  
 8 πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος καὶ τῶν Καρχηδονίων. διόπερ  
 ἀμφότεροι τοῦτο προθέμενοι παρεκάλουν μὲν πάν-  
 τας τοὺς συμμάχους πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον, συνῆγον  
 δὲ τὰς φρουρὰς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων, ὡς ἂν μέλλοντες  
 9 ἐκκυβεύειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὄλων. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἑκατέροις ἦν  
 τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ἔτοιμα, παραταξάμενοι συν-  
 10 ἔβαλον ἀλλήλοις ἐξ ὁμολόγου. γενομένου δὲ τοῦ  
 νικημάτων κατὰ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, οἱ μὲν πλείστοι  
 τῶν Λιβύων ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ κινδύνῳ διεφθάρησαν, οἱ  
 δὲ πρὸς τινα πόλιν συμφυγόντες μετ' οὐ πολὺ  
 παρέδοσαν ἑαυτούς, ὃ δὲ Μάθως ὑποχείριος ἐγένετο  
 τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ζωγρία.

88 Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα μέρη τῆς Λιβύης μετὰ τὴν  
 2 μάχην εὐθέως ὑπήκουσε τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις· ἡ δὲ  
 τῶν Ἰππακριτῶν καὶ τῶν Ἰτυκαίων πόλις ἔμενον,

and by all their remaining citizens of military age, whom they had armed as a sort of forlorn hope. They enjoined these commissioners to put an end by all means in their power to the two generals' long-standing quarrel, and to force them, in view of the circumstances, to be reconciled. The senators, after they had brought the generals together, pressed them with so many and varied arguments, that at length Hanno and Barcas were obliged to yield and do as they requested. After their reconciliation they were of one mind, and consequently everything went as well as the Carthaginians could wish, so that Mathos, unsuccessful in the many partial engagements which took place around the place called Leptis and some other cities, at length resolved to decide matters by a general battle, the Carthaginians being equally anxious for this. Both sides then, with this purpose, called on all their allies to join them for the battle and summoned in the garrisons from the towns, as if about to stake their all on the issue. When they were each ready to attack, they drew up their armies confronting each other and at a preconcerted signal closed. The Carthaginians gained the victory, most of the Libyans falling in the battle, while the rest escaped to a certain city and soon afterwards surrendered, but Mathos himself was taken by the enemy.

88. The rest of Libya at once submitted to Carthage after the battle, but Hippocritae and Utica



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

οὐδεμίαν ἀφορμὴν ἔχουσαι πρὸς διάλυσιν διὰ τὸ μὴ καταλείπεσθαι σφίσι τόπον ἐλέους μηδὲ συγγνώμης κατὰ τὰς πρώτας ἐπιβολάς. οὕτως καὶ κατὰ ταύτας τὰς ἀμαρτίας μεγάλην ἔχει διαφορὰν ἢ μετριότης καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἀνήκεστον ἐπιτηδεύειν ἐκούσως. οὐ μὲν ἄλλα παραστρατοπεδεύσαντες ἢ μὲν Ἄννων, ἢ δὲ Βάρκας, ταχέως ἠνάγκασαν αὐτοὺς ὁμολογίας ποιήσασθαι καὶ διαλύσεις εὐδοκουμένας Καρχηδονίοις.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Λιβυκὸς πόλεμος εἰς τοιαύτην ἀγαγὼν περίστασιν Καρχηδονίους τοιοῦτον ἔσχε τὸ τέλος, ὥστε μὴ μόνον κυριεῦσαι πάλιν τῆς Λιβύης τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως τιμωρήσασθαι καταξίως· τὸ γὰρ πέρασ ἀγαγόντες οἱ νέοι τὸν θρίαμβον διὰ τῆς πόλεως πᾶσαν αἰκίαν ἐναπεδείξαντο τοῖς περὶ τὸν Μάθω. τρία μὲν οὖν ἔτη καὶ τέτταράς που μῆνας ἐπολέμησαν οἱ μισθοφόροι πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους πόλεμον ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν ἀκοῇ μαθόντες πολὺ τι τοὺς ἄλλους ὠμότητι καὶ παρανομίᾳ διενηνοχότα. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Σαρδόνος αὐτομολησάντων μισθοφόρων πρὸς σφᾶς ἐκκληθέντες ἐπεβάλοντο πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν προειρημένην νῆσον. τῶν δὲ Καρχηδονίων ἀγανακτούντων, ὡς αὐτοῖς καθηκούσης μᾶλλον τῆς τῶν Σαρδώων δυναστείας, καὶ παρασκευαζομένων μεταπορεύεσθαι τοὺς ἀποστήσαντας αὐτῶν τὴν νῆσον, λαβόμενοι τῆς ἀφορμῆς ταύτης οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πόλεμον ἐψηφίσαντο πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, φάσκοντες αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐπὶ Σαρδονίους, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σφᾶς ποιεῖσθαι τὴν παρασκευήν. οἱ δὲ παραδόξως διαπεφευγότες τὸν προ-



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## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

ειρημένον πόλεμον, κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ἀφυῶς δια-  
κείμενοι κατὰ τὸ παρὸν πρὸς τὸ πάλιν ἀναλαμβάνειν  
12 τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἀπέχθειαν, εἴξαντες τοῖς  
καιροῖς οὐ μόνον ἀπέστησαν τῆς Σαρδόνος, ἀλλὰ  
καὶ χίλια τάλαντα καὶ διακόσια προσέθηκαν τοῖς  
Ῥωμαίοις, ἐφ' ᾧ μὴ κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ἀναδέξασθαι  
τὸν πόλεμον. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐπράχθη.

## BOOK I. 88. 11 – 12

last war, were in every respect ill-fitted at this moment to resume hostilities with Rome. Yielding therefore to circumstances, they not only gave up Sardinia, but agreed to pay a further sum of twelve hundred talents to the Romans to avoid going to war for the present. Such then was the nature of these events.

## B'

- 1** Ἐν μὲν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης βύβλῳ διεσαφήσαμεν πότε Ῥωμαῖοι συστησάμενοι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν τοῖς ἐκτὸς ἐγχειρεῖν ἤρξαντο πράγμασιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις πῶς εἰς Σικελίαν διέβησαν καὶ δι' αἷς αἰτίας τὸν περὶ τῆς προειρημένης νήσου συνεστήσαντο
- 2** πόλεμον πρὸς Καρχηδονίους, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πότε πρῶτον συνίστασθαι ναυτικὰς ἤρξαντο δυνάμεις, καὶ τὰ συμβάντα κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἑκατέρους ἕως τοῦ τέλους, ἐν ᾧ Καρχηδόνιοι μὲν ἐξεχώρησαν πάσης Σικελίας, Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἐπεκράτησαν τῆς ὅλης νήσου πλὴν τῶν ὑφ' Ἰέρωνα ταπτομένων μερῶν.
- 3** ἐξῆς δὲ τούτοις ἐπεβαλόμεθα λέγειν πῶς στασιάζαντες οἱ μισθοφόροι πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους τὸν προσαγορευθέντα Λιβυκὸν πόλεμον ἐξέκαυσαν, καὶ τὰ συμβάντα κατὰ τοῦτον ἀσεβήματα μέχρι τίνος προύβη καὶ τίνα διέξοδον ἔλαβε τὰ παράλογα τῶν ἔργων, ἕως τοῦ τέλους καὶ τῆς Καρχηδονίων ἐπι-
- 4** κρατείας. νυνὶ δὲ τὰ συνεχῆ τούτοις πειρασόμεθα δηλοῦν κεφαλαιωδῶς ἑκάστων ἐπιψαύοντες κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρόθεσιν.
- 5** Καρχηδόνιοι γὰρ ὡς θάπτον κατεστήσαντο τὰ κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην, εὐθέως Ἀμίλκαν ἐξαπέστελλον δυνάμεις συστήσαντες εἰς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν
- 6** τόπους. ὁ δ' ἀναλαβὼν τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν



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## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

Ἄννιβαν, ὄντα τότε κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἑτῶν ἑννέα, καὶ διαβὰς κατὰ τὰς Ἡρακλέους στήλας ἀνεκτᾶτο τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν πράγματα τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις. 7 διατρίψας δ' ἐν τοῖς τόποις τούτοις ἔτη σχεδὸν ἑννέα, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν πολέμῳ, πολλοὺς δὲ πειθοῖ ποιήσας Ἰβήρων ὑπηκόους Καρχηδόνι, κατέστρεψε 8 τὸν βίον ἀξίως τῶν προγεγενημένων πράξεων. πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς ἀνδρωδεστάτους καὶ μεγίστην δύναμιν ἔχοντας παραταπτόμενος, καὶ χρώμενος τολμηρῶς καὶ παραβόλως ἑαυτῷ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ κινδύνου και- 9 ρόν, ἐρρωμένως τὸν βίον μετήλλαξε. τὴν δὲ στρατηγίαν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι παρέδοσαν Ἀσδρούβα, τῷ κείνου κηδεστῇ καὶ τριηράρχῳ.

2 Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν πρώτην διάβασιν εἰς τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα καὶ ταῦτα τὰ μέρη τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐπεβάλλοντο ποιεῖσθαι μετὰ δυνάμεως. 2 ἄπερ οὐ παρέργως, ἀλλὰ μετ' ἐπιστάσεως θεωρητέον τοῖς βουλομένοις ἀληθινῶς τὴν τε πρόθεσιν τὴν ἡμετέραν συνθεάσασθαι καὶ τὴν αὔξησιν καὶ 3 κατασκευὴν τῆς Ῥωμαίων δυναστείας. ἔγνωσαν δὲ 4 διαβαίνειν διὰ τινος τοιαύτας αἰτίας. Ἄγρων ὁ τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν βασιλεὺς ἦν μὲν υἱὸς Πλευράτου, δύναμιν δὲ πεζὴν καὶ ναυτικὴν μεγίστην ἔσχε τῶν πρὸ 5 αὐτοῦ βεβασιλευκότων ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς. οὗτος ὑπὸ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φιλίππου πατρὸς πεισθεὶς χρήμασιν ὑπέσχετο βοηθήσειν Μεδιωνίοις ὑπ' Αἰτωλῶν πο- 6 λιορκουμένοις. Αἰτωλοὶ γὰρ οὐδαμῶς δυνάμενοι πείσαι Μεδιωνίους μετέχειν σφίσι τῆς αὐτῆς πολι- 7 τείας, ἐπεβάλλοντο κατὰ κράτος ἐλεῖν αὐτούς. στρατεύσαντες οὖν πανδημεῖ, καὶ περιστρατοπεδεύσαντες αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν, κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς ἐπολιόρκουν, 8 πᾶσαν βίαν προσφέροντες καὶ μηχανήν. συνάψαν-

nine years of age, he crossed the straits of Gibraltar and applied himself to subjugating Spain to the Carthaginians. In this country he spent about nine years during which he reduced many Iberian tribes to obedience either by force of arms or by diplomacy, and finally met with an end worthy of his high achievements, dying bravely in a battle against one of the most warlike and powerful tribes, after freely exposing his person to danger on the field. The Carthaginians handed over the command of the army to Hasdrubal his son-in-law and chief naval officer. 238.  
B.C.

2. It was at this period that the Romans first crossed with an army to Illyria and that part of Europe. This is a matter not to be lightly passed over, but deserving the serious attention of those who wish to gain a true view of the purpose of this work and of the formation and growth of the Roman dominion. The circumstances which decided them to cross were as follows: Agron, king of Illyria, was the son of Pleuratus, and was master of stronger land and sea forces than any king of Illyria before him. Demetrius, the father of Philip V., had induced him by a bribe to go to the assistance of the town of Medion which the Aetolians were besieging. The Aetolians being unable to persuade the Medionians to join their league, determined to reduce them by force. Levying all their forces they encamped round the city and strictly besieged it, employing every forcible means and every device. The date 233.  
B.C.



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

τος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων, καὶ δέον στρα-  
 τηγὸν ἕτερον αἰρεῖσθαι, καὶ τῶν πολιορκουμένων  
 ἤδη κακῶς διακειμένων, καὶ δοκούντων ἀν' ἐκάστην  
 ἡμέραν ἐνδώσειν ἑαυτούς, ὁ προὔπαρχων στρατη-  
 9 γὸς προσφέρει λόγον τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς, φάσκων, ἐπειδὴ  
 τὰς κακοπαθείας καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους αὐτὸς ἀναδέ-  
 δεκται τοὺς κατὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν, δίκαιον εἶναι καὶ  
 τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῶν λαφύρων, ἐπὰν κρατήσωσι, καὶ  
 τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τῶν ὄπλων ἑαυτῷ συγχωρεῖσθαι.  
 10 τινῶν δέ, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν προϊόντων πρὸς τὴν ἀρ-  
 χήν, ἀμφισβητούντων πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ παρα-  
 καλούντων τὰ πλήθη μὴ προδιαλαμβάνειν, ἀλλ'  
 ἀκέραιον εἶναι, ὧ ποτ' ἂν ἡ τύχη βουληθῆ περι-  
 11 θεῖναι τοῦτον τὸν στέφανον, ἔδοξε τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς, ὅς  
 ἂν ἐπικατασταθεὶς στρατηγὸς κρατήσῃ τῆς πόλεως,  
 κοινὴν ποιεῖν τῷ προὔπαρχοντι καὶ τὴν οἰκονομίαν  
 τῶν λαφύρων καὶ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τῶν ὄπλων.  
 3 Δεδογμένων δὲ τούτων, καὶ δέον τῇ κατὰ πόδας  
 ἡμέρᾳ γενέσθαι τὴν αἵρεσιν καὶ τὴν παράληψιν τῆς  
 ἀρχῆς, καθάπερ ἔθος ἐστὶν Αἰτωλοῖς, προσπλέουσι  
 τῆς νυκτὸς ἑκατὸν λέμβοι πρὸς τὴν Μεδιωνίαν, κατὰ  
 τοὺς ἔγγιστα τόπους τῆς πόλεως, ἐφ' ὧν ἦσαν Ἴλ-  
 2 λυριοὶ πεντακισχίλιοι. καθορμισθέντες δέ, καὶ τῆς  
 ἡμέρας ἐπιγενομένης ἐνεργὸν καὶ λαθραίαν ποιησά-  
 μενοι τὴν ἀπόβασιν, καὶ χρησάμενοι τῇ παρ' αὐ-  
 τοῖς εἰθισμένη τάξει, προῆγον κατὰ σπείρας ἐπὶ τὴν  
 3 τῶν Αἰτωλῶν στρατοπεδείαν. οἱ δ' Αἰτωλοὶ, συν-  
 έντες τὸ γινόμενον, ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ παραδόξῳ καὶ τῇ  
 τόλμῃ τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν ἦσαν ἐκπλαγεῖς· πεφρονημα-  
 τισμένοι δ' ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου, καὶ καταπιστεύσαν-  
 τες ταῖς ἰδίαις δυνάμεσι, κατὰ ποσὸν εὐθαρσῶς εἶ-  
 4 χον. τὸ μὲν οὖν πολὺ μέρος τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τῶν



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ἵππέων αὐτοῦ πρὸ τῆς στρατοπεδείας ἐν τοῖς ἐπι-  
 πέδοις παρενέβαλλον, μέρει δέ τινι τῆς ἵππου καὶ  
 τοῖς εὐζώνοις τοὺς ὑπερδεξίους καὶ πρὸ τοῦ χάρα-  
 κος εὐφυῶς κειμένους τόπους προκατελάμβανον.  
 5 οἱ δ' Ἰλλυριοὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐλαφροὺς ἐξ ἐφόδου προσ-  
 πεσόντες τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ τῷ βάρει τῆς συντάξεως  
 ἐξέωσαν, τοὺς δὲ μετὰ τούτων ἵππεῖς συγκινδυνεύ-  
 οντας ἠνάγκασαν ἀποχωρῆσαι πρὸς τὰ βαρέα τῶν  
 6 ὄπλων. λοιπὸν ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου ποιούμενοι τὴν ἐφ-  
 οδὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τεταγμένους, ταχέως ἐτρέ-  
 ψαντο, συνεπιθεμένων τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς ἅμα καὶ τῶν  
 7 Μεδιωνίων ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐ-  
 τῶν ἀπέκτειναν, ἔτι δὲ πλείους αἰχμαλώτους ἔλα-  
 βον· τῶν δ' ὄπλων καὶ τῆς ἀποσκευῆς ἐγένοντο  
 8 πάσης ἐγκρατεῖς. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἰλλυριοὶ πράξαντες  
 τὸ συνταχθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ διακομίσαν-  
 τες τὴν ἀποσκευὴν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὠφέλειαν ἐπὶ  
 τοὺς λέμβους εὐθέως ἀνήγοντο, ποιούμενοι τὸν  
 4 πλοῦν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν. οἱ δὲ Μεδιώνιοι τετευχότες  
 ἀνελπίστου σωτηρίας, ἀθροισθέντες εἰς τὴν ἐκκλη-  
 σίαν ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ τε τῶν ἄλλων καὶ περὶ τῆς  
 2 τῶν ὄπλων ἐπιγραφῆς. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς κοινὴν  
 ποιήσκειν τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἀπὸ τε τοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν  
 Αἰτωλῶν ἔχοντος καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸ μέλλον προπορευ-  
 3 ομένων κατὰ τὸ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν δόγμα, τῆς τύχης  
 ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἐπὶ τῶν  
 ἐκείνοις συμβαινόντων ἐνδεικνυμένης τὴν αὐτῆς δύ-  
 4 ναμιν. ἃ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτοὶ προσεδόκων  
 ὅσον ἤδη πείσεσθαι, ταῦτα πράττειν αὐτοῖς ἐκεί-  
 νοις παρέδωκεν ἐν πάνυ βραχεῖ χρόνῳ κατὰ τῶν  
 5 πολεμίων. Αἰτωλοὶ δὲ τῇ παραδόξῳ χρησάμενοι  
 συμφορᾷ πάντα ἐδίδαξαν μηδέποτε βουλεύεσθαι

## BOOK II. 3. 4 - 4. 5

hoplites and cavalry on the level ground just in front of their lines, they occupied with a portion of their cavalry and their light-armed infantry certain favourable positions on the heights in front of the camp. The Illyrians, charging the light infantry, drove them from their positions by their superior force and the weight of their formation, compelling the supporting body of cavalry to fall back on the heavy-armed troops. After this, having the advantage of attacking the latter, who were drawn up on the plain, from higher ground, they speedily put them to flight, the Medionians also joining in the attack from the city. They killed many Aetolians and took a still larger number of prisoners, capturing all their arms and baggage. The Illyrians, having thus executed the orders of their king, carried off to their boats the baggage and other booty and at once set sail for home. 4. The Medionians, thus unexpectedly saved, met in assembly and discussed, among other matters, that of the proper inscription for the shields. They decided, in parody of the Aetolian decree, to inscribe them as won *from* and not *by* the present Aetolian chief magistrate and the candidates for next year's office. It seemed as if what had befallen this people was designed by Fortune to display her might to men in general. For in so brief a space of time she put it in their power to do to the enemy the very thing which they thought the enemy were just on the point of doing to themselves. The unlooked-for calamity of the Aetolians was a lesson to mankind never to

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ὡς ἤδη γεγονότος, μηδὲ προκατελπίζειν βεβαιουμένους ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀκμὴν ἐνδεχόμενόν ἐστιν ἄλλως γενέσθαι, νέμειν δὲ μερίδα τῷ παραδόξῳ πανταχῇ μὲν ἀνθρώπους ὄντας, μάλιστα δ' ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς.

6 Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἄγρων, ἐπεὶ κατέπλευσαν οἱ λέμβοι, διακούσας τῶν ἡγεμόνων τὰ κατὰ τὸν κίνδυνον, καὶ περιχαρῆς γενόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ δοκεῖν Αἰτωλοῦς τοὺς μέγιστον ἔχοντας τὸ φρόνημα νενικηκέναι, πρὸς μέθας καὶ τινὰς τοιαύτας ἄλλας εὐωχίας τραπεῖς ἐνέπεσεν εἰς πλευρίτιν· ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἐν  
7 ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις μετήλλαξε τὸν βίον. τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν ἢ γυνὴ Τεύτα διαδεξαμένη τὸν κατὰ μέρος χειρισμὸν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐποιεῖτο διὰ τῆς τῶν  
8 φίλων πίστεως. χρωμένη δὲ λογισμοῖς γυναικείοις, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ γεγονὸς εὐτύχημα μόνον ἀποβλέπουσα, τῶν δ' ἐκτὸς οὐδὲν περισκεπτομένη, πρῶτον μὲν συνεχώρησε τοῖς κατ' ἰδίαν πλέουσι  
9 λήζεσθαι τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας, δεύτερον δ' ἀθροίσασα στόλον καὶ δύναμιν οὐκ ἐλάττω τῆς πρότερον ἐξέπεμψε, πᾶσαν γῆν ἀποδείξασα πολεμίαν τοῖς ἡγου-  
5 μένοις. οἱ δ' ἐξαποσταλέντες τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἐπιβολὴν ἔσχον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἡλείαν καὶ τὴν Μεσσηνίαν· ταύτας γὰρ αἰεὶ τὰς χώρας Ἰλλυριοὶ πορθοῦντες δι-  
2 ετέλουν. διὰ γὰρ τὸ μῆκος τῆς παραλίας καὶ διὰ τὸ μεσογαίους εἶναι τὰς δυναστευούσας ἐν αὐταῖς πόλεις μακρὰ καὶ βραδεῖαι λίαν ἐγίνοντο τοῖς προειρημένοις αἱ παραβοήθαι πρὸς τὰς ἀποβάσεις τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν· ὅθεν ἀδεῶς ἐπέτρεχον καὶ κατέσυρον αἰεὶ  
3 ταύτας τὰς χώρας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τότε γενόμενοι τῆς Ἠπείρου κατὰ Φοινίκην προσέσχον ἐπισιτισμοῦ  
4 χάριν. συμμίζαντες δὲ τῶν Γαλατῶν τισιν, οἱ



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## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

μισθοφοροῦντες παρὰ τοῖς Ἑπειρώταις διέτριβον ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ, τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες εἰς ὀκτακοσίους, καὶ κοινολογηθέντες τούτοις περὶ προδοσίας τῆς πόλεως ἐξέβησαν, συγκαταθεμένων σφίσι τῶν προειρημένων, καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐξ ἐφόδου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ κύριοι κατέστησαν, συνεργησάντων ἔσωθεν αὐτοῖς  
**5** τῶν Γαλατῶν. οἱ δ' Ἑπειῶται πυθόμενοι τὸ γεγονὸς ἐβοήθουν πανδημεὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς. παραγενόμενοι δὲ πρὸς τὴν Φοινίκην, καὶ προβαλόμενοι τὸν παρὰ τὴν πόλιν ῥέοντα ποταμὸν, ἐστρατοπέδευσαν, τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῷ γεφύρας ἀνασπάσαντες τὰς σάνιδας ἀσφαλείας χάριν. προσαγγελθέντος δ' αὐτοῖς Σκερδιλαΐδαν ἔχοντα πεντακισχιλίους Ἰλλυριοὺς παραγίνεσθαι κατὰ γῆν διὰ τῶν παρ' Ἀντιγόνειαν στενῶν, μερίσαντες αὐτῶν τινὰς ἐξαπέστειλαν παραφυλάξοντας τὴν Ἀντιγόνειαν· αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ τε λοιπὰ ῥαθύμως διῆγον, ἀπολαύοντες τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀνέδην, τῶν τε κατὰ τὰς φυλακὰς καὶ προκοι-  
**7** τίας ὀλιγώρουν. οἱ δ' Ἰλλυριοὶ συνέντες τὸν μερισμὸν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν ῥαθυμίαν, ἐκπορεύονται νυκτός· καὶ τῇ γεφύρᾳ σανίδας ἐπιβαλόντες τὸν τε ποταμὸν ἀσφαλῶς διέβησαν καὶ λαβόντες ὄχυρὸν  
**8** τόπον ἔμειναν τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος τῆς νυκτός. ἐπιγενομένης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ παραταξαμένων ἀμφοτέρων πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, συνέβη λειφθῆναι τοὺς Ἑπειρώτας, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν πεσεῖν, ἔτι δὲ πλείους ἀλῶναι, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς διαφυγεῖν ὡς ἐπ' Ἀτιντάνων.

**6** Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν τοιούτοις περιπεσόντες ἀτυχήμασι, καὶ πάσας ἀπολέσαντες τὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐλπίδας, ἐπρέσβευον πρὸς τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἔθνος, δεόμενοι μεθ' ἱκετηρίας σφίσι βοη-

## BOOK H. 5. 4 – 6. 1

in number, at present in the employ of the Epirots. They approached these Gauls with a proposal for the betrayal of the city, and on their agreeing, they landed and captured the town and its inhabitants by assault with the help from within of the Gauls. When the Epirots learnt of this they hastened to come to help with their whole force. On reaching Phoenice they encamped with the river that runs past the town on their front, removing the planking of the bridge so as to be in safety. On news reaching them that Scerdilaïdas with five thousand Illyrians was approaching by land through the pass near Antigonía, they detached a portion of their force to guard Antigonía, but they themselves henceforth remained at their ease, faring plenteously on the produce of the country, and quite neglecting night and day watches. The Illyrians, learning of the partition of the Epirot force and of their general remissness, made a night sortie, and replacing planks on the bridge, crossed the river in safety and occupied a strong position where they remained for the rest of the night. When day broke, both armies drew up their forces in front of the town and engaged. The battle resulted in the defeat of the Epirots, many of whom were killed and still more taken prisoners, the rest escaping in the direction of Atintania.

6. The Epirots, having met with this misfortune and lost all hope in themselves, sent embassies to the Aetolians and to the Achaean league imploring their



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

**2** θεῖν. οἱ δὲ κατελεήσαντες τὰς συμφορὰς αὐτῶν  
 ὑπήκουσαν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα παραβοηθοῦντες ἤκον  
**3** εἰς Ἑλίκρανον. οἱ δὲ τὴν Φοινίκην κατασχόντες,  
 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον παραγενόμενοι μετὰ Σκερδιλαΐδου  
 πρὸς τὸ χωρίον παρεστρατοπέδευσαν τοῖς βεβοη-  
**4** θηκόσι, βουλόμενοι συμβαλεῖν. δυσχρηστούμενοι δὲ  
 διὰ τὰς δυσχωρίας τῶν τόπων, ἅμα δὲ καὶ προσπε-  
 σόντων παρὰ τῆς Τεύτας γραμμάτων, δι' ὧν ᾤετο  
 δεῖν αὐτοὺς τὴν ταχίστην εἰς οἶκον ἀναχωρεῖν διὰ  
 τὸ τινὰς τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν ἀφεστηκέναι πρὸς τοὺς Δαρ-  
**5** δανεῖς, οὕτω λεηλατήσαντες τὴν Ἠπειρον ἀνοχὰς  
**6** ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς τοὺς Ἠπειρώτας. ἐν αἷς τὰ μὲν  
 ἐλεύθερα σώματα καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀπολυτρώσαντες  
 αὐτοῖς, τὰ δὲ δουρικὰ καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν σκευὴν ἀνα-  
 λαβόντες εἰς τοὺς λέμβους, οἱ μὲν ἀπέπλευσαν, οἱ  
 δὲ περὶ τὸν Σκερδιλαΐδαν πεζῇ πάλιν ἀνεχώρησαν  
**7** διὰ τῶν παρὰ τὴν Ἀντιγόνειαν στενῶν, οὐ μικρὰν  
 οὐδὲ τὴν τυχοῦσαν κατάπληξιν καὶ φόβον ἐνεργασά-  
 μενοι τοῖς τὰς παραλίας οἰκοῦσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων.  
**8** ἕκαστοι γὰρ θεωροῦντες τὴν ὀχυρωτάτην ἅμα καὶ  
 δυνατωτάτην πόλιν τῶν ἐν Ἠπείρῳ παραλόγως  
 οὕτως ἐξηνδραποδισμένην, οὐκέτι περὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς  
 χώρας ἠγωνίων, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρό-  
 νοις, ἀλλὰ περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν πόλεων.  
**9** Οἱ δ' Ἠπειρῶται παραδόξως διασεσωσμένοι, το-  
 σοῦτον ἀπεῖχον τοῦ πειράζειν ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἠδι-  
 κηκότας ἢ χάριν ἀποδιδόναι τοῖς βοηθήσασιν, ὥστε  
 τοῦναντίον διαπρεσβευσάμενοι πρὸς τὴν Τεύταν  
 συμμαχίαν ἔθεντο μετ' Ἀκαρνάνων πρὸς τοὺς Ἰλ-  
**10** λυριούς, καθ' ἣν ἐκείνοις μὲν κατὰ τοὺς ἐξῆς και-  
 ροὺς συνήργουν, τοῖς δ' Ἀχαιοῖς καὶ τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς  
**11** ἀντέπραπτον. ἐξ ὧν ἐγένοντο καταφανεῖς ἀκρίτως



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μὲν κεχρημένοι τότε τοῖς εὐεργέταις, ἀφρόνως δ'  
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς βεβουλευμένοι περὶ τῶν καθ' αὐτοὺς πραγ-  
 7 μάτων. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπους ὄντας παραλόγως  
 περιπεσεῖν τινι τῶν δεινῶν οὐ τῶν παθόντων, τῆς  
 2 τύχης δὲ καὶ τῶν πραξάντων ἐστὶν ἔγκλημα, τὸ δ'  
 ἀκρίτως καὶ προφανῶς περιβαλεῖν αὐτοὺς ταῖς με-  
 γίσταις συμφοραῖς ὁμολογούμενόν ἐστι τῶν πασχόν-  
 3 των ἀμάρτημα. διὸ καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐκ τύχης πταίου-  
 σιν ἔλεος ἔπεται μετὰ συγγνώμης κἀπικουρία, τοῖς  
 δὲ διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀβουλίαν ὄνειδος κἀπιτίμησις  
 4 συνεξακολουθεῖ παρὰ τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν. ἃ δὲ  
 καὶ τότε παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰκότως ἂν τοῖς  
 5 Ἡπειρώταις ἀπηντήθη. πρῶτον γὰρ τίς οὐκ ἂν  
 τὴν κοινὴν περὶ Γαλατῶν φήμην ὑπιδόμενος εὐλα-  
 βηθείη τούτοις ἐγχειρίσαι πόλιν εὐδαίμονα καὶ πολ-  
 6 λὰς ἀφορμὰς ἔχουσαν εἰς παρασπόνδησιν; δεύτερον  
 τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐφυλάξατο τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ συστήματος  
 ἐκείνου προαίρεσιν; οἷ γε τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἐξέπεσον  
 ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας, συνδραμόντων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τῶν ὁμο-  
 εθνῶν, διὰ τὸ παρασπονδῆσαι τοὺς αὐτῶν οἰκείους  
 7 καὶ συγγενεῖς· ὑποδεξαμένων γε μὴν αὐτοὺς Καρχη-  
 δονίων διὰ τὸ κατεπείγεσθαι πολέμῳ, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον  
 γενομένης τινὸς ἀντιρρήσεως τοῖς στρατιώταις πρὸς  
 τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ὑπὲρ ὀψωνίων ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐπεβά-  
 λοντο διαρπάξαι τὴν τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων πόλιν,  
 φυλακῆς χάριν εἰσαχθέντες εἰς αὐτήν, ὄντες τότε  
 8 πλείους τῶν τρισχιλίων· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παραιο-  
 αγαγόντων αὐτοὺς πάλιν εἰς Ἐρυκα τῆς αὐτῆς χρείας  
 ἕνεκεν, πολιορκούντων τὴν πόλιν Ῥωμαίων, ἐπ-  
 εχείρησαν μὲν καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς συμπολιορ-  
 9 κουμένους προδοῦναι· τῆς δὲ πράξεως ταύτης ἀπο-

not only to have acted now towards their benefactors without judgement, but to have blundered from the outset in the management of their own affairs. 7. For we are but men, and to meet with some unexpected blow is not the sufferer's fault, but that of Fortune and those who inflict it on him; but when we involve ourselves by sheer lack of judgement and with our eyes open in the depth of misfortune, everyone acknowledges that we have none to blame but ourselves. It is for this reason that those whom Fortune leads astray meet with pity, pardon and help, but if their failures are due to their own indiscretion, all <sup>right</sup>-thinking men blame and reproach them. And in this case the Greeks would have been amply justified in their censure of the Epirots. To begin with would not anyone who is aware of the general reputation of the Gauls, think twice before entrusting to them a wealthy city, the betrayal of which was easy and profitable? In the second place who would not have been cautious in the case of a company with such a bad name? First of all they had been expelled from their own country by a general movement of their fellow-countrymen owing to their having betrayed their own friends and kinsmen. Again, when the Carthaginians, hard pressed by the war, received them, they first availed themselves of a dispute about pay between the soldiers and generals to pillage the city of Agrigentum of which they formed the garrison, being then above three thousand strong. Afterwards, when the Carthaginians sent them on the same service to Eryx, then besieged by the Romans, they attempted to betray the city and those who were suffering siege in their company, and when this plan fell through, they deserted to

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

τυχόντες ηὔτομόλησαν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους· παρ'  
 οἷς πιστευθέντες πάλιν ἐσύλησαν τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδί-  
 10 τῆς τῆς Ἐρυκίνης ἱερόν. διὸ σαφῶς ἐπεγνωκότες  
 Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἀσέβειαν αὐτῶν, ἅμα τῷ διαλύσασθαι  
 τὸν πρὸς Καρχηδονίους πόλεμον οὐδὲν ἐποιήσαντο  
 προυργιαίτερον τοῦ παροπλίσαντας αὐτοὺς ἐμβαλεῖν  
 εἰς πλοῖα καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας πάσης ἐξορίστους κατα-  
 11 στήσαι. οὗς Ἡπειρῶται τῆς δημοκρατίας καὶ τῶν  
 νόμων φύλακας ποιησάμενοι, καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονε-  
 στάτην πόλιν ἐγχειρίσαντες, πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως  
 φανείησαν αὐτοὶ τῶν συμπτωμάτων αὐτοῖς αἴτιοι  
 γεγονότες;

12 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς Ἡπειρωτῶν ἀγνοίας, καὶ περὶ  
 τοῦ μηδέποτε δεῖν τοὺς εὖ φρονοῦντας ἰσχυροτέραν  
 εἰσάγεσθαι φυλακὴν ἄλλως τε καὶ βαρβάρων, ἐπὶ  
 8 τοσοῦτον ἔκρινον ποιήσασθαι μνήμην. οἱ δ' Ἰλλυ-  
 ριοὶ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἀνωτέρω μὲν χρόνους συνεχῶς  
 2 ἠδίκουν τοὺς πλοῖζομένους ἀπ' Ἰταλίας· καθ' οὗς  
 δὲ καιροὺς περὶ τὴν Φοινίκην διέτριβον, καὶ πλεί-  
 ους ἀπὸ τοῦ στόλου χωριζόμενοι πολλοὺς τῶν Ἰτα-  
 λικῶν ἐμπόρων ἔσθ' οὗς μὲν ἐσύλησαν, οὗς δ'  
 ἀπέσφαξαν, οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ καὶ ζωγρία τῶν ἀλισκο-  
 3 μένων ἀνήγον. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι, παρακούοντες τὸν  
 πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον τῶν ἐγκαλούντων τοῖς Ἰλλυριοῖς,  
 τότε καὶ πλειόνων ἐπελθόντων ἐπὶ τὴν σύγκλητον,  
 κατέστησαν πρεσβευτὰς εἰς τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα τοὺς ἐπί-  
 σκεψιν ποιησομένους περὶ τῶν προειρημένων Γάϊον  
 4 καὶ Λεύκιον Κορογκανίους. ἡ δὲ Τεύτα, καταπλευ-  
 σάντων πρὸς αὐτὴν τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἡπείρου λέμβων,  
 καταπλαγείσα τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὸ κάλλος τῆς ἀγομέ-  
 νης κατασκευῆς, (πολὺ γὰρ ἡ Φοινίκη διέφερε τότε  
 τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἡπειρον πόλεων εὐδαιμονία), διπλα-



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## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

σίως ἐπερρώσθη πρὸς τὴν κατὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀδι-  
 5 κίαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν ἐπέσχε διὰ τὰς ἐγχω-  
 ρίους ταραχάς, καταστησαμένη δὲ ταχέως τὰ κατὰ  
 τοὺς ἀποστάνας Ἰλλυριοὺς ἐπολιόρκει τὴν Ἴσσαν  
 6 διὰ τὸ ταύτην ἔτι μόνον ἀπειθεῖν αὐτῇ. κατὰ δὲ  
 τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον κατέπλευσαν οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων  
 πρέσβεις· καὶ δοθέντος αὐτοῖς καιροῦ πρὸς ἔντευ-  
 ξιν διελέγοντο περὶ τῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς γεγονότων ἀδι-  
 7 κημάτων. ἡ δὲ Τεύτα καθόλου μὲν παρ' ὅλην τὴν  
 κοινολογίαν ἀγερῶχος καὶ λίαν ὑπερηφάνως αὐτῶν  
 8 διήκουε. καταπαυσάντων δὲ τὸν λόγον, κοινῇ μὲν  
 ἔφη πειρᾶσθαι φροντίζειν ἵνα μηδὲν ἀδίκημα γίνη-  
 ται Ῥωμαίοις ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν· ἰδίᾳ γε μὴν οὐ νόμιμον  
 εἶναι τοῖς βασιλεῦσι κωλύειν Ἰλλυριοῖς τὰς κατὰ  
 9 θάλατταν ὠφελείας. ὁ δὲ νεώτερος τῶν πρεσβευ-  
 τῶν, δυσχεράνας ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις, ἐχρήσατο παρ-  
 ρησία καθηκούση μὲν, οὐδαμῶς δὲ πρὸς καιρὸν.  
 10 εἶπε γὰρ ὅτι Ῥωμαίοις μὲν, ὦ Τεύτα, κάλλιστον  
 ἔθος ἐστὶ τὰ κατ' ἰδίαν ἀδικήματα κοινῇ μετα-  
 11 πορεύεσθαι καὶ βοηθεῖν τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις· πειρα-  
 σόμεθα δὴ θεοῦ βουλομένου σφόδρα καὶ ταχέως  
 ἀναγκάσαι σε τὰ βασιλικά νόμιμα διορθώσασθαι πρὸς  
 12 Ἰλλυριοὺς. ἡ δὲ γυναικοθύμως κάλογίστως δεξα-  
 μένη τὴν παρρησίαν, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξωργίσθη πρὸς  
 τὸ ῥηθὲν ὡς ὀλιγωρήσασα τῶν παρ' ἀνθρώποις  
 ὠρισμένων δικαίων ἀποπλέουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπαποστεῖ-  
 λαί τινας τὸν παρρησιασάμενον τῶν πρέσβων ἀπο-  
 13 κτεῖναι. προσπεσόντος δὲ τοῦ γεγονότος εἰς τὴν  
 Ῥώμην, διοργισθέντες ἐπὶ τῇ παρανομίᾳ τῆς γυναι-  
 κὸς εὐθέως περὶ παρασκευὴν ἐγίνοντο, καὶ στρατό-  
 πεδα κατέγραφον καὶ στόλον συνήθροίζον.

was twice as eager as before to molest the Greeks. For the present, however, she had to defer her projects owing to the disturbance in her own dominions; she had speedily put down the Illyrian revolt, but was engaged in besieging Issa, which alone still refused to submit to her, when the Roman ambassadors arrived by sea. Audience having been granted them, they began to speak of the outrages committed against them. Teuta, during the whole interview, listened to them in a most arrogant and overbearing manner, and when they had finished speaking, she said she would see to it that Rome suffered no public wrong from Illyria, but that, as for private wrongs, it was contrary to the custom of the Illyrian kings to hinder their subjects from winning booty from the sea. The younger of the ambassadors was very indignant at these words of hers, and spoke out with a frankness most proper indeed, but highly inopportune: "O Teuta," he said, "the Romans have an admirable custom, which is to punish publicly the doers of private wrongs and publicly come to the help of the wronged. Be sure that we will try, God willing, by might and main and right soon, to force thee to mend the custom toward the Illyrians of their kings." Giving way to her temper like a woman and heedless of the consequences, she took this frankness ill, and was so enraged at the speech that, defying the law of nations, when the ambassadors were leaving in their ship, she sent emissaries to assassinate the one who had been so bold of speech. On the news reaching Rome, the woman's outrage created great indignation and they at once set themselves to prepare for an expedition, enrolling legions and getting a fleet together.



