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The Punic Wars

Appian

IBHPIKH
ANNIBAÏKH
ΛIBYKH

The Punic Wars

The Spanish Wars, the Hannibalic War, and the Punic Wars

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with a word-for-word interlinear English translation

preserving the original word order



CANES NOBILES · MMXXVI

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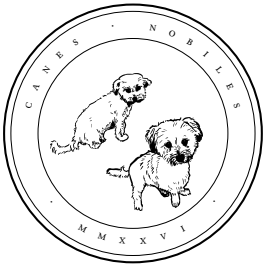

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The Greek text follows Mendelssohn's Teubner Appian, volume I

Set from the Perseus Digital Library, with corrections

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Words Mendelssohn secludes are not printed; words he supplies are printed without their brackets; ∗∗∗ marks a gap in the text.

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APPIAN

IBHPIKH

The Spanish Wars

Iberia is a land almost surrounded by sea, closed only by the Pyrenees, with Celts to the east and Iberians and Celtiberians to the west; Appian will write only of the Romans in it, though Celts, Phoenicians, and Greeks seem to have settled there first. The Carthaginians held part of Iberia before the Romans drove them out and divided it into three provinces. Hamilcar Barca, prosecuted at Carthage for the Libyan war, wins over the demagogue Hasdrubal and a command against the Numidians, then crosses the strait to Gades. He plunders the Iberians to buy favor at home until their kings combine, drive burning ox-wagons into his army, and kill him.

Ὄρος ἐστὶ Πυρήνη διῆκον ἀπὸ τῆς Τυρρηνικῆς θαλάσσης 1
A-mountain is Pyrene stretching from the Tyrrhenian sea
ἐπὶ τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανόν, οἰκοῦσι δ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς μὲν ἕω
to the northern ocean inhabit and there on-the indeed east
Κελτοί, ὅσοι Γαλάται τε καὶ Γάλλοι νῦν προσαγορεύονται,
Celts who Galatians both and Gauls now are-called
πρὸς δὲ δύσεων Ἴβηρές τε καὶ Κελτίβηρες, ἀρχόμενοι
on and west Iberians both and Celtiberians beginning
μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Τυρρηνικοῦ πελάγους, περιιόντες δ' ἐν κύκλῳ
indeed from the Tyrrhenian sea going-round and in a-circle
διὰ τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν ἐπὶ τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανόν.
through the of-Heracles pillars to the northern ocean
οὕτως ἐστὶν ἡ Ἰβηρία περίκλυστος, ὅτι μὴ τῇ Πυρήνῃ
thus is — Iberia sea-girt save for by-the Pyrene
μόνῃ, μεγίστῳ τῶν Εὐρωπαίων ὀρῶν καὶ ἰθυτάτῳ σχεδὸν
alone greatest of-the European mountains and straightest almost
ἁπάντων· τοῦ δὲ περίπλου τοῦδε τὸ μὲν Τυρρηνικὸν
of-all of-the and voyage-round this the indeed Tyrrhenian
πέλαγος διαπλέουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς στήλας τὰς Ἡρακλείους, τὸν
sea they-sail-across to the pillars the of-Heracles the

δ' ἑσπέριον καὶ τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανὸν οὐ περῶσιν, ὅτι
and western and the northern ocean not they-cross save
μὴ πορθμεύεσθαι μόνον ἐπὶ Βρεττανούς, καὶ τοῦτο ταῖς
for to-be-ferried only to Britons and this with-the
ἀμπώτεσι τοῦ πελάγους συμφερόμενοι· ἔστι δ' αὐτοῖς ὁ
ebb-tides of-the sea being-carried is and for-them the
διάπλους ἥμισυ ἡμέρας, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ οὔτε Ῥωμαῖοι οὔτε
crossing half a-day and the rest neither Romans nor
τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις πειρῶνται τοῦδε τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ.
the peoples the under Romans attempt this the ocean
μέγεθος δὲ τῆς Ἰβηρίας, τῆς Ἱσπανίας νῦν ὑπὸ τινῶν ἀντὶ
the-size and — of-Iberia — of-Hispania now by some instead-of
Ἰβηρίας λεγομένης, ἐστὶ πολὺ καὶ ἄπιστον ὡς ἐν χώρᾳ μιᾷ,
Iberia being-called is great and incredible as in land one
ὅπου τὸ πλάτος μυρίους σταδίους ἀριθμοῦσι, καὶ ἔστιν αὐτῇ
where the breadth ten-thousand stades they-count and is for-it
τὸ πλάτος ἀντὶ μήκους. ἔθνη τε πολλὰ καὶ πολυώνυμα
the breadth instead-of length peoples both many and many-named
αὐτὴν οἰκεῖ, καὶ ποταμοὶ πολλοὶ ῥέουσι ναυσίποροι.
it inhabit and rivers many flow navigable
2 οἵ τινες δ' αὐτὴν οἰκῆσαι πρῶτοι νομίζονται, καὶ οἳ μετ'
who ever and it to-have-inhabited first are-thought and who after
ἐκείνους κατέσχον, οὐ πάνυ μοι ταῦτα φροντίζειν ἀρέσκει,
those occupied-it not very to-me these-things to-consider pleases
μόνα τὰ Ῥωμαίων συγγράφοντι, πλὴν ὅτι Κελτοί μοι
only the of-Romans writing except that Celts to-me
δοκοῦσί ποτε, τὴν Πυρήνην ὑπερβάντες, αὐτοῖς συνοικῆσαι,
seem once the Pyrene having-crossed with-them to-have-settled
ὅθεν ἄρα καὶ τὸ Κελτιβήρων ὄνομα ἐρρύη. δοκοῦσι δέ μοι
whence then also the of-Celtiberians name flowed seem and to-me
καὶ Φοίνικες, ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐκ πολλοῦ θαμινὰ ἐπ' ἐμπορίᾳ
also Phoenicians to Iberia from long-ago often for trade

διαπλέοντες, οἰκῆσαί τινα τῆς Ἰβηρίας, Ἕλληνές τε
sailing-across to-have-settled some — of-Iberia Greeks both
ὁμοίως, ἐς Ταρτησσὸν καὶ Ἀργανθώνιον Ταρτησσοῦ βασιλέα
likewise to Tartessus and Arganthonius of-Tartessus king
πλέοντες, ἐμμεῖναι καὶ τῶνδέ τινες ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ· ἡ γὰρ
sailing to-have-remained and of-these some in Iberia the for
Ἀργανθωνίου βασιλεία ἐν Ἴβηρσιν ἦν. καὶ Ταρτησσός μοι
of-Arganthonius kingdom among Iberians was and Tartessus to-me
δοκεῖ τότε εἶναι πόλις ἐπὶ θαλάσσης, ἣ νῦν Καρπησσὸς
seems then to-be a-city on the-sea which now Carpessus
ὀνομάζεται. τό τε τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν στήλαις
is-named the both — of-Heracles temple the at the-pillars
Φοίνικές μοι δοκοῦσιν ἱδρύσασθαι· καὶ θρησκεύεται νῦν ἔτι
Phoenicians to-me seem to-have-founded and it-is-worshiped now still
φοινικικῶς, ὅ τε θεὸς αὐτοῖς οὐχ ὁ Θηβαῖός ἐστιν ἀλλ᾽
in-Phoenician-fashion the both god for-them not the Theban is but
ὁ Τυρίων. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖς παλαιολογοῦσι μεθείσθω.
the of-Tyrians these-things indeed indeed to-the antiquarians let-be-left
τὴν δὲ γῆν τήνδε εὐδαίμονα οὖσαν καὶ μεγάλων 3
the and land this prosperous being and of-great
ἀγαθῶν γέμουσαν Καρχηδόνιοι πρὸ Ῥωμαίων ἤρξαντο
goods full Carthaginians before Romans began
πολυπραγμονεῖν, καὶ μέρος αὐτῆς τὸ μὲν εἶχον ἤδη,
to-meddle-in and part of-it the indeed they-held already
τὸ δ᾽ ἐπόρθουν, μέχρι Ῥωμαῖοι σφᾶς ἐκβαλόντες,
the(-other) and they-ravaged until Romans them having-driven-out
ἃ μὲν εἶχον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῆς Ἰβηρίας, ἔσχον αὐτίκα,
what indeed held the Carthaginians — of-Iberia took at-once
τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ σὺν χρόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ πόνῳ λαμβανόμενά
the and rest with time much and toil being-taken
τε ὑπὸ σφῶν καὶ πολλάκις ἀφιστάμενα χειρωσάμενοι
both by them and often revolting having-subdued

διεῖλον ἐς τρία, καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἐς αὐτὰ πέμπουσι τρεῖς.
they-divided into three and praetors into them send three
ὅπως δ' εἶλον ἕκαστα, καὶ ὅπως Καρχηδονίοις τε περὶ
how and they-took each and how with-Carthaginians both about
αὐτῶν καὶ μετὰ Καρχηδονίους Ἴβηρσι καὶ Κελτίβηρσιν
them and after Carthaginians with-Iberians and Celtiberians
ἐπολέμησαν, δηλώσει τόδε τὸ βιβλίον, μοῖραν μὲν ἐς
they-warred will-show this the book part indeed about
Καρχηδονίους τὴν πρώτην ἔχον· ὅτι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο περὶ
Carthaginians the first having because and also this about
Ἰβηρίας ἦν, ἀνάγκη μοι συνενεγκεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρικὴν
Iberia was necessity for-me to-bring-together into the Iberian
συγγραφὴν ἐγένετο, ᾧ λόγῳ καὶ τὰ περὶ Σικελίας
history it-happened by-which reasoning also the-things about Sicily
Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις ἐς ἀλλήλους γενόμενα,
for-Romans and Carthaginians toward each-other having-happened
ἀρξάμενα Ῥωμαίοις τῆς ἐς Σικελίαν παρόδου τε καὶ
having-begun for-Romans from-the into Sicily passage both and
ἀρχῆς ἐς τὴν Σικελικὴν συνενήνεκται γραφήν.
rule into the Sicilian has-been-brought-together history
4 πρὸς γὰρ δὴ Καρχηδονίους Ῥωμαίοις πρῶτος ἐγένετο
with for indeed Carthaginians for-Romans first was
πόλεμος ἔκδημος περὶ Σικελίας ἐν αὐτῇ Σικελίᾳ, καὶ
war abroad about Sicily in itself Sicily and
δεύτερος ὅδε περὶ Ἰβηρίας ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐς
second this-one about Iberia in Iberia in which also into
τὴν ἀλλήλων μεγάλοις στρατοῖς διαπλέοντες οἱ μὲν τὴν
the each-other's with-great armies sailing some indeed —
Ἰταλίαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν Λιβύην ἐπόρθουν. ἤρξαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ
Italy others and — Libya ravaged they-began and it
μεθ' ἑκατὸν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ὀλυμπιάδας μάλιστα, ὅτε
after hundred and forty olympiads about when

τὰς σπονδὰς ἔλυσαν αἳ ἐπὶ τῷ Σικελικῷ πολέμῳ σφίσιν
the treaty they-broke which upon the Sicilian war for-them
ἦσαν γενόμεναι. ἔλυσαν δ' ἐκ τοιᾶσδε προφάσεως.
had been-made they-broke and from such a-pretext
Ἀμίλχαρ ὁ Βάρκας ἐπίκλησιν, ὅτε περ ἐν Σικελίᾳ
Hamilcar the Barcas by-surname when indeed in Sicily
Καρχηδονίων ἐστρατήγει, Κελτοῖς τότε μισθοφοροῦσίν οἱ
of-Carthaginians he-was-general to-Celts then serving-for-pay to-him
καὶ Λιβύων τοῖς συμμαχοῦσι πολλὰς δωρεὰς ὑπέσχητο
and of-Libyans to-the(-men) allied many gifts had-promised
δώσειν, ἅς, ἐπειδὴ ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Λιβύην, ἀπαιτούντων
to-be-going-to-give which when he-returned to Libya demanding
ἐκείνων ὁ Λιβυκὸς Καρχηδονίοις ἐξῆπτο πόλεμος, ἐν ᾧ
those the Libyan to-Carthaginians was-kindled war in which
πολλὰ μὲν πρὸς αὐτῶν Λιβύων ἔπαθον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι,
many-things indeed by themselves Libyans suffered the Carthaginians
Σαρδόνα δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἔδοσαν ποινὴν ὧν ἐς τοὺς
Sardinia and to-Romans gave as-penalty for-what against the
ἐμπόρους αὐτῶν ἡμαρτήκεσαν ἐν τῷδε τῷ Λιβυκῷ πολέμῳ.
merchants their they-had-wronged in this the Libyan war
ὑπαγόντων οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τὸν Βάρκαν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐς
bringing then on these-things — Barcas the enemies into
κρίσιν ὡς αἴτιον τῇ πατρίδι τοσῶνδε συμφορῶν γενόμενον,
trial as cause for-the fatherland of-so-great misfortunes having-been
θεραπεύσας ὁ Βάρκας τοὺς πολιτευομένους, ὧν ἦν
having-courted — Barcas the(-men) in-politics of-whom was
δημοκοπικώτατος Ἀσδρούβας ὁ τὴν αὐτοῦ Βάρκα
most-demagogic Hasdrubal the(-man) the himself of-Barcas
θυγατέρα ἔχων, τάς τε δίκας διεκρούετο, καὶ Νομάδων
daughter having the both trials he-evaded and of-Numidians
τινὸς κινήματος γενομένου στρατηγὸς ἔπραξεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς
some stirring having-happened general he-contrived against them

αἱρεθῆναι μετ᾽ Ἄννωνος τοῦ μεγάλου λεγομένου, ἔτι τὰς
to-be-chosen with Hanno the great called still the
εὐθύνας τῆς προτέρας στρατηγίας ὀφείλων.
accounts of-the previous command owing
παυομένου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ Ἄννωνος ἐπὶ διαβολαῖς
ending and the war and Hanno on charges
ἐς Καρχηδόνα μεταπέμπτου γενομένου, μόνος ὢν ἐπὶ
to Carthage summoned having-been alone being over
στρατῷ, καὶ τὸν κηδεστὴν Ἀσδρούβαν ἔχων οἱ συνόντα,
army and the son-in-law Hasdrubal having him being-with
διῆλθεν ἐπὶ Γάδειρα, καὶ τὸν πορθμὸν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν περάσας
he-went to Gades and the strait into Iberia having-crossed
ἐλεηλάτει τὰ Ἰβήρων οὐδὲν ἀδικούντων, ἀφορμὴν αὑτῷ
plundered the of-Iberians nothing wronging a-resource for-himself
ποιούμενος ἀποδημίας τε καὶ ἔργων καὶ δημοκοπίας
making of-absence both and of-deeds and of-popularity
(ὅσα γὰρ λάβοι διῄρει, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς τὸν στρατὸν
whatever for he-took he-divided and the(-part) indeed to the army
ἀνάλισκεν, ἵνα προθυμότερον αὐτῷ συναδικοῖεν, τὰ
spent that more-eagerly with-him they-might-join-in-wrong the(-part)
δ᾽ ἐς αὐτὴν ἔπεμπε Καρχηδόνα, τὰ δὲ τοῖς ὑπὲρ
and to itself he-sent Carthage the(-part) and to-the for
αὐτοῦ πολιτευομένοις διεδίδου), μέχρι Ἰβήρων αὐτὸν οἵ
him in-politics he-distributed until of-Iberians him the
τε βασιλεῖς συστάντες οἱ κατὰ μέρος, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι
both kings having-combined the by part and as-many-as other
δυνατοί, κτείνουσιν ὧδε. ξύλων ἁμάξας ἄγοντες, αἷς
powerful kill thus of-wood wagons leading to-which
βοῦς ὑπέζευξαν, εἵποντο ταῖς ἁμάξαις ὡπλισμένοι. τοῖς δὲ
oxen they-yoked they-followed the wagons armed to-the and
Λίβυσιν ἰδοῦσιν εὐθὺς μὲν ἐνέπιπτε γέλως, οὐ συνιεῖσι
Libyans seeing at-once indeed fell laughter not understanding

τοῦ στρατηγήματος· ὡς δ' ἐν χερσὶν ἐγένοντο, οἱ μὲν
the stratagem when and at hands they-came the indeed
Ἴβηρες αὐταῖς βουσὶν ἐξῆψαν τὰς ἁμάξας καὶ ἐξώτρυναν
Iberians with-very oxen set-on-fire the wagons and drove-them
ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους, τὸ δὲ πῦρ σκιδναμένων τῶν βοῶν
against the enemies the and fire scattering the oxen
πάντῃ φερόμενον ἐτάρασσε τοὺς Λίβυας. καὶ τῆς τάξεως
everywhere being-borne confused the Libyans and the order
διαλυθείσης, οἱ Ἴβηρες αὐτοῖς ἐπιδραμόντες αὐτόν τε τὸν
having-been-broken the Iberians on-them having-run himself both —
Βάρκαν καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος ἀμυνομένων ἐπ' αὐτῷ διέφθειραν.
Barcas and great multitude defending over him destroyed

6–12 · SAGUNTUM

Carthage makes Hasdrubal, Barca's son-in-law, its general in Iberia; he takes young Hannibal as lieutenant and advances to the Iber. The Greeks there appeal to Rome, and a treaty makes the Iber the boundary and leaves Saguntum free. When a slave kills Hasdrubal, the army chooses Hannibal; his enemies at Carthage prosecute the Barcid party, and he resolves on war with Rome, sworn against her as a boy. He sets the Torboletae to accuse Saguntum, crosses the Iber, and besieges it. He turns Rome's envoys away, Carthage refuses arbitration, and Rome holds back; the starving Saguntines melt down their gold, sally, and die, and Hannibal makes the city a Carthaginian colony.

οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τοῖς κέρδεσιν ἤδη τοῖς ἐξ Ἰβηρίας 6
the and Carthaginians with-the gains already the from Iberia
ἀρεσκόμενοι, στρατιὰν ἄλλην ἔπεμπον ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ
pleased army another sent into Iberia and
στρατηγὸν ἁπάντων ἀπέφηναν Ἀσδρούβαν τὸν τοῦ Βάρκα
general of-all appointed Hasdrubal the — of-Barcas
κηδεστήν, ὄντα ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ. ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβαν τὸν οὐ πολὺ
son-in-law being in Iberia he and Hannibal the not much

ὕστερον ἀοίδιμον ἐπὶ στρατηγίαις, παῖδά τε ὄντα τοῦ Βάρκα
later famous for generalships son both being — of-Barcas
καὶ τῆς γυναικός οἱ γιγνόμενον ἀδελφὸν ἔχων ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ,
and of-the wife his being brother having in Iberia
νέον ὄντα καὶ φιλοπόλεμον καὶ ἀρέσκοντα τῷ στρατῷ
young being and war-loving and pleasing to-the army
ὑποστράτηγον ἀπέφηνεν. καὶ τῆς τε Ἰβηρίας τὰ πολλὰ
lieutenant-general appointed and — both of-Iberia the many-parts
πειθοῖ προσήγετο, πιθανὸς ὢν ὁμιλῆσαι, ἔς τε τὰ βίας
by-persuasion he-won-over persuasive being to-converse for and the-things force
δεόμενα τῷ μειρακίῳ χρώμενος προῆλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπερίου
needing the youth using he-advanced from the western
θαλάσσης ἐς τὸ μεσόγειον ἐπὶ Ἴβηρα ποταμόν, ὃς μέσην
sea into the interior to Iber river which middle
που μάλιστα τέμνων τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ τῆς Πυρήνης
somewhere most cutting — Iberia and from-the Pyrene
ἀφεστὼς ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν πέντε, ἐξίησιν ἐς τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανόν.
standing-off a-road of-days five issues into the northern ocean
7 Ζακανθαῖοι δέ, ἄποικοι Ζακυνθίων, ἐν μέσῳ τῆς τε Πυρήνης
Saguntines and colonists of-Zacynthians in middle of-the both Pyrene
καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ἴβηρος ὄντες, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι
and of-the river the Iber being and as-many-as other
Ἕλληνες περί τε τὸ καλούμενον Ἐμπόριον καὶ εἴ πῃ τῆς
Greeks about both the called Emporium and if anywhere —
Ἰβηρίας ᾤκουν ἀλλαχοῦ, δείσαντες ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἐπρέσβευον
of-Iberia dwelt elsewhere having-feared for themselves sent-envoys
ἐς Ῥώμην. καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος οὐκ ἐθέλουσα τὰ Καρχηδονίων
to Rome and the senate not wishing the of-Carthaginians
ἐπαίρεσθαι, πρέσβεις ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔπεμπεν. καὶ συνέβησαν
to-be-raised envoys to Carthage sent and agreed
ἀμφότεροι ὅρον εἶναι Καρχηδονίοις τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐν
both boundary to-be for-Carthaginians of-the rule the in

Ἰβηρίᾳ τὸν Ἴβηρα ποταμόν, καὶ μήτε Ῥωμαίους τοῖς
Iberia the Iber river and neither Romans on-the(-men)
πέραν τοῦδε τοῦ ποταμοῦ πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν, Καρχηδονίων
beyond this the river war to-bring of-Carthaginians
ὑπηκόοις οὖσι, μήτε Καρχηδονίους ἐπὶ πολέμῳ τὸν Ἴβηρα
subjects being nor Carthaginians for war the Iber
διαβαίνειν, Ζακανθαίους δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ
to-cross Saguntines and and the other in Iberia
Ἕλληνας αὐτονόμους καὶ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι. καὶ τάδε ταῖς
Greeks autonomous and free to-be and these-things to-the
συνθήκαις ταῖς Ῥωμαίων καὶ Καρχηδονίων προσεγράφη.
treaties the of-Romans and of-Carthaginians were-added
Ἀσδρούβαν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε Ἰβηρίαν τὴν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίοις 8
Hasdrubal and on these-terms Iberia the under Carthaginians
καθιστάμενον ἀνὴρ δοῦλος, οὗ τὸν δεσπότην ὠμῶς
settling a-man slave whose the master cruelly
διεφθάρκει, λαθὼν ἐν κυνηγεσίοις ἀναιρεῖ. καὶ τόνδε
he-had-killed unnoticed in hunting kills and this-one
μὲν Ἀννίβας ἐλεγχθέντα δεινῶς αἰκισάμενος διέφθειρεν·
indeed Hannibal convicted terribly having-tortured killed
ἡ στρατιὰ δὲ τὸν Ἀννίβαν, καίπερ ὄντα κομιδῇ νέον,
the army and — Hannibal though being quite young
ἀρέσκοντα δὲ ἰσχυρῶς, στρατηγὸν ἀπέδειξαν αὑτῶν· καὶ
pleasing but strongly general appointed their-own and
ἡ Καρχηδονίων βουλὴ συνέθετο. ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ Βάρκα
the of-Carthaginians council agreed as-many-as and — of-Barcas
διαπολῖται τὴν Βάρκα τε καὶ Ἀσδρούβα δύναμιν ἐδεδοίκεσαν,
political-enemies the of-Barcas both and of-Hasdrubal power had-feared
ὡς ἔμαθον αὐτοὺς τεθνεῶτας, Ἀννίβα κατεφρόνουν ὡς
when they-learned them dead Hannibal despised as
νέου, καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνων φίλους τε καὶ στασιώτας ἐδίωκον
young and the their friends both and partisans prosecuted

ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐγκλήμασιν. ὅ τε δῆμος ἅμα τοῖς
on the their charges the both people together-with the(-men)
κατηγοροῦσιν ἐγίγνετο, μνησικακῶν τοῖς διωκομένοις
accusing joined bearing-grudges against-the(-men) prosecuted
τῆς βαρύτητος τῆς ἐπὶ Βάρκα τε καὶ Ἀσδρούβα· καὶ τὰς
for-the harshness the under Barcas both and Hasdrubal and the
δωρεὰς ἐκέλευον αὐτούς, ὅσας μεγάλας Ἀσδρούβας τε καὶ
gifts ordered them as-many-as great Hasdrubal both and
Βάρκας αὐτοῖς ἐπεπόμφεσαν, ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἐσενεγκεῖν
Barcas to-them had-sent into the common-treasury to-bring-in
ὡς ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων πεπορισμένας. οἱ δὲ ἐπέστελλον τῷ
as from the enemies obtained they and wrote —
Ἀννίβᾳ, σφίσι τε ἐπικουρεῖν δεόμενοι, καὶ διδάσκοντες ὅτι
to-Hannibal them both to-help begging and showing that
καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσοιτο τοῖς πατρῴοις ἐχθροῖς εὐκαταφρόνητος, εἰ
also himself would-be to-the paternal enemies easily-despised if
τοὺς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι συνεργεῖν αὐτῷ δυναμένους ὑπερίδοι.
the(-men) in the fatherland to-cooperate with-him able he-should-overlook
9 ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα προεώρα, καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων δίκας ἀρχὴν
he and also these-things foresaw and the their trials a-beginning
ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτὸν οὖσαν ἐπιβουλῆς· οὐδ᾽ ἠξίου τὴν ἔχθραν,
against himself being of-a-plot nor thought-fit the enmity
ὥσπερ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ὁ κηδεστής, ἐσαεὶ καὶ μετὰ φόβου
like the father and the son-in-law forever and with fear
διαφέρειν, οὐδ᾽ ἐπὶ τῷ Καρχηδονίων κουφόνῳ μέχρι
to-endure nor on the of-Carthaginians fickleness to-the
παντὸς εἶναι, ῥᾳδίως ἐς εὐεργέτας πρὸς ἀχαριστίαν
end to-be easily toward benefactors to ingratitude
τρεπομένων. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ παῖς ὢν ἔτι ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς
turning it-was-said and also a-boy being still by the father
ὁρκωθῆναι ἐπὶ ἐμπύρων ἄσπειστος ἐχθρὸς ἔσεσθαι
to-have-been-sworn over burnt-offerings implacable enemy to-be-going-to-be

Ῥωμαίοις, ὅτε ἐς πολιτείαν παρέλθοι. διὰ δὴ ταῦτ'
to-Romans when into public-life he-should-enter because-of indeed these-things
ἐπενόει μεγάλοις καὶ χρονίοις πράγμασι τὴν πατρίδα
he-planned with-great and long affairs the fatherland
περιβαλών, καὶ καταστήσας ἐς ἀσχολίας καὶ φόβους, τὸ
having-involved and having-placed into preoccupations and fears the
ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὰ τῶν φίλων ἐν ἀδεεῖ θέσθαι. Λιβύην μὲν οὖν
his-own and the of-the friends in safety to-place Libya indeed then
εὐσταθοῦσαν ἑώρα, καὶ Ἰβήρων ὅσα ὑπήκοα ἦν· εἰ δὲ
stable he-saw and of-Iberians whatever subject were if but
πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον αὖθις ἀναρριπίσειεν, οὗ μάλιστα
with Romans war again he-should-fan-up which most
ἐπεθύμει, ἐδόκει Καρχηδονίους μὲν ἐν φροντίσι καὶ φόβοις
he-desired it-seemed Carthaginians indeed in cares and fears
ἔσεσθαι μακροῖς, αὐτὸς δέ, εἴτε κατορθώσειεν, ἐπὶ
to-be-going-to-be long he-himself and either he-should-succeed in
κλέους ἀθανάτου γενήσεσθαι, τὴν πατρίδα τῆς οἰκουμένης
fame immortal to-be-going-to-be the fatherland of-the inhabited
γῆς ἄρχουσαν ἀποφήνας (οὐ γὰρ εἶναί τινας ἀντιμάχους
earth ruler having-made not for to-be any rivals
αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις), εἴτε καὶ πταίσειε, μεγάλην καὶ ὡς
for-them after Romans or even he-should-fail great even so
τὸ ἐγχείρημα αὐτῷ δόξαν οἴσειν.
the attempt for-him glory to-be-going-to-bring
ἀρχὴν δὲ ὑπολαμβάνων ἔσεσθαι λαμπρὰν εἰ τὸν 10
a-beginning and supposing to-be-going-to-be brilliant if the
Ἴβηρα διαβαίη, Τορβολήτας, οἳ γείτονές εἰσι Ζακανθαίων,
Iber he-should-cross Torboletae who neighbors are of-Saguntines
ἀνέπεισε τῶν Ζακανθαίων παρὰ οἷ καταβοᾶν ὡς τήν
he-persuaded of-the Saguntines before him to-cry-out that the
τε χώραν αὐτῶν ἐπιτρεχόντων καὶ πολλὰ σφᾶς ἄλλα
both land their overrunning and many them other-things

ἀδικούντων. οἱ δὲ ἐπείθοντο. καὶ πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ὁ Ἀννίβας
wronging they and were-persuaded and envoys their — Hannibal
ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔπεμπεν, αὐτός τε ἐν ἀπορρήτοις ἔγραφε
to Carthage sent himself both in secret-letters wrote
Ῥωμαίους τὴν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίοις Ἰβηρίαν ἀναπείθειν ἀπὸ
Romans the under Carthaginians Iberia to-persuade from
Καρχηδονίων ἀφίστασθαι, καὶ Ζακανθαίους Ῥωμαίοις ταῦτα
Carthaginians to-revolt and Saguntines with-Romans these-things
συμπράσσειν. ὅλως τε τῆς ἀπάτης οὐ μεθίει, πολλὰ τοιαῦτα
to-be-cooperating wholly both of-the deceit not he-let-go many such-things
ἐπιστέλλων, ἕως ἡ βουλὴ προσέταξεν αὐτῷ πράσσειν ἐς
writing until the council ordered him to-do toward
Ζακανθαίους ὅ τι δοκιμάσειεν. ὁ δὲ ἐπεὶ τῆς ἀφορμῆς
Saguntines what ever he-should-approve he and when of-the pretext
ἐλάβετο, Τορβολήτας αὖθις ἔπραξεν ἐντυχεῖν οἱ κατὰ τῶν
he-took-hold Torboletae again contrived to-petition him against the
Ζακανθαίων, καὶ μετεπέμπετο πρέσβεις. οἱ δὲ ἀφίκοντο
Saguntines and summoned envoys they and came
μέν, κελεύοντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀννίβου λέγειν ἑκατέρους ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ
indeed bidding but — Hannibal to-speak each-side before himself
περὶ ὧν διαφέρονται, Ῥωμαίοις ἔφασαν ἐπιτρέψειν τὴν
about what they-differ to-Romans they-said to-be-going-to-entrust the
δίκην. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' εἰπόντας ἀπέπεμπεν ἀπὸ τοῦ
trial he indeed indeed these-things having-said sent-away from the
στρατοπέδου, καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ
camp and on-the following night with-all the army
τὸν Ἴβηρα διαβὰς τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθει καὶ τῇ πόλει
the Iber having-crossed the land ravaged and against-the city
μηχανήματα ἐφίστη. ἑλεῖν δ' οὐ δυνάμενος ἀπετάφρευε καὶ
engines set-up to-take but not being-able he-trenched-round and
φρούρια πολλὰ περιθεὶς ἐκ διαστημάτων ἐπεφοίτα.
forts many having-placed-round at intervals he-made-visits

Ζακανθαῖοι δὲ αἰφνιδίῳ καὶ ἀκαταγγέλτῳ κακῷ 11
Saguntines and by-a-sudden and unannounced evil
συμπεσόντες ἐπρέσβευον ἐς Ῥώμην. καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος
having-fallen-in-with sent-envoys to Rome and the senate
αὐτοῖς συνέπεμπε πρέσβεις, οἳ πρῶτον μὲν Ἀννίβαν
with-them sent envoys who first indeed Hannibal
ἔμελλον ὑπομνήσειν τῶν συγκειμένων, οὐ πειθομένου δὲ ἐς
were-going to-remind of-the agreements not obeying and to
Καρχηδόνα πλευσεῖσθαι κατ' αὐτοῦ· τούτοις τοῖς πρέσβεσι
Carthage to-sail against him these the envoys
πλεύσασιν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπὸ θαλάσσης
having-sailed to Iberia and to the camp from sea
ἀναβαίνουσιν, ὁ Ἀννίβας ἀπηγόρευσε μὴ προσιέναι. καὶ
going-up — Hannibal forbade not to-approach and
οἱ μὲν ἀπέπλευσαν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνος σὺν τοῖς πρέσβεσι
they indeed sailed-off to Carthage with the envoys
τοῖς Ζακανθαίων, καὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν ἀνεμίμνησκον αὐτούς.
the of-Saguntines and of-the treaties reminded them
Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ ἠτιῶντο τοὺς Ζακανθαίους πολλὰ τοὺς
Carthaginians but accused the Saguntines much the
ὑπηκόους σφῶν ἀδικεῖν. καὶ Ζακανθαίων οἱ πρέσβεις ἐς
subjects their to-wrong and of-Saguntines the envoys to
δίκην αὐτοὺς προυκαλοῦντο ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίων κριτῶν· οἱ
trial them challenged before Romans as-judges they
δ' οὐκ ἔφασαν χρῄζειν δίκης, ἀμύνεσθαι δυνάμενοι.
and not said to-need trial to-defend-themselves being-able
ὧν ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπαγγελθέντων, οἱ μὲν ἐκέλευον ἤδη
which to Rome having-been-reported some indeed urged now
συμμαχεῖν τοῖς Ζακανθαίοις, οἱ δ' ἐπεῖχον ἔτι, λέγοντες
to-ally with-the Saguntines others but held-back still saying
οὐ συμμάχους αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις σφῶν ἀλλ'
not allies them in the treaties their but

αὐτονόμους καὶ ἐλευθέρους ἀναγεγράφθαι, ἐλευθέρους δ' ἔτι
autonomous and free to-have-been-registered free and still
καὶ τοὺς πολιορκουμένους εἶναι. καὶ ἐκράτησεν ἡ γνώμη.
also the(-men) being-besieged to-be and prevailed the opinion
12 Ζακανθαῖοι δέ, ἐπειδὴ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀπέγνωσαν καὶ ὁ λιμὸς
Saguntines and when the of-Romans they-despaired-of and the famine
σφᾶς ἐπίεζε καὶ Ἀννίβας περιεκάθητο συνεχῶς (εὐδαίμονα
them pressed and Hannibal sat-round continually prosperous
γὰρ καὶ πολύχρυσον ἀκούων εἶναι τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἀνίει
for and rich-in-gold hearing to-be the city not he-relaxed
τῆς πολιορκίας), τὸν μὲν χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον, ὅσος ἦν
of-the siege the indeed gold and silver whatever was
δημόσιός τε καὶ ἰδιωτικός, ἀπὸ κηρύγματος ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν
public both and private by proclamation into the market-place
συνήνεγκαν, καὶ μολύβδῳ καὶ χαλκῷ συνεχώνευσαν ὡς
brought and with-lead and with-bronze melted-together that
ἀχρεῖον Ἀννίβᾳ γενέσθαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐν χερσὶν ἑλόμενοί
useless for-Hannibal to-become they-themselves and in hands choosing
τι παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ, ἐξέδραμον ἔτι
something to-suffer rather than by the famine ran-out still
νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὰ φρούρια τὰ τῶν Λιβύων, ἀναπαυομένων ἔτι
at-night against the forts the of-the Libyans resting still
καὶ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον ὑπονοούντων· ὅθεν αὐτοὺς ἀνισταμένους
and nothing such suspecting whence them rising
τε ἐξ εὐνῆς καὶ σὺν θορύβῳ μόλις ὁπλιζομένους, ἔστι δ'
both from bed and with confusion scarcely arming there-are and
οὓς ἤδη καὶ μαχομένους, διέφθειρον. μακροῦ δὲ τοῦ ἀγῶνος
whom already also fighting they-killed long and the contest
γενομένου, Λιβύων μὲν ἀπώλοντο πολλοί, Ζακανθαῖοι δὲ
having-been of-Libyans indeed perished many Saguntines and
πάντες. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ὁρῶσαι τὸ τέλος
all the and women from the wall seeing the end

τῶν ἀνδρῶν, αἱ μὲν ἐρρίπτουν ἑαυτὰς κατὰ τῶν τεγῶν,
of-the men some indeed threw themselves from the roofs
αἱ δ' ἀνήρτων, αἱ δὲ καὶ τὰ τέκνα προκατέσφαζον.
others and hanged-themselves others and also the children slaughtered-first
καὶ τοῦτο τέλος ἦν Ζακανθαίοις, πόλει μεγάλῃ τε καὶ
and this end was for-Saguntines a-city great both and
δυνατῇ γενομένῃ. Ἀννίβας δὲ ὡς ἔμαθε περὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ,
powerful having-been Hannibal and when he-learned about the gold
τοὺς μὲν ὑπολοίπους καὶ ἔτι ἡβῶντας αὐτῶν αἰκιζόμενος
the indeed remaining and still of-military-age of-them torturing
διέφθειρεν ὑπ' ὀργῆς, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ὁρῶν ἐπιθάλασσόν τε
killed in anger the and city seeing on-the-sea both
καὶ Καρχηδόνος οὐ μακράν, καὶ χώρας ἄρχουσαν ἀγαθῆς,
and from-Carthage not far and land ruling good
ᾤκιζεν αὖθις καὶ Καρχηδονίων ἄποικον ἀπέφαινεν· ἣν
he-resettled again and of-Carthaginians colony made which
νῦν οἶμαι Καρχηδόνα καλεῖσθαι τὴν Σπαρταγενῆ.
now I-think Carthage to-be-called the Spartagenic

13–17 · THE SCIPIOS IN SPAIN

Rome's envoy at Carthage offers peace or war from his toga, and Carthage accepts war. As Hannibal marches for Italy, Publius and Gnaeus Scipio are sent to Iberia. They prosper while Syphax's war draws Hasdrubal home, and still win when he returns with Mago and Hasdrubal son of Gisco, until Publius is killed reconnoitering and Gnaeus burned in a tower. Their successors fail, Carthage holds almost all Iberia, and Rome fears for Italy.

Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ πρέσβεις ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔπεμπον, οἷς 13
Romans and envoys to Carthage sent to-whom
εἴρητο ἐξαιτεῖν παρὰ Καρχηδονίων Ἀννίβαν ὡς ἐς
it-had-been-told to-demand from Carthaginians Hannibal as against

τὰς συνθήκας ἁμαρτόντα, εἰ μὴ κοινὸν ἡγοῦνται τὸ ἔργον·
the treaties having-offended if not common they-consider the deed
ἢν δὲ μὴ διδῶσιν, εὐθέως αὐτοῖς πόλεμον προαγορεύειν.
if and not they-give at-once to-them war to-declare
καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔπραξαν ὧδε, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς
and they indeed did thus and the war on-them
οὐκ ἐκδιδοῦσι τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐπήγγειλαν· λέγεται δ' οὕτω
not surrendering — Hannibal declared it-is-said and so
γενέσθαι. ὁ μὲν πρεσβευτὴς αὐτοῖς γελώμενος ἔφη, τὸν
to-have-happened the indeed envoy by-them being-laughed-at said the
κόλπον ἐπιδεικνύς, "ἐνταῦθ' ὑμῖν, ὦ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ τὴν
fold showing here for-you O Carthaginians both the
εἰρήνην καὶ τὸν πόλεμον φέρω· ὑμεῖς δ' ὁπότερα αἱρεῖσθε
peace and the war I-carry you and whichever you-choose
λάβετε." οἱ δ' ἔφασαν, "σὺ μὲν οὖν ἃ βούλει δίδου."
take they and said you indeed then what you-wish give
προτείναντος δὲ τὸν πόλεμον, ἐξεβόησαν ὁμοῦ πάντες,
having-held-out and the war they-shouted together all
"δεχόμεθα." καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπέστελλον τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ πᾶσαν ἤδη
we-accept and at-once wrote — to-Hannibal all already
τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀδεῶς ἐπιτρέχειν ὡς τῶν σπονδῶν λελυμένων.
— Iberia fearlessly to-overrun as the treaty having-been-broken
ὁ μὲν δὴ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἀγχοῦ πάντα ἐπιὼν ὑπήγετο, ἢ
he indeed indeed the peoples the near all visiting brought-over either
πείθων ἢ δεδιττόμενος ἢ καταστρεφόμενος, καὶ στρατιὰν
persuading or frightening or subduing and army
πολλὴν συνέλεγε, τὴν μὲν χρείαν οὐχ ὑποδεικνύς, ἐς δὲ
great gathered the indeed use not disclosing into but
τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπινοῶν ἐμβαλεῖν. Γαλάταις τε διεπρεσβεύετο,
— Italy planning to-invade with-Gauls both negotiated

καὶ τὰς διόδους τῶν Ἀλπείων ὀρῶν κατεσκέπτετο. καὶ
and the passes of-the Alpine mountains surveyed and
διῆλθεν, Ἀσδρούβαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ ***
he-went-through Hasdrubal the brother in Iberia (lacuna)
*** ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ σφίσι καὶ Λιβύῃ τὸν πόλεμον ἔσεσθαι 14
(lacuna) in Iberia for-them and in-Libya the war to-be-going-to-be
(οὐ γὰρ δὴ μὴ Λίβυές ποτε ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσβάλωσιν,
not for indeed lest Libyans ever into — Italy should-invade
οὐδ' ὑπενόουν), Τιβέριον μὲν Σεμπρώνιον Λόγγον ἐπὶ
not-even they-suspected Tiberius indeed Sempronius Longus on
νεῶν ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα σὺν δύο στρατοῦ τέλεσιν ἐς Λιβύην
ships hundred sixty with two of-army legions to Libya
ἐξέπεμπον (καὶ ὅσα Λόγγος τε καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Ῥωμαίων
sent-out and what Longus both and the other of-Romans
στρατηγοὶ περὶ Λιβύην ἔπραξαν, ἐν τῇ Καρχηδονιακῇ βίβλῳ
generals about Libya did in the Carthaginian book
συγγέγραπται), Πόπλιον δὲ Κορνήλιον Σκιπίωνα ἔστελλον
has-been-written Publius and Cornelius Scipio they-dispatched
ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐπὶ νεῶν ἑξήκοντα μετὰ πεζῶν μυρίων καὶ
to Iberia on ships sixty with infantry ten-thousand and
ἱππέων ἑπτακοσίων, καὶ πρεσβευτὴν αὐτῷ συνέπεμπον
cavalry seven-hundred and as-legate with-him they-sent-along
Γναῖον Κορνήλιον Σκιπίωνα τὸν ἀδελφόν. τούτοιν ὁ μὲν
Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio the brother of-these-two — indeed
Πόπλιος παρὰ Μασσαλιωτῶν ἐμπόρων πυθόμενος Ἀννίβαν
Publius from Massaliot merchants having-learned Hannibal
διὰ τῶν Ἀλπείων ὀρῶν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὑπερβάντα,
through the Alpine mountains into — Italy having-crossed
δείσας μὴ ἀδοκήτως τοῖς Ἰταλιώταις ἐπιπέσοι, παραδοὺς
fearing lest unexpectedly on-the Italians he-should-fall having-handed-over
Γναίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τὴν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ στρατιὰν διέπλευσεν ἐπὶ
to-Gnaeus the brother the in Iberia army sailed on

πεντήρους ἐς Τυρρηνίαν. καὶ ὅσα ἔπραξεν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ
a-quinquereme to Etruria and what he-did in — Italy
οὗτός τε καὶ ὅσοι μετ᾽ αὐτὸν ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ τοῦδε
this-one both and as-many-as after him other generals of-this
τοῦ πολέμου ἐγένοντο, ἕως Ἀννίβαν ἐκκαιδεκάτῳ μόλις
the war were until Hannibal in-the-sixteenth scarcely
ἔτει τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐξήλασαν, ἡ ἑξῆς βίβλος ὑποδείκνυσιν,
year — from-Italy they-drove the next book shows
ἣ τὰ ἔργα Ἀννίβου τὰ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πάντα περιλαμβάνει,
which the deeds of-Hannibal the in Italy all embraces
καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτὸ λέγεται Ῥωμαϊκῶν Ἀννιβαϊκή.
and from it is-called of-Roman(-histories) Hannibalic
15 Γναῖος δὲ οὐδέν, ὅ τι καὶ εἰπεῖν, ἔπραξεν ἐν τοῖς
Gnaeus and nothing what ever even to-mention did among the
Ἴβηρσι, πρὶν αὐτῷ Πόπλιον τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπανελθεῖν·
Iberians before to-him Publius the brother to-return
Ῥωμαῖοι γάρ, ληγούσης τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ Ποπλίῳ, πρὸς
Romans for ending the office — to-Publius against
μὲν Ἀννίβαν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τοὺς μετὰ τὸν Πόπλιον
indeed Hannibal into — Italy the after — Publius
ὑπάτους ἐξέπεμψαν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀνθύπατον ἀποφήναντες ἐς
consuls sent-out him and proconsul having-appointed to
Ἰβηρίαν αὖθις ἔστειλαν. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε οἱ δύο Σκιπίωνες
Iberia again dispatched and from this the two Scipios
τὸν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ πόλεμον διέφερον, Ἀσδρούβου σφίσιν
the in Iberia war carried-on Hasdrubal against-them
ἀντιστρατηγοῦντος, μέχρι Καρχηδόνιοι μὲν ὑπὸ Σύφακος
commanding until Carthaginians indeed by Syphax
τοῦ τῶν Νομάδων δυνάστου πολεμούμενοι τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν
the of-the Numidians prince being-warred-on — Hasdrubal
καὶ μέρος τῆς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῷ στρατιᾶς μετεπέμψαντο, τῶν δὲ
and part of-the under him army summoned of-the and

ὑπολοίπων οἱ Σκιπίωνες εὐμαρῶς ἐκράτουν. καὶ πολλαὶ
remaining the Scipios easily prevailed and many
τῶν πόλεων ἐς αὐτοὺς ἑκοῦσαι μετετίθεντο· καὶ γὰρ
of-the cities to them willingly went-over and for
ἦστην πιθανωτάτω στρατηγῆσαί τε καὶ προσαγαγέσθαι.
the-two-were most-persuasive to-command both and to-win-over
θέμενοι δ' οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι πρὸς Σύφακα εἰρήνην, αὖθις 16
having-made and the Carthaginians with Syphax peace again
ἐξέπεμπον ἐς Ἰβηρίαν Ἀσδρούβαν μετὰ πλέονος στρατοῦ καὶ
sent-out to Iberia Hasdrubal with larger army and
ἐλεφάντων τριάκοντα, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ ἄλλους δύο στρατηγούς,
elephants thirty and with him other two generals
Μάγωνά τε καὶ Ἀσδρούβαν ἕτερον, ὃς Γέσκωνος ἦν υἱός.
Mago both and Hasdrubal another who of-Gisco was son
καὶ χαλεπώτερος ἦν τοῖς Σκιπίωσιν ὁ πόλεμος ἀπὸ τοῦδε,
and harder was for-the Scipios the war from this
ἐκράτουν δὲ καὶ ὥς. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν Λιβύων, πολλοὶ
they-prevailed but even so and many indeed of-the Libyans many
δὲ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐφθάρησαν, μέχρι χειμῶνος ἐπιλαβόντος
and of-the elephants perished until winter having-come-on
οἱ μὲν Λίβυες ἐχείμαζον ἐν Τυρδιτανίᾳ, τῶν δὲ Σκιπιώνων
the indeed Libyans wintered in Turdetania of-the and Scipios
ὁ μὲν Γναῖος ἐν Ὄρσωνι, ὁ δὲ Πόπλιος ἐν Καστολῶνι.
— indeed Gnaeus in Urso — and Publius in Castulo
ἔνθα αὐτῷ προσιὼν ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἀπηγγέλθη· καὶ προελθὼν
where to-him approaching — Hasdrubal was-reported and having-gone-out
τῆς πόλεως μετ' ὀλίγων ἐς κατασκοπὴν στρατοπέδου,
from-the city with few for reconnaissance of-the-camp
ἔλαθε πλησιάσας τῷ Ἀσδρούβᾳ, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνος καὶ
he-escaped-notice having-come-near — to-Hasdrubal and him he and
τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πάντας ἱππεῦσι περιδραμὼν ἀπέκτεινεν.
the(-men) with him all with-cavalry having-surrounded killed

ὁ δὲ Γναῖος οὐδέν τι προμαθὼν ἐς τὸν ἀδελφὸν
— and Gnaeus nothing at-all having-learned to the brother
ἐπὶ σῖτον ἔπεμπε στρατιώτας, οἷς ἕτεροι Λιβύων
for grain sent soldiers with-whom others of-Libyans
συντυχόντες ἐμάχοντο. καὶ πυθόμενος ὁ Γναῖος ἐξέδραμεν
having-met fought and having-learned — Gnaeus ran-out
ὡς εἶχε μετὰ τῶν εὐζώνων ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ τούς τε
as he-was with the light-troops against them they and the both
προτέρους ἀνῃρήκεσαν ἤδη, καὶ τὸν Γναῖον ἐδίωκον, ἕως
earlier had-killed already and — Gnaeus pursued until
ἐσέδραμεν ἔς τινα πύργον. καὶ τὸν πύργον ἐνέπρησαν οἱ
he-ran into some tower and the tower set-on-fire the
Λίβυες, καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων κατεκαύθη μετὰ τῶν συνόντων.
Libyans and — Scipio was-burned-up with the(-men) with-him
17 οὕτω μὲν οἱ Σκιπίωνες ἀπέθανον ἄμφω, ἄνδρες ἐς πάντα
so indeed the Scipios died both men in everything
ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι· καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐπεπόθησαν Ἴβηρες, ὅσοι
good having-been and them missed Iberians as-many-as
δι᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐς Ῥωμαίους μετέθεντο. πυθόμενοι δ᾽ οἱ
because-of them to Romans had-gone-over having-learned and the(-men)
ἐν ἄστει βαρέως τε ἤνεγκαν, καὶ Μάρκελλον ἐκ Σικελίας
in the-city heavily both bore-it and Marcellus from Sicily
ἄρτι ἀφιγμένον, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Κλαύδιον, ἐπὶ νεῶν ***
lately arrived and with him Claudius on ships (lacuna)
ἐξέπεμπον ἐς Ἰβηρίαν μετὰ χιλίων ἱππέων καὶ πεζῶν
sent-out to Iberia with thousand cavalry and infantry
μυρίων καὶ χορηγίας ἱκανῆς. οὐδενὸς δὲ λαμπροῦ παρὰ
ten-thousand and supplies sufficient nothing but brilliant by
τῶνδε γιγνομένου, τὰ Λιβύων ὑπερηύξετο, καὶ πᾶσαν σχεδὸν
these being-done the of-Libyans grew-greatly and all almost
Ἰβηρίαν εἶχον, ἐς βραχὺ Ῥωμαίων ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς
Iberia they-held into a-small-space Romans in the mountains the

Πυρηναίοις κατακεκλεισμένων. πάλιν οὖν οἱ ἐν ἄστει
Pyrenean being-shut-up again then the(-men) in the-city
πυνθανόμενοι μᾶλλον ἐταράσσοντο· καὶ φόβος ἦν μὴ Ἀννίβου
learning more were-troubled and fear was lest Hannibal
πορθοῦντος τὰ πρόσω τῆς Ἰταλίας, καὶ οἵδε οἱ Λίβυες
ravaging the further-parts — of-Italy also these the Libyans
ἐς τὰ ἕτερα αὐτῆς ἐσβάλοιεν. ὅθεν οὐδὲ ἀποσχέσθαι
into the other-parts of-it should-invade whence not-even to-keep-away
τῆς Ἰβηρίας βουλομένοις αὐτοῖς δυνατὸν ἦν, δέει τοῦ
— from-Iberia wishing for-them possible was for-fear of-the
μὴ καὶ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπαγαγέσθαι.
lest also this the war into — Italy to-bring-in

18–23 · NEW CARTHAGE

No one stands for the Spanish command until the young Cornelius Scipio, son of the slain Publius, promises to take Iberia and Libya and Carthage besides; the elders call it rashness, but no one takes up his challenge, and he sails with ten thousand foot. Learning that the enemy lie in four camps far apart, he marches by night on New Carthage, where Mago guards their stores. The defenders sally and hold the Romans off, until at midday Scipio sees the sea ebb below the low wall and carries the first ladder up himself; the city falls and Mago surrenders. Scipio, now thought to act by a god's guidance, rewards the first over the wall and sends the captives home.

προύγραφον οὖν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ χειροτονήσουσι στρατηγὸν 18
they-proclaimed then a-day on which they-will-elect a-general
ἐς Ἰβηρίαν. καὶ οὐδενὸς παραγγέλλοντος ἔτι πλείων
for Iberia and no-one standing still greater
ἐγίγνετο φόβος, καὶ σιωπὴ σκυθρωπὸς ἐπεῖχε τὴν
became fear and silence gloomy held the
ἐκκλησίαν, ἐς οὗ Κορνήλιος Σκιπίων ὁ Ποπλίου
assembly until when Cornelius Scipio the son-of-Publius

Κορνηλίου τοῦ ἀναιρεθέντος ἐν Ἴβηρσιν υἱός, νέος μὲν
Cornelius the killed among Iberians son young indeed
ὢν κομιδῇ (τεσσάρων γὰρ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν ἦν), σώφρων
being quite four for and twenty years he-was temperate
δὲ καὶ γενναῖος εἶναι νομιζόμενος, ἐς τὸ μέσον ἐλθὼν
but and noble to-be thought into the middle having-come
ἐσεμνολόγησεν ἀμφί τε τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἀμφὶ τοῦ θείου, καὶ
spoke-solemnly about both the father and about the uncle and
τὸ πάθος αὐτῶν ὀδυράμενος ἐπεῖπεν οἰκεῖος εἶναι τιμωρὸς
the misfortune their lamenting added proper to-be avenger
ἐκ πάντων πατρὶ καὶ θείῳ καὶ πατρίδι. ἄλλα τε πολλὰ
of all for-father and for-uncle and for-fatherland other-things both many
ἀθρόως καὶ λάβρως, ὥσπερ ἔνθους, ἐπαγγειλάμενος, οὐκ
in-a-rush and impetuously as-if inspired having-promised not
Ἰβηρίαν λήψεσθαι μόνην ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτῇ καὶ Λιβύην καὶ
Iberia to-be-going-to-take alone but besides it also Libya and
Καρχηδόνα, τοῖς μὲν ἔδοξε κουφολογῆσαι νεανικῶς, τὸν
Carthage to-some indeed he-seemed to-have-talked-lightly youthfully the
δὲ δῆμον ἀνέλαβε κατεπτηχότα (χαίρουσι γὰρ ἐπαγγελίαις
but people he-revived cowering rejoice for at-promises
οἱ δεδιότες) καὶ ᾑρέθη στρατηγὸς ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ὡς
the(-men) fearing and he-was-chosen general for Iberia as
πράξων τι τῆς εὐτολμίας ἄξιον. οἱ πρεσβύτεροι δὲ
going-to-do something of-the boldness worthy the elders but
αὐτὴν οὐκ εὐτολμίαν ἀλλὰ προπέτειαν ἐκάλουν. καὶ ὁ
it not boldness but rashness called and —
Σκιπίων αἰσθόμενος ἐς ἐκκλησίαν αὖθις αὐτοὺς συνεκάλει
Scipio perceiving into assembly again them called-together
τε καὶ ἐσεμνύνετο ὅμοια· καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν εἰπὼν
both and spoke-proudly like-things and the age having-said
οὐδὲν ἐμποδὼν οἱ γενήσεσθαι, προυκαλεῖτο ὅμως, εἴ
nothing in-the-way for-him to-be-going-to-be he-challenged nevertheless if

τις ἐθέλοι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβεῖν
anyone wished of-the elders the command to-take-over
ἑκόντος αὐτοῦ παραδιδόντος. οὐδενὸς δ' ἑλομένου, μᾶλλον
willingly him handing-over no-one and having-chosen more
ἐπαινούμενός τε καὶ θαυμαζόμενος ἐξῄει μετὰ μυρίων
praised both and admired he-went-out with ten-thousand
πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέων πεντακοσίων· οὐ γὰρ ἐνεχώρει πλέονα
infantry and cavalry five-hundred not for it-was-possible larger
στρατὸν ἐξάγειν, Ἀννίβου δῃοῦντος τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ἔλαβε
army to-lead-out Hannibal ravaging — Italy he-took
δὲ καὶ χρήματα καὶ παρασκευὴν ἄλλην καὶ ναῦς μακρὰς
and also money and equipment other and ships long
ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι, μεθ' ὧν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν διέπλευσεν.
eight and twenty with which to Iberia he-sailed-across
παραλαβών τε τὴν ἐκεῖ στρατιάν, καὶ οὓς ἦγεν 19
having-taken-over both the there army and those-whom he-led
ἐς ἓν συναγαγών, ἐκάθηρε, καὶ διελέχθη καὶ τοῖσδε
into one having-brought-together he-purified and addressed also these
μεγαληγόρως. δόξα τε διέδραμεν ἐς ὅλην αὐτίκα τὴν
grandiloquently report both ran-through into whole at-once —
Ἰβηρίαν, βαρυνομένην τε τοὺς Λίβυας καὶ τῶν Σκιπιώνων
Iberia weighed-down both by-the Libyans and of-the Scipios
τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιποθοῦσαν, ὅτι στρατηγὸς αὐτοῖς ἥκοι
the valor longing-for that a-general to-them had-come
Σκιπίων ὁ Σκιπίωνος κατὰ θεόν. οὗ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς
Scipio the son-of-Scipio by god which indeed also himself
αἰσθανόμενος, ὑπεκρίνετο πάντα ποιεῖν πειθόμενος θεῷ.
perceiving he-pretended everything to-do obeying god
πυνθανόμενος δ' ὅτι οἱ ἐχθροὶ σταθμεύουσι μὲν ἐν
learning and that the enemies are-quartered indeed in
τέσσαρσι στρατοπέδοις, μακρὰν διεστηκότες ἀπ' ἀλλήλων,
four camps far standing-apart from each-other

ἀνὰ δισμυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας
each twenty-thousand and five-thousand infantry and cavalry
πεντακοσίους ἐπὶ δισχιλίοις, τὴν δὲ παρασκευὴν τῶν τε
five-hundred besides two-thousand the and store of-the both
χρημάτων καὶ σίτου καὶ ὅπλων καὶ βελῶν καὶ νεῶν καὶ
money and grain and arms and missiles and ships and
αἰχμαλώτων καὶ ὁμήρων τῶν ἐξ ὅλης Ἰβηρίας ἔχουσιν ἐν
captives and hostages the from whole Iberia they-have in
τῇ πρότερον μὲν Ζακάνθῃ τότε δὲ ἤδη Καρχηδόνι, καὶ
the formerly indeed Saguntum then and already Carthage and
φρουρὸς αὐτῶν ἐστὶ Μάγων μετὰ μυρίων Καρχηδονίων,
guard of-them is Mago with ten-thousand Carthaginians
ἔκρινε πρῶτον ἐς τούτους ἐπιδραμεῖν διά τε τὴν
he-decided first against these to-run because-of both the
ὀλιγότητα τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ μετὰ Μάγωνος καὶ τὸ
fewness of-the army the with Mago and the
μέγεθος τῆς παρασκευῆς, καὶ ὡς ὁρμητήριον ἀσφαλὲς
greatness of-the store and as base safe
ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἕξων ἐπὶ ὅλην τὴν Ἰβηρίαν
from land and sea going-to-have against whole — Iberia
πόλιν ἀργυρεῖα καὶ χώραν εὐδαίμονα καὶ πλοῦτον πολὺν
a-city silver-mines and land prosperous and wealth much
ἔχουσαν καὶ τὸν διάπλουν ἐς Λιβύην βραχύτατον.
having and the crossing to Libya shortest
20 ὁ μὲν δὴ τοσοῖσδε λογισμοῖς ἐπαιρόμενος, οὐδενὶ
he indeed indeed by-so-many reasonings being-elated to-no-one
προειπὼν ὅπῃ χωρήσειν ἔμελλεν, ἡλίου δύναντος ἦγε τὴν
having-told where to-advance he-was-going sun setting he-led the
στρατιὰν δι᾽ ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα.
army through whole the night against — Carthage
καὶ αὐτὴν ἅμα ἕῳ, τῶν Λιβύων καταπλαγέντων,
and it together-with dawn the Libyans being-astounded

περιταφρεύσας, ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν ἡτοιμάζετο,
having-trenched-round for the following day he-prepared
κλίμακάς τε καὶ μηχανὰς πάντῃ περιτιθείς, χωρὶς ἑνὸς
ladders both and engines everywhere placing-round except one
μέρους, ᾗ τὸ μὲν τεῖχος ἦν βραχύτατον, ἕλος δ' αὐτῷ
part where the indeed wall was lowest a-marsh and it
καὶ θάλασσα προσέκλυζε, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ καὶ οἱ φύλακες
and sea washed and because-of it also the guards
ἀμελῶς εἶχον. νυκτὸς δὲ πάντα πληρώσας βελῶν καὶ
carelessly were by-night and all having-filled with-missiles and
λίθων, καὶ τοῖς λιμέσι τῆς πόλεως ναῦς ἐπιστήσας, ἵνα μὴ
stones and at-the harbors of-the city ships having-posted that not
αἱ νῆες αὐτὸν αἱ τῶν πολεμίων διαφύγοιεν (ὑπὸ γὰρ δὴ
the ships him the of-the enemies might-escape by for indeed
μεγαλοψυχίας ἤλπιζε πάντως αἱρήσειν τὴν πόλιν), πρὸ
magnanimity he-hoped wholly to-be-going-to-take the city before
ἕω τὴν στρατιὰν ἀνεβίβαζεν ἐπὶ τὰς μηχανάς, τοὺς
dawn the army he-made-mount onto the engines the(-men)
μὲν ἄνωθεν ἐγχειρεῖν κελεύων τοῖς πολεμίοις, τοὺς δὲ
indeed from-above to-engage ordering the enemies the(-men) and
κάτω τὰς μηχανὰς ὠθεῖν ἐς τὸ πρόσω. Μάγων δὲ τοὺς
below the engines to-push into the front Mago and the
μὲν μυρίους ἐπέστησε ταῖς πύλαις ὡς ἐκπηδήσοντας, ὅτε
indeed ten-thousand stationed at-the gates as going-to-sally when
καιρὸς εἴη, μετὰ μόνων ξιφῶν (οὐ γὰρ εἶναι δόρασιν
the-moment should-be with only swords not for to-be-possible spears
ἐν στενῷ χρῆσθαι), τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις
in narrow-space to-use the and others onto the battlements
ἀνῆγεν. καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ὅδε μηχανήματα καὶ λίθους καὶ βέλη
led-up and many also he engines and stones and missiles
καὶ καταπέλτας ἐπιστήσας εἴχετο τοῦ ἔργου προθύμως.
and catapults having-set-up held-to the work zealously

γενομένης δὲ βοῆς καὶ παρακελεύσεως ἑκατέρωθεν,
having-arisen and shouting and exhortation on-both-sides
οὐδέτεροι μὲν ὁρμῆς καὶ προθυμίας ἐνέλειπον, καὶ λίθους
neither indeed of-impetus and of-zeal fell-short and stones
τε καὶ βέλη καὶ ἀκόντια ἀφιέντες, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ χειρῶν,
both and missiles and javelins discharging some indeed from hands
οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ μηχανῶν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ σφενδόνης, εἴ τέ τις ἦν
others and from engines others and from sling if and any was
ἄλλη παρασκευὴ καὶ δύναμις, ἐχρῶντο προθύμως ἅπασιν.
other equipment and power they-used zealously all
21 ἐκακοπάθει δὲ τὰ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, καὶ οἱ μύριοι
suffered and the-affairs — of-Scipio and the ten-thousand
Καρχηδονίων, οἳ περὶ τὰς πύλας ἦσαν, ἐκδραμόντες σὺν
of-Carthaginians who at the gates were having-sallied with
τοῖς ξίφεσι γυμνοῖς ἐνέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς τὰ μηχανήματα
the swords naked fell into the(-men) the engines
ὠθοῦντας, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἔδρων, οὐχ ἧσσω δ' ἀντέπασχον,
pushing and much indeed did not less and suffered-in-return
μέχρι τῷ φιλοπόνῳ καὶ ταλαιπώρῳ τὰ Ῥωμαίων
until by-the industry and endurance the-affairs of-Romans
ὑπανίστατο. καὶ μεταβολῆς γενομένης οἵ τε ἐπὶ τῶν
rose and change having-happened those both on the
τειχῶν ἔκαμνον ἤδη, καὶ αἱ κλίμακες αὐτοῖς προσεπέλαζον.
walls tired already and the ladders to-them came-near
οἱ δὲ ξιφήρεις τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐς τὰς πύλας ἐσέτρεχον,
the and sword-bearing of-the Carthaginians into the gates ran-in
καὶ ἀποκλείσαντες αὐτὰς ἀνεπήδων ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη. καὶ
and having-shut them leapt-up onto the walls and
τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις αὖθις ἦν ὁ πόνος πολύς τε καὶ χαλεπός,
for-the Romans again was the toil great both and hard
ἐς οὗ Σκιπίων ὁ στρατηγὸς πάντῃ περιθέων τε
until when Scipio the general everywhere running-round both

καὶ βοῶν καὶ παρακαλῶν εἶδε περὶ μεσημβρίαν, ᾗ τὸ
and shouting and exhorting saw about midday where the
βραχὺ τεῖχος ἦν καὶ τὸ ἕλος προσέκλυζε, τὴν θάλασσαν
low wall was and the marsh washed the sea
ὑποχωροῦσαν· ἄμπωτις γὰρ ἐφήμερος ἔστιν. καὶ ὁ κλύδων
receding ebb for daily is and the surge
ἐπῄει μὲν ἐς μαστούς, ὑπεχώρει δὲ ἐς μέσας κνήμας.
came-on indeed to breasts receded and to mid shins
ὅπερ ὁ Σκιπίων τότε ἰδών, καὶ περὶ τῆς φύσεως
which — Scipio then having-seen and about the nature
αὐτοῦ πυθόμενος, ὡς ἔχοι τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας,
of-it having-learned that it-would-keep the rest of-the day
πρὶν ἐπανελθεῖν τὸ πέλαγος, ἔθει πάντῃ βοῶν, "νῦν ὁ
before to-return the sea ran everywhere shouting now the
καιρός, ὦ ἄνδρες, νῦν ὁ σύμμαχός μοι θεὸς ἀφῖκται.
moment O men now the ally to-me god has-come
πρόσιτε τῷ μέρει τῷδε τοῦ τείχους. ἡ θάλασσα ἡμῖν
approach to-the part this of-the wall the sea for-us
ὑποκεχώρηκεν φέρετε τὰς κλίμακας, ἐγὼ δ' ἡγήσομαι."
has-receded bring the ladders I and will-lead
καὶ πρῶτος ἁρπάσας τινὰ τῶν κλιμάκων μετέφερέ τε καὶ 22
and first having-snatched one of-the ladders be-carried-across both and
ἀνέβαινεν, οὔπω τινὸς ἀναβάντος ἄλλου, μέχρι περισχόντες
climbed not-yet anyone having-climbed other until surrounding
αὐτὸν οἵ τε ὑπασπισταὶ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη στρατιὰ τόνδε μὲν
him the both shield-bearers and the other army him indeed
ἐπέσχον, αὐτοὶ δὲ πολλὰς ὁμοῦ κλίμακας προσετίθεσάν
they-held-back they-themselves and many together ladders set-against
τε καὶ ἀνεπήδων. βοῆς δὲ καὶ ὁρμῆς ἑκατέρωθεν γενομένης,
both and leapt-up shouting and and onset on-both-sides having-arisen
καὶ ποικίλων ἔργων καὶ παθῶν, ἐκράτησαν ὅμως οἱ
and of-varied deeds and sufferings prevailed nevertheless the

Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ πύργων τινῶν ἐπέβησαν ὀλίγων, οἷς ὁ
Romans and towers some mounted few on-which —
Σκιπίων σαλπικτὰς καὶ βυκανιστὰς ἐπιστήσας ἐξοτρύνειν
Scipio trumpeters and horn-blowers having-posted to-rouse
ἐκέλευσε καὶ θορυβεῖν ὡς τῆς πόλεως εἰλημμένης ἤδη.
ordered and to-make-uproar as the city having-been-taken already
ἕτεροί τε περιθέοντες ὁμοίως διετάρασσον. καὶ καθαλόμενοί
others both running-round likewise confused and having-leapt-down
τινες ἀνέῳξαν τῷ Σκιπίωνι τὰς πύλας· ὁ δ' ἐσεπήδησε
some opened — to-Scipio the gates he and rushed-in
μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς δρόμῳ. καὶ τῶν ἔνδον οἱ μὲν ἐς
with the army at-a-run and of-the(-men) inside some indeed into
τὰς οἰκίας ἀπεδίδρασκον, ὁ δὲ Μάγων τοὺς μυρίους ἐς τὴν
the houses ran-away — and Mago the ten-thousand into the
ἀγορὰν συνεκάλει. ταχὺ δὲ καὶ τούτων κατακοπέντων, ἐς
market-place called-together quickly and also these having-been-cut-down to
τὴν ἄκραν σὺν ὀλίγοις ἀνεχώρει. τοῦ δὲ Σκιπίωνος καὶ ἐπὶ
the citadel with few withdrew — and Scipio also against
τὴν ἄκραν εὐθὺς ἐπιόντος, οὐδὲν ἔτι δρᾶν σὺν ἡττημένοις
the citadel at-once coming nothing still to-do with defeated
τε καὶ κατεπτηχόσιν ἔχων ἐνεχείρισεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ Σκιπίωνι.
both and cowed having he-surrendered himself — to-Scipio
23 ὁ δὲ τόλμῃ καὶ τύχῃ πόλιν εὐδαίμονα καὶ δυνατὴν
he and by-daring and fortune a-city prosperous and powerful
ἑλὼν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ, τετάρτῃ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἀφίξεως,
having-taken in-day one fourth of-the against it arrival
ἐπῄρτο μεγάλως, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐδόκει κατὰ θεὸν ἕκαστα
was-elated greatly and more seemed by god each-thing
δρᾶν, αὐτός τε οὕτως ἐφρόνει καὶ οὕτως ἐλογοποίει καὶ
to-do himself both so thought and so spoke and
τότε καὶ ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα βίον, ἀρξάμενος ἐξ ἐκείνου.
then and into the afterward life having-begun from that

πολλάκις γοῦν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐσῄει μόνος, καὶ τὰς
often at-any-rate into — Capitol he-went alone and the
θύρας ἐπέκλειεν ὥσπερ τι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μανθάνων.
doors shut as-if something from the god learning
καὶ νῦν ἔτι τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν Σκιπίωνος ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς
and now still the image the of-Scipio in the processions
μόνου προφέρουσιν ἐκ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐξ
alone they-carry-out from — Capitol of-the and others from
ἀγορᾶς φέρονται. τότε δ' εἰρηνικὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ πολεμικὸν
the-forum are-carried then and of-peace together and of-war
ταμιεῖον παραλαβών, ὅπλα τε πολλὰ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ
store having-taken-over arms both many in it and
βέλη καὶ μηχανήματα καὶ νεωσοίκους καὶ ναῦς μακρὰς
missiles and engines and ship-sheds and ships long
τρεῖς καὶ τριάκοντα, καὶ σῖτον καὶ ἀγορὰν ποικίλην, καὶ
three and thirty and grain and provisions varied and
ἐλέφαντα καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον, τὸν μὲν ἐν σκεύεσι
ivory and gold and silver the indeed in vessels
πεποιημένον, τὸν δὲ ἐπίσημον, τὸν δὲ ἀσήμαντον, ὅμηρά
made the and coined the and uncoined hostages
τε Ἰβήρων καὶ αἰχμάλωτα, καὶ ὅσα Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν
both of-Iberians and captives and as-many-as of-Romans themselves
προείληπτο, ἔθυε τῆς ἐπιούσης καὶ ἐθριάμβευε, καὶ
had-been-taken-before he-sacrificed on-the following-day and triumphed and
τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπῄνει, καὶ τῇ πόλει μετὰ τὴν στρατιὰν
the army praised and to-the city after the army
ἐδημηγόρει, τῶν τε Σκιπιώνων αὐτοὺς ἀναμνήσας ἀπέλυε
harangued of-the both Scipios them having-reminded released
τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐς τὰ ἴδια, θεραπεύων τὰς πόλεις.
the captives to the own-homes courting the cities
ἀριστεῖα δ' ἐδίδου τῷ μὲν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἀναβάντι πρώτῳ
prizes and gave to-the indeed onto the wall having-climbed first

μέγιστα, τῷ δ' ἑξῆς τὰ ἡμίσεα τούτων, τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ
greatest to-the and next the halves of-these to-the and third
τὰ τρίτα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κατὰ λόγον. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἐς
the thirds and to-the others in proportion the and rest to
Ῥώμην ἔπεμψεν ἐπὶ τῶν εἰλημμένων νεῶν, ὅσα χρυσὸς ἢ
Rome sent on the captured ships whatever gold or
ἄργυρος ἦν ἢ ἐλέφας. ἡ μὲν δὴ πόλις ἔθυεν ἐπὶ τρεῖς
silver was or ivory the indeed indeed city sacrificed for three
ἡμέρας ὡς τῆς πατρῴας εὐπραξίας ἐκ πόνων πολλῶν
days as the ancestral good-fortune from toils many
αὖθις ἀνακυπτούσης, ἡ δὲ Ἰβηρία καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ Φοίνικες
again emerging — and Iberia and the in it Phoenicians
κατεπεπλήγεσαν τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τάχει τοῦ τολμήματος.
were-astounded at-the greatness and swiftness of-the daring

24–28 · BAECULA AND CARMONA

Scipio wins over or forces the cities of Iberia, routs Hasdrubal son of Gisco, and takes his camp and Baecula. Hasdrubal gathers seventy thousand foot at Carmona, with Mago and Masinissa's Numidian horse, and for a time Scipio only skirmishes. When provisions run short he sacrifices, claims his familiar sign and the birds as omens of victory, has his men eat and arm, and falls on the enemy before they have eaten. His cavalry, ordered to pursue without wheeling, beat the Numidians, but the infantry are pressed until Scipio runs out alone between the lines calling for help, and the Romans, ashamed, rout the enemy. The survivors cross to Gades, and Hasdrubal son of Hamilcar slips over the Pyrenees toward Italy.

24 ὁ δὲ φρουρὰν μὲν Καρχηδόνι ἐπέστησε, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος
he and a-garrison indeed in-Carthage set and the wall
ἐκέλευσε τὸ παρὰ τὴν ἄμπωτιν ἐς ὕψος ἐγεῖραι· τὴν
ordered the by the ebb to height to-raise the
δ' ἄλλην Ἰβηρίαν αὐτός τε ἐπιὼν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐς
and other Iberia himself both visiting and the friends to

ἕκαστα περιπέμπων ὑπήγετο, καὶ τἆλλα τὰ ἀντέχοντα
each-part sending-round brought-over and the-rest the resisting
ἐβιάζετο. Καρχηδονίων δ' οἱ στρατηγοὶ δύο ὄντε λοιπὼ
forced of-Carthaginians and the generals two being left-over
καὶ δύο Ἀσδρούβα, ὁ μὲν τοῦ Ἀμίλχαρος πορρωτάτω
and two Hasdrubals the(-one) indeed — son-of-Hamilcar farthest
παρὰ Κελτίβηρσιν ἐξενολόγει, ὁ δὲ τοῦ Γέσκωνος
among Celtiberians hired-mercenaries the(-other) and — son-of-Gisco
ἐς μὲν τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἔτι βεβαίους περιέπεμπεν, ἀξιῶν
to indeed the cities the still firm sent-round asking
Καρχηδονίοις ἐμμένειν ὡς στρατιᾶς ἐλευσομένης αὐτίκα
by-Carthaginians to-abide as of-an-army going-to-come at-once
ἀπείρου τὸ πλῆθος, Μάγωνα δ' ἕτερον ἐς τὰ πλησίον
boundless the number Mago and another to the neighboring-parts
περιέπεμπε ξενολογεῖν ὁπόθεν δυνηθείη, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς
sent-round to-hire-mercenaries wherever he-could and himself into
τὴν Λέρσα γῆν τῶν ἀφισταμένων ἐνέβαλε, καί τινα αὐτῶν
the of-Lersa land of-the revolting invaded and a of-them
πόλιν ἔμελλε πολιορκήσειν. ἐπιφανέντος δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ
city was-going to-besiege having-appeared and to-him —
Σκιπίωνος ἐς Βαιτύκην ὑπεχώρει, καὶ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως
Scipio to Baecula he-withdrew and before the city
ἐστρατοπέδευσεν· ἔνθα τῆς ἐπιούσης εὐθὺς ἡσσᾶτο, καὶ
encamped where on-the following at-once he-was-beaten and
τὸν χάρακα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν Βαιτύκην ἔλαβεν ὁ Σκιπίων.
the stockade his and — Baecula took — Scipio
ὁ δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν Καρχηδονίων τὴν ἔτι οὖσαν
he and the army the of-Carthaginians the still being
ἐν Ἰβηρία συνέλεγεν ἐς Καρμώνην πόλιν, ὡς ὁμοῦ
in Iberia gathered to Carmona city as together
πᾶσιν ἀμυνούμενος τὸν Σκιπίωνα. καὶ αὐτῷ συνῆλθον
with-all going-to-ward-off — Scipio and to-him came-together

πολλοὶ μὲν Ἰβήρων, οὓς Μάγων ἦγε, πολλοὶ δὲ
many indeed of-Iberians whom Mago led many and
Νομάδων, ὧν ἦρχε Μασσανάσσης. καὶ τούτων ὁ μὲν
of-Numidians whom commanded Masinissa and of-these — indeed
Ἀσδρούβας μετὰ τῶν πεζῶν ὑπὸ χάρακι ἐστρατοπέδευεν,
Hasdrubal with the infantry under a-stockade encamped
ὁ δὲ Μασσανάσσης καὶ ὁ Μάγων ἱππαρχοῦντες αὐτῷ
— and Masinissa and — Mago commanding-the-horse for-him
προηυλίζοντο τοῦ στρατοπέδου. ὧδε δὲ ἔχουσιν αὐτοῖς
bivouacked-in-front of-the camp thus and placed against-them
ὁ Σκιπίων τοὺς ἰδίους ἱππέας ἐπιδιήρει, καὶ Λαίλιον μὲν
— Scipio the own cavalry divided and Laelius indeed
ἐπὶ Μάγωνα ἔπεμπεν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ Μασσανάσσην
against Mago sent himself and against Masinissa
ἐτράπετο. μέχρι μὲν οὖν τινὸς ἦν ἐν ἀγῶνι καὶ
turned for indeed then some-time he-was in struggle and
πόνῳ δυσχερεῖ, τῶν Νομάδων αὐτὸν ἀκοντιζόντων τε
toil hard the Numidians him javelining both
καὶ ὑποχωρούντων, εἶτ' αὖθις ἐπελαυνόντων· ὡς δὲ
and retreating then again riding-at when and
παρήγγειλεν ὁ Σκιπίων ἀμεταστρεπτὶ διώκειν αὐτούς,
ordered — Scipio without-turning to-pursue them
τὰ δόρατα προβαλόντας, οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀναστροφὴν οἱ
the spears holding-forward not having turning-room the
Νομάδες κατέφυγον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων
Numidians fled into the camp and — Scipio
ἀποσχὼν δέκα σταδίους ἐστρατοπέδευσεν εὐσταθῶς
having-stood-off ten stades encamped steadily
ᾗπερ ἐβούλετο. ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν τῶν ἐχθρῶν σύμπασα
where-indeed he-wished was and the indeed of-the enemies whole
δύναμις ἑπτακισμύριοι πεζοὶ καὶ ἱππεῖς πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ
force seventy-thousand infantry and cavalry five-thousand and

ἐλέφαντες ἓξ καὶ τριάκοντα· Σκιπίωνι δὲ τούτων οὐδὲ
elephants six and thirty to-Scipio but of-these not-even
τριτημόριον ἦν. διὸ καὶ μέχρι τινὸς ἐνεδοίαζε, καὶ
a-third was therefore also for some-time he-hesitated and
μάχης οὐ κατῆρχεν, ἀλλ' ἀκροβολισμοῖς ἐχρῆτο μόνοις.
battle not began but skirmishes used only
ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπέλειπεν αὐτὸν ἡ ἀγορὰ καὶ λιμὸς ἥπτετο 26
when and failed him the provisions and famine touched
τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἀναζεῦξαι μὲν οὐκ εὐπρεπὲς ἡγεῖτο εἶναι
the army to-withdraw indeed not seemly he-thought to-be
Σκιπίων· θυσάμενος δέ, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις τὴν
Scipio having-sacrificed and and at-once upon the sacrifices the
στρατιὰν ἐς ἐπήκοον ἐλάσας, καὶ τὸ βλέμμα καὶ τὸ
army into earshot having-marched and the look and the
σχῆμα διαθεὶς πάλιν ὥσπερ ἔνθους, ἔφη τὸ δαιμόνιον
bearing having-arranged again as-if inspired he-said the divine-sign
ἥκειν τὸ σύνηθες αὐτῷ, καὶ καλεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους.
to-have-come the customary for-him and to-call against the enemies
χρῆναι δὲ θαρρεῖν θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ πλήθει στρατοῦ·
it-to-be-needful and to-trust in-god rather than in-number of-army
καὶ γὰρ τῶν πρότερον ἔργων κατὰ θεόν, οὐ κατὰ
and for of-the former deeds by god not by
πλῆθος κρατῆσαι. ἔς τε πίστιν τῶν λεγομένων τὰ ἱερὰ
number to-have-prevailed for both proof of-the things-said the victims
παραφέρειν ἐς τὸ μέσον ἐκέλευε τοὺς μάντεις. καὶ λέγων
to-bring-forward into the middle he-ordered the seers and saying
ὁρᾷ τινὰς οἰωνοὺς πετομένους, οὓς μεθ' ὁρμῆς καὶ βοῆς
he-sees some birds flying which with eagerness and shouting
αὐτόθεν ἐπιστραφεὶς ἐδείκνυέ τε, καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι οἱ
there having-turned he-pointed-out both and said that for-him
σύμβολα νίκης οἱ θεοὶ καὶ τάδε ἔπεμψαν. συνεκινεῖτο
signs of-victory the gods also these sent was-moved

δὲ πρὸς αὐτὰ ἐνθέως ὁρῶν καὶ βοῶν. καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ
and at them inspiredly looking and shouting also the army
πᾶσα ἐς τὰς ἐκείνου φαντασίας, περιφερομένου δεῦρο
all to the his displays turning hither
κἀκεῖσε, συνεπεστρέφετο, καὶ πάντες ὡς ἐπὶ νίκην ἕτοιμον
and-thither turned-with-him and all as for victory ready
ἠρεθίζοντο. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ πᾶν εἶχεν ὅσον τι καὶ ἐβούλετο,
were-roused he but when all he-had as-much-as anything also he-wished
οὐκ ἀνέθετο, οὐδ' εἴασε τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐκλυθῆναι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔτι
not put-it-off nor allowed the impulse to-be-relaxed but as still
ὢν θεόληπτος, ἔφη δεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τοῖς σημείοις
being god-possessed said it-to-be-needful on these the signs
εὐθὺς ἀγωνίσασθαι. καὶ φαγόντας ἐκέλευεν ὁπλίσασθαι,
at-once to-fight and having-eaten ordered to-arm
καὶ ἐπῆγεν ἀδοκήτως τοῖς πολεμίοις, τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας
and led unexpectedly against-the enemies the indeed cavalry
Σιλανῷ, τοὺς δὲ πεζοὺς Λαιλίῳ καὶ Μαρκίῳ παραδούς·
to-Silanus the and infantry to-Laelius and to-Marcius having-handed-over
27 Ἀσδρούβας δὲ καὶ Μάγων καὶ Μασσανάσσης, ἐπιόντος
Hasdrubal and and Mago and Masinissa coming-on
αὐτοῖς τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἄφνω σταδίων ὄντων ἐν μέσῳ δέκα
them — Scipio suddenly stades being in middle ten
μόνων, ἄσιτον οὖσαν ἔτι τὴν στρατιὰν ὥπλιζον μετὰ σπουδῆς
only fasting being still the army armed with haste
καὶ θορύβου καὶ βοῆς. γενομένης δ' ὁμοῦ πεζομαχίας τε καὶ
and uproar and shouting having-arisen and together of-infantry-battle both and
ἱππομαχίας, οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκράτουν ὑπὸ
of-cavalry-battle the indeed cavalry the of-the Romans prevailed by
τῆς αὐτῆς μηχανῆς, ἀμεταστρεπτὶ τοὺς Νομάδας διώκοντες,
the same device without-turning the Numidians pursuing
ὑποχωρεῖν εἰθισμένους καὶ ἐπελαύνειν· οἷς τὰ ἀκόντια
to-retreat accustomed and to-ride-at for-whom the javelins

διὰ τὴν ἐγγύτητα οὐδὲν ἦν ἔτι χρήσιμα· οἱ πεζοὶ
because-of the nearness in-no-way was any-longer useful the infantry
δ᾽ ἐπονοῦντο ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Λιβύων, καὶ ἡττῶντο
but were-hard-pressed by the number of-the Libyans and were-beaten
δι᾽ ὅλης ἡμέρας. οὐδὲ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος αὐτοὺς ἐπιθέοντός τε
through whole day nor — Scipio them running-up both
καὶ παρακαλοῦντος μετετίθεντο, μέχρι τὸν ἵππον Σκιπίων
and exhorting did-they-change until the horse Scipio
τῷ παιδὶ παραδούς, καὶ παρά τινος ἀσπίδα λαβών,
to-the boy having-handed and from someone a-shield having-taken
ἐξέδραμεν ὡς εἶχε μόνος ἐς τὸ μεταίχμιον, κεκραγώς,
ran-out as he-was alone into the space-between shouting
“ἐπικουρεῖτε, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, κινδυνεύοντι ὑμῶν τῷ Σκιπίωνι.”
help O Romans endangered your — Scipio
τότε γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἐγγὺς ὁρῶντες οἳ κινδύνου φέρεται,
then for the indeed near seeing to-what danger he-is-carried
οἱ δὲ πόρρω πυνθανόμενοι, καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως αἰδούμενοί
the and far learning and all alike being-ashamed
τε καὶ περὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ δεδιότες, ἐσέδραμον ἐς τοὺς
both and for the general fearing rushed against the
πολεμίους μετ᾽ ἀλαλαγμοῦ καὶ βίας, ἣν οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες
enemies with war-cry and force which not having-borne
οἱ Λίβυες ἐνέδωκαν, ἐπιλειπούσης αὐτοὺς ἅμα τῆς
the Libyans gave-way failing them at-the-same-time the
δυνάμεως ὑπὸ τῆς ἀσιτίας περὶ ἑσπέραν· καὶ πολὺς αὐτῶν
strength from the fasting about evening and great their
δι᾽ ὀλίγου τότε φόνος ἐγίγνετο. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τέλος
within a-short(-time) then slaughter happened this indeed indeed end
ἦν Σκιπίωνι τῆς περὶ Καρμώνην μάχης, ἐπισφαλοῦς ἐς
was for-Scipio of-the at Carmona battle dangerous for

πολὺ γενομένης. ἀπέθανον δ' ἐν αὐτῇ Ῥωμαίων μὲν
long having-been died and in it of-Romans indeed
ὀκτακόσιοι, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων μύριοι καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι.
eight-hundred of-the and enemies ten-thousand and five-thousand
28 μετὰ δὲ τοῦθ' οἱ μὲν Λίβυες ὑπεχώρουν ἀεὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς,
after and this the indeed Libyans retreated always with haste
ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων αὐτοῖς εἵπετο, βλάπτων τι καὶ λυπῶν
— and Scipio them followed harming somewhat and annoying
ὁσάκις καταλάβοι. ὡς δ' οἱ μὲν ὀχυρόν τι χωρίον
as-often-as he-overtook when and they indeed a-strong some place
προύλαβον, ἔνθα καὶ ὕδωρ ἦν ἄφθονον καὶ ἀγορά, καὶ οὐδὲν
seized-first where also water was abundant and provisions and nothing
ἄλλο ἢ πολιορκεῖν αὐτοὺς ἔδει, Σκιπίωνα δ' ἤπειγον
other than to-besiege them was-needful Scipio and pressed
ἕτεραι χρεῖαι, Σιλανὸν μὲν ἀπέλιπε τούσδε πολιορκεῖν,
other needs Silanus indeed he-left these to-besiege
αὐτὸς δ' ἐπῄει τὴν ἄλλην Ἰβηρίαν καὶ ὑπήγετο. Λιβύων
himself and visited the other Iberia and brought-over of-Libyans
δὲ τῶν ὑπὸ Σιλανοῦ πολιορκουμένων αὖθις ὑποχωρούντων,
and of-the by Silanus besieged again retreating
ἕως ἐπὶ τὸν πορθμὸν ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Γάδειρα ἐπέρασαν,
until to the strait having-arrived to Gades crossed
ὁ Σιλανός, ὅσα δυνατὸν ἦν βλάψας, ἀνεζεύγνυεν ἐς
— Silanus as-much-as possible was having-harmed withdrew to
Καρχηδόνα πρὸς Σκιπίωνα. Ἀσδρούβαν δὲ τὸν Ἀμίλχαρος,
Carthage to Scipio Hasdrubal and the son-of-Hamilcar
περὶ τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανὸν στρατιὰν ἔτι συλλέγοντα, ὁ
about the northern ocean army still gathering the
ἀδελφὸς Ἀννίβας ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν
brother Hannibal called with haste into — Italy
ἐσβαλεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἵνα λάθοι τὸν Σκιπίωνα, παρὰ τὸν
to-invade he and that he-might-escape-notice-of — Scipio along the

βόρειον ὠκεανὸν τὴν Πυρήνην ἐς Γαλάτας ὑπερέβαινε, μεθ᾽
northern ocean the Pyrene into Gauls crossed with
ὧν ἐξενολογήκει Κελτιβήρων. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀσδρούβας
those-whom he-had-hired of-Celtiberians and — indeed Hasdrubal
ὧδε ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, τῶν Ἰταλῶν ἀγνοούντων, ἠπείγετο.
thus into — Italy the Italians not-knowing hastened

29–33 · SYPHAX, ILURGIA, AND ASTAPA

Hearing that Rome means to send him to Libya, Scipio sends Laelius to Syphax and then sails to him himself, slipping past the Carthaginian envoys' ships; at Syphax's table he reclines beside Hasdrubal, who calls him as formidable at a feast as in war. Marcius cuts down Mago's Celtiberian mercenaries and those who refuse to give up their arms. Scipio takes Ilurgia, which had betrayed a Roman army, and his soldiers kill even the women and children; Castax surrenders. At Astapa the citizens heap their goods and families on a pyre and bind fifty men by oath to burn them, then sally and die, and Marcius, struck by their courage, spares the site.