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

**9** Ἡ δὲ Τεύτα, τῆς ὥρας ἐπιγενομένης, ἐπισκευά-  
 σασα λέμβους πλείους τῶν πρότερον ἐξαπέστειλε  
**2** πάλιν εἰς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τόπους. ὧν οἱ  
 μὲν διὰ πόρου τὸν πλοῦν ἐπὶ τὴν Κέρκυραν ἐποι-  
 οῦντο, μέρος δέ τι προσέσχε τὸν τῶν Ἐπιδαμνίων  
 λιμένα, λόγῳ μὲν ὑδρείας κάπισιτισμοῦ χάριν, ἔργῳ  
**3** δ' ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ πράξεως ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν. τῶν δ'  
 Ἐπιδαμνίων ἀκάκως ἅμα καὶ ῥαθύμως, αὐτοὺς  
 παραδεξαμένων, εἰσελθόντες ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς περι-  
 ζώμασιν ὡς ὑδρευσόμενοι, μαχαίρας ἔχοντες ἐν τοῖς  
 κεραμίοις, οὕτως κατασφάξαντες τοὺς φυλάττοντας  
 τὴν πύλην ταχέως ἐγκρατεῖς ἐγένοντο τοῦ πυλῶνος.  
**4** ἐπιγενομένης δὲ κατὰ τὸ συντεταγμένον ἐνεργῶς  
 τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν πλοίων βοηθείας, παραδεξάμενοι τού-  
**5** τους ῥαδίως κατεῖχον τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν τειχῶν. τῶν  
 δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀπαρασκεύως μὲν διὰ τὸ παρά-  
 δοξον, ἐκθύμως δὲ βοηθούντων καὶ διαγωνιζομένων,  
 συνέβη τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀντιποιη-  
**6** σαμένους τέλος ἐκπεσεῖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. Ἐπι-  
 δάμνιοι μὲν οὖν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πράξει διὰ μὲν τὴν  
 ὀλιγωρίαν ἐκινδύνευσαν ἀποβαλεῖν τὴν πατρίδα,  
 διὰ δὲ τὴν εὐψυχίαν ἀβλαβῶς ἐπαιδεύθησαν πρὸς τὸ  
**7** μέλλον. τῶν δ' Ἰλλυριῶν οἱ προεστῶτες κατὰ σπου-  
 δὴν ἀναχθέντες, καὶ συνάψαντες τοῖς προπλέουσι,  
 κατῆραν εἰς τὴν Κέρκυραν· καὶ ποιησάμενοι κατα-  
 πληκτικὴν τὴν ἀπόβασιν ἐνεχείρησαν πολιορκεῖν τὴν  
**8** πόλιν. ὧν συμβαινόντων οἱ Κερκυραῖοι, δυσχρη-  
 στούμενοι καὶ δυσελπίστως διακείμενοι τοῖς ὅλοις,  
 ἐπρεσβεύοντο πρὸς τε τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ τοὺς Αἰτω-  
 λούς, ἅμα δὲ τούτοις Ἀπολλωνιάται καὶ Ἐπιδά-  
 μνιοι, δεόμενοι σφίσι βοηθεῖν κατὰ σπουδὴν καὶ μὴ  
 περιδεῖν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀναστάτους γενομένους ὑπὸ



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## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

9 τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν. οἱ δὲ διακούσαντες τῶν πρέσβεων,  
 καὶ προσδεξάμενοι τοὺς λόγους, ἐπλήρωσαν κοινῇ  
 τὰς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν δέκα ναῦς καταφράκτους, καταρτί-  
 σαντες δ' ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τῆς Κερ-  
 10 κύρας, ἐλπίζοντες λύσειν τὴν πολιορκίαν. οἱ δ'  
 Ἰλλυριοί, συμπαραλαβόντες Ἀκαρνάνων ναῦς κατὰ  
 τὴν συμμαχίαν οὔσας ἑπτὰ καταφράκτους, ἀνταν-  
 αχθέντες συνέβαλον τοῖς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν σκάφεσι περὶ  
 2 τοὺς καλουμένους Παξούς. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀκαρνᾶνες  
 καὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν νεῶν αἱ κατὰ τούτους ταχθεῖσαι  
 πᾶρισον ἐποίουν τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ διέμενον ἀκέραιοι  
 κατὰ τὰς συμπλοκὰς πλὴν τῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς τοὺς  
 3 ἄνδρας γινομένων τραυμάτων. οἱ δ' Ἰλλυριοὶ  
 ζεύξαντες τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν λέμβους ἀνὰ τέτταρας  
 συνεπλέκοντο τοῖς πολεμίοις. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἰδίων  
 ὀλιγώρουν, καὶ παραβάλλοντες πλαγίους συνήργουν  
 4 ταῖς ἐμβολαῖς τῶν ὑπεναντίων. ὅτε δὲ τρώσαντα  
 καὶ δεθέντα κατὰ τὰς ἐμβολὰς δυσχρήστως (διέκειτο  
 πρὸς τὸ παρὸν) τὰ τῶν ἀντιπάλων σκάφη, προσ-  
 κρεμαμένων αὐτοῖς περὶ τοὺς ἐμβόλους τῶν ἐζευγ-  
 μένων λέμβων, τότε ἐπιπηδῶντες ἐπὶ τὰ καταστρώ-  
 ματα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν νεῶν κατεκράτουν διὰ τὸ πλῆ-  
 5 θος τῶν ἐπιβατῶν. καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τεττάρων  
 μὲν πλοίων ἐκυρίευσαν τετρηρικῶν, μίαν δὲ πεν-  
 τήρη σὺν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐβύθισαν, ἐφ' ἧς  
 ἔπλει Μάργος ὁ Καρυνεύς, ἀνὴρ πάντα τὰ δίκαια  
 τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πολιτεύματι πεποιηκῶς μέχρι  
 6 τῆς καταστροφῆς. οἱ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀκαρνᾶνας δια-  
 γωνιζόμενοι, συνιδόντες τὸ κατὰ τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς  
 προτέρημα, καὶ πιστεύοντες τῷ ταχυναυτεῖν, ἐπου-  
 ρώσαντες ἀσφαλῶς τὴν ἀποχώρησιν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν  
 7 ἐποιήσαντο. τὸ δὲ τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν πλῆθος, φρονη-

## BOOK II. 9. 9 – 10. 7

their homes by the Illyrians. The two Leagues, after listening to the envoys, consented to their request, and both joined in manning the ten decked ships belonging to the Achaeans. In a few days they were ready for sea and sailed for Corcyra in the hope of raising the siege. 10. The Illyrians, now reinforced by seven decked ships sent by the Acarnanians in compliance with the terms of their treaty, put to sea and encountered the Achaean ships off the island called Paxi. The Acarnanians and those Achaean ships which were told off to engage them fought with no advantage on either side, remaining undamaged in their encounter except for the wounds inflicted on some of the crew. The Illyrians lashed their boats together in batches of four and thus engaged the enemy. They sacrificed their own boats, presenting them broadside to their adversaries in a position favouring their charge, but when the enemy's ships had charged and struck them and getting fixed in them, found themselves in difficulties, as in each case the four boats lashed together were hanging on to their beaks, the marines leapt on to the decks of the Achaean ships and overmastered them by their numbers. In this way they captured four quadriremes and sunk with all hands a quinquereme, on board of which was Margus of Caryneia, a man who up to the end served the Achaeans most loyally. The ships that were engaged with the Acarnanians, seeing the success of the Illyrians, and trusting to their speed, made sail with a fair wind and escaped home in safety. The Illyrian forces, highly elated by their

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

ματισθὲν ἐπὶ τῷ προτερήματι, λοιπὸν ἤδη ῥαδίως  
 8 ἐχρήσατο τῇ πολιορκίᾳ καὶ τεθαρρηκότως. οἱ δὲ  
 Κερκυραῖοι, δυσελπιστήσαντες τοῖς ὅλοις ἐκ τῶν  
 συμβεβηκότων, βραχὺν ἔτι χρόνον ὑπομείναντες τὴν  
 πολιορκίαν, συνέθεντο τοῖς Ἰλλυριοῖς, καὶ παρεδέ-  
 ξαντο φρουρὰν καὶ μετὰ τῆς φρουρᾶς Δημήτριον  
 9 τὸν Φάριον. τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων εὐθέως οἱ  
 τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν προεστῶτες ἀιήγοντο· καὶ κατάραν-  
 τες εἰς τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον ταύτην πάλιν ἐπεβάλοντο  
 πολιορκεῖν τὴν πόλιν.

11 Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς τῶν τὰς ὑπάτους  
 ἀρχὰς ἐχόντων Γνάιος μὲν Φουλούιος ἐξέπλει ναυσὶ  
 διακοσίαις ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης, Αὔλος δὲ Ποστούμιος τὰς  
 2 πεζικὰς ἔχων δυνάμεις ἐξώρμα· τὴν μὲν οὖν πρῶ-  
 την ἐπιβολὴν ἔσχε πλεῖν ὁ Γνάιος ἐπὶ τῆς Κερκύ-  
 ρας, ὑπολαμβάνων ἔτι καταλήψεσθαι τὴν πολιορ-  
 3 κίαν ἄκριτον· ὑστερήσας δὲ τῶν καιρῶν ὅμως ἐπὶ  
 τὴν νῆσον ἔπλει, βουλόμενος ἅμα μὲν ἐπιγνώσκειν  
 σαφῶς τὰ γεγονότα περὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἅμα δὲ πείραν  
 λαβεῖν τῶν παρὰ τοῦ Δημητρίου προσαγγελλομέ-  
 4 νων. ὁ γὰρ Δημήτριος ἐν διαβολαῖς ὦν καὶ φο-  
 βούμενος τὴν Τεύταν διεπέμπετο πρὸς τοὺς Ῥω-  
 μαίους, ἐπαγγελλόμενος τὴν τε πόλιν ἐγχειριεῖν καὶ  
 τὰ λοιπὰ πράγματα παραδώσειν, ὦν ἦν αὐτὸς κύ-  
 5 ριος. οἱ δὲ Κερκυραῖοι τὴν παρουσίαν τῶν Ῥω-  
 μαίων ἀσμένως ἰδόντες, τὴν τε φρουρὰν παρέδοσαν  
 τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν μετὰ τῆς τοῦ Δημητρίου γνώμης,  
 αὐτοὶ τε σφᾶς ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἔδωκαν παρακληθέντες  
 εἰς τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων πίστιν, μίαν ταύτην ὑπολα-  
 βόντες ἀσφάλειαν αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα  
 6 χρόνον πρὸς τὴν Ἰλλυριῶν παρανομίαν. Ῥωμαῖοι  
 δὲ προσδεξάμενοι τοὺς Κερκυραίους εἰς τὴν φιλίαν



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ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίας, ἔχοντες εἰς τὰ κατὰ-  
 λοιπα τῶν πραγμάτων ἡγεμόνα τὸν Δημήτριον.  
 7 κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ Ποστούμιος τὰς πε-  
 ζικὰς διεβίβαζε δυνάμεις ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου, πεζοὺς  
 8 μὲν εἰς δισμυρίους, ἵππεῖς δὲ περὶ δισχιλίους. ἅμα  
 δὲ τῷ προσέχειν ἑκατέρας ὁμοῦ τὰς δυνάμεις πρὸς  
 τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν ὁμοίως καὶ τούτων ἀποδεξαμένων  
 καὶ δόντων ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν παραχρῆμα  
 πάλιν ἀνήχθησαν, ἀκούοντες πολιορκεῖσθαι τὴν  
 9 Ἐπίδαμνον. οἱ δ' Ἰλλυριοὶ συνέντες τὴν ἔφοδον  
 τῶν Ῥωμαίων, οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ λύσαντες τὴν πολιορ-  
 10 κίαν ἔφυγον. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἐπιδαμνίους  
 παραλαβόντες εἰς τὴν πίστιν, προῆγον εἰς τοὺς εἴσω  
 τόπους τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος, ἅμα καταστρεφόμενοι τοὺς  
 11 Ἀρδιαίους. συμμιξάντων δὲ πρεσβευτῶν αὐτοῖς καὶ  
 πλειόνων, ὧν οἱ παρὰ τῶν Παρθίνων ἤκον ἐπιτρέ-  
 ποντες τὰ καθ' αὐτούς, δεξάμενοι τούτους εἰς τὴν  
 φιλίαν, παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν Ἀτιν-  
 τάνων προσεληλυθότας προῆγον ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἴσσαν,  
 διὰ τὸ καὶ ταύτην ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν πολιορκεῖ-  
 12 σθαι τὴν πόλιν. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ καὶ λύσαντες τὴν  
 πολιορκίαν, προσεδέξαντο καὶ τοὺς Ἰσσαίους εἰς τὴν  
 13 ἑαυτῶν πίστιν. εἶλον δὲ καὶ πόλεις τινὰς Ἰλλυρί-  
 δας ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ κατὰ κράτος· ἐν αἷς περὶ Νου-  
 τρίαν οὐ μόνον τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπέβαλον πολλούς,  
 14 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν χιλιάρχων τινὰς καὶ τὸν ταμίαν. ἐκυ-  
 ρίευσαν δὲ καὶ λέμβων εἴκοσι τῶν ἀποκομιζόντων  
 15 τὴν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὠφέλειαν. τῶν δὲ πολιορκούν-  
 των τὴν Ἴσσαν οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ Φάρῳ διὰ τὸν Δημή-  
 τριον ἀβλαβεῖς ἔμειναν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες ἔφυγον  
 16 εἰς τὸν Ἄρβωνα σκεδασθέντες. ἡ δὲ Τεύτα πάνυ  
 μετ' ὀλίγων εἰς τὸν Ῥίζονα διεσώθη, πολισμάτιον

friendship, set sail for Apollonia, Demetrius in future acting as their guide. Simultaneously Postumius was bringing across from Brundisium the land forces consisting of about twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse. On the two forces uniting at Apollonia and on the people of that city likewise agreeing to put themselves under Roman protection, they at once set off again, hearing that Epidamnus was being besieged. The Illyrians, on hearing of the approach of the Romans, hastily broke up the siege and fled. The Romans, taking Epidamnus also under their protection, advanced into the interior of Illyria, subduing the Ardiaeans on their way. Many embassies met them, among them one from the Parthini offering unconditional surrender. They admitted this tribe to their friendship as well as the Atintanes, and advanced towards Issa which was also being besieged by the Illyrians. On their arrival they forced the enemy to raise the siege and took the Issaeans also under their protection. The fleet too took several Illyrian cities by assault as they sailed along the coast, losing, however, at Nutria not only many soldiers, but some of their military tribunes and their quaestor. They also captured twenty boats which were conveying the plunder from the country. Of the besiegers of Issa those now in Pharos were allowed, through Demetrius' influence, to remain there unhurt, while the others dispersed and took refuge at Arbo. Teuta, with only a few followers, escaped to



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

εὐ πρὸς ὀχυρότητα κατεσκευασμένον, ἀνακεχωρηκὸς  
 μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης, ἐπ' αὐτῷ δὲ κείμενον τῷ  
 17 Ῥίζονι ποταμῷ. ταῦτα δὲ πράξαντες, καὶ τῷ Δη-  
 μητρίῳ τοὺς πλείστους ὑποτάξαντες τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν,  
 καὶ μεγάλην αὐτῷ περιθέντες δυναστείαν ἀνεχώ-  
 ρησαν εἰς τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον ἅμα τῷ στόλῳ καὶ τῇ  
 12 πεζικῇ δυνάμει. Γνάιος μὲν οὖν Φουλούιος εἰς τὴν  
 Ῥώμην ἀπέπλευσε, τὸ πλεῖον ἔχων μέρος τῆς τε  
 2 ναυτικῆς καὶ πεζικῆς στρατιᾶς. ὁ δὲ Ποστούμιος,  
 ὑπολειπόμενος, τετταράκοντα σκάφη, καὶ στρατό-  
 πεδον ἐκ τῶν περικειμένων πόλεων ἀθροίσας, παρ-  
 εχείμαζε, συνεφεδρεύων τῷ τε τῶν Ἀρδιαίων ἔθνει  
 3 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς δεδωκόσιν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὴν πίστιν.  
 ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἑαρινὴν ὥραν ἡ Τεύτα διαπρεσβευσά-  
 μένη πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ποιεῖται συνθήκας, ἐν αἷς  
 εὐδόκησε φόρους τε τοὺς διαταχθέντας οἷσιν πάσης  
 τ' ἀναχωρήσειν τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος πλὴν ὀλίγων τόπων,  
 καὶ τὸ συνέχον ὁ μάλιστα πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνας δι-  
 έτεινε, μὴ πλεύσειν πλέον ἢ δυσι λέμβοις ἔξω τοῦ  
 4 Λίσσου, καὶ τούτοις ἀνόπλοις. ὧν συντελεσθέντων  
 ὁ Ποστούμιος μετὰ ταῦτα πρεσβευτὰς ἐξαπέστειλε  
 πρὸς τε τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἔθνος· οἱ  
 καὶ παραγενόμενοι πρῶτον μὲν ἀπελογίσαντο τὰς  
 αἰτίας τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῆς διαβάσεως, ἐξῆς δὲ τού-  
 τοις τὰ πεπραγμένα διεξῆλθον, καὶ τὰς συνθήκας  
 παρανέγνωσαν, ἃς ἐπεποίηντο πρὸς τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς.  
 5 τυχόντες δὲ παρ' ἑκατέρου τῶν ἔθνῶν τῆς καθ-  
 ηκούσης φιλανθρωπίας αὐθις ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν  
 6 Κέρκυραν, ἱκανοῦ τινος ἀπολελυκότες φόβου τοὺς  
 Ἑλληνας διὰ τὰς προειρημένας συνθήκας. οὐ γὰρ  
 τισὶν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι, τότε κοινούς ἐχθροὺς εἶναι συν-  
 έβαινε τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς.



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## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

- 7 Ἡ μὲν οὖν πρώτη διάβασις Ῥωμαίων μετὰ δυ-  
νάμεως εἰς τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα καὶ ταῦτα τὰ μέρη τῆς  
Εὐρώπης, ἔτι δ' ἐπιπλοκὴ μετὰ πρεσβείας εἰς τοὺς  
κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τόπους, τοιάδε καὶ διὰ ταύτας  
8 ἐγένετο τὰς αἰτίας. ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς καταρχῆς  
Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν εὐθέως ἄλλους πρεσβευτὰς ἐξαπέστει-  
λαν πρὸς Κορινθίους καὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ὅτε δὴ  
καὶ Κορίνθιοι πρῶτον ἀπεδέξαντο μετέχειν Ῥω-  
μαίους τοῦ τῶν Ἰσθμίων ἀγῶνος.
- 13 Ἀσδρούβας δὲ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους, ἐν  
γὰρ τούτοις ἀπελίπομεν τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, νουν-  
εχῶς καὶ πραγματικῶς χειρίζων τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν  
ἐν τε τοῖς ὅλοις μεγάλην ἐποιεῖτο προκοπὴν τὴν τε  
παρὰ μὲν τισὶ Καρχηδόνα, παρὰ δὲ τισὶ Καινὴν  
πόλιν προσαγορευομένην κατασκευάσας, οὐ μικρά,  
μεγάλα δὲ συνεβάλλετο Καρχηδονίοις εἰς πραγμά-  
2 των λόγον, καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν εὐκαιρίαν τοῦ τό-  
που πρὸς τε τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν πράγματα καὶ  
πρὸς τὰ κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην, περὶ ἧς ἡμεῖς εὐφύε-  
στερον καιρὸν λαβόντες ὑποδείξομεν τὴν θέσιν αὐ-  
τῆς καὶ τὴν χρεῖαν, ἣν ἀμφοτέροις δύναται παρ-  
3 ἔχεσθαι ταῖς εἰρημέναις χώραις. ὃν καὶ θεωροῦντες  
Ῥωμαῖοι μείζω καὶ φοβερωτέραν ἤδη συνιστάμενον  
δυναστείαν, ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸ πολυπραγμονεῖν τὰ  
4 κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν. εὐρόντες δὲ σφᾶς ἐπικεκοιμη-  
μένους ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις καὶ προειμένους  
εἰς τὸ μεγάλην χεῖρα κατασκευάσασθαι Καρχηδο-  
5 νίους, ἀνατρέχειν ἐπειρῶντο κατὰ δύναμιν. αὐτόθεν  
μὲν οὖν ἐπιτάττειν ἢ πολεμεῖν οὐ κατετόλμων τοῖς  
Καρχηδονίοις διὰ τὸ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν φόβον  
ἐπικρέμασθαι τοῖς σφετέροις πράγμασι καὶ μόνον  
οὐ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν προσδοκᾶν τὴν ἔφοδον

Such were the circumstances and causes of the Romans crossing for the first time with an army to Illyria and those parts of Europe, and of their first coming into relations through an embassy with Greece. But having thus begun, the Romans immediately afterwards sent other envoys to Athens and Corinth, on which occasion the Corinthians first admitted them to participation in the Isthmian games.

13. We have said nothing of affairs in Spain during these years. Hasdrubal had by his wise and practical administration made great general progress, and by the foundation of the city called by some Carthage, and by others the New Town, <sup>228</sup> made a material contribution to the resources of Carthage, especially owing to its favourable position for action in Spain or Libya. On a more suitable occasion we will describe its position and point out the services it can render to both these countries. The Romans, seeing that Hasdrubal was in a fair way to create a larger and more formidable empire than Carthage formerly possessed, resolved to begin to occupy themselves with Spanish affairs. Finding that they had hitherto been asleep and had allowed Carthage to build up a powerful dominion, they tried, as far as possible, to make up for lost time. For the present they did not venture to impose orders on Carthage, or to go to war with her, because the threat of a Celtic invasion was hanging over them, the attack being indeed expected

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

- 6** αὐτῶν. καταψήσαντες δὲ καὶ πραῦναντες τὸν Ἄσδρούβαν οὕτως ἔκριναν ἐγχειρεῖν τοῖς Κελτοῖς καὶ διακινδυνεύειν πρὸς αὐτούς, οὐδέποτ' ἂν ὑπολαμβάνοντες οὐχ οἷον δυναστεῦσαι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀσφαλῶς οἰκῆσαι τὴν ἑαυτῶν
- 7** πατρίδα τούτους ἔχοντες ἐφέδρους τοὺς ἄνδρας. διόπερ ἅμα τῷ διαπρεσβευσάμενοι πρὸς τὸν Ἄσδρούβαν ποιήσασθαι συνθήκας, ἐν αἷς τὴν μὲν ἄλλην Ἰβηρίαν παρεσιώπων, τὸν δὲ καλούμενον Ἰβηραποταμὸν οὐκ ἔδει Καρχηδονίους ἐπὶ πολέμῳ διαβαίνειν, εὐθέως ἐξήνεγκαν τὸν πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Κελτοὺς πόλεμον.
- 14** Ὑπὲρ ὧν δοκεῖ μοι χρήσιμον εἶναι κεφαλαιώδη μὲν ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἐξήγησιν, ἵνα τὸ τῆς προκατασκευῆς οἰκεῖον συσσωσώμεν κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρόθεσιν, ἀναδραμεῖν δὲ τοῖς χρόνοις ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἐξ ὅτου
- 2** κατέσχον οἱ προειρημένοι τὴν χώραν· ἠγοῦμαι γὰρ τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν ἱστορίαν οὐ μόνον ἀξίαν εἶναι γνώσεως καὶ μνήμης, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελέως ἀναγκαίαν, χάριν τοῦ μαθεῖν τίσι μετὰ ταῦτα πιστεύσας ἀνδράσι καὶ τόποις Ἀννίβας ἐπεβάλετο καταλύειν τὴν
- 3** Ῥωμαίων δυναστείαν. πρῶτον δὲ περὶ τῆς χώρας ῥητέον ποία τίς ἐστὶ καὶ πῶς κεῖται πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν. οὕτως γὰρ ἔσται καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς πράξεις διαφέροντα κατανοεῖν βέλτιον, ὑπογραφέντων τῶν περὶ τε τοὺς τόπους καὶ τὴν χώραν ἰδιωμάτων.
- 4** Τῆς δὲ συμπάσης Ἰταλίας τῷ σχήματι τριγωνοειδοῦς ὑπαρχούσης, τὴν μὲν μίαν ὀρίζει πλευρὰν αὐτῆς τὴν πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολὰς κεκλιμένην ὅτ' Ἰόνιος πόρος καὶ κατὰ τὸ συνεχές ὁ κατὰ τὸν Ἀδρίαν κόλπος, τὴν δὲ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν καὶ δυσμὰς τετραμ-
- 5** μένην τὸ Σικελικὸν καὶ Τυρρηρικὸν πέλαγος. αὗται



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δ' αἱ πλευραὶ συμπίπτουσαι πρὸς ἀλλήλας κορυφὴν  
 ποιούσι τοῦ τριγώνου τὸ προκείμενον ἀκρωτήριον  
 τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰς τὴν μεσημβρίαν, ὃ προσαγορεύεται  
 μὲν Κόκυνθος, διαιρεῖ δὲ τὸν Ἰόνιον πόρον καὶ τὸ  
 6 Σικελικὸν πέλαγος. τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν τὴν παρά τε  
 τὰς ἄρκτους καὶ τὴν μεσόγαιαν παρατείνουσας ὀρί-  
 ζει κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς ἢ τῶν Ἄλπεων παρώρεια, λαμ-  
 βάνουσα τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ Μασσαλίας καὶ τῶν  
 ὑπὲρ τὸ Σαρδῶον πέλαγος τόπων, παρήκουσα δὲ  
 συνεχῶς μέχρι πρὸς τὸν τοῦ παντὸς Ἀδρίου μυχόν,  
 πλὴν βραχέος, ὃ προκαταλήγουσα λείπει τοῦ μὴ  
 7 συνάπτειν αὐτῷ. παρὰ δὲ τὴν προειρημένην παρ-  
 ώρειαν, ἣν δεῖ νοεῖν ὡς ἂν εἰ βάσιν τοῦ τριγώ-  
 νου, παρὰ ταύτην ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας ὑπόκειται πεδία  
 τῆς συμπάσης Ἰταλίας τελευταῖα πρὸς τὰς ἄρκτους,  
 ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ νῦν δὴ λόγος, ἀρετῇ καὶ μεγέθει δια-  
 φέροντα τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην, ὅσα πέπτωκεν  
 8 ὑπὸ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἱστορίαν. ἔστι δὲ τὸ μὲν ὅλον  
 εἶδος καὶ τῆς ταῦτα τὰ πεδία περιγραφούσης γραμ-  
 μῆς τριγωνοειδές. τούτου δὲ τοῦ σχήματος τὴν μὲν  
 κορυφὴν ἢ τε τῶν Ἀπεννίνων καλουμένων ὄρων  
 καὶ τῶν Ἀλπεινῶν σύμπτωσης οὐ μακρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 9 Σαρδῶου πελάγους ὑπὲρ Μασσαλίας ἀποτελεῖ. τῶν  
 δὲ πλευρῶν παρὰ μὲν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρκτων, ὡς  
 ἐπάνω προεῖπον, τὰς Ἄλπεις αὐτὰς ἐπὶ δισχιλίουσ  
 10 καὶ διακοσίους σταδίους παρήκειν συμβαίνει, παρὰ  
 δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας τὸν Ἀπεννῖνον ἐπὶ τρισχι-  
 11 λίουσ ἑξακοσίους. βάσεώς γε μὴν τάξιν λαμβάνει  
 τοῦ παντὸς σχήματος ἢ παραλία τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ἀ-  
 ὄριαν κόλπου· τὸ δὲ μέγεθος τῆς βάσεώς ἐστὶν ἀπὸ  
 πόλεως Σήνης ἕως ἐπὶ τὸν μυχόν ὑπὲρ τοὺς δισχι-  
 12 λίουσ σταδίους καὶ πεντακοσίους, ὥστε τὴν πᾶσαν

## BOOK II. 14. 5 – 12

apex of the triangle, formed by the meeting of these two sides, is the southernmost cape of Italy known as Cocynthus and separating the Ionian Strait from the Sicilian Sea. The remaining or northern and inland side of the triangle is bounded continuously by the chain of the Alps which beginning at Marseilles and the northern coasts of the Sardinian Sea stretches in an unbroken line almost to the head of the whole Adriatic, only failing to join that sea by stopping at quite a short distance from it. At the foot of this chain, which we should regard as the base of the triangle, on its southern side, lies the last plain of all Italy to the north. It is with this that we are now concerned, a plain surpassing in fertility any other in Europe with which we are acquainted. The general shape of the lines that bound this plain is likewise triangular. The apex of the triangle is formed by the meeting of the Apennines and Alps not far from the Sardinian Sea at a point above Marseilles. Its northern side is, as I have said, formed by the Alps themselves and is about two thousand two hundred stades in length, the southern side by the Apennines which extend for a distance of three thousand six hundred stades. The base of the whole triangle is the coast of the Adriatic, its length from the city of Sena<sup>a</sup> to the head of the gulf being more than two thousand five hundred stades; so that the whole circumference of

<sup>a</sup> Siniglia.



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

15 περίμετρον τῶν προειρημένων πεδίων μὴ πολὺ λεί-  
 πειν τῶν μυρίων σταδίων. περί γε μὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς  
 οὐδ' εἰπεῖν ῥάδιον. σίτου τε γὰρ τοσαύτην ἀφθονίαν  
 ὑπάρχειν συμβαίνει κατὰ τοὺς τόπους, ὥστ' ἐν τοῖς  
 καθ' ἡμᾶς καιροῖς πολλάκις τεττάρων ὀβολῶν εἶναι  
 τῶν πυρῶν τὸν Σικελικὸν μέδιμνον, τῶν δὲ κρι-  
 θῶν δυεῖν, τοῦ δ' οἴνου τὸν μετρητὴν ἰσόκριθον.  
 2 ἔλύμου γε μὴν καὶ κέγχρου τελέως ὑπερβάλλουσα  
 δαψίλεια γίνεται παρ' αὐτοῖς. τὸ δὲ τῶν βαλά-  
 νων πλῆθος τὸ γινόμενον ἐκ τῶν κατὰ διάστημα  
 δρυμῶν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις ἐκ τούτων ἂν τις μάλιστα  
 3 τεκμήραιτο· πλείστων γὰρ ὑϊκῶν ἱερείων κοπτομέ-  
 νων ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ διὰ τε τὰς εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους βίους καὶ  
 τὰς εἰς τὰ στρατόπεδα παραθέσεις, τὴν ὀλοσχερε-  
 στάτην χορηγίαν ἐκ τούτων συμβαίνει τῶν πεδίων  
 4 αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν. περὶ δὲ τῆς κατὰ μέρος εὐωνίας  
 καὶ δαψιλείας τῶν πρὸς τὴν τροφήν ἀνηκόντων οὐ-  
 5 τως ἂν τις ἀκριβέστατα κατανοήσειε· ποιοῦνται γὰρ  
 τὰς καταλύσεις οἱ διοδεύοντες τὴν χώραν ἐν τοῖς  
 πανδοκείοις, οὐ συμφωνοῦντες περὶ τῶν κατὰ μέ-  
 ρος ἐπιτηδείων, ἀλλ' ἐρωτῶντες πόσου τὸν ἄνδρα  
 6 δέχεται. ὡς μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ παρίενται τοὺς  
 καταλύτας οἱ πανδοκεῖς, ὡς ἱκανὰ πάντ' ἔχει, τὰ  
 πρὸς τὴν χρείαν, ἡμιασσαρίου· τοῦτο δ' ἔστι τέταρ-  
 τον μέρος ὀβολουῦ· σπανίως δὲ τοῦθ' ὑπερβαίνουσι.  
 7 τό γε μὴν πλῆθος τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ  
 κάλλος τῶν σωμάτων, ἔτι δὲ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις  
 τόλμαν, ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν πράξεων σαφῶς ἔσται κατα-  
 μαθεῖν.  
 8 Τῶν δ' Ἄλπεων ἑκατέρας τῆς πλευρᾶς, τῆς ἐπὶ  
 τὸν Ῥοδανὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ προειρημένα  
 πεδία νεούσης, τοὺς βουνώδεις καὶ γεώδεις τόπους



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κατοικοῦσι, τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥοδανὸν καὶ τὰς ἄρ-  
 κτους ἐστραμμένους Γαλάται Τρανσαλπῖνοι προσ-  
 αγορευόμενοι, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ τὰ πεδία Ταυρίσκοι καὶ  
 9 ἄγωνα καὶ πλείω γένη βαρβάρων ἕτερα. Τρανσ-  
 αλπῖνοί γε μὴν οὐ διὰ τὴν τοῦ γένους, ἀλλὰ διὰ  
 τὴν τοῦ τόπου διαφορὰν προσαγορεύονται, τὸ γὰρ  
 τρᾶνς ἐξερμηνευόμενόν ἐστι πέραν· διὸ τοὺς ἐπ-  
 10 ἔκεινα τῶν Ἄλπεων Τρανσαλπίλους καλοῦσι. τὰ δ'  
 ἄκρα διὰ τε τὴν τραχύτητα καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς ἐπι-  
 16 μενούσης αἰὲ χιόνος ἀοίκητα τελέως ἐστί. τὸν δ'  
 Ἄπεννῖνον ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ὑπὲρ Μασσα-  
 λίαν καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὰς Ἄλπεισ συμπτώσεως Λιγυ-  
 στῖνοι κατοικοῦσι, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ Τυρρηρικὸν πέ-  
 λαγος αὐτοῦ πλευρὰν κεκλιμένην καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ  
 2 πεδία, παρὰ θάλατταν μὲν μέχρι πόλεως Πίσσης,  
 ἣ πρώτη κεῖται τῆς Τυρρηνίας ὡς πρὸς τὰς δυ-  
 σμάς, κατὰ δὲ τὴν μεσόγαιαν ἕως τῆς Ἀρρητίνων  
 3 χώρας. ἐξῆς δὲ Τυρρηνοί· τούτοις δὲ συνεχεῖς ἐκά-  
 τερον τὸ κλίμα νέμονται τῶν προειρημένων ὄρων  
 4 Ὀμβροί. λοιπὸν ὁ μὲν Ἄπεννῖνος, ἀπέχων τῆς κατὰ  
 τὸν Ἀδρίαν θαλάττης σταδίου ὡς ἂν εἰ πεντακο-  
 σίους, ἀπολείπει τὰ πεδία, δεξιὸς ἀπονέων, καὶ διὰ  
 μέσης τῆς λοιπῆς Ἰταλίας διήκων εἰς τὸ Σικελικὸν  
 5 κατατείνει πέλαγος. τὸ δ' ἀπολειπόμενον μέρος  
 πεδινὸν τῆς πλευρᾶς ἐπὶ θάλατταν καὶ πόλιν καθήκει  
 6 Σήνην. ὁ δὲ Πάδος ποταμός, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ποιητῶν  
 Ἐριδανὸς θρυλούμενος, ἔχει μὲν τὰς πηγὰς ἀπὸ  
 τῶν Ἄλπεων ὡς πρὸς τὴν κορυφὴν μᾶλλον τοῦ  
 προειρημένου σχήματος, καταφέρεται δ' εἰς τὰ πεδία,  
 7 ποιούμενος τὴν ῥύσιν ὡς ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν. ἀφικό-  
 μενος δ' εἰς τοὺς ἐπιπέδους τόπους, ἐκκλίνας τῶ  
 ῥεύματι πρὸς ἔω φέρεται δι' αὐτῶν· ποιεῖ δὲ τὴν

describing, is inhabited in the former case by the Transalpine Gauls and in the latter by the Taurisci, Agones and several other barbarous tribes. Transalpine is not a national name but a local one, *trans* meaning “beyond,” and those beyond the Alps being so called. The summits of the Alps are quite uninhabitable owing to their ruggedness and the quantity of snow which always covers them. 16. The Apennines, from their junction with the Alps above Marseilles, are inhabited on both slopes, that looking to the Tyrrhenian sea and that turned to the plain, by the Ligurians whose territory reaches on the seaboard-side as far as Pisa, the first city of western Etruria, and on the land side as far as Arretium.<sup>a</sup> Next come the Etruscans, and after them both slopes are inhabited by the Umbrians. After this the Apennines, at a distance of about five hundred stades from the Adriatic, quit the plain and, turning to the right, pass along the centre of the rest of Italy as far as the Sicilian sea, the remaining flat part of this side of the triangle continuing to the sea and the city of Sena. The river Po, celebrated by poets as the Eridanus, rises in the Alps somewhere near the apex of the triangle and descends to the plain, flowing in a southerly direction. On reaching the flat ground, it takes a turn to the East and flows through the plain,

<sup>a</sup> Arezzo.

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

ἐκβολὴν δυσὶ στόμασιν εἰς τοὺς κατὰ τὸν Ἀδρίαν  
 τόπους· τὸ δὲ πλεῖον ἀποτέμνεται μέρος τῆς πε-  
 8 διάδος χώρας εἰς τὰς Ἄλπεις καὶ τὸν Ἀδριατικὸν  
 μυχόν. ἄγει δὲ πλῆθος ὕδατος οὐδενὸς ἔλαττον  
 τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ποταμῶν, διὰ τὸ τὰς ῥύσεις  
 τὰς ἐπὶ τὰ πεδία νεούσας ἀπὸ τε τῶν Ἄλπεων καὶ  
 9 τῶν Ἀπεννίνων ὄρων εἰς τοῦτον ἐμπίπτειν ἀπάσας  
 καὶ πανταχόθεν. μεγίστῳ δὲ καὶ καλλίστῳ ρεύ-  
 ματι φέρεται περὶ κυνὸς ἐπιτολήν, αὐξόμενος ὑπὸ  
 τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἀνατηκομένων χιόνων ἐν τοῖς  
 10 προειρημένοις ὄρεσιν. ἀναπλεῖται δ' ἐκ θαλάττης  
 κατὰ τὸ στόμα τὸ καλούμενον Ὀλανα σχεδὸν ἐπὶ  
 11 δισχιλίους σταδίους. τὴν μὲν γὰρ πρώτην ἐκ  
 τῶν πηγῶν ἔχει ῥύσιν ἀπλήν, σχίζεται δ' εἰς δύο  
 μέρη κατὰ τοὺς προσαγορευομένους Τριγαβόλους·  
 τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν ἕτερον στόμα προσονομάζεται  
 12 Παδόα, τὸ δ' ἕτερον Ὀλανα. κεῖται δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ  
 λιμῆν, οὐδενὸς τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ἀδρίαν ἤττω παρ-  
 εχόμενος ἀσφάλειαν τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ καθορμιζομένοις.  
 παρά γε μὴν τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ὁ ποταμὸς προσαγο-  
 13 ρεύεται Βόδεγκος. τἄλλα δὲ τὰ περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν  
 τοῦτον ἱστορούμενα παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι, λέγω δὴ  
 τὰ περὶ Φαέθοντα καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου πτώσιν, ἔτι δὲ τὰ  
 δάκρυα τῶν αἰγείρων καὶ τοὺς μελανείμονας τοὺς  
 περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν οἰκοῦντας, οὓς φασὶ τὰς ἐσθῆ-  
 14 τας εἰσέτι νῦν φορεῖν τοιαύτας ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ Φαέ-  
 θοντα πένθους, καὶ πᾶσαν δὴ τὴν τραγικὴν καὶ  
 ταύτῃ προσοικυῖαν ὕλην, ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ παρόντος  
 ὑπερθησόμεθα, διὰ τὸ μὴ λῖαν καθήκειν τῷ τῆς  
 προκατασκευῆς γένει τὴν περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀκρι-  
 15 βολογίαν. μεταλαβόντες δὲ καιρὸν ἀρμόττοντα  
 ποιησόμεθα τὴν καθήκουσαν μνήμην, καὶ μάλιστα



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## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

διὰ τὴν Τιμαίου περὶ τοὺς προειρημένους τόπους ἄγνοιαν.

17 Πλὴν ταῦτά γε τὰ πεδία τὸ παλαιὸν ἐνέμοντο  
 Τυρρηνοί, καθ' οὓς χρόνους καὶ τὰ Φλεγραῖά ποτε  
 καλούμενα τὰ περὶ Καπύην καὶ Νώλην· ἃ δὴ καὶ  
 διὰ τὸ πολλοῖς ἐμποδῶν εἶναι καὶ γνωρίζεσθαι με-  
 2 γάλην ἐπ' ἀρετῇ δόξαν εἴληφε. διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἱστο-  
 ροῦντας τὰς Τυρρηνῶν δυναστείας οὐ χρὴ ποιεῖ-  
 σθαι τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἐπὶ τὴν νῦν κατεχομένην ὑπ'  
 αὐτῶν χώραν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὰ προειρημένα πεδία καὶ  
 3 τὰς ἐκ τούτων τῶν τόπων ἀφορμάς. οἷς ἐπιμιγ-  
 νύμενοι κατὰ τὴν παράθεσιν Κελτοὶ καὶ περὶ τὸ  
 κάλλος τῆς χώρας ὀφθαλμιάσαντες, ἐκ μικρᾶς προ-  
 φάσεως μεγάλη στρατιᾶ παραδόξως ἐπελθόντες ἐξ-  
 έβαλον ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὸν Πάδον χώρας Τυρρηνοὺς καὶ  
 4 κατέσχον αὐτοὶ τὰ πεδία. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα καὶ  
 περὶ τὰς ἀνατολὰς τοῦ Πάδου κείμενα Λάοι καὶ  
 Λεβέκιοι, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Ἰνσομβρες κατώκησαν, ὁ  
 μέγιστον ἔθνος ἦν αὐτῶν· ἐξῆς δὲ τούτοις παρὰ  
 5 τὸν ποταμὸν Γονομάνοι. τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἀδρίαν  
 ἤδη προσήκοντα γένος ἄλλο πάνυ παλαιὸν διακατ-  
 έσχε· προσαγορεύονται δ' Ουένετοι, τοῖς μὲν ἔθεσι  
 καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ βραχὺ διαφέροντες Κελτῶν, γλώττη  
 6 δ' ἄλλοία χρώμενοι. περὶ ὧν οἱ τραγωδιογράφοι  
 πολὺν τινα πεποίηνται λόγον καὶ πολλὴν διατέθειν-  
 7 ται τερατεῖαν. τὰ δὲ πέραν τοῦ Πάδου τὰ περὶ  
 τὸν Ἀπεννῖνον πρῶτοι μὲν Ἄναρες, μετὰ δὲ τού-  
 τους Βοῖοι κατώκησαν· ἐξῆς δὲ τούτων ὡς πρὸς  
 τὸν Ἀδρίαν Λίγγονες, τὰ δὲ τελευταῖα πρὸς  
 θαλάττη Σήνωνες.

8 Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐπιφανέστατα τῶν κατασχόντων τοὺς  
 9 προειρημένους τόπους ἔθνῶν ταῦθ' ὑπῆρχεν. ὧκουν

this, especially as Timaeus has shown much ignorance concerning the district.

17. The Etruscans were the oldest inhabitants of this plain at the same period that they possessed also that Phlegraean plain in the neighbourhood of Capua and Nola, which, accessible and well known as it is to many, has such a reputation for fertility. Those therefore who would know something of the dominion of the Etruscans should not look at the country they now inhabit, but at these plains and the resources they drew thence. The Celts, being close neighbours of the Etruscans and associating much with them, cast covetous eyes on their beautiful country, and on a small pretext, suddenly attacked them with a large army and, expelling them from the plain of the Po, occupied it themselves. The first settlers at the eastern extremity, near the source of the Po, were the Laevi and Lebecii, after them the Insubres, the largest tribe of all, and next these, on the banks of the river, the Cenomani. The part of the plain near the Adriatic had never ceased to be in the possession of another very ancient tribe called the Veneti, differing slightly from the Gauls in customs and costume and speaking another language. About this people the tragic poets tell many marvellous stories. On the other bank of the Po, by the Apennines, the first settlers beginning from the west were the Anares and next them the Boii. Next the latter, towards the Adriatic, were the Lingones and lastly, near the sea, the Senones.

These are the names of the principal tribes that settled in the district. They lived in unwalled



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

- δὲ κατὰ κώμας ἀτειχίστους, τῆς λοιπῆς κατασκευῆς  
 10 ἄμοιροι καθεστῶτες. διὰ γὰρ τὸ στιβαδοκοιτεῖν  
 καὶ κρεαφαγεῖν, ἔτι δὲ μηδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν τὰ πολεμικὰ  
 καὶ τὰ κατὰ γεωργίαν ἀσκεῖν, ἀπλοῦς εἶχον τοὺς  
 βίους, οὔτ' ἐπιστήμης ἄλλης οὔτε τέχνης παρ'  
 11 αὐτοῖς τὸ παράπαν γινωσκομένης. ὑπαρξίς γε  
 μὴν ἐκάστοις ἦν θρέμματα καὶ χρυσὸς διὰ τὸ μόνα  
 ταῦτα κατὰ τὰς περιστάσεις ῥαδίως δύνασθαι παν-  
 ταχῆ περιαγαγεῖν καὶ μεθιστάναι κατὰ τὰς αὐτῶν  
 12 προαιρέσεις. περὶ δὲ τὰς ἑταιρείας μεγίστην σπου-  
 δὴν ἐποιοῦντο διὰ τὸ καὶ φοβερώτατον καὶ δυνατώ-  
 τατον εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῖς τοῦτον ὅς ἂν πλείστους  
 ἔχειν δοκῆ τοὺς θεραπεύοντας καὶ συμπεριφερομέ-  
 νους αὐτῷ.
- 18 Τὰς μὲν οὖν ἀρχὰς οὐ μόνον τῆς χώρας ἐπεκρά-  
 τουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν σύνεγγυς πολλοὺς ὑπηκόους  
 2 ἐπεποίηντο, τῇ τόλμῃ καταπεπληγμένους. μετὰ δέ  
 τινα χρόνον μάχῃ νικήσαντες Ῥωμαίους καὶ τοὺς  
 μετὰ τούτων παραταξαμένους, ἐπόμενοι τοῖς φεύγου-  
 σι τρισὶ τῆς μάχης ἡμέραις ὕστερον κατέσχον αὐτὴν  
 3 τὴν Ῥώμην πλὴν τοῦ Καπετωλίου. γενομένου δ'  
 ἀντισπάσματος, καὶ τῶν Οὐενέτων ἐμβαλόντων εἰς  
 τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν, τότε μὲν ποιησάμενοι συνθήκας  
 πρὸς Ῥωμαίους καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀποδόντες, ἐπαν-  
 4 ἦλθον εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις  
 συνείχοντο πολέμοις, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τῶν τὰς Ἄλπεις  
 κατοικούντων ὄρμας ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ συνηθροίζοντο  
 πολλάκις ἐπ' αὐτούς, θεωροῦντες ἐκ παραθέσεως  
 5 τὴν παραγεγεννημένην αὐτοῖς εὐδαιμονίαν. ἐν ᾧ  
 καιρῷ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν τε σφετέραν δύναμιν ἀνέλαβον  
 καὶ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Λατίνους αὐθις πράγματα συν-  
 6 εστήσαντο. παραγενομένων δὲ πάλιν τῶν Κελτῶν



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εἰς Ἄλβαν στρατεύματι μεγάλῳ μετὰ τὴν τῆς πό-  
 λεως κατάληψιν ἔτει τριακοστῷ, τότε μὲν οἱ ἐτόλ-  
 μησαν ἀντεξαγαγεῖν Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ στρατόπεδα, διὰ τὸ  
 παραδόξου γενομένης τῆς ἐφόδου προκαταληφθῆναι  
 καὶ μὴ καταταχῆσαι τὰς τῶν συμμάχων ἀθροίσαν-  
 7 τας δυνάμεις. αὐθις δ' ἐξ ἐπιβολῆς ἐτέρας ἔτει δω-  
 δεκάτῳ μετὰ μεγάλης στρατιᾶς ἐπιπορευομένων,  
 προαισθόμενοι καὶ συναγείραντες τοὺς συμμάχους,  
 μετὰ πολλῆς προθυμίας ἀπήντων, σπεύδοντες συμ-  
 8 βαλεῖν καὶ διακινδυνεῦσαι περὶ τῶν ὄλων. οἱ δὲ Γα-  
 λάται καταπλαγέντες τὴν ἐφοδὸν αὐτῶν καὶ διαστα-  
 σιάσαντες πρὸς σφᾶς, νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης φυγῆ  
 παραπλησίαν ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ἀποχώρησιν εἰς τὴν οἰ-  
 9 κείαν. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου τοῦ φόβου τριακαίδεκα μὲν  
 ἔτη τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἔσχον, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συνορῶντες  
 αὐξανομένην τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν, εἰρήνην ἐποι-  
 19 ἣσαντο καὶ συνθήκας. ἐν αἷς ἔτη τριάκοντα μεί-  
 ναντες ἐμπεδῶς, αὐθις γενομένου κινήματος ἐκ τῶν  
 Τρανσαλπίνων, δείσαντες μὴ πόλεμος αὐτοῖς ἐγερθῆ  
 βαρὺς, ἀπὸ μὲν αὐτῶν ἔτρεψαν τὰς ὀρμὰς τῶν ἐξ-  
 ανισταμένων, δωροφοροῦντες καὶ προτιθέμενοι τὴν  
 συγγένειαν, ἐπὶ δὲ Ῥωμαίους παρώξυναν καὶ μετ-  
 2 ἔσχον αὐτοῖς τῆς στρατείας. ἐν ἧ τὴν ἐφοδὸν ποι-  
 ησάμενοι διὰ Τυρρηνίας, ὁμοῦ συστρατευσαμένων  
 σφίσι Τυρρηνῶν, καὶ περιβαλλόμενοι λείας πλήθος,  
 ἐκ μὲν τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπαρχίας ἀσφαλῶς ἐπανῆλθον.  
 3 εἰς δὲ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀφικόμενοι, καὶ στασιάσαντες  
 περὶ τὴν τῶν εἰλημμένων πλεονεξίαν, τῆς τε λείας  
 καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν δυνάμεως τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος δι-  
 4 ἐφθειραν. τοῦτο δὲ σύνηθές ἐστι Γαλάταις πράτ-  
 τειν, ἐπειδὴν σφετερίζωνταί τι τῶν πέλας, καὶ μά-  
 λιστα διὰ τὰς ἀλόγους οἰνοφλυγίας καὶ πλησμονάς.

after the occupation of Rome, the Celts again appeared before Alba with a large army, and the Romans on this occasion did not venture to meet them in the field, because, owing to the suddenness of the attack, they were taken by surprise and had not had time to anticipate it by collecting the forces of their allies. But when, twelve years later, the Celts again invaded in great strength, they had early word of it, and, assembling their allies, marched eagerly to meet them, wishing for nothing better than a decisive battle. The Gauls, alarmed by the Roman advance and at variance among themselves, waited until nightfall and then set off for home, their retreat resembling a flight. After this panic, they kept quiet for thirteen years, and then, as they saw how rapidly the power of the Romans was growing, they made a formal peace with them, to the terms of which they adhered steadfastly for thirty years. 19. But then, when a fresh movement began among the Transalpine Gauls, and they feared they would have a big war on their hands, they deflected from themselves the inroad of the migrating tribes by bribery and by pleading their kinship, but they incited them to attack the Romans, and even joined them in the expedition. They advanced through Etruria, the Etruscans too uniting with them, and, after collecting a quantity of booty, retired quite safely from the Roman territory, but, on reaching home, fell out with each other about division of the spoil and succeeded in destroying the greater part of their own forces and of the booty itself. This is quite a common event among the Gauls, when they have appropriated their neighbour's property, chiefly owing to their inordinate drinking and

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

**5** μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν ἔτει τετάρτῳ συμφρονήσαν-  
 τες ἅμα Σαυνῆται καὶ Γαλάται παρετάξαντο Ῥω-  
**6** μαίοις ἐν τῇ Καμερτίων χώρα καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν  
 ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ διέφθειραν. ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ προσ-  
 φιλονεικήσαντες πρὸς τὸ γεγονός ἐλάττωμ' αὐτοῖς  
 Ῥωμαῖοι μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἐξῆλθον, καὶ συμβα-  
 λόντες πᾶσι τοῖς στρατοπέδοις ἐν τῇ τῶν Σεντινατῶν  
 χώρα πρὸς τοὺς προειρημένους τοὺς μὲν πλείστους  
 ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἠνάγκασαν προτροπά-  
**7** δην ἐκάστους εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν φυγεῖν. διαγενο-  
 μένων δὲ πάλιν ἐτῶν δέκα παρεγένοντο Γαλάται  
 μετὰ μεγάλης στρατιᾶς, πολιορκήσαντες τὴν Ἄρρη-  
**8** τίνων πόλιν. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ παραβοηθήσαντες, καὶ  
 συμβαλόντες πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἠττήθησαν. ἐν δὲ  
 τῇ μάχῃ ταύτῃ Λευκίου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τελευτή-  
**9** σαντος Μάνιον ἐπικατέστησαν τὸν Κόριον. οὗ  
 πρεσβευτὰς ἐκπέμψαντος εἰς Γαλατίαν ὑπὲρ τῶν αἰχ-  
 μαλώτων, παρασπονδήσαντες ἐπανεείλοντο τοὺς πρέ-  
**10** σβεις. τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων ὑπὸ τὸν θυμὸν ἐκ χειρὸς  
 ἐπιστρατευσαμένων, ἀπαντήσαντες συνέβαλον οἱ Σή-  
**11** νωνες καλούμενοι Γαλάται. Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἐκ παρα-  
 τάξεως κρατήσαντες αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν πλείστους ἀπ-  
 ἐκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐξέβαλον, τῆς δὲ χώρας  
**12** ἐγένοντο πάσης ἐγκρατεῖς. εἰς ἣν καὶ πρώτην τῆς  
 Γαλατίας ἀποικίαν ἔστειλαν τὴν Σήνην προσαγο-  
 ρευομένην πόλιν, ὁμώνυμον οὔσαν τοῖς πρότερον  
**13** αὐτὴν κατοικοῦσι Γαλάταις, ὑπὲρ ἧς ἀρτίως διεσα-  
 φήσαμεν, φάσκοντες αὐτὴν παρὰ τὸν Ἄδριαν ἐπὶ  
 τῷ πέρατι κεῖσθαι τῶν περὶ τὸν Πάδον πεδίων.  
**20** οἱ δὲ Βοῖοι, θεωροῦντες ἐκπεπτωκότας τοὺς Σή-  
 νωνας, καὶ δείσαντες περὶ σφῶν καὶ τῆς χώρας,  
 μὴ πάθωσι τὸ παραπλήσιον, ἐξεστράτευσαν παν-



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- 2** δημεὶ παρακαλέσαντες Τυρρηνοῦς. ἀθροισθέντες δὲ  
περὶ τὴν Ὀάδμονα προσαγορευομένην λίμνην παρ-  
**3** ετάξαντο Ῥωμαίοις. ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ ταύτῃ Τυρρη-  
νωῶν μὲν οἱ πλεῖστοι κατεκόπησαν, τῶν δὲ Βοίων  
**4** τελέως ὀλίγοι διέφυγον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῷ κατὰ πό-  
δας ἐνιαυτῷ συμφρονήσαντες αὐθις οἱ προειρημέ-  
νοι καὶ τοὺς ἄρτι τῶν νέων ἡβῶντας καθοπλίσαν-  
**5** τες παρετάξαντο πρὸς Ῥωμαίους. ἡττηθέντες δ'  
ὄλοσχερῶς τῇ μάχῃ μόλις εἶξαν ταῖς ψυχαῖς, καὶ δια-  
πρεσβευσάμενοι περὶ σπονδῶν καὶ διαλύσεων, συν-  
**6** θήκας ἔθεντο πρὸς Ῥωμαίους. ταῦτα δὲ συνέβαινε  
γίνεσθαι τῷ τρίτῳ πρότερον ἔτει τῆς Πύρρου δια-  
βάσεως εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, πέμπτῳ δὲ τῆς Γαλατῶν  
**7** περὶ Δελφοῦς διαφθορᾶς. ἐν γὰρ τούτοις ἡ τύχη  
τοῖς καιροῖς ὡς ἂν εἰς λοιμικὴν τινα πολέμου διάθεσιν  
**8** ἐπέστησε πᾶσι Γαλάταις. ἐκ δὲ τῶν προειρημένων  
ἀγώνων δύο τὰ κάλλιστα συνεκύρησε Ῥωμαίοις· τοῦ  
γὰρ κατακόπτεσθαι συνήθειαν ἐσχηκότες ὑπὸ Γα-  
λατῶν οὐδὲν ἡδύναντο δεινότερον ἰδεῖν οὐδὲ προσ-  
**9** δοκῆσαι τῶν αὐτοῖς ἤδη πεπραγμένων· ἐξ ὧν πρὸς  
τε Πύρρον ἀθληταὶ τέλειοι γεγονότες τῶν κατὰ πό-  
**10** λεμον ἔργων συγκατέστησαν τὴν τε Γαλατῶν τόλ-  
μαν ἐν καιρῷ καταπληξάμενοι λοιπὸν ἀπερισπάστως  
τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πρὸς Πύρρον περὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπο-  
λέμουν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς Καρχηδονίους ὑπὲρ τῆς  
Σικελιωτῶν ἀρχῆς διηγωνίζοντο.
- 21** Γαλάται δ' ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων ἐλαττωμάτων  
ἔτη μὲν πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἔσχον,  
**2** εἰρήνην ἄγοντες πρὸς Ῥωμαίους. ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ μὲν  
αὐτόπται γεγονότες τῶν δεινῶν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν ἐξεχώ-  
ρησαν διὰ τὸν χρόνον, ἐπεγέροντο δὲ νέοι, θυμοῦ  
μὲν ἀλογίστου πλήρεις, ἄπειροι δὲ καόρατοι παν-

marched out in full force. The united armies gave <sup>282</sup> battle to the Romans near Lake Vadimon, and in this battle most of the Etruscans were cut to pieces while only quite a few of the Boii escaped. But, notwithstanding, in the very next year these two peoples once more combined and arming their young men, even the mere striplings, again encountered the Romans in a pitched battle. They were utterly defeated and it was only now that their courage at length gave way and that they sent an embassy to sue for terms and made a treaty with the Romans. This took place three years before the crossing of Pyrrhus to Italy and five years before the destruction of the Gauls at Delphi; for it really seems that at this time Fortune afflicted all Gauls alike with a sort of epidemic of war. From all these struggles the Romans gained two great advantages. In the first place, having become accustomed to be cut up by Gauls, they could neither undergo nor expect anymore terrible experience, and next, owing to this, when they met Pyrrhus they had become perfectly trained athletes in war, so that they were able to daunt the courage of the Gauls before it was too late, and henceforth could give their whole mind first to the fight with Pyrrhus for Italy and afterwards to the maintenance of the contest with Carthage for the possession of Sicily.

21. After these reverses, the Gauls remained quiet and at peace with Rome for forty-five years. But when, as time went on, those who had actually witnessed the terrible struggle were no more, and a younger generation had taken their place, full of unreflecting passion and absolutely without experi-



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

3 τὸς κακοῦ καὶ πάσης περιστάσεως, αὐθις ἤρξαντο  
 τὰ καθεστῶτα κινεῖν, ὃ φύσιν ἔχει γίνεσθαι, καὶ  
 τραχύνεσθαι μὲν ἐκ τῶν τυχόντων πρὸς Ῥωμαίους,  
 4 ἐπισπᾶσθαι δὲ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἄλπεων Γαλάτας. τὸ  
 μὲν οὖν πρῶτον χωρὶς τοῦ πλήθους δι' αὐτῶν τῶν  
 ἡγουμένων ἐν ἀπορρήτοις ἐπράττετο τὰ προειρη-  
 5 μένα. διὸ καὶ παραγενομένων τῶν Τρανσαλπίνων  
 ἕως Ἀριμίνου μετὰ δυνάμεως, διαπιστήσαντα τὰ  
 πλήθη τῶν Βοίων καὶ στασιάζαντα πρὸς τε τοὺς  
 ἑαυτῶν προεστῶτας καὶ πρὸς τοὺς παραγεγονότας,  
 ἀνεῖλον μὲν τοὺς ἰδίους βασιλεῖς Ἄτιν καὶ Γάλα-  
 6 τον, κατέκοψαν δ' ἀλλήλους, συμβαλόντες ἐκ παρα-  
 6 τάξεων. ὅτε δὴ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι κατάφοβοι γενόμενοι  
 τὴν ἔφοδον, ἐξῆλθον μετὰ στρατοπέδου· συνέντες  
 δὲ τὴν αὐθαίρετον καταφθορὰν τῶν Γαλατῶν,  
 7 αὐθις ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦ-  
 τον τὸν φόβον ἔτει πέμπτῳ, Μάρκου Λεπέδου στρα-  
 τηγοῦντος, κατεκληρούχησαν ἐν Γαλατία Ῥωμαῖοι  
 τὴν Πικεντίνην προσαγορευομένην χώραν, ἐξ ἧς  
 νικήσαντες ἐξέβαλον τοὺς Σήνωνας προσαγορευομέ-  
 8 νους Γαλάτας, Γαῖου Φλαμινίου ταύτην τὴν δημ-  
 αγωγίαν εἰσηγησαμένου καὶ πολιτείαν, ἣν δὴ καὶ  
 Ῥωμαίοις ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν φατέον ἀρχηγὸν μὲν γε-  
 νέσθαι τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον τοῦ δήμου διαστροφῆς,  
 αἰτίαν δὲ καὶ τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα πολέμου συστάντος  
 9 αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς προειρημένους. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ  
 τῶν Γαλατῶν ὑπεδύοντο τὴν πράξιν, μάλιστα δ'  
 οἱ Βοῖοι, διὰ τὸ συντερμονεῖν τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων  
 χώρα, νομίσαντες οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἡγεμονίας ἔτι καὶ δυ-  
 ναστείας Ῥωμαίους τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ποιήσασθαι  
 πόλεμον, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ὀλοσχεροῦς ἐξαναστάσεως καὶ  
 καταφθορᾶς.



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## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

**22** Διόπερ εὐθέως τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἔθνῳν, τό τε  
 τῶν Ἰνσόμβρων καὶ Βοίων, συμφρονήσαντα διεπέμ-  
 ποντο πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ τὰς Ἄλπεις καὶ περὶ τὸν  
 Ῥοδανὸν ποταμὸν κατοικοῦντας Γαλάτας, προσαγο-  
 ρευομένους δὲ διὰ τὸ μισθοῦ στρατεύειν Γαισάτους·  
**2** ἢ γὰρ λέξις αὕτη τοῦτο σημαίνει κυρίως. ὧν τοῖς  
 βασιλεῦσι Κογκολιτάνῳ καὶ Ἀνηροέστῳ παραυτίκα  
 μὲν χρυσίου προτείναντες πλῆθος, εἰς τὸ μέλλον  
 δ' ὑποδεικνύντες τὸ μέγεθος τῆς Ῥωμαίων εὐδαι-  
 μονίας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὑπαρξόντων αὐτοῖς ἀγα-  
 θῶν, εἰάν κρατήσωσι, προυτρέποντο καὶ παρώξυνον  
**3** πρὸς τὴν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους στρατείαν. ῥαδίως δ' ἔπει-  
 σαν, ἅμα τοῖς προειρημένοις διδόντες μὲν τὰ πιστὰ  
 περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν συμμαχίας, ἀναμιμνήσκοντες δὲ τῆς  
**4** τῶν ἰδίων προγόνων πράξεως αὐτοῦς· ἐν ἧ' κείνοι  
 στρατεύσαντες οὐ μόνον ἐνίκησαν μαχόμενοι Ῥω-  
 μαίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐξ ἐφόδου κατ-  
**5** ἔσχον αὐτὴν τὴν Ῥώμην· γενόμενοι δὲ καὶ τῶν  
 ὑπαρχόντων ἀπάντων ἐγκρατεῖς, καὶ τῆς πόλεως  
 αὐτῆς ἑπτὰ μῆνας κυριεύσαντες, τέλος ἐθελοντὶ καὶ  
 μετὰ χάριτος παραδόντες τὴν πόλιν, ἄθραυστοι κα-  
 σινεῖς ἔχοντες τὴν ὠφέλειαν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπ-  
**6** ανῆλθον. ὧν ἀκούοντες οἱ περὶ αὐτοὺς ἡγεμόνες  
 οὕτω παρωρμήθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν ὥστε μηδέ-  
 ποτε μήτε πλείους μήτ' ἐνδοξοτέρους μήτε μαχιμω-  
 τέρους ἄνδρας ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ τούτων τῶν τόπων τῆς  
**7** Γαλατίας. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους Ῥωμαῖοι  
 τὰ μὲν ἀκούοντες, τὰ δὲ καταμαντευόμενοι τὸ μέλ-  
 λον, εἰς φόβους ἐνέπιπτον συνεχεῖς καὶ παραχὰς  
**8** ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὥστε ποτὲ μὲν στρατόπεδα καταγρά-  
 φειν καὶ σίτου καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ποιεῖσθαι παρα-  
 σκευάς, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἐξάγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς

22. The two largest tribes, therefore, the Insubres 281 and Boii, made a league and sent messengers to the Gauls dwelling among the Alps and near the Rhone, who are called Gaesatae because they serve for hire, this being the proper meaning of the word. They urged and incited their kings Concolitanus and Aneroëstus to make war on Rome, offering them at present a large sum in gold, and as to the future, pointing out to them the great prosperity of the Romans, and the vast wealth that would be theirs if they were victorious. They had no difficulty in persuading them, as, in addition to all this, they pledged themselves to be loyal allies and reminded them of the achievement of their own ancestors, who had not only overcome the Romans in combat, but, after the battle, had assaulted and taken Rome itself, possessing themselves of all it contained, and, after remaining masters of the city for seven months, had finally given it up of their own free will and as an act of grace, and had returned home with their spoil, unbroken and unscathed. When the kings had been told all this, they became so eager for the expedition that on no occasion has that district of Gaul sent out so large a force or one composed of men so distinguished or so warlike. All this time, the Romans, either hearing what was happening or divining what was coming, were in such a state of constant alarm and unrest, that at times we find them busy enrolling legions and making provision of corn and other stores, at times marching to the

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

- ὄρους, ὡς ἤδη παρόντων εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν πολε-  
 μίων, οὐδέπω κεκινηκότων ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας τῶν Κελ-  
 9 τῶν. οὐκ ἐλάχιστα δὲ συνήργησε καὶ Καρχηδο-  
 νίοις τοῦτο τὸ κίνημα πρὸς τὸ κατασκευάσασθαι τὰ  
 10 κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀσφαλῶς. Ῥωμαῖοι γάρ, ὡς καὶ  
 πρόσθεν ἡμῖν εἴρηται, κρίνοντες ἀναγκαιότερα ταῦτα  
 διὰ τὸ πρὸς ταῖς πλευραῖς αὐτῶν ὑπάρχειν παρορᾶν  
 ἢναγκάζοντο τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, σπουδάζοντες  
 πρότερον ἐν καλῶ θέσθαι τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Κελτούς.  
 11 διόπερ ἀσφαλισάμενοι τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους  
 διὰ τῶν πρὸς τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ὁμολογιῶν, ὑπὲρ ὧν  
 ἄρτι δεδηλώκαμεν, ἐνεχείρησαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐν τού-  
 τοις τοῖς καιροῖς πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πολε-  
 μίους, νομίζοντες συμφέρειν σφίσι τὸ διακριθῆναι  
 πρὸς τούτους.
- 23 Οἱ δὲ Γαισάται Γαλάται συστησάμενοι δύναμιν  
 πολυτελῆ καὶ βαρεῖαν, ἤκον ὑπεράραντες τὰς Ἄλ-  
 πεις εἰς τὸν Πάδον ποταμὸν ἔπει <sup>μετὰ</sup> τὴν τῆς χώ-  
 2 ρας διάδοσιν ὀγδόῳ. τὸ μὲν οὖν τῶν Ἰνσόμβρων  
 καὶ Βοίων γένος ἔμεινε γενναίως ἐν ταῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 ἐπιβολαῖς, οἱ δ' Οὐένετοι καὶ Γονομάνοι, διαπρε-  
 σβευσασμένων Ῥωμαίων, τούτοις εἴλοντο συμμαχεῖν.  
 3 διὸ καὶ μέρος τι τῆς δυνάμεως καταλιπεῖν ἢναγκά-  
 σθησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν Κελτῶν φυλακῆς χάριν τῆς  
 4 χώρας πρὸς τὸν ἀπὸ τούτων φόβον. αὐτοὶ δ' ἐξ-  
 ἄραντες παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι κατατεθαρρηκότως  
 ὤρμησαν, ποιούμενοι τὴν πορείαν ὡς ἐπὶ Τυρρη-  
 νίας, ἔχοντες πεζοὺς μὲν εἰς πεντακισμυρίους, ἵπ-  
 5 πεῖς δὲ καὶ συνωρίδας εἰς δισμυρίους. Ῥωμαῖοι δ'  
 ὡς θᾶπτον ἤκουσαν τοὺς Κελτοὺς ὑπερβεβληκέναι  
 τὰς Ἄλπεις, Λεύκιον μὲν Αἰμίλιον ὑπατον μετὰ  
 δυνάμεως ἐξαπέστειλαν ὡς ἐπ' Ἀριμίνου, τηρήσοντα



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## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

ταύτη τῶν ἐναντίων τὴν ἔφοδον, ἓνα δὲ τῶν ἑξα-  
 6 πελέκεων εἰς Τυρρηνίαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἕτερος τῶν  
 ὑπάτων Γάιος Ἀτίλιος προεξεληλυθὼς ἔτυχεν εἰς  
 7 Σαρδόνα μετὰ τῶν στρατοπέδων, οἳ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ  
 πάντες περιδεεῖς ἦσαν, μέγαν καὶ φοβερὸν αὐτοῖς  
 ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἐπιφέρεσθαι κίνδυνον. ἔπασχον δὲ  
 τοῦτ' εἰκότως, ἔτι περὶ Γαλατῶν ἐγκαθημένου ταῖς  
 8 ψυχαῖς αὐτῶν τοῦ παλαιοῦ φόβου. διὸ καὶ πρὸς  
 ταύτην ἀναφέροντες τὴν ἔννοιαν τὰ μὲν συνήθροι-  
 ζον, τὰ δὲ κατέγραφον στρατόπεδα, τοῖς δ' ἐτοίμοις  
 9 εἶναι παρήγγελον τῶν συμμάχων. καθόλου δὲ τοῖς  
 ὑποτεταγμένοις ἀναφέρειν ἐπέταξαν ἀπογραφὰς τῶν  
 ἐν ταῖς ἡλικίαις, σπουδάζοντες εἰδέναι τὸ σύμπαν  
 10 πλῆθος τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτοῖς δυνάμεως. σίτου  
 δὲ καὶ βελῶν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐπιτηδειότητος πρὸς  
 πόλεμον τηλικαύτην ἐποιήσαντο κατασκευὴν ἡλικὴν  
 11 οὐδεὶς πω μνημονεύει πρότερον. συνηργεῖτο δ'  
 12 αὐτοῖς πάντα καὶ πανταχόθεν ἐτοίμως. καταπε-  
 πληγμένοι γὰρ οἳ τὴν Ἰταλίαν οἰκοῦντες τὴν τῶν  
 Γαλατῶν ἔφοδον, οὐκέτι Ῥωμαίοις ἠγοῦντο συμμα-  
 χεῖν οὐδὲ περὶ τῆς τούτων ἡγεμονίας γινεσθαι τὸν  
 πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ περὶ σφῶν ἐνόμιζον ἕκαστοι καὶ τῆς  
 ἰδίας πόλεως καὶ χώρας ἐπιφέρεσθαι τὸν κίνδυνον.  
 13 διόπερ ἐτοίμως τοῖς παραγγελλομένοις ὑπήκουον.

24 Ἴνα δὲ συμφανὲς ἐπ' αὐτῶν γένηται τῶν ἔργων  
 ἡλίκους Ἀννίβας ἐτόλμησε πράγμασιν ἐπιθέσθαι  
 [μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα] καὶ πρὸς ἡλικὴν δυναστείαν παρα-  
 βόλως ἀντοφθαλμήσας ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο καθίκετο τῆς  
 προθέσεως ὥστε τοῖς μεγίστοις συμπτώμασι περι-  
 2 βάλλειν Ῥωμαίους, ῥητέον ἂν εἴη τὴν παρασκευὴν  
 καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτοῖς τότε δυνά-  
 3 μεως. μετὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐξεληλύθει τέτταρα

here the attack of the enemy, and one of their Praetors to Etruria, their other Consul, Gaius Atilius having already gone to Sardinia with his legions. There was great and general alarm in Rome, as they thought they were in imminent and serious peril, and this indeed was but natural, as the terror the old invasion had inspired still dwelt in their minds. No one thought of anything else therefore, they busied themselves mustering and enrolling their own legions and ordered those of the allies to be in readiness. All their subjects in general were commanded to supply lists of men of military age, as they wished to know what their total forces amounted to. Of corn, missiles and other war material they had laid in such a supply as no one could remember to have been collected on any previous occasion. On every side there was a ready disposition to help in every possible way; for the inhabitants of Italy, terror-struck by the invasion of the Gauls, no longer thought of themselves as the allies of Rome or regarded this war as undertaken to establish Roman supremacy, but every man considered that the peril was descending on himself and his own city and country. So there was great alacrity in obeying orders.

24. But, that it may appear from actual facts what a great power it was that Hannibal ventured to attack, and how mighty was that empire boldly confronting which he came so near his purpose as to bring great disasters on Rome, I must state what were their resources and the actual number of their forces at this time. Each of the Consuls was in



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

στρατόπεδα Ῥωμαϊκά, πεντάκισ μὲν χιλίους<sup>1</sup> καὶ  
 διακοσίους πεζικούς, ἵππεῖς δὲ τριακοσίους ἔχον  
 4 ἕκαστον. σύμμαχοι δὲ μεθ' ἑκατέρων ἦσαν οἱ συν-  
 ἄμφω πεζοὶ μὲν τρισμύριοι, δισχίλιοι δ' ἵππεῖς.  
 5 τῶν δ' ἐκ τοῦ καιροῦ προσβοηθησάντων εἰς τὴν  
 Ῥώμην Σαβίνων καὶ Τυρρηνῶν ἵππεῖς μὲν ἦσαν  
 εἰς τετρακισχιλίους, πεζοὶ δὲ πλείους τῶν πεντακισ-  
 6 μυρίων. τούτους μὲν ἀθροίσαντες ὡς ἐπὶ Τυρρη-  
 νίας προεκάθισαν, ἕξαπέλεκυν αὐτοῖς ἡγεμόνα συ-  
 7 στήσαντες. οἱ δὲ τὸν Ἀπεννῖνον κατοικοῦντες Ὀμ-  
 βροι καὶ Σαρσινάτοι συνήχθησαν εἰς δισμυρίους,  
 μετὰ δὲ τούτων Οὐένετοι καὶ Γονομάνοι δισμύριοι.  
 8 τούτους δ' ἔταξαν ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρων τῆς Γαλατίας, ἵν'  
 ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τὴν τῶν Βοίων χώραν ἀντιπερι-  
 σπῶσι τοὺς ἐξεληλυθότας. τὰ μὲν οὖν προκαθ-  
 9 ἡμενα στρατόπεδα τῆς χώρας ταύτ' ἦν. ἐν δὲ τῇ  
 Ῥώμῃ διέτριβον ἡτοιμασμένοι χάριν τῶν συμβαι-  
 νόντων ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις, ἐφεδρείας ἔχοντες τάξιν,  
 Ῥωμαίων μὲν αὐτῶν πεζοὶ δισμύριοι, μετὰ δὲ  
 τούτων ἵππεῖς χίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι, τῶν δὲ συμ-  
 10 μάχων πεζοὶ μὲν τρισμύριοι, δισχίλιοι δ' ἵππεῖς.  
 καταγραφαὶ δ' ἀνηνέχθησαν Λατίνων μὲν ὀκτακισ-  
 μύριοι πεζοί, πεντακισχίλιοι δ' ἵππεῖς, Σαυνιτῶν  
 δὲ πεζοὶ μὲν ἑπτακισμύριοι, μετὰ δὲ τούτων ἵππεῖς  
 11 ἑπτακισχίλιοι, καὶ μὴν Ἰαπύγων καὶ Μεσσαπίων  
 συνάμφω πεζῶν μὲν πέντε μυριάδες, ἵππεῖς δὲ μύ-  
 12 ριοι σὺν ἕξακισχιλίοις, Λευκανῶν δὲ πεζοὶ μὲν τρισ-  
 μύριοι, τρισχίλιοι δ' ἵππεῖς, Μαρσῶν δὲ καὶ Μαρ-  
 ρουκίνων καὶ Φρεντανῶν, ἔτι δ' Οὐεστίνων, πεζοὶ  
 13 μὲν δισμύριοι, τετρακισχίλιοι δ' ἵππεῖς. ἔτι γε  
 μὴν καὶ Σικελία καὶ Τάραντι στρατόπεδα δύο παρ-  
 εφήδρευεν, ὧν ἑκάτερον ἦν ἀνὰ τετρακισχιλίους



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## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

14 καὶ διακοσίους πεζούς, ἵππεῖς δὲ διακοσίους. Ῥω-  
 μαίων δὲ καὶ Καμπανῶν ἢ πληθὺς πεζῶν μὲν εἰς  
 εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε κατελέχθησαν μυριάδες, ἵππέων  
 δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς δύο μυριάσιν ἐπῆσαν ἔτι τρεῖς χιλιάδες.  
 15 ὥστ' εἶναι τὸ [κεφάλαιον τῶν μὲν προκαθημένων  
 τῆς Ῥώμης δυνάμεων πεζοὶ μὲν ὑπὲρ πεντεκαίδεκα  
 16 μυριάδες, ἵππεῖς δὲ πρὸς ἑξακισχιλίους, τὸ δὲ] σύμ-  
 παν πλῆθος τῶν δυναμένων ὄπλα βαστάζειν αὐτῶν  
 τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων πεζῶν ὑπὲρ τὰς  
 ἑβδομήκοντα μυριάδας, ἵππέων δ' εἰς ἑπτὰ μυριά-  
 17 δας. ἐφ' οὓς Ἀννίβας ἐλάττους ἔχων δισμυρίων  
 ἐπέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν. περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων  
 ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς σαφέστερον ἐκποιήσει κατανοεῖν.  
 25 Οἱ δὲ Κελτοὶ κατάραντες εἰς τὴν Τυρρηνίαν ἐπ-  
 πορεύοντο τὴν χώραν, πορθοῦντες ἀδεῶς· οὐδενὸς  
 δ' αὐτοῖς ἀντιταττομένου, τέλος ἐπ' αὐτὴν ὤρμησαν  
 2 τὴν Ῥώμην. ἤδη δ' αὐτῶν περὶ πόλιν ὄντων ἢ  
 καλεῖται μὲν Κλούσιον, ἀπέχει δ' ἡμερῶν τριῶν  
 ὁδὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης, προσαγγέλλεται διότι κατόπιν  
 αὐτοῖς ἔπονται καὶ συνάπτουσιν αἱ προκαθήμεναι  
 3 τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐν τῇ Τυρρηνίᾳ δυνάμεις. οἱ δ' ἀκού-  
 σαντες ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς ἀπήντων, σπεύδοντες τούτοις  
 4 συμβαλεῖν. ἐγγίσαντες δ' ἀλλήλοις ἤδη περὶ δυ-  
 σμὰς ἡλίου, τότε μὲν ἐν συμμέτρῳ διαστήματι κατα-  
 5 στρατοπεδεύσαντες ηὐλίσθησαν ἀμφοτέρω. τῆς δὲ  
 νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης πῦρ ἀνακαύσαντες οἱ Κελτοὶ  
 τοὺς μὲν ἵππεῖς ἀπέλιπον, συντάξαντες ἅμα τῷ φωτὶ  
 συμφανεῖς γενομένους τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑποχωρεῖν κατὰ  
 6 τὸν αὐτὸν στίβον. αὐτοὶ δὲ λαθραίαν ποιησάμενοι  
 τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ὡς ἐπὶ πόλιν Φαισόλαν, αὐτοῦ παρ-  
 ενέβαλον, πρόθεσιν ἔχοντες ἅμα μὲν ἐκδέχεσθαι  
 τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἵππεῖς, ἅμα δὲ παραδόξως ἐνοχλήσαι

two hundred foot and two hundred horse. Of Romans and Campanians there were on the roll two hundred and fifty thousand and twenty-three thousand horse ; so that the total number of Romans and allies able to bear arms was more than seven hundred thousand foot and seventy thousand horse, while Hannibal invaded Italy with an army of less than twenty thousand men. On this matter I shall be able to give my readers more explicit information in the course of this work.

25. The Celts, descending on Etruria, overran the country devastating it without let or hindrance and, as nobody appeared to oppose them, they marched on Rome itself. When they had got as far as Clusium, a city three days' journey from Rome, news reached them that the advanced force which the Romans had posted in Etruria was on their heels and approaching. On hearing this, they turned to meet it, eager to engage it. At sunset the two armies were in close proximity, and encamped for the night at no great distance from each other. After nightfall, the Celts lit their camp-fires, and, leaving orders with their cavalry to wait until daybreak and then, when visible to the enemy, to follow on their track, they themselves secretly retreated to a town called Faesulae and posted themselves there, their intention being to wait for their cavalry, and also to put unexpected difficulties in the way of the enemy's

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

- 7** τὴν τῶν ὑπεναντίων ἔφοδον. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπιγενομένης συνιδόντες τοὺς ἵππεῖς αὐτοὺς, καὶ νομίσαντες τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἀποδεδρακέναι, κατὰ σπουδὴν ἠκολούθουν τοῖς ἵππεῦσι κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων  
**8** ἀποχώρησιν. ἅμα δὲ τῷ συνεγγίζειν τοῖς πολεμίοις διαναστάντων τῶν Κελτῶν, καὶ συμπεσόντων αὐτοῖς,  
**9** ἦν ἄγὼν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν βίαιος. τέλος δὲ καθυπερεχόντων τῶν Κελτῶν τῇ τόλμῃ καὶ τῷ πλήθει, συνέβη διαφθαρῆναι μὲν τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐκ ἐλάττους ἑξακισχιλίων, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς φεύγειν· ὧν οἱ πλείους πρὸς τινα τόπον ἐρυμνὸν ἀποχωρήσαντες  
**10** ἔμενον. οὓς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἱ Κελτοὶ πολιορκεῖν ἐπεβάλοντο· κακῶς δ' ἀπαλλάττοντες ἐκ τῆς προγεγενημένης ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ πορείας καὶ κακοπαθείας καὶ ταλαιπωρίας, ὥρμησαν πρὸς ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ θεραπείαν, φυλακὴν ἀπολιπόντες τῶν ἰδίων ἵππέων περὶ  
**11** τὸν λόφον, πρόθεσιν ἔχοντες κατὰ τὴν ἐπιούσαν πολιορκεῖν τοὺς συμπεφευγότας, εἰ μὴ παραδῶσιν ἑαυτοὺς ἔκουσίως.
- 26** Κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον Λεύκιος Αἰμίλιος ὁ προκαθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ἄδριαν τόπων ἀκούσας τοὺς Κελτοὺς διὰ Τυρρηνίας ἐμβεβληκότας συνεγγίζειν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, παρῆν βοιωτῶν κατὰ σπουδὴν  
**2** εὐτυχῶς εἰς δέοντα καιρὸν. καταστρατοπεδεύσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ σύνεγγυς τῶν πολεμίων, κατιδόντες τὰ πυρὰ καὶ νοήσαντες τὸ γεγονός οἱ συμπεφευγότες ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον, ταχέως ἀναθαρρήσαντες ἐξ-  
**3** απέστειλαν αὐτῶν τινὰς τῆς νυκτὸς ἀνόπλους διὰ τῆς ὕλης ἀναγγελοῦντας τῷ στρατηγῷ τὸ συμβεβη-  
**3** κός. ὁ δὲ διακούσας, καὶ θεωρῶν οὐδὲ διαβούλιον αὐτῷ καταλειπόμενον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνεστώτων, τοῖς μὲν χιλιάρχοις ἅμα τῷ φῶτι παρήγγειλε τοὺς πεζοὺς



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ἐξάγειν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ἵππεῖς ἀναλαβὼν καθηγεῖτο  
 τῆς δυνάμεως, ποιούμενος τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ τὸν  
 4 προειρημένον βουνόν. οἱ δὲ τῶν Γαλατῶν ἡγε-  
 μόνες, ἀφορῶντες τὰ πυρὰ τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ συλλογι-  
 ζόμενοι τὴν παρουσίαν τῶν πολεμίων συνήδρευον.  
 5 οἷς Ἄνηροέστης ὁ βασιλεὺς γνώμην εἰσέφερε λέγων  
 ὅτι δεῖ τοσαύτης λείας ἐγκρατεῖς γεγονότας, ἦν γάρ,  
 ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ τὸ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ θρεμμάτων  
 πλήθος, ἔτι δὲ τῆς ἀποσκευῆς ἧς εἶχον, ἀμύθητον.  
 6 διόπερ ἔφη δεῖν μὴ κινδυνεύειν ἔτι μηδὲ παραβάλλε-  
 σθαι τοῖς ὅλοις, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀδεῶς ἐπανάγειν.  
 ταῦτα δ' ἀποσκευασαμένους καὶ γενομένους εὐ-  
 ζώνους αὐθις ἐγχειρεῖν ὀλοσχερῶς, ἐὰν δοκῇ, τοῖς  
 7 Ῥωμαίων πράγμασι. δόξαντος δὲ σφίσι κατὰ τὴν  
 Ἄνηροέστου γνώμην χρήσασθαι τοῖς παροῦσιν,  
 οὗτοι μὲν τῆς νυκτὸς ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι, πρὸ  
 φωτὸς ἀναζεύξαντες προῆγον παρὰ θάλατταν διὰ τῆς  
 8 Τυρρηνῶν χώρας. ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος, ἀναλαβὼν ἐκ τοῦ  
 βουνοῦ τὸ διασωζόμενον τοῦ στρατοπέδου μέρος ἅμα  
 ταῖς ἰδίαις δυνάμεσι, τὸ μὲν διακινδυνεύειν ἐκ παρα-  
 τάξεως οὐδαμῶς ἔκρινε συμφέρειν, ἐπιτηρεῖν δὲ  
 μᾶλλον καιροὺς καὶ τόπους εὐφυεῖς, ἐπόμενος, ἐάν  
 πού τι βλάψαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ τῆς λείας ἀπο-  
 σπάσαι δυνηθῇ.

27 Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους ἐκ Σαρδόνοσ  
 μετὰ τῶν στρατοπέδων Γάιος Ἀτίλιος ὑπάτος εἰς  
 Πίσας καταπεπλευκῶς προῆγε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως  
 εἰς Ῥώμην, ἐναντίαν ποιούμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις τὴν  
 2 πορείαν. ἤδη δὲ περὶ Τελαμῶνα τῆς Τυρρηνίας  
 τῶν Κελτῶν ὑπαρχόντων, οἱ προνομεύοντες ἐξ  
 αὐτῶν ἐμπεσόντες εἰς τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Γαῖου προπο-  
 3 ρευομένους ἐάλωσαν· καὶ τά τε προγεγονότα διεσά-  
 306

out the infantry at daybreak, he himself proceeding in advance with the cavalry towards the hill mentioned above. The leaders of the Gauls, on seeing the camp-fires at night, surmised that the enemy had arrived and held a council at which the King Aneroëstes expressed the opinion, that having captured so much booty (for it appears that the quantity of slaves, cattle and miscellaneous spoil was enormous), they should not give battle again nor risk the fortune of the whole enterprise, but return home in safety, and having got rid of all their encumbrances and lightened themselves, return and, if advisable, try issues with the Romans. It was decided under the circumstances to take the course recommended by Aneroëstes, and having come to this resolution in the night, they broke up their camp before daybreak and retreated along the sea-coast through Etruria. Lucius now took with him from the hill the survivors of the other army and united them with his other forces. He thought it by no means advisable to risk a general battle, but decided to hang on the enemy's rear and watch for times and places favourable for inflicting damage on them or wresting some of the spoil from their hands.