Λεύκιος δ᾽ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐπανιὼν ἔφραζε τῷ Σκιπίωνι 29
Lucius and from Rome returning told — Scipio
ὅτι αὐτὸν οἱ ἐν ἄστει Ῥωμαῖοι διανοοῦνται στρατηγὸν ἐς
that him the in the-city Romans intend general to
Λιβύην ἀποστέλλειν. ὁ δὲ τοῦδε αὐτοῦ μάλιστα ἐπιθυμῶν
Libya to-send he and of-this itself most desiring
ἐκ πολλοῦ, καὶ ἐλπίζων ὧδε ἔσεσθαι, Λαίλιον ἐπὶ νεῶν
from long-ago and hoping so to-be-going-to-be Laelius on ships
πέντε προύπεμπεν ἐς Λιβύην πρὸς τὸν δυνάστην Σύφακα,
five sent-ahead to Libya to the prince Syphax
δωρεάς τε φέροντα, καὶ τῶν Σκιπιώνων ὑπόμνησιν τῆς ἐς
gifts both bearing and of-the Scipios a-reminder of-the toward
αὐτὸν Σύφακα φιλίας, καὶ δέησιν Ῥωμαίοις, ἂν ἐπίωσι,
him Syphax friendship and a-request to-Romans if they-should-come

συλλαμβάνειν. ὁ δὲ ὑπέσχετό τε ποιήσειν, καὶ τὰ δῶρα
to-help he and promised both to-be-going-to-do and the gifts
ἔλαβε καὶ ἀντέπεμψεν ἕτερα. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ τούτων οἱ
took and sent-back others having-perceived and these-things the
Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ περὶ συμμαχίας ἐπρεσβεύοντο παρὰ
Carthaginians also themselves about alliance sent-envoys to
τὸν Σύφακα. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων πυνθανόμενός τε, καὶ μέγα
— Syphax and — Scipio learning both and great
ποιούμενος ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίοις προσλαβεῖν καὶ βεβαιώσασθαι
making against Carthaginians to-win and to-make-sure-of
Σύφακα, ᾔει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ νεῶν δύο σὺν τῷ Λαιλίῳ.
Syphax went to him on ships two with — Laelius
30 καὶ αὐτῷ καταγομένῳ οἱ πρέσβεις τῶν Καρχηδονίων,
and him putting-in the envoys of-the Carthaginians
ἔτι ὄντες παρὰ τῷ Σύφακι, ναυσὶν αἷς εἶχον μακραῖς
still being with — Syphax with-ships which they-had long
ἐπανήγοντο, λαθόντες τὸν Σύφακα. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἱστίῳ
put-out unnoticed-by — Syphax but he indeed with-sail
χρώμενος παρέπλευσεν αὐτοὺς ἀδεῶς καὶ κατήχθη,
using sailed-past them fearlessly and put-in
ὁ δὲ Σύφαξ ἐξένιζεν ἀμφοτέρους, καὶ τῷ Σκιπίωνι
— and Syphax entertained both and — with-Scipio
συνθέμενος ἰδίᾳ καὶ πίστεις παρασχὼν ἀπέπεμπε, καὶ
having-agreed privately and pledges having-given sent-him-away and
τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐφεδρεύοντας αὖθις αὐτῷ κατεῖχεν,
the Carthaginians lying-in-wait-for again him held-back
ἕως ἐν βεβαίῳ τῆς θαλάσσης γένοιτο ὁ Σκιπίων. παρὰ
until in safety of-the sea he-should-be — Scipio within
μὲν δὴ τοσοῦτον ἦλθε κινδύνου Σκιπίων, καταγόμενός
indeed indeed so-much came of-danger Scipio putting-in
τε καὶ πλέων· λέγεται δ' ἐν Σύφακος ἑστιώμενος
both and sailing it-is-said and in Syphax's being-entertained

συγκατακλιθῆναι τῷ Ἀσδρούβᾳ, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀσδρούβας
to-have-reclined-with — Hasdrubal and him — Hasdrubal
περὶ πολλῶν ἐρόμενος καταπλαγῆναι τῆς σεμνότητος,
about many-things having-asked to-have-been-struck by-the dignity
καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπεῖν ὅτι μὴ μόνον πολεμῶν
and to the friends to-have-said that not only warring
οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑστιώμενος φοβερὸς εἴη.
this the man but also being-entertained terrible is
τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ Μάγωνί τινες Κελτιβήρων καὶ 31
at-the and same time for-Mago some of-Celtiberians and
Ἰβήρων ἔτι ἐμισθοφόρουν, ὧν αἱ πόλεις ἐς Ῥωμαίους
of-Iberians still served-for-pay whose the cities to Romans
μετετέθειντο. καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος αὐτοῖς ἐπιθέμενος χιλίους μὲν
had-gone-over and — Marcius on-them having-fallen thousand indeed
καὶ πεντακοσίους διέφθειρεν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ διέφυγον αὐτὸν
and five-hundred destroyed the and rest escaped him
ἐς τὰς πόλεις. ἑτέρους δὲ ἑπτακοσίους ἱππέας καὶ πεζοὺς
into the cities others and seven-hundred cavalry and infantry
ἑξακισχιλίους, Ἄννωνος αὐτῶν ἡγουμένου, συνήλασεν ἐς
six-thousand Hanno them leading he-drove into
λόφον, ὅθεν ἀποροῦντες ἁπάντων ἐπρεσβεύοντο πρὸς τὸν
a-hill whence lacking everything they-sent-envoys to —
Μάρκιον περὶ σπονδῶν. ὁ δ' ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς Ἄννωνα
Marcius about terms he and ordered them Hanno
καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους ἐκδόντας αὐτῷ, τότε πρεσβεύειν.
and the deserters having-surrendered to-him then to-send-envoys
οἱ μὲν δὴ καὶ τὸν Ἄννωνα στρατηγὸν ὄντα σφῶν
they indeed indeed also — Hanno general being their
συναρπάσαντες, ἔτι τῶν λεγομένων ἀκροώμενον, καὶ τοὺς
having-seized still the things-said listening-to and the
αὐτομόλους παρέδοσαν· ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος ᾔτει καὶ τὰ
deserters handed-over — and Marcius demanded also the

αἰχμάλωτα. λαβὼν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα, ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς τακτὸν
captives having-taken and also these ordered them a-fixed
ἀργύριον κατενεγκεῖν ἅπαντας ἔς τι τοῦ πεδίου χωρίον·
silver to-bring-down all into some of-the plain place
οὐ γὰρ ἁρμόζειν τὰ ὑψηλότερα τοῖς παρακαλοῦσιν.
not for to-befit the higher-places for-the(-men) suing
καταβάντων δὲ ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἔφη, "ἄξια μὲν θανάτου
having-come-down and into the plain he-said worthy indeed of-death
δεδράκατε, οἳ τὰς πατρίδας ἔχοντες ὑφ' ἡμῖν, εἵλεσθε μετὰ
you-have-done who the fatherlands having under us chose with
τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπ' αὐτὰς στρατεύειν· δίδωμι δ' ὑμῖν, τὰ
the enemies against them to-campaign I-grant and to-you the
ὅπλα καταθεῖσιν, ἀπαθέσιν ἀπιέναι." ἀγανακτησάντων δ'
arms having-laid-down unharmed to-depart having-been-indignant and
εὐθὺς ὁμοῦ πάντων, καὶ ἀνακραγόντων οὐκ ἀποθήσεσθαι
at-once together all and having-cried-out not to-be-going-to-lay-down
τὰ ὅπλα, μάχη γίγνεται καρτερά. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ
the arms battle happens stubborn and the indeed half
τῶν Κελτιβήρων, πολλὰ δρασάντων, κατεκόπη, τὸ δ'
of-the Celtiberians much having-done was-cut-down the and
ἥμισυ πρὸς Μάγωνα διεσώθη. ὁ δ' ἄρτι μὲν ἐς τὸ
half to Mago escaped he and lately indeed to the
στρατόπεδον τὸ Ἄννωνος κατεπεπλεύκει ναυσὶν ἑξήκοντα
camp the of-Hanno had-sailed-down with-ships sixty
μακραῖς, μαθὼν δὲ τὴν Ἄννωνος συμφορὰν ἐς Γάδειρα
long having-learned and the of-Hanno disaster to Gades
διέπλει, καὶ λιμῷ κακοπαθῶν περιεσκόπει τὸ μέλλον.
sailed-across and by-famine suffering watched the future
32 καὶ Μάγων μὲν ἐπὶ ἀργίας ἦν, Σιλανὸς δ' ἀπέσταλτο
and Mago indeed in idleness was Silanus and had-been-sent
μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος Κάστακα πόλιν προσαγαγέσθαι,
indeed by — Scipio Castax city to-win-over

πολεμικῶς δ' αὐτῷ τῶν Καστακαίων ἐχόντων
hostilely and toward-him the Castacians being
παρεστρατοπέδευε, καὶ τοῦτο ἐμήνυε τῷ Σκιπίωνι. ὁ
he-encamped-beside and this reported — to-Scipio he
δὲ προπέμψας τινὰ παρασκευὴν πολιορκίας εἵπετο· καὶ
and having-sent-ahead some apparatus of-siege followed and
παροδεύων ἐνέβαλεν ἐς Ἰλυργίαν πόλιν, ἣ Ῥωμαίων
passing-by invaded into Ilurgia a-city which of-Romans
μὲν ἦν φίλη κατὰ τὸν πρότερον Σκιπίωνα, ἀναιρεθέντος
indeed was friend in the former Scipio's-time having-been-killed
δ' ἐκείνου κρύφα μετετέθειτο, καὶ στρατιὰν ὑποδεξαμένη
and him secretly had-gone-over and an-army having-received
Ῥωμαίων ὡς ἔτι φίλη, Καρχηδονίοις ἐξεδεδώκει. ὧν
of-Romans as still friend to-Carthaginians had-surrendered of-which
χάριν ὁ Σκιπίων σὺν ὀργῇ τέσσαρσιν ὥραις ἐξεῖλεν
for-the-sake — Scipio with anger in-four hours took
αὐτήν, τρωθεὶς μὲν τὸν αὐχένα, τῆς δὲ μάχης οὐκ
it having-been-wounded indeed in-the neck of-the but battle not
ἀνασχὼν ἕως ἐκράτησεν. καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ δι' αὐτόν,
having-desisted until he-prevailed and the army because-of him
οὐδενὸς ἐπικελεύσαντος, ὑπεριδοῦσα τῆς ἁρπαγῆς, ἔκτεινον
no-one having-ordered having-disdained the plunder killed
ὁμαλῶς καὶ παιδία καὶ γυναῖκας, μέχρι καὶ τὴν πόλιν
alike both children and women until also the city
αὐτοῖς ἐπικατέσκαψαν. ἀφικόμενος δ' ἐς τὴν Κάστακα ὁ
for-them razed having-arrived and at — Castax —
Σκιπίων τὸν μὲν στρατὸν ἐς τρία διεῖλε καὶ τὴν πόλιν
Scipio the indeed army into three divided and the city
ἐφρούρει, μάχης δὲ οὐκ ἦρχε, διδοὺς ἔτι τοῖς Καστακαίοις
besieged battle but not began giving still to-the Castacians
μεταγνῶναι. καὶ γὰρ ἤκουεν αὐτοὺς οὕτω φρονεῖν. οἱ
to-repent and for he-heard them so to-think they

δὲ τοῖς φρουροῦσι σφᾶς ἐμποδὼν οὖσιν ἐπιθέμενοι
and to-the(-men) guarding them in-the-way being having-attacked
καὶ κρατήσαντες, ἐνεχείρισαν τὴν πόλιν τῷ Σκιπίωνι. καὶ
and having-prevailed handed-over the city — to-Scipio and
τοῖσδε μὲν φρουρὰν ὁ Σκιπίων ἐπέστησε, καὶ τὴν πόλιν
for-these indeed a-garrison — Scipio set and the city
ἐπέτρεψεν ἑνὶ τῶν Καστακαίων ἐπὶ δόξης ὄντι ἀγαθῆς·
entrusted to-one of-the Castacians of reputation being good
αὐτὸς δ' ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἀνεζεύγνυε, Σιλανὸν καὶ Μάρκιον
himself and to Carthage withdrew Silanus and Marcius
περιπέμψας ἐπὶ τὸν πορθμόν, δηοῦν ὅσα δύναιντο.
having-sent-round to the strait to-ravage whatever they-could
33 Ἀσταπὰ δ' ἦν πόλις Καρχηδονίοις ἀεὶ ἐμμείνασα ὁμαλῶς·
Astapa and was a-city with-Carthaginians always having-abided steadily
οἳ τότε τοῦ Μαρκίου σφᾶς περικαθημένου, συγγιγνώσκοντες
who then — Marcius them besieging recognizing
ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι λαβόντες αὐτοὺς ἀνδραποδιοῦνται, τὴν
that Romans having-taken them will-enslave the
περιουσίαν σφῶν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν συνήνεγκαν, καὶ ξύλα
property their into the market-place brought and wood
περιθέντες αὐτῇ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ γύναια ἐπέβησαν ἐπὶ
having-placed-round it the children and the women set on
τὴν ὕλην. πεντήκοντα δὲ σφῶν ὤρκωσαν τοὺς ἀρίστους,
the timber fifty and of-them they-bound-by-oath the best
ὅταν ἡ πόλις ἁλίσκηται, τὰ γύναια καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἀνελεῖν
when the city is-being-taken the women and the children to-kill
καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἅψαι καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἐπικατασφάξαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ
and the fire to-light and themselves to-slay-over-it they indeed indeed
μάρτυρας τῶνδε ποιησάμενοι τοὺς θεούς, ἐξέδραμον ἐπὶ τὸν
witnesses of-these having-made the gods ran-out against —
Μάρκιον οὐχ ὑφορώμενον οὐδέν, ὅθεν αὐτοῦ τοὺς ψιλοὺς
Marcius not suspecting anything whence his the light-troops

καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας ἐτρέψαντο. ὁπλισαμένης δὲ τῆς φάλαγγος,
and the cavalry they-routed having-armed and the phalanx
τὰ μὲν τῶν Ἀσταπαίων ἦν ἄριστα, ἐξ ἀπογνώσεως
the indeed of-the Astapans was best from despair
μαχομένων, Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ὅμως ἐκράτουν αὐτῶν διὰ
fighting Romans but nevertheless prevailed-over them because-of
τὸ πλῆθος· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῇ γε ἀρετῇ χείρους ἦσαν
the number not for indeed in-the at-least valor worse were
οἱ Ἀσταπαῖοι. πεσόντων δὲ ἁπάντων, οἱ πεντήκοντα τὰς
the Astapans having-fallen and all the fifty the
γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ παιδία κατέσφαξαν, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐγείραντες
women and the children slaughtered and the fire having-roused
ἑαυτοὺς ἐπέρριψαν, ἀκερδῆ τοῖς πολεμίοις τὴν νίκην
themselves threw-on profitless for-the enemies the victory
ἐργασάμενοι. ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν Ἀσταπαίων
having-made — and Marcius the valor of-the Astapans
καταπλαγεὶς οὐκ ἐνύβρισεν ἐς τὰ οἰκόπεδα αὐτῶν.
having-been-struck-by not committed-outrage against the house-sites their

34–38 · MUTINY AND SETTLEMENT

While Scipio lies ill, part of the army, having squandered its gains, mutinies and chooses its own officers. He summons all to New Carthage as if reconciled, executes the guilty, and pardons the rest, then defeats and fines the rebel Indibilis. Masinissa comes over to Rome; Mago sails to the Ligurians, and Rome takes Gades. Scipio founds Italica for his wounded and triumphs; Iberia now takes praetors yearly, and they crush Indibilis' second revolt.

μετὰ δὲ τοῦθ' ὁ μὲν Σκιπίων ἐς ἀρρωστίαν ἐνέπεσε, 34
after and this — indeed Scipio into illness fell
καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος αὐτῷ διῴκει τὸ στρατόπεδον· ὅσοι
and — Marcius for-him administered the camp as-many-as

δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὑπ᾽ ἀσωτίας ἀναλώκεσαν τὰ
and of-the soldiers through extravagance had-spent the
πεπορισμένα, ἡγούμενοι τῶν μὲν πόνων οὐδὲν ἄξιον
gains thinking of-the indeed toils nothing worthy
ηὑρῆσθαι παρὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἔχειν, σφετερίζεσθαι δ᾽
to-have-been-found because-of the nothing to-have to-appropriate and
αὐτῶν τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὴν δόξαν Σκιπίωνα, ἀφίσταντο ἀπὸ
their the deeds and the glory Scipio revolted from
τοῦ Μαρκίου καὶ ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν ἐστρατοπέδευον. ἔκ τε τῶν
— Marcius and by themselves encamped from both the
φρουρίων αὐτοῖς πολλοὶ συνέτρεχον, καὶ παρὰ Μάγωνός
forts to-them many ran-together and from Mago
τινες ἀργύριον φέροντες ἔπειθον αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν Μάγωνα
some silver bringing tried-to-persuade them to — Mago
μεταθέσθαι. οἱ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀργύριον ἔλαβον, στρατηγοὺς
to-go-over they and the indeed silver took generals
δ᾽ ἀπὸ σφῶν ἑλόμενοι καὶ ταξιάρχους, καὶ τἆλλα
and from themselves having-chosen and officers and the-rest
διακοσμηθέντες, ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν ἐτάσσοντο καὶ συνώμνυον
having-organized by themselves were-drawn-up and swore-together
ἀλλήλοις. πυθόμενος δ᾽ ὁ Σκιπίων ἐπέστελλεν ἐν μέρει
to-each-other having-learned and — Scipio wrote in part
μὲν τοῖς ἀφεστηκόσιν ὅτι διὰ τὴν νόσον αὐτοὺς οὐκ
indeed to-the(-men) having-revolted that because-of the illness them not
ἀμείψαιτό πω, ἐν μέρει δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἵνα μεταπείθωσιν
he-had-rewarded yet in part and to-the others that they-might-win-back
αὐτοὺς πλανωμένους, κοινῇ δ᾽ ἅπασιν ἐπιστολὴν ἄλλην
them going-astray in-common and to-all a-letter another
ὡς ἤδη συνηλλαγμένοις, ὅτι αὐτοὺς αὐτίκα ἀμείψεται.
as already reconciled that them at-once he-will-reward
καὶ ἐκέλευεν εὐθὺς ἥκειν ἐπὶ σῖτον ἐς Καρχηδόνα.
and ordered at-once to-come for grain to Carthage

ἀναγιγνωσκομένων δὲ τούτων, οἱ μὲν ὑπώπτευον, οἱ 35
being-read and these some indeed suspected others
δὲ πιστεύειν ἠξίουν καὶ συνετίθεντο, καὶ πάντες ὧδευον ἐς
and to-trust thought-fit and agreed and all marched to
τὴν Καρχηδόνα ὁμοῦ. προσιόντων δὲ αὐτῶν, ὁ Σκιπίων
— Carthage together approaching and them — Scipio
προσέταξε τοῖς συνοῦσίν οἱ βουλευταῖς ἕκαστον τῶν
ordered the being-with him senators each of-the
ἐξάρχων τινὰ τῆς στάσεως προσεταιρίσασθαι προσιόντα,
ringleaders one of-the faction to-attach-to-himself approaching
καὶ ὡς ἀπ᾽ εὐνοίας διορθοῦντα ὑποδέξασθαί τε καὶ
and as from goodwill setting-right to-receive both and
δῆσαι λαθόντα. προσέταξε δὲ καὶ τοῖς χιλιάρχοις τοὺς
to-bind unnoticed he-ordered and also the tribunes the
πιστοτάτους ἕκαστον ἀφανῶς ἅμα ἕῳ ξιφήρεις
most-trusty each secretly together-with dawn sword-bearing
ἔχειν, καὶ τὰ εὔκαιρα τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκ διαστημάτων
to-have and the convenient-points of-the assembly at intervals
καταλαβόντας, ἤν τις ἐπανίστηται, κατακεντεῖν καὶ
having-seized if anyone rises-up to-stab and
κατακαίνειν αὐτίκα ἄνευ παραγγέλματος. αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἅρτι
to-kill at-once without order he-himself and just
φαινομένης ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐκομίζετο, καὶ τοὺς
appearing day onto the tribunal was-carried and the
κήρυκας ἐς ἐκκλησίαν ἐποτρύνειν περιέπεμπεν. οἱ δὲ
heralds to assembly to-summon sent-round they and
αἰφνιδίου μὲν αὐτοῖς τοῦ κηρύγματος γενομένου, αἰδούμενοι
sudden indeed to-them the proclamation having-been being-ashamed
δὲ ἔτι νοσοῦντα τὸν στρατηγὸν σφῶν παρακρατεῖν, καὶ
and still sick the general their to-hold-back and
νομίζοντες ἐπὶ τὰς ἀμοιβὰς καλεῖσθαι, συνέθεον ὁμοῦ
thinking for the rewards to-be-called ran-together together

πάντοθεν, οἱ μὲν ἄζωστοι τὰ ξίφη, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐν χιτῶσι
from-everywhere some indeed ungirded the swords others and also in tunics
μόνοις, οὐ φθάσαντες οὐδὲ τὴν ἐσθῆτα πᾶσαν ἐπιθέσθαι.
alone not having-had-time even the clothing all to-put-on

36 Σκιπίων δὲ φρουρὰν ἔχων ἀμφ' αὑτὸν ἀφανῆ, πρῶτα μὲν
Scipio and a-guard having about himself hidden first indeed
αὐτοῖς ἐπεμέμφετο τῶν γεγονότων, εἶτ' ἔφη τὴν αἰτίαν
them reproached for-the happenings then he-said the blame
ἀναθήσειν μόνοις τοῖς ἄρξασιν, "οὓς ἐγὼ κολάσω δι'
to-be-going-to-lay on-only to-the(-men) having-begun whom I will-punish through
ὑμῶν." καὶ λέγων ἔτι προσέταξε τοῖς ὑπηρέταις διαστῆσαι
you and saying still he-ordered the attendants to-part
τὸ πλῆθος. οἱ μὲν δὴ διίστανον, οἱ δὲ βουλευταὶ τοὺς
the multitude they indeed indeed parted the and senators the
αἰτίους παρῆγον ἐς τὸ μέσον. ἀναβοησάντων δὲ αὐτῶν,
guilty brought into the middle having-cried-out and they
καὶ τοὺς συστρατιώτας βοηθῆσαι σφίσι παρακαλούντων,
and the fellow-soldiers to-help them calling-on
τοὺς ἐπιφθεγγομένους εὐθὺς ἔκτεινον οἱ χιλίαρχοι. καὶ
the(-men) calling-out at-once killed the tribunes and
τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν φρουρουμένην εἶδεν,
the indeed multitude when the assembly guarded it-saw
ἐφ' ἡσυχίας ἦν σκυθρωποῦ· ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων τοὺς ἐς
in quiet was gloomy — and Scipio the(-men) into
τὸ μέσον παραχθέντας αἰκισάμενος, καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν
the middle brought having-tortured and more of-them
τοὺς ἐκβοήσαντας, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς αὐχένας ἁπάντων ἐς
the(-men) having-cried-out ordered the necks of-all to
τοὔδαφος παττάλοις προσδεθέντας ἀποτμηθῆναι, καὶ τοῖς
the-ground with-pegs fastened to-be-cut-off and to-the
ἄλλοις ἀμνηστίαν ἐκήρυξε διδόναι.
others amnesty proclaimed to-give

ὧδε μὲν τὸ στρατόπεδον καθίστατο τῷ Σκιπίωνι·
thus indeed the camp was-settled — for-Scipio
Ἰνδίβιλις δέ, τῶν συνθεμένων τις αὐτῷ δυναστῶν, 37
Indibilis and of-the(-men) having-made-terms one with-him princes
στασιαζούσης ἔτι τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς στρατιᾶς κατέδραμέ τι τῆς
being-in-revolt still the Roman army overran some of-the
ὑπὸ τῷ Σκιπίωνι γῆς. καὶ αὐτῷ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἐπελάσαντος,
under — Scipio land and him — Scipio having-ridden-against
ὑπέστη μὲν τὸν ἀγῶνα γενναίως, καὶ χιλίους καὶ διακοσίους
withstood indeed the contest nobly and thousand and two-hundred
Ῥωμαίων διέφθειρεν, ἀπολομένων δ' αὐτῷ δισμυρίων ἐδεῖτο
of-Romans destroyed having-perished but of-his twenty-thousand begged
προσπέμψας. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων αὐτὸν χρήμασι ζημιώσας
having-sent and — Scipio him with-money having-fined
συνηλλάσσετο. λαθὼν δὲ καὶ Μασσανάσσης
was-reconciled having-escaped-notice-of and also Masinissa
Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπέρασε τὸν πορθμόν, καὶ φιλίαν τῷ Σκιπίωνι
Hasdrubal crossed the strait and friendship — with-Scipio
συνθέμενος ὤμοσε συμμαχήσειν, ἂν ἐς Λιβύην στρατεύῃ.
having-made swore to-be-going-to-ally if to Libya he-should-march
ἔπραξε δὲ τοῦτο ἀνὴρ ἐς πάντα βέβαιος διὰ τοιάνδε αἰτίαν.
did and this a-man in all-things steadfast for such a-cause
Ἀσδρούβου τοῦ τότε οἱ συνόντος στρατηγοῦ θυγάτηρ
of-Hasdrubal the then with-him being general daughter
ἐς γάμον ἠγγύητο Μασσανάσσῃ· Σύφακα δ' ἄρα τὸν
in marriage had-been-betrothed to-Masinissa Syphax and then the
δυνάστην ἔρως ἔκνιζε τῆς παιδός, καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι
prince love stung for-the girl and the Carthaginians
μέγα ποιούμενοι Σύφακα ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους προσλαβεῖν,
great making Syphax against Romans to-win
ἔδωκαν αὐτῷ τὴν παῖδα, οὐδὲν τοῦ Ἀσδρούβου πυθόμενοι,
gave to-him the girl nothing — of-Hasdrubal having-inquired

καὶ τῶνδε πραχθέντων ὁ μὲν Ἀσδρούβας αὐτὰ ἐπέκρυπτε,
and these having-been-done — indeed Hasdrubal it concealed
τὸν Μασσανάσσην αἰδούμενος, ὁ δὲ αἰσθόμενος συνέθετο
— Masinissa being-ashamed-before he but having-perceived made-terms
τῷ Σκιπίωνι. Μάγων δὲ ὁ ναύαρχος ἀπογνοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν
— with-Scipio Mago and the admiral having-despaired from the
παρόντων τὰ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, πλεύσας ἐς Λίγυας καὶ Κελτοὺς
present-state the-affairs in Iberia having-sailed to Ligurians and Celts
ἐξενολόγει. καὶ ὁ μὲν περὶ ταῦτα ἦν, καὶ τὰ Γάδειρα
hired-mercenaries and he indeed about these-things was and — Gades
ἐκλειφθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Μάγωνος οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι παρέλαβον.
abandoned by — Mago the Romans took-over
38 στρατηγοὺς δὲ Ἰβηρίας ἐτησίους ἐς τὰ ἔθνη τὰ εἰλημμένα
praetors and of-Iberia yearly to the peoples the taken
ἔπεμπον ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἀρξάμενοι, μικρὸν πρὸ τῆς τετάρτης
they-sent from this having-begun a-little before the fourth
καὶ τεσσαρακοστῆς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, ἁρμοστὰς
and fortieth and hundredth olympiad governors
ἢ ἐπιστάτας αὐτοῖς τῆς εἰρήνης ἐσομένους. καὶ αὐτοῖς
or overseers for-them of-the peace going-to-be and for-them
ὁ Σκιπίων ὀλίγην στρατιὰν ὡς ἐπὶ εἰρήνῃ καταλιπών,
— Scipio small army as for peace having-left
συνῴκισε τοὺς τραυματίας ἐς πόλιν, ἣν ἀπὸ τῆς
settled the wounded in a-city which from —
Ἰταλίας Ἰταλικὴν ἐκάλεσε· καὶ πατρίς ἐστι Τραϊανοῦ τε
Italy Italica he-called and fatherland it-is of-Trajan both
καὶ Ἀδριανοῦ τῶν ὕστερον Ῥωμαίοις ἀρξάντων τὴν
and of-Hadrian the(-men) later for-Romans having-ruled the
αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχήν. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ στόλου πολλοῦ
imperial rule he-himself and to Rome with a-fleet great
διέπλει, λαμπρῶς τε κεκοσμημένου καὶ καταγέμοντος
sailed splendidly both adorned and laden

αἰχμαλώτων ὁμοῦ καὶ χρημάτων καὶ ὅπλων καὶ λαφύρων
with-captives together and money and arms and spoils
ποικίλων. καὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτὸν ἐπιφανῶς ἐξεδέχετο μετὰ
various and the city him splendidly received with
δόξης ἀοιδίμου τε καὶ παραλόγου διά τε νεότητα καὶ
glory celebrated both and unexpected because-of both youth and
ταχυεργίαν καὶ μέγεθος εὐπραξίας. οἵ τε φθονοῦντες αὐτῷ
swiftness and greatness of-success those both envying him
τὴν πάλαι κουφολογίαν ὡμολόγουν ἐς ἔργον ἀποβῆναι.
the long-ago light-talk agreed into deed to-have-come
καὶ Σκιπίων μὲν θαυμαζόμενος ἐθριάμβευεν, Ἰνδίβιλις δὲ
and Scipio indeed admired triumphed Indibilis but
οἰχομένου τοῦ Σκιπίωνος αὖθις ἀφίστατο. καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ
having-gone — Scipio again revolted and him the
στρατηγοὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας, τὸν στρατὸν ἀγείραντες ὅσος
praetors — of-Iberia the army having-gathered as-much-as
αὐτοῖς ἦν περὶ τὰ φρούρια, καὶ δύναμιν ἄλλην ἀπὸ τῶν
for-them was about the forts and force other from the
ὑπηκόων συναγαγόντες, ἔκτειναν. τοὺς δ' αἰτίους τῆς
subjects having-collected killed the and guilty of-the
ἀποστάσεως ἐς κρίσιν παραγαγόντες θανάτῳ μετῆλθον,
revolt to trial having-brought with-death they-punished
καὶ τὰ ὄντα αὐτοῖς ἐδήμευσαν. τά τε ἔθνη τὰ συναράμενα
and the property their confiscated the both peoples the having-joined
αὐτῷ χρήμασιν ἐζημίωσαν, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα αὐτῶν παρείλοντο,
him with-money they-fined and the arms their took-away
καὶ ὅμηρα ᾔτησαν, καὶ φρουρὰς δυνατωτέρας αὐτοῖς
and hostages demanded and garrisons stronger on-them
ἐπέστησαν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν εὐθὺς μετὰ Σκιπίωνα, καὶ
set and these-things indeed were at-once after Scipio and
ἡ πρώτη Ῥωμαίων ἐς Ἰβηρίαν πεῖρα ἐς τοῦτο ἔληγε.
the first of-Romans into Iberia attempt in this ended

The Iberians revolt while Rome fights the Celts and Philip, and Cato, the Roman Demosthenes, is sent against them. At Emporium he sends his ships away so his men must win or die, rallies his center from a hill, and takes the enemy camp. Letters arriving on one day order every city to raze its walls, and each, unsure if it alone was ordered, obeys. Flaccus beats the Lusones; the landless at Complega demand a cloak, a horse, and a sword for each man killed, and flee when he comes to bring the cloaks. Gracchus relieves Caravis through Cominius' ruse, beats Complega's false suppliants by feigned flight, and settles the landless under exact treaties, winning a triumph.

39 χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον, ὅτε Ῥωμαῖοι Κελτοῖς τε τοῖς περὶ
in-time and later when Romans with-Celts both the about
Πάδον ἐπολέμουν καὶ Φιλίππῳ τῷ Μακεδόνι, ἐνεωτέρισαν
Padus warred and with-Philip the Macedonian revolted
αὖθις ἐς τὴν ἀσχολίαν αὐτῶν οἱ Ἴβηρες. καὶ αὐτοῖς
again during the preoccupation their the Iberians and against-them
ἐπέμφθησαν ἐκ Ῥώμης στρατηγοὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου
were-sent from Rome generals of-this the war
Σεμπρώνιός τε Τουδιτανὸς καὶ Μᾶρκος Ἕλουιος, μετὰ δ'
Sempronius both Tuditanus and Marcus Helvius after and
ἐκείνους Μινούκιος. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ, μείζονος ἔτι τῆς κινήσεως
those Minucius and upon this greater still the movement
γιγνομένης, μετὰ πλέονος δυνάμεως ἐπέμφθη Κάτων, νέος
becoming with larger force was-sent Cato young
μὲν ὢν ἔτι πάμπαν, αὐστηρὸς δὲ καὶ φιλόπονος, συνέσει
indeed being still wholly austere but and industrious in-intelligence
τε γνώμης καὶ δεινότητι λόγων ἀριπρεπής, ὥστε αὐτὸν ἐπὶ
both of-judgment and in-power of-speech outstanding so-that him for

τοῖς λόγοις ἐκάλουν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι Δημοσθένη, πυνθανόμενοι
the speeches called the Romans Demosthenes learning
τὸν ἄριστον ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι ῥήτορα γεγενῆσθαι Δημοσθένη.
the best among the Greeks orator to-have-been Demosthenes
ὡς δὲ κατέπλευσε τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐς τὸ καλούμενον 40
when and he-sailed-down — of-Iberia to the called
Ἐμπόριον ὁ Κάτων, οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι πάντοθεν ἐπ᾽
Emporium — Cato the indeed enemies from-everywhere against
αὐτὸν ἐς τετρακισμυρίους ἀγηγέρατο, ὁ δ᾽ ἐπὶ μέν τι
him about forty-thousand had-gathered he but for indeed a-while
τὴν στρατιὰν ἐγύμναζεν, ὡς δ᾽ ἔμελλε συνενεχθήσεσθαι
the army trained when and he-was-going to-engage
μάχῃ, τὰς ναῦς ἃς εἶχεν ἐς Μασσαλίαν ἀπέπεμψε,
in-battle the ships which he-had to Massalia sent-away
καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐδίδασκεν οὐ τοῦτο εἶναι φοβερόν, ὅτι
and the army taught not this to-be fearful that
πλήθει προύχουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι (τὴν γὰρ εὐψυχίαν ἀεὶ
in-number exceed the enemies the for courage always
τοῦ πλέονος ἐπικρατεῖν), ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι νεῶν ἀποροῦμεν,
the greater-number to-overcome but that ships we-lack
ὡς οὐκ ἔχειν, εἰ μὴ κρατοῖμεν, οὐδὲ σωτηρίαν. ταῦτ᾽
so-as not to-have if not we-should-win even safety these-things
εἰπὼν αὐτίκα συνέβαλεν, οὐκ ἐπελπίσας, ὥσπερ ἕτεροι,
having-said at-once he-engaged not having-encouraged as others
τὸν στρατόν, ἀλλὰ φοβήσας. γενομένης δ᾽ ἐν χερσὶ τῆς
the army but having-frightened having-come and to hands the
μάχης, ἐς πάντα μετεπήδα παρακαλῶν καὶ παροξύνων.
battle to everything he-leapt exhorting and inciting
ἀκρίτου δ᾽ αὐτῆς ἐς δείλην ἑσπέραν ἔτι οὔσης, καὶ
undecided and it toward afternoon evening still being and
πολλῶν πιπτόντων ἑκατέρωθεν, ἔς τινα λόφον ὑψηλὸν
many falling on-both-sides to some hill high

μετὰ τριῶν τάξεων ἐφέδρων ἀνέδραμε, τὸ ἔργον ὁμοῦ πᾶν
with three companies reserves he-ran-up the action together all
ἐποψόμενος. ὡς δὲ εἶδε τοὺς μέσους τῶν ἰδίων μάλιστα
going-to-survey when and he-saw the middle of-the own most
ἐνοχλουμένους, ὥρμησεν ἐς αὐτοὺς προκινδυνεύων, ἔργῳ τε
being-pressed he-rushed to them risking-first by-deed both
καὶ βοῇ συνετάραξε τοὺς ἐχθρούς, καὶ πρῶτος κατῆρξε
and by-shout he-confounded the enemies and first began
τῆς νίκης. διώξας τε νυκτὸς ὅλης ἐκράτησεν αὐτῶν τοῦ
the victory having-pursued and by-night whole he-mastered their the
στρατοπέδου, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐπανιόντι δ' ὡς
camp and many killed returning and as
ἡγεμόνι τῆς νίκης συνήδοντο συμπλεκόμενοι. καὶ μετὰ
leader of-the victory they-rejoiced-with-him embracing-him and after
τοῦτο ἀνέπαυε τὴν στρατιάν, καὶ τὰ λάφυρα ἐπίπρασκεν.
this he-rested the army and the spoils sold
41 πρεσβευόντων δ' ἐς αὐτὸν ἁπάντων ὁμηρά τε ᾔτησεν
sending-envoys and to him all hostages both he-demanded
ἄλλα, καὶ βιβλία ἐσφραγισμένα ἐς ἑκάστους περιέπεμπε,
others and letters sealed to each sent-round
καὶ τοὺς φέροντας ἐκέλευεν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ πάντας ἀποδοῦναι·
and the bearers he-ordered on-day one all to-deliver
καὶ ὥριζε τὴν ἡμέραν, τεκμηράμενος ὅτε μάλιστα ἐς τὴν
and fixed the day having-calculated when most to the
πορρωτάτω πόλιν ἀφίξονται. ἐκέλευε δ' ἡ γραφὴ ταῖς
farthest city they-will-arrive ordered and the writing the
ἀρχαῖς τῶν πόλεων ἁπάσαις καθαιρεῖν τὰ τείχη σφῶν, αὐτῆς
magistrates of-the cities all to-pull-down the walls their the-same
ἡμέρας ᾗ τὰ γράμματα λάβοιεν· εἰ δὲ ἀνάθοιντο
day on-which the letters they-should-receive if but they-should-put-off
τὴν ἡμέραν, ἀνδραποδισμὸν ἠπείλει. οἱ δὲ ἄρτι μὲν
the day enslavement he-threatened they and lately indeed

ἡττημένοι μεγάλῃ μάχῃ, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀγνοίας εἴτε μόνοις
defeated in-a-great battle by but ignorance whether to-themselves-alone
εἴθ' ἅπασι ταῦτα προσετάχθη, φοβούμενοι μόνοι μὲν ὡς
or to-all these-things were-ordered fearing alone indeed as
εὐκαταφρόνητοι, μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων μὴ μόνοι βραδύνωσι,
easy-to-despise with but the others lest alone they-should-delay
καιρόν τε οὐκ ἔχοντες περιπέμψαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ
time and not having to-send-round to each-other and
τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἐληλυθότας μετὰ τῶν γραμμάτων
the soldiers the having-come with the letters
ἐφεστῶτας σφίσιν εὐλαβούμενοι, τὸ σφέτερον ἀσφαλὲς
standing-over them being-wary-of the their-own safety
ἕκαστοι προύργου τιθέμενοι, τὰ τείχη καθῄρουν μετὰ
each of-importance placing the walls pulled-down with
σπουδῆς. ἐν ᾧ γὰρ ἅπαξ ὑπακούειν ἐδόκει, καὶ τὸ ταχέως
haste in which for once to-obey it-seemed also the quickly
εἰργάσθαι προσλαβεῖν ἐφιλοτιμοῦντο. οὕτω μὲν αἱ πόλεις αἱ
to-have-done-it to-add they-were-eager thus indeed the cities the
περὶ Ἴβηρα ποταμὸν μιᾶς ἡμέρας, ὑφ' ἑνὸς στρατηγήματος,
about Iber river in-one day by one stratagem
αὐταὶ τὰ τείχη τὰ ἑαυτῶν καθῄρουν, καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐς τὸ
themselves the walls the their-own pulled-down and for-Romans into the
μέλλον εὐέφοδοι γενόμεναι διέμειναν ἐς πλεῖστον ἐπὶ εἰρήνης.
future easy-to-attack having-become remained for very-long in peace
Ὀλυμπιάσι δ' ὕστερον τέσσαρσιν, ἀμφὶ τὰς πεντήκοντα 42
by-Olympiads and later four about the fifty
καὶ ἑκατόν, πολλοὶ τῶν Ἰβήρων γῆς ἀποροῦντες ἀπέστησαν
and hundred many of-the Iberians land lacking revolted
ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων, ἄλλοι τε καὶ Λούσονες, οἳ περὶ τὸν Ἴβηρα
from Romans others both and Lusones who about the Iber
ᾤκηνται. στρατεύσας οὖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὕπατος Φούλουιος
dwell having-marched then against them consul Fulvius

Φλάκκος ἐνίκα μάχῃ. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῶν κατὰ πόλεις
Flaccus won in-battle and many indeed of-them into cities
διελύθησαν· ὅσοι δὲ μάλιστα γῆς ἠπόρουν καὶ ἐξ ἄλης
dispersed as-many-as and most land lacked and from wandering
ἐβιότευον, ἐς Κομπλέγαν πόλιν συνέφυγον, ἣ νεόκτιστός
lived to Complega city fled-together which newly-founded
τε ἦν καὶ ὀχυρά, καὶ ηὔξετο ταχέως. ὅθεν ὁρμώμενοι τὸν
both was and strong and grew quickly whence setting-out —
Φλάκκον ἐκέλευον, καταθέντα σφίσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνῃρημένων
Flaccus they-ordered having-paid to-them for the killed
ἑκάστου σάγον τε καὶ ἵππον καὶ ξίφος, ἀποτρέχειν ἐξ
each a-cloak both and a-horse and a-sword to-run-off from
Ἰβηρίας πρίν τι κακὸν παθεῖν. ὁ δὲ πολλοὺς αὐτοῖς ἔφη
Iberia before something evil to-suffer he and many to-them said
σάγους οἴσειν, καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν αὐτῶν ἑπόμενος τῇ
cloaks to-be-going-to-bring and the envoys their following by-the
πόλει παρεστρατοπέδευσεν. οἱ δ' ἀνομοίως ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς
city encamped they and unlike to-the threats
σφῶν αὐτίκα ἀπεδίδρασκον, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐγγὺς βαρβάρων
their at-once ran-away and the-lands of-the near barbarians
ἐλῄζοντο. χρῶνται δὲ διπλοῖς ἱματίοις παχέσιν, ἀντὶ
plundered use and double garments thick instead-of
χλαμύδων αὐτὰ περιπορπώμενοι, καὶ τοῦτο σάγον ἡγοῦνται.
cloaks them fastening-round and this sagum they-consider

43 Φλάκκῳ μὲν οὖν διάδοχος ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν
to-Flaccus indeed then successor came to the command
Τιβέριος Σεμπρώνιος Γράκχος. Κάραουιν δὲ πόλιν, ἣ
Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus Caravis and a-city which
Ῥωμαίων ἦν φίλη, δισμύριοι Κελτιβήρων ἐπολιόρκουν·
of-Romans was friend twenty-thousand of-Celtiberians besieged
καὶ ἐπίδοξος ἦν ἁλώσεσθαι, Γράκχου σφόδρα μὲν
and expected it-was to-be-going-to-be-taken Gracchus greatly indeed

ἐπειγομένου βοηθῆσαι τῇ πόλει, περιιόντος δ' ἐν κύκλῳ
hastening to-help the city going-round and in a-circle
τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντος οὐδὲ μηνῦσαι τῇ
the enemies and not having even to-inform the
πόλει περὶ ἑαυτοῦ. τῶν οὖν τις ἰλάρχων, Κομίνιος,
city about himself of-the then one squadron-commanders Cominius
ἐνθυμηθεὶς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ Γράκχῳ τὸ τόλμημα ἀνενεγκών,
having-reflected with himself and to-Gracchus the venture having-referred
ἐνεπορπήσατο σάγον Ἰβηρικῶς, καὶ λαθὼν ἀνεμίχθη τοῖς
fastened-on a-sagum in-Iberian-fashion and unnoticed mingled with-the
χορτολογοῦσι τῶν πολεμίων, συνεσῆλθέ τε αὐτοῖς ὡς Ἴβηρ
foragers of-the enemies went-in-with both them as an-Iberian
ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἐς τὴν Κάραουιν διαδραμὼν
into the camp and into — Caravis having-run-through
ἐμήνυσεν ὅτι Γράκχος ἐπίοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ διεσώθησαν,
reported that Gracchus was-coming they indeed indeed were-saved
ἐγκαρτερήσαντες τῇ πολιορκίᾳ μέχρι Γράκχος αὐτοῖς
having-held-out against-the siege until Gracchus on-them
ἐπῆλθε μετὰ τρίτην ἡμέραν, καὶ οἱ πολιορκοῦντες
came after third day and the besiegers
ἀπανέστησαν· δισμύριοι δ' ἐκ τῆς Κομπλέγας διέτρεχον
withdrew twenty-thousand and from — Complega ran
ἐς τὸ Γράκχου στρατόπεδον σὺν ἱκετηρίαις, καὶ
to the of-Gracchus camp with suppliant-branches and
πλησιάσαντες ἀδοκήτως ἐπέθεντο αὐτῷ, καὶ συνετάραξαν.
having-come-near unexpectedly attacked him and threw-into-confusion
ὁ δ' εὐμηχάνως ἐξέλιπεν αὐτοῖς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ
he and cleverly abandoned to-them the camp and
ὑπεκρίνατο φεύγειν· εἶτα διαρπάζουσιν ἐπιστραφεὶς ἐπέπεσέ
pretended to-flee then them-plundering having-turned fell-on
τε καὶ πλείστους ἔκτεινε, καὶ τῆς Κομπλέγας κατέσχε καὶ
both and very-many killed and — of-Complega took-possession and

τῶν περιοίκων. τοὺς δὲ ἀπόρους συνῴκιζε, καὶ γῆν αὐτοῖς
of-the neighbors the and needy settled and land for-them
διεμέτρει. καὶ πᾶσιν ἔθετο τοῖς τῇδε συνθήκας ἀκριβεῖς,
measured-out and with-all made the(-men) there treaties exact
καθ' ἃ Ῥωμαίων ἔσονται φίλοι· ὅρκους τε ὤμοσεν
according-to which of-Romans they-will-be friends oaths both swore
αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔλαβεν, ἐπιποθήτους ἐν τοῖς ὕστερον πολέμοις
to-them and received longed-for in the later wars
πολλάκις γενομένους. δι' ἃ καὶ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ ἐν Ῥώμῃ
often having-been because-of which both in Iberia and in Rome
διώνυμος ἐγένετο ὁ Γράκχος, καὶ ἐθριάμβευσε λαμπρῶς.
famous became — Gracchus and triumphed splendidly

44–55 · SEGEDA, NUMANTIA, AND LUCULLUS

Segeda walls itself in, and the senate, refusing the Belli's appeal to Gracchus' treaties, sends Nobilior; the Segedans flee to the Arevaci, whose general Carus ambushes the Romans on the feast of Vulcan, kills six thousand, and falls. At Numantia Nobilior's elephants panic and trample his own army; he loses Ocilis and winters in misery. Marcellus wins Ocilis back and settles with the Celtiberians before Lucullus arrives, the senate having refused it. Lucullus, greedy and without a decree, attacks the Vaccaei: he massacres Cauca's men after terms, besieges Intercatia, where young Scipio wins a duel and pledges the peace, and is driven from Pallantia, unpunished.

44 ἔτεσι δ' οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον πόλεμος ἄλλος ἠγέρθη περὶ
in-years and not many later war another was-roused about
Ἰβηρίαν χαλεπὸς ἐκ τοιᾶσδε προφάσεως. Σεγήδη πόλις
Iberia hard from such a-pretext Segeda city
ἐστὶ Κελτιβήρων τῶν Βελλῶν λεγομένων μεγάλη τε
is of-Celtiberians the Belli called great both
καὶ δυνατή, καὶ ἐς τὰς Σεμπρωνίου Γράκχου συνθήκας
and powerful and into the of-Sempronius Gracchus treaties

ἐνεγέγραπτο. αὖτη τὰς βραχυτέρας πόλεις ἀνῴκιζεν ἐς
had-been-enrolled this the smaller cities resettled into
αὐτήν, καὶ τεῖχος ἐς τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους κύκλῳ
itself and a-wall to forty stades in-a-circle
περιεβάλετο, Τίτθους τε ὅμορον γένος ἄλλο συνηνάγκαζεν
threw-round Titthi both bordering race another it-compelled
ἐς ταῦτα. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος πυθομένη τό τε τεῖχος
into these-things the and senate having-learned the both wall
ἀπηγόρευε τειχίζειν, καὶ φόρους ᾔτει τοὺς ὁρισθέντας ἐπὶ
forbade to-build and tributes demanded the fixed under
Γράκχου, στρατεύεσθαί τε Ῥωμαίοις προσέτασσε· καὶ γὰρ
Gracchus to-serve both with-Romans ordered and for
τοῦθ' αἱ Γράκχου συνθῆκαι ἐκέλευον. οἱ δὲ περὶ μὲν τοῦ
this the of-Gracchus treaties prescribed they and about indeed the
τείχους ἔλεγον ἀπηγορεῦσθαι Κελτίβηρσιν ὑπὸ Γράκχου
wall said to-have-been-forbidden to-Celtiberians by Gracchus
μὴ κτίζειν πόλεις, οὐ τειχίζειν τὰς ὑπαρχούσας· τῶν δὲ
not to-found cities not to-wall the existing of-the and
φόρων καὶ τῆς ξεναγίας ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἔφασαν Ῥωμαίων
tributes and of-the levy by them said Romans
ἀφεῖσθαι μετὰ Γράκχον. καὶ τῷ ὄντι ἦσαν ἀφειμένοι,
to-have-been-released after Gracchus and in-the reality they-were released
δίδωσι δ' ἡ βουλὴ τὰς τοιάσδε δωρεὰς ἀεὶ προστιθεῖσα
gives and the senate the such gifts always adding
κυρίας ἔσεσθαι μέχρι ἂν αὐτῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ δοκῇ.
valid to-be-going-to-be until — to-it and to-the people it-seems-good
στρατηγὸς οὖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Νωβελίων ἐπέμπετο μετὰ 45
a-general then against them Nobilior was-sent with
στρατιᾶς οὐ πολὺ τρισμυρίων ἀνδρῶν ἀποδεούσης· ὃν
an-army not much thirty-thousand men falling-short whom
ἐπειδὴ σφίσιν οἱ Σεγηδαῖοι προσιόντα ἔγνωσαν, οὔπω
when to-them the Segedans approaching knew not-yet

τὸ τεῖχος ἐκτελέσαντες ἔφευγον ἐς Ἀρουακοὺς μετὰ
the wall having-finished fled to Arevaci with
παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν, καὶ σφᾶς ὑποδέχεσθαι τοὺς
children and women and them to-receive the
Ἀρουακοὺς παρεκάλουν. οἱ δὲ ὑποδέχονταί τε, καὶ Κάρον
Arevaci begged they and receive both and Carus
αὐτῶν Σεγηδαῖον, πολεμικὸν εἶναι νομιζόμενον, αἱροῦνται
of-them a-Segedan warlike to-be thought choose
στρατηγόν. ὁ δὲ τρίτῃ μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν ἡμέρᾳ
general he and on-the-third after the election day
δισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας πεντακισχιλίους ἔς τινα
twenty-thousand infantry and cavalry five-thousand in some
λόχμην ἐνεδρεύσας παροδεύουσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπέθετο,
thicket having-set-in-ambush passing the Romans attacked
καὶ τῆς μάχης ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀγχωμάλου γενομένης ἐκράτει
and the battle for long evenly-balanced having-been prevailed
τε λαμπρῶς, καὶ Ῥωμαίων τῶν ἐξ ἄστεος ἔκτεινεν ἐς
both brilliantly and of-Romans the from the-city killed about
ἑξακισχιλίους, ὡς μέγα τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι τὸ ἀτύχημα.
six-thousand so-that great for-the city to-be the misfortune
ἀτάκτου δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς διώξεως ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ γενομένης, οἱ
disorderly and for-him the pursuit after the victory having-been the
τὰ σκευοφόρα Ῥωμαίων φυλάσσοντες ἱππεῖς ἐπέδραμον,
the baggage of-Romans guarding cavalry charged
καὶ Κάρον τε αὐτὸν ἀριστεύοντα ἔκτειναν καὶ ἑτέρους
and Carus both himself excelling killed and others
ἀμφ᾽ αὐτόν, οὐκ ἐλάσσους καὶ οἵδε τῶν ἑξακισχιλίων,
about him not fewer also these than-the six-thousand
μέχρι νὺξ ἐπελθοῦσα διέλυσεν. ἐγίγνετο δὲ ταῦθ᾽ ὅτε
until night having-come-on parted happened and these-things when

Ῥωμαῖοι τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἄγουσιν· ὅθεν οὐδεὶς ἂν
Romans — to-Hephaestus the festival keep whence no-one —
ἑκὼν ἄρξειεν ἐξ ἐκείνου μάχης παρὰ τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν.
willingly would-begin from that-time battle on this the day
Ἀρουακοὶ μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς αὐτῆς νυκτὸς ἐς Νομαντίαν, 46
Arevaci indeed then at-once on-the-same night to Numantia
ἣ δυνατωτάτη πόλις ἦν, συνελέγοντο, καὶ στρατηγοὺς
which strongest city was gathered and generals
Ἄμβωνα καὶ Λεύκωνα ᾑροῦντο· Νωβελίων δ' αὐτοῖς
Ambo and Leuco chose Nobilior and them
τρισὶν ἡμέραις ὕστερον ἐπελθὼν παρεστρατοπέδευσεν
by-three days later having-come encamped-beside
ἀπὸ σταδίων τεσσάρων καὶ εἴκοσιν. παραγενομένων δέ
from stades four and twenty having-arrived and
οἱ Νομάδων ἱππέων τριακοσίων, οὓς Μασσανάσσης
to-him of-Numidian cavalry three-hundred whom Masinissa
ἐπεπόμφει, καὶ ἐλεφάντων δέκα, τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπῆγε
had-sent and elephants ten the army led
τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἄγων ὀπίσω τὰ θηρία λανθάνοντα. καὶ
against-the enemies leading behind the beasts hidden and
γενομένης ἐν χερσὶ τῆς μάχης οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες διέστησαν,
having-come to hands the battle the indeed men parted
τὰ δὲ θηρία ἐξεφαίνετο· καὶ οἱ Κελτίβηρες αὐτοί τε καὶ
the and beasts appeared and the Celtiberians themselves both and
οἱ ἵπποι σφῶν οὐ πρὶν ἑωρακότες ἐλέφαντας ἐν πολέμοις
the horses their not before having-seen elephants in wars
ἐθορυβοῦντο καὶ κατέφευγον ἐς τὴν πόλιν. ὁ δὲ
were-thrown-into-confusion and fled into the city he and
καὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν αὐτοὺς ἐπῆγε, καὶ ἐμάχετο γενναίως,
also against-the walls them led and fought nobly
μέχρι τῶν ἐλεφάντων τις ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν λίθῳ μεγάλῳ
until of-the elephants one on the head by-a-stone great

καταπίπτοντι πληγεὶς ἠγριώθη τε, καὶ ἐκβοήσας
falling having-been-struck became-wild both and having-trumpeted
μέγιστον ἐς τοὺς φίλους ἐπεστρέφετο, καὶ ἀνῄρει τὸν ἐν
very-loud against the friends turned and destroyed the(-one) at
ποσίν, οὐ διακρίνων ἔτι φίλιον ἢ πολέμιον. οἵ τε ἄλλοι
feet not distinguishing any-longer friend or enemy the both other
ἐλέφαντες πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου βοὴν διαταραχθέντες
elephants at the his cry having-been-thrown-into-confusion
ὅμοια πάντες ἔδρων, καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους συνεπάτουν τε
like-things all did and the Romans trampled both
καὶ ἀνέτεμνον καὶ ἀνερρίπτουν. ὅπερ ἀεὶ θορυβηθέντες
and ripped-up and tossed which always thrown-into-confusion
οἱ ἐλέφαντες εἰώθασι πάσχειν, καὶ πάντας ἡγεῖσθαι
the elephants are-wont to-suffer and all to-consider
πολεμίους· καί τινες διὰ τήνδε τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτοὺς
enemies and some because-of this the faithlessness them
καλοῦσι κοινοὺς πολεμίους. φυγὴ οὖν τῶν Ῥωμαίων
call common enemies flight then of-the Romans
ἐγίγνετο ἄτακτος· ἣν οἱ Νομαντῖνοι κατιδόντες ἀπὸ τῶν
happened disorderly which the Numantines having-seen from the
τειχῶν ἐξέθορον, καὶ διώκοντες ἔκτειναν ἄνδρας μὲν ἐς
walls leapt-out and pursuing killed men indeed about
τετρακισχιλίους ἐλέφαντας δὲ τρεῖς, ὅπλα τε πολλὰ καὶ
four-thousand elephants and three arms both many and
σημεῖα ἔλαβον. Κελτιβήρων δὲ ἀπέθανον ἐς δισχιλίους.
standards took of-Celtiberians and died about two-thousand
47 καὶ ὁ Νωβελίων μικρὸν ἐκ τοῦ πταίσματος ἀναλαβών,
and — Nobilior a-little from the reverse having-recovered
ἀγορᾷ μέν τινι τῶν πολεμίων ἐπεχείρει περὶ Ἀξείνιον
on-provisions indeed some of-the enemies attacked about Axinium
πόλιν σεσωρευμένῃ, οὐδὲν δὲ ἀνύσας, ἀλλὰ κἀνταῦθα
city piled-up nothing and having-achieved but also-there

πολλοὺς ἀποβαλών, ἐπανῆλθε νυκτὸς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.
many having-lost he-returned by-night to the camp
ὅθεν Βιήσιον ἵππαρχον ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν ἔς τι γειτονεῦον
whence Biesius cavalry-commander for alliance to some neighboring
ἔθνος ἔπεμπεν, ἱππέων δεόμενος. οἱ δὲ συνέπεμψαν αὐτῷ
people sent cavalry needing they and sent-with him
τινὰς ἱππέας, οὓς ἐρχομένους ἐλόχων οἱ Κελτίβηρες. καὶ
some cavalry whom coming ambushed the Celtiberians and
τῆς ἐνέδρας ἐκφανείσης οἱ μὲν σύμμαχοι διεδίδρασκον,
the ambush having-been-revealed the indeed allies ran-away
ὁ δὲ Βιήσιος μαχόμενος αὐτός τε καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ πολλοὶ
— but Biesius fighting himself both and with him many
Ῥωμαίων ἀπέθανον. συνεχῶν δὲ τοιῶνδε πταισμάτων
of-Romans died continual and such reverses
αὐτοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένων, πόλις Ὄκιλις, ἔνθα ἡ ἀγορὰ καὶ τὰ
on-them coming-on a-city Ocilis where the provisions and the
χρήματα ἦν τὰ Ῥωμαίων, μετέθετο ἐς τοὺς Κελτίβηρας.
money were the of-Romans went-over to the Celtiberians
καὶ ὁ Νωβελίων ἀπιστῶν ἅπασιν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ
and — Nobilior distrusting all in the camp
διεχείμαζε, στεγάσας ὡς ἐδύνατο, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔχων
wintered having-roofed as he-could and the provisions having
ἔνδον, καὶ κακοπαθῶν αὐτῆς τε τῆς ἀγορᾶς τῇ ὀλιγότητι
inside and suffering of-very both the provisions by-the fewness
καὶ νιφετοῦ πυκνότητι καὶ κρύους χαλεπότητι, ὥστε
and of-snow by-the-thickness and of-cold by-the-severity so-that
πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς φρυγανισμοῖς,
many of-the soldiers some indeed in the fuel-gathering
οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔνδον ὑπὸ στενοχωρίας καὶ κρύους ἀπώλλυντο.
others and also inside by crowding and cold perished

48 τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους Νωβελίωνι μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν
of-the and coming year to-Nobilior indeed to the command
ἀφικνεῖται διάδοχος Κλαύδιος Μάρκελλος, ἄγων πεζοὺς
arrives successor Claudius Marcellus leading infantry
ὀκτακισχιλίους καὶ ἱππέας πεντακοσίους· λοχώντων δὲ
eight-thousand and cavalry five-hundred ambushing and
καὶ τόνδε τῶν πολεμίων διῆλθε πεφυλαγμένως, καὶ
also him the enemies he-went-through cautiously and
σύμπαντι τῷ στρατῷ παρὰ τὴν Ὄκιλιν ἐστρατοπέδευσεν.
with-all the army by — Ocilis encamped
ἐπιτυχὴς δὲ τὰ πολέμια ὢν τὴν πόλιν αὐτίκα
successful and in-the war-things being the city at-once
παρεστήσατο, καὶ συγγνώμην ἔδωκεν, ὅμηρά τινα καὶ
brought-over and pardon gave hostages some and
ἀργυρίου τάλαντα τριάκοντα λαβών. Νεργόβριγες δὲ
of-silver talents thirty having-taken Nergobriges and
αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆσδε τῆς μετριοπαθείας πυθόμενοι, πέμψαντες
of-him about this the moderation having-learned having-sent
ἠρώτων τί ἂν πράξαντες εἰρήνης ἐπιτύχοιεν. ὡς δὲ
asked what — having-done of-peace they-might-obtain when and
αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευεν ἑκατὸν ἱππέας δοῦναι συστρατεύσοντας,
them he-ordered hundred cavalry to-give going-to-serve-with
οἱ μὲν ὑπισχνοῦντο δώσειν, κατὰ δ' ἄλλο μέρος τοῖς
they indeed promised to-be-going-to-give in but another part the
οὐραγοῦσιν ἐπετίθεντο καὶ τῶν σκευοφόρων τι περιέσπων.
rear-guard attacked and of-the baggage some carried-off
εἶτ' ἀφίκοντο τοὺς ἑκατὸν ἱππέας ἄγοντες ὡς δὴ κατὰ
then they-came the hundred cavalry leading as indeed according-to
τὸ συγκείμενον, περί τε τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς οὐραγίας γενομένων
the agreement about both the at the rear having-happened
ἔλεγον τινὰς ἀγνοοῦντας τὰ ὡμολογημένα ἁμαρτεῖν. ὁ
said some not-knowing the agreements to-have-erred he

δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἑκατὸν ἱππέας ἔδησε, τοὺς δ' ἵππους
and the indeed hundred cavalry bound the and horses
αὐτῶν ἀποδόμενος καὶ τὸ πεδίον καταδραμὼν τὴν λείαν
their having-sold and the plain having-overrun the booty
διεῖλε τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ τῇ πόλει παρεστρατοπέδευσεν.
divided to-the army and by-the city encamped
Νεργόβριγες δέ, προσαγομένων αὐτοῖς μηχανημάτων ἅμα
Nergobriges and being-brought-against them engines at-once
καὶ χωμάτων, κήρυκα πέμψαντες λυκῆν ἀντὶ κηρυκείου
and mounds a-herald having-sent a-wolf-skin instead-of herald's-staff
περικείμενον, ᾔτουν συγγνώμην. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη δώσειν,
wearing asked pardon he but not said to-be-going-to-give
εἰ μὴ πάντες Ἀρουακοὶ καὶ Βελλοὶ καὶ Τίτθοι δεηθεῖεν
if not all Arevaci and Belli and Titthi should-ask
ὁμοῦ. ὧν τὰ μὲν ἔθνη πυθόμενα προθύμως ἐπρεσβεύετο,
together of-whom the indeed peoples having-learned eagerly sent-envoys
καὶ τὸν Μάρκελλον ἠξίουν, ποινὴν αὐτοῖς ἐπιθέντα
and — Marcellus asked a-penalty on-them having-imposed
μετρίαν, ἐς τὰς Γράκχου συνθήκας ἀναγαγεῖν· ἀντέλεγον
moderate to the of-Gracchus treaties to-restore opposed
δ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιχώριοί τινες ὑπ' ἐκείνων πεπολεμημένοι.
and them natives some by them having-been-warred-on
καὶ ὁ Μάρκελλος ἐξ ἑκατέρων πρέσβεις ἐς Ῥώμην 49
and — Marcellus from both-sides envoys to Rome
ἔπεμπεν ἀντιλέξοντας ἀλλήλοις, ἰδίᾳ δ' ἐπέστελλε τῇ
sent going-to-argue-against each-other privately and wrote to-the
βουλῇ προτρέπων ἐς τὰς διαλύσεις· ἐβούλετο γὰρ ἐφ'
senate urging toward the settlement he-wished for in
ἑαυτοῦ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκλυθῆναι, δόξαν οἱ χρηστὴν καὶ
his-own-term the war to-be-ended glory for-him good also
ἀπὸ τοῦδε νομίζων ἔσεσθαι. τῶν δὲ πρέσβεων οἱ μὲν
from this thinking to-be-going-to-be of-the and envoys some indeed

ἐκ τῆς φιλίας ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθόντες ἐξενίζοντο, οἱ δὲ
from the friendly into the city having-entered were-entertained others and
ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων, ὡς ἔθος ἐστίν, ἔξω τειχῶν ἐστάθμευον.
from the enemies as custom is outside walls lodged
ἀποδοκιμάζουσα δ' ἡ βουλὴ τὴν εἰρήνην, καὶ χαλεπῶς
rejecting and the senate the peace and grievously
φέρουσα ὅτι μή, καθάπερ αὐτοὺς ἠξίου Νωβελίων ὁ πρὸ
bearing that not as them asked Nobilior the before
Μαρκέλλου, Ῥωμαίοις αὐτοὺς ἐπετετρόφεσαν, Μάρκελλον
Marcellus to-Romans themselves they-had-entrusted Marcellus
αὐτοῖς ἐξοίσειν ἔφη τὰ δόξαντα. καὶ στρατιὰν εὐθὺς
to-them to-be-going-to-declare said the decisions and an-army at-once
ἐκλήρουν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν τότε πρῶτον ἀντὶ καταλέξεως·
they-allotted for Iberia then first instead-of a-levy
πολλῶν γὰρ αἰτιωμένων τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀδίκους ποιεῖσθαι
many for blaming the consuls unjust to-make
τὰς καταγραφὰς καί τινας ἐς τὰς κουφοτέρας στρατείας
the enrollments and some for the lighter campaigns
καταλέγειν, ἔδοξεν ἀπὸ κλήρου τότε συναγαγεῖν.
to-enroll it-seemed-good by lot then to-collect
ὧν ἐστρατήγει Λικίνιος Λεύκολλος ὕπατος, πρεσβευτῇ
whom commanded Licinius Lucullus consul as-legate
χρώμενος Κορνηλίῳ Σκιπίωνι τῷ Καρχηδόνα μετ' οὐ
using Cornelius Scipio the Carthage after not
πολὺ ἑλόντι, καὶ Νομαντίαν ὕστερον.
long having-taken and Numantia later
50 ὁ μὲν δὴ Λεύκολλος ὥδευεν, ὁ δὲ Μάρκελλος τόν τε
— indeed indeed Lucullus marched — and Marcellus the both
πόλεμον προεῖπε τοῖς Κελτίβηρσι, καὶ τὰ ὅμηρα αἰτοῦσιν
war declared to-the Celtiberians and the hostages to-those-asking
ἀπέδωκεν. τὸν δ' ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοὺς λόγους διαθέμενον ὑπὲρ
returned the(-man) and in Rome the speeches having-made for

τῶν Κελτιβήρων ἰδίᾳ πρὸς αὑτὸν ἀνακαλέσας ἐπὶ πολὺ
the Celtiberians privately to himself having-called-back for long
διέτριβεν· ὑπὲρ ὅτου δὴ καὶ ὑπωπτεύετο μὲν καὶ τότε,
spent-time for what indeed also he-was-suspected indeed even then
μᾶλλον δ' ἐπιστώθη τοῖς ὕστερον γενομένοις, ὅτι αὐτοὺς
more but it-was-confirmed by-the later happenings that them
ἀνέπειθεν ἑαυτῷ τὰ κατὰ σφᾶς ἐπιτρέψαι, ἐπειγόμενος
he-persuaded to-himself the-affairs concerning themselves to-entrust being-eager
ἄρα πρὸ τοῦ Λευκόλλου τὸν πόλεμον καταλυθῆναι. μετὰ γὰρ
then before — Lucullus the war to-be-ended after for
τὴν συνουσίαν Νεργόβριγα μὲν Ἀρουακῶν πεντακισχίλιοι
the meeting Nergobriga indeed of-Arevaci five-thousand
κατέλαβον, Μάρκελλος δ' ἐπὶ Νομαντίαν ἐχώρει, καὶ
seized Marcellus but to Numantia advanced and
πέντε σταδίους ἀποσχὼν παρεστρατοπέδευεν αὐτοῖς καὶ
five stades having-stood-off encamped-beside them and
συνεδίωκεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἕως ὁ τῶν Νομαντίνων
drove(-them) into the city until the of-the Numantines
στρατηγὸς Λιτέννων ὑποστὰς ἐβόα βούλεσθαι Μαρκέλλῳ
general Litenno having-stood shouted to-wish with-Marcellus
συνελθεῖν ἐς λόγους, καὶ συνελθὼν ἔφη Βελλοὺς καὶ Τίτθους
to-come into talks and having-come he-said Belli and Titthi
καὶ Ἀρουακοὺς ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιτρέπειν Μαρκέλλῳ. ὁ δὲ ἄσμενος
and Arevaci themselves to-entrust to-Marcellus he and gladly
ἀκούσας ὁμηρά τε καὶ χρήματα πάντας ᾔτησε, καὶ λαβὼν
having-heard hostages both and money from-all demanded and having-taken
ἀφῆκεν ἐλευθέρους. ὁ μὲν δὴ πόλεμος ὁ Βελλῶν τε
released-them free the indeed indeed war the of-Belli both
καὶ Τίτθων καὶ Ἀρουακῶν ἔληγεν οὕτω πρὸ Λευκόλλου.
and of-Titthi and of-Arevaci ended thus before Lucullus

51 ὁ δὲ Λεύκολλος δόξης τε ἐπιθυμῶν, καὶ ἐκ πενίας
— *and Lucullus glory both desiring and from poverty*
χρήζων χρηματισμοῦ, ἐς Οὐακκαίους. ἕτερον γένος
needing money-making into Vaccaei another race
Κελτιβήρων, ἐνέβαλεν, οἳ γείτονες τῶν Ἀρουακῶν εἰσίν,
of-Celtiberians invaded who neighbors of-the Arevaci are
οὔτε τινὸς αὐτῷ ψηφίσματος γεγονότος, οὔτε Οὐακκαίων
neither any for-him decree having-been nor Vaccaei
Ῥωμαίοις πεπολεμηκότων, οὐδὲ ἐς αὐτόν τι Λεύκολλον
with-Romans having-warred nor against himself at-all Lucullus
ἁμαρτόντων. περάσας δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν καλούμενον
having-offended having-crossed and the river the called
Τάγον, ἀφίκετο πρὸς Καύκαν πόλιν καὶ παρεστρατοπέδευσεν.
Tagus he-came to Cauca city and encamped-beside
οἱ δ' ἐπύθοντο μὲν αὐτοῦ τίνος ἥκοι δεόμενος ἢ
they and asked indeed him what he-had-come needing or
τί πολέμου χρήζων, φήσαντος δὲ ὅτι Καρπητανοῖς ὑπὸ
what of-war wanting having-said and that for-Carpetani by
Οὐακκαίων ἀδικουμένοις βοηθοίη, τότε μὲν ἀνεχώρουν
Vaccaei being-wronged he-was-helping then indeed withdrew
ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ξυλευομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χορτολογοῦντι
into the city cutting-wood and him and foraging
ἐπέκειντο. καὶ κτείνουσι πολλούς, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς διώκουσιν
they-attacked and kill many and the rest pursue
ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. γενομένης δὲ καὶ παρατάξεως,
into the camp having-happened and also a-pitched-battle
οἱ Καυκαῖοι ψιλοῖς ἐοικότες ἐκράτουν ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦ
the Caucaeans to-light-troops being-like prevailed for long —
Λευκόλλου, μέχρι σφῶν τὰ ἀκόντια πάντα ἐξαναλώθη·
over-Lucullus until their the javelins all were-used-up

καὶ τότε ἔφευγον οὐκ ὄντες μενεμάχοι, περί τε τὰς πύλας
and then they-fled not being steadfast-fighters about both the gates
αὐτῶν ὠθουμένων ἀνῃρέθησαν ἀμφὶ τοὺς τρισχιλίους.
them being-pushed were-killed about the three-thousand
τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης οἱ πρεσβύτατοι, στεφανωσάμενοί τε καὶ 52
on-the and following the eldest having-crowned-themselves both and
φέροντες ἱκετηρίας, τὸν Λεύκολλον αὖθις ἠρώτων τί
bearing suppliant-branches — Lucullus again asked what
ποιοῦντες ἂν εἶεν φίλοι. ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ὅμηρά τε ᾔτει
doing — they-might-be friends he and them hostages both demanded
καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἑκατόν, καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας αὐτῶν
and of-silver talents hundred and the cavalry their
ἐκέλευέν οἱ συστρατεύειν. ὡς δὲ πάντα ἔλαβεν, ἠξίου
ordered with-him to-serve when and all he-had-received he-asked
φρουρὰν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσαγαγεῖν. δεξαμένων δὲ καὶ τοῦτο
a-garrison into the city to-bring-in having-accepted and also this
τῶν Καυκαίων, ἐσήγαγε δισχιλίους ἀριστίνδην ἐξειλεγμένους,
the Caucaeans he-brought-in two-thousand by-merit chosen
οἷς ἐσελθοῦσιν εἴρητο γίγνεσθαι περὶ τὰ τείχη.
to-whom having-entered it-had-been-told to-be about the walls
καταλαβόντων δὲ αὐτὰ τῶν δισχιλίων, ἐσήγαγε τὴν ἄλλην
having-seized and them the two-thousand he-brought-in the other
στρατιὰν ὁ Λεύκολλος, καὶ τῇ σάλπιγγι ὑπεσήμαινε
army — Lucullus and with-the trumpet signalled
κτείνειν Καυκαίους ἅπαντας ἡβηδόν. οἱ μὲν δὴ πίστεις
to-kill Caucaeans all of-military-age they indeed indeed pledges
τε καὶ θεοὺς ὁρκίους ἐπικαλούμενοι, καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐς
both and gods of-oaths invoking and Romans for
ἀπιστίαν λοιδοροῦντες, διεφθείροντο ὠμῶς, ἐκ δισμυρίων
faithlessness reviling were-destroyed cruelly of twenty-thousand
ἀνδρῶν κατὰ πύλας ἀποκρήμνους διαφυγόντων ὀλίγων· ὁ
men by gates sheer having-escaped few —

δὲ Λεύκολλος τὴν πόλιν διήρπαζε, καὶ δόξης Ῥωμαίους
and Lucullus the city plundered and with-reputation Romans
ἐνεπίμπλη κακῆς. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι βάρβαροι συνέθεον ἐκ τῶν
filled bad the and other barbarians ran-together from the
πεδίων, οἱ μὲν ἐς τὰ ἀπόκρημνα, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰς ὀχυρωτέρας
plains some indeed to the cliffs others and to the stronger
πόλεις, συμφέροντες ἃ δύναιντο καὶ ἐμπιπράντες ὅσα
cities bringing-together what they-could and burning whatever
λείποιεν, τοῦ μηδὲν ἔτι Λεύκολλον εὑρεῖν.
they-left for-the nothing any-more Lucullus to-find
53 ὁ δὲ πολλὴν γῆν ἔρημον ὁδεύσας, ἔς τινα πόλιν
he and much land deserted having-traversed to some city
Ἰντερκατίαν ἀφίκετο, ἔνθα πεζοὶ μὲν ὑπὲρ δισμυρίους
Intercatia came where infantry indeed over twenty-thousand
συνεπεφεύγεσαν, ἱππεῖς δὲ δισχίλιοι. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ
had-fled-together cavalry and two-thousand and them —
Λεύκολλος ἐς συνθήκας ὑπ' ἀνοίας προυκαλεῖτο· οἱ
Lucullus to terms through folly invited they
δ' ἐπ' ὀνείδει τὰ Καυκαίων αὐτῷ προύφερον, καὶ
but in reproach the-things of-Caucaeans to-him brought-forward and
ἐπυνθάνοντο εἰ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκείνων πίστεις αὐτοὺς καλοίη.
asked if to the of-those pledges them he-was-inviting
ὁ δ', οἷον ἅπαντες οἱ ἁμαρτόντες, ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ
he and as all the(-ones) having-erred instead-of himself
τοῖς ὀνειδίζουσι χαλεπαίνων, ἔκειρεν αὐτῶν τὰ πεδία,
with-the(-men) reproaching being-angry ravaged their the plains
καὶ περικαθίσας κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν χώματα ἤγειρε πολλά,
and having-sat-round in-a-circle the city mounds raised many
καὶ συνεχῶς ἐξέτασσε προκαλούμενος ἐς μάχην. οἱ δ'
and continually drew-up challenging to battle they and
οὔπω μὲν ἀντεξέτασσον, ἀλλ' ἦσαν ἀκροβολισμοὶ μόνοι,
not-yet indeed drew-up-against but there-were skirmishes only

θαμινὰ δέ τις τῶν βαρβάρων ἐξίππευεν ἐς τὸ μεταίχμιον,
often and one of-the barbarians rode-out into the space-between
κεκοσμημένος ὅπλοις περιφανῶς, καὶ προυκαλεῖτο Ῥωμαίων
adorned with-arms conspicuously and challenged of-Romans
ἐς μονομαχίαν τὸν ἐθέλοντα, οὐδενὸς δ' ὑπακούοντος
to single-combat the one-willing no-one and answering
ἐπιτωθάσας καὶ τῷ σχήματι κατορχησάμενος ἀπεχώρει.
having-jeered and with-the gesture having-danced-in-mockery withdrew
γιγνομένου δὲ τούτου πολλάκις, ὁ Σκιπίων ἔτι νέος ὢν
happening and this often — Scipio still young being
ὑπερήλγησέ τε καὶ προπηδήσας ὑπέστη τὸ μονομάχιον,
was-deeply-pained both and having-leapt-forward undertook the single-combat
εὐτυχῶς δ' ἐκράτησεν ἀνδρὸς μεγάλου μικρὸς ὤν.
fortunately and prevailed-over a-man great small being
καὶ τόδε μὲν ἐπῆρε Ῥωμαίους, νυκτὸς δὲ φόβοι πολλοὶ 54
and this indeed elated Romans by-night but fears many
κατεῖχον· οἱ γὰρ ἱππεῖς, ὅσοι τῶν βαρβάρων, πρὶν
held the for cavalry as-many-as of-the barbarians before
ἀφικέσθαι Λεύκολλον, ἐπὶ χορτολογίαν προεληλύθεσαν, οὐκ
to-arrive Lucullus for foraging had-gone-out not
ἔχοντες ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὴν πόλιν Λευκόλλου περικαθημένου,
being-able to-enter into the city Lucullus besieging-it
περιθέοντες ἐβόων καὶ συνετάρασσον· καὶ συνεπήχουν
running-round shouted and caused-confusion and echoed-back
οἱ ἔνδον αὐτοῖς. ὅθεν ὁ φόβος ἦν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις
the(-men) inside to-them whence the fear was for-the Romans
ποικίλος. ἔκαμνον δὲ καὶ τῇ φυλακῇ δι' ἀγρυπνίαν
manifold they-were-weary and also from-the guard through sleeplessness
καὶ ἀήθειαν τροφῶν ἐπιχωρίων· οἴνου γὰρ οὐκ ὄντος οὐδ'
and unfamiliarity of-foods native of-wine for not being nor
ἁλῶν οὐδ' ὄξους οὐδ' ἐλαίου, πυροὺς καὶ κριθὰς καὶ ἐλάφων

κρέα πολλὰ καὶ λαγωῶν χωρὶς ἁλῶν ἑψόμενα σιτούμενοι
meat much and of-hares without salt boiled eating
κατερρήγνυντο τὰς γαστέρας, καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπώλλυντο,
were-torn the bellies and many also perished
μέχρι ποτὲ τὸ χῶμα ἠγέρθη, καὶ τὰ τείχη τῶν πολεμίων
until at-length the mound was-raised and the walls of-the enemies
τύπτοντες μηχαναῖς μέρος μέν τι κατέβαλον, καὶ ἐσέδραμον
striking with-engines part indeed some they-threw-down and ran
ἐς τὴν πόλιν· μετὰ δ' οὐ πολὺ βιασθέντες τε καὶ
into the city after but not long having-been-forced both and
ἀναχωροῦντες ἐσπίπτουσιν ἔς τινα δεξαμενὴν ὕδατος ὑπ'
retreating fall into some reservoir of-water through
ἀγνωσίας, ἔνθα οἱ πλείους ἀπώλοντο. καὶ νυκτὸς οἱ βάρβαροι
ignorance where the most perished and by-night the barbarians
τὰ πεσόντα ἀνῳκοδόμουν. πάνυ δ' ἑκατέρων κακοπαθούντων
the fallen rebuilt very and both-sides suffering
(ὁ γὰρ λιμὸς ἀμφοῖν ἥπτετο) Σκιπίων ἀνεδέχετο τοῖς
the for famine both touched Scipio undertook to-the
βαρβάροις οὐδὲν ἔσεσθαι παράσπονδον, καὶ πιστευθεὶς
barbarians nothing to-be-going-to-be treaty-breaking and having-been-trusted
κατὰ κλέος ἀρετῆς διέλυσε τὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ τοῖσδε,
by fame of-valor be-ended the war on these-terms
Λευκόλλῳ δοθῆναι παρὰ τῶν Ἰντερκατίων σάγους μυρίους
to-Lucullus to-be-given from the Intercatians cloaks ten-thousand
καὶ θρεμμάτων τι πλῆθος ὡρισμένον, καὶ πεντήκοντα
and of-cattle some number fixed and fifty
ἄνδρας ἐς ὅμηρα. χρυσὸν δὲ καὶ ἄργυρον Λεύκολλος αἰτῶν,
men for hostages gold and and silver Lucullus demanding
οὗ δὴ χάριν, ἡγούμενος ὅλην Ἰβηρίαν πολύχρυσον

εἶναι καὶ πολυάργυρον, ἐπολέμει, οὐκ ἔλαβεν· οὐ γὰρ
to-be and rich-in-silver he-warred not he-received not for
εἶχον, οὐδ' ἐν δόξῃ ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνοι Κελτιβήρων τίθενται.
they-had nor in esteem these-things those of-Celtiberians hold
ἐπὶ δὲ Παλλαντίαν ᾔει πόλιν, ἣ δόξαν τε ἀρετῆς 55
against and Pallantia he-went a-city which reputation both for-valor
εἶχε μείζω, καὶ πολλοὶ συνεπεφεύγεσαν ἐς αὐτήν· ὅθεν
had greater and many had-fled-together into it whence
αὐτῷ συνεβούλευόν τινες ἀποχωρεῖν πρὸ πείρας. ὁ δὲ
to-him advised some to-withdraw before attempt he but
πολυχρήματον εἶναι πυνθανόμενος οὐκ ἀνεχώρει, μέχρι
rich to-be learning not withdrew until
σιτολογοῦντα αὐτὸν οἱ Παλλάντιοι συνεχῶς ἱππεῦσιν
foraging him the Pallantines continually with-cavalry
ἠνώχλουν τε καὶ σιτολογεῖν ἐκώλυον. ἀπορῶν δὲ τροφῶν
harassed both and to-forage prevented lacking and food
ὁ Λεύκολλος ἀνεζεύγνυ, τετράγωνον ἐν πλινθίῳ τὸν
— *Lucullus withdrew square in formation the*
στρατὸν ἄγων, ἑπομένων αὐτῷ καὶ τότε τῶν Παλλαντίων
army leading following him even then the Pallantines
μέχρι Δορίου ποταμοῦ, ὅθεν οἱ μὲν Παλλάντιοι νυκτὸς
as-far-as Durius river whence the indeed Pallantines by-night
ἀνεχώρουν, ὁ δ' ἐς τὴν Τυρδιτανῶν χώραν διελθὼν
withdrew he and into the of-Turdetani country having-gone-through
ἐχείμαζεν. καὶ τοῦτο τέλος ἦν τοῦ Οὐακκαίων πολέμου,
wintered and this end was of-the of-Vaccaei war
παρὰ ψήφισμα Ῥωμαίων ὑπὸ Λευκόλλου γενομένου. καὶ
against decree of-Romans by Lucullus having-been-made and
ὁ Λεύκολλος ἐπὶ τῷδε οὐδὲ ἐκρίθη.
— *Lucullus for this not-even was-tried*

The Lusitanians under Punicus, then Caesarus, defeat the praetors and parade Roman standards; Mummius recovers, destroys their raiders beyond the Tagus, and triumphs. Atilius takes Oxthracae, but the Lusitanians change sides once he winters, and Galba, after a forced march of five hundred stades, is beaten. Lucullus kills thousands of them near Gades. Galba feigns pity for their envoys' poverty and promises them land; he divides them into three bodies, has each disarm, and slaughters them, a perfidy Appian calls unworthy of Romans. Viriathus is among the few to escape. Galba keeps the booty and escapes conviction by his wealth.