27. Just at this time, Gaius Atilius, the other Consul, had reached Pisa from Sardinia with his legions and was on his way to Rome, marching in the opposite direction to the enemy. When the Celts were near Telamon in Etruria, their advanced foragers encountered the advance guard of Gaius and were made prisoners. On being examined by the Consul they



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

φουν ἀνακρινόμενοι τῷ στρατηγῷ καὶ τὴν παρουσίαν  
 ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στρατοπέδων ἀνήγγελλον, σημαί-  
 νοντες διότι τελείως σύνεγγύς εἰσιν οἱ Κελτοὶ καὶ  
 4 τούτων κατόπιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Λεύκιον. ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν  
 ξενισθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῖς προσπίπτουσι, τὰ δ' εὐέλπις γενό-  
 μενος ἐπὶ τῷ δοκεῖν μέσους κατὰ πορείαν ἀπειλη-  
 φένοι τοὺς Κελτούς, τοῖς μὲν χιλιάρχους παρήγγειλε  
 τάττειν τὰ στρατόπεδα, καὶ βάδην εἰς τοῦμπροσθεν  
 προάγειν, καθ' ὅσον ἂν οἱ τόποι προσδέχωνται τὴν  
 5 μετωπηδὸν ἔφοδον. αὐτὸς δὲ συνθεωρήσας εὐκαί-  
 ρως λόφον κείμενον ὑπὲρ τὴν ὁδόν, ὑφ' ὃν ἔδει παρα-  
 πορευθῆναι τοὺς Κελτούς, ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς ἵππεῖς,  
 ὤρμησε σπεύδων προκαταλαβέσθαι τὴν ἀκρολοφίαν  
 καὶ πρῶτος κατάρξαι τοῦ κινδύνου, πεπεισμένος τῆς  
 ἐπιγραφῆς τῶν ἐκβαινόντων πλεῖστον οὕτω κληρονο-  
 6 μήσειν. οἱ δὲ Κελτοὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τὴν παρουσίαν  
 τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀτίλιον ἀγνοοῦντες, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ συμ-  
 βαίνοντος ὑπολαμβάνοντες τοὺς περὶ τὸν Αἰμίλιον  
 περιπεπορευῆσθαι τὴν νύκτα τοῖς ἵππεῦσι καὶ προ-  
 καταλαμβάνεσθαι τοὺς τόπους, εὐθέως ἐξαπέστελλον  
 τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν ἵππεῖς καὶ τινὰς τῶν εὐζώνων,  
 7 ἀντιποιησομένους τῶν κατὰ τὸν βουνὸν τόπων. ταχὺ  
 δὲ συνέντες τὴν τοῦ Γαῖου παρουσίαν ἐκ τινος τῶν  
 ἀχθέντων αἰχμαλώτων, σπουδῇ παρενέβαλον τοὺς  
 πεζούς, ποιούμενοι τὴν ἔκταξιν ἅμα πρὸς ἑκατέραν  
 τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν, καὶ τὴν ἀπ' οὐράς καὶ τὴν κατὰ  
 8 πρόσωπον· οὓς μὲν γὰρ ἤδεσαν ἐπομένους αὐτοῖς,  
 οὓς δὲ κατὰ τὸ στόμα προσεδόκων ἀπαντήσειν, ἐκ  
 τε τῶν προσαγγελλομένων τεκμαιρόμενοι καὶ τῶν  
 28 κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν συμβαινόντων. οἱ δὲ περὶ  
 τὸν Αἰμίλιον ἀκηκοότες μὲν τὸν εἰς τὰς Πίσας  
 κατάπλουν τῶν στρατοπέδων, οὕπω δὲ προσδοκῶν-  
 308



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τες αὐτὰ συνεγγίζειν, τότε σαφῶς ἐκ τοῦ περὶ τὸν  
λόφον ἀγῶνος ἔγνωσαν διότι τελέως ἐγγὺς εἶναι  
2 συμβαίνει τὰς οἰκείας αὐτῶν δυνάμεις. διὸ καὶ  
τοὺς μὲν ἵππεῖς παραντίκα βοηθήσοντας ἐξαπ-  
έστελλον τοῖς ἐν τῷ λόφῳ διαγωνιζομένοις, αὐτοὶ  
δὲ κατὰ τὰς εἰθισμένας τάξεις διακοσμήσαντες τοὺς  
3 πεζοὺς προῆγον ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπεναντίους. οἱ δὲ Κελ-  
τοὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Γαισάτους προσ-  
αγορευομένους ἔταξαν πρὸς τὴν ἀπ' οὐρᾶς ἐπιφάνειαν  
ἢ προσεδόκων τοὺς περὶ τὸν Αἰμίλιον, ἐπὶ δὲ τού-  
4 τοις τοὺς Ἑλλήνων πρὸς δὲ τὴν κατὰ πρόσωπον  
τοὺς Ταυρίσκους καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Πάδου  
κατοικοῦντας Βοίους παρενέβαλον, τὴν ἐναντίαν  
μὲν στάσιν ἔχοντας τοῖς προειρημένοις, βλέποντας  
δὲ πρὸς τὴν τῶν τοῦ Γαῖου στρατοπέδων ἔφοδον.  
5 τὰς δ' ἀμάξας καὶ συνωρίδας ἐκτὸς ἑκατέρου τοῦ  
κέρατος παρέστησαν, τὴν δὲ λείαν εἰς τι τῶν παρα-  
κειμένων ὀρῶν φυλακὴν περιστήσαντες ἤθροίζον.  
6 γενομένης δ' ἀμφιστόμου τῆς τῶν Κελτῶν δυνά-  
μεως, οὐ μόνον καταπληκτικὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρακτικὴν  
7 εἶναι συνέβαινε τὴν τάξιν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἑλλήνων  
καὶ Βοῖοι τὰς ἀναξυρίδας ἔχοντες καὶ τοὺς εὐπετεῖς  
8 τῶν σάγων περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐξέταξαν. οἱ δὲ Γαισάται  
διὰ τε τὴν φιλοδοξίαν καὶ τὸ θάρσος ταῦτ' ἀπορρί-  
ψαντες γυμνοὶ μετ' αὐτῶν τῶν ὄπλων πρῶτοι τῆς  
δυνάμεως κατέστησαν, ὑπολαβόντες οὕτως ἔσεσθαι  
πρακτικώτατοι, διὰ τὸ τινὰς τῶν τόπων βατώδεις  
ὄντας ἐμπλέκεσθαι τοῖς ἐφάμμασι καὶ παραποδίζειν  
9 τὴν τῶν ὄπλων χρεῖαν. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον αὐτὸς  
ὁ κατὰ τὸν λόφον ἐνειστήκει κίνδυνος, ἅπασιν ὡν  
σύνοπτος, ὡς ἂν ἅμα τοσοῦτου πλήθους ἵππέων  
ἀφ' ἑκάστου τῶν στρατοπέδων ἀναμιξὶ ἀλλήλοις

so near him, now, when he saw the fight going on round the hill, knew that the other Roman army was quite close. Accordingly, sending on his cavalry to help those who were fighting on the hill, he drew up his infantry in the usual order and advanced against the foe. The Celts had drawn up facing their rear, from which they expected Aemilius to attack, the Gaesatae from the Alps and behind them the Insubres, and facing in the opposite direction, ready to meet the attack of Gaius' legions, they placed the Taurisci and the Boii from the right bank of the Po. Their wagons and chariots they stationed at the extremity of either wing and collected their booty on one of the neighbouring hills with a protecting force round it. This order of the Celtic forces, facing both ways, not only presented a formidable appearance, but was well adapted to the exigencies of the situation. The Insubres and Boii wore their trousers and light cloaks, but the Gaesatae had discarded these garments owing to their proud confidence in themselves, and stood naked, with nothing but their arms, in front of the whole army, thinking that thus they would be more efficient, as some of the ground was overgrown with brambles which would catch in their clothes and impede the use of their weapons. At first the battle was confined to the hill, all the armies gazing on it, so great were the numbers of cavalry from each host com-

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

**10** συμπεπτωκότος. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ συνέβη  
 Γάιον μὲν τὸν ὑπατον παραβόλως ἀγωνιζόμενον ἐν  
 χειρῶν νόμῳ τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν  
 αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέας ἐπανενεχθῆναι τῶν Κελ-  
 τῶν· τοὺς δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἵππεῖς, κινδυνεύσαντας  
 ἐρρωμένως τέλος ἐπικρατῆσαι τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῶν  
**11** ὑπεναντίων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν πεζικῶν στρατο-  
 πέδων ἤδη σύνεγγυς ὄντων ἀλλήλοις ἴδιον ἦν καὶ  
 θαυμαστὸν τὸ συμβαῖνον οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ  
 τῷ καιρῷ τότε παροῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ποτε μετὰ  
 ταῦτα δυναμένοις ὑπὸ τὴν ὄψιν λαμβάνειν ἐκ τῶν  
**29** λεγομένων τὸ γεγονός. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τριῶν  
 στρατοπέδων τῆς μάχης συνισταμένης, δῆλον ὡς  
 ξένην καὶ παρηλλαγμένην εἰκὸς καὶ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν  
**2** καὶ τὴν χρεῖαν φαίνεσθαι τοῦ συντεταγμένου. δεύ-  
 τερον δὲ πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἀπορήσαι τις καὶ νῦν καὶ  
 τότε παρ' αὐτὸν ὢν τὸν καιρὸν πότερον οἱ Κελτοὶ  
 τὴν ἐπισφαλεστάτην εἶχον χώραν, ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τοῖν  
**3** μεροῖν ἅμα τῶν πολεμίων ἐπαγόντων αὐτοῖς, ἢ  
 τοῦναντίον τὴν ἐπιτευκτικωτάτην, ἅμα μὲν ἀγωνι-  
 ζόμενοι πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους, ἅμα δὲ τὴν ἀφ' ἑκατέρων  
 ἀσφάλειαν ἐκ τῶν ὀπισθεν αὐτοῖς παρασκευάζοντες,  
 τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ἀποκεκλειμένης πάσης τῆς εἰς τοῦ-  
 πισθεν ἀναχωρήσεως καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ λείπεσθαι  
**4** σωτηρίας; ἢ γὰρ τῆς ἀμφιστόμου τάξεως ἰδιότης  
**5** τοιαύτην ἔχει τὴν χρεῖαν. τοὺς γε μὴν Ῥωμαίους  
 τὰ μὲν εὐθαρσεῖς ἐποίει τὸ μέσους καὶ πάντοθεν  
 περιειληφέναι τοὺς πολεμίους, τὰ δὲ πάλιν ὁ κόσμος  
 αὐτοὺς καὶ θόρυβος ἐξέπληττε τῆς τῶν Κελτῶν  
**6** δυνάμεως. ἀναρίθμητον μὲν γὰρ ἦν τὸ τῶν βυ-  
 κανητῶν καὶ σαλπικτῶν πλῆθος. οἷς ἅμα τοῦ  
 παντὸς στρατοπέδου συμπαιανίζοντος τηλικαύτην



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καὶ τοιαύτην συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι κραυγὴν ὥστε μὴ  
μόνον τὰς σάλπιγγας καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
τοὺς παρακειμένους τόπους συνηχοῦντας ἐξ αὐτῶν  
7 δοκεῖν προῖεσθαι φωνήν. ἐκπληκτικὴ δ' ἦν καὶ  
τῶν γυμνῶν προεστῶτων ἀνδρῶν ἢ τ' ἐπιφάνεια  
καὶ κίνησις, ὡς ἂν διαφερόντων ταῖς ἀκμαῖς καὶ  
8 τοῖς εἶδεσι. πάντες δ' οἱ τὰς πρώτας κατέχοντες  
σπεύρας χρυσοῖς μανιάκαις καὶ περιχείροις ἦσαν  
9 κατακεκοσμημένοι. πρὸς ἃ βλέποντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι  
τὰ μὲν ἐξεπλήττοντο, τὰ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ λυσιτελοῦς  
ἐλπίδος ἀγόμενοι διπλασίως παρωξύνοντο πρὸς τὸν  
30 κίνδυνον. πλὴν ἅμα τῷ τοὺς ἀκοντιστὰς προελ-  
θόντας ἐκ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν στρατοπέδων κατὰ τὸν  
ἔθισμὸν εἰσακοντίζειν ἐνεργοῖς καὶ πυκνοῖς τοῖς  
βέλεσι, τοῖς μὲν ὀπίσω τῶν Κελτῶν πολλὴν εὐχρη-  
2 στίαν οἱ σάγοι μετὰ τῶν ἀναξυρίδων παρείχον· τοῖς  
δὲ γυμνοῖς προεστῶσι παρὰ τὴν προσδοκίαν τοῦ  
πράγματος συμβαίνοντος τάναντία πολλὴν ἀπορίαν  
3 καὶ δυσχρηστίαν παρείχε τὸ γινόμενον. οὐ γὰρ  
δυναμένου τοῦ Γαλατικοῦ θυρεοῦ τὸν ἄνδρα περι-  
σκέπειν, ὅσω γυμνὰ καὶ μείζω τὰ σώματ' ἦν, τοσοῦ-  
4 τῷ συνέβαινε μᾶλλον τὰ βέλη πίπτειν ἔνδον. τέλος  
δ' οὐ δυνάμενοι μὲν ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς εἰσακοντίζοντας  
διὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πιπτόντων  
βελῶν, περικακοῦντες δὲ καὶ δυσχρηστούμενοι τοῖς  
παροῦσιν, οἱ μὲν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ  
καὶ τῆς ἀλογιστίας εἰκῆ προπίπτοντες καὶ διδόντες  
σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐκουσίως ἀπέθνησκον, οἱ δ' εἰς τοὺς  
φίλους ἀναχωροῦντες ἐπὶ πόδα καὶ προδήλως ἀπο-  
5 δειλιῶντες διέστρεφον τοὺς κατόπιν. τὸ μὲν οὖν  
τῶν Γαισατῶν φρόνημα παρὰ τοῖς ἀκοντισταῖς  
6 τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ κατελύθη, τὸ δὲ τῶν Ἰνσόμβρων

time, there was such a tumult of sound that it seemed that not only the trumpets and the soldiers but all the country round had got a voice and caught up the cry. Very terrifying too were the appearance and the gestures of the naked warriors in front, all in the prime of life, and finely built men, and all in the leading companies richly adorned with gold torques and armlets. The sight of them indeed dismayed the Romans, but at the same time the prospect of winning such spoils made them twice as keen for the fight. 30. But when the javelineers advanced, as is their usage, from the ranks of the Roman legions and began to hurl their javelins in well-aimed volleys, the Celts in the rear ranks indeed were well protected by their trousers and cloaks, but it fell out far otherwise than they had expected with the naked men in front, and they found themselves in a very difficult and helpless predicament. For the Gaulish shield does not cover the whole body; so that their nakedness was a disadvantage, and the bigger they were<sup>a</sup> the better chance had the missiles of going home. At length, unable to drive off the javelineers owing to the distance and the hail of javelins, and reduced to the utmost distress and perplexity, some of them, in their impotent rage, rushed wildly on the enemy and sacrificed their lives, while others, retreating step by step on the ranks of their comrades, threw them into disorder by their display of faint-heartedness. Thus was the spirit of the Gaesatae broken down by the javelineers; but the main body of the Insubres,

<sup>a</sup> Literally “so that the more naked and the bigger they were . . .”



καὶ Βοίων ἔτι δὲ Ταυρίσκων πλῆθος ἅμα τῷ τοὺς  
 Ῥωμαίους δεξαμένους τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἀκοντιστὰς  
 προσβάλλειν σφίσι τὰς σπείρας συμπεσὸν τοῖς  
 7 πολεμίοις ἐκ χειρὸς ἐποίει μάχην ἐχυράν. διακοπ-  
 τόμενοι γὰρ ἔμενον ἐπ' ἴσον ταῖς ψυχαῖς, αὐτῷ τούτῳ  
 καὶ καθόλου καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα λειπόμενοι, ταῖς τῶν  
 8 ὀπλων κατασκευαῖς. οἱ μὲν οὖν θυρεοὶ πρὸς ἀσφά-  
 λειαν, αἱ δὲ μάχαιραι πρὸς πρᾶξιν μεγάλην διαφορὰν  
 . . . ἔχειν, τὴν δὲ Γαλατικὴν καταφορὰν ἔχειν μό-  
 9 νον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων καὶ κατὰ κέρας οἱ τῶν  
 Ῥωμαίων ἵππεῖς ἐμβαλόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου προσέ-  
 φερον τὰς χεῖρας ἐρρωμένως, τόθ' οἱ μὲν πεζοὶ τῶν  
 Κελτῶν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τῆς παρατάξεως τόπῳ κατεκό-  
 πησαν, οἱ δ' ἵππεῖς πρὸς φυγὴν ὤρμησαν.

31 Ἀπέθανον μὲν οὖν τῶν Κελτῶν εἰς τετρακισμυ-  
 ρίους, ἐάλωσαν δ' οὐκ ἐλάττους μυρίων, ἐν οἷς καὶ  
 2 τῶν βασιλέων Κογκολιτάνος. ὁ δ' ἕτερος αὐτῶν  
 Ἀνηρόεστος εἰς τινα τόπον συμφυγὼν μετ' ὀλίγων  
 προσήνεγκε τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις.  
 3 ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὰ μὲν σκῦλα συν-  
 αθροίσας εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπέστειλε, τὴν δὲ λείαν  
 4 ἀπέδωκε τοῖς προσήκουσιν. αὐτὸς δ' ἀναλαβὼν τὰ  
 στρατόπεδα καὶ διελθὼν παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν Λιγυστι-  
 κὴν εἰς τὴν τῶν Βοίων ἐνέβαλε χώραν. πληρώσας  
 δὲ τὰς ὁρμὰς τῶν στρατοπέδων τῆς ὠφελείας ἐν  
 ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ἦκε μετὰ τῶν δυνάμεων εἰς τὴν  
 5 Ῥώμην. καὶ τὸ μὲν Καπετώλιον ἐκόσμησε ταῖς τε  
 σημαίαις καὶ τοῖς μανιάκαις· τοῦτο δ' ἔστι χρυσοῦν  
 ψέλιον, ὃ φοροῦσι περὶ τὸν τράχηλον οἱ Γαλάται·  
 6 τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς σκύλοις καὶ τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις πρὸς  
 τὴν εἴσοδον ἐχρήσατο τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ  
 θριάμβου διακόσμησιν.



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- 7** Ἡ μὲν οὖν βαρυτάτη τῶν Κελτῶν ἔφοδος οὕτω  
 καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ διεφθάρη, πᾶσι μὲν Ἴτα-  
 λιώταις, μάλιστα δὲ Ῥωμαίοις, μέγαν καὶ φοβερόν  
**8** ἐπικρεμάσασα κίνδυνον. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ κατορθώματος  
 τούτου κατελπίσαντες Ῥωμαῖοι δυνήσεσθαι τοὺς  
 Κελτοὺς ἐκ τῶν τόπων τῶν περὶ τὸν Πάδον ὄλο-  
 σχερῶς ἐκβαλεῖν, τοὺς τε μετὰ ταῦτα κατασταθέντας  
 ὑπάτους Κόϊντον Φόλουιον καὶ Τίτον Μάλιον  
 ἀμφοτέρους καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις μετὰ παρασκευῆς με-  
**9** γάλῃς ἐξαπέστειλαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς. οὗτοι δὲ  
 τοὺς μὲν Βοίους ἐξ ἐφόδου καταπληξάμενοι συν-  
 ηνάγκασαν εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἑαυτοὺς δοῦναι πίστιν,  
**10** τὸν δὲ λοιπὸν χρόνον τῆς στρατείας, ἐπιγενομένων  
 ὄμβρων ἐξαισίῳ, ἔτι δὲ λοιμικῆς διαθέσεως ἐμ-  
 πεσοῦσης αὐτοῖς, εἰς τέλος ἄπρακτον εἶχον.
- 32** Μετὰ δὲ τούτους κατασταθέντες Πόπλιος Φούριος  
 καὶ Γάιος Φλαμίνιος αὐθις ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὴν Κελτικὴν  
 διὰ τῆς τῶν Ἀνάρων χώρας, οἷς συμβαίνει μὴ μα-  
**2** κράν ἀπὸ Μασσαλίας ἔχειν τὴν οἴκησιν. οὗς εἰς  
 τὴν φιλίαν προσαγαγόμενοι διέβησαν εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἰν-  
 σόμβρων γῆν κατὰ τὰς συρροίας τοῦ τ' Ἀδόα καὶ  
**3** Πάδου ποταμοῦ. λαβόντες δὲ πληγὰς περὶ τε τὴν  
 διάβασιν καὶ περὶ τὴν στρατοπεδείαν, παραυτίκα  
 μὲν ἔμειναν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα σπεισάμενοι καθ' ὁμο-  
**4** λογίαν ἀνέλυσαν ἐκ τῶν τόπων. περιελθόντες δὲ  
 πλείους ἡμέρας, καὶ διελθόντες τὸν Κλούσιον πο-  
 ταμόν, ἦλθον εἰς τὴν τῶν Γονομάνων χώραν, καὶ  
 προσλαβόντες τούτους, ὄντας συμμάχους, ἐνέβαλον  
 πάλιν ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὰς Ἀλπεῖς τόπων εἰς τὰ τῶν  
 Ἰνσόμβρων πεδία καὶ τὴν τε γῆν ἐδήουν καὶ τὰς  
**5** κατοικίας αὐτῶν ἐξεπόρθουν. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἰνσόμβρων  
 προεστῶτες, θεωροῦντες ἀμετάθετον οὔσαν τὴν ἐπι-

Thus were destroyed these Celts during whose invasion, the most serious that had ever occurred, all the Italians and especially the Romans had been exposed to great and terrible peril. This success encouraged the Romans to hope that they would be able entirely to expel the Celts from the plain of the Po; and both the Consuls of the next year, Quintus Fulvius and Titus Manlius, were sent against them with a formidable expeditionary force. They surprised and terrified the Boii, compelling them to submit to Rome, but the rest of the campaign had no practical results whatever, owing to the very heavy rains, and an epidemic which broke out among them.

32. Next year's Consuls, however, Publius Furius and Gaius Flaminius, again invaded the Celtic territory, through the country of the Anares who dwelt not far from Marseilles. Having admitted this tribe to their friendship, they crossed into the territory of the Insubres, near the junction of the Po and Adda. Both in crossing and in encamping on the other side, they suffered some loss, and at first remained on the spot, but later made a truce and evacuated the territory under its terms. After a circuitous march of some days, they crossed the river Clusius and reached the country of the Cenomani, who were their allies, and accompanied by them, again invaded from the district at the foot of the Alps the plains of the Insubres and began to lay the country waste and pillage their dwellings. The chieftains of the Insubres, seeing that the

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

βολὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἔκριναν τῆς τύχης λαβεῖν  
 πείραν καὶ διακινδυνεῦσαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὀλοσχερῶς.  
 6 συναθροίσαντες οὖν ἀπάσας <τὰς δυνάμεις>  
 ἐπὶ ταῦτόν, καὶ τὰς χρυσᾶς σημαίας τὰς ἀκι-  
 νήτους λεγομένας καθελόντες ἐκ τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς  
 ἱεροῦ, καὶ τᾶλλα παρασκευασάμενοι δεόντως, μετὰ  
 ταῦτα τεθαρρηκότως καὶ καταπληκτικῶς ἀντεστρα-  
 τοπέδευσαν τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὄντες τὸ πλῆθος εἰς  
 7 πέντε μυριάδας. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι, τὰ μὲν ὄρωντες  
 σφᾶς ἐλάττους ὄντας παρὰ πολὺ τῶν ἐναντίων,  
 ἐβούλοντο συγχρῆσθαι ταῖς τῶν συμμαχοῦντων αὐ-  
 8 τοῖς Κελτῶν δυνάμεσι· τὰ δὲ συλλογισάμενοι τήν  
 τε Γαλατικὴν ἀθεσίαν καὶ διότι πρὸς ὁμοφύλους  
 τῶν προσλαμβανομένων μέλλουσι ποιεῖσθαι τὸν  
 κίνδυνον, εὐλαβοῦντο τοιούτοις ἀνδράσι τοιούτου  
 9 καιροῦ καὶ πράγματος κοινωνεῖν. τέλος δ' οὖν  
 αὐτοὶ μὲν ὑπέμειναν ἐντὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τοὺς  
 δὲ τῶν Κελτῶν σφίσι συνόντας διαβιβάσαντες  
 εἰς τὸ πέραν ἀνέσπασαν τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ ρείθρου γε-  
 10 φύρας, ἅμα μὲν ἀσφαλιζόμενοι τὰ πρὸς ἐκείνους,  
 ἅμα δὲ μίαν ἑαυτοῖς ἀπολείποντες ἐλπίδα τῆς  
 σωτηρίας τὴν ἐν τῷ νικᾶν, διὰ τὸ κατόπιν αὐτοῖς  
 ἄβατον ὄντα παρακεῖσθαι τὸν προειρημένον ποτα-  
 11 μόν. πράξαντες δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τῷ διακινδυνεύειν  
 ἦσαν.

33 Δοκοῦσι δ' ἐμφρόνως κεχρῆσθαι τῇ μάχῃ ταύτῃ  
 Ῥωμαῖοι, τῶν χιλιάρχων ὑποδειξάντων ὡς δεῖ ποι-  
 εῖσθαι τὸν ἀγῶνα κοινῇ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ἑκάστους.  
 2 συνεωρακότες γὰρ ἐκ τῶν προγεγονότων κινδύνων  
 ὅτι τε θυμοῖς κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἔφοδον, ἕως  
 ἂν ἀκέραιον ἦ, φοβερώτατόν ἐστι πᾶν τὸ Γαλατικὸν  
 3 φῦλον, αἷ τε μάχαιραι ταῖς κατασκευαῖς, καθάπερ



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εἶρηται πρότερον, μίαν ἔχουσι τὴν πρώτην κατα-  
 φορὰν καιρίαν, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης εὐθέως ἀποξυστροῦν-  
 ται, καμπτόμεναι κατὰ μῆκος καὶ κατὰ πλάτος ἐπι-  
 τοσοῦτον ὥστ' εἰ μὴ δῶ τις ἀναστροφὴν τοῖς χρω-  
 μένοις, ἐρείσαντας πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἀπευθῆναι τῷ  
 4 ποδί, τελέως ἀπρακτον εἶναι τὴν δευτέραν πληγὴν  
 ἀυτῶν· ἀναδόντες οὖν οἱ χιλίαρχοι τὰ τῶν τριαρίων  
 δόρατα τῶν κατόπιν ἐφεστώτων ταῖς πρώταις σπεί-  
 ραις, καὶ παραγγείλαντες ἐκ μεταλήψεως τοῖς ξί-  
 φεσι χρῆσθαι, συνέβαλον ἐκ παρατάξεως κατὰ πρό-  
 5 σωπον τοῖς Κελτοῖς. ἅμα δὲ τῷ πρὸς τὰ δόρατα  
 ταῖς πρώταις καταφοραῖς χρωμένων τῶν Γαλατῶν  
 ἀχρειωθῆναι τὰς μαχαίρας συνδραμόντες εἰς τὰς  
 χεῖρας τοὺς μὲν Κελτοὺς ἀπράκτους ἐποίησαν, ἀφ-  
 ελόμενοι τὴν ἐκ διάρσεως αὐτῶν μάχην, ὅπερ ἰδιὸν  
 ἐστὶ Γαλατικῆς χρείας, διὰ τὸ μηδαμῶς κέντημα τὸ  
 6 ξίφος ἔχειν· αὐτοὶ δ' οὐκ ἐκ καταφορᾶς, ἀλλ' ἐκ  
 διαλήψεως ὀρθαῖς χρώμενοι ταῖς μαχαίραις, πρα-  
 κτικοῦ τοῦ κεντήματος περὶ αὐτὰς ὑπάρχοντος, τύ-  
 πτοντες εἰς τὰ στέρνα καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ πληγὴν  
 ἐπὶ πληγῇ φέροντες, διέφθειραν τοὺς πλείστους τῶν  
 παραταξαμένων διὰ τὴν τῶν χιλιάρχων πρόνοιαν.  
 7 ὁ μὲν γὰρ στρατηγὸς Φλαμίνιος οὐκ ὀρθῶς δοκεῖ  
 κεχρῆσθαι τῷ προειρημένῳ κινδύνῳ. παρ' αὐτὴν  
 γὰρ τὴν ὄφρυν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ποιησάμενος τὴν ἑκ-  
 ταξιν διέφθειρε τὸ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς μάχης ἰδιὸν, οὐχ  
 ὑπολειπόμενος τόπον πρὸς τὴν ἐπὶ πόδα ταῖς σπεί-  
 8 ραις ἀναχώρησιν. εἰ γὰρ συνέβη βραχὺ μόνον πιε-  
 σθῆναι τῇ χώρᾳ τοὺς ἄνδρας κατὰ τὴν μάχην, ρί-  
 πτειν ἂν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν αὐτοὺς ἔδει διὰ τὴν ἀστο-  
 9 χίαν τοῦ προεστῶτος. οὐ μὲν ἀλλά γε πολλῶν νικῆ-  
 σαντες ταῖς σφετέραις ἀρεταῖς, καθάπερ εἶπον, καὶ

their swords are made, as has been already explained, only the first cut takes effect; after this they at once assume the shape of a strigil, being so much bent both length-wise and side-wise that unless the men are given leisure to rest them on the ground and set them straight with the foot, the second blow is quite ineffectual. The tribunes therefore distributed amongst the front lines the spears of the triarii who were stationed behind them, ordering them to use their swords instead only after the spears were done with. They then drew up opposite the Celts in order of battle and engaged. Upon the Gauls slashing first at the spears and making their swords unserviceable the Romans came to close quarters, having rendered the enemy helpless by depriving them of the power of raising their hands and cutting, which is the peculiar and only stroke of the Gauls, as their swords have no points. The Romans, on the contrary, instead of slashing, continued to thrust with their swords which did not bend, the points being very effective. Thus, striking one blow after another on the breast or face, they slew the greater part of their adversaries. This was solely due to the foresight of the tribunes, the Consul Flaminius being thought to have mismanaged the battle by deploying his force at the very edge of the river-bank and thus rendering impossible a tactical movement peculiar to the Romans, as he left the lines no room to fall back gradually. For had the troops been even in the slightest degree pushed back from their ground during the battle, they would have had to throw themselves into the river, all owing to their general's blunder. However, as it was, they gained a decisive victory by their own skill and valour, as I said, and



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

παμπληθοῦς μὲν λείας, οὐκ ὀλίγων δὲ σκύλων κρα-  
τήσαντες, ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην.

34 Τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἔτει, διαπρεσβευσασμένων τῶν Κελ-  
τῶν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης καὶ πᾶν ποιήσειν ὑπισχνουμέ-  
νων, ἔσπευσαν οἱ κατασταθέντες ὑπατοὶ Μάρκος  
Κλαύδιος καὶ Γνάιος Κορνήλιος τοῦ μὴ συγχωρη-  
2 θῆναι τὴν εἰρήνην αὐτοῖς. οἱ δ' ἀποτυχόντες, καὶ  
κρίναντες ἐξελέγξαι τὰς τελευταίας ἐλπίδας, αὐθις  
ῶρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸ μισθοῦσθαι τῶν περὶ τὸν Ῥοδανὸν  
Γαισατῶν Γαλατῶν εἰς τρισμυρίους· οὓς παραλα-  
βόντες εἶχον ἐν ἐτοιμίῳ καὶ προσεδόκων τὴν τῶν  
3 πολεμίων ἔφοδον. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοί,  
τῆς ὥρας ἐπιγενομένης, ἀναλαβόντες τὰς δυνάμεις  
4 ἤγον εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἰνσόμβρων χώραν. παραγενόμε-  
νοι δὲ καὶ περιστρατοπεδεύσαντες πόλιν Ἀχέρρας,  
ἣ μεταξὺ κεῖται τοῦ Πάδου καὶ τῶν Ἀλπεινῶν  
5 ὄρων, ἐπολιόρκουν ταύτην. οἱ δ' Ἰνσομβρες, βοη-  
θεῖν μὲν οὐ δυνάμενοι, διὰ τὸ προκαταληφθῆναι  
τοὺς εὐφυεῖς τόπους, σπεύδοντες δὲ λῦσαι τὴν  
πολιορκίαν τῶν Ἀχερρῶν, μέρος τι τῆς δυνάμεως  
διαβιβάσαντες τὸν Πάδον εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἀνάρων χῶ-  
ραν ἐπολιόρκουν τὸ προσαγορευόμενον Κλαστίδιον.  
6 προσπεσόντος δὲ τοῦ συμβαίνοντος τοῖς στρατηγοῖς,  
ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς ἵππεῖς Μάρκος Κλαύδιος καὶ τινὰς  
τῶν πεζικῶν ἠπείγετο, σπεύδων βοηθῆσαι τοῖς πο-  
7 λιορκουμένοις. οἱ δὲ Κελτοί, πυθόμενοι τὴν παρ-  
ουσίαν τῶν ὑπεναντίων, λύσαντες τὴν πολιορκίαν  
8 ὑπήντων καὶ παρετάξαντο. τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων αὐ-  
τοῖς τοῖς ἵππεῦσιν ἐξ ἐφόδου τολμηρῶς σφίσι προσ-  
πεσόντων, τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ἀντεῖχον· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα  
περισταμένων καὶ κατὰ νώτου καὶ κατὰ κέρασ,  
δυσχρηστούμενοι τῇ μάχῃ, τέλος ἐτράπησαν ὑπ'



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9 αὐτῶν τῶν ἰππέων. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν εἰς τὸν ποτα-  
 μὸν ἐμπεσόντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ρεύματος διεφθάρησαν, οἱ  
 10 δὲ πλείους ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κατεκόπησαν. ἔλα-  
 βον δὲ καὶ τὰς Ἀχέρρας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι σίτου γεμού-  
 σας, ἐκχωρησάντων εἰς τὸ Μεδιόλανον τῶν Γαλα-  
 τῶν, ὅσπερ ἐστὶ κυριώτατος τόπος τῆς τῶν Ἰνσόμ-  
 11 βρων χώρας. οἷς ἐκ ποδὸς ἐπακολουθήσαντος τοῦ  
 Γναΐου, καὶ προσβαλόντος ἄφνω πρὸς τὸ Μεδιό-  
 12 λανον, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡσυχίαν ἔσχον· ἀπολυομένου  
 δ' αὐτοῦ πάλιν εἰς τὰς Ἀχέρρας, ἐπεξελθόντες καὶ  
 τῆς οὐραγίας ἀψάμενοι θρασέως πολλοὺς μὲν νε-  
 κροὺς ἐποίησαν, μέρος δέ τι καὶ φυγεῖν αὐτῶν  
 13 ἠνάγκασαν, ἕως ὃ Γνάιος ἀνακαλεσάμενος τοὺς ἐκ  
 τῆς πρωτοπορείας παρώρμησε στήναι καὶ συμβαλεῖν  
 14 τοῖς πολεμίοις. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαῖοι, πειθαρχήσαν-  
 τες τῷ στρατηγῷ, διεμάχοντο πρὸς τοὺς ἐπικειμέ-  
 15 νους εὐρώστως. οἱ δὲ Κελτοί, διὰ τὸ παρὸν εὐτύ-  
 χημα μέιναντες ἐπὶ ποσὸν εὐθαρσῶς, μετ' οὐ πολὺ  
 τραπέντες ἔφευγον εἰς τὰς παρωρείας. ὃ δὲ Γνάιος  
 ἐπακολουθήσας τὴν τε χώραν ἐπόρθει καὶ τὸ Με-  
 35 διόλανον εἶλε κατὰ κράτος. οὐ συμβαίνοντος οἱ  
 προεστῶτες τῶν Ἰνσόμβρων, ἀπογνόντες τὰς τῆς  
 σωτηρίας ἐλπίδας, πάντα τὰ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἐπέτρεψαν  
 τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις.

2 Ὁ μὲν οὖν πρὸς τοὺς Κελτοὺς πόλεμος τοιοῦτον  
 ἔσχε τὸ τέλος, κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἀπόνοιαν καὶ τόλμαν  
 τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἀνδρῶν, ἔτι δὲ κατὰ τὰς μάχας  
 καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς ἀπολλυμένων καὶ  
 παραταπτομένων, οὐδενὸς καταδεέστερος τῶν ἱστο-  
 3 ρημένων, κατὰ δὲ τὰς ἐπιβολὰς καὶ τὴν ἀκρισίαν  
 τοῦ κατὰ μέρος χειρισμοῦ τελέως εὐκαταφρόνητος,  
 διὰ τὸ μὴ τὸ πλεῖον, ἀλλὰ συλλήβδην ἅπαν τὸ γινό-

many of them throwing themselves into the river and being swept away by the current, while the larger number were cut to pieces by the enemy. The Romans now took Acerrae, which was well stocked with corn, the Gauls retiring to Mediolanum, the chief place in the territory of the Insubres. Gnaeus followed close on their heels, and suddenly appeared before Mediolanum. The Gauls at first did not stir, but, when he was on his way back to Acerrae, they sallied out, and made a bold attack on his rear, in which they killed a considerable number of the Romans and even forced a portion of them to take to flight, until Gnaeus, calling back the forces in advance, urged the fugitives to rally and withstand the enemy. After this the Romans, on their part obeying their Consul, continued to fight vigorously with their assailants, and the Celts after holding their ground for a time, encouraged as they were by their momentary success, were shortly put to flight and took refuge on the mountains. Gnaeus, following them, laid waste the country and took Mediolanum itself by assault, (35) upon which the chieftains of the Insubres, despairing of safety, put themselves entirely at the mercy of the Romans.

Such was the end of the war against the Celts, a war which, if we look to the desperation and daring of the combatants and the numbers who took part and perished in the battles, is second to no war in history, but is quite contemptible as regards the plan of the campaigns, and the judgement shown in executing it, not most steps but

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

μενον ὑπὸ τῶν Γαλατῶν θυμῷ μᾶλλον ἢ λογισμῷ  
 4 βραβεύεσθαι. περὶ ὧν ἡμεῖς συνθεωρήσαντες μετ'  
 ὀλίγον χρόνον αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸν Πάδον πε-  
 δίων ἐξωσθέντας, πλὴν ὀλίγων τόπων τῶν ὑπ' αὐ-  
 τὰς τὰς Ἄλπεις κειμένων, οὐκ ὤήθημεν δεῖν οὔτε  
 τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔφοδον αὐτῶν ἀμνημόνευτον παραλι-  
 5 πεῖν οὔτε τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα πράξεις οὔτε τὴν τελευ-  
 ταίαν ἐξανάστασιν, ὑπολαμβάνοντες οἰκεῖον ἱστορίας  
 ὑπάρχειν τὰ τοιαῦτ' ἐπεισόδια τῆς τύχης εἰς μνή-  
 6 μην ἄγειν καὶ παράδοσιν τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις, ἵνα μὴ  
 τελέως οἱ μεθ' ἡμᾶς ἀνευνόητοι τούτων ὑπάρχοντες  
 ἐκπλήττωνται τὰς αἰφνιδίους καὶ παραλόγους τῶν  
 βαρβάρων ἐφόδους, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ποσὸν ἐν νῷ λαμβά-  
 νοντες ὡς ὀλιγοχρόνιον ἐστὶ καὶ λίαν εὐφθαρτον  
 <τὸ τοιοῦτον>, τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν ὑπομένωσι καὶ  
 πάσας ἐξελέγχωσι τὰς σφετέρας ἐλπίδας πρότερον  
 7 ἢ παραχωρήσαί τινος τῶν ἀναγκαίων. καὶ γὰρ τοὺς  
 τὴν Περσῶν ἔφοδον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ Γαλατῶν  
 ἐπὶ Δελφοὺς εἰς μνήμην καὶ παράδοσιν ἡμῖν ἀγαγόν-  
 τας οὐ μικρά, μεγάλα δ' οἶομαι συμβεβλήσθαι πρὸς  
 8 τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας ἀγῶ-  
 νας. οὔτε γὰρ χορηγιῶν οὔθ' ὄπλων οὔτ' ἀνδρῶν  
 πλῆθος καταπλαγεῖς ἂν τις ἀποσταίη τῆς τελευταίας  
 ἐλπίδος, τοῦ διαγωνίζεσθαι περὶ τῆς σφετέρας χώρας  
 καὶ πατρίδος, λαμβάνων πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τὸ παρά-  
 δοξον τῶν τότε γενομένων, καὶ μνημονεύσας ὅσας  
 μυριάδας καὶ τίνας τόλμας καὶ πηλίκας παρασκευὰς  
 ἢ τῶν σὺν νῷ καὶ μετὰ λογισμοῦ κινδυνευόντων  
 9 αἴρεσις καὶ δύναμις καθεῖλεν. ὁ δ' ἀπὸ Γαλατῶν  
 φόβος οὐ μόνον τὸ παλαιόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς  
 10 ἤδη πλεονάκῃς ἐξέπληξε τοὺς Ἕλληνας. διὸ καὶ



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μᾶλλον ἔγωγε παρωρμήθην ἐπὶ τὸ κεφαλαιώδη μὲν, ἀνέκαθεν δὲ ποιήσασθαι τὴν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐξήγησιν.

36 Ἀσδρούβας δ' ὁ τῶν Καρχηδονίων στρατηγός, ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων παρεξέβημεν τῆς ἐξηγήσεως, ἔτη χειρίσας ὀκτὼ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, ἐτελεύτησε δολοφονηθεὶς ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καταλύμασι νυκτὸς ὑπὸ τινος Κελτοῦ τὸ γένος ἰδίων ἔνεκεν ἀδικημάτων, 2 οὐ μικράν, ἀλλὰ μεγάλην ποιήσας ἐπίδοσιν τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις πράγμασιν, οὐχ οὕτω διὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἔργων ὡς διὰ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς δυνάστας ὀμιλίας. 3 τὴν δὲ στρατηγίαν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν Ἀννίβα περιέθεσαν, ὄντι νέω, διὰ τὴν ὑποφαινομένην ἐκ τῶν πράξεων ἀγχίνοϊαν αὐτοῦ καὶ 4 τόλμαν. ὃς παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθέως δῆλος ἦν ἐκ τῶν ἐπινοημάτων πόλεμον ἐξοίσων Ῥωμαίοις. ὃ δὴ καὶ τέλος ἐποίησε πάνυ βραχὺν ἐπισχῶν χρό- 5 νον. τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ Καρχηδονίους καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἀπὸ τούτων ἤδη τῶν καιρῶν ἐν ὑποψίαις ἦν πρὸς 6 ἀλλήλους καὶ παρατριβαῖς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπεβούλευον, ἀμύνασθαι σπεύδοντες διὰ τὰς περὶ Σικελίαν ἐλαττώσεις, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι διηπίστουν, θεωροῦντες αὐ- 7 τῶν τὰς ἐπιβολάς. ἐξ ὧν δῆλον ἦν τοῖς ὀρθῶς σκοπομένοις ὅτι μέλλουσι πολεμεῖν ἀλλήλοις οὐ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον.

37 Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις συνίσταντο τὸν πρὸς Αἰτωλοὺς πόλεμον τὸν προσαγο- 2 ρευθέντα συμμαχικόν. ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπειδὴ τὰς τε περὶ Σικελίαν καὶ Λιβύην καὶ τὰς ἐξῆς πράξεις διεξιόντες κατὰ τὸ συνεχές τῆς προκατασκευῆς ἤκομεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ τε συμμαχικοῦ καὶ τοῦ δευτέρου συστάντος μὲν Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις πολέμου,

was my motive for giving here an account of these events, summary indeed, but going back to the beginnings.

36. This digression has led us away from the <sup>221</sup> affairs of Spain, where Hasdrubal, after governing the country for eight years, was assassinated at night in his lodging by a certain Celt owing to wrongs of a private nature. He had largely increased the power of Carthage, not so much by military action as by friendly intercourse with the chiefs. The Carthaginians appointed Hannibal to the chief command in Spain, although he was still young, owing to the shrewdness and courage he had evinced in their service. From the moment that he assumed the command, it was evident from the measures he took that he intended to make war on Rome, as indeed he finished by doing, and that very shortly. The relations between Carthage and Rome were henceforth characterized by mutual suspicion and friction. The Carthaginians continued to form designs against Rome as they were eager to be revenged for their reverses in Sicily, while the Romans, detecting their projects, mistrusted them profoundly. It was therefore evident to all competent judges that it would not be long before war broke out between them.