56 τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου μέρος ἄλλο Ἰβήρων αὐτονόμων, οἳ
of-the and same time part other of-Iberians independent who
Λυσιτανοὶ καλοῦνται, Πουνίκου σφῶν ἡγουμένου τὰ Ῥωμαίων
Lusitanians are-called Punicus them leading the of-Romans
ὑπήκοα ἐλῄζοντο, καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοῦντας αὐτῶν, Μανίλιόν
subjects plundered and the(-men) commanding them Manilius
τε καὶ Καλπούρνιον Πίσωνα, τρεψάμενοι κτείνουσιν
both and Calpurnius Piso having-routed kill
ἑξακισχιλίους, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Τερέντιον Οὐάρρωνα ταμίαν.
six-thousand and besides them Terentius Varro quaestor
οἷς ἐπαρθεὶς ὁ Πούνικος τὰ μέχρι ὠκεανοῦ κατέδραμε,
by-which elated — Punicus the-lands as-far-as ocean overran
καὶ Οὐέττωνας ἐς τὴν στρατείαν προσλαβὼν ἐπολιόρκει
and Vettones into the campaign having-added besieged
Ῥωμαίων ὑπηκόους τοὺς λεγομένους Βλαστοφοίνικας, οἷς
of-Romans subjects the called Blastophoenicians on-whom
φασὶν Ἀννίβαν τὸν Καρχηδόνιον ἐποικίσαι τινὰς ἐκ Λιβύης,
they-say Hannibal the Carthaginian to-have-settled some from Libya
καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο κληθῆναι Βλαστοφοίνικας. Πούνικος μὲν
and from this to-have-been-called Blastophoenicians Punicus indeed
οὖν λίθῳ πληγεὶς ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέθανε, διαδέχεται δ'
then by-a-stone struck on the head died succeeds and

αὐτὸν ἀνὴρ ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Καίσαρος. οὗτος ὁ Καίσαρος
him a-man to-whom name was Caesarus this-one — Caesarus
Μουμμίῳ, μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἄλλης ἐπελθόντι ἀπὸ Ῥώμης,
with-Mummius with army another having-come from Rome
ἐς μάχην συνηνέχθη καὶ ἡττώμενος ἔφυγεν. Μουμμίου
into battle engaged and being-beaten fled Mummius
δ' αὐτὸν ἀτάκτως διώκοντος ἐπιστραφεὶς ἔκτεινεν ἐς
and him in-disorder pursuing having-turned he-killed about
ἐννακισχιλίους, καὶ τήν τε λείαν τὴν ἡρπασμένην καὶ τὸ
nine-thousand and the both booty the plundered and the
οἰκεῖον στρατόπεδον ἀνεσώσατο, καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίων προσέλαβέ
own camp recovered and the of-Romans took
τε, καὶ διήρπασεν ὅπλα καὶ σημεῖα πολλά, ἅπερ οἱ βάρβαροι
both and plundered arms and standards many which the barbarians
κατὰ τὴν Κελτιβηρίαν ὅλην περιφέροντες ἐπετώθαζον.
through — Celtiberia whole carrying-round mocked
Μούμμιος δ' ὑπολοίπους ἔχων πεντακισχιλίους ἐγύμναζεν 57
Mummius and remaining having five-thousand trained
ἔνδον ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, δεδιὼς ἄρα προελθεῖν ἐς τὸ πεδίον
inside in the camp fearing then to-go-out into the plain
πρὶν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀναθαρρῆσαι. φυλάξας δὲ εἴ τι μέρος
before the men to-take-heart having-watched and if some part
οἱ βάρβαροι τῆς ἀφῃρημένης λείας παρέφερον, ἀδοκήτως
the barbarians of-the seized booty carried-past unexpectedly
αὐτοῖς ἐπέθετο, καὶ πολλοὺς διαφθείρας ἔλαβε τὴν λείαν καὶ
them attacked and many having-destroyed took the booty and
τὰ σημεῖα. Λυσιτανῶν δ' οἱ ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ Τάγου
the standards of-Lusitanians and the(-men) on the-other-side of-the Tagus
ποταμοῦ, κἀκεῖνοι Ῥωμαίοις πεπολεμωμένοι, Καυκαίνου
river they-too with-Romans having-been-at-war Caucaenus
σφῶν ἡγουμένου Κουνέους ἐπόρθουν, οἳ Ῥωμαίοις ἦσαν
them leading Cunei ravaged who to-Romans were

ὑπήκοοι, καὶ πόλιν αὐτῶν μεγάλην εἶλον Κονίστοργιν.
subjects and a-city their great took Conistorgis
παρά τε τὰς στήλας τὰς Ἡρακλείους τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἐπέρων,
by both the pillars the of-Heracles the ocean they-crossed
καὶ οἱ μὲν τὴν ἄλλην Λιβύην κατέτρεχον, οἱ δ' Ὀκίλην
and some indeed the other Libya overran others and Ocile
πόλιν ἐπολιόρκουν. Μούμμιος δ' ἑπόμενος ἐννακισχιλίοις
city besieged Mummius and following with-nine-thousand
πεζοῖς καὶ ἱππεῦσι πεντακοσίοις ἔκτεινε τῶν μὲν δῃούντων
infantry and cavalry five-hundred killed of-the indeed ravaging
ἐς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους, τῶν δ' ἑτέρων τινάς,
about ten-thousand and five-thousand of-the and others some
καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν διέλυσε τὴν Ὀκίλης. ἐντυχὼν δὲ
and the siege broke-up the of-Ocile having-come-upon and
καὶ τοῖς φέρουσιν ἃ ἐσεσυλήκεσαν, ἔκτεινε καὶ τούσδε
also the(-men) carrying what they-had-plundered killed also these
πάντας, ὡς μηδ' ἄγγελον ἀπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ διαφυγεῖν.
all so-that not-even a-messenger from the disaster to-escape
τὴν δὲ λείαν διαδοὺς τῷ στρατῷ τὴν δυνατὴν
the and booty having-distributed to-the army what-was possible
φέρεσθαι, τὰ λοιπὰ τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς ἐνυαλίοις ἔκαυσεν.
to-carry the rest to-the gods the of-war burned
καὶ Μούμμιος μὲν τάδε πράξας ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Ῥώμην
and Mummius indeed these-things having-done returned to Rome
καὶ ἐθριάμβευσεν,
and triumphed
58 ἐκδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν Μάρκος Ἀτίλιος, ὃς Λυσιτανῶν μὲν ἐς
succeeds and him Marcus Atilius who of-Lusitanians indeed about
ἑπτακοσίους ἐπιδραμὼν ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν
seven-hundred having-overrun killed and the greatest city
ἐξεῖλεν, ᾗ ὄνομα Ὀξθράκαι, τὰ δ' ἐγγὺς καταπληξάμενος
took to-which name Oxthracae the and near having-terrified

ἅπαντα ἐπὶ συνθήκαις παρέλαβεν. καὶ τούτων ἦν ἔνια
all on terms took-over and of-these were some
τοῦ Οὐεττώνων ἔθνους, ὁμόρου τοῖς Λυσιτανοῖς. ὡς
of-the of-Vettones people bordering on-the Lusitanians when
δ' ἀνεζεύγνυε χειμάσων ὁ Ἀτίλιος, αὐτίκα πάντες
and he-withdrew going-to-winter — Atilius at-once all
μετετίθεντο καί τινας Ῥωμαίοις ὑπηκόους ἐπολιόρκουν·
changed-sides and some to-Romans subject besieged
οὓς ἐπειγόμενος ἐξελεῖν τῆς πολιορκίας Σέρουιος Γάλβας
whom hastening to-free from-the siege Servius Galba
ὁ Ἀτιλίου διάδοχος, ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ καὶ νυκτὶ πεντακοσίους
the of-Atilius successor in-day one and night five-hundred
σταδίους διελθὼν ἐπιφαίνεται τοῖς Λυσιτανοῖς, καὶ
stades having-traversed appears to-the Lusitanians and
εὐθὺς ἐς μάχην ἐξέτασσε, κατάκοπον τὸν στρατὸν
at-once into battle drew-up worn-out the army
ἔχων. τρεψάμενος δ' εὐτυχῶς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐπέκειτο
having having-routed and fortunately the enemies pressed-on-them
φεύγουσιν ἀπειροπολέμως. ὅθεν ἀσθενοῦς αὐτῷ καὶ
fleeing unskillfully whence weak for-him and
ἀσυντάκτου τῆς διώξεως οὔσης διὰ κόπον, οἱ βάρβαροι
disorderly the pursuit being because-of fatigue the barbarians
κατιδόντες αὐτοὺς διεσπασμένους τε καὶ ἀναπαυομένους
having-seen them scattered both and resting
κατὰ μέρη συνελθόντες ἐπέθεντο, καὶ κτείνουσιν ἐς
by parts having-gathered attacked and kill about
ἑπτακισχιλίους. ὁ δὲ Γάλβας μετὰ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἱππέων
seven-thousand — and Galba with the about him cavalry
κατέφυγεν ἐς Καρμώνην πόλιν, ἔνθα τοὺς διαφυγόντας
fled to Carmona city where the(-men) having-escaped

ἀνελάμβανε, καὶ συμμάχους ἀθροίσας ἐς δισμυρίους
he-took-up and allies having-gathered about twenty-thousand
διῆλθεν ἐς Κουνέους, καὶ παρεχείμαζεν ἐν Κονιστόργει.
went-through to Cunei and wintered in Conistorgis
59 Λεύκολλος δὲ ὁ τοῖς Οὐακκαίοις ἄνευ ψηφίσματος
Lucullus and the with-the Vaccaei without decree
πολεμήσας ἐν Τυρδιτανίᾳ τότε χειμάζων ᾔσθετο Λυσιτανῶν
having-warred in Turdetania then wintering perceived Lusitanians
ἐς τὰ πλησίον ἐμβαλόντων, καὶ περιπέμψας τοὺς ἀρίστους
into the neighboring-parts having-invaded and having-sent-round the best
τῶν ἡγεμόνων, ἔκτεινε τῶν Λυσιτανῶν ἐς τετρακισχιλίους.
of-the officers killed of-the Lusitanians about four-thousand
περί τε Γάδειρα τὸν πορθμὸν ἑτέρων περώντων ἔκτεινεν ἐς
about both Gades the strait others crossing he-killed about
χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς συμφυγόντας ἔς
thousand and five-hundred and the rest having-fled-together to
τινα λόφον ἀπετάφρευσε, πλῆθός τε ἔλαβεν ἀνδρῶν ἄπειρον.
some hill he-trenched-around a-multitude both took of-men countless
καὶ τὴν Λυσιτανίαν ἐπιὼν κατὰ μέρος ἐπόρθει. ἐπόρθει
and — Lusitania going-over by part ravaged ravaged
δὲ καὶ Γάλβας ἐπὶ θάτερα. καὶ τινῶν πρεσβευομένων ἐς
and also Galba on the-other-side and some sending-envoys to
αὐτόν, καὶ θελόντων βεβαιοῦν καὶ ὅσα Ἀτιλίῳ τῷ πρὸ
him and wishing to-confirm also what with-Atilius the before
αὐτοῦ στρατηγῷ συνθέμενοι παρεβεβήκεσαν, ἐδέχετο καὶ
him general having-agreed they-had-transgressed he-received and
ἐσπένδετο, καὶ ὑπεκρίνετο αὐτοῖς καὶ συνάχθεσθαι ὡς δι᾽
made-truce and pretended with-them also to-sympathize as through
ἀπορίαν ληστεύουσί τε καὶ πολεμοῦσι καὶ παρεσπονδηκόσιν.
poverty robbing both and warring and having-broken-treaties
“τὸ γὰρ λυπρόγαιον,” ἔφη, “καὶ πενιχρὸν ὑμᾶς ἐς ταῦτα
the for poor-soil he-said and needy you to these-things

ἀναγκάζει· δώσω δ' ἐγὼ πενομένοις φίλοις γῆν ἀγαθήν,
compels I-will-give and I to-needy friends land good
καὶ ἐν ἀφθόνοις συνοικιῶ, διελὼν ἐς τρία."
and in plenty I-will-settle-you having-divided into three
οἱ μὲν δὴ τάδε προσδοκῶντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων 60
they indeed indeed these-things expecting from their own
ἀνίσταντο, καὶ συνήεσαν οἷ προσέτασσεν ὁ Γάλβας·
rose-up and gathered where ordered — Galba
ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐς τρία διῄρει, καὶ πεδίον ἑκάστοις
he and them into three divided and a-plain to-each
τι ὑποδείξας ἐκέλευεν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ περιμένειν, μέχρι
some having-shown ordered in the plain to-wait until
πολίσειεν αὐτοὺς ἐπελθών. ὡς δ' ἦκεν ἐπὶ τοὺς
he-should-found-cities-for them having-come when and he-came to the
πρώτους, ἐκέλευεν ὡς φίλους θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα, θεμένους
first he-ordered as friends to-lay-down the arms having-laid-down
δ' ἀπετάφρευέ τε, καὶ μετὰ ξιφῶν τινας ἐσπέμψας ἀνεῖλεν
and he-trenched-round both and with swords some having-sent-in killed
ἅπαντας, ὀδυρομένους τε καὶ θεῶν ὀνόματα καὶ πίστεις
all lamenting both and of-gods names and pledges
ἀνακαλοῦντας. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ τοὺς δευτέρους
invoking in-the and same way also the second
καὶ τρίτους ἐπειχθεὶς ἀνεῖλεν, ἀγνοοῦντας ἔτι τὰ πάθη
and third hastening he-killed not-knowing still the sufferings
τὰ τῶν προτέρων, ἀπιστίᾳ μὲν ἄρα ἀπιστίαν μετιών,
the of-the former by-faithlessness indeed then faithlessness avenging
οὐκ ἀξίως δὲ Ῥωμαίων μιμούμενος βαρβάρους. ὀλίγοι
not worthily but of-Romans imitating barbarians few
δ' αὐτῶν διέφυγον, ὧν ἦν Οὐϊρίαθος, ὃς μετ' οὐ
and of-them escaped of-whom was Viriathus who after not
πολὺ ἡγήσατο Λυσιτανῶν καὶ ἔκτεινε πολλοὺς Ῥωμαίων
long led Lusitanians and killed many of-Romans

καὶ ἔργα μέγιστα ἐπεδείξατο. ἀλλὰ τάδε μὲν ὕστερον
and deeds greatest displayed but these-things indeed later
γενόμενα ὕστερον λέξω. τότε δὲ ὁ Γάλβας, Λευκόλλου
having-happened later I-will-tell then and — Galba than-Lucullus
φιλοχρηματώτερος ὤν, ὀλίγα μέν τινα τῆς λείας τῇ
more-avaricious being little indeed some of-the booty to-the
στρατιᾷ διεδίδου, καὶ ὀλίγα τοῖς φίλοις, τὰ λοιπὰ
army distributed and little to-the friends the rest
δὲ ἐσφετερίζετο, καίτοι πλουσιώτατος ὢν ὁμοῦ τι
and appropriated although richest being almost somewhat
Ῥωμαίων· ἀλλ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ φασὶν αὐτὸν διαλιπεῖν
of-Romans but not-even in the peace they-say him to-have-ceased
ψευδόμενόν τε καὶ ἐπιορκοῦντα διὰ κέρδη. μισούμενος δὲ
lying both and perjuring for gains being-hated and
καὶ κατηγορούμενος διέφευγε διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον,
and being-accused he-escaped because-of the wealth

61–66 · VIRIATHUS

Survivors of Lucullus' and Galba's treachery, trapped by Vetilius, are about to accept land when Viriathus reminds them of Roman perjuries and is chosen general. He scatters the army to Tribola, then ambushes and kills Vetilius in the thickets. Viriathus wipes out the allied Belli and Titthi, beats Plautius twice, and collects the price of crops. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus routs him; the Arevaci revolt, and Viriathus, beaten by Quinctius, turns and kills a thousand Romans.

61 οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον, ὅσοι διέφυγον ἐκ τῆς Λευκόλλου
not much and later as-many-as escaped from the of-Lucullus
καὶ Γάλβα παρανομήσεως, ἁλισθέντες ἐς μυρίους τὴν
and of-Galba lawlessness having-gathered about ten-thousand —
Τυρδιτανίαν κατέτρεχον. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐπελθὼν
Turdetania overran and against-them from Rome having-come

Γάιος Οὐετίλιος, ἄγων τέ τινα στρατὸν ἄλλον καὶ
Gaius Vetilius leading both some army other and
τοὺς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ προσλαβών, ἅπαντας ἔχων ἐς μυρίους,
the(-men) in Iberia having-added all having about ten-thousand
ἐπέπεσε προνομεύουσι, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνελὼν συνέωσε τοὺς
fell-upon them-foraging and many having-killed drove the
λοιποὺς ἔς τι χωρίον, οἳ κινδυνεύειν τε μένοντας
rest into some place where to-be-in-danger both staying
ἐχρῆν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ ἀπιόντας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων· ὧδε
it-was-needful by famine and going by Romans thus
γὰρ εἶχε δυσχωρίας. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρέσβεις ἐς τὸν
for it-was for-difficulty-of-ground and because-of this envoys to —
Οὐετίλιον ἔπεμπον σὺν ἱκετηρίαις, γῆν ἐς συνοικισμὸν
Vetilius they-sent with suppliant-branches land for settlement
αἰτοῦντες ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἐσόμενοι Ῥωμαίων ἐς πάντα
asking as from this going-to-be of-Romans in everything
κατήκοοι. ὁ δὲ ὑπισχνεῖτο δώσειν, καὶ συνετίθετο
obedient he and promised to-be-going-to-give and was-making-terms
ἤδη. Οὐρίατθος δ' ὁ ἐκ τῆς Γάλβα παρανομίας ἐκφυγών,
already Viriathus but the from the of-Galba lawlessness having-escaped
τότε συνὼν αὐτοῖς, ὑπεμίμνησκε τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀπιστίας,
then being-with them reminded of-the of-Romans faithlessness
ὁσάκις τε αὐτοῖς ὀμόσαντες ἐπιθοῖντο, καὶ ὡς ὅδε πᾶς
how-often both them having-sworn they-had-attacked and how this all
ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ τοιῶνδε ἐπιορκιῶν Γάλβα καὶ Λευκόλλου
the army from such perjuries of-Galba and Lucullus
διαφύγοιμεν. οὐδ' ἀπορεῖν ἔφη σωτηρίας ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ
we-escaped nor to-be-at-a-loss he-said for-safety from this the
χωρίου, ἂν ἐθέλωσι πείθεσθαι.
place if they-were-willing to-obey

62 ἐρεθισθέντων δ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν ἐλπίσι γενομένων, ἠρέθη
having-been-roused and them and in hopes having-come he-was-chosen
τε στρατηγός, καὶ πάντας ἐκτάξας ἐς μέτωπον ὡς ἐπὶ
both general and all having-drawn-up into front as for
μάχῃ, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐκέλευσεν, ὅταν αὐτὸς ἐπιβῇ τοῦ
battle the indeed others he-ordered when he-himself should-mount the
ἵππου, διαιρεθέντας ἐς μέρη πολλὰ φεύγειν, ὡς δύνανται,
horse having-been-divided into parts many to-flee as they-can
κατ᾽ ἄλλας καὶ ἄλλας ὁδοὺς ἐς Τριβόλαν πόλιν, ἔνθα αὐτὸν
by other and other roads to Tribola city where him
περιμένειν, χιλίους δὲ μόνους ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐκέλευσεν αὑτῷ
to-wait thousand but only having-chosen he-ordered with-himself
συνίστασθαι. καὶ γιγνομένων τούτων οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἔφυγον,
to-stand-together and happening these-things they indeed at-once fled
ἐπειδὴ ὁ Οὐϱίαθος τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβη, ὁ δὲ Οὐετίλιος αὐτοὺς
when — Viriathus the horse mounted — and Vetilius them
δείσας διώκειν ἐς πολλὰ διῃρημένους, ἐπὶ τὸν Οὐϱίαθον
fearing to-pursue into many divided against — Viriathus
ἑστῶτα καὶ ἐφεδρεύοντα τῷ γενησομένῳ τραπεὶς ἐμάχετο.
standing and lying-in-wait-for the going-to-happen having-turned fought
ὁ δ᾽ ὠκυτάτοις ἵπποις αὐτὸν ἐνοχλῶν, καὶ ὑποφεύγων καὶ
he and with-swiftest horses him harassing and retreating and
πάλιν ἱστάμενος καὶ ἐπιών, ἐκείνην τε τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ
again standing and attacking that both the day in the
αὐτῷ πεδίῳ καὶ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ὅλην διέτριψε περιθέων. ὡς δ᾽
same plain and the following whole spent riding-round when and
εἴκασεν ἀσφαλῶς ἔχειν τῆς φυγῆς τοὺς ἑτέρους, τότε νυκτὸς
he-guessed safely to-have of-the flight the others then by-night
ὁρμήσας δι᾽ ὁδῶν ἀτριβῶν κουφοτάτοις ἵπποις ἀπέδραμεν
having-set-out through roads untrodden with-lightest horses ran-off
ἐς Τριβόλαν, Ῥωμαίων αὐτὸν διώκειν ὁμοίως οὐ δυναμένων
to Tribola Romans him to-pursue likewise not being-able

διά τε βάρος ὅπλων καὶ ἀπειρίαν ὁδῶν καὶ ἵππων
because-of both weight of-arms and inexperience of-roads and of-horses
ἀνομοιότητα. ὧδε μὲν ἐξ ἀέλπτου στρατὸν ἀπογιγνώσκοντα
inequality thus indeed from unhoped an-army despairing
αὐτοῦ περιέσωσε, καὶ τὸ στρατήγημα τόδε περιφερόμενον ἐς
of-itself he-saved and the stratagem this carried-round to
τοὺς τῇδε βαρβάρους ἐξῆρεν αὐτόν, καὶ πολλοὶ πανταχόθεν
the there barbarians exalted him and many from-everywhere
αὐτῷ προσεχώρουν. ὁ δὲ ἐς ὀκτὼ ἔτη Ῥωμαίοις ἐπολέμει.
to-him came-over he and for eight years with-Romans warred
καί μοι δοκεῖ τὸν Οὐριάθου πόλεμον, σφόδρα τε 63
and to-me it-seems the of-Viriathus war greatly both
ἐνοχλήσαντα Ῥωμαίοις καὶ δυσεργότατον αὐτοῖς γενόμενον,
having-troubled Romans and most-difficult for-them having-been
συναγαγεῖν, ἀναθέμενον εἴ τι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου περὶ
to-bring-together having-postponed if anything of-the same time about
Ἰβηρίαν ἄλλο ἐγίγνετο.
Iberia else happened
Οὐετίλιος μὲν δὴ αὐτὸν διώκων ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Τριβόλαν,
Vetilius indeed indeed him pursuing came to — Tribola
ὁ δ' Οὐρίαθος ἐν λόχμαις ἐνέδραν ἐπικρύψας ἔφυγε,
— and Viriathus in thickets an-ambush having-hidden fled
μέχρι τὰς λόχμας ὑπερελθόντος τοῦ Οὐετιλίου αὐτός τε
until the thickets having-passed — Vetilius he-himself both
ἐπεστρέφετο καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἀνεπήδων, καὶ
turned and the(-men) from the ambush leapt-up and
Ῥωμαίους ἑκατέρωθεν ἔκτεινόν τε καὶ ἐζώγρουν καὶ ἐς
Romans from-both-sides killed both and took-alive and into
τὰς φάραγγας ἐώθουν. ἐζωγρήθη δὲ καὶ ὁ Οὐετίλιος· καὶ
the ravines pushed was-taken-alive and also — Vetilius and
αὐτὸν ὁ λαβὼν ἀγνοῶν, γέροντα ὑπέρπαχυν ὁρῶν,
him the(-one) having-taken not-knowing an-old-man very-fat seeing

ἔκτεινεν ὡς οὐδενὸς ἄξιον. Ῥωμαίων δὲ μόλις ἐκ μυρίων
killed as of-no worth of-Romans and scarcely of ten-thousand
ἑξακισχίλιοι διέδρασαν ἐς Καρπησσόν, ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ
six-thousand escaped to Carpessus on the-sea
πόλιν, ἣν ἐγὼ νομίζω πρὸς Ἑλλήνων πάλαι Ταρτησσὸν
a-city which I think by Greeks of-old Tartessus
ὀνομάζεσθαι, καὶ Ἀργανθώνιον αὐτῆς βασιλεῦσαι, ὃν ἐς
to-have-been-named and Arganthonius over-it to-have-ruled who to
πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἔτη ἀφικέσθαι φασίν. τοὺς μὲν
fifty and hundred years to-have-come they-say the indeed
οὖν ἐς τὴν Καρπησσὸν διαφυγόντας ὁ ταμίας, ὃς εἵπετο
then to — Carpessus having-escaped the quaestor who followed
τῷ Οὐετιλίῳ, συνέτασσεν ἐπὶ τειχῶν δεδιότας· παρὰ δὲ
— Vetilius posted on walls frightened from and
Βελλῶν καὶ Τίτθων αἰτήσας πεντακισχιλίους συμμάχους,
Belli and Titthi having-asked five-thousand allies
καὶ λαβών, προύπεμψεν ἐπὶ τὸν Οὐρίαθον. ὁ δὲ πάντας
and having-received sent-ahead against — Viriathus he but all
ἔκτεινεν, ὡς μηδ' ἄγγελον διαφυγεῖν. καὶ ὁ ταμίας
killed so-that not-even a-messenger to-escape and the quaestor
ἡσύχαζεν ἐν τῇ πόλει, περιμένων τινὰ βοήθειαν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης.
kept-quiet in the city waiting-for some help from Rome
64 Οὐρίαθος δὲ τὴν Καρπητανίαν, εὐδαίμονα χώραν, ἐπιὼν
Viriathus and — Carpetania prosperous land going-over
ἀδεῶς ἐλεηλάτει, ἕως ἦκεν ἐκ Ῥώμης Γάιος Πλαύτιος ἄγων
fearlessly plundered until came from Rome Gaius Plautius leading
πεζοὺς μυρίους καὶ ἱππέας χιλίους ἐπὶ τριακοσίοις. τότε
infantry ten-thousand and cavalry thousand besides three-hundred then
δ' αὖθις ὑπεκρίνατο φεύγειν ὁ Οὐρίαθος, καὶ ὁ Πλαύτιος
and again pretended to-flee — Viriathus and — Plautius
αὐτὸν ἔπεμψε διώκειν ἐς τετρακισχιλίους, οὓς ἐπιστραφεὶς
him sent to-pursue about four-thousand whom having-turned

ὁ Οὐϊρίαθος ἔκτεινε χωρὶς ὀλίγων. καὶ τὸν Τάγον ποταμὸν
— Viriathus killed except few and the Tagus river
διαβὰς ἐστρατοπέδευεν ἐν ὄρει περιφύτῳ μὲν ἐλάαις,
having-crossed encamped on a-mountain planted indeed with-olives
Ἀφροδίτης δ' ἐπωνύμῳ, ἔνθα ὁ Πλαύτιος καταλαβών, καὶ
of-Aphrodite but named where — Plautius having-overtaken and
τὸ πταῖσμα ἀναλαβεῖν ἐπειγόμενος, συνέβαλεν. ἡττηθεὶς
the reverse to-make-good hastening engaged having-been-defeated
δὲ φόνου πολλοῦ γενομένου διέφυγεν ἀκόσμως ἐς τὰς
and slaughter great having-been he-fled in-disorder into the
πόλεις, καὶ ἐκ μέσου θέρους ἐχείμαζεν, οὐ θαρρῶν οὐδαμοῖ
cities and from mid summer wintered not daring anywhere
προϊέναι. ὁ δ' Οὐϊρίαθος τὴν χώραν ἀδεῶς περιιὼν
to-advance — and Viriathus the country fearlessly going-round
ᾔτει τοὺς κεκτημένους τιμὴν τοῦ ἐπικειμένου καρποῦ,
demanded from-the owners the-price of-the standing crop
καὶ παρ' ὧν μὴ λάβοι διέφθειρεν.
and from whom not he-received he-destroyed
ὧν οἱ ἐν ἄστει Ῥωμαῖοι πυνθανόμενοι Φάβιον Μάξιμον 65
of-which the in the-city Romans learning Fabius Maximus
Αἰμιλιανόν, Αἰμιλίου Παύλου τοῦ Περσέα τὸν Μακεδόνων
Aemilianus of-Aemilius Paulus the Perseus the of-Macedonians
βασιλέα ἀνελόντος υἱόν, ἔπεμπον ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ
king having-overthrown son sent to Iberia and
στρατιὰν ἑαυτῷ καταγράφειν ἐπέτρεπον. ὁ δέ, Ῥωμαίων
an-army for-himself to-enroll allowed he and Romans
ἄρτι Καρχηδόνα καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἑλόντων καὶ τὸν
lately Carthage and — Greece having-taken and the
τρίτον ἐν Μακεδονία πόλεμον κατωρθωκότων, φειδοῖ
third in Macedonia war having-won-through sparing
τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐκεῖθεν ἐληλυθότων κατέλεγε πρωθήβας,
the men the from-there having-come enrolled youths

οὐ πρὶν πολέμου πεπειραμένους, ἐς δύο τέλη. καὶ
not before war having-tried into two legions and
παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων στρατὸν ἄλλον αἰτήσας ἦκεν ἐς
from the allies army other having-asked came to
Ὅρσωνα τῆς Ἰβηρίας σύμπαντας ἔχων πεζοὺς μυρίους
Orso — of-Iberia all having infantry ten-thousand
καὶ πεντακισχιλίους καὶ ἱππέας ἐς δισχιλίους. ὅθεν
and five-thousand and cavalry about two-thousand whence
οὔπω μάχης ἄρχων, μέχρι τὴν στρατιὰν γυμνάσειεν, ἐς
not-yet battle beginning until the army he-should-train to
Γάδειρα διέπλευσε τὸν πορθμόν, Ἡρακλεῖ θύσων. ὁ δὲ
Gades sailed-across the strait to-Heracles going-to-sacrifice — and
Οὐρίαθος αὐτοῦ τῶν ξυλευομένων τισὶν ἐπιπεσὼν ἔκτεινε
Viriathus his of-the wood-cutters some having-fallen-on killed
πολλοὺς καὶ ἐφόβησε τοὺς λοιπούς. τοῦ δ' ὑποστρατήγου
many and frightened the rest the and lieutenant
συντάξαντος αὐτοὺς αὖθις ὁ Οὐρίαθος ἐκράτει καὶ πολλὴν
having-drawn-up them again — Viriathus prevailed and much
λείαν περιεσύρατο. ἀφικομένου τε τοῦ Μαξίμου συνεχῶς
booty swept-up having-arrived and — Maximus continually
ἐξέτασσε προκαλούμενος. ὁ δὲ ὅλῳ μὲν οὐ συνεμίσγετο
drew-up challenging he but with-whole indeed not engaged
τῷ στρατῷ, γυμνάζων αὐτοὺς ἔτι, κατὰ δὲ μέρη πολλάκις
the army training them still by but parts often
ἠκροβολίζετο, πεῖράν τε ποιούμενος τῶν πολεμίων καὶ
skirmished trial both making of-the enemies and
τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐντιθεὶς θάρσος. χορτολογῶν τε ἐνόπλους ἀεὶ
to-the own putting-in courage foraging both armed always
τοῖς γυμνοῖς περιίστη, καὶ περιέτρεχε μεθ' ἱππέων αὐτός,
the unarmed he-set-round and rode-round with cavalry himself
οἷα Παύλῳ τῷ πατρὶ συστρατευόμενος ἐν Μακεδόσιν
as with-Paulus the father serving-with among Macedonians

ἑώρα. μετὰ δὲ χειμῶνα γεγυμνασμένῳ τῷ στρατῷ
he-had-seen after and winter with-trained the army
τρέπεται δεύτερος ὅδε τὸν Οὐρίαθον καλῶς ἀγωνισάμενον
routs second this-one — Viriathus well having-fought
καὶ πόλεις αὐτοῦ δύο τὴν μὲν διήρπασε τὴν δὲ
and cities his two the(-one) indeed plundered the(-other) and
ἐπέπρησεν, αὐτόν τε, φεύγοντα ἐς χωρίον ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν
burned him both fleeing to a-place whose name was
Βαικόρ, διώκων ἔκτεινε πολλούς. καὶ ἐχείμαζεν ἐν Κορδύβῃ,
Baecor pursuing killed many and wintered in Corduba
δεύτερον ἔτος ἤδη στρατηγῶν τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ
second year already commanding of-this the war and
τάδε μὲν ὁ Αἰμιλιανὸς ἐργασάμενος ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπῆρε,
these-things indeed — Aemilianus having-done to Rome departed
διαδεξαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν Κοΐντου Πομπηίου τοῦ Αὔλου.
having-succeeded-to the command Quintus Pompeius the son-of-Aulus
ἐφ᾽ οἷς ὁ Οὐρίαθος οὐχ ὁμοίως ἔτι καταφρονῶν, 66
upon which — Viriathus not alike any-longer despising
Ἀρουακοὺς καὶ Τίτθους καὶ Βελλούς, ἔθνη μαχιμώτατα,
Arevaci and Titthi and Belli peoples most-warlike
ἀπέστησεν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων. καὶ πόλεμον ἄλλον οἵδε ἐφ᾽
detached from Romans and war another these by
ἑαυτῶν ἐπολέμουν, ὃν ἐκ πόλεως αὐτῶν μιᾶς Νομαντῖνον
themselves waged which from city their one Numantine
ἡγοῦνται, μακρόν τε καὶ ἐπίπονον Ῥωμαίοις γενόμενον. καὶ
they-consider long both and toilsome for-Romans having-been and
συνάξω καὶ τόνδε ἐς ἓν μετ᾽ Οὐρίαθον. Οὐρίαθος
I-will-bring-together also this into one after Viriathus Viriathus
μὲν ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἑτέρῳ στρατηγῷ
indeed on the-other-side — of-Iberia with-another general
Ῥωμαίων Κοϊντίῳ συνεπλέκετο, καὶ ἡσσώμενος ἐς τὸ
of-Romans Quinctius engaged and being-beaten to the

Ἀφροδίσιον ὄρος ἀνέστρεφεν. ὅθεν ἐπιστραφεὶς ἔκτεινε
Aphrodisian mountain withdrew whence having-turned killed
τῶν Κοϊντίου ἐς χιλίους, καὶ σημεῖά τινα ἥρπασε·
of-the(-men) of-Quinctius about thousand and standards some seized
τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν συνεδίωξε,
the and rest into the camp their drove
καὶ τὴν ἐν Ἰτύκκῃ φρουρὰν ἐξέβαλε, καὶ τὴν Βαστιτανῶν
and the in Itucca garrison drove-out and the of-Bastitani
χώραν ἐλῄζετο, Κοϊντίου διὰ δειλίαν καὶ ἀπειρίαν οὐκ
land plundered Quinctius because-of cowardice and inexperience not
ἐπιβοηθοῦντος, ἀλλ' ἐν Κορδύβῃ χειμάζοντος ἐκ μέσου
helping but in Corduba wintering from mid
μετοπώρου, καὶ Γάιον Μάρκιον θαμινὰ ἐπιπέμποντος
autumn and Gaius Marcius often sending
αὐτῷ, ἄνδρα Ἴβηρα ἐκ πόλεως Ἰταλικῆς.
against-him a-man Iberian from city Italica

67–75 · THE DEATH OF VIRIATHUS

Fabius Maximus Servilianus arrives with Micipsa's elephants; Viriathus routs his army, spares the Romans trapped at Erisane, and makes a treaty the people confirm. Caepio slanders it until the senate lets him break it. Brutus ravages Lusitania and fights the Bracari, whose women die beside their men. Caepio bribes Viriathus' envoys, who stab him asleep; Appian praises a leader whose mixed army never mutinied in eight years. Tantalus surrenders and gets land.