37. It was about this same time that the Achaeans <sup>220</sup> and King Philip with their allies began the war against the Aetolians known as the Social War. I have now given a continuous sketch, suitable to this preliminary plan of my book, of events in Sicily, Libya and so forth down to the beginning of the Social War and that second war between the Romans and Carthaginians



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

προσαγορευθέντος δὲ παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις Ἀννιβια-  
κού, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρόθεσιν ἀπὸ τούτων  
τῶν καιρῶν ἐπηγγειλάμεθα ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν  
3 τῆς ἑαυτῶν συντάξεως, πρέπον ἂν εἴη τούτων ἀφ-  
εμένους ἐπὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα μεταβαίνειν πρά-  
ξεις, ἵνα πανταχόθεν ὁμοίαν ποιησάμενοι τὴν προ-  
κατασκευὴν καὶ τὴν ἔφοδον ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς και-  
ροὺς οὕτως ἤδη [τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ] τῆς ἀποδεικτικῆς  
4 ἱστορίας ἀρχώμεθα. ἐπεὶ γὰρ οὐ τινὰς πράξεις,  
καθάπερ οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν, οἷον τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς ἢ Περ-  
σικὰς, ὁμοῦ δὲ τὰς ἐν τοῖς γνωριζομένοις μέρεσι  
τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀναγράφειν ἐπικεχειρήκαμεν, διὰ τὸ  
πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἰδιὸν τι συμ-  
βεβληῆσθαι τοὺς καθ' ἡμᾶς καιροὺς, ὑπὲρ ὧν σα-  
5 φέστερον ἐν ἑτέροις δηλώσομεν, δέον ἂν εἴη καὶ  
πρὸ τῆς κατασκευῆς ἐπὶ βραχὺ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων  
καὶ γνωριζομένων ἔθνων καὶ τόπων ἐφάψασθαι τῆς  
6 οἰκουμένης. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ  
τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀρκούντως ἂν ἔχοι ποιεῖ-  
σθαι τὴν ἀνάμνησιν ἀπὸ τῶν νῦν ῥηθέντων και-  
ρῶν, διὰ τὸ τὴν μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν προγεγονότων παρ'  
αὐτοῖς ἱστορίαν ὑπὸ πλειόνων ἐκδεδῶσθαι καὶ γνώ-  
ριμον ὑπάρχειν ἅπασιν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς και-  
ροῖς μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐξηλλαγμένον ἀπηντῆσθαι μηδὲ  
παράλογον ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης, ὥστε προσδεῖσθαι τῆς  
7 τῶν προγεγονότων ὑπομνήσεως. περὶ δὲ τοῦ τῶν  
Ἀχαιῶν ἔθνους καὶ περὶ τῆς Μακεδόνων οἰκίας  
ἀρμόσει διὰ βραχέων ἀναδραμεῖν τοῖς χρόνοις,  
8 ἐπειδὴ περὶ μὲν ταύτην ὀλοσχερῆς ἐπαναίρεσις, περὶ  
δὲ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, καθάπερ ἐπάνω προεῖπον, παρά-  
δοξος αὔξησις καὶ συμφρόνησις ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς  
9 καιροῖς γέγονε. πολλῶν γὰρ ἐπιβαλομένων ἐν τοῖς



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παρεληλυθόσι χρόνοις ἐπὶ ταῦτόν συμφέρον ἀγαγεῖν  
 Πελοποννησίους, οὐδενὸς δὲ καθικέσθαι δυναθέν-  
 τος, διὰ τὸ μὴ τῆς κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας ἕνεκεν, ἀλλὰ  
 τῆς σφετέρας δυναστείας χάριν ἐκάστους ποιεῖσθαι  
 10 τὴν σπουδὴν, τοιαύτην καὶ τηλικαύτην ἐν τοῖς καθ'  
 ἡμᾶς καιροῖς ἔσχε προκοπὴν καὶ συντέλειαν τοῦτο  
 τὸ μέρος ὥστε μὴ μόνον συμμαχικὴν καὶ φιλικὴν  
 κοινωνίαν γεγονέναι πραγμάτων περὶ αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ νόμοις χρῆσθαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς καὶ σταθμοῖς καὶ  
 μέτροις καὶ νομίσμασι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἄρχουσι,  
 11 βουλευταῖς, δικασταῖς τοῖς αὐτοῖς, καθόλου δὲ τού-  
 τῳ μόνῳ διαλλάττειν τοῦ μὴ μιᾶς πόλεως διάθεσιν  
 ἔχειν σχεδὸν τὴν σύμπασαν Πελοπόννησον τῷ μὴ  
 τὸν αὐτὸν περίβολον ὑπάρχειν τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν  
 αὐτήν, τᾶλλα δ' εἶναι καὶ κοινῇ καὶ κατὰ πόλεις  
 ἐκάστοις ταῦτά καὶ παραπλήσια.

38 Πρῶτον δὲ πῶς ἐπεκράτησε καὶ τίνι τρόπῳ τὸ  
 τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ὄνομα κατὰ πάντων Πελοποννησίων  
 2 οὐκ ἄχρηστον μαθεῖν. οὔτε γὰρ χώρας καὶ πόλεων  
 πλήθει διαφέρουσιν οἱ πάτριον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔχοντες τὴν  
 προσηγορίαν ταύτην οὔτε πλούτοις οὔτε ταῖς τῶν  
 3 ἀνδρῶν ἀρεταῖς. τό τε γὰρ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἔθνος,  
 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν Λακόνων, πλήθει μὲν ἀνδρῶν  
 καὶ χώρας οὐδὲ παρὰ μικρὸν ὑπερέχει· καὶ μὴν  
 οὐδὲ τῶν τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας πρωτείων οὐδενὶ τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων οἰοί τ' εἶσιν οὐδέποτε παραχωρεῖν οἱ  
 4 προειρημένοι. πῶς οὖν καὶ διὰ τί νῦν εὐδοκοῦσιν  
 οὔτοί τε καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος τῶν Πελοποννησίων,  
 ἅμα τὴν πολιτείαν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν  
 5 μετειληφότες; δῆλον ὡς τύχην μὲν λέγειν οὐδαμῶς  
 ἂν εἴη πρέπον· φαῦλον γάρ· αἰτίαν δὲ μᾶλλον  
 ζητεῖν. χωρὶς γὰρ ταύτης οὔτε τῶν κατὰ λόγον

have attempted in the past to induce the Peloponnesians to adopt a common policy, no one ever succeeding, as each was working not in the cause of general liberty, but for his own aggrandizement, this object has been so much advanced, and so nearly attained, in my own time that not only have they formed an allied and friendly community, but they have the same laws, weights, measures and coinage, as well as the same magistrates, senate, and courts of justice, and the whole Peloponnesus only falls short of being a single city in the fact of its inhabitants not being enclosed by one wall, all other things being, both as regards the whole and as regards each separate town, very nearly identical.

38. In the first place it is of some service to learn how and by what means all the Peloponnesians came to be called Achaeans. For the people whose original and ancestral name this was are distinguished neither by the extent of their territory, nor by the number of their cities, nor by exceptional wealth or the exceptional valour of their citizens. Both the Arcadian and Laconian nations far exceed them, indeed, in population and the size of their countries, and certainly neither of the two could ever bring themselves to yield to any Greek people the palm for military valour. How is it, then, that both these two peoples and the rest of the Peloponnesians have consented to change not only their political institutions for those of the Achaeans, but even their name? It is evident that we should not say it is the result of chance, for that is a poor explanation. We must rather seek for a cause, for every event whether probable or improbable must

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

οὔτε τῶν παρὰ λόγον εἶναι δοκούντων οὐδὲν οἶόν  
 τε συντελεσθῆναι. ἔστι δ' οὖν, ὡς ἐμὴ δόξα, τοι-  
 6 αὐτή τις. ἰσηγορίας καὶ παρρησίας καὶ καθόλου  
 δημοκρατίας ἀληθινῆς σύστημα καὶ προαίρεσιν εἰλι-  
 κρινεστέραν οὐκ ἂν εὔροι τις τῆς παρὰ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς  
 7 ὑπαρχούσης. αὕτη τινὰς μὲν ἐθελοντὴν αἵρετιστάς  
 εὔρε Πελοποννησίων, πολλοὺς δὲ πειθοῖ καὶ λόγῳ  
 προσηγάγετο· τινὰς δὲ βιασαμένη σὺν καιρῷ παρα-  
 χρῆμα πάλιν εὐδοκεῖν ἐποίησεν αὐτῇ τοὺς ἀναγκα-  
 8 σθέντας. οὐδενὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν ὑπολειπομένη πλεον-  
 ἔκτημα τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἴσα δὲ πάντα ποιούσα τοῖς ἀεὶ  
 προσλαμβανομένοις, ταχέως καθικνεῖτο τῆς προκει-  
 μένης ἐπιβολῆς, δύο συνεργοῖς χρωμένη τοῖς ἰσχυ-  
 9 ροτάτοις, ἰσότητι καὶ φιλανθρωπία. διὸ ταύτην  
 ἀρχηγὸν καὶ αἰτίαν ἠγητέον τοῦ συμφρονήσαντας  
 Πελοποννησίουσ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτοῖς εὐδαιμονίαν  
 καταστήσασθαι.

10 Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς προαιρέσεως καὶ τὸ τῆς πο-  
 λιτείας ἰδίωμα τὸ νῦν εἰρημένον καὶ πρότερον  
 11 ὑπῆρχε παρὰ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς. δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο καὶ δι'  
 ἑτέρων μὲν πλειόνων, πρὸς δὲ τὸ παρὸν ἀρκέσει  
 πίστεως χάριν ἐν ἧ καὶ δεύτερον ληφθὲν μαρτύριον.

39 καθ' οὓς γὰρ καιροὺς ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν  
 τόποις κατὰ τὴν Μεγάλην Ἑλλάδα τότε προσαγο-  
 ρευομένην ἐνεπρήσθη τὰ συνέδρια τῶν Πυθαγορείων,  
 2 μετὰ ταῦτα γενομένου κινήματος ὀλοσχεροῦς περὶ  
 τὰς πολιτείας, ὅπερ εἰκός, ὡς ἂν τῶν πρώτων  
 ἀνδρῶν ἐξ ἑκάστης πόλεως οὕτω παραλόγως δια-  
 3 φθαρέντων, συνέβη τὰς κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς τόπους  
 Ἑλληνικὰς πόλεις ἀναπλησθῆναι φόνου καὶ στάσεως  
 4 καὶ παντοδαπῆς ταραχῆς. ἐν οἷς καιροῖς ἀπὸ τῶν  
 πλείστων μερῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος πρεσβευόντων ἐπὶ



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τὰς διαλύσεις, Ἀχαιοῖς καὶ τῇ τούτων πίστει συνεχρήσαντο πρὸς τὴν τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἔξ-  
 5 αγωγὴν. οὐ μόνον δὲ κατὰ τούτους τοὺς καιροὺς ἀπεδέξαντο τὴν αἴρεσιν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ  
 τινὰς χρόνους ὀλοσχερῶς ὤρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸ μιμηταὶ  
 6 γενέσθαι τῆς πολιτείας αὐτῶν. παρακαλέσαντες γὰρ σφᾶς καὶ συμφρονήσαντες Κροτωνιάται, Συβαρίται, Καυλωνιάται, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπέδειξαν Διὸς Ἀμαρίου κοινὸν ἱερὸν καὶ τόπον, ἐν ᾧ τὰς τε συνόδους καὶ τὰ διαβούλια συνετέλουν, δεύτερον τοὺς ἔθισμοὺς καὶ νόμους ἐκλαβόντες τοὺς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπέβαλοντο χρῆσθαι καὶ διοικεῖν κατὰ τούτους τὴν  
 7 πολιτείαν. ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς Διονυσίου Συρακοσίου δυναστείας, ἔτι δὲ τῆς τῶν περιοικούντων βαρβάρων ἐπικρατείας ἐμποδισθέντες, οὐχ ἔκουσίως, ἀλλὰ κατ'  
 8 ἀνάγκην αὐτῶν ἀπέστησαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν παραδόξως πταισάντων περὶ τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχην, Θηβαίων δ' ἀνελπίστως ἀντιποιησαμένων τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίας, ἣν ἀκρισία περὶ πάντα μὲν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, μάλιστα δὲ περὶ τοὺς προειρημένους, ὡς ἂν τῶν μὲν μὴ συγχωρούντων ἠττηῆσθαι, τῶν δὲ μὴ πιστευόντων ὅτι νενικήκασιν.  
 9 οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ γε περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων ἐπέτρεψαν Θηβαῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μόνοις τῶν Ἑλλή-  
 10 νων Ἀχαιοῖς, οὐ πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν ἀποβλέψαντες· σχεδὸν γὰρ ἐλαχίστην τότε δὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἶχον· τὸ δὲ πλεῖον εἰς τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὴν ὄλην καλοκάγαθίαν. ὁμολογουμένως γὰρ δὴ τότε ταύτην περὶ αὐτῶν πάντες εἶχον τὴν δόξαν.

makers, but it was the Achaeans on whom these cities placed most reliance and to whom they committed the task of putting an end to their present troubles. And it was not only at this period that they showed their approval of Achaean political principles; but a short time afterwards, they resolved to model their own constitution exactly on that of the League. The Crotonians, Sybarites and Caulonians, having called a conference and formed a league, first of all established a common temple and holy place of Zeus Amarius<sup>a</sup> in which to hold their meetings and debates, and next, adopting the customs and laws of the Achaeans, decided to conduct their government according to them. It was only indeed the tyranny of Dionysius of Syracuse and their subjection to the barbarian tribes around them which defeated this purpose and forced them to abandon these institutions, much against their will. Again, subsequently, when the Lacedaemonians<sup>371</sup> were unexpectedly defeated at Leuctra, and the Thebans, as unexpectedly, claimed the hegemony of Greece, great uncertainty prevailed in the whole country and especially among these two peoples, the Lacedaemonians not acknowledging their defeat, and the Thebans not wholly believing in their victory. They, however, referred the points in dispute to the Achaeans alone among all the Greeks, not taking their power into consideration, for they were then almost the weakest state in Greece, but in view of their trustworthiness and high character in every respect. For indeed this opinion of them was at that time, as is generally acknowledged, held by all.

<sup>a</sup> Such as the Achaean League had.



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

**11** Τότε μὲν οὖν ψιλῶς αὐτὰ τὰ κατὰ τὴν προ-  
 αίρεσιν ὑπῆρχε παρ' αὐτοῖς· ἀποτέλεσμα δ' ἢ  
 πράξις ἀξιόλογος πρὸς αὐξήσιν τῶν ἰδίων ἀνήκουσα  
**12** πραγμάτων οὐκ ἐγένετο, τῷ μὴ δύνασθαι φῦναι  
 προστάτην ἄξιον τῆς προαιρέσεως, αἰεὶ δὲ τὸν ὑπο-  
 δείξαντα ποτὲ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων ἀρχῆς  
 ἐπισκοτεῖσθαι καὶ κωλύεσθαι, ποτὲ δὲ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ  
**40** τῆς Μακεδόνων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ποτε σὺν καιρῷ προστά-  
 τας ἀξιόχρεως εὔρε, ταχέως τὴν αὐτῆς δύναμιν  
 ἐποίησε φανεράν, ἐπιτελεσαμένη τὸ κάλλιστον ἔρ-  
**2** γον, τὴν Πελοποννησίων ὁμόνοιαν. ἥς ἀρχηγὸν  
 μὲν καὶ καθηγεμόνα τῆς ὅλης ἐπιβολῆς Ἄρατον  
 νομιστέον τὸν Σικυώνιον, ἀγωνιστὴν δὲ καὶ τελεσι-  
 ουργὸν τῆς πράξεως Φιλοποίμενα τὸν Μεγαλοπολί-  
 την, βεβαιωτὴν δὲ τοῦ μόνιμον αὐτὴν ἐπὶ ποσὸν  
 γενέσθαι Λυκόρταν καὶ τοὺς ταῦτά τούτῳ προελομέ-  
**3** νους ἄνδρας. τίνα δ' ἦν ἐκάστοις τὰ πραχθέντα καὶ  
 πῶς καὶ κατὰ ποίους καιροὺς πειρασόμεθα δηλοῦν,  
 αἰεὶ κατὰ τὸ πρέπον τῇ γραφῇ ποιούμενοι τὴν  
**4** ἐπίστασιν. τῶν μέντοι γ' Ἄρατῳ διωκημένων καὶ  
 νῦν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν ἐπικεφαλαιούμενοι μνη-  
 σθησόμεθα διὰ τὸ καὶ λίαν ἀληθινοὺς καὶ σαφεῖς  
 ἐκεῖνον περὶ τῶν ἰδίων συντεταχέναι πράξεων ὑπο-  
**5** μνηματισμούς, τῶν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀκριβεστέραν καὶ  
 μετὰ διαστολῆς ποιησόμεθα τὴν ἐξήγησιν. ὑπολαμ-  
 βάνω δὲ ῥάστην ἐμοί τ' ἂν γενέσθαι τὴν διήγησιν  
 καὶ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν εὐπαρακολούθητον τὴν μά-  
 θησιν, εἰ ποιησαίμεθα τὴν ἐπίστασιν ἀπὸ τούτων  
 τῶν καιρῶν, ἐν οἷς κατὰ πόλιν διαλυθέντος τοῦ  
 τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἔθνους ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ Μακεδονίας βασι-  
 λέων ἀρχὴ πάλιν ἐγένετο καὶ σύννευσις τῶν πόλεων  
**6** πρὸς ἀλλήλας. ἀφ' ἧς αὐξανόμενον κατὰ τὸ συν-



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εχὲς τὸ ἔθνος εἰς ταύτην ἦλθε τὴν συντέλειαν, ἐν ἣ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἦν, ὑπὲρ ἧς κατὰ μέρος ἀρτίως εἶπον.

41 Ὀλυμπιάς μὲν ἦν εἰκοστὴ καὶ τετάρτη πρὸς ταῖς  
 2 ἑκατόν, ὅτε Πατρεῖς ἤρξαντο συμφρονεῖν καὶ Δυ-  
 3 μαῖοι, καιροὶ δὲ καθ' οὓς Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου καὶ  
 4 Λυσίμαχος, ἔτι δὲ Σέλευκος καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Κε-  
 5 ραυνὸς μετήλλαξαν τὸν βίον. πάντες γὰρ οὗτοι  
 6 περὶ τὴν προειρημένην Ὀλυμπιάδα τὸ ζῆν ἐξέλιπον.  
 7 τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἀνώτερον τούτων χρόνους τοιαύτη  
 8 τις ἦν ἡ περὶ τὸ προειρημένον ἔθνος διάθεσις. ἀπὸ  
 9 γὰρ Τισαμενοῦ βασιλευθέντες, ὅς ἦν Ὀρέστου μὲν  
 10 υἱός, κατὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν κάθοδον ἐκπε-  
 11 σῶν τῆς Σπάρτης κατέσχε τοὺς περὶ Ἀχαΐαν τόπους,  
 12 ἀπὸ τούτου κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς καὶ κατὰ τὸ γένος ἕως  
 13 Ὀγύγου βασιλευθέντες, μετὰ ταῦτα δυσαρεστήσαν-  
 14 τες τοῖς τοῦ προειρημένου παισὶν ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ νομί-  
 15 μως, ἀλλὰ δεσποτικῶς αὐτῶν ἄρχειν, μετέστησαν εἰς  
 16 δημοκρατίαν τὴν πολιτείαν. λοιπὸν ἤδη τοὺς ἐξῆς  
 17 χρόνους μέχρι τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Φιλίππου δυνα-  
 18 στείας ἄλλοτε μὲν ἄλλως ἐχώρει τὰ πράγματα αὐτοῖς  
 19 κατὰ τὰς περιστάσεις, τό γε μὴν κοινὸν πολίτευμα,  
 20 καθάπερ εἰρήκαμεν, ἐν δημοκρατία συνέχειν ἐπει-  
 21 ρῶντο. τοῦτο δ' ἦν ἐκ δώδεκα πόλεων, ἃς ἔτι καὶ  
 22 νῦν συμβαίνει διαμένειν, πλὴν Ὀλένου καὶ Ἐλίκης  
 23 τῆς πρὸ τῶν Λευκτρικῶν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάττης κατ-  
 24 αποθείσης· αὗται δ' εἰσὶ Πάτραι, Δύμη, Φαραί,  
 25 Τριταία, Λεόντιον, Αἴγιον, Αἴγαιρα, Πελλήνη,  
 26 Βοῦρα, Καρύνεια. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς ὑστέρους μὲν τῶν  
 27 κατ' Ἀλέξανδρον καιρῶν, προτέρους δὲ τῆς ἄρτι  
 28 ῥηθείσης Ὀλυμπιάδος, εἰς τοιαύτην διαφορὰν καὶ  
 29 καχεξίαν ἐνέπεσον, καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τῶν ἐκ Μακε-

it reached in my own time the state of completion I have just been describing.

41. It was in the 124th Olympiad that Patrae and Dyme took the initiative, by entering into a league, just about the date of the deaths of Ptolemy son of Lagus, Lysimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy Ceraunus, which all occurred in this Olympiad. The condition of the Achaean nation before this date had been more or less as follows. Their first king was Tisamenus the son of Orestes, who, when expelled from Sparta on the return of the Heraclidae, occupied Achaëa, and they continued to be ruled by kings of his house down to Ogygus. Being dissatisfied with the rule of Ogygus' sons, which was despotical and not constitutional, they changed their government to a democracy. After this, down to the reigns of Alexander and Philip, their fortunes varied according to circumstances, but they always endeavoured, as I said, to keep their League a democracy. This consisted of twelve cities, which still all exist with the exception of Olenus and of Helice which was engulfed by the sea a little before the battle of Leuctra. These cities are Patrae, Dyme, Pharae, Tritaea, Leontium, Aegium, Aegira, Pellene, Bura, and Caryneia. After the time of Alexander and previous to the above Olympiad they fell, chiefly thanks to the kings of Macedon, into such a state

284.  
B.C.

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

δονίας βασιλέων, ἐν ἣ συνέβη πάσας τὰς πόλεις  
 χωρισθείσας ἀφ' αὐτῶν ἐναντίως τὸ συμφέρον  
 10 ἄγειν ἀλλήλαις. ἐξ οὗ συνέπεσε τὰς μὲν ἐμφρού-  
 ρους αὐτῶν γενέσθαι διὰ τε Δημητρίου καὶ Κασσάν-  
 δρου, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα δι' Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ Γονατᾶ,  
 τὰς δὲ καὶ τυραννεῖσθαι· πλείστους γὰρ δὴ μονάρ-  
 11 χους οὗτος ἐμφυτεῦσαι δοκεῖ τοῖς Ἕλλησι. περὶ  
 δὲ τὴν εἰκοστὴν καὶ τετάρτην Ὀλυμπιάδα πρὸς ταῖς  
 ἑκατόν, καθάπερ ἐπάνω προεῖπον, αὖθις ἤρξαντο  
 μετανοήσαντες συμφρονεῖν. ταῦτα δ' ἦν κατὰ τὴν  
 12 Πύρρου διάβασιν εἰς Ἰταλίαν. καὶ πρῶτοι μὲν  
 συνέστησαν Δυμαῖοι, Πατρεῖς, Τριταιεῖς, Φαραιεῖς·  
 διόπερ οὐδὲ στήλην ὑπάρχειν συμβαίνει τῶν πόλεων  
 13 τούτων περὶ τῆς συμπολιτείας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα  
 μάλιστα πῶς ἔτει πέμπτῳ τὴν φρουρὰν ἐκβαλόντες  
 Αἰγίεις μετέσχον τῆς συμπολιτείας· ἐξῆς δὲ τούτοις  
 14 Βούριοι, τὸν τύραννον ἀποκτείναντες. ἅμα δὲ τού-  
 τοις Καρυνεῖς ἀποκατέστησαν. συνιδῶν γὰρ Ἰσέας  
 ὁ τῆς Καρυνείας τότε τυρανεύων ἐκπεπτωκυῖαν  
 μὲν ἐξ Αἰγίου τὴν φρουρὰν, ἀπολωλότα δὲ τὸν ἐν  
 τῇ Βούρα μοναρχον διὰ Μάργου καὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν,  
 ἑαυτὸν δὲ πανταχόθεν ὄρων ὅσον οὐκ ἤδη πολε-  
 15 μηθησόμενον, ἀποθέμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ λαβὼν  
 τὰ πιστὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀσφαλείας  
 προσέθηκε τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν σύ-  
 στημα.

42 Τίνος οὖν χάριν ἐπὶ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους ἀν-  
 ἔδραμον; ἵνα πρῶτον μὲν γένηται συμφανὲς πῶς  
 καὶ κατὰ ποίους καιροὺς καὶ τίνες πρῶτοι τῶν ἐξ  
 ἀρχῆς Ἀχαιῶν αὖθις ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ἐπιβολὴν τῆς  
 2 νῦν συστάσεως, δεύτερον δ' ἵνα καὶ τὰ τῆς προαι-  
 ρέσεως μὴ μόνον διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀποφάσεως, ἀλλὰ



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καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων πίστεως τυγχάνη,  
**3** διότι μία τις αἰεὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν αἵρεσις ὑπῆρχε, καθ'  
 ἣν προτείνοντες μὲν τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἰσηγορίαν καὶ  
 παρρησίαν, πολεμοῦντες δὲ καὶ καταγωνιζόμενοι  
 συνεχῶς τοὺς ἢ δι' αὐτῶν ἢ διὰ τῶν βασιλέων τὰς  
 σφετέρας πατρίδας καταδουλουμένους, τούτῳ τῷ  
 τρόπῳ καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ προθέσει τοῦτο τοῦργον ἐπ-  
 ετέλεσαν, τὰ μὲν δι' αὐτῶν, τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν συμ-  
**4** μάχων. καὶ γὰρ τὰ δι' ἐκείνων συνεργήματα γεγο-  
 νότα πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς χρόνοις ἐπὶ  
**5** τὴν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν προαίρεσιν ἀνοιστέον. πολλοῖς  
 γὰρ κοινωνήσαντες πραγμάτων, πλείστων δὲ καὶ  
 καλλίστων Ῥωμαίοις, οὐδέποτε τὸ παράπαν ἐπεθύ-  
 μησαν ἐκ τῶν κατορθωμάτων οὐδενὸς ἰδία λυσιτε-  
**6** λοῦς, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ πάσης τῆς ἑαυτῶν φιλοτιμίας, ἣν  
 παρείχοντο τοῖς συμμάχοις, ἀντικατηλλάττοντο τὴν  
 ἑκάστων ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν κοινὴν ὁμόνοιαν Πελο-  
**7** ποννησίων. σαφέστερον δ' ὑπὲρ τούτων ἔσται δια-  
 λαμβάνειν ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν περὶ τὰς πράξεις ἐνεργη-  
 μάτων.

**43** Εἴκοσι μὲν οὖν ἔτη τὰ πρῶτα καὶ πέντε συν-  
 επολιτεύσαντο μεθ' ἑαυτῶν αἱ προειρημέναι πόλεις,  
 γραμματέα κοινὸν ἐκ περιόδου προχειριζόμεναι καὶ  
**2** δύο στρατηγούς. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν ἔδοξεν αὐ-  
 τοῖς ἓνα καθιστάνειν καὶ τούτῳ πιστεύειν ὑπὲρ τῶν  
 ὄλων. καὶ πρῶτος ἔτυχε τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης Μάργος  
**3** ὁ Καρυνεύς. τετάρτῳ δ' ὕστερον ἔτει τοῦ προει-  
 ρημένου στρατηγοῦντος Ἄρατος ὁ Σικυώνιος, ἔτη  
 μὲν ἔχων εἴκοσι, τυραννουμένην δ' ἐλευθέρωσας  
 τὴν πατρίδα διὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τόλμης,  
 προσένειμε πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πολιτείαν, ἀρχῆ-  
 θεν εὐθὺς ἐραστής γενόμενος τῆς προαιρέσεως

be confirmed by the actual evidence of facts. What I asserted was that the Achaeans always followed one single policy, ever attracting others by the offer of their own equality and liberty and ever making war on and crushing those who either themselves or through the kings attempted to enslave their native cities, and that, in this manner and pursuing this purpose, they accomplished their task in part unaided and in part with the help of allies. For the Achaean political principle must be credited also with the results furthering their end, to which their allies in subsequent years contributed. Though they took so much part in the enterprises of others, and especially in many of those of the Romans which resulted brilliantly, they never showed the least desire to gain any private profit from their success, but demanded, in exchange for the zealous aid they rendered their allies, nothing beyond the liberty of all states and the union of the Peloponnesians. This will be more clearly evident when we come to see the League in active operation.

43. For twenty-five years, then, this league of cities continued, electing for a certain period a Secretary of state and two Strategi. After this they decided to elect one Strategus and entrust him with the general direction of their affairs, the first to be nominated to this honourable office being Margus of Caryneia. Four years later during Margus' <sup>255</sup> term of office, Aratus of Sicyon, though only twenty <sup>251</sup> years of age, freed his city from its tyrant by his enterprise and courage, and, having always been a passionate admirer of the Achaean polity, made his <sup>243</sup> own city a member of the League. Eight years



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

4 αὐτῶν. ὀγδόω δὲ πάλιν ἔτει στρατηγὸς αἰρεθεὶς  
 τὸ δεύτερον, καὶ πραξικοπήσας τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον,  
 Ἀντιγόνου κυριεύοντος, καὶ γενόμενος ἐγκρατής,  
 μεγάλου μὲν ἀπέλυσε φόβου τοὺς τὴν Πελοπόννη-  
 5 σον κατοικοῦντας, ἐλευθρώσας δὲ Κορινθίους προσ-  
 ηγάγετο πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πολιτείαν. ἐπὶ δὲ  
 τῆς αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τὴν τῶν Μεγαρέων πόλιν δια-  
 6 πραξάμενος προσένειμε τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς. ταῦτά τ' ἐγί-  
 νετο τῷ πρότερον ἔτει τῆς Καρχηδονίων ἥττης, ἐν ἣ  
 καθόλου Σικελίας ἐκχωρήσαντες πρῶτον ὑπέμειναν  
 7 τότε φόρους ἐνεγκεῖν Ῥωμαίοις. μεγάλην δὲ προ-  
 κοπὴν ποιήσας τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, λοι-  
 πὸν ἤδη διετελεῖ προστατῶν μὲν τοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν  
 ἔθνους, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἐπιβολὰς καὶ πράξεις πρὸς  
 8 ἐν τέλος ἀναφέρων· τοῦτο δ' ἦν τὸ Μακεδόνας μὲν  
 ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, τὰς δὲ μοναρχίας κατα-  
 λῦσαι, βεβαιῶσαι δ' ἐκάστοις τὴν κοινὴν καὶ πά-  
 9 τριον ἐλευθερίαν. μέχρι μὲν οὖν ἦν Ἀντίγονος ὁ Γο-  
 νατᾶς, πρὸς τε τὴν ἐκείνου πολυπραγμοσύνην καὶ  
 πρὸς τὴν Αἰτωλῶν πλεονεξίαν ἀντιταπτόμενος δι-  
 10 ετέλει, πραγματικῶς ἕκαστα χειρίζων, καίπερ εἰς  
 τοῦτο προβάντων ἀμφοτέρων ἀδικίας καὶ τόλμης  
 ὥστε ποιήσασθαι συνθήκας πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπὲρ  
 44 διαιρέσεως τοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἔθνους. Ἀντιγόνου  
 δὲ μεταλλάξαντος, καὶ συνθεμένων τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ  
 συμμαχίαν πρὸς Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ μετασχόντων εὐ-  
 γενῶς σφίσι τοῦ πρὸς Δημήτριον πολέμου, τὰ μὲν  
 τῆς ἀλλοτριότητος καὶ δυσμενεῖας ἦρθη κατὰ τὸ  
 παρόν, ὑπεγέμετο δὲ κοινωνικὴ καὶ φιλική τις αὐ-  
 2 τοῖς διάθεσις. Δημητρίου δὲ βασιλεύσαντος δέκα  
 μόνον ἔτη, καὶ μεταλλάξαντος τὸν βίον περὶ τὴν  
 πρώτην διάβασιν εἰς τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα Ῥωμαίων, ἐγέ-



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νετό τις εὔροια πραγμάτων πρὸς τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπι-  
 3 βολὴν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν. οἱ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ  
 μόναρχοι, δυσελπιστήσαντες ἐπὶ τῷ μετηλλαχέναι  
 μὲν τὸν Δημήτριον, ὃς ἦν αὐτοῖς οἶον ἰ χορηγὸς  
 καὶ μισθοδότης, ἐπικεῖσθαι δὲ τὸν Ἄρατον, οἰό-  
 μενον δεῖν σφᾶς ἀποτίθεσθαι τὰς τυραννίδας, καὶ  
 τοῖς μὲν πεισθεῖσι μεγάλας δωρεὰς καὶ τιμὰς προ-  
 τείνοντος, τοῖς δὲ μὴ προσέχουσιν ἔτι μείζους ἐπ-  
 ανατεινομένου φόβους καὶ κινδύνους διὰ τῶν  
 4 Ἀχαιῶν, ὤρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸ πεισθέντες ἀποθέσθαι μὲν  
 τὰς τυραννίδας, ἐλευθερῶσαι δὲ τὰς ἑαυτῶν πατρί-  
 5 δας, μετασχεῖν δὲ τῆς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πολιτείας.  
 Λυδιάδας μὲν οὖν ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης ἔτι ζῶντος  
 Δημητρίου, κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ προαίρεσιν, πάνυ πραγ-  
 ματικῶς καὶ φρονίμως προῖδόμενος τὸ μέλλον,  
 ἀπετέθειτο τὴν τυραννίδα, καὶ μετεσχῆκει τῆς  
 6 ἔθνικῆς συμπολιτείας. Ἀριστόμαχος δ' ὁ τῶν  
 Ἀργείων τύραννος καὶ Ξένων ὁ τῶν Ἐρμιονέων καὶ  
 Κλεώνυμος ὁ τῶν Φλιασίων τότε ἀποθέμενοι τὰς  
 μοναρχίας ἐκοινώνησαν τῆς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν δημο-  
 κρατίας.

45 Ὀλοσχερεστέρας δὲ γενομένης αὐξήσεως διὰ  
 ταῦτα καὶ προκοπῆς περὶ τὸ ἔθνος, Αἰτωλοὶ διὰ τὴν  
 ἔμφυτον ἀδικίαν καὶ πλεονεξίαν φθονήσαντες, τὸ  
 δὲ πλεῖον ἐλπίσαντες καταδιελέσθαι τὰς πόλεις,  
 καθάπερ καὶ πρότερον τὰς μὲν Ἀκαρνάνων διενεί-  
 μαντο πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, τὰς δὲ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπ-  
 2 εβάλλοντο πρὸς Ἀντίγονον τὸν Γονατᾶν, καὶ τότε  
 παραπλησίαις ἐλπίσιν ἐπαρθέντες, ἀπετόλμησαν  
 Ἀντιγόνῳ τε τῷ κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς καιροὺς προ-  
 εστῶτι Μακεδόνων, ἐπιτροπεύοντι δὲ Φιλίππου παι-  
 δὸς ὄντος, καὶ Κλεομένει τῷ βασιλεῖ Λακεδαιμονίων

events seemed to flow for a time in favour of the Achaeans' constant purpose; for the Peloponnesian tyrants were much cast down by the death of Demetrius, who had been, so to speak, their furnisher and paymaster, and equally so by the threatening attitude of Aratus, who demanded that they should depose themselves, offering abundance of gifts and honours to those who consented to do so, and menacing those who turned a deaf ear to him with still more abundant chastisement on the part of the Achaeans. They therefore hurried to accede to his demand, laying down their tyrannies, setting their respective cities free, and joining the Achaean League. Lydiades of Megalopolis had even foreseen what was likely to happen, and with great wisdom and good sense had forestalled the death of Demetrius and of his own free will laid down his tyranny and adhered to the national government. Afterwards Aristomachus, tyrant of Argos, Xenon, tyrant of Hermione, and Cleonymus, tyrant of Phlius, also resigned and joined the democratic Achaean League.

45. The League being thus materially increased in extent and power, the Aetolians, owing to that unprincipled passion for aggrandizement which is natural to them, either out of envy or rather in the hope of partitioning the cities, as they had partitioned those of Acarnania with Alexander and had previously proposed to do regarding Achaëa with Antigonus Gonatas, went so far as to join hands with Antigonus Doseon, then regent of Macedonia and guardian to Philip,

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

κοινωνεῖν, καὶ συμπλέκειν ἀμφοτέροις ἅμα τὰς χεῖ-  
 3 ρας. ὄρωντες γὰρ τὸν Ἀντίγονον, κυριεύοντα μὲν  
 τῶν κατὰ Μακεδονίαν ἀσφαλῶς, ὁμολογούμενον  
 δὲ καὶ πρόδηλον ἐχθρὸν ὄντα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν διὰ τὸ  
 τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον πραξικοπήσαντας καταλαβεῖν.  
 4 ὑπέλαβον, εἰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους προσλαβόντες ἔτι  
 κοινωνοὺς σφίσι τῆς ἐπιβολῆς προεμβιβάσαιεν εἰς  
 τὴν πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος ἀπέχθειαν, ῥαδίως ἂν καταγω-  
 νίσασθαι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐν καιρῷ συνεπιθέμενοι καὶ  
 5 πανταχόθεν περιστήσαντες αὐτοῖς τὸν πόλεμον. ὃ  
 δὴ καὶ ταχέως ἂν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ λόγον ἐπετέλεσαν,  
 εἰ μὴ τὸ κυριώτατον παρείδον τῆς προθέσεως, οὐ  
 συλλογισάμενοι διότι ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς Ἄρατον ἔξου-  
 σιν ἀνταγωνιστήν, ἄνδρα δυνάμενον πάσης εὐστο-  
 6 χεῖν περιστάσεως. τοιγαροῦν ὀρμήσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ  
 πολυπραγμονεῖν καὶ χειρῶν ἄρχειν ἀδίκων οὐχ οἷον  
 ἦνυσάν τι τῶν ἐπινοηθέντων, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον καὶ τὸν  
 Ἄρατον τότε προεστῶτα καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ἐσωματοποίη-  
 σαν, πραγματικῶς ἀντιπερισπάσαντος ἐκείνου καὶ  
 7 λυμηναμένου τὰς ἐπιβολὰς αὐτῶν. ὡς δ' ἐχειρίσθη  
 τὰ ὅλα δῆλον ἔσται διὰ τῶν λέγεσθαι μελλόντων.

46 Θεωρῶν γὰρ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ὁ προειρημένος  
 ἀνὴρ τὸν μὲν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς αἰσχυνομέ-  
 νους ἀναλαβεῖν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ διὰ τὸ καὶ λίαν  
 εἶναι προσφάτους τὰς ἐκ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν εὐεργεσίας  
 2 περὶ τὸν Δημητριάκον πόλεμον εἰς αὐτούς, συμβου-  
 λευομένους δὲ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ φθονοῦν-  
 τας τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὥστε Κλεομένους  
 πεπραξικοπηκότος αὐτοὺς καὶ παρηρημένου Τεγέαν,  
 Μαντίνεια, Ὀρχομενόν, τὰς Αἰτωλοῖς οὐ μόνον  
 συμμαχίδας ὑπαρχούσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμπολιτευο-  
 μένας τότε πόλεις, οὐχ οἷον ἀγανακτοῦντας ἐπὶ



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## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

3 τούτοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ βεβαιούοντας αὐτῷ τὴν παράληψιν,  
 καὶ τοὺς πρότερον κατὰ τῶν μηδὲν ἀδικούντων  
 πᾶσαν ἱκανὴν ποιουμένους πρόφασιν εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν  
 διὰ τὴν πλεονεξίαν τότε συνορῶν ἐκουσίως παρα-  
 σπονδουμένους καὶ τὰς μεγίστας ἀπολλύντας πόλεις  
 ἐθελοντὴν ἐφ' ᾧ μόνον ἰδεῖν ἀξιοῦσθαι γεγόμενον  
 4 ἀνταγωνιστὴν Κλεομένη τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, ἔγνω δεῖν  
 εἰς ταῦτα βλέπων οὗτός τε καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως οἱ  
 προεστῶτες τοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πολιτεύματος πολέμου  
 μὲν πρὸς μηδένα κατάρχειν, ἐνίστασθαι δὲ ταῖς τῶν  
 5 Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπιβολαῖς. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἐπὶ  
 τούτων ἦσαν τῶν διαλήψεων· θεωροῦντες δὲ κατὰ  
 τοὺς ἐξῆς χρόνους τὸν Κλεομένη θρασέως ἐποικο-  
 δομοῦντα μὲν τὸ καλούμενον Ἀθήναιον ἐν τῇ τῶν  
 Μεγαλοπολιτῶν χώρα, πρόδηλον δὲ καὶ πικρὸν ἀνα-  
 6 δεικνύντα σφίσι πολέμιον ἑαυτόν, τότε δὴ συνα-  
 θροίσαντες τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἔκριναν μετὰ τῆς βουλῆς  
 ἀναλαμβάνειν φανερώς τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμο-  
 νίους ἀπέχθειαν.

7 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Κλεομενικὸς προσαγορευθεὶς πόλε-  
 μος τοιαύτην ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ κατὰ τούτους  
 47 τοὺς καιροὺς. οἱ δ' Ἀχαιοὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διὰ τῆς  
 ἰδίας δυνάμεως ὤρμησαν ἀντοφθαλμεῖν τοῖς Λακε-  
 δαιμονίοις, ἅμα μὲν ὑπολαμβάνοντες κάλλιστον εἶ-  
 ναι τὸ μὴ δι' ἐτέρων σφίσι πορίζεσθαι τὴν σωτη-  
 ρίαν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς δι' αὐτῶν σώζειν τὰς πόλεις καὶ  
 2 τὴν χώραν, ἅμα δὲ βουλόμενοι καὶ τὴν πρὸς Πτο-  
 λεμαῖον τηρεῖν φιλίαν διὰ τὰς προγεγενημένας εὐ-  
 εργεσίας καὶ μὴ φαίνεσθαι πρὸς ἑτέρους ἐκτείνον-  
 3 τες τὰς χεῖρας, ἤδη δ' ἐπὶ ποσὸν τοῦ πολέμου  
 προβαίνοντος, καὶ τοῦ Κλεομένου τό τε πατριον  
 πολίτευμα καταλύσαντος καὶ τὴν ἔννομον βασιλείαν

actually set their seal to his occupation. He saw too that they, who on previous occasions, owing to their lust of aggrandizement, found any pretext adequate for making war on those who had done them no wrong, now allowed themselves to be treacherously attacked and to suffer the loss of some of their largest cities simply in order to see Cleomenes become a really formidable antagonist of the Achaeans. Aratus, therefore, and all the leading men of the Achaean League decided not to take the initiative in going to war with anyone, but to resist Spartan aggression. This at least was their first resolve; but when shortly afterwards Cleomenes boldly began to fortify against them the so-called Athenaeum in the territory of Megalopolis, and to show himself their avowed and bitter enemy, they called the Council of the League together and decided on open war with Sparta.

This was the date at which the war known as <sup>227</sup> the Cleomenic war began; and such was its origin. 47. The Achaeans at first decided to face the Lacedaemonians single-handed, considering it in the first place most honourable not to owe their safety to others but to protect their cities and country unaided, and also desiring to maintain their friendship with Ptolemy owing to the obligations they were under to him, and not to appear to him to be seeking aid elsewhere. But when the war had lasted for some time, and Cleomenes, having overthrown the ancient polity at Sparta and changed the constitutional <sup>225</sup>



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

εἰς τυραννίδα μεταστήσαντος, χρωμένου δὲ καὶ τῷ  
 4 πολέμῳ πρακτικῶς καὶ παραβόλως, προορώμενος  
 Ἄρατος τὸ μέλλον, καὶ δεδιὼς τὴν τε τῶν Αἰτω-  
 λῶν ἀπόνοιαν καὶ τόλμαν, ἔκρινε πρὸ πολλοῦ λυ-  
 5 μαίνεσθαι τὴν ἐπιβολὴν αὐτῶν. κατανοῶν δὲ τὸν  
 Ἄντίγονον καὶ πράξιν ἔχοντα καὶ σύνεσιν καὶ πί-  
 στεως ἀντιποιούμενον, τοὺς δὲ βασιλεῖς σαφῶς  
 εἰδὼς φύσει μὲν οὐδένα νομίζοντας οὔτε φίλιον  
 οὔτε πολέμιον, ταῖς δὲ τοῦ συμφέροντος ψήφοις  
 αἰεὶ μετροῦντας τὰς ἔχθρας καὶ τὰς φιλίας,  
 6 ἐπεβάλετο λαλεῖν πρὸς τὸν εἰρημένον βασιλέα καὶ  
 συμπλέκειν τὰς χεῖρας, ὑποδεικνύων αὐτῷ τὸ συμ-  
 7 βησόμενον ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων. προδήλως μὲν οὖν  
 αὐτὸ πράττειν ἀσύμφορον ἤγειτο διὰ πλείους αἰτίας.  
 τὸν τε γὰρ Κλεομένη καὶ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἀνταγωνι-  
 8 στὰς παρασκευάζειν ἤμελλε πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβολὴν, τοὺς  
 τε πολλοὺς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν διατρέψειν, καταφεύγων  
 ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ δοκῶν ὀλοσχερῶς ἀπεγνωκέσαι  
 τὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐλπίδας· ὅπερ ἤκιστα φαίνεσθαι πράτ-  
 9 των ἐβούλετο. διόπερ ἔχων τοιαύτην πρόθεσιν ἀδή-  
 10 λως αὐτὰ διανοεῖτο χειρίζειν. ἐξ οὗ πολλά παρὰ  
 τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην ἤναγκάζετο καὶ λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν  
 πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτός, δι' ὧν ἤμελλε τὴν ἐναντίαν ἔμ-  
 φασιν ὑποδεικνύων ταύτην ἐπικρύψεσθαι τὴν οἰ-  
 11 κονομίαν. ὧν χάριν ἕνια τούτων οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς ὑπο-  
 μνήμασι κατέταξεν.

48 Εἰδὼς δὲ τοὺς Μεγαλοπολίτας κακοπαθοῦντας  
 μὲν τῷ πολέμῳ διὰ τὸ παρακειμένους τῇ Λακεδαί-  
 μονι προπολεμεῖν τῶν ἄλλων, οὐ τυγχάνοντας δὲ



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τῆς καθηκούσης ἐπικουρίας ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν διὰ τὸ  
 κάκεινους δυσχρηστεῖσθαι θλιβομένους ὑπὸ τῆς  
 2 περιστάσεως, σαφῶς δὲ γινώσκων οἰκείως διακει-  
 μένους αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν Μακεδόνων οἰκίαν ἐκ τῶν  
 3 κατὰ τὸν Ἀμύντου Φίλιππον εὐεργεσιῶν, διειλήφει  
 διότι ταχέως ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλεομένου πιεζόμενοι  
 καταφύγοιεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον καὶ τὰς Μακεδόνων  
 4 ἐλπίδας· κοινολογηθεὶς οὖν δι' ἀπορρήτων περὶ τῆς  
 ὄλης ἐπιβολῆς Νικοφάνει καὶ Κερκιδᾷ τοῖς Μεγα-  
 λοπολίταις, οἵτινες ἦσαν αὐτοῦ πατρικοὶ ξένοι καὶ  
 5 πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβολὴν εὐφυεῖς, ῥαδίως διὰ τούτων  
 ὄρμην παρέστησε τοῖς Μεγαλοπολίταις εἰς τὸ πρεσ-  
 βεύειν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ παρακαλεῖν πρὸς  
 6 τὸν Ἀντίγονον ὑπὲρ βοηθείας. οἱ μὲν οὖν Μεγαλο-  
 πολῖται κατέστησαν αὐτοὺς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Νικο-  
 φάνη καὶ τὸν Κερκιδᾶν πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς τε τοὺς  
 Ἀχαιοὺς κάκειῖθεν εὐθέως πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίγονον, ἂν  
 7 αὐτοῖς συγκατάθῃται τὸ ἔθνος. οἱ δ' Ἀχαιοὶ συν-  
 8 εχώρησαν πρεσβεύειν τοῖς Μεγαλοπολίταις. σπουδῆ  
 δὲ συμμίζαντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Νικοφάνη τῷ βασιλεῖ  
 διελέγοντο περὶ μὲν τῆς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδος αὐτὰ  
 τὰναγκαῖα διὰ βραχέων καὶ κεφαλαιωδῶς, τὰ δὲ  
 49 πολλὰ περὶ τῶν ὄλων κατὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς τὰς Ἀράτου  
 καὶ τὰς ὑποθέσεις. αὐταὶ δ' ἦσαν ὑποδεικνύναι  
 τὴν Αἰτωλῶν καὶ Κλεομένου κοινοπραγίαν τί δύνα-  
 ται καὶ ποῖ τείνει, καὶ δηλοῦν ὅτι πρώτοις μὲν  
 2 αὐτοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς εὐλαβητέον, ἐξῆς δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον  
 Ἀντιγόνῳ. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὡς Ἀχαιοὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀμ-  
 φοῖν πόλεμον οὐκ ἂν ὑπενέγκαιεν εὐθεώρητον εἶναι  
 πᾶσι, τοῦτο δ' ὡς Αἰτωλοὶ καὶ Κλεομένης κρατήσαν-  
 τες τούτων οὐκ εὐδοκήσουσιν οὐδὲ μὴ μείνωσιν ἐπὶ  
 τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἔτι τοῦ πρόσθεν ῥᾶον εἶναι τῷ

assistance from the Achaeans, as the latter were themselves in difficulties and distress. As he also knew for a surety that they were well disposed to the royal house of Macedon ever since the favours received in the time of Philip, son of Amyntas, he felt sure that, hard pressed as they were by Cleomenes, they would be very ready to take refuge in Antigonus and hopes of safety from Macedonia. He therefore communicated his project confidentially to Nicophanes and Cercidas of Megalopolis who were family friends of his own and well suited for the business, and he had no difficulty through them in inciting the Megalopolitans to send an embassy to the Achaeans begging them to appeal to Antigonus for help. Nicophanes and Cercidas themselves were appointed envoys by the Megalopolitans, in the first place to the Achaeans and next, if the League consented, with orders to proceed at once to Antigonus. The Achaeans agreed to allow the Megalopolitans to send an embassy ; and with the other ambassadors hastened to meet the king. They said no more than was strictly necessary on the subject of their own city, treating this matter briefly and summarily, but dwelt at length on the general situation, in the sense that Aratus had directed and prompted. 49. He had charged them to point out the importance and the probable consequences of the common action of the Aetolians and Cleomenes, representing that in the first place the Achaeans were imperilled by it and next and in a larger measure Antigonus himself. For it was perfectly evident to all that the Achaeans could not hold out against both adversaries, and it was still more easy for any person of intelligence to see that, if the Aetolians and Cleomenes were successful, they

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

3 νοῦν ἔχοντι συνιδεῖν. τὴν τε γὰρ Αἰτωλῶν πλεον-  
 εξίαν οὐχ οἶον τοῖς Πελοποννησίων ὄροις εὐ-  
 δοκῆσαί ποτ' ἂν περιληφθεῖσαν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῖς τῆς  
 4 Ἑλλάδος, τὴν τε Κλεομένους φιλοδοξίαν καὶ τὴν  
 ὄλην ἐπιβολὴν κατὰ μὲν τὸ παρὸν αὐτῆς ἐφίεσθαι  
 τῆς Πελοποννησίων ἀρχῆς, τυχόντα δὲ ταύτης τὸν  
 προειρημένον κατὰ πόδας ἀνθέξασθαι τῆς τῶν Ἑλλή-  
 5 νων ἡγεμονίας. ἧς οὐχ οἶόν τε καθικέσθαι μὴ οὐ  
 6 πρόσθεν καταλύσαντα τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχήν. σκο-  
 πεῖν οὖν αὐτὸν ἡξίου, προορώμενον τὸ μέλλον,  
 πότερον συμφέρει τοῖς σφετέροις πράγμασι μετ'  
 Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Βοιωτῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πρὸς Κλεο-  
 μένη πολεμεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίας ἢ  
 προέμενον τὸ μέγιστον ἔθνος διακινδυνεύειν ἐν Θετ-  
 ταλία πρὸς Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ Βοιωτούς, ἔτι δ' Ἀχαιοὺς  
 καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους, ὑπὲρ τῆς Μακεδόνων ἀρχῆς.  
 7 ἂν μὲν οὖν Αἰτωλοὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς  
 γεγεννημένην εὐνοίαν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Δημήτριον καιροῖς  
 ἐντρεπόμενοι τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν ὑποκρίνονται, καθά-  
 περ καὶ νῦν, πολεμήσειν αὐτοὺς ἔφασαν τοὺς Ἀχαι-  
 οὺς πρὸς τὸν Κλεομένη· κἂν μὲν ἢ τύχη συνεπι-  
 λαμβάνηται, μὴ δεῖσθαι χρείας τῶν βοηθησόντων·  
 8 ἂν δ' ἀντιπίπτῃ τὰ τῆς τύχης, Αἰτωλοὶ δὲ συνεπι-  
 τίθωνται, προσέχειν αὐτὸν παρεκάλουν τοῖς πράγ-  
 μασι, ἵνα μὴ πρόηται τοὺς καιροὺς, ἔτι δὲ δυνα-  
 9 μένοις σώζεσθαι Πελοποννησίοις ἐπαρκέσῃ· περὶ δὲ  
 πίστεως καὶ χάριτος ἀποδόσεως ῥαθυμεῖν αὐτὸν  
 ᾤοντο δεῖν· τῆς γὰρ χρείας ἐπιτελουμένης αὐτὸν  
 εὐρήσειν τὸν Ἄρατον εὐδοκουμένας ἀμφοτέροις  
 10 ὑπισχνοῦντο πίστεις. ὁμοίως δ' ἔφασαν καὶ τὸν  
 καιρὸν τῆς βοηθείας αὐτὸν ὑποδείξειν.



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**50** Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀντίγονος ἀκούσας ταῦτα, καὶ δό-  
 ξας ἀληθινῶς καὶ πραγματικῶς ὑποδεικνύναι τὸν  
 Ἄρατον, προσεῖχε τοῖς ἐξῆς πραττομένοις ἐπιμελῶς.  
**2** ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ τοῖς Μεγαλοπολίταις, ἐπαγγελλόμε-  
 νος βοηθήσειν, ἐὰν καὶ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς τοῦτο βουλο-  
**3** μένοις ᾗ. τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Νικοφάνη καὶ Κερκι-  
 δᾶν ἐπανελθόντων εἰς οἶκον, καὶ τὰς τε παρὰ τοῦ  
 βασιλέως ἐπιστολὰς ἀποδόντων καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν εὐ-  
**4** νοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ προθυμίαν διασαφούντων, μετεω-  
 ρισθέντες οἱ Μεγαλοπολίται προθύμως ἔσχον ἵεναί  
 πρὸς τὴν σύνοδον τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἐπι-  
 σπάσασθαι τὸν Ἀντίγονον καὶ τὰ πράγματα κατὰ  
**5** σπουδὴν ἐγχειρίζειν αὐτῷ. ὁ δ' Ἄρατος, διακούσας  
 κατ' ἰδίαν τῶν περὶ τὸν Νικοφάνη τὴν τοῦ βασι-  
 λέως αἴρεσιν, ἣν ἔχοι πρὸς τε τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ  
 πρὸς αὐτόν, περιχαρὴς ἦν τῷ μὴ διακενῆς πεποιῆ-  
 σθαι τὴν ἐπίνοιαν μηδ' εὐρῆσθαι κατὰ τὴν τῶν Αἰ-  
 τωλῶν ἐλπίδα τὸν Ἀντίγονον εἰς τέλος ἀπηλλοτριω-  
**6** μένον ἑαυτοῦ. πάνυ δὲ πρὸς λόγον ἠγεῖτο γίνεσθαι  
 καὶ τὸ τοὺς Μεγαλοπολίτας προθύμους εἶναι διὰ  
 τῶν Ἀχαιῶν φέρειν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον τὰ πράγματα.  
**7** μάλιστα μὲν γάρ, ὡς ἐπάνω προεῖπον, ἔσπευδε μὴ  
 προσδεηθῆναι τῆς βοηθείας· εἰ δ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐπὶ  
 τοῦτο δέοι καταφεύγειν, οὐ μόνον ἠβούλετο δι' αὐ-  
 τοῦ γενέσθαι τὴν κλῆσιν, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐξ ἀπάν-  
**8** των τῶν Ἀχαιῶν. ἠγωνία γάρ, εἰ παραγενόμενος  
 ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ κρατήσας τῷ πολέμῳ τοῦ Κλεομέ-  
 νους καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀλλοιότερόν τι βου-  
 λεύσοιτο περὶ τῆς κοινῆς πολιτείας, μήποθ' ὁμο-  
 λογουμένως τῶν συμβαινόντων αὐτὸς ἀναλάβῃ τὴν  
**9** αἰτίαν, δόξαντος δικαίως τοῦτο πράττειν διὰ τὴν ἐξ  
 αὐτοῦ προγεγεννημένην ἀδικίαν περὶ τὸν Ἀκροκό-

50. Antigonus, having listened to them, felt convinced that Aratus took a true and practical view of the situation, and carefully considered the next steps to be taken, promising the Megalopolitans by letter to come to their assistance if such was the wish of the Achaeans too. Upon Nicophanes and Cercidas returning home and delivering the king's letter, assuring at the same time their people of his goodwill towards them and readiness to be of service, the Megalopolitans were much elated and most ready to go to the Council of the League and beg them to invite the aid of Antigonus and at once put the direction of affairs in his hands. Aratus had private information from Nicophanes of the king's favourable inclination towards the League and himself, and was much gratified to find that his project had not been futile, and that he had not, as the Aetolians had hoped, found Antigonus entirely alienated from him. He considered it a great advantage that the Megalopolitans had readily consented to approach Antigonus through the Achaeans; for, as I said above, what he chiefly desired was not to be in need of asking for help also, but if it became necessary to resort to this, he wished the appeal to come not only from himself personally, but from the League as a whole. For he was afraid that if the king appeared on the scene and, after conquering Cleomenes and the Lacedaemonians, took any measures the reverse of welcome regarding the League, he himself would be universally blamed for what happened, as the king would seem to have justice on his side owing to Aratus' offence against the house of Macedon in



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

**10** ρινθον εἰς τὴν Μακεδόνων οἰκίαν. διόπερ ἅμα τῷ  
 παρελθόντας τοὺς Μεγαλοπολίτας εἰς τὸ κοινὸν βου-  
 λευτήριον τά τε γράμματα τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐπιδεικνύ-  
 ναι καὶ διασαφεῖν τὴν ὄλην εὐνοίαν τοῦ βασιλέως,  
**11** πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀξιούν ἐπισπάσασθαι τὸν Ἀντί-  
 γονον τὴν ταχίστην, εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τῆς  
 αὐτῆς ὀρμῆς, προελθὼν Ἄρατος, καὶ τὴν τε τοῦ  
 βασιλέως προθυμίαν ἀποδεξάμενος καὶ τὴν τῶν πολ-  
 λῶν διάληψιν ἐπαινέσας, παρεκάλει διὰ πλειόνων  
 μάλιστα μὲν πειρᾶσθαι δι' αὐτῶν σώζειν καὶ τὰς  
 πόλεις καὶ τὴν χώραν· οὐδὲν γὰρ εἶναι τούτου κάλ-  
 lion οὐδὲ συμφωρώτερον· εἰ δ' ἄρα πρὸς τοῦτο  
 τὸ μέρος ἀντιβαίνῃ τὰ τῆς τύχης, πρότερον ἔφη  
 δεῖν ἐξελέγξαντας πάσας τὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐλπίδας τότε  
**51** καταφεύγειν ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν φίλων βοθηείας. ἐπισημη-  
 ναμένου δὲ τοῦ πλήθους, ἔδοξε μένειν ἐπὶ τῶν  
 ὑποκειμένων καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἐπιτελεῖν τὸν ἐνεστῶτα  
**2** πόλεμον. ἐπεὶ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ἀπογνοὺς μὲν τὸ  
 ἔθνος Κλεομένει χορηγεῖν ἐπεβάλετο, βουλόμενος  
 αὐτὸν ἐπαλείφειν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον διὰ τὸ πλείους  
 ἐλπίδας ἔχειν ἐν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἢ περ ἐν τοῖς  
 Ἀχαιοῖς τοῦ δύνασθαι διακατέχειν τὰς τῶν ἐν Μακε-  
**3** δονία βασιλέων ἐπιβολάς, οἱ δ' Ἀχαιοὶ τὸ μὲν  
 πρῶτον ἠλαττώθησαν περὶ τὸ Λύκαιον, συμπλα-  
 κέντες κατὰ πορείαν τῷ Κλεομένει, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον  
 ἐκ παρατάξεως ἠττήθησαν ἐν τοῖς Λαδοκείοις καλου-  
 μένοις τῆς Μεγαλοπολίτιδος, ὅτε, καὶ Λυδιάδας  
 ἔπεσε, τὸ δὲ τρίτον ὀλοσχερῶς ἐπταισαν ἐν τῇ  
 Δυμαίᾳ περὶ τὸ καλούμενον Ἐκατόμβαιον, παν-  
**4** δημεὶ διακινδυνεύοντες, τότε ἤδη τῶν πραγμάτων  
 οὐκέτι διδόντων ἀναστροφὴν ἠνάγκαζε τὰ περι-



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εστῶτα καταφεύγειν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄντιγονον.  
 5 ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ πρεσβευτὴν τὸν υἱὸν ἕξαποστείλας  
 Ἄρατος πρὸς Ἄντιγονον ἐβεβαιώσατο τὰ περὶ τῆς  
 6 βοηθείας. παρείχε δ' αὐτοῖς ἀπορίαν καὶ δυσχρη-  
 στίαν μεγίστην τὸ μήτε τὸν βασιλέα δοκεῖν ἂν  
 βοηθῆσαι χωρὶς τοῦ κομίσασθαι τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον  
 καὶ λαβεῖν ὄρμητήριον πρὸς τὸν ἐνεστῶτα πόλεμον  
 τὴν τῶν Κορινθίων πόλιν, μήτε τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἂν  
 τολμῆσαι Κορινθίους ἄκοντας ἐγχειρίσαι Μακεδόσι.  
 7 διὸ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ὑπέρθεσιν ἔσχε τὸ διαβούλιον  
 χάριν τῆς περὶ τῶν πίστεων ἐπισκέψεως.

52 Ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης, καταπληξάμενος τοῖς προειρη-  
 μένοις εὐτυχήμασι, λοιπὸν ἀδεῶς ἐπεπορεύετο τὰς  
 πόλεις, ἃς μὲν πείθων, αἷς δὲ τὸν φόβον ἀνατεινό-  
 2 μενος. προσλαβὼν δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ Καφύας,  
 Πελλήνην, Φενεόν, Ἄργος, Φλιοῦντα, Κλεωνάς,  
 Ἐπίδαυρον, Ἐρμιόνα, Τροίζηνα, τελευταῖον Κό-  
 ρινθον, αὐτὸς μὲν προσεστρατοπέδευσε τῇ τῶν  
 Σικυωνίων πόλει, τοὺς δ' Ἀχαιοὺς ἀπέλυσε τοῦ  
 3 μεγίστου προβλήματος. τῶν γὰρ Κορινθίων τῷ  
 μὲν Ἄράτῳ στρατηγοῦντι καὶ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς  
 παραγγειλάντων ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀπαλλάττεσθαι,  
 πρὸς δὲ τὸν Κλεομένην διαπεμπομένων καὶ καλούν-  
 των, παρεδόθη τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἀφορμὴ καὶ πρόφασις  
 4 εὐλογος. ἧς ἐπιλαβόμενος Ἄρατος καὶ προτείνας  
 Ἀντιγόνῳ τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον, κατεχόντων Ἀχαιῶν  
 τότε τὸν τόπον τοῦτον, ἔλυσε μὲν τὸ γεγονὸς  
 ἔγκλημα πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν, ἱκανὴν δὲ πίστιν παρ-  
 ἔσχετο τῆς πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα κοινωνίας, τὸ δὲ  
 συνέχον, ὄρμητήριον παρεσκεύασεν Ἀντιγόνῳ πρὸς  
 τὸν κατὰ Λακεδαιμονίων πόλεμον.

5 Ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης, ἐπιγνοὺς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς συν-

## BOOK II. 51. 4 – 52. 5

appeal with one voice to Antigonus. Aratus on this occasion sent his son as envoy to the king and ratified the terms of the alliance. They were, however, in considerable doubt and difficulty about the Acrocorinthus, as they did not think Antigonus would come to their assistance unless it were restored to him, so that he could use Corinth as a base for the present war, nor could they go to the length of handing over the Corinthians against their will to Macedon. This even caused at first an adjournment of the Council for the consideration of the guarantees they offered.

52. Cleomenes, having inspired terror by the victories I mentioned, henceforth made an unimpeded progress through the cities, gaining some by persuasion and others by threats. He annexed in this manner Caphyae, Pellene, Pheneus, Argos, Phlius, Cleonae, Epidaurus, Hermione, Troezen, and finally Corinth. He now sat down in front of Sicyon, but he had solved the chief difficulty of the Achaeans; for the Corinthians by ordering Aratus, who was then Strategus, and the Achaeans to quit Corinth, and by sending to invite Cleomenes, furnished the Achaeans with good and reasonable ground for offering to Antigonus the Acrocorinthus then held by them. Availing himself of this, Aratus not only atoned for his former offence to the royal house, but gave sufficient guarantee of future loyalty, further providing Antigonus with a base for the war against the Lacedaemonians.

Cleomenes, when he became aware of the under-

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

τιθεμένους τὰ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίγονον, ἀναζεύξας ἀπὸ τοῦ Σικυῶνος, κατεστρατοπέδευσε περὶ τὸν Ἴσθμόν, διαλαβὼν χάρακι καὶ τάφρῳ τὸν μεταξὺ τόπον τοῦ τ' Ἀκροκορίνθου καὶ τῶν Ὀνείων καλουμένων ὄρων, πᾶσαν ἤδη βεβαίως περιειληφῶς ταῖς ἐλπίσι τὴν  
**6** Πελοποννησίων ἀρχήν. Ἀντίγονος δὲ πάλαι μὲν ἦν ἐν παρασκευῇ, καταδοκῶν τὸ μέλλον κατὰ τὰς  
**7** ὑποθέσεις τὰς Ἀράτου· τότε δὲ συλλογιζόμενος ἐκ τῶν προσπιπτόντων ὅσον οὕτω παρεῖναι τὸν Κλεομένη μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς Θετταλίαν, διαπεμφάμενος πρὸς τε τὸν Ἄρατον καὶ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ὠμολογημένων, ἤκεν ἔχων τὰς δυνάμεις διὰ  
**8** τῆς Εὐβοίας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴσθμόν. οἱ γὰρ Αἰτωλοὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τότε βουλόμενοι κωλύσαι τὸν Ἀντίγονον τῆς βοηθείας, ἀπεῖπον αὐτῷ πορεύεσθαι μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐντὸς Πυλῶν· εἰ δὲ μή, διότι κωλύσουσι μεθ' ὅπλων αὐτοῦ τὴν δίοδον.

**9** Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀντίγονος καὶ Κλεομένης ἀντεστρατοπέδευον ἀλλήλοις, ὁ μὲν εἰσελθεῖν σπουδάζων εἰς Πελοπόννησον, ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης κωλύσαι τῆς εἰσ-  
**53** ὁδοῦ τὸν Ἀντίγονον. οἱ δ' Ἀχαιοί, καίπερ οὐ μετρίως ἠλαττωμένοι τοῖς ὅλοις, ὅμως οὐκ ἀφίσταντο τῆς προθέσεως οὐδ' ἐγκατέλειπον τὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐλ-  
**2** πίδας, ἀλλ' ἅμα τῷ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλη τὸν Ἀργεῖον ἐπαναστήναι τοῖς Κλεομενισταῖς, βοηθήσαντες καὶ παρεισπεσόντες μετὰ Τιμοξένου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ,  
**3** κατέλαβον τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων πόλιν. ὁ δὲ καὶ νομιστέον αἰτιώτατον γεγονέναι πραγμάτων κατορθώσεως. τὸ γὰρ ἐπιλαβόμενον τῆς ὁρμῆς τοῦ Κλεομένων καὶ προηττήσαν τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν δυνάμεων τοῦτ' ἦν, ὡς ἐξ αὐτῶν φανερὸν ἐγένετο τῶν πραγ-  
**4** μάτων. καὶ γὰρ τόπους εὐφυστέρους προκατέχων,



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## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

καὶ χορηγίαις δαψιλεστέραις Ἀντιγόνου χρώμενος, καὶ τόλμη καὶ φιλοτιμία μείζονι παρωρμημένος, 5 ὅμως ἅμα τῷ προσπεσεῖν αὐτῷ διότι κατειλήφθαι συμβαίνει τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων πόλιν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, εὐθὺς ἀνάσπαστος, ἀπολιπὼν τὰ προδεδηλωμένα προτερήματα, φυγῇ παραπλησίαν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἀποχώρησιν, δείσας μὴ πανταχόθεν αὐτὸν περιστῶσιν 6 οἱ πολέμιοι. παραπεσὼν δ' εἰς Ἄργος, καὶ κατὰ ποσὸν ἀντιποιησάμενος τῆς πόλεως, μετὰ ταῦτα γενναίως μὲν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, φιλοτίμως δὲ τῶν Ἀργείων ἐκ μεταμελείας αὐτὸν ἀμυναμένων, ἀποπεσὼν καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, καὶ ποιησάμενος τὴν πορείαν διὰ Μαντινείας, οὕτως ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην.

54 Ὁ δ' Ἀντίγονος ἀσφαλῶς εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον εἰσελθὼν παρέλαβε τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον, οὐδένα δὲ χρόνον μείνας εἶχετο τῶν προκειμένων καὶ παρῆν 2 εἰς Ἄργος. ἐπαινέσας δὲ τοὺς Ἀργείους, καὶ καταστησάμενος τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, αὐθις ἐκ ποδὸς ἐκίνει, ποιούμενος τὴν πορείαν ὡς ἐπ' Ἀρκαδίας. ἐκβαλὼν δὲ τὰς φρουρὰς ἐκ τῶν ἐποικοδομηθέντων χωρίων ὑπὸ Κλεομένους κατὰ τε τὴν Αἰγῦτιν καὶ Βελμινᾶτιν χώραν, καὶ παραδοὺς τὰ φρούρια Μεγαλοπολίταις, ἦκε πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν 4 σύνοδον εἰς Αἴγιον. ἀπολογισάμενος δὲ περὶ τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν καὶ χρηματίσας περὶ τῶν μελλόντων, ἔτι δὲ κατασταθεὶς ἡγεμὼν ἀπάντων τῶν συμμάχων, μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνον μὲν τινα παραχειμάζων διέτριβε περὶ Σικυῶνα καὶ Κόρινθον. τῆς δ' ἐαρινῆς ὥρας ἐνισταμένης ἀναλαβὼν τὰς δυνάμεις 3 προῆγε. καὶ διανύσας τριταῖος πρὸς τὴν τῶν Τεγεατῶν πόλιν, ἀπηντηκότων καὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐν-

stronger than that of Antigonus, and he was much better off for supplies, as well as animated by greater courage and ambition, no sooner did the news reach him that Argos had been seized by the Achaeans than he instantly took himself off, abandoning all these advantages, and made a precipitate retreat, fearing to be surrounded on all sides by the enemy. Gaining entrance to Argos he possessed himself of part of the city, but, on the Achaeans making a gallant resistance, in which the Argives joined with all the zeal of renegades, this plan broke down too, and, marching by way of Mantinea, he returned to Sparta.

54. Antigonus now safely entered the Peloponnese and took possession of the Acrocorinthus and, without wasting any time there, pushed on and reached Argos. Having thanked the Argives and put matters in the city on a proper footing, he moved on again at once, making for Arcadia. After having ejected the garrisons from the forts that Cleomenes had built there to command the country in the territory of Aegys and Belbina, and handed over these forts to the Megalopolitans, he returned to Aegium where the Council of the Achaean League was in session. He gave them an account of the measures he had taken and arranged with them for the future conduct of the war. They hereupon appointed him commander-in-chief of all the allied forces, and after this he retired for a short time to his winter quarters <sup>223</sup> near Sicyon and Corinth. Early in spring he advanced with his army and reached Tegea in three days. Here the Achaeans joined him, and the



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

ταῦθα, περιστρατοπεδεύσας ἤρξατο πολιορκεῖν αὐ-  
 7 τήν. τῶν δὲ Μακεδόνων ἐνεργῶς χρωμένων τῇ τε  
 λοιπῇ πολιορκίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ὀρύγμασι, ταχέως ἀπελ-  
 πίσαντες οἱ Τεγεᾶται τὴν σωτηρίαν παρέδοσαν αὐ-  
 8 τοὺς. ὁ δ' Ἀντίγονος, ἀσφαλισάμενος τὰ κατὰ τὴν  
 πόλιν, εἶχετο κατὰ τὸ συνεχές τῶν ἐξῆς, καὶ προῆγε  
 9 κατὰ σπουδὴν εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν. ἐγγίσας δὲ τῷ  
 Κλεομένει προκαθημένῳ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ χώρας κατεπί-  
 10 ραξε, καὶ συνίστατό τινας ἀκροβολισμούς. προσπε-  
 σόντος δὲ διὰ τῶν κατασκόπων αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐξ Ὀρ-  
 χομενοῦ στρατιώτας παραβεβοηθηκένοι πρὸς τὸν  
 Κλεομένην, παραυτίκα ποιησάμενος ἀναζυγὴν ἠπεί-  
 11 γετο. καὶ τὸν μὲν Ὀρχομενὸν ἐξ ἐφόδου κατὰ κρά-  
 τος εἶλε· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα περιστρατοπεδεύσας τὴν  
 12 τῶν Μαντινέων ἐπολιόρκει πόλιν. ταχὺ δὲ καὶ  
 ταύτην καταπληξαμένων τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ λα-  
 βόντων ὑποχείριον, ἀναζεύξας προῆγε τὴν ἐφ'  
 13 Ἡραίας καὶ Τελφούσης. παραλαβὼν δὲ καὶ ταύτας  
 τὰς πόλεις, ἐθελοντὴν προσχωρησάντων αὐτῷ τῶν  
 κατοικούντων, οὕτως ἤδη συνάπτοντος τοῦ χειμῶνος  
 παρῆν εἰς Αἴγιον πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν σύνοδον.  
 14 καὶ τοὺς μὲν Μακεδόνας ἐπ' οἴκου διαφῆκε πάντα  
 εἰς τὴν χειμασίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς διελέγετο  
 καὶ συνδιενοεῖτο περὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων.

55 Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους συνθεωρῶν ὁ  
 Κλεομένης τὰς μὲν δυνάμεις διαφειμένας, τὸν δ'  
 Ἀντίγονον μετὰ τῶν μισθοφόρων ἐν Αἰγίῳ διατρί-  
 βοντα, καὶ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀφεστῶτα τῆς Μεγά-  
 2 λης πόλεως, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ταύτην εἰδὼς δυσφύλα-  
 κτον οὖσαν διὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν ἐρημίαν, τότε  
 δὲ καὶ ῥαθύμως τηρουμένην διὰ τὴν Ἀντιγόνου  
 παρουσίαν, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ἀπολωλότας τοὺς



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πλείστους τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἔν τε τῇ περὶ τὸ  
 Λύκαιον καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τῇ περὶ Λαδόκεια μάχῃ,  
 3 λαβὼν συνεργούς τινὰς τῶν ἐκ Μεσσήνης φυγάδων,  
 οἱ διατρίβοντες ἐτύγχανον ἐν τῇ Μεγάλῃ πόλει,  
 παρειαῖον διὰ τούτων λάθρα νυκτὸς ἐντὸς τῶν  
 4 τειχῶν. τῆς δ' ἡμέρας ἐπιγενομένης παρ' ὀλίγον  
 ἦλθε τοῦ μὴ μόνον ἐκπεσεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὅλοις  
 κινδυνεῦσαι διὰ τὴν εὐψυχίαν τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτῶν.  
 5 ὁ δὲ καὶ τρισὶ μῆσι πρότερον αὐτῷ συνέβη παθεῖν  
 παρειαῖον κατὰ τὸν Κωλαιὸν προσαγορευόμενον  
 6 τόπον τῆς πόλεως. τότε δὲ τῷ πλήθει τῆς δυνά-  
 μεως καὶ τῷ προκαταλαμβάνεσθαι τοὺς εὐκαίρους  
 τόπους καθέκετο τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, καὶ πέρας ἐκβαλὼν  
 7 τοὺς Μεγαλοπολίτας κατέσχε τὴν πόλιν. γενόμενος  
 δ' ἐγκρατῆς οὕτως αὐτὴν πικρῶς διέφθειρε καὶ  
 δυσμενῶς ὥστε μηδ' ἐλπίσαι μηδένα διότι δύναιτ'  
 8 ἂν συνοικισθῆναι πάλιν. τοῦτο δὲ ποιῆσαί μοι  
 δοκεῖ διὰ τὸ κατὰ τὰς τῶν καιρῶν περιστάσεις παρὰ  
 μόνοις Μεγαλοπολίταις καὶ Στυμφαλίοις μηδέποτε  
 δυνηθῆναι μήθ' αἰρετιστὴν καὶ κοινωνὸν τῶν ἰδίων  
 9 ἐλπίδων μήτε προδότην κατασκευάσασθαι. τὸ μὲν  
 γὰρ Κλειτορίων φιλελεύθερον καὶ γενναῖον εἰς  
 ἀνὴρ κατήσχυε διὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κακίαν, Θεάρκης  
 δὲ εἰκότως ἐξαρνοῦνται Κλειτόριοι μὴ φῦναι παρὰ  
 σφίσι, γενέσθαι δ' ὑποβολιμαῖον ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ τῶν  
 ἐπηλύδων τινὸς στρατιωτῶν.

56 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς Ἀράτῳ  
 γεγραφότων παρ' ἐνίοις ἀποδοχῆς ἀξιούται Φύλαρ-  
 χος, ἐν πολλοῖς ἀντιδοξῶν καὶ τάναντία γράφων  
 2 αὐτῷ, χρήσιμον ἂν εἴη, μᾶλλον δ' ἀναγκαῖον ἡμῖν,  
 Ἀράτῳ προηρημένοις κατακολουθεῖν περὶ τῶν Κλεο-

greater part of its citizens of military age in the battles at the Lycaeum and at Ladoceia. He therefore procured the co-operation of certain Messenian exiles then living in Megalopolis and by their means got inside the walls secretly by night. On day breaking, he came very near not only being driven out, but meeting with complete disaster owing to the bravery of the Megalopolitans, who had indeed expelled and defeated him three months previously when he entered the city by surprise in the quarter called Colaeum. But on this occasion, owing to the strength of his forces, and owing to his having had time to seize on the most advantageous positions, his project succeeded, and finally he drove out the Megalopolitans and occupied their city. On possessing himself of it, he destroyed it with such systematic cruelty and animosity, that nobody would have thought it possible that it could ever be re-inhabited. I believe him to have acted so, because the Megalopolitans and Stymphalians were the only peoples from among whom in the varied circumstances of his career he could never procure himself a single partisan to share in his projects or a single traitor. For in the case of the Clitorians their noble love of freedom was sullied by the malpractices of one man Thearces whom, as one would expect, they naturally deny to have been a native-born citizen, affirming that he was the son of a foreign soldier and foisted in from Orchomenus.

56. Since, among those authors who were contemporaries of Aratus, Phylarchus, who on many points is at variance and in contradiction with him, is by some received as trustworthy, it will be useful or rather necessary for me, as I have chosen to rely on Aratus' narrative for the history of the Cleomenic

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

μενικῶν, μὴ παραλιπεῖν ἄσκεπτον τοῦτο τὸ μέρος,  
 ἵνα μὴ τὸ ψεῦδος ἐν τοῖς συγγράμμασιν ἰσοδυνα-  
 3 μούην ἀπολείπωμεν πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν. καθόλου  
 μὲν οὖν ὁ συγγραφεὺς οὗτος πολλὰ παρ' ὅλην τὴν  
 4 πραγματείαν εἰκῆ καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν εἶρηκε. πλὴν περὶ  
 μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἴσως οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἐπιτιμᾶν κατὰ  
 τὸ παρὸν οὐδ' ἐξακριβοῦν· ὅσα δὲ συνεπιβάλλει  
 τοῖς ὑφ' ἡμῶν γραφομένοις καιροῖς, ταῦτα δ' ἔστι  
 τὰ περὶ τὸν Κλεομενικὸν πόλεμον, ὑπὲρ τούτων  
 5 ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν ἡμῖν διευκρινεῖν. ἔσται δὲ πάν-  
 τως ἀρκοῦντα ταῦτα πρὸς τὸ καὶ τὴν ὅλην αὐτοῦ  
 προαίρεσιν καὶ δύναμιν ἐν τῇ πραγματείᾳ κατα-  
 6 μαθεῖν. βουλόμενος δὲ διασαφεῖν τὴν ὠμότητα τὴν  
 Ἀντιγόνου καὶ Μακεδόνων, ἅμα δὲ τούτοις τὴν  
 Ἀράτου καὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, φησὶ τοὺς Μαντιέας  
 γενομένους ὑποχειρίους μεγάλοις περιπεσεῖν ἀτυχή-  
 μασι, καὶ τὴν ἀρχαιοτάτην καὶ μεγίστην πόλιν τῶν  
 κατὰ τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν τηλικαύταις παλαῖσαι συμφο-  
 ραῖς ὥστε πάντας εἰς ἐπίστασιν καὶ δάκρυα τοὺς  
 7 Ἕλληνας ἀγαγεῖν. σπουδάζων δ' εἰς ἔλεον ἐκκα-  
 λεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας καὶ συμπαθεῖς ποιεῖν  
 τοῖς λεγομένοις, εἰσάγει περιπλοκὰς γυναικῶν καὶ  
 κόμας διερριμμένας καὶ μαστῶν ἐκβολὰς, πρὸς δὲ  
 τούτοις δάκρυα καὶ θρήνους ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν  
 ἀναμῖξ τέκνοις καὶ γονεῦσι γηραιοῖς ἀπαγομένων.  
 8 ποιεῖ δὲ τοῦτο παρ' ὅλην τὴν ἱστορίαν, πειρώμενος  
 ἐν ἐκάστοις αἰεὶ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τιθέναι τὰ δεινά.  
 9 τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀγεννὲς καὶ γυναικῶδες τῆς αἵρέσεως  
 αὐτοῦ παρείσθω, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἱστορίας οἰκεῖον ἅμα  
 10 καὶ χρήσιμον ἐξεταζέσθω. δεῖ τοιγαροῦν οὐκ ἐκ-  
 πλήττειν τὸν συγγραφέα τερατευόμενον διὰ τῆς  
 ἱστορίας τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐνδεχομέ-



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## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

νους λόγους ζητεῖν καὶ τὰ παρεπόμενα τοῖς ὑπο-  
 κειμένοις ἐξαριθμεῖσθαι, καθάπερ οἱ τραγωδιογρά-  
 φοι, τῶν δὲ πραχθέντων καὶ ῥηθέντων κατ' ἀλή-  
 θειαν αὐτῶν μνημονεύειν πάνπαν, κἂν πάνυ μέτρια  
**11** τυγχάνωσιν ὄντα. τὸ γὰρ τέλος ἱστορίας καὶ τρα-  
 γωδίας οὐ ταυτόν, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον. ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ  
 δεῖ διὰ τῶν πιθανωτάτων λόγων ἐκπλήξαι καὶ ψυχ-  
 αγωγῆσαι κατὰ τὸ παρὸν τοὺς ἀκούοντας, ἐνθάδε  
 δὲ διὰ τῶν ἀληθινῶν ἔργων καὶ λόγων εἰς τὸν  
**12** πάντα χρόνον διδάξαι καὶ πείσαι τοὺς φιλομαθοῦν-  
 τας, ἐπειδήπερ ἐν ἐκείνοις μὲν ἡγεῖται τὸ πιθανόν,  
 κἂν ἢ ψεῦδος, διὰ τὴν ἀπάτην τῶν θεωμένων, ἐν  
 δὲ τούτοις τ' ἀληθὲς διὰ τὴν ὠφέλειαν τῶν φιλο-  
**13** μαθούντων. χωρὶς τε τούτων τὰς πλείστας ἡμῖν ἐξ-  
 ηγεῖται τῶν περιπετειῶν, οὐχ ὑποτιθεὶς αἰτίαν καὶ  
 τρόπον τοῖς γινομένοις, ὧν χωρὶς οὔτ' ἐλεεῖν εὐ-  
 λόγως οὔτ' ὀργίζεσθαι καθηκόντως δυνατόν ἐπ'  
**14** οὐδενὶ τῶν συμβαινόντων. ἐπεὶ τίς ἀνθρώπων οὐ  
 δεινὸν ἡγεῖται τύπτεσθαι τοὺς ἐλευθέρους; ἀλλ'  
 ὅμως, εἰ μὲν ἄρχων ἀδίκων χειρῶν πάθη τις  
 τοῦτο, δικαίως κρίνεται πεπονθέναι. εἰ δ' ἐπὶ  
 διορθώσει καὶ μαθήσει ταῦτο τοῦτο γίνηται, προσ-  
 ἔτι καὶ τιμῆς καὶ χάριτος οἱ τύπτοντες τοὺς ἐλευ-  
**15** θέρους ἀξιοῦνται. καὶ μὴν τό γε τοὺς πολίτας ἀπο-  
 κτεινῦναι μέγιστον ἀσέβημα τίθεται καὶ μεγίστων  
 ἄξιον προστίμων. καίτοι γε προφανῶς ὁ μὲν τὸν  
 κλέπτην ἢ μοιχὸν ἀποκτείνας ἀθῶός ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ τὸν  
 προδότην ἢ τύραννον τιμῶν καὶ προεδρίας τυγ-  
**16** χάνει παρὰ πᾶσιν. οὕτως ἐν παντὶ τὸ τέλος κεῖται

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<sup>a</sup> Literally "a front seat" in the theatre or elsewhere.

poet, try to imagine the probable utterances of his characters or reckon up all the consequences probably incidental to the occurrences with which he deals, but simply record what really happened and what really was said, however commonplace. For the object of tragedy is not the same as that of history but quite the opposite. The tragic poet should thrill and charm his audience for the moment by the verisimilitude of the words he puts into his characters' mouths, but it is the task of the historian to instruct and convince for all time serious students by the truth of the facts and the speeches he narrates, since in the one case it is the probable that takes precedence, even if it be untrue, the purpose being to create illusion in spectators, in the other it is the truth, the purpose being to confer benefit on learners. Apart from this, Phylarchus simply narrates most of such catastrophes and does not even suggest their causes or the nature of these causes, without which it is impossible in any case to feel either legitimate pity or proper anger. Who, for instance, does not think it an outrage for a free man to be beaten? but if this happen to one who was the first to resort to violence, we consider that he got only his desert, while where it is done for the purpose of correction or discipline, those who strike free men are not only excused but deemed worthy of thanks and praise. Again, to kill a citizen is considered the greatest of crimes and that deserving the highest penalty, but obviously he who kills a thief or adulterer is left untouched, and the slayer of a traitor or tyrant everywhere meets with honour and distinction.<sup>a</sup> So in every such case the final criterion



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

τῆς διαλήψεως ὑπὲρ τούτων οὐκ ἐν τοῖς τελου-  
 μένοις, ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς αἰτίαις καὶ προαιρέσεσι τῶν  
 πραττόντων καὶ ταῖς τούτων διαφοραῖς.