67 τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους Κοϊντίῳ μὲν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Αἰμιλιανοῦ,
of-the and following year to-Quinctius indeed the brother of-Aemilianus
Φάβιος Μάξιμος Σερουιλιανός, ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν
Fabius Maximus Servilianus came to the command
διάδοχος, δύο ἄλλα τέλη Ῥωμαίων ἄγων καὶ συμμάχους
successor two other legions of-Romans leading and allies

τινάς, ἅπαντας ἐς μυρίους καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίους πεζοὺς καὶ
some all about ten-thousand and eight-thousand infantry and
ἱππέας ἑξακοσίους ἐπὶ χιλίοις. ἐπιστείλας δὲ καὶ Μικίψῃ
cavalry six-hundred besides thousand having-written and also to-Micipsa
τῷ Νομάδων βασιλεῖ πέμψαι οἱ τάχιστα ἐλέφαντας,
the of-Numidians king to-send to-him as-quickly-as-possible elephants
ἐς Ἰτύκκην ἠπείγετο, τὴν στρατιὰν ἄγων κατὰ μέρος· καὶ
to Itucca he-hastened the army leading by part and
τὸν Οὐϱίαθον ἑξακισχιλίοις ἀνδράσιν ἐπιόντα οἱ μετά τε
— Viriathus with-six-thousand men attacking him with both
κραυγῆς καὶ θορύβου βαρβαρικοῦ καὶ κόμης μακρᾶς, ἣν
shouting and uproar barbaric and hair long which
ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἐπισείουσι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, οὐδὲν ὑποπτήξας
in the wars they-shake at-the enemies not-at-all having-cowered
ὑπέστη τε γενναίως καὶ ἀπεώσατο ἄπρακτον. ὡς δέ οἱ
withstood both nobly and drove-off unsuccessful when and to-him
καὶ τὸ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἀφῖκτο, καὶ ἐκ Λιβύης ἐλέφαντες δέκα
also the other multitude had-arrived and from Libya elephants ten
σὺν ἱππεῦσι τριακοσίοις, στρατόπεδον ὠχύρου μέγα, καὶ
with cavalry three-hundred a-camp he-fortified great and
προεπεχείρει τῷ Οὐϱιάθῳ, καὶ τρεψάμενος αὐτὸν ἐδίωκεν.
attacked-first — Viriathus and having-routed him pursued
ἀτάκτου δὲ τῆς διώξεως γενομένης, ἰδὼν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ
disorderly and the pursuit having-become having-seen in the flight
τοῦτο ὁ Οὐϱίαθος ἐπανῆλθε, καὶ κτείνας ἐς τρισχιλίους
this — Viriathus returned and having-killed about three-thousand
τοὺς λοιποὺς συνήλασεν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ προσέβαλε
the rest drove into the camp and attacked
καὶ τῷδε, ὀλίγων μόλις αὐτὸν ὑφισταμένων περὶ τὰς πύλας,
also this few scarcely him withstanding about the gates
τῶν δὲ πλεόνων ἐς τὰς σκηνὰς καταδύντων ὑπὸ δέους καὶ
of-the and most into the tents having-crept by fear and

μόλις ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τῶν χιλιάρχων ἐξαγομένων.
scarcely by the general and the tribunes being-led-out
τότε μὲν οὖν Φάνιός τε, ὁ Λαιλίου κηδεστής, λαμπρῶς
then indeed then Fannius both the of-Laelius son-in-law brilliantly
ἠρίστευε, καὶ νὺξ ἐπελθοῦσα Ῥωμαίους περιέσωσεν· ὁ δὲ
excelled and night having-come-on Romans saved — and
Οὐριάθος ἢ νυκτὸς ἢ καύματος ὥρᾳ θαμινὰ ἐπιών,
Viriathus either by-night or of-heat at-the-hour often attacking
καὶ οὔ τινα καιρὸν ἀδόκητον ἐκλείπων, ψιλοῖς ἀνδράσι
and not any opportunity unexpected leaving with-light men
καὶ ἵπποις ταχυτάτοις ἠνώχλει τοῖς πολεμίοις μέχρι τὸν
and horses swiftest harassed the enemies until —
Σερουιλιανὸν ἐς Ἰτύκκην ἀναστῆσαι.
Servilianus to Itucca to-force-back
68 τότε δὲ ἤδη τροφῶν τε ἀπορῶν ὁ Οὐρίαθος καὶ τὸν
then and already of-food both lacking — Viriathus and the
στρατὸν ἔχων ἐλάττω, νυκτὸς ἐμπρήσας τὸ στρατόπεδον
army having smaller by-night having-burned the camp
ἐς Λυσιτανίαν ἀνεχώρει. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Σερουιλιανὸς οὐ
to Lusitania withdrew and him — Servilianus not
καταλαβὼν ἐς Βαιτουρίαν ἐνέβαλε, καὶ πέντε πόλεις
having-overtaken into Baeturia invaded and five cities
διήρπαζεν, αἳ τῷ Οὐριάθῳ συνεπεπράχεσαν. μετὰ δὲ
plundered which — with-Viriathus had-sided after and
τοῦτο ἐστράτευεν ἐς Κουνέους, ὅθεν ἐς Λυσιτανοὺς ἐπὶ
this he-marched into Cunei whence into Lusitanians against
τὸν Οὐρίαθον αὖθις ἠπείγετο. καὶ αὐτῷ παροδεύοντι δύο
— Viriathus again hastened and him passing two
λῃσταρχοι μετὰ μυρίων ἀνδρῶν ἐπιθέμενοι, Κούριός τε
robber-chiefs with ten-thousand men having-attacked Curius both
καὶ Ἀπουλήιος, ἐθορύβησαν καὶ τὴν λείαν ἀφείλοντο. καὶ
and Apuleius threw-into-confusion and the booty took-away and

Κούριος μὲν ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι ἔπεσεν, ὁ δὲ Σερουιλιανὸς τήν
Curius indeed in the fight fell — and Servilianus the
τε λείαν μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ ἀνέλαβε, καὶ πόλεις εἷλεν Εἰσκαδίαν
both booty after not long recovered and cities took Escadia
τε καὶ Γέμελλαν καὶ Ὀβόλκολαν, φρουρουμένας ὑπὸ
both and Gemella and Obolcola garrisoned by
τῶν Οὐριάθου, καὶ διήρπαζεν ἑτέρας, καὶ συνεγίγνωσκεν
the(-men) of-Viriathus and plundered others and pardoned
ἄλλαις· αἰχμάλωτα δ᾽ ἔχων ἀμφὶ τὰ μύρια, πεντακοσίων
others captives and having about the ten-thousand five-hundred
μὲν ἀπέτεμε τὰς κεφαλάς, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀπέδοτο.
indeed he-cut-off the heads the and rest sold
καὶ Κοννόβαν μέν τινα λῃσταρχον ἑαυτὸν ἐγχειρίσαντα
and Connoba indeed some robber-chief himself having-surrendered
λαβών, καὶ φεισάμενος αὐτοῦ μόνου,
having-taken and having-spared him alone
τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πάντας ἐχειροκόπησεν, Οὐρίαθον δὲ 69
the(-men) with him all he-cut-off-the-hands Viriathus and
διώκων Ἐρισάνην αὐτοῦ πόλιν ἀπετάφρευεν, ἐς ἣν ὁ
pursuing Erisane his city he-trenched-round into which —
Οὐρίαθος ἐσδραμὼν νυκτὸς ἅμα ἕῳ τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις
Viriathus having-run-in by-night together-with dawn the workers
ἐπέκειτο, μέχρι τὰ σκαφεῖα ῥίψαντες ἔφευγον. τήν
pressed until the spades having-thrown-away they-fled the
τε ἄλλην στρατιάν, ἐκταχθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σερουιλιανοῦ,
both other army drawn-up by — Servilianus
τρεψάμενος ὁμοίως Οὐρίαθος ἐδίωκε, καὶ συνήλασεν ἐς
having-routed likewise Viriathus pursued and drove into
κρημνούς, ὅθεν οὐκ ἦν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις διαφυγεῖν. Οὐρίαθος
cliffs whence not was for-the Romans to-escape Viriathus
δὲ ἐς τὴν εὐτυχίαν οὐχ ὕβρισεν, ἀλλὰ νομίσας ἐν καλῷ
but in the good-fortune not was-insolent but having-thought in fair-state

θήσεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ χάριτι λαμπρᾷ, συνετίθετο
to-be-going-to-place the war for favor brilliant made-terms
Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ τὰς συνθήκας ὁ δῆμος ἐπεκύρωσεν·
with-Romans and the treaty the people confirmed
Οὐρίαθον εἶναι Ῥωμαίων φίλον, καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῷ
Viriathus to-be of-Romans friend and the(-men) under him
πάντας ἧς ἔχουσι γῆς ἄρχειν. ὧδε μὲν ὁ Οὐριάθου
all which they-have land to-rule thus indeed the of-Viriathus
πόλεμος ἐδόκει πεπαῦσθαι, χαλεπώτατός τε Ῥωμαίοις
war seemed to-have-ended hardest both for-Romans
γενόμενος καὶ ἐπὶ εὐεργεσίᾳ καταλυθείς.
having-been and on a-kindness ended
70 οὐ μὴν ἐπέμεινεν οὐδ' ἐς βραχὺ τὰ συγκείμενα· ὁ γὰρ
not indeed remained not-even for short the agreements the for
ἀδελφὸς Σερουιλιανοῦ τοῦ ταῦτα συνθεμένου, Καιπίων,
brother of-Servilianus the these-things having-agreed Caepio
διάδοχος αὐτῷ τῆς στρατηγίας γενόμενος διέβαλλε τὰς
successor to-him of-the command having-become slandered the
συνθήκας, καὶ ἐπέστελλε Ῥωμαίοις ἀπρεπεστάτας εἶναι. καὶ
treaty and wrote to-Romans most-unseemly to-be and
ἡ βουλὴ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτῷ συνεχώρει κρύφα λυπεῖν
the senate the indeed first to-him permitted secretly to-annoy
τὸν Οὐρίαθον ὅ τι δοκιμάσειεν· ὡς δ' αὖθις ἠνώχλει
— Viriathus what ever he-should-approve when and again he-pestered
καὶ συνεχῶς ἐπέστελλεν, ἔκρινε λῦσαί τε τὰς σπονδὰς
and continually wrote it-decided to-break both the truce
καὶ φανερῶς πολεμεῖν αὖθις Οὐριάθῳ. ἐψηφισμένου δὴ
and openly to-war again with-Viriathus it-having-been-voted indeed
σαφῶς, ὁ Καιπίων Ἄρσαν τε πόλιν ἐκλιπόντος Οὐριάθου
clearly — Caepio Arsa both city having-abandoned Viriathus
παρέλαβε, καὶ αὐτὸν Οὐρίαθον φεύγοντά τε καὶ τὰ
took-over and himself Viriathus fleeing both and the-things

ἐν παρόδῳ φθείροντα περὶ Καρπητανίαν κατέλαβε, πολὺ
in passage destroying about Carpetania overtook much
πλείονας ἔχων. ὅθεν ὁ Οὐριάθος οὐ δοκιμάζων αὐτῷ
more having whence — Viriathus not deeming-it-fit with-him
συμπλέκεσθαι διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα, κατὰ μέν τινα
to-engage because-of the fewness by indeed some
φάραγγα ἀφανῆ τὸ πλέον τοῦ στρατοῦ περιέπεμψεν
ravine hidden the greater-part of-the army sent-round
ἀπιέναι, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν αὐτὸς ἐκτάξας ἐπὶ λόφου
to-depart the and rest himself having-drawn-up on a-hill
δόξαν παρεῖχε πολεμήσοντος. ὡς δ' ᾔσθετο τῶν
appearance gave of-one-going-to-fight when and he-perceived the(-men)
προαπεσταλμένων ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ γεγονότων, ἐξίππευσεν ἐς
sent-ahead in safety having-come he-rode-off to
αὐτοὺς μετὰ καταφρονήσεως, ὀξέως οὕτως ὡς μηδ'
them with contempt swiftly so as not-even
αἰσθέσθαι τοὺς διώκοντας ὅποι διέδραμεν. ὁ δὲ Καιπίων
to-perceive the pursuers where he-ran-off — and Caepio
ἐς Οὐέττωνας καὶ Καλλαϊκοὺς τραπεὶς τὰ ἐκείνων ἐδήου.
against Vettones and Callaeci having-turned the their ravaged
καὶ ζήλῳ τῶν ἔργων Οὐριάθου τὴν Λυσιτανίαν 71
and in-emulation of-the deeds of-Viriathus — Lusitania
λῃστήρια πολλὰ ἄλλα ἐπιτρέχοντα ἐπόρθει. Σέξτος δὲ
robber-bands many other overrunning ravaged Sextus and
Ἰούνιος Βροῦτος ἐπὶ ταῦτα πεμφθεὶς ἀπέγνω μὲν
Junius Brutus against these having-been-sent despaired indeed
αὐτὰ διώκειν διὰ χώρας μακρᾶς, ὅσην ὁ Τάγος τε
them to-pursue through country long as-much-as the Tagus both
καὶ Λήθης καὶ Δόριος καὶ Βαίτις ποταμοὶ ναυσίποροι
and Lethe and Durius and Baetis rivers navigable
περιέχουσιν, ὀξέως, οἷα δὴ λῃστήρια, μεθισταμένους
enclose swiftly as indeed robber-bands shifting

δυσεργὲς ἡγούμενος εἶναι καταλαβεῖν, καὶ αἰσχρὸν οὐ
difficult considering to-be to-overtake and shameful not
καταλαβόντι, καὶ νικήσαντι τὸ ἔργον οὐ λαμπρόν·
for-one-having-overtaken and for-one-having-conquered the deed not brilliant
ἐς δὲ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν ἐτράπετο, δίκην τε λήψεσθαι
against but the cities their he-turned punishment both to-be-going-to-take
προσδοκῶν, καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ πολὺ κέρδος περιέσεσθαι,
expecting and for-the army much gain to-be-going-to-accrue
καὶ τοὺς λῃστὰς ἐς ἑκάστην ὡς πατρίδα κινδυνεύουσαν
and the robbers to each as fatherland being-in-danger
διαλυθήσεσθαι. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐνθυμούμενος ἐδῄου
to-be-going-to-disperse he indeed indeed these-things considering ravaged
τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ἅπαντα, συμμαχομένων τοῖς ἀνδράσι
the-things at feet all fighting-alongside the men
τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ συναναιρουμένων, καὶ οὔ τινα φωνὴν
the women and being-killed-with-them and not any cry
οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς σφαγαῖς ἀφιεισῶν. εἰσὶ δ' οἳ καὶ ἐς τὰ
not-even in the slaughters uttering are and who also into the
ὄρη μεθ' ὧν ἐδύναντο ἀνεπήδων· καὶ αὐτοῖς δεομένοις
mountains with what they-could leapt-up and to-them begging
συνεγίγνωσκεν ὁ Βροῦτος, καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἐμερίζετο.
pardoned — Brutus and the property divided
72 καὶ τὸν Δόριον περάσας πολλὰ μὲν πολέμῳ κατέδραμε,
and the Durius having-crossed many indeed in-war overran
πολλὰ δὲ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοὺς ἐνδιδόντων ὅμηρα αἰτήσας
many and from the(-men) themselves surrendering hostages having-demanded
ἐπὶ Λήθην μετῄει, πρῶτος ὅδε Ῥωμαίων ἐπινοῶν τὸν
to Lethe went first this-one of-Romans intending the
ποταμὸν τόνδε διαβῆναι. περάσας δὲ καὶ τόνδε, καὶ
river this to-cross having-crossed and also this and
μέχρι Νίμιος ἑτέρου ποταμοῦ προελθών, Βρακάρων αὐτῷ
as-far-as Nimis another river having-advanced Bracari to-him

φερομένην ἀγορὰν ἁρπασάντων ἐστράτευεν ἐπὶ τοὺς
being-brought provisions having-seized he-marched against the
Βρακάρους, οἵ εἰσιν ἔθνος μαχιμώτατον, καὶ ἅμα ταῖς
Bracari who are a-people most-warlike and together-with the
γυναιξὶν ὡπλισμέναις καὶ οἵδε ἐμάχοντο, καὶ προθύμως
women armed also these fought and eagerly
ἔθνησκον, οὐκ ἐπιστρεφόμενος αὐτῶν οὐδείς, οὐδὲ τὰ νῶτα
died not turning of-them no-one nor the backs
δεικνύς, οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἀφιέντες. ὅσαι δὲ κατήγοντο
showing nor cry uttering as-many-as and were-brought-down
τῶν γυναικῶν, αἱ μὲν αὐτὰς διεχρῶντο, αἱ δὲ καὶ
of-the women some indeed themselves killed others and also
τῶν τέκνων αὐτόχειρες ἐγίνοντο, χαίρουσαι τῷ θανάτῳ
of-the children self-slayers became rejoicing in-the death
μᾶλλον τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας. εἰσὶ δέ τινες τῶν πόλεων αἳ
rather than-the captivity are and some of-the cities which
τότε μὲν τῷ Βρούτῳ προσετίθεντο, οὐ πολὺ δ' ὕστερον
then indeed — to-Brutus attached-themselves not long but later
ἀφίσταντο. καὶ αὐτὰς ὁ Βροῦτος κατεστρέφετο αὖθις.
revolted and them — Brutus subdued again
ἐπὶ δὲ Ταλάβριγα πόλιν ἐλθών, ἣ πολλάκις μὲν αὐτῷ 73
against and Talabriga city having-come which often indeed with-him
συνετέθειτο, πολλάκις δὲ ἀποστᾶσα ἠνώχλει, παρακαλούντων
had-made-terms often but having-revolted had-troubled calling-on
αὐτὸν καὶ τότε τῶν Ταλαβρίγων καὶ διδόντων αὑτοὺς
him also then the Talabrigans and giving themselves
ἐς ὅ τι χρῄζοι, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς αὐτομόλους Ῥωμαίων
to what ever he-wanted first indeed the deserters of-Romans
ᾔτει καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα, καὶ ὅπλα ὅσα εἶχον, καὶ
he-demanded and the captives and arms as-many-as they-had and
ὅμηρα ἐπὶ τούτοις, εἶτ' αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσε σὺν παισὶ καὶ
hostages besides these then them he-ordered with children and

γυναιξὶν ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν. ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦθ' ὑπέστησαν,
wives to-leave the city when and also this they-submitted
τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτοῖς περιστήσας ἐδημηγόρει, καταλέγων
the army round-them having-set he-harangued enumerating
ὁσάκις ἀποσταῖεν καὶ ὅσους πολέμους πολεμήσειαν αὐτῷ.
how-often they-had-revolted and how-many wars they-had-warred with-him
φόβον δὲ καὶ δόξαν ἐμφήνας ἐργασομένου τι δεινόν,
fear and and expectation having-shown of-one-going-to-do something terrible
ἐπὶ τῶν ὀνειδῶν ἔληξε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἵππους αὐτῶν καὶ
at the reproaches he-stopped and the indeed horses their and
τὸν σῖτον καὶ χρήματα ὅσα κοινὰ ἦν, ἢ εἴ τις ἄλλη
the grain and money as-much-as common was or if any other
δημοσία παρασκευή, πάντα περιεῖλε, τὴν δὲ πόλιν αὖθις
public equipment all he-took-away the but city again
οἰκεῖν ἔδωκεν ἐξ ἀέλπτου. τοσάδε μὲν δὴ Βροῦτος
to-inhabit he-granted from unhoped so-much indeed indeed Brutus
ἐργασάμενος ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπῄει. καὶ αὐτὰ ἐς τὴν Οὐριάθου
having-done to Rome departed and these-things into the of-Viriathus
γραφὴν συνήγαγον, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ διὰ τὸν ἐκείνου
account I-gathered in the same time because-of the his
ζῆλον ὑπὸ ληστηρίων ἄλλων ἀρξάμενα γίγνεσθαι.
emulation by robber-bands other having-begun to-happen

74 Οὐρίαθος δὲ Καιπίωνι περὶ συμβάσεων τοὺς πιστοτάτους
Viriathus and to-Caepio about terms the most-faithful
αὐτῷ φίλους ἐπέπεμπεν, Αὔδακα καὶ Διτάλκωνα
to-himself friends sent Audax and Ditalco
καὶ Μίνουρον, οἳ διαφθαρέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Καιπίωνος
and Minurus who having-been-corrupted by — Caepio
δώροις τε μεγάλοις καὶ ὑποσχέσεσι πολλαῖς ὑπέστησαν
with-gifts both great and promises many undertook
αὐτῷ κτενεῖν τὸν Οὐρίαθον. καὶ ἔκτειναν ὧδε.
to-him to-be-going-to-kill — Viriathus and killed thus

ὀλιγοϋπνότατος ἦν διὰ φροντίδα καὶ πόνους ὁ
most-sleepless was because-of care and toils —
Οὐρίαθος, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἔνοπλος ἀνεπαύετο, ἵνα
Viriathus and the most-part armed rested that
ἐξεγρόμενος εὐθὺς ἐς πάντα ἕτοιμος εἴη. τοῖς οὖν
waking at-once for everything ready he-might-be to-the then
φίλοις ἐξῆν καὶ νυκτερεύοντι ἐντυγχάνειν. ᾧ δὴ
friends it-was-allowed even while-he-spent-the-night to-meet-with which indeed
καὶ τότε ἔθει οἱ περὶ τὸν Αὔδακα φυλάξαντες
also then by-custom the(-men) about — Audax having-watched-for
αὐτόν, ἀρχομένου ὕπνου παρῆλθον ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν ὡς
him beginning of-sleep came into the tent as
δή τινος ἐπείγοντος, καὶ κεντοῦσιν ὡπλισμένον ἐς
indeed something urgent and stab him-armed in
τὴν σφαγήν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄλλοθι. οὐδεμιᾶς δ' αἰσθήσεως
the throat not for was elsewhere no and perception
γενομένης διὰ τὴν τῆς πληγῆς εὐκαιρίαν, διέδρασαν
having-arisen because-of the of-the blow good-aim they-ran-off
ἐς Καιπίωνα καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς ἤτουν. ὁ δ' αὐτίκα μὲν
to Caepio and the rewards asked he and at-once indeed
αὐτοῖς ἔδωκεν ἀδεῶς ἔχειν ὅσα ἔχουσι, περὶ δὲ ὧν ἤτουν,
to-them granted fearlessly to-keep what they-have about but what they-asked
ἐς Ῥώμην αὐτοὺς ἔπεμπεν. οἱ δὲ θεραπευτῆρες Οὐριάθου
to Rome them sent the and attendants of-Viriathus
καὶ ἡ ἄλλη στρατιά, γενομένης ἡμέρας, ἀναπαύεσθαι
and the other army day having-come to-rest
νομίζοντες αὐτὸν ἐθαύμαζον διὰ τὴν ἀήθειαν, μέχρι τινὲς
thinking him wondered because-of the unusualness until some
ἔμαθον ὅτι νεκρὸς κέοιτο ἔνοπλος. καὶ εὐθὺς ἦν οἰμωγή τε
learned that dead he-lay armed and at-once was wailing both
καὶ πένθος ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἀλγούντων τε ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ
and mourning through the camp grieving both over him

καὶ περὶ σφῶν δεδιότων, καὶ ἐνθυμουμένων ἐν οἵοις
and about themselves fearing and reflecting in what-kind
εἰσὶ κινδύνοις καὶ οἵου στρατηγοῦ στεροῦνται. μάλιστα
they-are dangers and of-what-a general they-are-deprived most
δὲ αὐτούς, ὅτι τοὺς δράσαντας οὐχ ηὕρισκον, ὑπερήλγυνεν.
and them that the doers not they-found pained-greatly
75 Οὐρίαθον μὲν δὴ λαμπρότατα κοσμήσαντες ἐπὶ
Viriathus indeed indeed most-splendidly having-adorned on
ὑψηλοτάτης πυρᾶς ἔκαιον, ἱερεῖά τε πολλὰ ἐπέσφαττον
a-very-high pyre burned victims both many slaughtered-over
αὐτῷ, καὶ κατὰ ἴλας οἵ τε πεζοὶ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐν
to-him and by squadrons the both infantry and the cavalry in
κύκλῳ περιθέοντες αὐτὸν ἔνοπλοι βαρβαρικῶς ἐπήνουν,
a-circle running-round him armed in-barbarian-fashion praised
μέχρι τε σβεσθῆναι τὸ πῦρ παρεκάθηντο πάντες ἀμφ'
until both to-be-quenched the fire sat-beside all about
αὐτό. καὶ τῆς ταφῆς ἐκτελεσθείσης, ἀγῶνα μονομάχων
it and the burial having-been-completed a-contest of-single-combat
ἀνδρῶν ἤγαγον ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου. τοσοῦτον αὑτοῦ πόθον
men held at the tomb so-great of-himself longing
κατέλιπεν Οὐρίαθος, ἀρχικώτατος μὲν ὡς ἐν βαρβάροις
left Viriathus most-fit-to-command indeed as among barbarians
γενόμενος, φιλοκινδυνότατος δ' ἐς ἅπαντα πρὸ ἁπάντων,
having-been most-danger-loving and for everything before all
καὶ ἰσομοιρότατος ἐν τοῖς κέρδεσιν. οὐ γάρ ποτε πλέον
and most-equal-sharing in the gains not for ever more
ὑπέστη λαβεῖν, ἀεὶ παρακαλούντων· ὃ δὲ καὶ λάβοι,
he-consented to-take always urging-him what and even he-took
τοῖς ἀριστεύσασιν ἐδίδου. ὅθεν αὐτῷ, δυσχερέστατον
to-the(-men) excelling gave whence for-him hardest
ἔργον καὶ οὐδενί πω στρατηγῶν εὐμαρῶς ἐγγενόμενον,
work and for-no-one yet of-generals easily having-come-about

ἔτεσιν ὀκτὼ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου παμμιγὴς στρατὸς
in-years eight of-this the war mixed an-army
ἀστασίαστος ἦν καὶ κατήκοος ἀεὶ καὶ ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους
without-faction was and obedient always and into the dangers
ὀξύτατος. τότε δὲ σφῶν Τάνταλον ἑλόμενοι στρατηγεῖν,
keenest then and of-them Tantalus having-chosen to-command
ἐπὶ Ζάκανθαν ἐφέροντο, ἣν Ἀννίβας καθελὼν ἔκτισε
against Saguntum rushed which Hannibal having-destroyed founded
καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς αὑτοῦ πατρίδος Καρχηδόνα προσεῖπεν.
and from the his-own fatherland Carthage named
ἀποκρουσθεῖσι δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖθεν, καὶ τὸν Βαῖτιν ποταμὸν
having-been-repulsed and them thence and the Baetis river
περῶσιν, ὁ Καιπίων ἐπέκειτο, μέχρι κάμνων ὁ Τάνταλος
crossing — Caepio pressed until weary — Tantalus
αὑτόν τε καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν τῷ Καιπίωνι παρέδωκεν ὡς
himself both and the army — to-Caepio surrendered as
ὑπηκόοις χρῆσθαι. ὁ δὲ ὅπλα τε αὐτοὺς ἀφείλετο ἅπαντα,
subjects to-use he and arms both them took-away all
καὶ γῆν ἔδωκεν ἱκανήν, ἵνα μὴ λῃστεύοιεν ἐξ ἀπορίας.
and land gave sufficient that not they-might-rob from want

76–83 · NUMANTIA: POMPEIUS AND MANCINUS

Numantia, ringed by rivers and ravines, resists Metellus. Quintus Pompeius is beaten before it and Termantia, makes secret terms, and denies them before Popillius. Mancinus, trapped in Nobilior's old entrenchment, swears a peace Rome rejects. Lepidus besieges Pallantia against the senate's order, flees, and is deposed and fined. Rome hands Mancinus over naked to the Numantines, who refuse him.

76 ἐπάνεισι δ' ἐς τὸν Ἀρουακῶν καὶ Νομαντίνων πόλεμον
returns and to the of-Arevaci and Numantines war
ἡ γραφή, οὓς Οὐρίαθος μὲν ἠρέθισεν ἐς ἀπόστασιν,
the account whom Viriathus indeed roused to revolt
Καικίλιος δ' αὐτοῖς Μέτελλος ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐπιπεμφθεὶς
Caecilius and against-them Metellus from Rome having-been-sent
μετὰ πλέονος στρατοῦ Ἀρουακοὺς μὲν ἐχειρώσατο, σὺν
with larger army Arevaci indeed subdued with
ἐκπλήξει καὶ τάχει θερίζουσιν ἐμπίπτων, Τερμεντία δ' αὐτῷ
consternation and speed on-them-reaping falling Termantia but to-him
καὶ Νομαντία ἔτι ἔλειπον. ἦν δ' ἡ Νομαντία ποταμοῖς δύο
and Numantia still remained was and — Numantia by-rivers two
καὶ φάραγξιν ἀπόκρημνος, ὕλαί τε αὐτῇ πυκναὶ περιέκειντο,
and ravines precipitous woods both it thick surrounded
καὶ μία κάθοδος ἦν ἐς τὸ πεδίον, ἣ τάφρων ἐπεπλήρωτο
and one descent was into the plain which with-ditches had-been-filled
καὶ στηλῶν. αὐτοὶ δ' ἦσαν ἄριστοι μὲν ἱππεῖς
and stakes they-themselves and were best indeed cavalry
τε καὶ πεζοί, πάντες δ' ἀμφὶ τοὺς ὀκτακισχιλίους. καὶ
both and infantry all but about the eight-thousand and
τοσοίδε ὄντες ὅμως ὑπ' ἀρετῆς ἐς μέγα ἠνώχλησαν τὰ
so-few being nevertheless through valor for long harassed the
Ῥωμαίων. Μέτελλος μὲν δὴ μετὰ χειμῶνα τὴν στρατιὰν
of-Romans Metellus indeed indeed after winter the army
Κοΐντῳ Πομπηίῳ διαδόχῳ τῆς στρατηγίας οἱ γενομένῳ
to-Quintus Pompeius successor of-the command for-him having-become
παρέδωκε, τρισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ δισχιλίους ἱππέας
handed-over thirty-thousand infantry and two-thousand cavalry
ἄριστα γεγυμνασμένους, ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος τῇ Νομαντίᾳ
best trained — and Pompeius — by-Numantia
παραστρατοπεδεύων ᾤχετό ποι, καὶ ἱππέας αὐτοῦ
encamping went somewhere and cavalry his

μεταθέοντας αὐτὸν οἱ Νομαντῖνοι καταβάντες ἔκτειναν.
following-after him the Numantines having-come-down killed
ἐπανελθὼν οὖν παρέτασσεν ἐς τὸ πεδίον, καὶ οἱ Νομαντῖνοι
having-returned then he-drew-up into the plain and the Numantines
καταβάντες ὑπεχώρουν κατ᾽ ὀλίγον οἷα φεύγοντες, μέχρι
having-come-down retreated by little as-if fleeing until
ταῖς στήλαις καὶ φάραγξιν ὁ Πομπήιος ***
to-the stakes and ravines — Pompeius (lacuna)
καὶ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἐν ταῖς ἀκροβολίαις ἐλασσούμενος ὑπ᾽ 77
and by day in the skirmishes being-worsted by
ἀνδρῶν πολὺ ἐλασσόνων, μετέβαινεν ἐπὶ Τερμεντίαν
men much fewer he-moved against Termantia
ὡς εὐχερέστερον ἔργον. ὡς δὲ καὶ τῇδε συμβαλὼν
as easier work when and also here having-engaged
ἑπτακοσίους τε ἀπώλεσε, καὶ τὸν τὴν ἀγορὰν αὐτῷ
seven-hundred both he-lost and the the provisions to-him
φέροντα χιλίαρχον οἱ Τερμεντεῖς ἐτρέψαντο, καὶ τρίτῃ
bringing tribune the Termantines routed and in-a-third
πείρᾳ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ἐς ἀπόκρημνα τοὺς
attempt on the same day into precipices the
Ῥωμαίους συνελάσαντες πολλοὺς αὐτῶν πεζούς τε καὶ
Romans having-driven many of-them infantry both and
ἱππέας αὐτοῖς ἵπποις κατέωσαν ἐς τὰ ἀπόκρημνα,
cavalry with-very horses pushed-down into the precipices
περιφόβως ἔχοντες οἱ λοιποὶ διενυκτέρευον ἔνοπλοι, καὶ
terrified being the rest spent-the-night armed and
ἅμα ἕῳ προσιόντων τῶν πολεμίων ἐκταξάμενοι τὴν
together-with dawn approaching the enemies drawn-up the
ἡμέραν ὅλην ἠγωνίζοντο ἀγχωμάλως, καὶ διεκρίθησαν
day whole they-fought evenly and were-parted
ὑπὸ νυκτός. ὅθεν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπὶ πολίχνης Μαλίας
by night whence — Pompeius against the-town Malia

ἤλασεν, ἣν ἐφρούρουν οἱ Νομαντῖνοι. καὶ οἱ Μαλιεῖς τοὺς
marched which garrisoned the Numantines and the Malians the
φρουροὺς ἀνελόντες ἐξ ἐνέδρας, παρέδοσαν τὸ πολίχνιον
garrison having-killed from ambush surrendered the town
τῷ Πομπηίῳ. ὁ δὲ τά τε ὅπλα αὐτοὺς καὶ ὅμηρα
— to-Pompeius he and the both arms them and hostages
αἰτήσας, μετῆλθεν ἐπὶ Σηδητανίαν, ἣν ἐδῄου λῃσταρχος
having-demanded went to Sedetania which ravaged a-robber-chief
ὄνομα Ταγγῖνος· καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐνίκα, καὶ
by-name Tanginus and him — Pompeius defeated and
πολλοὺς ἔλαβεν αἰχμαλώτους. τοσοῦτον δ' ἦν φρονήματος
many took captives so-great and was of-pride
ἐν τοῖς λῃσταῖς ὥστε τῶν αἰχμαλώτων οὐδεὶς ὑπέμεινε
among the robbers that of-the captives no-one endured
δουλεύειν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν αὑτοὺς οἱ δὲ τοὺς πριαμένους
to-be-a-slave but some indeed themselves others and the(-men) having-bought-them
ἀνῄρουν, οἱ δὲ τὰς ναῦς ἐν τῷ διάπλῳ διετίτρων.
killed others and the ships in the crossing bored-through
78 ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος αὖθις ἐλάσας ἐπὶ Νομαντίαν, ποταμόν
— and Pompeius again having-marched against Numantia a-river
τινα μετωχέτευεν ἐς τὸ πεδίον ὡς λιμῷ πιέσων τὴν
some diverted into the plain as by-famine going-to-press the
πόλιν. οἱ δὲ ἐργαζομένῳ τε ἐπέκειντο, καὶ σαλπικτῶν
city they and him-working both attacked and trumpeters
χωρὶς ἐκτρέχοντες ἀθρόοι τοὺς ὀχετεύοντας ἠνώχλουν.
without running-out in-a-body the(-men) diverting harassed
ἔβαλλον δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ χάρακος ἐπιβοηθοῦντας,
pelted and also the(-men) from the stockade coming-to-help
ἕως κατέκλεισαν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ σιτολογοῦσιν
until they-shut-them into the camp and foraging
ἑτέροις ἐπιδραμόντες καὶ τῶνδε πολλοὺς διέφθειραν,
others having-attacked also of-these many destroyed

Ὄππιόν τε χιλίαρχον ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἀνεῖλον. καὶ κατ᾽ ἄλλο
Oppius both tribune besides them killed and in other
μέρος τάφρον ὀρύσσουσι Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιδραμόντες ἔκτειναν
part a-ditch digging Romans having-attacked killed
ἐς τετρακοσίους, καὶ τὸν ἡγούμενον αὐτῶν. ἐφ᾽ οἷς τῷ
about four-hundred and the leader of-them upon which —
τε Πομπηίῳ σύμβουλοι παρῆσαν ἐκ Ῥώμης, καὶ τοῖς
both to-Pompeius advisers arrived from Rome and to-the
στρατιώταις (ἓξ γὰρ ἔτη διεληλύθει στρατευομένοις) διάδοχοι
soldiers six for years had-passed serving successors
νεοκατάγραφοί τε καὶ ἔτι ἀγύμναστοι καὶ ἀπειροπόλεμοι.
newly-enrolled both and still untrained and inexperienced-in-war
μεθ᾽ ὧν ὁ Πομπήιος αἰδούμενός τε τὰ ἐπταισμένα, καὶ
with whom — Pompeius being-ashamed both the failures and
ἐπειγόμενος τὴν αἰσχύνην ἀναλαβεῖν, ἐπέμενε χειμῶνος ἐν
hastening the disgrace to-make-good remained in-winter in
τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται κρύους τε ὄντος ἐν
the camp and the soldiers cold both being in
ἀστέγῳ σταθμεύοντες, καὶ πρῶτον ἄρτι πειρώμενοι τοῦ
roofless-quarters lodging and first lately trying of-the
περὶ τὴν χώραν ὕδατός τε καὶ ἀέρος, κατὰ γαστέρα ἔκαμνον,
in the country water both and air in belly were-sick
καὶ διεφθείροντο ἔνιοι. μέρους δὲ ἐπὶ σῖτον οἰχομένου,
and perished some part and for grain having-gone
κρύψαντες ἐνέδραν οἱ Νομαντῖνοι παρ᾽ αὐτὸ τὸ Ῥωμαίων
having-hidden an-ambush the Numantines by itself the of-Romans
στρατόπεδον ἠκροβολίζοντο ἐρεθίζοντες, ἕως οἱ μὲν οὐ
camp skirmished provoking until some indeed not
φέροντες ἐπεξῄεσαν, οἱ δ᾽ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἀνίσταντο·
bearing-it sallied others and from the ambush rose-up
καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι πολλοὶ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους, πολλοὶ δὲ
and Romans many indeed from the multitude many and

τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀπέθανον· οἱ δὲ Νομαντῖνοι καὶ τοῖς τὸν
of-the notable died the and Numantines also the(-men) the
σῖτον φέρουσιν ἀπαντήσαντες ἔκτειναν καὶ τῶνδε πολλούς.
grain carrying having-met killed also of-these many
79 καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος τοσοῖσδε συνενεχθεὶς κακοῖς ἐς τὰς πόλεις
and — Pompeius by-so-many having-met evils into the cities
μετὰ τῶν συμβούλων ἀνεζεύγνυ, χειμάσων τὸ ἐπίλοιπον,
with the advisers withdrew going-to-winter the remainder
τοῦ ἦρος προσδοκῶν ἥξειν οἱ διάδοχον. καὶ
of-the spring expecting to-be-going-to-come for-him a-successor and
δεδιὼς κατηγορίαν, ἔπρασσεν ἐς τοὺς Νομαντίνους κρύφα
fearing accusation negotiated with the Numantines secretly
τοῦ πολέμου διαλύσεις. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ κάμνοντες
of-the war settlements they and also themselves weary
ἤδη φόνῳ τε πολλῷ ἀρίστων καὶ γῆς ἀργίᾳ καὶ
already by-slaughter both great of-the-best and of-land by-idleness and
τροφῶν ἀπορίᾳ καὶ μήκει τοῦ πολέμου, μακροῦ παρὰ
of-food by-lack and by-length of-the war long beyond
προσδοκίαν γεγονότος, ἐπρέσβευον ἐς Πομπήιον. ὁ δὲ ἐς
expectation having-been sent-envoys to Pompeius he and in
μὲν τὸ φανερὸν ἐκέλευεν αὑτοὺς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιτρέπειν (οὐ
indeed the open ordered themselves to-Romans to-entrust not
γὰρ εἰδέναι συνθήκας ἑτέρας Ῥωμαίων ἀξίας), λάθρᾳ δ'
for to-know treaties other of-Romans worthy secretly but
ὑπισχνεῖτο ἃ ἔμελλε ποιήσειν. καὶ συνθεμένων ἐκείνων
he-promised what he-was-going to-do and having-agreed they
καὶ ἐπιτρεψάντων ἑαυτούς, ὅμηρά τε καὶ αἰχμάλωτα
and having-entrusted themselves hostages both and captives
ᾔτησε καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους, καὶ πάντα ἔλαβεν. ᾔτησε
he-demanded and the deserters and all he-received he-demanded
δὲ καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα τριάκοντα· ὧν μέρος αὐτίκα
and also of-silver talents thirty of-which part at-once

ἔδοσαν οἱ Νομαντῖνοι, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὁ Πομπήιος ἀνέμενεν,
gave the Numantines and the rest — Pompeius awaited
παραγενομένου δ᾽ αὐτῷ διαδόχου Μάρκου Ποπιλίου Λαίνα,
having-arrived and for-him a-successor Marcus Popillius Laenas
οἱ μὲν ἔφερον τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρημάτων, ὁ δ᾽ ἀπηλλαγμένος
they indeed brought the rest of-the money he and freed
μὲν τοῦ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου δέους τῷ παρεῖναι τὸν διάδοχον,
indeed of-the about the war fear by-the to-be-present the successor
τὰς δὲ συνθήκας εἰδὼς αἰσχράς τε καὶ ἄνευ Ῥωμαίων
the but treaty knowing shameful both and without Romans
γενομένας, ἠρνεῖτο μὴ συνθέσθαι τοῖς Νομαντίνοις. καὶ
having-been-made denied not to-have-made-terms with-the Numantines and
οἱ μὲν αὐτὸν ἤλεγχον ἐπὶ μάρτυσι τοῖς τότε παρατυχοῦσιν
they indeed him convicted before witnesses the then present
ἀπό τε βουλῆς καὶ ἱππάρχοις καὶ χιλιάρχοις αὐτοῦ
from both senate and cavalry-commanders and tribunes himself
Πομπηίου, ὁ δὲ Ποπίλιος αὐτοὺς ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπε
of-Pompeius — and Popillius them to Rome sent
δικασομένους τῷ Πομπηίῳ. κρίσεως δ᾽ ἐν τῇ βουλῇ
going-to-go-to-law — with-Pompeius trial and in the senate
γενομένης, Νομαντῖνοι μὲν καὶ Πομπήιος ἐς ἀντιλογίαν
having-happened Numantines indeed and Pompeius into dispute
ἦλθον, τῇ βουλῇ δ᾽ ἔδοξε πολεμεῖν Νομαντίνοις. καὶ
came to-the senate but it-seemed-good to-war with-Numantines and
ὁ Ποπίλιος ἐνέβαλεν ἐς τοὺς γείτονας αὐτῶν Λούσονας,
— Popillius invaded into the neighbors their Lusones
οὐδὲν δ᾽ ἐργασάμενος (ἦκε γὰρ αὐτῷ διάδοχος ἐπὶ τὴν
nothing but having-done came for to-him a-successor to the
στρατηγίαν Ὁστίλιος Μαγκῖνος) ἀνέζευξεν ἐς Ῥώμην.
command Hostilius Mancinus he-withdrew to Rome

80 ὁ δὲ Μαγκῖνος τοῖς Νομαντίνοις συμβαλὼν ἡττᾶτό
— and Mancinus with-the Numantines engaging was-beaten
τε πολλάκις, καὶ τέλος ἀναιρουμένων πολλῶν ἐς τὸ
both often and at-last being-killed many into the
στρατόπεδον ἔφυγεν. λόγου δὲ ψευδοῦς ἐμπεσόντος ὅτι
camp fled report and false having-fallen-in that
Νομαντίνοις ἔρχονται βοηθοῦντες Κάνταβροί τε καὶ
to-Numantines come helping Cantabri both and
Οὐακκαῖοι, δείσας ἄπυρον τὴν νύκτα διήγαγεν ὅλην ἐν
Vaccaei having-feared fireless the night he-spent whole in
σκότῳ, φεύγων ἐς ἔρημον τὸ Νωβελίωνός ποτε χαράκωμα.
darkness fleeing into deserted the of-Nobilior once entrenchment
καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐς αὐτὸ συγκλεισθεὶς οὔτε κατεσκευασμένον
and after day in it shut-up neither equipped
οὔτε ὠχυρωμένον, περισχόντων αὐτὸν τῶν Νομαντίνων, καὶ
nor fortified surrounding him the Numantines and
πάντας ἀποκτενεῖν ἀπειλούντων εἰ μὴ συνθοῖτο εἰρήνην,
all to-be-going-to-kill threatening if not he-should-make peace
συνέθετο ἐπὶ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Νομαντίνοις.
he-made on equal and like for-Romans and Numantines
καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὤμνυε τοῖς Νομαντίνοις, οἱ
and he indeed on these-terms swore to-the Numantines the(-men)
δ' ἐν ἄστει πυθόμενοι χαλεπῶς ἔφερον ὡς ἐπὶ αἰσχίσταις
but in the-city learning grievously bore-it as on most-shameful
πάνυ σπονδαῖς, καὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὑπάτων Αἰμίλιον
utterly terms and the other of-the consuls Aemilius
Λέπιδον ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐξέπεμπον, Μαγκῖνον δ' ἀνεκάλουν ἐς
Lepidus to Iberia sent-out Mancinus and recalled to
κρίσιν. καὶ τῷδε μὲν εἵποντο πρέσβεις Νομαντίνων· ὁ δὲ
trial and this-one indeed followed envoys of-Numantines — and
Αἰμίλιος, ἀναμένων καὶ ὅδε τὰς ἐκ Ῥώμης ἀποκρίσεις,
Aemilius awaiting also he the from Rome answers

καὶ τὴν ἀργίαν οὐ φέρων (ὡς γὰρ ἐπὶ δόξαν ἢ κέρδος ἢ
and the idleness not bearing as for for glory or gain or
θριάμβου φιλοτιμίαν ἐξῄεσάν τινες ἐς τὰς στρατηγίας, οὐκ
of-triumph ambition went-out some to the commands not
ἐπὶ τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον), Οὐακκαίων κατεψεύδετο ὡς
for the to-the city advantageous against-Vaccaei falsely-alleged that
ἀγορὰν ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ Νομαντίνοις παρασχόντων,
provisions in this the war to-Numantines having-supplied
καὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν κατέτρεχε, Παλλαντίαν τε πόλιν,
and the land their overran Pallantia both city
ἣ μεγίστη Οὐακκαίων ἐστίν, οὐδὲν ἐξαμαρτοῦσαν ἐς
which greatest of-Vaccaei is nothing having-offended against
τὰ συγκείμενα ἐπολιόρκει, καὶ Βροῦτον ἐφ᾽ ἕτερα τῆς
the agreements besieged and Brutus on the-other-side —
Ἰβηρίας ἀπεσταλμένον, ὥς μοι προείρηται, κηδεστὴν
of-Iberia having-been-sent as by-me has-been-said-before kinsman
ὄντα οἱ τοῦδε τοῦ ἔργου μετασχεῖν ἔπεισεν.
being his of-this the deed to-share he-persuaded
κατέλαβον δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ Ῥώμης πρέσβεις Κίννας τε καὶ 81
overtook and them from Rome envoys Cinna both and
Καικίλιος, οἳ τὴν βουλὴν ἔφασαν ἀπορεῖν εἰ τοσῶνδε
Caecilius who the senate said to-be-at-a-loss if so-many
πταισμάτων σφίσιν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ γενομένων ὁ Αἰμίλιος πόλεμον
reverses to-them in Iberia having-happened — Aemilius war
ἕτερον ἀρεῖται, καὶ ψήφισμα ἐπέδοσαν αὐτῷ προαγορεῦον
another will-take-up and a-decree they-delivered to-him forbidding
Αἰμίλιον Οὐακκαίοις μὴ πολεμεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἀρξάμενός τε ἤδη
Aemilius with-Vaccaei not to-war he and having-begun both already
τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ τὴν βουλὴν τοῦτ᾽ ἀγνοεῖν ἡγούμενος,
the war and the senate this to-be-ignorant thinking
ἀγνοεῖν δ᾽ ὅτι καὶ Βροῦτος αὐτῷ συνεπιλαμβάνει
to-be-ignorant and that also Brutus with-him joins-in

καὶ σῖτον καὶ χρήματα καὶ στρατιὰν Οὐακκαῖοι τοῖς
and grain and money and army Vaccaei to-the
Νομαντίνοις παρέσχον, ἔσεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀνάζευξιν
Numantines had-supplied to-be-going-to-be and also the withdrawal
τοῦ πολέμου φοβερὰν ὑπολαβών, καὶ σχεδὸν Ἰβηρίας ὅλης
of-the war fearful having-supposed and almost of-Iberia whole
διάλυσιν, εἰ καταφρονήσειαν ὡς δεδιότων, τοὺς μὲν ἀμφὶ
dissolution if they-should-despise as afraid the(-men) indeed about
τὸν Κίνναν ἀπράκτους ἀπέλυσε, καὶ τάδε αὐτὰ ἐπέστειλε
— Cinna unsuccessful he-dismissed and these very wrote
τῇ βουλῇ, αὐτὸς δὲ ὀχυρωσάμενος φρούριον, μηχανὰς
to-the senate he-himself and having-fortified a-fort engines
ἐν αὐτῷ συνεπήγνυτο καὶ σῖτον συνέφερεν. Φλάκκος
in it built and grain gathered Flaccus
δ' αὐτῷ σιτολογῶν, ἐνέδρας ἐκφανείσης, εὐμηχάνως
and for-him foraging an-ambush having-appeared cleverly
διέδωκεν ὅτι Παλλαντίαν ἐξεῖλεν Αἰμίλιος· καὶ τοῦ
spread-word that Pallantia took Aemilius and the
στρατοῦ συναλαλάξαντος ὡς ἐπὶ νίκῃ, πυθόμενοι τούτων
army having-raised-the-cry as for victory learning these-things
οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἀληθῆ νομίσαντες ἀπεχώρουν. Φλάκκος
the barbarians and true having-thought withdrew Flaccus
μὲν δὴ τὴν ἀγορὰν κινδυνεύουσαν ὧδε περιέσωζε.
indeed indeed the provisions being-in-danger thus saved
82 μακρᾶς δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ Παλλαντίᾳ πολιορκίας οὔσης αἱ
long and the at — Pallantia siege being the
τροφαὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐπέλειπον, καὶ λιμὸς ἥπτετο αὐτῶν,
foods Romans failed and famine touched them
καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια πάντα ἔφθαρτο, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν
and the pack-animals all had-perished and many of-the
ἀνθρώπων ἐξ ἀπορίας ἀπέθνησκον. οἱ στρατηγοὶ δέ,
men from want died the generals and

Αἰμίλιός τε καὶ Βροῦτος, ἐς μὲν πολὺ διεκαρτέρουν,
Aemilius both and Brutus for indeed long held-out
ἡσσώμενοι δ᾽ ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ νυκτὸς ἄφνω περὶ ἐσχάτην
being-overcome but by the evil by-night suddenly about the-last
φυλακὴν ἐκέλευον ἀναζευγνύναι· χιλίαρχοί τε καὶ λοχαγοὶ
watch ordered to-withdraw tribunes both and centurions
περιθέοντες ἐπέσπευδον ἅπαντας ἐς τοῦτο πρὸ ἕω. οἱ
running-round hurried all to this before dawn they
δὲ σὺν θορύβῳ τά τε ἄλλα πάντα καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας
and with uproar the both other all-things and the wounded
καὶ τοὺς νοσοῦντας ἀπέλιπον, συμπλεκομένους τε σφίσι
and the sick abandoned clinging both to-them
καὶ δεομένους. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀτάκτου καὶ θορυβώδους τῆς
and begging and for-them disorderly and tumultuous the
ἀναχωρήσεως γιγνομένης καὶ φυγῇ μάλιστα ὁμοίας, οἱ
withdrawal happening and to-flight most like the
Παλλάντιοι πανταχόθεν ἐπικείμενοι πολλὰ ἔβλαπτον ἐξ
Pallantines from-everywhere pressing much harmed from
ἠοῦς ἐπὶ ἑσπέραν. νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιλαβούσης Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν
dawn to evening night and having-come-on Romans indeed
ἐς τὰ πεδία ἑαυτοὺς ἐρρίπτουν ἀνὰ μέρος, ὡς τύχοιεν,
into the plains themselves threw by part as they-chanced
ἄσιτοί τε καὶ κατάκοποι, οἱ δὲ Παλλάντιοι θεοῦ σφᾶς
fasting both and exhausted the and Pallantines a-god them
ἀποτρέποντος ἀνεχώρουν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν περὶ Αἰμίλιον.
turning-back withdrew and these-things indeed were about Aemilius
Ῥωμαῖοι δ᾽ αὐτὰ πυθόμενοι τὸν μὲν Αἰμίλιον παρέλυσαν 83
Romans and these-things having-learned — indeed Aemilius removed
τῆς στρατηγίας τε καὶ ὑπατείας, καὶ ἰδιώτης ἐς
from-the command both and consulship and as-a-private-man to
Ῥώμην ὑπέστρεφε, καὶ χρήμασιν ἐπεζημιοῦτο· Μαγκίνῳ δ᾽
Rome returned and with-money was-fined to-Mancinus and

ἐδίκαζον καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς Νομαντίνων. οἱ μὲν δὴ
they-gave-trial and to-the envoys the of-Numantines they indeed indeed
τὰς συνθήκας, ἃς ἐπεποίηντο πρὸς Μαγκῖνον, ἐπεδείκνυον·
the treaty which they-had-made with Mancinus showed
ὁ δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῶν ἐς Πομπήιον ἀνέφερε τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ
he and the blame of-them on Pompeius referred the before him
γενόμενον στρατηγόν, ὡς ἀργὸν καὶ ἄπορον τὸν στρατὸν
having-been general as idle and helpless the army
ἐγχειρίσαντά οἱ, καὶ δι᾽ αὐτὸ κἀκεῖνον ἡσσημένον τε
having-handed-over to-him and because-of this also-that-one beaten both
πολλάκις καὶ συνθήκας ὁμοίας αὐτῷ θέμενον πρὸς τοὺς
often and a-treaty like to-him having-made with the
Νομαντίνους· ὅθεν ἔφη καὶ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε, παρὰ τὰς
Numantines whence he-said also the war this against the
συνθήκας ἐκείνας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐψηφισμένον, ἀπαίσιον
treaty that by Romans voted ill-omened
αὐτοῖς γεγονέναι. οἱ δ᾽ ἐχαλέπαινον μὲν ἀμφοτέροις
for-them to-have-been they and were-angry indeed with-both
ὁμοίως, ἀπέφυγε δ᾽ ὅμως Πομπήιος ὡς περὶ τῶνδε
alike escaped but nevertheless Pompeius as about these
κριθεὶς καὶ πάλαι. Μαγκῖνον δ᾽ ἔγνωσαν ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς
tried also long-ago Mancinus but they-decided to-hand-over to-the
Νομαντίνοις, ἄνευ σφῶν αἰσχρὰς συνθήκας πεποιημένον,
Numantines without them shameful treaty having-made
ᾧ λόγῳ καὶ Σαυνίταις οἱ πατέρες, ὅμοια χωρὶς αὐτῶν
on-which reasoning also to-Samnites the fathers like-terms without them
συνθεμένους, ἡγεμόνας εἴκοσιν ἐξεδεδώκεσαν. Μαγκῖνον μὲν
having-made commanders twenty had-handed-over Mancinus indeed
δὴ Φούριος ἀγαγὼν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν γυμνὸν παρεδίδου τοῖς
indeed Furius having-brought to Iberia naked handed-over to-the
Νομαντίνοις· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο. στρατηγὸς δὲ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς
Numantines they but not accepted general and against them

αἱρεθεὶς Καλπούρνιος Πίσων οὐδ' ἤλασεν ἐπὶ Νομαντίαν,
chosen Calpurnius Piso not-even marched against Numantia
ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν Παλλαντίων γῆν ἐσβαλών, καὶ μικρὰ δῃώσας,
but into the of-Pallantines land having-invaded and little having-ravaged
ἐχείμαζεν ἐν Καρπητανίᾳ τὸ ἐπίλοιπον τῆς ἀρχῆς.
wintered in Carpetania the remainder of-the command

84–89 · SCIPIO TAKES COMMAND

The people make Scipio, conqueror of Carthage, consul again below the legal age. He drives out the merchants, courtesans, and seers, cuts the baggage to a spit, a pot, and a cup, and hardens the army with march and labor. He burns the Vaccaei's grain, which fed Numantia, saves Rutilius Rufus' cavalry from an ambush, beats off another, and winters near Numantia, joined by Jugurtha.

ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ κάμνων ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ τοῖς Νομαντίνοις, 84
in and Rome weary the people over the Numantines
μακροῦ καὶ δυσχεροῦς τοῦ πολέμου σφίσι παρὰ προσδοκίαν
long and hard the war for-them beyond expectation
γεγονότος, ᾑροῦντο Κορνήλιον Σκιπίωνα τὸν Καρχηδόνα
having-been chose Cornelius Scipio the Carthage
ἑλόντα αὖθις ὑπατεύειν, ὡς μόνον ἐπικρατῆσαι τῶν
having-taken again to-be-consul as alone to-prevail-over the
Νομαντίνων δυνάμενον. ὁ δὲ καὶ τότε ἦν ἔτι νεώτερος τῆς
Numantines able he and also then was still younger than-the
νενομισμένης τοῖς ὑπατεύουσιν ἡλικίας· ἡ οὖν βουλὴ
customary for-the(-men) being-consul age the then senate
πάλιν, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίοις αὐτοῦ χειροτονουμένου
again as against Carthaginians him being-elected
Σκιπίωνος, ἐψηφίσατο τοὺς δημάρχους λῦσαι τὸν περὶ τῆς
Scipio voted the tribunes to-repeal the about the

ἡλικίας νόμον, καὶ τοῦ ἐπιόντος ἔτους αὖθις θέσθαι. οὕτω
age law and of-the following year again to-enact-it so
μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων αὖθις ὑπατεύων ἐς Νομαντίαν ἠπείγετο,
indeed — Scipio again being-consul to Numantia hastened
στρατιὰν δ' ἐκ καταλόγου μὲν οὐκ ἔλαβε πολλῶν τε
army and from levy indeed not he-took many both
πολέμων ὄντων καὶ πολλῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, ἐθελοντὰς
wars being and many men in Iberia volunteers
δέ τινας, ἔκ τε πόλεων καὶ βασιλέων ἐς χάριν ἰδίαν
but some from both cities and kings as a-favor personal
πεμφθέντας αὐτῷ, συγχωρούσης τῆς βουλῆς ἐπηγάγετο,
sent to-him permitting the senate he-brought
καὶ πελάτας ἐκ Ῥώμης καὶ φίλους πεντακοσίους, οὓς
and clients from Rome and friends five-hundred whom
ἐς ἴλην καταλέξας ἐκάλει φίλων ἴλην. πάντας δὲ ἐς
into a-squadron having-enrolled he-called of-friends squadron all and about
τετρακισχιλίους γενομένους παραδοὺς ἄγειν ἀδελφιδῷ
four-thousand being having-handed-over to-lead to-his-nephew
Βουτέωνι, σὺν ὀλίγοις αὐτὸς προεξώρμησεν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν
Buteo with few himself set-out-ahead to Iberia
ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, πυνθανόμενος αὐτὸ γέμειν ἀργίας
to the camp learning it to-be-full of-idleness
καὶ στάσεων καὶ τρυφῆς, εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι μὴ κρατήσει
and factions and luxury well knowing that not he-will-overcome
πολεμίων πρὶν κατασχεῖν τῶν ἰδίων ἐγκρατῶς.
enemies before to-master the own firmly
ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐμπόρους τε πάντας ἐξήλαυνε καὶ ἑταίρας καὶ
having-come and merchants both all he-drove-out and courtesans and
μάντεις καὶ θύτας, οἷς διὰ τὰς δυσπραξίας οἱ στρατιῶται
seers and sacrificers whom because-of the failures the soldiers
περιδεεῖς γεγονότες ἐχρῶντο συνεχῶς· ἔς τε τὸ μέλλον
fearful having-become used continually for both the future

ἀπεῖπε μηδὲν ἐσφέρεσθαι τῶν περισσῶν, μηδὲ ἱερεῖον ἐς
he-forbade nothing to-bring-in of-the superfluous nor victim for
μαντείαν πεποιημένον. ἐκέλευσε δὲ καὶ τὰς ἁμάξας καὶ τὰ
divination made he-ordered and also the wagons and the
περισσὰ τῶν ἐς αὐτὰς τιθεμένων καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια, χωρὶς
superfluous of-the into them put and the pack-animals except
ὧν αὐτὸς ὑπελείπετο, πραθῆναι. καὶ σκεῦος οὐκ ἐξῆν
what he-himself left to-be-sold and utensil not it-was-allowed
ἐς δίαιταν ἔχειν οὐδενὶ πλὴν ὀβελοῦ καὶ χύτρας χαλκῆς
for living to-have to-anyone except a-spit and pot bronze
καὶ ἐκπώματος ἑνός. τά τε σιτία αὐτοῖς ὥριστο κρέα
and cup one the both foods for-them were-fixed meat
ζεστὰ καὶ ὀπτὰ εἶναι. κλίνας τε ἀπεῖπεν ἔχειν, καὶ πρῶτος
boiled and roasted to-be couches both he-forbade to-have and first
ἐπὶ στιβάδων ἀνεπαύετο. ἀπεῖπε δὲ καὶ ὁδεύοντας ἡμιόνοις
on straw-beds rested he-forbade and also marching on-mules
ἐπικαθέζεσθαι· τί γὰρ ἐν πολέμῳ προσδοκᾶν ἔφη παρ᾽
to-ride what for in war to-expect he-said from
ἀνδρὸς οὐδὲ βαδίζειν δυναμένου; κἀν τοῖς ἀλείμμασι καὶ
a-man not-even to-walk able and-in the anointings and
λουτροῖς ἑαυτοὺς ἤλειφον, ἐπισκώπτοντος τοῦ Σκιπίωνος
baths themselves were-anointing jesting — Scipio
ὡς αἱ ἡμίονοι χεῖρας οὐκ ἔχουσαι χρῄζουσι τριβόντων.
that the mules hands not having need ones-rubbing
οὕτω μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐς σωφροσύνην μετέβαλλεν ἀθρόως,
so indeed them to discipline he-changed suddenly
εἴθιζε δὲ καὶ ἐς αἰδῶ καὶ φόβον, δυσπρόσιτος ὢν καὶ
accustomed and also to respect and fear hard-of-access being and
δυσχερὴς ἐς τὰς χάριτας, καὶ μάλιστα τὰς παρανόμους.
hard toward the favors and most the lawless
ἔλεγέ τε πολλάκις τοὺς μὲν αὐστηροὺς καὶ ἐννόμους τῶν
he-said both often the indeed strict and law-abiding of-the

στρατηγῶν τοῖς οἰκείοις, τοὺς δὲ εὐχερεῖς καὶ φιλοδώρους
generals to-the own-men the but easy and lavish
τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶναι χρησίμους· τὰ γὰρ στρατόπεδα τοῖς
to-the enemies to-be useful the for camps to-the(-ones)
μὲν εἶναι κεχαρισμένα τε καὶ καταφρονητικά, τοῖς
indeed to-be indulgent both and contemptuous to-the(-others)
δὲ σκυθρωπὰ μὲν εὐπειθῆ δὲ καὶ πᾶσιν ἕτοιμα.
and gloomy indeed obedient but and for-everything ready
86 οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ὡς ἐτόλμα πολεμεῖν πρὶν αὐτοὺς γυμνάσαι
not indeed not-even so dared to-fight before them to-train
πόνοις πολλοῖς. τὰ οὖν ἀγχοτάτω πεδία πάντα περιών,
with-toils many the then nearest plains all going-round
ἑκάστης ἡμέρας, ἄλλο μετ' ἄλλο στρατόπεδον ἤγειρέ
each day other after other camp he-raised
τε καὶ καθῄρει, καὶ τάφρους ὤρυσσε βαθυτάτας καὶ
both and pulled-down and ditches dug deepest and
ἐνεπίμπλη, τείχη τε μεγάλα ᾠκοδόμει καὶ κατέφερεν, αὐτὸς
filled walls both great built and threw-down himself
ἐξ ἠοῦς ἐς ἑσπέραν ἅπαντα ἐφορῶν. τὰς δὲ ὁδοιπορίας,
from dawn to evening everything overseeing the and marches
ἵνα μή τις ὡς πάλαι διασκιδνῷτο, ἦγεν ἐν πλινθίοις ἀεί,
that not anyone as of-old should-straggle he-led in squares always
καὶ τὴν δεδομένην ἑκάστῳ τάξιν οὐκ ἦν ἐναλλάξαι.
and the assigned to-each place not was-it-possible to-change
περιών τε τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ οὐραγῶν,
going-round both the march and the most-part bringing-up-the-rear
τοὺς μὲν ἀρρωστοῦντας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀνεβίβαζεν ἀντὶ
the indeed sick on the horses he-mounted instead-of
τῶν ἱππέων, τὰ δὲ βαροῦντα τὰς ἡμιόνους ἐς τοὺς
the horsemen the and burdening the mules among the
πεζοὺς διεμέριζεν. εἰ δὲ σταθμεύοι, τοὺς μὲν προφύλακας
infantry he-divided if and he-encamped the indeed advance-guards

τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ἔδει περὶ τὸν
of-the day from the march it-was-needful about the
χάρακα ἵστασθαι, καὶ ἱππέων ἑτέραν ἴλην περιτρέχειν·
stockade to-stand and of-cavalry another squadron to-ride-round
οἱ δ' ἄλλοι τὰ ἔργα διῄρηντο, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ταφρεύειν
the and others the works were-divided and to-some indeed to-dig
ἐτέτακτο, τοῖς δὲ τειχίζειν, τοῖς δὲ σκηνοποιεῖν, χρόνου
it-was-assigned to-others and to-wall to-others and to-pitch-tents of-time
τε μῆκος ὡρίζετο αὐτοῖς καὶ διεμετρεῖτο.
both length was-fixed for-them and measured-out
ὅτε δ' εἴκασεν ὀξὺ καὶ εὐπειθὲς αὐτῷ καὶ φερέπονον 87
when and he-judged keen and obedient to-him and enduring-toil
γεγονέναι τὸ στράτευμα, μετέβαινεν ἀγχοῦ τῶν Νομαντίνων.
to-have-become the army he-moved near the Numantines
προφυλακὰς δέ, ὥσπερ τινές, ἐπὶ φρουρίων οὐκ ἐποιεῖτο·
outposts but as some in forts not he-made
οὐδὲ διῄρει ποι τὸν στρατὸν ὅλως, τοῦ μὴ τινὸς
nor divided anywhere the army at-all for-the not any
ἐν ἀρχῇ γενομένου πταίσματος εὐκαταφρόνητον τοῖς
at the-beginning having-happened reverse despicable to-the
πολεμίοις αὐτὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ τέως καταφρονοῦσιν. οὐδ'
enemies him to-become and until-then despising-him nor
ἐπεχείρει τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ἔτι περισκοπῶν αὐτόν τε τὸν
attacked the enemies still surveying very both the
πόλεμον καὶ τὸν καιρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τῶν Νομαντίνων
war and the moment of-it and the of-the Numantines
ὁρμήν, ἐς ὅ τι τρέψοιντο. τὰ δὲ ὀπίσω τοῦ στρατοπέδου
impulse to what ever they-would-turn the and behind the camp
πάντα ἐχορτολόγει, καὶ τὸν σῖτον ἔκειρεν ἔτι χλωρόν. ὡς
all he-foraged and the grain cut still green when
δ' αὐτῷ ταῦτα ἐξετεθέριστο καὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἔδει
and for-him these-things had-been-reaped and to the front it-was-needful

βαδίζειν, ὁδὸς μὲν ἦν παρὰ τὴν Νομαντίαν ἐπὶ τὰ πεδία
to-march a-road indeed was by — Numantia to the plains
σύντομος, καὶ πολλοὶ συνεβούλευον ἐς αὐτὴν τραπέσθαι.
short and many advised to it to-turn
ὁ δ' ἔφη τὴν ἐπάνοδον δεδιέναι, κούφων μὲν τότε τῶν
he but said the return to-fear light indeed then the
πολεμίων ὄντων, καὶ ἐκ πόλεως ὁρμωμένων καὶ ἐς
enemies being and from a-city setting-out and into
πόλιν ἀφορμώντων· "οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι βαρεῖς ἐπανίασιν ὡς
a-city retiring the but ours heavy return as
ἀπὸ σιτολογίας καὶ κατάκοποι, καὶ κτήνη καὶ ἁμάξας καὶ
from foraging and exhausted and beasts and wagons and
φορτία ἄγουσιν. δυσχερής τε ὅλως καὶ ἀνόμοιος ὁ ἀγών·
loads leading hard both wholly and unequal the contest
ἡσσωμένοις μὲν γὰρ πολὺς ὁ κίνδυνος, νικῶσι δὲ οὐ μέγα
for-the-beaten indeed for great the danger for-the-victors but not great
τὸ ἔργον, οὐδ' ἐπικερδές." εἶναι δ' ἄλογον κινδυνεύειν ἐπὶ
the deed nor profitable to-be and unreasonable to-risk for
ὀλίγοις, καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀμελῆ τὸν ἀγωνιζόμενον πρὸ τῆς
little and general careless the(-one) fighting before the
χρείας, ἀγαθὸν δὲ τὸν ἐν μόναις παρακινδυνεύοντα ταῖς
need good but the(-one) in only running-risks the
ἀνάγκαις. συγκρίνων δ' ἔφη καὶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς μὴ χρῆσθαι
necessities comparing and he-said also the doctors not to-use
τομαῖς μηδὲ καύσεσι πρὸ φαρμάκων. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐκέλευε
cuttings nor burnings before drugs these-things having-said he-ordered
τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τὴν μακροτέραν περιάγειν. καὶ συνεξῄει τότε
the officers the longer to-lead-round and went-out-with then
μὲν ἐς τὸ πέραν τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ὕστερον δὲ ἐς τὰ
indeed into the beyond of-the camp later and into the-lands
Οὐακκαίων, ὅθεν οἱ Νομαντῖνοι τὰς τροφὰς ἐωνοῦντο,
of-Vaccaei whence the Numantines the foods bought

κείρων ἅπαντα, καὶ τὰ χρήσιμα ἐς τὰς ἑαυτοῦ τροφὰς
cutting-down all and the useful for the his-own foods
συλλέγων, τὰ δὲ περιττὰ σωρεύων τε καὶ κατακαίων.
collecting the and superfluous heaping both and burning
ἐν δέ τινι πεδίῳ τῆς Παλλαντίας, ὄνομα Κοπλανίῳ, πολλοὺς 88
in and some plain — of-Pallantia by-name Coplanium many
ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρῶν ὑπὸ λόφοις ἔκρυψαν οἱ Παλλάντιοι, καὶ ἑτέροις
on the hills under knolls hid the Pallantines and with-others
ἐς τὸ φανερὸν τοὺς σιτολογοῦντας ἠνώχλουν. ὁ δὲ Ῥουτίλιον
in the open the foragers harassed he and Rutilius
Ῥοῦφον, συγγραφέα τῶνδε τῶν ἔργων, τότε χιλιαρχοῦντα,
Rufus historian of-these the deeds then being-tribune
ἐκέλευσε τέσσαρας ἱππέων ἴλας λαβόντα ἀναστεῖλαι
ordered four of-cavalry squadrons having-taken to-check
τοὺς ἐνοχλοῦντας. Ῥοῦφος μὲν οὖν ὑποχωροῦσιν αὐτοῖς
the(-men) harassing Rufus indeed then retreating them
ἀμέτρως εἵπετο, καὶ φεύγουσιν ἐς τὸν λόφον συνανεπήδα,
immoderately followed and fleeing to the hill leapt-up-with-them
ἔνθα τῆς ἐνέδρας ἐκφανείσης ἐκέλευε τοὺς ἱππέας μήτε
where the ambush having-appeared he-ordered the cavalry neither
διώκειν μήτε ἐπιχειρεῖν ἔτι, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν προβολῇ τὰ δόρατα
to-pursue nor to-attack any-longer but in front the spears
θεμένους ἑστάναι καὶ ἐπιόντας ἀμύνεσθαι μόνον. ὁ δὲ
having-set to-stand and those-attacking to-ward-off only — and
Σκιπίων εὐθὺ ἀνατρέχοντος αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα
Scipio straight running-up him against the order
δείσας εἵπετο κατὰ σπουδήν, καὶ ὡς ηὗρε τὴν ἐνέδραν,
having-feared followed with haste and when he-found the ambush
ἐς δύο διεῖλε τοὺς ἱππέας, καὶ προσέταξεν αὐτῶν ἑκατέροις
into two divided the cavalry and ordered of-them each
παρὰ μέρος ἐμπηδᾶν τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ ἀκοντίσαντας ὁμοῦ
in turn to-charge the enemies and having-thrown-javelins together

πάντας εὐθὺς ἀναχωρεῖν, οὐκ ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον, ἀλλ᾽ ἀεὶ
all at-once to-retire not to the same place but always
κατ᾽ ὀλίγον προστιθέντας ὀπίσω καὶ ὑποχωροῦντας. οὕτω
by little adding back and retreating so
μὲν τοὺς ἱππέας ἐς τὸ πεδίον περιέσωσεν· ἀναζευγνύοντι
indeed the cavalry into the plain he-saved withdrawing
δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀναχωροῦντι ποταμὸς ἦν ἐν μέσῳ δύσπορός
and him and retreating a-river was in middle hard-to-cross
τε καὶ ἰλυώδης, καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐνήδρευον οἱ πολέμιοι.
both and muddy and by it lay-in-ambush the enemies
ὁ δὲ μαθὼν ἐξέκλινε τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ μακροτέραν ἦγε
he and having-learned turned-aside from-the road and longer led
καὶ δυσενέδρευτον, νυκτός τε ὁδεύων διὰ τὸ δίψος καὶ
and hard-to-ambush by-night both marching because-of the thirst and
φρέατα ὀρύσσων, ὧν τὰ πλέονα πικρὰ ηὑρίσκετο. τοὺς
wells digging of-which the most bitter were-found the
μὲν οὖν ἄνδρας ἐπιμόχθως περιέσωσεν, ἵπποι δέ τινες
indeed then men laboriously he-saved horses but some
αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑποζύγια ὑπὸ τῆς δίψης ἀπώλοντο.
his and pack-animals by the thirst perished
89 καὶ Καυκαίους δὲ παροδεύων, ἐς οὓς παρεσπόνδησε
and Caucaei and passing toward whom broke-faith
Λεύκολλος, ἐκήρυξε Καυκαίους ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀκινδύνως
Lucullus he-proclaimed Caucaei to the their-own safely
κατέρχεσθαι. καὶ παρῆλθεν ἐς τὴν Νομαντίνην χειμάσων,
to-return and passed to the Numantine-land going-to-winter
ἔνθα αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰογόρθας ἐκ Λιβύης ἀφίκετο, ὁ
where to-him also Jugurtha from Libya arrived the
Μασσανάσσου υἱωνός, ἄγων ἐλέφαντας δυοκαίδεκα καὶ
of-Masinissa grandson leading elephants twelve and
τοὺς συντασσομένους αὐτοῖς τοξότας τε καὶ σφενδονήτας.
the drawn-up with-them archers both and slingers

ἀεὶ δέ τι δῃῶν, καὶ τὰ περικείμενα πορθῶν, ἔλαθε
always and something ravaging and the surrounding plundering he-escaped-notice
περὶ κώμην ἐνεδρευθείς, ἣν ἐκ τοῦ πλέονος τέλμα πηλοῦ
about a-village ambushed which for the greater-part a-swamp of-mud
περιεῖχεν, ἐπὶ δὲ θάτερα φάραγξ ἦν, καὶ ἀφανὴς ἐν
surrounded on and the-other-side a-ravine was and unseen in
ἐκείνῃ λόχος ὑπεκρύπτετο. τῆς οὖν στρατιᾶς τῷ Σκιπίωνι
that an-ambush lay-hidden of-the then army — to-Scipio
διῃρημένης, οἱ μὲν τὴν κώμην ἐπόρθουν ἐσελθόντες,
having-been-divided some indeed the village plundered having-entered
τὰ σημεῖα ἔξω καταλιπόντες, οἱ δὲ περιίππευον οὐ
the standards outside having-left others and rode-round not
πολλοί. τούτοις οὖν ἐμπίπτουσιν οἱ λοχῶντες. καὶ
many on-these then fall the(-men) in-ambush and
οἱ μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀπεμάχοντο, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων (ἔτυχε γὰρ
they indeed them fought-off — and Scipio happened for
πρὸ τῆς κώμης παρὰ τὰ σημεῖα ἑστώς) ἀνεκάλει τῇ
before the village by the standards standing called-back with-the
σάλπιγγι τοὺς ἔνδον, καὶ πρὶν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι χιλίους,
trumpet the(-men) inside and before to-him to-be thousand
τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐνοχλουμένοις ἐπεβοήθει. τοῦ δὲ στρατοῦ
the cavalry being-harassed helped the and army
τοῦ πλέονος ἐκ τῆς κώμης ἐκδραμόντος, ἐτρέψατο μὲν
the greater from the village having-run-out he-routed indeed
ἐς φυγὴν τοὺς πολεμίους, οὐ μὴν ἐδίωκε φεύγοντας, ἀλλ᾽
into flight the enemies not indeed pursued fleeing but
ἐς τὸν χάρακα ἀνεχώρει πεσόντων ἑκατέρωθεν ὀλίγων.
to the stockade withdrew having-fallen on-both-sides few

Scipio refuses battle and walls Numantia in with seven forts, a towered wall, and a boom across the Durius. Rhetogenes begs the Arevaci's aid; Scipio cuts off the hands of four hundred youths of Lutia. Told to yield outright, the Numantines kill their envoys; eating hides and human flesh, they surrender, many killing themselves first. Scipio keeps fifty for his triumph, sells the rest, and razes the city.

90 μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἀγχοτάτω τῆς Νομαντίας δύο
after not long and very-near — Numantia two
στρατόπεδα θέμενος, τῷ μὲν ἐπέστησε τὸν ἀδελφὸν
camps having-placed over-the(-one) indeed he-set the brother
Μάξιμον, τοῦ δὲ αὐτὸς ἡγεῖτο. Νομαντίνων δὲ
Maximus the(-other) and himself led Numantines and
θαμινὰ ἐκτασσόντων καὶ προκαλουμένων αὐτὸν ἐς μάχην
often drawing-up and challenging him to battle
ὑπερεώρα, οὐ δοκιμάζων ἀνδράσιν ἐξ ἀπογνώσεως
he-disregarded not thinking-fit with-men from despair
μαχομένοις συμπλέκεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ συγκλείσας αὐτοὺς
fighting to-engage rather than having-shut-in them
ἑλεῖν λιμῷ. φρούρια δ᾽ ἑπτὰ περιθείς, πολιορκίαν ***
to-take by-famine forts and seven having-placed-round siege (lacuna)
ἐπιγράψας ἑκάστοις οὓς ἔδει πέμπειν. ὡς δὲ ἦλθον,
having-written-down on-each whom it-was-needful to-send when and they-came
ἐς μέρη πολλὰ διεῖλεν αὐτούς, καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ στρατιὰν
into parts many he-divided them and the his-own army
ἐπιδιεῖλεν· εἶθ᾽ ἡγεμόνας ἐπιστήσας ἑκάστῳ μέρει προσέταξε
further-divided then commanders having-set-over each part he-ordered
περιταφρεύειν καὶ περιχαρακοῦν τὴν πόλιν. ἦν δὲ ἡ
to-trench-round and to-stockade-round the city was and the
περίοδος ἡ μὲν αὐτῆς Νομαντίας τέσσαρες καὶ εἴκοσι
circuit the(-one) indeed itself of-Numantia four and twenty

στάδιοι, ἡ δὲ τοῦ χαρακώματος ὑπὲρ τὸ διπλάσιον.
stades the(-other) and of-the entrenchment over the double
καὶ τοῦτο διῄρητο πᾶν οἱ κατὰ μέρος ἕκαστον. καὶ
and this had-been-divided all for-him by part each and
προείρητο, εἴ τι ἐνοχλοῖεν οἱ πολέμιοι, σημεῖον
it-had-been-told-beforehand if anything should-harass the enemies a-signal
ἐξαίρειν, ἡμέρας μὲν φοινικίδα ἐπὶ δόρατος ὑψηλοῦ, νυκτὸς
to-raise by-day indeed a-red-cloth on a-spear high by-night
δὲ πῦρ, ἵνα τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπιθέοντες αὐτός τε καὶ
and fire that to-the(-men) needing running-up he-himself both and
Μάξιμος ἀμύνοιεν. ὡς δ' ἐξείργαστο πάντα αὐτῷ, καὶ
Maximus might-help when and had-been-finished all for-him and
τοὺς κωλύοντας εἶχεν ἱκανῶς ἀπομάχεσθαι, ἑτέραν
the(-men) hindering he-was-able sufficiently to-fight-off another
τάφρον ὤρυσσεν οὐ μακρὰν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνην, καὶ σταυροὺς
ditch he-dug not far beyond that and stakes
αὐτῇ περιεπήγνυ, καὶ τεῖχος ᾠκοδόμει, οὗ τὸ μὲν πάχος
on-it fixed-round and a-wall built whose the indeed thickness
ἦν πόδες ὀκτώ, τὸ δὲ ὕψος δέκα χωρὶς τῶν ἐπάλξεων.
was feet eight the and height ten without the battlements
πύργοι τε πανταχόθεν αὐτῷ διὰ πλέθρου περιέκειντο.
towers both from-everywhere on-it at-intervals-of a-plethrum were-set-round
καὶ λίμνην συνάπτουσαν οὐκ ἐνὸν περιτειχίσαι, χῶμα
and a-marsh adjoining not being-possible to-wall-round a-mound
αὐτῇ περιέθηκεν ἴσον τῷ τείχει καὶ τὸ βάθος καὶ τὸ
on-it he-placed-round equal to-the wall both the depth and the
ὕψος, ὡς ἂν εἴη καὶ τόδε ἀντὶ τείχους.
height so-that — might-be also this instead-of a-wall
οὕτω μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων ὅδε πρῶτος, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, 91
so indeed — Scipio this-one first as to-me it-seems
περιετείχισε πόλιν οὐ φυγομαχοῦσαν· τόν τε Δόριον
walled-round a-city not shunning-battle the both Durius

ποταμόν, συμφερόμενον τῷ περιτειχίσματι καὶ πολλὰ
river flowing-along with-the circuit-wall and much
τοῖς Νομαντίνοις χρήσιμον ἔς τε ἀγορᾶς κομιδὴν καὶ
for-the Numantines useful for both of-provisions transport and
διαπομπὴν ἀνδρῶν, ὅσοι κατ' αὐτὸν κολυμβηταί τε καὶ
sending of-men as-many-as by it swimmers both and
σκάφεσι μικροῖς ἐλάνθανον, ἢ ἱστίοις, ὅτε λάβρον εἴη τὸ
in-boats small escaped-notice or with-sails when violent might-be the
πνεῦμα, ἐβιάζοντο, ἢ κώπαις κατὰ τὸ ῥεῦμα, ζεῦξαι μὲν οὐκ
wind forced-their-way or with-oars down the current to-bridge indeed not
ἐδύνατο πλατὺν ὄντα καὶ πάνυ ῥοώδη, φρούρια δὲ ἀντὶ
he-could broad being and very swift forts but instead-of
γεφύρας αὐτῷ δύο περιθεὶς ἀπήρτησε καλῳδίοις δοκοὺς
a-bridge on-it two having-placed-round he-hung by-ropes beams
μακρὰς ἐξ ἑκατέρου φρουρίου, καὶ ἐς τὸ πλάτος τοῦ
long from each fort and into the breadth of-the
ποταμοῦ μεθῆκεν, ἐχούσας ἐμπεπηγότα πυκνὰ ξίφη τε καὶ
river let-go having fixed close-set swords both and
ἀκόντια. αἱ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥοῦ, τοῖς ξίφεσι καὶ τοῖς ἀκοντίοις
javelins they and by the current on-the swords and the javelins
ἐμπίπτοντος, ἀεὶ περιστρεφόμεναι οὔτε διανηχομένους
falling always turning-round neither swimming-across
οὔτ' ἐπιπλέοντας οὔτε ὑποδύνοντας εἴων λαθεῖν. τοῦτο
nor sailing-in nor diving-under allowed to-escape-notice this
δ' ἦν οὗ μάλιστα ὁ Σκιπίων ἐπεθύμει, μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς
and was what most — Scipio desired no-one them
ἐπιμιγνυμένου μηδ' ἐσιόντος ἀγνοεῖν αὐτοὺς ὅ τι γίγνοιτο
mixing-with nor entering to-be-ignorant them what ever happened
ἔξω· οὕτω γὰρ ἀπορήσειν ἀγορᾶς τε καὶ μηχανῆς πάσης.
outside so for to-be-going-to-lack of-provisions both and of-device all

ὡς δ᾽ ἡτοίμαστο πάντα, καὶ καταπέλται μὲν ἐπέκειντο 92
when and had-been-prepared all and catapults indeed lay
τοῖς πύργοις ὀξυβελεῖς τε καὶ λιθοβόλοι, ταῖς δ᾽ ἐπάλξεσι
on-the towers bolt-shooting both and stone-throwing on-the and battlements
παρέκειντο λίθοι καὶ βέλη καὶ ἀκόντια, τὰ δὲ φρούρια
lay-ready stones and missiles and javelins the and forts
τοξόται καὶ σφενδονῆται κατεῖχον, ἀγγέλους μὲν ἐπέστησε
archers and slingers held messengers indeed he-stationed
πυκνοὺς κατὰ τὸ ἐπιτείχισμα πᾶν, οἳ νυκτός τε καὶ
close-set along the siege-wall all who by-night both and
ἡμέρας ἔμελλον ἄλλοι παρ᾽ ἄλλων τὸν λόγον ἐκδεχόμενοι
by-day were-going others from others the word receiving
μηνύσειν αὐτῷ τὰ γιγνόμενα, κατὰ δὲ πύργον ἐκέλευσεν,
to-report to-him the happenings by and tower he-ordered
εἴ τι γίγνοιτο, σημεῖον ἐκ πρώτου τοῦ πονοῦντος
if anything happened a-signal from first the hard-pressed
αἴρεσθαι, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πάντας ἐπαίρειν ὅταν τὸν
to-be-raised and the same all to-raise when the(-one)
ἀρξάμενον θεάσωνται, ἵνα τὸ μὲν κίνημα παρὰ τοῦ
having-begun they-see that the indeed movement from the
σημείου θᾶσσον ἐπιγιγνώσκοι, τὸ δὲ ἀκριβὲς παρὰ τῶν
signal more-quickly he-might-learn the and exact-account from the
ἀγγέλων. τῆς δὲ στρατιᾶς οὔσης σὺν τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις
messengers of-the and army being with the natives
ἐς ἑξακισμυρίους, τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ διετέτακτο αὐτῷ
about sixty-thousand the indeed half had-been-assigned by-him
τειχοφυλακεῖν, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα, εἴ πῃ δεήσειε,
to-guard-the-wall and to the needful-points if anywhere it-should-be-needful
μεταχωρεῖν, δισμύριοι δὲ τειχομαχήσειν ἔμελλον, ὅτε
to-shift twenty-thousand and to-fight-at-the-wall were-going when
χρεία γένοιτο, καὶ τούτοις ἐφεδρεύειν ἕτεροι μύριοι.
need should-be and these to-support others ten-thousand

χωρίον δὲ καὶ τούτων ἑκάστοις διετέτακτο· καὶ μεταπηδᾶν,
a-place and also of-these to-each had-been-assigned and to-jump-across
εἰ μὴ κελεύσειεν, οὐκ ἐξῆν. ἐς δὲ τὸ τεταγμένον
if not he-should-order not it-was-allowed into but the assigned
εὐθὺς ἀνεπήδων, ὅτε τι σημεῖον ἐπιχειρήσεως ἐπαρθείη.
at-once they-leapt when any signal of-attack should-be-raised
οὕτω μὲν τῷ Σκιπίωνι πάντα ἀκριβῶς διετέτακτο·
so indeed — by-Scipio all exactly had-been-arranged
93 οἱ δὲ Νομαντῖνοι πολλάκις μὲν τοῖς φυλάσσουσιν ἐπεχείρουν,
the and Numantines often indeed the guards attacked
ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ κατὰ μέρη, ταχεῖα δ' αὐτίκα καὶ
at-one-time at-another-place by parts quick but at-once and
καταπληκτικὴ τῶν ἀμυνομένων ἡ ὄψις ἦν, σημείων τε
terrifying of-the defenders the sight was of-signals both
ὑψηλῶν πανταχόθεν αἰρομένων καὶ ἀγγέλων διαθεόντων,
high from-everywhere being-raised and of-messengers running-about
καὶ τῶν τειχομάχων ἀθρόως ἀναπηδώντων ἐς τὰ τείχη,
and of-the wall-fighters in-a-body leaping onto the walls
σαλπικτῶν τε κατὰ πάντα πύργον ἐξοτρυνόντων, ὥστε τὸν
of-trumpeters both along every tower rousing so-that the
κύκλον ὅλον εὐθὺς ἅπασιν εἶναι φοβερώτατον, ἐς πεντήκοντα
circle whole at-once for-all to-be most-fearsome to fifty
σταδίους ἐπέχοντα ἐν περιόδῳ. καὶ τόνδε τὸν κύκλον ὁ
stades extending in circuit and this the circle —
Σκιπίων ἑκάστης ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπισκοπῶν περιήει.
Scipio each day both and night inspecting went-round
ὁ μὲν δὴ τοὺς πολεμίους ὧδε συγκλείσας οὐκ ἐς πολὺ
he indeed indeed the enemies thus having-shut-in not for long
ἀρκέσειν ἐνόμιζεν, οὔτε τροφῆς ἔτι προσιούσης
to-be-going-to-hold-out thought neither of-food any-longer coming-in
σφίσιν οὔτε ὅπλων οὔτ' ἐπικουρίας·
to-them nor of-arms nor of-help

Ῥητογένης δέ, ἀνὴρ Νομαντῖνος, ᾧ Καραύνιος ἐπίκλησις 94
Rhetogenes and a-man Numantine to-whom Caraunius surname
ἦν, ἄριστος ἐς ἀρετὴν Νομαντίνων, πέντε πείσας
was best in valor of-Numantines five having-persuaded
φίλους, σὺν παισὶν ἄλλοις τοσοῖσδε καὶ ἵπποις τοσοῖσδε
friends with servants other as-many and horses as-many
ἐν νυκτὶ συννεφεῖ διῆλθε λαθὼν τὸ μεταίχμιον, κλίμακα
in a-night cloudy crossed escaping-notice the space-between a-ladder
φέρων πτυκτήν, καὶ φθάσας ἐς τὸ περιτείχισμα
carrying folding and having-got-ahead onto the siege-wall
ἀνεπήδησεν αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ φίλοι, καὶ τοὺς ἑκατέρωθεν
leapt-up he-himself both and the friends and the on-both-sides
φύλακας ἀνελόντες τοὺς μὲν θεράποντας ἀπέπεμψαν
guards having-killed the indeed servants sent-back
ὀπίσω, τοὺς δ' ἵππους διὰ τῆς κλίμακος ἀναγαγόντες
behind the and horses by the ladder having-brought-up
ἐξίππευσαν ἐς τὰς Ἀρουακῶν πόλεις σὺν ἱκετηρίαις,
rode-off to the of-Arevaci cities with suppliant-branches
δεόμενοι Νομαντίνοις συγγενέσιν οὖσιν ἐπικουρεῖν. τῶν
begging Numantines kinsmen being to-help of-the
δ' Ἀρουακῶν οἱ μὲν οὐδ' ὑπήκουον αὐτῶν, ἀλλ'
and Arevaci some indeed not-even listened-to them but
εὐθὺς ἀπέπεμπον δεδιότες. Λουτία δὲ πόλις ἦν εὐδαίμων,
at-once sent-them-away fearing Lutia and a-city was prosperous
τριακοσίους σταδίους ἀφεστῶσα ἀπὸ Νομαντίνων, ἧς οἱ
three-hundred stades distant from Numantines whose the
μὲν νέοι περὶ τοὺς Νομαντίνους ἐσπουδάκεσαν καὶ τὴν
indeed young about the Numantines were-zealous and the
πόλιν ἐς συμμαχίαν ἐνῆγον, οἱ πρεσβύτεροι δ' ἐμήνυσαν
city into alliance urged the elders but informed
κρύφα τῷ Σκιπίωνι. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ὀγδόης ὥρας
secretly — to-Scipio and — Scipio at-the-eighth hour