57 Μαντινεῖς τοίνυν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐγκαταλιπόν-  
 τες τὴν μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πολιτείαν ἐθελοντὴν Αἰ-  
 τωλοῖς ἐνεχείρισαν αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν πατρίδα, μετὰ  
 2 δὲ ταῦτα Κλεομένει. γεγονότες δ' ἐπὶ τοιαύτης  
 προαιρέσεως καὶ μετέχοντες τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων πο-  
 λιτείας ἔτει τετάρτῳ πρότερον τῆς Ἀντιγόνου πα-  
 ρουσίας ἐάλωσαν κατὰ κράτος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν,  
 3 Ἀράτου πραξικοπήσαντος αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν. ἐν ᾧ  
 καιρῷ τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχον τοῦ παθεῖν τι δεινὸν διὰ  
 τὴν προειρημένην ἀμαρτίαν, ὡς καὶ περιβόητον συν-  
 ἔβη γενέσθαι τὸ πραχθὲν διὰ τὴν ὀξύτητα τῆς κατὰ  
 4 τὴν προαίρεσιν ἀμφοτέρων μεταβολῆς. ἅμα γὰρ τῷ  
 κατασχεῖν τὴν πόλιν Ἀρατος παραυτίκα μὲν τοῖς  
 ὑφ' αὐτὸν ταπτομένοις παρήγγελλε μηδένα μηδενὸς  
 5 ἄπτεσθαι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων, ἐξῆς δὲ τούτοις τοὺς Μαν-  
 τινέας συναθροίσας παρεκάλεσε θαρρεῖν καὶ μένειν  
 ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων· ὑπάρξειν γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν  
 6 πολιτευομένοις μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν. τοῖς δὲ Μαντι-  
 νεῦσιν ἀνυπονοήτου καὶ παραδόξου φανείσης τῆς  
 ἐλπίδος, παραυτίκα πάντες ἐπὶ τῆς ἐναντίας ἐγέ-  
 7 νοντο γνώμης. καὶ πρὸς οὓς μικρῷ πρότερον μα-  
 χόμενοι πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐπεῖδον ἀπ-  
 ολλυμένους, οὐκ ὀλίγους δ' αὐτῶν βιαίους τραύμασι  
 περιπεσόντας, τούτους εἰς τὰς ἰδίας οἰκίας εἰσαγό-  
 μενοι καὶ ποιησάμενοι σφίσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀναγ-  
 καίοις ὁμεστίους, οὐδὲν ἀπέλειπον τῆς μετ' ἀλλήλων  
 8 φιλοφροσύνης. καὶ τοῦτ' εἰκότως ἐποίουν· οὐ γὰρ  
 οἶδ' εἴ τινες ἀνθρώπων εὐγνωμονεστέροις ἐνέτυχον  
 πολεμίοις οὐδ' εἴ τινες ἀβλαβέστερον ἐπάλαισαν τοῖς



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## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

μεγίστοις δοκοῦσιν εἶναι συμπτώμασι Μαντινέων  
 διὰ τὴν Ἀράτου καὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς φιλαν-  
 58 θρωπίαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα προορώμενοι τὰς ἐν αὐ-  
 τοῖς στάσεις καὶ τὰς ὑπ' Αἰτωλῶν καὶ Λακεδαιμο-  
 νίων ἐπιβουλάς, πρεσβεύσαντες πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς  
 2 ἤξιωσαν δοῦναι παραφυλακὴν αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ πει-  
 σθέντες ἀπεκλήρωσαν ἐξ αὐτῶν τριακοσίους ἄνδρας·  
 ὧν οἱ λαχόντες ὤρμησαν ἀπολιπόντες τὰς ἰδίας πα-  
 τρίδας καὶ τοὺς βίους, καὶ διέτριβον ἐν Μαντινείᾳ,  
 παραφυλάττοντες τὴν ἐκείνων ἐλευθερίαν ἅμα καὶ  
 3 σωτηρίαν. σὺν δὲ τούτοις καὶ μισθοφόρους διακο-  
 σίους ἐξέπεμψαν, οἱ μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν συνδιετήρουν  
 4 τὴν ὑποκειμένην αὐτοῖς κατάστασιν. μετ' οὐ πολὺ  
 δὲ στασιάσαντες πρὸς σφᾶς οἱ Μαντινεῖς, καὶ Λα-  
 κεδαιμονίους ἐπισπασάμενοι, τὴν τε πόλιν ἐνεχείρι-  
 σαν καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν διατρίβοντας παρ'  
 αὐτοῖς κατέσφαξαν· οὐ μείζον παρασπόνδημα καὶ  
 5 δεινότερον οὐδ' εἰπεῖν εὐμαρές. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἔδοξε  
 σφίσι καθόλου τὴν πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος χάριν καὶ φιλίαν  
 ἀθετεῖν, τῶν γε προειρημένων ἀνδρῶν ἐχρῆν δήπου  
 φεισαμένους εἶσαι πάντα ὑποσπόνδους ἀπελθεῖν·  
 6 τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἔθος ἐστὶ συγχωρεῖ-  
 σθαι κατὰ τοὺς κοινούς τῶν ἀνθρώπων νόμους.  
 7 οἱ δ' ἵνα Κλεομένει καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἱκανὴν παρά-  
 σχωνται πίστιν πρὸς τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἐπιβολήν, τὰ  
 κοινὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων δίκαια παραβάντες τὸ μέγι-  
 8 στον ἀσέβημα κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἐπετέλεσαν. τὸ γὰρ  
 τούτων αὐτόχειρας γενέσθαι καὶ τιμωροὺς οἵτινες  
 πρότερον μὲν κατὰ κράτος λαβόντες αὐτοὺς ἀθῶους  
 ἀφῆκαν, τότε δὲ τὴν ἐκείνων ἐλευθερίαν καὶ σωτη-  
 9 ρίαν ἐφύλαττον, πηλίκης ὀργῆς ἐστὶν ἄξιον; τί δ'  
 ἂν παθόντες οὗτοι δίκην δόξαιεν ἀρμόζουσαν δε-

calamities than the Mantineans, all owing to their humane treatment by Aratus and the Achaeans. 58. Subsequently, as they foresaw discord among themselves and plots by the Aetolians and Lacedaemonians, they sent an embassy to the Achaeans asking for a garrison. The Achaeans consented and chose by lot three hundred of their own citizens, who set forth, abandoning their own houses and possessions, and remained in Mantinea to watch over the liberty and safety of its townsmen. At the same time they sent two hundred hired soldiers, who aided this Achaean force in safeguarding the established government. Very soon however the Mantineans fell out with the Achaeans, and, inviting the Lacedaemonians, put the city into their hands and massacred the garrison the Achaeans had sent them. It is not easy to name any greater or more atrocious act of treachery than this. For in resolving to forswear their friendship and gratitude, they should at least have spared the lives of these men and allowed them all to depart under terms. Such treatment is, by the common law of nations, accorded even to enemies ; but the Mantineans, simply in order to give Cleomenes and the Lacedaemonians a satisfactory guarantee of their good faith in this undertaking violated the law recognized by all mankind and deliberately committed the most heinous of crimes. Vengeful murderers of the very men who previously on capturing their city had left them unharmed, and who now were guarding their liberties and lives—against such men, one asks oneself, can any indignation be too strong? What should we consider to be an adequate punishment for them? Someone might

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

δωκέσαι; τυχὸν ἴσως εἶποι τις ἄν, πραθέντες μετὰ  
 10 τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν, ἐπεὶ κατεπολεμήθησαν. ἀλλὰ  
 τοῦτό γε καὶ τοῖς μηθὲν ἀσεβὲς ἐπιτελεσαμένοις  
 κατὰ τοὺς τοῦ πολέμου νόμους ὑπόκειται παθεῖν.  
 οὐκοῦν ὀλοσχερεστέρας τινὸς καὶ μείζονος τυχεῖν  
 11 ἦσαν ἄξιοι τιμωρίας, ὥστ' εἶπερ ἔπαθον ἂ Φύλαρ-  
 χὸς φησιν, οὐκ ἔλεον εἰκὸς ἦν συνεξακολουθεῖν  
 αὐτοῖς παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἔπαινον δὲ καὶ συγ-  
 κατάθεσιν μᾶλλον τοῖς πράττουσι καὶ μεταπορευο-  
 12 μένοις τὴν ἀσέβειαν αὐτῶν. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδενὸς  
 περαιτέρω συνεξακολουθήσαντος Μαντινεῦσι κατὰ  
 τὴν περιπέτειαν πλὴν τοῦ διαρπαγῆναι τοὺς βίους  
 καὶ πραθῆναι τοὺς ἐλευθέρους, ὃ συγγραφεὺς αὐτῆς  
 τῆς τερατείας χάριν οὐ μόνον ψεῦδος εἰσήνεγκε τὸ  
 13 ὄλον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος ἀπίθανον, καὶ διὰ τὴν ὑπερ-  
 βολὴν τῆς ἀγνοίας οὐδὲ τὸ παρακείμενον ἠδυνήθη  
 συνεπιστῆσαι, πῶς οἱ αὐτοὶ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς και-  
 ροὺς κυριεύσαντες Τεγεατῶν κατὰ κράτος οὐδὲν  
 14 τῶν ὁμοίων ἔπραξαν. καίτοι γ' εἰ μὲν ἢ τῶν πρατ-  
 τόντων ὁμότης ἦν αἰτία, καὶ τούτους εἰκὸς ἦν πε-  
 πονθέναι ταῦτά τοῖς ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν ὑποπεπτωκόσι  
 15 καιρόν. εἰ δὲ περὶ μόνους γέγονε Μαντινεῖς ἢ  
 διαφορὰ, φανερόν ὅτι καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ὀργῆς  
 ἀνάγκη διαφέρουσαν γεγονέναι περὶ τούτους.

59 Πάλιν Ἀριστόμαχον τὸν Ἀργεῖόν φησιν ἄνδρα  
 τῆς ἐπιφανεστάτης οἰκίας ὑπάρχοντα, καὶ τετυραν-  
 νηκότα μὲν Ἀργείων, πεφυκότα δ' ἐκ τυράννων,  
 ὑποχείριον Ἀντιγόνῳ καὶ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς γενόμενον,  
 εἰς Κεγχρεὰς ἀπαχθῆναι καὶ στρεβλούμενον ἀπο-  
 θανεῖν, ἀδικώτατα καὶ δεινότατα παθόντα πάντων  
 2 ἀνθρώπων. τηρῶν δὲ καὶ περὶ ταύτην τὴν πράξιν  
 ὃ συγγραφεὺς τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν ἰδίωμα, φωνάς τινας



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## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

πλάττει διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτοῦ στρεβλουμένου προσ-  
 πιπτούσας τοῖς σύνεγγυς κατοικοῦσιν, ὧν τοὺς μὲν  
 ἐκπληττομένους τὴν ἀσέβειαν, τοὺς δ' ἀπιστοῦντας,  
 τοὺς δ' ἀγανακτοῦντας ἐπὶ τοῖς γινομένοις προσ-  
 3 τρέχειν πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν φησί. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς  
 τοιαύτης τερατείας παρείσθω· δεδήλωται γὰρ ἀρ-  
 4 κούντως. ἐγὼ δ' Ἀριστόμαχον, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν εἰς  
 τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἕτερον ἤμαρτε, κατὰ γε τὴν τοῦ βίου  
 προαίρεσιν καὶ τὴν εἰς πατρίδα παρανομίαν τῆς  
 5 μεγίστης ἄξιον κρίνω τιμωρίας. καίπερ ὁ συγ-  
 γραφεύς, βουλόμενος αὔξειν αὐτοῦ τὴν δόξαν καὶ  
 παραστήσασθαι τοὺς ἀκούοντας εἰς τὸ μᾶλλον αὐτῷ  
 συναγανακτεῖν ἐφ' οἷς ἔπαθεν, οὐ μόνον αὐτόν φησι  
 γεγονέναι τύραννον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τυράννων πεφυκέ-  
 6 ναι. ταύτης δὲ μείζω κατηγορίαν ἢ πικροτέραν  
 οὐδ' ἂν εἰπεῖν ῥαδίως δύναιτ' οὐδεὶς. αὐτὸ γὰρ  
 τοῦνομα περιέχει τὴν ἀσεβεστάτην ἔμφασιν καὶ  
 πάσας περιείληφε τὰς ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀδικίας καὶ  
 7 παρανομίας. Ἀριστόμαχος δ' εἰ τὰς δεινοτάτας ὑπ-  
 ἔμεινε τιμωρίας, ὡς οὗτός φησιν, ὅμως οὐχ ἱκανὴν  
 8 ἔδωκεν δίκην μιᾶς ἡμέρας, ἐν ἣ παρεισπεσόντος  
 εἰς τὴν πόλιν Ἀράτου μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, καὶ με-  
 γάλους ἀγῶνας καὶ κινδύνους ὑπομείναντος ὑπὲρ  
 τῆς Ἀργείων ἐλευθερίας, τέλος δ' ἐκπεσόντος διὰ  
 τὸ μηδένα συγκινηθῆναι τῶν ἔσωθεν αὐτῷ ταξα-  
 9 μένων, διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τυράννου φόβον, Ἀριστό-  
 μαχος, ἀφορμῇ ταύτῃ καὶ προφάσει χρησάμενος, ὡς  
 τινων συνειδότην τὰ περὶ τὴν εἴσοδον τῶν Ἀχαιῶν,  
 ὀγδοήκοντα τοὺς πρώτους τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδὲν ἀδι-  
 κήσαντας στρεβλώσας ἐναντίον τῶν ἀναγκαίων κατ-  
 10 ἔσφαξε. παρήμι τὰ παρ' ὅλον τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ καὶ

author gives us a made-up story of his cries when on the rack having reached the ears of the neighbours, some of whom, horrified at the crime, others scarcely crediting their senses and others in hot indignation ran to the house. About Phylarchus' vice of sensationalism I need say no more, for I have given sufficient evidence of it; but as for Aristomachus, even if he had been guilty of no other offence to the Achaeans, I consider that the general tenor of his life and his treason to his own country rendered him worthy of the most severe punishment. Our author, it is true, with the view of magnifying his importance and moving his readers to share his own indignation at his fate, tells us that he "not only had been a tyrant himself but was descended from tyrants." It would be difficult for anyone to bring a graver or more bitter accusation against a man. Why! the very word "tyrant" alone conveys to us the height of impiety and comprises in itself the sum of all human defiance of law and justice. Aristomachus, if it is true that he was subjected to the most terrible punishment, as Phylarchus tells us, did not get his full deserts for the doings of one day; I mean the day on which when Aratus with the Achaeans had gained entrance to the town and fought hard to free the Argives at great risk, but was finally driven out, because none of those inside the city who had agreed to join him ventured to stir owing to their fear of the tyrant, Aristomachus, availing himself of the pretext that certain persons were cognisant of the entrance of the Achaeans, put to death eighty of the leading citizens who were quite innocent, after torturing them before the eyes of their relatives. I say nothing of the crimes that he and his ancestors were



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

**60** τῶν προγόνων ἀσεβήματα· μακρὸν γάρ. διόπερ οὐκ  
 εἶ τιμι τῶν ὁμοίων περιέπεσε δεινὸν ἡγητέον, πολὺ  
 δὲ δεινότερον, εἰ μηδενὸς τούτων πείραν λαβῶν  
**2** ἀθῶος ἀπέθανεν. οὐδ' Ἀντιγόνῳ προσαπτέον οὐδ'  
 Ἀράτῳ παρανομίαν, ὅτι λαβόντες κατὰ πόλεμον  
 ὑποχείριον τύραννον στρεβλώσαντες ἀπέκτειναν, ὃν  
 γε καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν εἰρήνην τοῖς ἀνελοῦσι καὶ  
 τιμωρησαμένοις ἔπαινος καὶ τιμὴ συνεξηκολούθει  
**3** παρὰ τοῖς ὀρθῶς λογιζομένοις. ὅτε δὲ χωρὶς τῶν  
 προειρημένων καὶ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς παρεσπόνδησε, τί  
**4** παθεῖν ἦν ἄξιος; ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἀπέθετο μὲν τὴν τυ-  
 ραννίδα χρόνοις οὐ πολλοῖς πρότερον, ὑπὸ τῶν και-  
 ρῶν συγκλειόμενος διὰ τὸν Δημητρίου θάνατον,  
 ἀνελπίστως δὲ τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἔτυχε περισταλεῖς ὑπὸ  
**5** τῆς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πραότητος καὶ καλοκάγαθίας· οἷ-  
 τινες οὐ μόνον αὐτὸν τῶν ἐκ τῆς τυραννίδος ἀσε-  
 βημάτων ἀζήμιον ἐποίησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσλαβόντες  
 εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν τὴν μεγίστην τιμὴν περιέθεσαν,  
 ἡγεμόνα καὶ στρατηγὸν καταστήσαντες σφῶν αὐτῶν.  
**6** ὁ δ' ἐπιλαθόμενος τῶν προειρημένων φιλανθρώπων  
 παρὰ πόδας, ἐπεὶ μικρὸν ἐπικυδεστέρας ἔσχε τὰς  
 ἐλπίδας ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐν Κλεομένει, τὴν τε  
 πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ προαίρεσιν ἀποσπάσας ἀπὸ  
 τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις καιροῖς προσ-  
**7** ἔνειμε τοῖς ἐχθροῖς. ὃν ὑποχείριον γενόμενον οὐκ  
 ἐν Κεγχρεαῖς ἔδει τὴν νύκτα στρεβλούμενον ἀπο-  
 θανεῖν, ὡς Φύλαρχός φησι, περιηγόμενον δ' εἰς τὴν  
 Πελοπόννησον καὶ μετὰ τιμωρίας παραδειγματιζό-  
**8** μενον οὕτως ἐκλιπεῖν τὸ ζῆν. ἀλλ' ὅμως τοιοῦτος



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ᾧν οὐδενὸς ἔτυχε δεινοῦ πλὴν τοῦ καταποντισθῆναι  
διὰ τῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς Κεγχρεαῖς τεταγμένων.

61 Χωρὶς τε τούτων τὰς μὲν Μαντινέων ἡμῖν συμ-  
φορὰς μετ' αὐξήσεως καὶ διαθέσεως ἐξηγήσατο, δῆ-  
λον ὅτι καθήκειν ὑπολαμβάνων τοῖς συγγραφεῦσι  
2 τὰς παρανόμους τῶν πράξεων ἐπισημαίνεσθαι, τῆς  
δὲ Μεγαλοπολιτῶν γενναιότητος, ἣ περὶ τοὺς αὐ-  
τοὺς ἐχρήσαντο καιροῦς, οὐδὲ κατὰ ποσὸν ἐποιή-  
3 σατο μνήμην, ὥσπερ τὸ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἐξαριθμεῖσθαι  
τῶν πραξάντων οἰκειότερον ὑπάρχον τῆς ἱστορίας  
τοῦ τὰ καλὰ καὶ δίκαια τῶν ἔργων ἐπισημαίνεσθαι,  
ἣ τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ἥττόν τι  
διορθουμένους ὑπὸ τῶν σπουδαίων καὶ ζηλωτῶν  
ἔργων ἥπερ ὑπὸ τῶν παρανόμων καὶ φευκτῶν πρά-  
4 ξεων. ὁ δὲ πῶς μὲν ἔλαβε Κλεομένης τὴν πόλιν  
καὶ πῶς ἀκέραιον διαφυλάξας ἐξαπέστειλε παρα-  
χρῆμα πρὸς τοὺς Μεγαλοπολίτας εἰς τὴν Μεσσήνην  
γραμματοφόρους, ἀξιῶν αὐτοὺς ἀβλαβῆ κομισα-  
μένους τὴν ἑαυτῶν πατρίδα κοινωνῆσαι τῶν ἰδίων  
πραγμάτων, ταῦτα μὲν ἡμῖν ἐδήλωσε, βουλόμενος  
ὑποδεῖξαι τὴν Κλεομένου μεγαλοψυχίαν καὶ μετριό-  
5 τητα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. ἔτι δὲ πῶς οἱ Μεγαλο-  
πολίται τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἀναγινωσκομένης οὐκ ἐά-  
σαιεν εἰς τέλος ἀναγνωσθῆναι, μικροῦ δὲ καταλεύ-  
σαιεν τοὺς γραματοφόρους, ἕως τούτου διεσάφησε.  
6 τὸ δ' ἀκόλουθον καὶ τὸ τῆς ἱστορίας ἴδιον ἀφείλε,  
τὸν ἔπαινον καὶ τὴν ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ μνήμην τῶν ἀξιο-  
7 λόγων προαιρέσεων. καίτοι γ' ἐμποδῶν ἦν. εἰ γὰρ  
τοὺς λόγῳ καὶ δόγματι μόνον ὑπομείναντας πόλεμον  
ὑπὲρ φίλων καὶ συμμάχων ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς νομί-  
ζομεν, τοῖς δὲ καὶ χώρας καταφθορὰν καὶ πολιορ-  
κίαν ἀναδεξαμένοις οὐ μόνον ἔπαινον, ἀλλὰ καὶ

Yet notwithstanding his abominable character, all the harm he suffered was to be drowned in the sea by the officers in command at Cenchreae.

61. To take another instance, Phylarchus, while narrating with exaggeration and elaboration the calamities of the Mantineans, evidently deeming it a historian's duty to lay stress on criminal acts, does not even make mention of the noble conduct of the Megalopolitans at nearly the same date, as if it were rather the proper function of history to chronicle the commission of sins than to call attention to right and honourable actions, or as if readers of his memoirs would be improved less by account of good conduct which we should emulate than by criminal conduct which we should shun. He tells us how Cleomenes took the city, and before doing any damage to it, sent at once a post to the Megalopolitans at Messene offering to hand back their own native country to them uninjured on condition of their throwing in their lot with him. So much he lets us know, wishing to show the magnanimity of Cleomenes and his moderation to his enemies, and he goes on to tell how when the letter was being read out they would not allow the reader to continue until the end, and how they came very near stoning the letter-bearers. So far he makes everything quite clear to us, but he deprives us of what should follow and what is the special virtue of history, I mean praise and honourable mention of conduct noteworthy for its excellence. And yet he had an opportunity ready to his hand here. For if we consider those men to be good who by speeches and resolutions only expose themselves to war for the sake of their friends and allies, and if we bestow not only praise but lavish thanks and

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

- 8** χάριτας καὶ δωρεὰς τὰς μεγίστας ἀπονέμομεν, τίνα  
 γε χρὴ περὶ Μεγαλοπολιτῶν ἔχειν διάληψιν; ἄρ'  
**9** οὐχὶ τὴν σεμνοτάτην καὶ βελτίστην; οἱ πρῶτον μὲν  
 τὴν χώραν Κλεομένει προεῖντο, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν  
 ὄλοσχερῶς ἔπταισαν τῇ πατρίδι διὰ τὴν πρὸς  
**10** τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς αἵρεσιν, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον, δοθείσης  
 ἀνελπίστως καὶ παραδόξως αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίας ἀβλαβῆ  
 ταύτην ἀπολαβεῖν, προείλαντο στέρεσθαι χώρας,  
 τάφων, ἱερῶν, πατρίδος, τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, ἀπάντων  
 συλλήβδην τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀναγκαιοτάτων, χάριν τοῦ μὴ  
 προδοῦναι τὴν πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους  
**11** πίστιν. οὐ τί κάλλιον ἔργον ἢ γέγονεν ἢ γένοιτ' ἄν;  
 ἐπὶ τί δ' ἂν μάλλον συγγραφεὺς ἐπιστήσαι τοὺς ἀκούοντας;  
 διὰ τίνος δ' ἔργου μάλλον ἂν παρ-  
 ορμήσαι πρὸς φυλακὴν πίστεως καὶ πρὸς ἀληθινῶν  
 πραγμάτων καὶ βεβαίων κοινωνίαν; ὧν οὐδεμίαν  
**12** ἐποιήσατο μνήμην Φύλαρχος, τυφλώττων, ὡς γ' ἐμοὶ  
 δοκεῖ, περὶ τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ μάλιστα συγγραφεῖ  
 καθήκοντα τῶν ἔργων.
- 62** Οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ τούτοις ἐξῆς φησὶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκ  
 τῆς Μεγάλης πόλεως λαφύρων ἑξακισχίλια τάλαντα  
 τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις πεσεῖν, ὧν τὰ δισχίλια Κλεο-  
**2** μένει δοθῆναι κατὰ τοὺς ἔθισμούς. ἐν δὲ τούτοις  
 πρῶτον μὲν τίς οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσειε τὴν ἀπειρίαν καὶ  
 τὴν ἄγνοιαν τῆς κοινῆς ἐννοίας ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλ-  
 ληνικῶν πραγμάτων χορηγίας καὶ δυνάμεως; ἦν μάλιστα  
**3** δεῖ παρὰ τοῖς ἱστοριογράφοις ὑπάρχειν. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐ λέγω  
 κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους, ἐν οἷς ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἐν  
 Μακεδονίᾳ βασιλέων, ἔτι δὲ μάλλον ὑπὸ τῆς συνεχείας  
 τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους πολέμων ἄρ-  
**4** δην κατέφθαρτο τὰ Πελοποννησίων, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς καθ'  
 ἡμᾶς καιροῖς, ἐν οἷς πάντες ἐν καὶ ταῦτό λέ-



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γοντες μεγίστην καρποῦσθαι δοκοῦσιν εὐδαιμονίαν,  
 ὅμως ἐκ Πελοποννήσου πάσης ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐπί-  
 πλων χωρὶς σωμάτων οὐχ οἷόν τε συναχθῆναι το-  
 5 σοῦτο πλήθος χρημάτων. καὶ διότι τοῦτο νῦν οὐκ  
 εἰκῆ, λόγῳ δέ τινι μᾶλλον ἀποφαινόμεθα, δῆλον ἐκ  
 6 τούτων. τίς γὰρ ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων οὐχ ἰστόρηκε δι-  
 ὅτι καθ' οὓς καιροὺς μετὰ Θηβαίων εἰς τὸν πρὸς  
 Λακεδαιμονίους ἐνέβαινον πόλεμον, καὶ μυρίους μὲν  
 ἐξέπεμπον στρατιώτας, ἑκατὸν δ' ἐπλήρουν τριή-  
 7 ρεις, ὅτι τότε κρίναντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἀξίας ποιεῖσθαι  
 τὰς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον εἰσφοράς ἐτιμήσαντο τὴν τε  
 χώραν τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἅπασαν καὶ τὰς οἰκίας, ὁμοίως  
 δὲ καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν οὐσίαν· ἀλλ' ὅμως τὸ σύμπαν  
 τίμημα τῆς ἀξίας ἐνέλιπε τῶν ἑξακισχιλίων διακο-  
 8 σίοις καὶ πεντήκοντα ταλάντοις. ἐξ ὧν οὐκ ἀπει-  
 κὸς ἂν φανείη τὸ περὶ Πελοποννησίων ἄρτι ῥηθὲν  
 9 ὑπ' ἐμοῦ· κατὰ δ' ἐκείνους τοὺς καιροὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς  
 τῆς Μεγάλης πόλεως ὑπερβολικῶς ἀποφαινόμενος  
 οὐκ ἂν τις εἰπεῖν τολμήσειε πλείω γενέσθαι τρια-  
 10 κοσίων, ἐπειδήπερ ὁμολογούμενόν ἐστι διότι καὶ  
 τῶν ἐλευθέρων καὶ τῶν δουλικῶν σωμάτων τὰ πλεῖ-  
 στα συνέβη διαφυγεῖν εἰς τὴν Μεσσήνην. μέγιστον  
 11 δὲ τῶν προειρημένων τεκμήριον· οὐδενὸς γὰρ ὄν-  
 τες δεύτεροι τῶν Ἀρκάδων Μαντινεῖς οὔτε κατὰ  
 τὴν δύναμιν οὔτε κατὰ τὴν περιουσίαν, ὡς αὐτὸς  
 οὗτός φησιν, ἐκ πολιορκίας δὲ καὶ παραδόσεως ἀλόν-  
 τες, ὥστε μήτε διαφυγεῖν μηδένα μήτε διακλαπή-  
 12 ναι ῥαδίως μηδέν, ὅμως τὸ πᾶν λάφυρον ἐποίησαν  
 μετὰ τῶν σωμάτων κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς  
 τάλαντα τριακόσια.

63 Τὸ δὲ συνεχὲς τούτῳ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἔτι μᾶλλον  
 θαυμάσειε; ταῦτα γὰρ ἀποφαινόμενος λέγει πρὸ τῆς

## BOOK II. 62. 4 – 63. 1

unison and enjoy, it is thought, very great prosperity, I assert that a sale of all the goods and chattels, apart from slaves, in the whole Peloponnese would not bring in such a sum. That I do not make this assertion lightly but after due estimate will be evident from the following consideration. Who has not read that when the Athenians, in conjunction with the Thebans, entered on the war against the Lacedaemonians, sending out a force of ten thousand men and manning a hundred triremes, they decided to meet the war expenses by a property-tax and made a valuation for this purpose of the whole of Attica including the houses and other property. This estimate, however, fell short of 6000 talents by 250, from which it would seem that my assertion about the Peloponnese at the present day is not far wide of the mark. But as regards the times of which we are dealing, no one, even if he were exaggerating, would venture to say that more than three hundred talents could be got out of Megalopolis, since it is an acknowledged fact that most of the free population and the slaves had escaped to Messene. But the best proof of what I say is the following: Mantinea, both in wealth and power, was second to no city in Arcadia, as Phylarchus himself says, and it surrendered after a siege, so that it was not easy for anyone to escape or for anything to be stolen, but yet the value of the whole booty together with slaves amounted at this very period to but three hundred talents.

63. What he tells us next is still more astounding; for after this assertion about the booty, he



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

παρατάξεως δέχ' ἡμέραις μάλιστα τὸν παρὰ Πτο-  
 λεμαίου πρεσβευτὴν ἔλθειν ἀγγέλλοντα πρὸς τὸν  
 Κλεομένη διότι Πτολεμαῖος τὸ μὲν χορηγεῖν ἀπο-  
 λέγει, διαλύεσθαι δὲ παρακαλεῖ πρὸς τὸν Ἄντι-  
 2 γονον. τὸν δ' ἀκούσαντά φησι κρῖναι διότι δεῖ τὴν  
 ταχίστην ἐκκυβεύειν τοῖς ὅλοις πρὸ τοῦ συνεῖναι  
 τὰ προσπεπτωκότα τὰς δυνάμεις, διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν  
 ὑπάρχειν ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις πράγμασιν ἐλπίδα τοῦ δύνα-  
 3 σθαι μισθοδοτεῖν. ἀλλ' εἶπερ ἑξακισχιλίων ἐγκρα-  
 τῆς ἐγεγόνει ταλάντων κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς,  
 τὸν Πτολεμαῖον αὐτὸν ἠδύνατο ταῖς χορηγίαις ὑπερ-  
 4 θέσθαι. πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἄντίγονον, εἰ μόνον τριακο-  
 σίων ὑπῆρχε κύριος, καὶ λίαν ἰκανὸς ἦν ἀσφαλῶς  
 5 ὑπομένων τρίβειν τὸν πόλεμον. τὸ δ' ἅμα μὲν  
 πάσας ἀποφαίνειν τῷ Κλεομένει τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐν  
 Πτολεμαίῳ διὰ τὰς χορηγίας, ἅμα δὲ τοσοῦτων  
 χρημάτων αὐτὸν φάναι κύριον γεγονέναι κατὰ τοὺς  
 αὐτοὺς καιροὺς, πῶς οὐ τῆς μεγίστης ἀλογίας, ἔτι  
 6 δ' ἀσκεψίας ἐστὶ σημεῖον; πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἕτερα τῷ  
 συγγραφεῖ τοιαῦτα, καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ὑποκειμένους  
 καιροὺς καὶ παρ' ὅλην τὴν πραγματείαν κατα-  
 τέτακται, περὶ ὧν ἀρκεῖν ὑπολαμβάνω κατὰ τὴν  
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρόθεσιν καὶ τὰ νῦν εἰρημένα.

64 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῆς Μεγάλης πόλεως ἄλωσιν Ἄντι-  
 γόνου παραχειμάζοντος ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀργείων πόλει,  
 συναγαγὼν Κλεομένης ἅμα τῷ τὴν ἔαρινὴν ὥραν  
 ἐνίστασθαι καὶ παρακαλέσας τὰ πρέποντα τοῖς και-  
 ροῖς, ἐξαγαγὼν τὴν στρατιὰν ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν τῶν  
 2 Ἀργείων χώραν, ὡς μὲν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐδόκει, παρα-  
 βόλως καὶ τολμηρῶς διὰ τὴν ὀχυρότητα τῶν κατὰ  
 τὰς εἰσόδους τόπων, ὡς δὲ τοῖς ὀρθῶς λογιζομένοις,  
 3 ἀσφαλῶς καὶ νουνεχῶς. ὁρῶν γὰρ τὸν Ἄντίγονον



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## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

διαφεικότα τὰς δυνάμεις, ἤδει σαφῶς ὡς πρῶτον μὲν  
 τὴν εἰσβολὴν ἀκινδύνως ποιήσεται, δεύτερον ἔτι  
 τῆς χώρας καταφθειρομένης ἕως τῶν τειχῶν ἀνάγκη  
 τοὺς Ἀργείους θεωροῦντας τὸ γινόμενον ἀσχάλλειν  
 4 καὶ καταμέμφεσθαι τὸν Ἀντίγονον. εἰ μὲν οὖν  
 συμβαίῃ μὴ δυνάμενον αὐτὸν ὑποφέρειν τὸν ἐπιρρα-  
 πισμὸν τῶν ὄχλων ἐξελθεῖν καὶ διακινδυνεῦσαι τοῖς  
 παροῦσι, πρόδηλον ἐκ τῶν κατὰ λόγον ἦν αὐτῷ  
 5 διότι νικήσει ῥαδίως. εἰ δ' ἐμμείνας τοῖς λογισμοῖς  
 ἀφησυχάζοι, καταπληξάμενος τοὺς ὑπεναντίους καὶ  
 ταῖς ἰδίαις δυνάμεσι θάρσος ἐνεργασάμενος ἀσφαλῶς  
 ὑπέλαβε ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν.  
 6 ὃ καὶ συνέβη γενέσθαι. τῆς γὰρ χώρας δηουμένης  
 οἱ μὲν ὄχλοι συστρεφόμενοι τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἐλοιδό-  
 ρουν. ὃ δὲ καὶ λίαν ἡγεμονικῶς καὶ βασιλικῶς  
 οὐδὲν περὶ πλείονος ποιούμενος τοῦ κατὰ λόγον  
 7 <χρήσασθαι τοῖς> πράγμασιν ἤγε τὴν ἡσυχίαν.  
 ὃ δὲ Κλεομένης κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρόθεσιν  
 καταφθείρας μὲν τὴν χώραν, καταπληξάμενος δὲ  
 τοὺς ὑπεναντίους, εὐθαρσεῖς δὲ πεποιηκῶς τὰς  
 ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεις πρὸς τὸν ἐπιφερόμενον κίνδυνον,  
 ἀσφαλῶς εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπανῆλθε.

65 Τοῦ δὲ θέρου ἐνισταμένου καὶ συνελθόντων  
 τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐκ τῆς χειμασίας  
 ἀναλαβὼν τὴν στρατιὰν Ἀντίγονος προῆγε μετὰ τῶν  
 2 συμμάχων εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν, ἔχων Μακεδόνας μὲν  
 τοὺς εἰς τὴν φάλαγγα μυρίους, πελταστὰς δὲ τρισ-  
 χιλίους, ἵππεῖς δὲ τριακοσίους, Ἀγριᾶνας δὲ σὺν  
 τούτοις χιλίους καὶ Γαλάτας ἄλλους τοσοῦτους, μι-  
 σθοφόρους δὲ τοὺς πάντας πεζοὺς μὲν τρισχιλίους,  
 3 ἵππεῖς δὲ τριακοσίους, Ἀχαιῶν δ' ἐπιλέκτους πεζοὺς  
 μὲν τρισχιλίους, ἵππεῖς δὲ τριακοσίους, καὶ Μεγαλο-

missed his forces, he knew well that, in the first place, he would be exposed to no danger in invading, and secondly, that, if the country were laid waste up to the walls, the Argives on seeing it would certainly be much vexed and lay the blame on Antigonus. If, therefore, unable to support the reproaches of the people, he marched out and risked a battle with such forces as he had, the probabilities were in favour of Cleomenes gaining an easy victory; but if, adhering to his plan, he remained quiet, he thought he could, after terrifying his enemies and inspiring his own troops with fresh courage, effect a safe retreat to Laconia, as actually happened. For, when the country was being laid waste, the populace held meetings in which they heaped abuse on Antigonus; but he, like a true general and prince, paid no attention to anything but a wise conduct of affairs, and remained quiet, while Cleomenes, having carried out his intention of devastating the country and thus striking terror into the enemy and encouraging his own troops to face the coming danger, retired in safety to his own country.

65. Early in summer, on the Macedonians and Achaeans rejoining from their winter quarters, Antigonus advanced with his own army and the allies into Laconia. His Macedonian forces consisted of ten thousand to form the phalanx, three thousand peltasts, and three hundred horse. He had besides a thousand Agrianians, and a thousand Gauls, while his mercenary force numbered three thousand foot and three hundred horse. The Achaeans furnished three thousand picked infantry and three hundred horse. There were also a

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

πολίτας χιλίους εἰς τὸν Μακεδονικὸν τρόπον καθ-  
 ωπλισμένους, ὧν ἠγεῖτο Κερκιδᾶς Μεγαλοπολίτης,  
 4 τῶν δὲ συμμάχων Βοιωτῶν μὲν πεζοὺς δισχιλίους,  
 ἵππεῖς δὲ διακοσίους, Ἑπειρωτῶν πεζοὺς χιλίους,  
 ἵππεῖς πεντήκοντα, Ἀκαρνάνων ἄλλους τοσοῦτους,  
 Ἰλλυριῶν χιλίους ἑξακοσίους, ἐφ' ὧν ἦν Δημήτριος  
 5 ὁ Φάριος, ὥστ' εἶναι πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν πεζοὺς  
 μὲν εἰς δισμυρίους ὀκτακισχιλίους, ἵππεῖς δὲ χιλίους  
 6 καὶ διακοσίους. ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης, προσδοκῶν τὴν  
 ἔφοδον, τὰς μὲν ἄλλας τὰς εἰς τὴν χώραν εἰσβολὰς  
 ἠσφαλίσατο φυλακαῖς καὶ τάφροις καὶ δένδρων ἐκ-  
 7 κοπαῖς, αὐτὸς δὲ κατὰ τὴν Σελλασίαν καλουμένην  
 μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐστρατοπέδευε, τῆς πάσης ὑπαρ-  
 χούσης αὐτῷ στρατιᾶς εἰς δύο μυριάδας, στοχαζό-  
 μενος ἐκ τῶν κατὰ λόγον ταύτη ποιήσασθαι τοὺς  
 8 ὑπεναντίους τὴν εἰσβολήν· ὁ καὶ συνεκύρησε. δύο  
 δὲ λόφων ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς εἰσόδου κειμένων, ὧν τὸν  
 μὲν Εὐᾶν, τὸν δ' ἕτερον Ὀλυμπον καλεῖσθαι συμ-  
 9 βαίνει, τῆς δ' ὁδοῦ μεταξὺ τούτων παρὰ τὸν  
 Οἰνοῦντα ποταμὸν φερούσης εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην, ὁ  
 μὲν Κλεομένης, τῶν προειρημένων λόφων συνάμφω  
 τάφρον καὶ χάρακα προβαλόμενος, ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν Εὐᾶν  
 ἔταξε τοὺς περιοίκους καὶ συμμάχους, ἐφ' ὧν ἐπέ-  
 στησε τὸν ἀδελφὸν Εὐκλείδαν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν Ὀλυμ-  
 πον κατεῖχε μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν μισθο-  
 10 φόρων. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐπιπέδοις παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν  
 ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τῆς ὁδοῦ τοὺς ἵππεῖς μετὰ μέρους  
 11 τινὸς τῶν μισθοφόρων παρενέβαλεν. Ἀντίγονος δὲ  
 παραγενόμενος καὶ συνθεωρήσας τὴν τε τῶν τόπων  
 ὀχυρότητα καὶ τὸν Κλεομένη παῖσι τοῖς οἰκείοις μέ-  
 ρεσι τῆς δυνάμεως οὕτως εὐστόχως προκατειληφῶτα  
 τὰς εὐκαιρίας ὥστε παραπλήσιον εἶναι τὸ σύμπαν



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## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

σχῆμα τῆς στρατοπεδείας τῆς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὄπλο-  
 12 μάχων προβολῆς· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀπέλειπε τῶν πρὸς  
 ἐπίθεσιν ἅμα καὶ φυλακὴν, ἀλλ' ἦν ὁμοῦ παράταξις  
 66 ἐνεργὸς καὶ παρεμβολὴ δυσπρόσοδος· διὸ καὶ τὸ  
 μὲν ἐξ ἐφόδου καταπειράζειν καὶ συμπλέκεσθαι  
 προχείρως ἀπέγνω, στρατοπεδεύσας δ' ἐν βραχεῖ  
 διαστήματι, καὶ λαβὼν πρόβλημα τὸν Γοργύλον  
 καλούμενον ποταμόν, τινὰς μὲν ἡμέρας ἐπιμένων  
 συνεθεώρει τὰς τε τῶν τόπων ιδιότητας καὶ τὰς  
 2 τῶν δυνάμεων διαφοράς, ἅμα δὲ καὶ προδεικνύων  
 τινὰς ἐπιβολὰς πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἐξεκαλεῖτο τὰς τῶν  
 3 ὑπεναντίων ἐπινοίας. οὐ δυνάμενος δὲ λαβεῖν οὐ-  
 δὲν ἀργὸν οὐδ' ἔξοπλον διὰ τὸ πρὸς πᾶν ἐτοίμως  
 4 ἀντικινεῖσθαι τὸν Κλεομένη, τῆς μὲν τοιαύτης ἐπι-  
 νοίας ἀπέστη, τέλος δ' ἐξ ὁμολόγου διὰ μάχης ἀμ-  
 φότεροι προέθεντο κρίνειν τὰς πράξεις· πάνυ γὰρ  
 εὐφυεῖς καὶ παραπλησίους ἡγεμόνας ἢ τύχη συν-  
 5 ἔβαλε τούτους τοὺς ἄνδρας. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τοὺς  
 κατὰ τὸν Εὐᾶν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀντέταξε τῶν τε Μακε-  
 δόνων τοὺς χαλκάσπιδας καὶ τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς, κατὰ  
 σπείρας ἐναλλάξ τεταγμένους, Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν  
 6 Ἀκμήτου καὶ Δημήτριον τὸν Φάριον ἐπιστήσας. ἐπὶ  
 δὲ τούτοις τοὺς Ἀκαρναῆνας καὶ Κρήτας ἐπέβαλε·  
 τούτων δὲ κατόπιν ἦσαν δισχίλιοι τῶν Ἀχαιῶν,  
 7 ἐφεδρείας λαμβάνοντες τάξιν. τοὺς δ' ἵππεῖς περὶ  
 τὸν Οἰνοῦντα ποταμόν ἀντέθηκε τῷ τῶν πολεμίων  
 ἵππικῷ, συστήσας αὐτοῖς Ἀλέξανδρον ἡγεμόνα καὶ  
 συμπαραθεῖς πεζοὺς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν χιλίους καὶ Με-  
 8 γαλοπολίτας τοὺς ἴσους. αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς μισθοφό-  
 ρους ἔχων καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας κατὰ τὸν Ὀλυμπον  
 πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Κλεομένη διέγνω ποιεῖσθαι τὴν  
 9 μάχην. προτάξας οὖν τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἐπέστησε

whole formation resembled a charge. For attack and defence alike nothing was wanting, the position being at one and the same time a fortified camp difficult to approach and a line of battle ready for action. 66. Antigonus therefore decided to make no hasty attempt to force the position and come to blows with the enemy, but encamped at a short distance with the river Gorgylus on his front, and for several days remained there noting the peculiar features of the country and the character of the forces, while at the same time, by threatening certain movements, he attempted to make the enemy show his hand. But being unable to find any weak or unprotected spot, since Cleomenes always checked him at once by a counter-movement, he abandoned this project, and finally the kings agreed to try issues in a battle: for they were very gifted and evenly-matched, these two generals whom Fortune had thus brought face to face. To confront those on Euas Antigonus drew up the brazen-shielded Macedonians and the Illyrians in alternate lines, placing them under the command of Alexander son of Acmetus, and Demetrius of Pharos. Behind these stood the Acarnanians and Cretans, and in the rear as a reserve were two thousand Achaeans. His cavalry he opposed to that of the enemy by the river Oenous under the command of Alexander and supported by a thousand Achaean and as many Megalopolitan infantry. He himself in person decided to attack Cleomenes on Olympus with the mercenaries and the rest of the Macedonians. Putting



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

διφαλαγγίαν ἐπάλληλον τῶν Μακεδόνων· ἐποίει δὲ  
 10 τοῦτο διὰ τὴν στευότητα τῶν τόπων. σύνθημα δ'  
 ἦν τοῖς μὲν Ἰλλυριοῖς τότε ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς  
 πρὸς τὸν λόφον προσβολῆς, ὅταν ἴδωσιν ἀρθεῖσαν  
 ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ὀλυμπον τόπων σινδόνα· προσ-  
 ηρτημένοι γὰρ ἦσαν οὗτοι νυκτὸς ἐν τῷ Γοργύλῳ  
 11 ποταμῷ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ λόφου ρίζῃ· τοῖς δὲ  
 Μεγαλοπολίταις καὶ τοῖς ἵππεῦσι παραπλησίως,  
 ἐπειδὴν φοινικὶς ἐξαρθῆ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως.  
 67 Ἐπειδὴ δ' ὁ μὲν καιρὸς ἦκε τῆς χρείας, τὸ δὲ  
 σύνθημα τοῖς Ἰλλυριοῖς ἀπεδόθη, παρήγγειλαν δὲ  
 ποιεῖν τὸ δέον οἷς ἦν ἐπιμελές, πάντες εὐθέως ἀνα-  
 δείξαντες αὐτοὺς κατήρχοντο τῆς πρὸς τὸν βουνὸν  
 2 προσβολῆς. οἱ δὲ μετὰ τῶν Κλεομένους ἵππέων ἐξ  
 ἀρχῆς ταχθέντες εὗζωνοι, θεωροῦντες τὰς σπεῖρας  
 τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐρήμους ἐκ τῶν κατόπιν οὔσας, κατ'  
 οὐρὰν προσπίπτοντες εἰς ὀλοσχερῇ κίνδυνον ἤγον  
 3 τοὺς πρὸς τὸν λόφον βιαζομένους, ὡς ἂν τῶν μὲν  
 περὶ τὸν Εὐκλείδαν ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου κατὰ πρόσωπον  
 αὐτοῖς ἐφεστῶτων, τῶν δὲ μισθοφόρων κατόπιν ἐπι-  
 κειμένων καὶ προσφερόντων τὰς χεῖρας ἐρρωμένως.  
 4 ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ συννοήσας τὸ γινόμενον, ἅμα δὲ προ-  
 ορώμενος τὸ μέλλον, Φιλοποίμην ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης  
 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑποδεικνύειν ἐπεβάλλετο τοῖς προ-  
 5 εστῶσι τὸ συμβησόμενον· οὐδενὸς δὲ προσέχοντος  
 αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ μήτ' ἐφ' ἡγεμονίας τετάχθαι μηδεπώ-  
 ποτε κομιδῇ τε νέον ὑπάρχειν αὐτόν, παρακαλέσας  
 τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ πολίτας ἐνέβαλε τοῖς πολεμίοις τολμη-  
 6 ρῶς. οὗ γενομένου ταχέως οἱ προσκείμενοι μισθο-  
 φόροι κατ' οὐρὰν τοῖς προσβαίνουσιν, ἀκούσαντες  
 τῆς κραυγῆς καὶ συνιδόντες τὴν τῶν ἵππέων συμπλο-



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## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

κήν, ἀφέμενοι τῶν προκειμένων ἀνέτρεχον εἰς τὰς ἐξ  
 ἀρχῆς τάξεις καὶ προσεβοήθουν τοῖς παρ' αὐτῶν ἰπ-  
 πεῦσι. τούτου δὲ συμβάντος, ἀπερίσπαστον γενό-  
 7 μενον τό τε τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ Μακεδόνων καὶ τῶν  
 ἅμα τούτοις προσβαινόντων πλῆθος ἐκθύμως ὤρ-  
 8 μησε καὶ τεθαρρηκότως ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπεναντίους. ἐξ οὗ  
 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα φανερόν ἐγενήθη διότι τοῦ κατὰ τὸν  
 Εὐκλείδαν προτερήματος αἴτιος ἐγένετο Φιλοποίμην.  
 68 ὅθεν καὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονόν φασι μετὰ ταῦτα κατα-  
 πειράζοντα πυνθάνεσθαι τοῦ ταχθέντος ἐπὶ τῶν ἰπ-  
 πέων Ἀλεξάνδρου διὰ τί πρὸ τοῦ παραδοθῆναι τὸ  
 2 σύνθημα τοῦ κινδύνου κατάρξαιτο. τοῦ δ' ἀρνου-  
 μένου, φάσκοντος δὲ μεираκίόν τι Μεγαλοπολιτικὸν  
 προεγχειρῆσαι παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην, εἰπεῖν διότι  
 τὸ μὲν μεираκίον ἡγεμόνος ἔργον ἀγαθοῦ ποιῆσαι,  
 συνθεασάμενον τὸν καιρόν, ἐκεῖνος δ' ἡγεμὼν ὑπ-  
 ἀρχων μεираκίου τοῦ τυχόντος.  
 3 Οὐ μὲν ἄλλ' οἷ γε περὶ τὸν Εὐκλείδαν ὄρωντες  
 προσβαινούσας τὰς σπείρας, ἀφέμενοι τοῦ χρῆσθαι  
 4 ταῖς τῶν τόπων εὐκαιρίαις· τοῦτο δ' ἦν ἐκ πολλοῦ  
 συναντῶντας καὶ προσπίπτοντας τοῖς πολεμίοις τὰ  
 μὲν ἐκείνων στίφη συνταράττειν καὶ διαλύειν,  
 αὐτοὺς δ' ὑποχωρεῖν ἐπὶ πόδα καὶ μεθίστασθαι πρὸς  
 5 τοὺς ὑπερδεξίους ἀεὶ τόπους ἀσφαλῶς· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν  
 προλυμηνάμενοι καὶ συγχέαντες τὸ τοῦ καθοπλισμοῦ  
 καὶ τῆς συντάξεως ἰδίωμα τῶν ὑπεναντίων ῥαδίως  
 6 αὐτοὺς ἐτρέψαντο διὰ τὴν τῶν τόπων εὐφυΐαν·  
 τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν ἐποίησαν, καθάπερ δ' ἐξ ἐτοίμου  
 7 σφίσι τῆς νίκης ὑπαρχούσης τούναντίον ἔπραξαν.  
 κατὰ γὰρ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς στάσιν ἔμενον ἐπὶ τῶν  
 ἄκρων, ὡς ἀνωτάτω σπεύδοντες λαβεῖν τοὺς ὑπ-  
 εναντίους, εἰς τὸ τὴν φυγὴν ἐπὶ πολὺ καταφερῆ  
 406

cavalry engaged, abandoned what they had in hand and running back to their original position came to the aid of their cavalry. The Illyrians and Macedonians and the rest of this attacking force were now disengaged, and threw themselves with great dash and courage on the enemy. Thus, as became evident afterwards, the success of the attack on Eucleidas was due to Philopoemen. 68. Hence it is said that subsequently Antigonus asked Alexander, the commander of the cavalry, to convict him of his shortcomings, why he had begun the battle before the signal was given. On Alexander denying this and saying that a stripling from Megalopolis had begun it contrary to his own judgement, the king said that this stripling in grasping the situation had acted like a good general and Alexander himself, the general, like an ordinary stripling.

To continue our narrative, Eucleidas' troops, on seeing the enemy's lines advancing, cast away the advantage the ground gave them. They should have charged the enemy while still at a distance, thus breaking his ranks and throwing them into disorder, and then retreating slowly, have returned in safety to the higher ground. Thus having in the first instance spoilt and broken up that peculiar serried formation of the enemy so well adapted to their special equipment, they would easily have put them to flight owing to their favourable position. Instead of doing this, they acted as if the victory were already in their hand and did exactly the opposite. They remained, that is, at the summit in their original position with the view of getting their opponents as high up the hill as possible so that the enemy's flight would be for a long distance down the steep and precipitous

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

- 8 καὶ κρημνώδη γενέσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις. συνέβη δ',  
 ὅπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, τούναντίον· οὐ γὰρ ἀπολιπόντες  
 αὐτοῖς ἀναχώρησιν, προσδεξάμενοι δ' ἀκεραίους ἅμα  
 καὶ συνεστώσας τὰς σπεύρας, εἰς τοῦτο δυσχρηστίας  
 ἦλθον ὥστε δι' αὐτῆς τῆς τοῦ λόφου κορυφῆς δια-  
 9 μάχεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς βιαζομένους. λοιπὸν ὅσον ἐκ  
 ποδὸς ἐπιέσθησαν τῷ βάρει τοῦ καθοπλισμοῦ καὶ  
 τῆς συντάξεως, εὐθέως οἱ μὲν Ἰλλυριοὶ τὴν κατά-  
 στασιν ἐλάμβανον, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Εὐκλείδαν τὴν ὑπὸ  
 πόδα, διὰ τὸ μὴ καταλείπεσθαι τόπον εἰς ἀναχώρη-  
 10 σιν καὶ μετὰστασιν ἑαυτοῖς. ἐξ οὗ ταχέως συνέβη  
 τραπέντας αὐτοὺς ὀλεθρίῳ χρήσασθαι φυγῇ, κρη-  
 μνώδη καὶ δύσβατον ἔχόντων ἐπὶ πολὺ τὴν ἀνα-  
 χώρησιν τῶν τόπων.
- 69 Ἐμα δὲ τούτοις ὁ περὶ τοὺς ἵππεῖς συνετελεῖτο  
 κίνδυνος, ἐκπρεπῆ ποιουμένων τὴν χρεῖαν τῶν Ἀχαιϊ-  
 κῶν ἵππέων ἀπάντων, μάλιστα δὲ Φιλοποίμενος,  
 διὰ τὸ περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἐλευθερίας συνεστάναι τὸν  
 2 ὅλον ἀγῶνα. καθ' ὃν καιρὸν τῷ προειρημένῳ συν-  
 ἔβη τὸν μὲν ἵππον πεσεῖν πληγέντα καιρίως, αὐτὸν  
 δὲ πεζομαχοῦντα περιπεσεῖν τραύματι βιαίῳ δι' ἀμ-  
 3 φοῖν τοῖν μηροῖν. οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς κατὰ τὸν Ὀλυμ-  
 πον τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐποιοῦντο διὰ τῶν εὐζώνων καὶ  
 μισθοφόρων τὴν συμπλοκὴν, παρ' ἑκατέροις σχεδὸν  
 4 ὑπαρχόντων τούτων εἰς πεντακισχιλίους. ὧν ποτὲ  
 μὲν κατὰ μέρη, ποτὲ δ' ὅλοσχερῶς συμπιπτόντων,  
 διαφέρουσαν συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι τὴν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν  
 χρεῖαν, ὁμοῦ τῶν τε βασιλέων καὶ τῶν στρατοπέ-  
 5 δων ἐν συνόψει ποιουμένων τὴν μάχην. ἤμιλλῶντο  
 δὲ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα καὶ κατὰ τάγμα  
 6 ταῖς εὐψυχίαις. ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης, ὄρων τοὺς μὲν  
 περὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν πεφευγότας, τοὺς δ' ἐν τοῖς ἐπι-  
 408



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## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

πέδοις ἵππεῖς ὅσον οὐπω κλίνοντας, καταπλαγῆς ὧν  
 μὴ πανταχόθεν προσδέξηται τοὺς πολεμίους, ἤναγ-  
 κάζετο διασπᾶν τὰ προτειχίσματα καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν  
 δύναμιν ἐξάγειν μετωπηδὸν κατὰ μίαν πλευρὰν τῆς  
 7 στρατοπεδείας. ἀνακληθέντων δὲ τῶν παρ' ἑκατέ-  
 ροις εὐζώνων ἐκ τοῦ μεταξὺ τόπου διὰ τῆς σάλπιγγ-  
 γος, συναλαλάξασαι καὶ καταβαλοῦσαι τὰς σαρί-  
 8 σας συνέβαλλον αἱ φάλαγγες ἀλλήλαις. ἀγῶνος δὲ  
 γενομένου κραταιοῦ, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν ἐπὶ πόδα ποιου-  
 μένων τὴν ἀναχώρησιν καὶ πιεζομένων ἐπὶ πολὺ τῶν  
 Μακεδόνων ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν Λακόνων εὐψυχίας, ποτὲ  
 δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐξωθουμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ βᾶ-  
 9 ρους τῆς τῶν Μακεδόνων τάξεως, τέλος οἱ περὶ τὸν  
 Ἄντίγονον συμφράξαντες τὰς σαρίσας, καὶ χρησά-  
 μενοι τῷ τῆς ἐπαλλήλου φάλαγγος ἰδιώματι, βία  
 προσπεσόντες ἐξέωσαν ἐκ τῶν ὀχυρωμάτων τοὺς  
 10 Λακεδαιμονίους. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἄλλο πλῆθος ἔφευγε  
 προτροπάδην φονευόμενον· ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης ἵππεῖς  
 τινὰς ἔχων περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀπεχώρησε μετὰ τούτων  
 11 ἀσφαλῶς εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην. ἐπιγενομένης δὲ τῆς νυ-  
 κτὸς καταβὰς εἰς Γύθιον, ἠτοιμασμένων αὐτῷ τῶν  
 πρὸς τὸν πλοῦν ἐκ πλείονος χρόνου πρὸς τὸ συμ-  
 βαῖνον, ἀπῆρε μετὰ τῶν φίλων εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν.  
 70 Ἄντίγονος δ' ἐγκρατῆς γενόμενος ἐξ ἐφόδου τῆς  
 Σπάρτης, τὰ τε λοιπὰ μεγαλοψύχως καὶ φιλανθρώ-  
 πως ἐχρήσατο τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, τό τε πολίτευμα  
 τὸ πατριον αὐτοῖς ἀποκαταστήσας ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις  
 ἀνέζευξε μετὰ τῶν δυνάμεων ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, προσ-  
 αγγελθέντος αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς εἰσβεβληκότας  
 2 εἰς Μακεδονίαν πορθεῖν τὴν χώραν. οὕτως αἰεί-  
 ποθ' ἢ τύχη τὰ μέγιστα τῶν πραγμάτων παρὰ λό-  
 3 γον εἴωθε κρίνειν. καὶ γὰρ τότε Κλεομένης, εἴτε

level ground on the point of giving way, was afraid of being charged from all sides and was compelled to pull down part of his defences and to lead out his whole force in line from one side of the camp. Each side now recalled by bugle their light-armed troops from the space between them, and shouting their war-cry and lowering their lances, the two phalanxes met. A stubborn struggle followed. At one time the Macedonians gradually fell back facing the enemy, giving way for a long distance before the courage of the Lacedaemonians, at another the latter were pushed from their ground by the weight of the Macedonian phalanx, until, on Antigonus ordering the Macedonians to close up in the peculiar formation of the double phalanx with its serried line of pikes, they delivered a charge which finally forced the Lacedaemonians from their stronghold. The whole Spartan army now fled in rout, followed and cut down by the enemy; but Cleomenes with a few horsemen reached Sparta in safety. At nightfall he went down to Gythion, where all had been prepared some time previously for the voyage in view of contingencies, and set sail with his friends for Alexandria.

70. Antigonus having attacked and taken Sparta, treated the Lacedaemonians in all respects with great generosity and humanity, and, after restoring the ancient form of government, left the city in a few days with his whole army, as he had received news that the Illyrians had invaded Macedonia and were ravaging the country. Thus ever is it the way of Fortune to decide the most weighty issues against rule and reason. For on this occasion Cleomenes,



## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

τὰ κατὰ τὸν κίνδυνον παρείλκυσε τελέως ὀλίγας ἡμέρας, εἴτ' ἀναχωρήσας ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ βραχὺ τῶν καιρῶν ἀντεποιήσατο, διακατέσχεν ἂν τὴν ἀρχήν.

4 Οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ὃ γ' Ἀντίγονος παραγενόμενος εἰς Τεγέαν, καὶ τούτοις ἀποδοὺς τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν, δευτεραῖος ἐντεῦθεν εἰς Ἄργος ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἦλθε τὴν  
 5 τῶν Νεμέων πανήγυριν. ἐν ἧ τυχῶν πάντων τῶν πρὸς ἀθάνατον δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν ἀνηκόντων ὑπὸ τε τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ἐκάστης τῶν πόλεων, ὤρμησε κατὰ σπουδὴν εἰς Μακεδονίαν.  
 6 καταλαβὼν δὲ τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ συμβαλὼν ἐκ παρατάξεως, τῇ μὲν μάχῃ κατώρθωσε, τῇ δὲ παρακλήσει καὶ κραυγῇ τῇ κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν κίνδυνον ἐκθύμως χρησάμενος εἰς αἵματος ἀναγωγὴν καὶ τινὰ τοιαύτην διάθεσιν ἐμπεσὼν μετ' οὐ πολὺ  
 7 νόσῳ τὸν βίον μετήλλαξε, καλὰς ἐλπίδας ὑποδείξας ἐν αὐτῷ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὑπαίθροις χρείαν, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον κατὰ τὴν ὄλην  
 8 αἴρεσιν καὶ καλοκάγαθίαν. τὴν δὲ Μακεδόνων βασιλείαν ἀπέλιπε Φιλίππῳ τῷ Δημητρίου.

71 Τίνος δὲ χάριν ἐποησάμεθα τὴν ἐπὶ πλείον  
 2 ὑπὲρ τοῦ προειρημένου πολέμου μνήμην; διότι τῶν καιρῶν τούτων συναπτόντων τοῖς ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἱστορεῖσθαι μέλλουσι χρήσιμον ἐδόκει, μᾶλλον δ' ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρόθεσιν τὸ ποιῆσαι πᾶσιν ἐναργῆ καὶ γνώριμον τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν περὶ Μακεδόνας καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας τότε κατάστασιν.  
 3 περὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς καὶ Πτολεμαίου νόσῳ τὸν βίον μεταλλάξαντος Πτολεμαῖος ὁ κληθεὶς  
 4 Φιλοπάτωρ διεδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν. μετήλλαξε δὲ καὶ Σέλευκος ὁ Σελεύκου τοῦ Καλλινίκου καὶ



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Πύργωνος ἐπικληθέντος· Ἀντίοχος δὲ διεδέξατο τὴν  
5 ἐν Συρία βασιλείαν, ἀδελφὸς ὢν αὐτοῦ. παραπλή-  
σιον γὰρ δὴ τι συνέβη τούτοις καὶ τοῖς πρώτοις μετὰ  
τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν κατασχοῦσι τὰς ἀρχὰς  
ταύτας, λέγω δὲ Σελεύκῳ, Πτολεμαίῳ, Λυσιμάχῳ.  
6 ἐκεῖνοί τε γὰρ πάντες περὶ τὴν εἰκοστὴν καὶ τετάρ-  
την πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν Ὀλυμπιάδα μετήλλαξαν, καθά-  
περ ἐπάνω προεῖπον, οὗτοί τε περὶ τὴν ἐνάτην καὶ  
τριακοστὴν.  
7 Ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἐπίστασιν καὶ προκατασκευὴν  
τῆς ὅλης ἱστορίας διεληλύθαμεν, δι' ἧς ὑποδέδεικται  
πότε καὶ πῶς καὶ δι' ἧς αἰτίας τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν  
κρατήσαντες Ῥωμαῖοι πρῶτον ἐγχειρεῖν ἤρξαντο  
τοῖς ἔξω πράγμασι, καὶ πρῶτον ἐτόλμησαν ἀμφισβη-  
8 τεῖν Καρχηδονίοις τῆς θαλάττης, ἅμα δὲ τούτοις  
καὶ τὴν περὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας καὶ Μακεδόνας, ὁμοίως  
9 δὲ καὶ περὶ Καρχηδονίους ὑπάρχουσαν τότε κατά-  
στασιν δεδηλώκαμεν, καθῆκον ἂν εἶη παραγεγονότας  
ἐπὶ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
πρόθεσιν, ἐν οἷς ἔμελλον οἱ μὲν Ἑλληνες τὸν  
συμμαχικόν, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τὸν Ἀννιβιακόν, οἱ δὲ  
κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν βασιλεῖς τὸν περὶ Κοίλης Συρίας  
10 ἐνίστασθαι πόλεμον, καὶ τὴν βύβλον ταύτην  
ἀφορίζειν ἀκολουθῶς τῇ τε τῶν προγεγονότων πραγ-  
μάτων περιγραφῇ καὶ τῇ τῶν κεχειρικότεων τὰ πρὸ  
τοῦ δυναστῶν καταστροφῇ.

## BOOK II. 71. 4 – 10

time, his brother Antiochus succeeding him in the kingdom of Syria. The same thing in fact occurred in the case of these three kings, as in that of the first successors of Alexander in the three kingdoms, Seleucus, Ptolemy, and Lysimachus, who all, as I stated above, died in the 124th Olympiad, while these kings died in the 139th.

284-  
B.C.  
224-  
B.C.

I have thus completed this Introduction or preliminary part of my History. In it I have shown in the first place when, how, and why the Romans, having mastered Italy, first entered on enterprises outside that land and disputed the command of the sea with the Carthaginians, and next I have dealt with the state of Greece and Macedonia and with that of Carthage as this existed then. So having, as was my original purpose, reached the date at which the Greeks were on the eve of the Social War, the Romans on the eve of the Hannibalic War, and the kings of Asia about to enter on the war for Coele-Syria, I must now bring this Book to its close, which coincides with the final events preceding these wars and the death of the three kings who had up to now directed affairs.

END OF BOOK II





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# INDEX

- Antigonus Gonatas, ii. 41.  
10; 43; 44; 45. 2
- Antigonus the Great, i. 3. 1;  
ii. 71. 4
- Apennines, mountains, ii. 14.  
8, 10; 16. 1; 17. 7; 24. 7
- Apollonia, ii. 9. 8; 11. 6-7
- Aratus, of Sicyon, senior, i.  
3. 2; ii. 40. 2, 4; 43. 3;  
44. 3; 45. 4 ff.; 46;  
47. 4 ff.; 49. 9; 50. 1 ff.;  
52; 56; 57; 59. 8; 60. 2
- Aratus, junior, ii. 51
- Arbo, ii. 11. 16
- Arcadia, Arcadians, ii. 38. 3;  
54. 2; 55. 6; 62. 11
- Ardiaeans, ii. 11. 10; 12. 2
- Argos, Argives, ii. 52. 2;  
53. 2; 54; 59. 1; 59. 8; 60.  
2; 64. 1; 70. 4
- Ariminum, ii. 21. 5; 23. 5
- Aristomachus of Argos, ii. 44.  
6; 59
- Aristoteles of Argos, ii. 53. 2
- Arretium, ii. 16. 2; 19. 7
- Artemidorus, i. 8. 3
- Asia, i. 2. 2; 2. 5; 3. 1; 3. 4;  
ii. 37. 6; 71. 9
- Aspis, i. 29. 2, 5; 34. 11;  
36. 6
- Atarbes, see Adherbal
- Athens, Athenians, Attica,  
i. 63. 8; ii. 12. 8; 62. 6, 7
- Athenaeum, ii. 46. 5
- A. Atilius Calatinus, cos., i.  
24. 9; 38. 6
- C. Atilius, cos. 250, B.C.,  
i. 39. 15
- C. Atilius Regulus, cos. (at  
Tyndaris), i. 25
- C. Atilius Regularis, M. F.,  
cos., ii. 23. 6; 27. 1 ff.;  
28. 10
- M. Atilius Regulus, cos.,  
i. 26. 11; 28. 7 (in Africa);  
29. 9; 31
- Atintania, ii. 5. 8; 11. 11
- Atis, ii. 21. 5
- Autaritus, i. 77. 1; 77. 4;  
78. 12; 79. 8; 80. 1;  
85. 2, 5
- BALEARIC islands, i. 67. 7
- Barcas, i. 74. 9, 78. 7;  
82, 12; 86. 8; 87; 88. 4
- Belbina, ii. 54. 3
- Bodencus, ii. 16. 12
- Boeotians, ii. 49. 6; 65. 4
- Boii, ii. 17. 7; 20. 1; 21. 5, 9;  
22. 1 ff.; 23. 1; 24. 8;  
28. 4 ff.; 30. 6; 31. 9
- Boödes, i. 21. 6
- Bostar, i. 30. 1; 79. 2
- Brundisium, ii. 11. 7
- Bruttii, i. 56. 3
- Bura, ii. 41. 8; 41. 13-14
- L. CAECILIUS METELLUS, cos.,  
i. 39. 8 (at Panormus), 40
- L. Caecilius Metellus, Praetor,  
ii. 19. 8
- Camarina, i. 24. 11; 37. 1
- Camerinum, ii. 19. 5
- Campanians, in Messene, i.  
7. 2, 8; ii. 24. 14
- Caphyae, ii. 52. 2
- Capua, ii. 17. 1
- Carthage, Carthaginians, i  
*passim*; ii. 7. 7; 13. 1;  
22. 8; 36. 1; 71. 7
- Carthage, New, ii. 13. 1
- Caulonians, ii. 39. 6
- Carthaloi, 53. 2; 54
- Caryneia, ii. 10. 5; 41. 8, 14;  
43. 2
- Cassander, ii. 41. 10

# INDEX

- Celtiberia, ii. 13. 5  
 Cenchreae, ii. 17. 4 ; 59. 1 ;  
 60. 7  
 Cenomani. ii. 17. 43 ; 23. 2 ;  
 24. 7 ; 32. 4  
 Centuripa, i. 9. 4  
 Cercidas of Megelopolis, ii.  
 48. 4 ; 50. 2 ; 65. 3, 6  
 Clastidium, ii. 34. 5  
 A. Claudius Caudex, besieges  
 Syracuse, i. 12. 4 ; 15. 8 ff. ;  
 cos., 1. 11. 3 ff.  
 M. Claudius Marcellus, cos.,  
 ii. 34. 1 ff.  
 P. Claudius Pulcher, cos.,  
 defeated at Drepana, i.  
 49. 3 ff.  
 Cleomenes of Sparta, ii. 45.  
 2 ; 46. 2 ; 47-49 ; 50. 8 ;  
 51 ; 52 ; 54 ; 55 ; 57. 1 ;  
 58. 7 ; 60. 6 ; 61. 4, 9 ;  
 62. 1 ; 65-67 ; 69. 10 ; 70. 2  
 Cleonae, ii. 52. 2  
 Cleonymus, Tyrant of Phlius,  
 ii. 446  
 Clitorians, ii. 55. 9  
 Clusium, ii. 25. 2  
 Clusius, river, ii. 32. 4  
 Cocynthus, ii. 14. 5  
 Coele-Syria, i. 3. 1 ; ii. 71. 9  
 Colaeus, ii. 55. 5  
 Concolitanus, ii. 22. 2 ; 31. 1  
 Corcyra, ii. 9. 2 ; 9. 7 ; 11.  
 2 ff. ; 12. 5  
 Corinth, Corinthians, ii. 12. 8 ;  
 43. 4 ; 51. 6 ; 52. 3 ; 54. 5  
 Cn. Cornelius Scipio, cos.,  
 at Lipara, i. 21. 4 ; at  
 Panormus, 38. 6  
 Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus,  
 cos., ii. 34 ff.  
 Coruncanus, C. and L., in  
 Illyria, ii. 8. 3
- Crete, Cretans, ii. 66. 6  
 Crotonians, ii. 39. 6  
 Cumae, i. 56. 10  
 M'. Curius, ii. 19. 8  
 Cyamosorus, river, i. 9. 4
- DANUBE (Ister), river, i. 2. 4  
 Dardanians, ii. 6. 4  
 Decius of Campania, i. 7. 7  
 Delphi, i. 6. 5 ; ii. 20. 6 ;  
 35. 7  
 Demetrius, son of Antigonus  
 Gonatas, ii. 2. 5 ; 44. 1 ;  
 49. 7  
 Demetrius of Pharos, ii.  
 10. 8 ; 11 ; 65. 4 ; 66. 5  
 Demetrius Poliorcetes, i. 63.  
 7 ; ii. 41. 10  
 Dionysius senior, Tyrant of  
 Syracuse, i. 6. 2 ; ii. 39. 7  
 Drepana, i. 41. 6 ; 46 ;  
 49. 4 ; 55. 7  
 C. Duilius, victor at Mylae, i.  
 22. 1 ; 23  
 Dyme. ii. 41. 1 ; 41. 8, 12 ;  
 51. 4
- ECHETLA, i. 15. 10  
 Ecnomus, Roman victory, i.  
 25 ff.  
 Egypt, ii. 37. 6  
 Elea, i. 20. 14 ; in Elis, ii. 5. 1  
 Elephants, i. 19. 10, 11  
 Elleporus, battle of the, i. 6. 2  
 Emporia, i. 82. 6  
 Enna, i. 24. 12  
 Epidamnus, Epidamnians, ii.  
 9 ; 10. 9 ; 11. 1  
 Epidaurus, ii. 52. 2  
 Epirus, Epirotes, ii. 6. 5 ;  
 7. 4 ; 10 ; 8. 4 ; 65. 4  
 Eridanos (Po), ii, 16. 6  
 Eryx, Mount, i. 55. 7



## INDEX

- Eryx, town, i. 55. 6; 56; 58; 59; 60; 66; 77. 4; ii. 7. 8
- Etruria, Etruscans, Rome's wars with, i. 6. 4, 6; see Tyrrhenians; ii. 16. 2-3; 17. 1-3; 19. 2; 20. 1; 23. 4; 24. 5; 25. 1; 26. 7; 27
- Euas, ii. 65. 8, 9; 66. 5
- Euboea, ii. 52. 7
- Euclidas, ii. 65. 9; 67. 3, 8; 68. 3. 9
- Euripides, quoted, i. 35. 4
- Europe, i. 2. 4, 6; ii. 2. 1; 14. 7
- Q. FABIVS PICTOR**, historian, inadequacy of, i. 14. 1; 58. 5
- Faesulae (Fiesole), ii. 25. 6
- Falerii, i. 65. 2
- Falisci, i. 65. 2
- C. Flaminius, tribune, ii. 21. 8; 32. 1; 33. 7
- Frentani, ii. 24. 12
- Cn. Fulvius Centumalus, in Illyia, ii. 11. 1; 12. 1
- Q. Fulvius, cos., ii. 31. 8
- Servius Fulvius, cos., i. 36. 10
- C. Furius Pacilus, cos., i. 39. 8
- P. Furius, cos., ii. 32. 1
- GAESATAE, GAESATI**, ii. 22. 1; 23. 1; 28. 3; 30. 5; 34. 2
- Galatus, ii. 21. 3, 5
- Gauls (Celts), take Rome, i. 6. 2; 6. 4; 13. 4; 17. 4; 43. 4; 77. 1; 77. 4; ii. 5. 4; 7. 5; 13; 15. 8; 17. 3 ff.; 18. 5, 8; 19; 20; 22. 8; 24; 25. 1; 27; 28; 65. 2
- Gesco, Gisco, i. 66; 68. 13; 69; 70; 79. 10, 13; 80; 81. 3
- Gorgylus, ii. 66. 1, 10
- Gorza, i. 74. 13
- Greece, Greeks, i. 2. 3; 3. 1, 4, 6, 8; 16. 10; 32. 1; 42. 2; 48. 3; 63. 8; ii. 6. 7; 7. 4; 8. 4; 9. 1; 12. 3; 16. 13; 35. 7; 37. 3; 38. 3; 41. 10; 49. 4; 55. 6; 58. 11; 70. 7; 71
- Gythion, ii. 69. 11
- HAMILCAR**, at Panormus, i. 24. 3; at Tyndaris and Ecnomus, i. 27 ff.
- Hamilcar, Carthaginian General in Spain, i. 13. 3
- Hamilcar Barca, i. 56; 57; 58; 60. 8; 62; 64. 6; 66; 74. 9; 75; 76. 3; 77. 6; 78; 81. 1; 82. 1; 82. 12, 13; 84. 2; 85; 86-88; ii. 1. 5
- Hannibal, Hamilcar Barca's son, i. 64. 6; ii. 1. 6; 14. 2; 24. 1, 17; 36. 3
- Hannibal, Carthaginian General at Panormus, i. 21. 6 ff.
- Hannibal, Carthaginian General at Agrigentum, i. 18; 19. 2, 3
- Hannibal, son of the above, i. 43. 4
- Hannibal, surnamed the Rhodian, i. 46. 4 ff.; 59. 8
- Hannibalic war (2nd Punic War), i. 3. 2; 3. 6; 65. 8; ii. 14. 2
- Hanno, i. 67; 72. 3; 73. 1; 74. 1, 7, 12; 79. 4; 81. 1; 82. 1, 12; 87. 3, 5; 88. 4



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## INDEX

- Libya, Libyans, cf. also  
   Numidians, i. 2. 6 ; 3. 2 ;  
   10. 5 ; 13. 3 ; 19. 4 ; 20. 7 ;  
   26. 1 ; 29. 1 ; 36. 5 ; 41. 5 ;  
   65. 3 ; 72. 1 ; 73 ; 74. 7 ;  
   75. 4 ; 76. 6 ; 77. 3, 7 ;  
   79 ; 82. 8, 9 ; 83. 7 ; 84. 3 ;  
   85. 6 ; 97. 10 ; 88. 5 ; ii.  
   1. 5 ; 13. 2 ; 37. 2  
 Liguria, Ligurians, i. 17. 4 ;  
   67. 7 ; ii. 16. 1 ; 31. 4  
 Lilybaeum, promontory, i.  
   39. 6 ; 42. 6  
 Lilybaeum, town, i. 25. 9 ;  
   38. 4 ; 39. 12 ; 40. 2 ;  
   41. 4 ; 42. 6 ff. ; siege of,  
   53 ff.  
 Lingones, ii. 17. 7  
 Lipara, i. 21. 4 ff. ; 24. 13 ;  
   39. 13  
 Liparaean islands, i. 25. 4  
 Lissus, ii. 12. 3  
 Locrians, i. 20. 14  
 Locris, i. 56. 2  
 Longanus, river, i. 9. 7  
 Lucanians, ii. 24. 12  
 C. Lutatius Catulus, cos.,  
   victor at Aegatian Isles, i.  
   59. 8 ; 60. 4 ; 62. 7  
 Lycaeus, ii. 55. 3  
 Lycortas, ii. 40. 2  
 Lydiades, ii. 44. 5 ; 51. 3  
 Lysimachus of Thrace, ii.  
   41. 2 ; 71. 5  
  
 MACARAS, i. 75. 5 ; 86. 9  
 Macedonia, Macedonians, i.  
   2. 4, 9 ; ii. 37. 7 ; 39. 13 ;  
   40. 5 ; 41. 9 ; 43. 8 ; 45. 2 ;  
   48. 2 ; 49. 5 ; 50. 9 ; 51. 6 ;  
   54 ; 55. 6 ; 62. 1 ; 65. 1 ;  
   66 ; 67. 7 ; 69. 8 ; 70. 5 ;  
   71. 8  
 Macella, taken by Romans,  
   i. 24. 2  
 Magna Graecia, ii. 39. 1  
 Mamertines, i. 7. 8 ff.  
 Q. Mamilius, cos., sent to  
   Sicily, i. 17. 6  
 L. Manlius Vulso Longus, cos.  
   At Ecnomus, i. 26. 11 ;  
   28. 7 ; 29. 10 ; 39. 15  
 T. Manlius Torquatus, ii. 31.  
   8  
 Mantineans, ii. 46. 2 ; 53. 6 ;  
   54. 11 ; 55. 6 ; 57 ; 58 ;  
   61. 1 ; 62. 11  
 Margus of Caryneia, ii. 10.  
   5 ; 41. 14 ; 43. 2  
 Marrucini, ii. 24. 12  
 Marsi, ii. 24. 12  
 Massilia, ii. 14. 6, 8 ; 16. 1 ;  
   32. 1  
 Mathos, i. 69 ; 70 ; 72. 6 ;  
   75. 4 ; 77. 1 ; 79. 8 ; 82.  
   11, 13 ; 84. 1 ; 86 ; 87 ;  
   88. 7  
 Mediolanum, ii. 34. 10 ff.  
 Medion or Medeon, ii. 2. 5 ;  
   3. 1 ff.  
 Megalopolis, Megalopolitans,  
   ii. 46. 5 ; 48. 1 ff. ; 50. 1 ff. ;  
   51. 3 ; 54. 3 ; 55 ; 61. 2 ;  
   62. 1 ; 62. 9 ; 66. ff.  
 Megara, ii. 43. 5  
 Meninx, i. 39. 2  
 Mercenaries' war, i. 65. 3 ff.  
   88  
 Mergane, i. 8. 3  
 Messapians, ii. 24. 11  
 Messene, in Italy, i. 7. 1 ; 9.  
   4 ; 15. 1 ; 20. 13 ; 21. 4 ; 25.  
   7 ; 38. 7 ; 52. 8  
 Messene, Messenia, in  
   Greece, ii. 5. 1 ; 55. 3 ; 61.  
   4 ; 62. 10

# INDEX

- Minerva, ii. 32. 6  
 Mylaean plain, i. 9. 7  
 Myttistratum, i. 24. 11  
  
 NARAVAS, i. 78 ; 82. 13 ; 84. 4 ; 86. 1  
 Naples, i. 20. 14  
 Nemean festival, ii. 70. 4  
 New Carthage, ii. 13. 1  
 Nicophanes, ii. 48. 4, 6 ; 50. 3-5  
 Nola, ii. 17. 1  
 Numidians, i. 19. 2 ; 31. 2 ; 65. 3 ; 74. 7 ; 77. 3, 7 ; 78  
 Nutria, ii. 11. 13  
  
 OENOUS, ii. 65. 9 ; 66. 6  
 Ogygus, ii. 41. 5  
 Olana, ii. 16. 10  
 Olenus, ii. 41. 7  
 Olympus, in Laconia, ii. 65. 8 ; 66. 8, 10 ; 69. 3  
 Onei (ass's back) mountains, ii. 52. 5  
 Orchomenus, ii. 46. 2 ; 54. 10-11 ; 55. 9  
 Orestes, ii. 41. 4  
 Orion, i. 37. 4  
 M'. Otacilius, cos. in Sicily, i. 16. 1  
 T. Otacilius, cos., in Sicily, i. 20. 4  
  
 PACHYNUS, i. 25. 8 ; 42. 5 ; 54. 1  
 Padua, ii. 16. 11  
 Padus, river Po, ii. 16. 6 ; 17. 3 ff. ; 23. 1 ; 28. 4 ; 31. 8 ; 32. 2 ; 34. 4  
 Panormus, in Sicily, i. 21. 6 ; Romans at, 24 ; 38. 7 ; 39. 6 ; 40. 1 ff. ; 55. 7  
  
 Paropus, i. 24. 4  
 Parthini, ii. 11. 11  
 Patrae, ii. 41. 1 ; 41. 8, 12  
 Paxi, islands, ii. 10. 1  
 Pellene, in Laconia, ii. 41. 8 ; 52. 2  
 Peloponnesus, Peloponnesians, i. 42. 1 ; ii. 37 ; 38 ; 40. 1 ; 42. 6 ; 43 ; 44. 3 ; 49. 3 ; 52. 5 ; 52. 9 ; 54. 1 ; 60. 7 ; 62  
 Pelorias, cape, i. 42. 5  
 Persians, i. 2. 2, 5 ; 68. 8 ; ii. 35. 4  
 Perseus, i. 3. 1  
 Phaëthon, ii. 16. 13  
 Pharae, in Messenia, ii. 41. 8, 12  
 Pharos, ii. 11. 15  
 Pheneus, ii. 52. 2  
 Philinus, historian, inadequacy of, i. 14 ff.  
 Philippus, son of Amyntas, ii. 41. 6 ; 48. 3  
 Philip V, king of Macedon, son of Demetrius, father of Perseus, i. 3. 1 ; ii. 2 ; 37. 1 ; 45. 2 ; 70. 8  
 Philopoemen, ii. 40. 2 ; 67. 4, 8 ; 69. 1  
 Phlegraean plain, ii. 17. 1  
 Phlius, ii. 52. 2  
 Phoenice, in Epirus, ii. 5. 3 ; 6. 3 ; 8. 2, 4  
 Phylarchus, historian, ii. 56 ; 58 ; 58-61  
 Picenian land, ii. 21. 7  
 Pisa, ii. 16. 2 ; 27. 1 ; 28. 1  
 Pleuratus, ii. 2. 4  
 Polybius, vii ff., scope of his history, i. 1 ff. ; 12. 5 ff. ; 13. 6 ff. ; 14. 1 ff. ; ii. 71. 7-10

# INDEX

- Aulus Postumius, cos., in Illyria, ii. 11. 1, 7; 12. 2, 4
- L. Postumius Albinus, cos., in Sicily, i. 17. 6
- Prion, mountain in Africa, i. 85. 7
- Ptolemy Ceraunus, king of Macedon, ii. 41. 2
- Ptolemy, Euergetes, ii. 47. 2; 51. 2; 63; 71. 3
- Ptolemy, son of Lagus, ii. 41. 2; 71. 5
- Ptolemy, Philopator, i. 3. I; ii. 71. 3
- Punic war, 1st, nature, i. 13. 10-13; 63. 4 ff.; sources l. 14, 1 ff.; outbreak, i. 16. 1 ff.; result, i. 62-3
- Pyrrhus, i. 6. 5-7; 7. 5; 23. 4; ii. 20. 6, 9-10; 41. 11
- RHEGIUM, i. 6. 2; 7. 1, 6; 10. 1 ff.
- Rhizon, ii. 11. 16
- Rhone, ii. 15. 8; 22. 1; 34. 2
- Romans, i., *passim*; ii. 7. 10; 8. 3, 6; 11. 4, 9; 12. 2; 13. 3; 14. 2; 18. 2; 21. 22; 24. 1; 25-31; 71. 1; Roman dominion, i. 1. 5; 2. 1-8
- Rome, i. 6, 2; 7. 12; 17. 1; 29. 6; 31. 4; 38. 10; 39; 41. 1; 49. 1; 52. 3; 63. 1; ii. 8. 13; 11. 1; 12. 1; 18. 2; 22. 4; 23. 6; 24; 31. 3; 339
- SABINES, ii. 24. 5
- Samnites, Rome's wars with, i. 6. 4, 6; ii. 10. 5; 24. 10
- Sardinia, i. 2. 6; Romans blockade Hannibal in, 79. 14
82. 7; 83. 11; Romans seize, 88. 8; ii. 23. 6; 27. 1
- Sardinian sea, i. 10. 5; 42. 6; ii. 14. 6
- Sarsinates, ii. 24. 7
- Saw, a place, i. 85. 7
- Scerdilaïdas, ii. 5 ff.
- Segesta, relieved by Romans, i. 24. 2
- Seleucus Ceraunus, ii. 71. 4
- Seleucus Nicator, ii. 41. 2; 71. 5
- Selinus, i. 39. 12
- Sellasia, battle of, ii. 65. 7 ff.
- C. Sempronius Blaesus, cos., in African war, i. 39. 1
- Sena, ii. 14. 11; 16. 5; 19. 12
- Senones, ii. 17. 7; 19. 10; 20. 1; 21. 7
- Cn. Servilius Caepio, cos. on African coast, i. 39. 1
- Sicca, i. 66; 67
- Sicily, i., *passim*; geography, i. 42; ii. I. 1; 20. 10; 24. 13; 36. 6; 37. 2; 43. 6
- Sicilian sea, i. 42. 4-5; ii. 14. 4; 16. 4
- Sicyon, ii. 52. 2, 5; 54. 4
- Spain, Spaniards, i. 10. 5; 13. 3; 17. 4; 67. 7; ii. 15; 13. 1; 22. 9; 36. 1
- Sparta, Spartans, see Laconia, Lacedaemonians
- Stymphalians, ii. 55. 8
- C. Sulpicius Paternus, cos., at Panormus, i. 24. 9
- Sunes, i. 11. 6
- Sybarites, ii. 39. 6
- Syracuse, Syracusans, i. 8. 1 ff.; 15. 1 ff.; 52. 6
- Syria, see Coele-Syria
- Syrtis minor, i. 39. 2



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