πυθόμενος ἐξήλαυνεν αὐτίκα σὺν εὐζώνοις ὅτι πλείστοις,
having-learned marched-out at-once with light-troops as many-as-possible
καὶ ἅμα ἕῳ τὴν Λουτίαν φρουρᾷ περιλαβὼν ᾔτει
and together-with dawn — Lutia with-a-guard having-surrounded demanded
τοὺς ἐξάρχους τῶν νέων. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξωρμηκέναι τῆς πόλεως
the ringleaders of-the young when and to-have-set-out from-the city
αὐτοὺς ἔλεγον, ἐκήρυξε διαρπάσειν τὴν πόλιν, εἰ μὴ
them they-said he-proclaimed to-be-going-to-plunder the city if not
τοὺς ἄνδρας παραλάβοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ δείσαντες προσῆγον
the men he-should-receive they indeed indeed having-feared brought
αὐτούς, ἐς τετρακοσίους γενομένους· ὁ δὲ τὰς χεῖρας
them about four-hundred being he and the hands
αὐτῶν ἐκτεμὼν ἀνέστησε τὴν φρουράν, καὶ διαδραμὼν
their having-cut-off withdrew the guard and having-run-through
αὖθις ἅμ' ἕῳ τῆς ἐπιούσης παρῆν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.
again together-with dawn of-the following was-present at the camp
95 Νομαντῖνοι δὲ κάμνοντες ὑπὸ λιμοῦ πέντε ἄνδρας
Numantines and suffering from famine five men
ἔπεμπον ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα, οἷς εἴρητο μαθεῖν εἰ
sent to — Scipio to-whom it-had-been-told to-learn whether
μετριοπαθῶς σφίσι χρήσεται παραδοῦσιν αὑτούς. Αὔαρος
moderately them he-will-treat surrendering themselves Avarus
δ' αὐτῶν ἡγούμενος πολλὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς προαιρέσεως
and of-them leading much indeed about the policy
καὶ ἀνδρείας τῶν Νομαντίνων ἐσεμνολόγησε, καὶ ἐπεῖπεν
and courage of-the Numantines spoke-proudly and added
ὡς οὐδὲ νῦν ἁμάρτοιεν, ὑπὲρ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν
that not-even now they-erred for children and wives
καὶ ἐλευθερίας πατρίου κακοπαθοῦντες ἐς τοσόνδε κακοῦ.
and freedom ancestral suffering to such-a-point of-evil
"διὸ καὶ μάλιστα," εἶπεν, "ὦ Σκιπίων, ἄξιόν ἐστι σέ,
therefore also most he-said O Scipio worthy it-is you

τοσῆσδε ἀρετῆς γέμοντα, φείσασθαι γένους εὐψύχου τε
of-such-great valor full to-spare a-race brave both
καὶ ἀνδρικοῦ, καὶ προτεῖναι τὰ φιλανθρωπότερα τῶν
and manly and to-offer the more-humane of-the
κακῶν ἡμῖν, ἃ καὶ δυνησόμεθα ἐνεγκεῖν, ἄρτι πειρώμενοι
evils to-us which also we-shall-be-able to-bear lately experiencing
μεταβολῆς. ὡς οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἔτι ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σοί,
change as not in us any-longer it-is but in you
τὴν πόλιν ἢ παραλαβεῖν, εἰ τὰ μέτρια κελεύοις, ἢ
the city either to-receive if the moderate-terms you-should-order or
μαχομένην ὑπεριδεῖν ἀπολέσθαι." ὁ μὲν Αὔαρος ὧδε εἶπεν,
fighting to-allow to-perish — indeed Avarus thus spoke
ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων (ᾔσθετο γὰρ παρὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων
— and Scipio he-had-learned for from the captives
τὰ ἔνδον) ἔφη δεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐγχειρίσαι τὰ
the-things inside he-said it-to-be-needful them to-entrust the-affairs
κατὰ σφᾶς καὶ σὺν ὅπλοις παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν. ὧν
concerning themselves and with arms to-surrender the city which
ἀπαγγελθέντων οἱ Νομαντῖνοι, χαλεποὶ καὶ τέως ὄντες
having-been-reported the Numantines harsh also until-then being
ὀργὴν ὑπ' ἐλευθερίας ἀκράτου καὶ ἀηθείας ἐπιταγμάτων,
in-temper from freedom unmixed and unfamiliarity of-commands
τότε καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν ἠγριωμένοι τε
then also more by the misfortunes having-been-made-savage both
καὶ ἀλλόκοτοι γεγονότες τὸν Αὔαρον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ
and strange having-become — Avarus and the with him
πέντε πρέσβεις ἀπέκτειναν ὡς κακῶν ἀγγέλους καὶ τὸ
five envoys killed as of-evils messengers and the
σφέτερον ἀσφαλὲς ἴσως διῳκημένους παρὰ τῷ Σκιπίωνι.
their-own safety perhaps having-arranged with — Scipio

96 μετὰ δ᾽ οὐ πολὺ πάντων αὐτοὺς τῶν ἐδεστῶν ἐπιλιπόντων,
after and not long all them of-the foods having-failed
οὐ καρπὸν ἔχοντες, οὐ πρόβατον, οὐ πόαν, πρῶτα μέν,
not grain having not cattle not grass first indeed
ὥσπερ τινὲς ἐν πολέμων ἀνάγκαις, δέρματα ἕψοντες
as some in of-wars necessities hides boiling
ἐλιχμῶντο, ἐπιλιπόντων δ᾽ αὐτοὺς καὶ τῶν δερμάτων
licked having-failed and them also the hides
ἐσαρκοφάγουν ἕψοντες τὰ ἀνθρώπεια, πρῶτα μὲν τὰ τῶν
ate-flesh boiling the human first indeed the of-the
ἀποθνησκόντων κοπτόμενα ἐν μαγειρείοις, ἐπὶ δ᾽ ἐκείνοις
dying chopped in cook-shops after and those
τῶν νοσούντων κατεφρόνουν, καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους
the(-men) sick they-despised and the weaker
ἐβιάζοντο οἱ δυνατώτεροι. κακῶν τε οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀπῆν,
overpowered the stronger of-evils both none to-them was-lacking
ἠγριωμένοις μὲν τὰς ψυχὰς ὑπὸ τῶν τροφῶν,
having-been-made-savage indeed the souls by the foods
τεθηριωμένοις δὲ τὰ σώματα ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ λοιμοῦ καὶ
having-been-made-beasts and the bodies by famine and plague and
κόμης καὶ χρόνου. οὕτω δ᾽ ἔχοντες αὐτοὺς ἐπέτρεπον τῷ
hair and time so and being themselves they-surrendered —
Σκιπίωνι. ὁ δ᾽ ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς τῆς μὲν ἡμέρας ἐκείνης
to-Scipio he and ordered them on-the indeed day that
συνενεγκεῖν τὰ ὅπλα ἔνθα συνέταξε, τῆς δ᾽ ἐπιούσης
to-bring-together the arms where he-appointed on-the and following
προσελθεῖν ἐς ἕτερον χωρίον. οἱ δ᾽ ὑπερεβάλοντο τὴν
to-come to another place they and put-off the
ἡμέραν, ὁμολογήσαντες ὅτι πολλοὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἔτι
day having-confessed that many to-the freedom still

ἔχονται καὶ ἐθέλουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐξαγαγεῖν τοῦ βίου. τὴν
cling and wish themselves to-take-out of-the life the
οὖν ἡμέραν ᾔτουν ἐς τοῦ θανάτου τὴν διάθεσιν.
then day they-asked for of-the death the arrangement
τοσόσδε ἔρως ἐλευθερίας καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἦν ἐν πόλει 97
so-great love of-freedom and of-valor was in a-city
βαρβάρῳ τε καὶ σμικρᾷ. ἐς γὰρ ὀκτακισχιλίους ἐπ᾽
barbarian both and small about for eight-thousand in
εἰρήνης γενόμενοι οἷα μὲν καὶ ὅσα Ῥωμαίους
peace being what-sort indeed and how-many-things to-Romans
ἔδρασαν, οἵας δὲ συνθήκας αὐτοῖς ἔθεντο ἐπὶ ἴσῃ καὶ
they-did what-sort and treaties with-them they-made on equal and
ὁμοίᾳ, οὐδέσι ταῦτα συνθέσθαι Ῥωμαίων ὑποστάντων,
like with-none these-things to-make Romans having-consented
οἷον δ᾽ ὄντα τὸν τελευταῖον στρατηγόν, ἓξ μυριάσιν
what-sort and being the last general with-six myriads
αὐτοὺς περικαθήμενον, προυκαλέσαντο πολλάκις ἐς μάχην.
them besieging they-challenged often to battle
ὁ δὲ ἦν ἄρα στρατηγικώτερος αὐτῶν, ἐς χεῖρας οὐκ ἰὼν
he but was then more-skilled-in-generalship than-them to hands not going
θηρίοις, ἀλλὰ τῷ λιμῷ σφᾶς κατεργαζόμενος, ἀμάχῳ
with-beasts but by-the famine them overcoming an-unfightable
κακῷ, ᾧ δὴ καὶ μόνῳ ληφθῆναί τε δυνατὸν ἦν
evil by-which indeed also alone to-be-taken both possible was
ἄρα Νομαντίνους, καὶ ἐλήφθησαν μόνῳ.
then Numantines and they-were-taken by-it-alone
ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα περὶ Νομαντίνων εἰπεῖν ἐπῆλθεν, ἐς
to-me indeed indeed these-things about Numantines to-say occurred to
τὴν ὀλιγότητα αὐτῶν καὶ φερεπονίαν ἀφορῶντι, καὶ ἔργα
the fewness their and endurance looking and deeds
πολλά, καὶ χρόνον ὅσον διεκαρτέρησαν· οἱ δὲ πρῶτα
many and time how-much they-held-out they and first

μὲν αὐτούς, οἱ βουλόμενοι, διεχρῶντο, ἕτερος ἑτέρως·
indeed themselves the(-men) wishing killed one in-another-way
οἱ λοιποὶ δ' ἐξῄεσαν τρίτης ἡμέρας ἐς τὸ δεδομένον
the remaining and went-out on-the-third day to the appointed
χωρίον, δυσόρατοί τε καὶ ἀλλόκοτοι πάμπαν ὀφθῆναι, οἷς
place hard-to-look-at both and strange altogether to-be-seen whose
τὰ μὲν σώματα ἦν ἀκάθαρτα καὶ τριχῶν καὶ ὀνύχων καὶ
the indeed bodies were unclean and of-hair and of-nails and
ῥύπου μεστά, ὠδώδεσαν δὲ χαλεπώτατον, καὶ ἐσθὴς αὐτοῖς
of-filth full they-smelt and most-foully and clothing on-them
ἐπέκειτο πιναρὰ καὶ ἥδε καὶ οὐχ ἧσσον δυσώδης. ἐφαίνοντο
lay filthy and this also not less ill-smelling they-appeared
δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐλεεινοὶ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶνδε, φοβεροὶ δ'
and to-the enemies pitiable indeed from these fearsome and
ἀπὸ τῶν βλεμμάτων· ἔτι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐνεώρων ἔκ τε
from the looks still for them they-saw-in from both
ὀργῆς καὶ λύπης καὶ πόνου καὶ συνειδότος ἀλληλοφαγίας.
anger and grief and toil and consciousness of-eating-one-another
98 ἐπιλεξάμενος δ' αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα ὁ Σκιπίων ἐς θρίαμβον,
having-chosen and of-them fifty — Scipio for triumph
τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀπέδοτο, καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατέσκαψε, δύο μὲν
the rest sold and the city razed two indeed
τάσδε πόλεις δυσμαχωτάτας ἑλὼν στρατηγὸς ὅδε
these cities hardest-to-fight having-taken general this-one
Ῥωμαίων, Καρχηδόνα μὲν αὐτῶν Ῥωμαίων ψηφισαμένων
of-Romans Carthage indeed themselves Romans having-voted
διὰ μέγεθος πόλεως τε καὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ εὐκαιρίαν γῆς
because-of greatness of-city both and of-empire and advantage of-land
καὶ θαλάσσης, Νομαντίαν δὲ σμικράν τε καὶ ὀλιγάνθρωπον,
and of-sea Numantia but small both and of-few-men
οὔπω τι Ῥωμαίων περὶ αὐτῆς ἐγνωκότων, αὐτός, εἴτε
not-yet anything Romans about it having-decided himself whether

συμφέρειν Ῥωμαίοις ἡγούμενος, εἴτε ἄκρος ὢν ὀργὴν καὶ
to-be-advantageous for-Romans thinking or extreme being in-anger and
φιλόνεικος ἐς τὰ λαμβανόμενα, εἴθ' ὡς ἔνιοι νομίζουσι,
contentious toward the being-taken or as some think
τὴν δόξαν ἡγούμενος διώνυμον ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις γίγνεσθαι
the glory thinking surnamed upon the great to-be
κακοῖς· καλοῦσι γοῦν αὐτὸν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μέχρι νῦν,
evils they-call at-any-rate him the Romans until now
ἀπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν ἃς ἐπέθηκε ταῖς πόλεσιν, Ἀφρικανόν
from the misfortunes which he-inflicted on-the cities Africanus
τε καὶ Νομαντῖνον. τότε δὲ τὴν γῆν τὴν Νομαντίνων
both and Numantinus then and the land the of-Numantines
τοῖς ἐγγὺς οἰκοῦσι διελών, καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι
to-the(-men) near dwelling having-divided and with-the other cities
χρηματίσας, καὶ εἴ τι ἦν ὕποπτον, ἐπιπλήξας τε καὶ
having-dealt and if anything was suspicious having-rebuked both and
ζημιώσας χρήμασιν, ἀπέπλευσεν ἐπ' οἴκου.
having-fined with-money he-sailed-away for home

99–102 · DIDIUS, SERTORIUS, AND AUGUSTUS

Ten commissioners settle Iberia. Titus Didius kills twenty thousand Arevaci, sells the people of Colenda, and lures their neighbors into his camp with the promise of land and kills them all. Flaccus punishes Belgeda. In the civil wars Sertorius raises Iberia until Perperna kills him and Pompey kills Perperna. Caesar and Augustus complete the conquest, and Hispania is divided into three provinces.

Ῥωμαῖοι δέ, ὡς ἔθος, ἐς τὰ προσειλημμένα τῆς 99
Romans and as custom to the acquired-parts —
Ἰβηρίας ἔπεμψαν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἄνδρας δέκα τοὺς
of-Iberia sent from the senate men ten the

καταστησομένους αὐτὰ ἐς εἰρήνην, ὅσα Σκιπίων
going-to-settle them into peace as-many-as Scipio
τε ἔλαβε καὶ Βροῦτος πρὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ὑπηγάγετο
both took and Brutus before — Scipio won-over
ἢ ἐχειρώσατο. χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον, ἀποστάσεων ἄλλων
or subdued in-time and later revolts other
ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ γενομένων, Καλπούρνιος Πίσων στρατηγὸς
in Iberia having-happened Calpurnius Piso general
ᾑρέθη. καὶ αὐτὸν διεδέξατο μὲν Σέρουιος Γάλβας,
was-chosen and him succeeded indeed Servius Galba
Κίμβρων δ' ἐπιστρατευόντων τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, καὶ Σικελίας
Cimbri and marching-against — Italy and Sicily
πολεμουμένης τὸν δεύτερον δουλικὸν πόλεμον, στρατιὰν
being-warred-on the second servile war army
μὲν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν οὐκ ἔπεμπον ὑπ' ἀσχολίας, πρέσβεις
indeed to Iberia not they-sent through preoccupation envoys
δὲ ἀπεστέλλον, οἳ τὸν πόλεμον ἔμελλον ὅπῃ δύναιντο
but they-dispatched who the war were-going however they-could
καταθήσεσθαι. Κίμβρων δὲ ἐξελαθέντων, Τίτος Δείδιος
to-settle Cimbri and having-been-driven-out Titus Didius
ἐπελθὼν Ἀρουακῶν μὲν ἔκτεινεν ἐς δισμυρίους,
having-come of-Arevaci indeed killed about twenty-thousand
Τερμησὸν δέ, μεγάλην πόλιν ἀεὶ δυσπειθῆ Ῥωμαίοις
Termesus and great city always disobedient to-Romans
γενομένην, ἐξ ἐρυμνοῦ κατήγαγεν ἐς τὸ πεδίον, καὶ
having-been from a-stronghold brought-down into the plain and
ἐκέλευσεν οἰκεῖν ἀτειχίστους. Κολένδαν δὲ προσκαθίσας
ordered to-dwell unwalled Colenda and having-besieged
ἐνάτῳ μηνὶ παρέλαβεν ἐγχειρίσασαν ἑαυτήν, καὶ
in-the-ninth month took having-surrendered itself and

τοὺς Κολενδέας ἅπαντας μετὰ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν
the Colendians all with children and wives
ἀπέδοτο.
sold
πόλιν δ' ἑτέραν τῆς Κολένδης πλησίον ᾤκουν μιγάδες 100
a-city and another — of-Colenda near inhabited mixed-peoples
Κελτιβήρων, οὓς Μᾶρκος Μάριος συμμαχήσαντας αὐτῷ
of-Celtiberians whom Marcus Marius having-fought-with him
κατὰ Λυσιτανῶν, τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιτρεπούσης, ᾠκίκει
against Lusitanians the senate permitting had-settled
πρὸ πέντε ἐνιαυτῶν. ἐλῄστευον δ' ἐξ ἀπορίας οὗτοι·
before five years they-robbed and from want these
καὶ κρίνας αὐτοὺς ὁ Δείδιος ἀνελεῖν, συνθεμένων
and having-decided them — Didius to-destroy agreeing
αὐτῷ τῶν δέκα πρέσβεων ἔτι παρόντων, ἔφη τοῖς
with-him the ten envoys still present he-said to-the
ἐπιφανέσιν αὐτῶν ἐθέλειν τὴν Κολενδέων χώραν αὐτοῖς
notables of-them to-wish the of-Colendians land to-them
προσορίσαι πενομένοις. ἀσπαζομένους δὲ ὁρῶν ἐκέλευε,
to-assign being-poor welcoming and seeing he-ordered
τῷ δήμῳ ταῦτα μετενεγκόντας, ἥκειν μετὰ γυναικῶν
to-the people these-things having-carried-back to-come with wives
καὶ παίδων τὴν χώραν μεριουμένους. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφίκοντο,
and children the land going-to-divide when and they-arrived
προσέταξε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἐξελθεῖν καὶ
he-ordered the soldiers from the stockade to-go-out and
τοὺς ἐνεδρευομένους ἔσω παρελθεῖν ὡς ἀπογραψόμενος
the(-men) being-ambushed inside to-come-in as going-to-register
αὐτῶν ἔνδον τὸ πλῆθος, ἐν μέρει μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἐν
their inside the number in part indeed of-men in
μέρει δὲ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν, ἵνα ἐπιγνοίη πόσην
part and of-children and women that he-might-learn how-much

χώραν αὐτοῖς δέοι διελεῖν. ὡς δὲ παρῆλθον ἐς
land for-them it-was-needful to-divide when and they-came-in into
τὴν τάφρον καὶ τὸ χαράκωμα, περιστήσας αὐτοῖς
the ditch and the stockade having-set-round them
τὸν στρατὸν ὁ Δείδιος ἔκτεινε πάντας. καὶ ἐπὶ
the army — Didius killed all and for
τοῖσδε Δείδιος μὲν καὶ ἐθριάμβευσε, πάλιν δὲ τῶν
these-things Didius indeed also triumphed again and the
Κελτιβήρων ἀποστάντων Φλάκκος ἐπιπεμφθεὶς ἔκτεινε
Celtiberians having-revolted Flaccus having-been-sent killed
δισμυρίους. ἐν δὲ Βελγήδῃ πόλει ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐς
twenty-thousand in and Belgeda city the indeed people to
ἀπόστασιν ὁρμῶν τὴν βουλὴν ὀκνοῦσαν ἐνέπρησεν αὐτῷ
revolt rushing the council hesitating burned in-very
βουλευτηρίῳ, ὁ δὲ Φλάκκος ἐπελθὼν ἔκτεινε τοὺς
council-house — and Flaccus having-come killed the
αἰτίους.
guilty

101 τοσάδε μὲν ηὗρον ἄξια λόγου Ῥωμαίοις ἐς τότε
so-much indeed I-found worthy of-account for-Romans until then
πρὸς Ἴβηρας αὐτοὺς γενόμενα· χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον
against Iberians themselves having-happened in-time and later
στασιαζόντων ἐν Ῥώμῃ Σύλλα τε καὶ Κίννα, καὶ
quarreling in Rome Sulla both and Cinna and
ἐς ἐμφυλίους πολέμους καὶ στρατόπεδα κατὰ τῆς
into civil wars and camps against the
πατρίδος διῃρημένων, Κόιντος Σερτώριος, ἐκ τῆς Κίννα
fatherland divided Quintus Sertorius from the of-Cinna
στάσεως αἱρεθεὶς τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἄρχειν, Ἰβηρίαν
faction having-been-chosen — Iberia to-govern Iberia
τε αὐτὴν ἐπανέστησε Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ πολὺν στρατὸν
both itself raised-in-revolt against-Romans and great army

ἀγείρας, καὶ βουλὴν τῶν ἰδίων φίλων ἐς μίμημα τῆς
having-gathered and a-senate of-the own friends in imitation of-the
συγκλήτου καταλέξας, ἤλαυνεν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ τόλμης
senate having-enrolled marched on Rome on daring
καὶ φρονήματος λαμπροῦ, καὶ τἄλλα ὢν ἐς θρασύτητα
and spirit brilliant and in-the-rest being for boldness
περιώνυμος, ὥστε τὴν βουλὴν δείσασαν ἑλέσθαι τοὺς
famous so-that the senate having-feared to-choose the
παρὰ σφίσιν ἐπὶ μεγίστης τότε δόξης στρατηγούς,
among them in greatest then glory generals
Καικίλιόν τε Μέτελλον μετὰ πολλοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ Γναῖον
Caecilius both Metellus with great army and Gnaeus
Πομπήιον ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνῳ μεθ᾽ ἑτέρου στρατοῦ, ἵνα τὸν
Pompey after him with another army that the
πόλεμον, ὅπῃ δύναιντο, ἐξωθοῖεν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας
war however they-could they-might-push-out from — Italy
ἐν διχοστασίᾳ τότε μάλιστα οὔσης. ἀλλὰ Σερτώριον μὲν
in dissension then most being but Sertorius indeed
τῶν στασιωτῶν τις αὐτοῦ Περπέρνας ἀνελὼν ἑαυτὸν
of-the partisans one his Perperna having-killed himself
ἐπὶ Σερτωρίῳ στρατηγὸν ἀπέφηνε τῆς ἀποστάσεως,
after Sertorius general appointed of-the revolt
Περπέρναν δ᾽ ἔκτεινε μάχῃ Πομπήιος, καὶ ὁ πόλεμος
Perperna and killed in-battle Pompey and the war
ὅδε, θορυβήσας δὴ τῷ φόβῳ μάλιστα Ῥωμαίους,
this having-troubled indeed with-the fear most Romans
διελύθη. τὸ δὲ ἀκριβὲς αὐτοῦ δηλώσει τὰ περὶ Σύλλαν
was-ended the and exact-account of-it will-show the about Sulla
ἐμφύλια.
civil-wars

102 μετὰ δὲ τὸν Σύλλα θάνατον Γάιος Καῖσαρ αἱρεθεὶς
after and the of-Sulla death Gaius Caesar having-been-chosen
Ἰβηρίας στρατηγεῖν, ὥστε καὶ πολεμεῖν οἷς
of-Iberia to-be-governor so-as also to-war with-whom
δεήσειεν, ὅσα τῶν Ἰβήρων ἐσαλεύετο ἢ Ῥωμαίοις
it-should-be-needful whatever of-the Iberians wavered or to-Romans
ἔτι ἔλειπε, πολέμῳ συνηνάγκασε πάντα ὑπακούειν.
still remained by-war compelled all to-obey
καί τινα αὖθις ἀφιστάμενα Ὀκταούιος Καῖσαρ ὁ
and some again revolting Octavius Caesar the
τοῦ Γάιου παῖς, ὁ Σεβαστὸς ἐπίκλην, ἐχειρώσατο.
— of-Gaius son the Augustus by-surname subdued
καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου μοι δοκοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν Ἰβηρίαν,
and from that-time to-me seem Romans — Iberia
ἣν δὴ νῦν Ἱσπανίαν καλοῦσιν, ἐς τρία διαιρεῖν
which indeed now Hispania they-call into three to-divide
καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἐπιπέμπειν, ἐτησίους μὲν ἐς τὰ
and governors to-send yearly indeed to the
δύο ἡ βουλή, τὸν δὲ τρίτον βασιλεὺς ἐφ' ὅσον
two the senate the and third the-emperor for as-long-as
δοκιμάσειεν.
he-should-approve

APPIAN

ANNIBAÏKH

The Hannibalic War

Appian will tell what Hannibal did and suffered in Italy over sixteen years. Hamilcar Barca, prosecuted after Sicily, crosses to Iberia without orders and courts Carthage with spoils; the Saguntines and the other Greeks take refuge with Rome, and the Iber becomes the boundary. After Barca and Hasdrubal die, the army chooses the young Hannibal, who, to escape his enemies at Carthage and true to his boyhood oath, crosses the Iber and destroys Saguntum, breaking the treaty. Leaving Iberia to his brother Hasdrubal, he crosses the Pyrenees, Gaul, and the Alps, cutting a road by fire, vinegar, and iron hammers, and reaches Italy in the sixth month.

ὅσα δὲ Ἀννίβας ὁ Καρχηδόνιος ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἐς 1
what-things and Hannibal the Carthaginian from Iberia into
Ἰταλίαν ἐσβαλών, ἑκκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν οἷς ἐπέμεινε
Italy having-invaded in-sixteen years in-which he-remained
πολεμῶν, ἔδρασέ τε καὶ ἔπαθεν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων,
warring did both and suffered at-the-hands-of Romans
ἕως αὐτὸν Καρχηδόνιοί τε κινδυνεύοντες περὶ τῇ πόλει
until him Carthaginians both being-in-danger about the city
ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα μετεπέμψαντο καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς Ἰταλίας
to the their-own recalled and Romans — from-Italy
ἐξήλασαν, ἥδε ἡ γραφὴ δηλοῖ. ἥ τις δὲ τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ
drove this the account shows what ever and — to-Hannibal
γέγονε τῆς ἐσβολῆς αἰτία τε ἀληθὴς καὶ πρόφασις ἐς
was of-the invasion cause both true and pretext for
τὸ φανερόν, ἀκριβέστατα μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρικῇ συγγραφῇ
the open most-exactly indeed in the Iberian history
δεδήλωται, συγγράψω δὲ καὶ νῦν ὅσον ἐς ἀνάμνησιν.
has-been-shown I-will-write and also now as-much-as for reminder
Ἀμίλχαρ ᾧ Βάρκας ἐπίκλησις ἦν, Ἀννίβου τοῦδε πατήρ, 2
Hamilcar to-whom Barcas surname was of-Hannibal this father
ἐστρατήγει Καρχηδονίων ἐν Σικελίᾳ, ὅτε Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ
was-general of-Carthaginians in Sicily when Romans and

Καρχηδόνιοι περὶ αὐτῆς ἀλλήλοις ἐπολέμουν. δόξας δὲ
Carthaginians about it with-each-other warred having-seemed and
πρᾶξαι κακῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐδιώκετο, καὶ δεδιὼς
to-have-done badly by the enemies he-was-prosecuted and fearing
ἔπραξεν ἐς τοὺς Νομάδας αἱρεθῆναι στρατηγὸς πρὸ
contrived against the Numidians to-be-chosen general before
τῶν εὐθυνῶν. γενόμενος δὲ χρήσιμος ἐν τῷδε, καὶ τὴν
the accounts having-proved and useful in this and the
στρατιὰν θεραπεύσας ἁρπαγαῖς καὶ δωρεαῖς, ἤγαγεν ἄνευ
army having-courted with-plunder and gifts he-led without
τοῦ κοινοῦ Καρχηδονίων ἐπὶ Γάδειρα, καὶ ἐπέρασε
the common-authority of-Carthaginians to Gades and crossed
τὸν πορθμὸν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, ὅθεν λάφυρα πολλὰ διέπεμπεν ἐς
the strait into Iberia whence spoils many he-sent to
Καρχηδόνα, θεραπεύων τὸ πλῆθος, εἰ δύναιτο μὴ χαλεπαίνειν
Carthage courting the multitude if he-could not to-be-angry
αὐτῷ τῆς στρατηγίας τῆς ἐν Σικελίᾳ, χώραν δ' αὐτοῦ
with-him for-the command the in Sicily land and him
κατακτωμένου πολλὴν κλέος τε μέγα ἦν, καὶ Καρχηδονίοις
acquiring much fame both great was and to-Carthaginians
ἐπιθυμία πάσης Ἰβηρίας ὡς εὐμαροῦς ἔργου. Ζακανθαῖοι δέ,
desire of-all Iberia as an-easy task Saguntines and
καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, καταφεύγουσιν ἐπὶ
and as-many-as other Greeks in Iberia take-refuge with
Ῥωμαίους, καὶ γίγνεται Καρχηδονίοις ὅρος Ἰβηρίας, μὴ
Romans and becomes for-Carthaginians a-boundary of-Iberia not
διαβαίνειν τὸν Ἶβηρα ποταμόν· καὶ τόδε ταῖς Ῥωμαίων
to-cross the Iber river and this into-the of-Romans
καὶ Καρχηδονίων σπονδαῖς ἐνεγράφη. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ Βάρκας
and Carthaginians treaty was-written after and this Barcas
μὲν τὴν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίοις Ἰβηρίαν καθιστάμενος ἔν τινι
indeed the under Carthaginians Iberia settling in some

μάχῃ πεσὼν ἀποθνήσκει, καὶ στρατηγὸς Ἀσδρούβας ἐπ'
battle having-fallen dies and general Hasdrubal after
αὐτῷ γίγνεται, ὃς ἐκήδευε τῷ Βάρκᾳ. καὶ τόνδε μὲν
him becomes who was-son-in-law — to-Barcas and this-one indeed
κτείνει θεράπων ἐν κυνηγεσίοις, οὗ τὸν δεσπότην ἀνῃρήκει.
kills a-servant in hunting whose the master he-had-killed
τρίτος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε στρατηγὸς Ἰβήρων ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς 3
third and after these general of-Iberians by the army
ἀποδείκνυται, φιλοπόλεμος καὶ συνετὸς εἶναι δοκῶν, Ἀννίβας
is-appointed war-loving and intelligent to-be seeming Hannibal
ὅδε, Βάρκα μὲν υἱὸς ὤν, Ἀσδρούβου δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς
this-one of-Barcas indeed son being of-Hasdrubal and of-the wife
ἀδελφός, νέος δὲ κομιδῇ, καὶ ὡς μειράκιον ἔτι τῷ πατρὶ
brother young but quite and as a-youth still with-the father
καὶ τῷ κηδεστῇ συνών. καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καρχηδονίων
and the son-in-law being and the people the of-Carthaginians
αὐτῷ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐπεψήφισεν. οὕτω μὲν Ἀννίβας, περὶ
to-him the command confirmed so indeed Hannibal about
οὗ τάδε συγγράφω, γίγνεται στρατηγὸς Καρχηδονίων
whom these-things I-write becomes general of-Carthaginians
ἐπ' Ἴβηρσι· τῶν δ' ἐχθρῶν τῶν Βάρκα τε καὶ Ἀσδρούβου
over Iberians of-the and enemies the of-Barcas both and of-Hasdrubal
τοὺς φίλους τοὺς ἐκείνων διωκόντων, καὶ Ἀννίβου τοῦδε
the friends the their prosecuting and Hannibal this-one
καταφρονούντων ὡς ἔτι νέου, ἀρχὴν εἶναι τοῦθ' ὁ Ἀννίβας
despising as still young a-beginning to-be this — Hannibal
ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἡγούμενος, καὶ νομίζων οἱ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἐκ
against himself considering and thinking for-him the safety from
τῶν τῆς πατρίδος φόβων περιέσεσθαι, ἐς πόλεμον αὐτοὺς
the of-the fatherland fears to-be-going-to-result into war them
μέγαν ἐμβαλεῖν ἐπενόει. ὑπολαβὼν δ', ὥσπερ ἦν, τὸ
great to-throw planned having-supposed and as was-true the

Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιχειρῆσαι χρόνιόν τε Καρχηδονίοις ἔσεσθαι,
with-Romans to-make-attempt long both for-Carthaginians to-be-going-to-be
καὶ μεγάλην αὐτῷ δόξαν, εἰ καὶ τύχοι πταίσας,
and great for-him glory if even he-should-happen having-failed
τό γε ἐγχείρημα οἴσειν, λεγόμενος δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ
the at-least attempt to-be-going-to-bring being-said and also by
τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπὶ βωμῶν ἔτι παῖς ὁρκωθῆναι Ῥωμαίοις
the father at altars still a-boy to-have-been-sworn against-Romans
ἐπιβουλεύων οὔ ποτ' ἐκλείψειν, ἐπενόει παρὰ τὰς σπονδὰς
plotting not ever to-be-going-to-cease planned against the treaty
τὸν Ἴβηρα διαβῆναι, καὶ παρεσκεύαζέ τινας ἐς πρόφασιν
the Iber to-cross and prepared some for pretext
κατηγορεῖν Ζακανθαίων. γράφων τε ταῦτα συνεχῶς ἐς
to-accuse Saguntines writing both these-things continually to
Καρχηδόνα, καὶ προστιθεὶς ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι κρύφα τὴν Ἰβηρίαν
Carthage and adding that Romans secretly — Iberia
αὐτῶν ἀφιστᾶσιν, ἔτυχε παρὰ Καρχηδονίων πράσσειν
their detach he-obtained from Carthaginians to-do
ὅ τι δοκιμάσειεν. ὁ μὲν δὴ τὸν Ἴβηρα διαβὰς τὴν
what ever he-should-approve he indeed indeed the Iber having-crossed the
Ζακανθαίων πόλιν ἡβηδὸν διέφθειρε, Ῥωμαίοις δὲ καὶ
of-Saguntines city all-the-youth destroyed for-Romans and also
Καρχηδονίοις ἐπὶ τῷδε ἐλέλυντο αἱ σπονδαὶ αἱ γενόμεναι
Carthaginians upon this had-been-broken the treaty the made
αὐτοῖς μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ἐν Σικελίᾳ.
for-them after the war the in Sicily

4 Ἀννίβας δὲ ὅσα μὲν αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν
Hannibal and what-things indeed himself and the after him
ἄλλοι Καρχηδονίων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοὶ περὶ
other of-Carthaginians both and of-Romans generals about
Ἰβηρίαν ἔπραξαν, ἡ Ἰβηρικὴ γραφὴ δηλοῖ· ἐπιλεξάμενος
Iberia did the Iberian account shows having-chosen

δὲ Κελτιβήρων τε καὶ Λιβύων καὶ ἑτέρων ἐθνῶν ὅτι
and of-Celtiberians both and Libyans and other peoples as
πλείστους, καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ παραδοὺς Ἀσδρούβᾳ τῷ
many-as-possible and the-affairs in Iberia having-handed-over to-Hasdrubal the
ἀδελφῷ, τὰ Πυρηναῖα ὄρη διέβαινεν ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν
brother the Pyrenean mountains crossed into — Celtica
τὴν νῦν λεγομένην Γαλατίαν, ἄγων πεζοὺς ἐνακισμυρίους
the now called Galatia leading infantry ninety-thousand
καὶ ἱππέας ἐς δισχιλίους ἐπὶ μυρίοις καὶ ἐλέφαντας
and cavalry about two-thousand besides ten-thousand and elephants
ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα. Γαλατῶν δὲ τοὺς μὲν ὠνούμενος,
seven and thirty of-Gauls and some indeed buying
τοὺς δὲ πείθων, τοὺς δὲ καὶ βιαζόμενος, διώδευε τὴν
others and persuading others and also forcing he-traversed the
χώραν. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ Ἄλπεια ὄρη, καὶ μηδεμίαν
country having-come and to the Alpine mountains and no
μήτε δίοδον μήτε ἄνοδον εὑρών (ἀπόκρημνα γάρ ἐστιν
either passage or ascent having-found sheer for they-are
ἰσχυρῶς), ἐπέβαινε κἀκείνοις ὑπὸ τόλμης, κακοπαθῶν
mightily he-climbed even-those through daring suffering
χιόνος τε πολλῆς οὔσης καὶ κρύους, τὴν μὲν ὕλην
of-snow both much being and of-cold the indeed wood
τέμνων τε καὶ κατακαίων, τὴν δὲ τέφραν σβεννὺς ὕδατι
cutting both and burning the and ash quenching with-water
καὶ ὄξει, καὶ τὴν πέτραν ἐκ τοῦδε ψαφαρὰν γιγνομένην
and vinegar and the rock from this friable becoming
σφύραις σιδηραῖς θραύων, καὶ ὁδὸν ποιῶν ἣ καὶ νῦν
with-hammers iron breaking and a-road making which even now
ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρῶν ἐντριβὴς καὶ καλεῖται δίοδος Ἀννίβου.
is on the mountains well-worn and is-called pass of-Hannibal
τῶν δὲ τροφῶν αὐτὸν ἐπιλειπουσῶν ἠπείγετο μέν, ἔτι
the and foods him failing he-hastened indeed still

λανθάνων ὅτι καὶ πάρεστιν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἕκτῳ δὲ
escaping-notice that also he-is-present in — Italy in-the-sixth and
μόλις ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξ Ἰβήρων ἀναστάσεως μηνί, πλείστους
scarcely from the from Iberians departure month very-many
ἀποβαλών, ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν κατέβαινε.
having-lost into the plain from the mountains he-came-down

5–11 · THE TREBIA AND TRASIMENE

Hannibal storms Taurasia and meets Scipio on the Padus, who is beaten and withdraws to Placentia; the Celts, seeing his dress and hair keep changing, think him more than human. Sempronius joins Scipio; the Romans cross the icy Trebia before dawn while Hannibal rests his men, and are routed, the wounded Scipio escaping to Cremona. Rome raises thirteen legions, sending Servilius to the Padus and Flaminius to guard inner Italy. Flaminius, elected by demagoguery, is ambushed between the mountain and the lake and killed with twenty thousand; Hannibal disowns Maharbal's terms to the rest and keeps the Romans in chains. He routs Centenius at the Plestine lake, and Rome names Fabius Maximus dictator.

5 καὶ μικρὸν ἀναπαύσας προσέβαλε Ταυρασίᾳ, πόλει
and a-little having-rested he-attacked Taurasia city
Κελτικῇ. κατὰ κράτος δὲ αὐτὴν ἑξελών, τοὺς μὲν
Celtic by force and it having-taken the indeed
αἰχμαλώτους ἔσφαξεν ἐς κατάπληξιν τῆς ἄλλης Κελτικῆς,
captives he-slaughtered for terror of-the other Celtica
ἐπὶ δὲ ποταμὸν Ἠριδανὸν τὸν νῦν Πάδον λεγόμενον
to and river Eridanus the now Padus called
ἐλθών, ἔνθα Ῥωμαῖοι Κελτοῖς τοῖς καλουμένοις Βοιοῖς
having-come where Romans with-Celts the called Boii
ἐπολέμουν, ἐστρατοπέδευσεν. ὁ δ' ὕπατος ὁ Ῥωμαίων
warred he-encamped the and consul the of-Romans
Πόπλιος Κορνήλιος Σκιπίων, Καρχηδονίοις ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ
Publius Cornelius Scipio with-Carthaginians in Iberia

πολεμῶν, ἐπεὶ τῆς ἐσβολῆς Ἀννίβου τῆς ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν
warring when of-the invasion of-Hannibal the into — Italy
ἐπύθετο, τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ ὅδε Γναῖον Κορνήλιον Σκιπίωνα
he-learned the brother and he Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio
ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ πράγμασι καταλιπὼν διέπλευσεν ἐς
over the in Iberia affairs having-left sailed-across to
Τυρρηνίαν, ὅθεν ὁδεύων τε καὶ συμμάχους ὅσους δύναιτο
Etruria whence marching both and allies as-many-as he-could
ἀγείρων ἔφθασεν ἐπὶ τὸν Πάδον Ἀννίβαν. καὶ Μάλλιον
gathering got-ahead-of to the Padus Hannibal and Manlius
μὲν καὶ Ἀτίλιον, οἳ τοῖς Βοιοῖς ἐπολέμουν, ἐς Ῥώμην
indeed and Atilius who the Boii warred to Rome
ἔπεμψεν ὡς οὐ δέον αὐτοὺς ἔτι στρατηγεῖ ὑπάτου
he-sent as not being-fitting them still to-command a-consul
παρόντος, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν στρατὸν παραλαβὼν ἐς μάχην
being-present he-himself and the army having-taken-over into battle
ἐξέτασσε πρὸς Ἀννίβαν. καὶ γενομένης ἀκροβολίας τε καὶ
drew-up against Hannibal and having-happened skirmishing both and
ἱππομαχίας, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κυκλωθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Λιβύων
cavalry-fight the Romans encircled by the Libyans
ἔφευγον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης ἐς
fled into the camp and night having-come-on to
Πλακεντίαν ἀνεχώρουν ἀσφαλῶς τετειχισμένην, τὸν Πάδον
Placentia withdrew safely walled the Padus
ἐπὶ γεφυρῶν περάσαντές τε καὶ λύσαντες τὰς γεφύρας.
on bridges having-crossed both and having-broken the bridges
τὸν μὲν οὖν ποταμὸν καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ζεύξας ἐπέρα,
the indeed then river also — Hannibal having-bridged crossed
τὸ δ' ἔργον εὐθὺς τόδε, πρῶτον ἢ δεύτερον ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν 6
the and deed at-once this the-first or second after the of-the
Ἀλπείων ὀρῶν διαβάσει, παρὰ τοῖς ἐπέκεινα Κελτοῖς ἐξῄρε
Alpine mountains crossing among the beyond Celts exalted

τὸν Ἀννίβαν ὡς ἄμαχον στρατηγὸν καὶ τύχῃ λαμπρᾷ
— Hannibal as an-invincible general and fortune brilliant
χρώμενον. ὁ δέ, ὡς ἐν βαρβάροις τε καὶ τεθηπόσιν
enjoying he and as among barbarians both and astonished-at
αὐτόν, καὶ δι' ἄμφω δυναμένοις ἀπατᾶσθαι, τὴν ἐσθῆτα
him and through both able to-be-deceived the dress
καὶ τὴν κόμην ἐνήλασσε συνεχῶς ἐσκευασμέναις ἐπινοίαις·
and the hair changed continually with-elaborate contrivances
καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ Κελτοὶ περιόντα τὰ ἔθνη πρεσβύτην ὁρῶντες,
and him the Celts going-round the peoples an-old-man seeing
εἶτα νέον, εἶτα μεσαιπόλιον, καὶ συνεχῶς ἕτερον ἐξ ἑτέρου,
then young then grizzled and continually one from another
θαυμάζοντες ἐδόκουν θειοτέρας φύσεως λαχεῖν.
marveling thought of-diviner nature to-have-been-allotted
Σεμπρώνιος δ' ὁ ἕτερος ὕπατος, ἐν Σικελίᾳ τότε
Sempronius and the other consul in Sicily then
ὢν καὶ πυθόμενος, διέπλευσε πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα, καὶ
being and having-learned sailed-across to — Scipio and
τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους αὐτοῦ διασχὼν ἐστρατοπέδευσεν.
forty stades from-him having-stood-off encamped
καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἔμελλον ἅπαντες ἐς μάχην ἥξειν.
and on-the following they-were-going all into battle to-come
ποταμὸς δ' ἦν ἐν μέσῳ Τρεβίας, ὃν Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸ ἕω,
a-river and was in middle Trebia which Romans before dawn
χειμερίου τε τῆς τροπῆς οὔσης καὶ ὑετοῦ καὶ κρύους,
wintry both the solstice being and rain and cold
ἐπέρων βρεχόμενοι μέχρι τῶν μαστῶν. Ἀννίβας δὲ καὶ ἐς
crossed being-soaked up-to the breasts Hannibal but also till
δευτέραν ὥραν ἀνέπαυσε τὴν στρατιάν, καὶ τότε ἐξῆγεν.
second hour rested the army and then led-out

παράταξις δ᾽ ἦν ἑκατέρων *** τὰ κέρατα κατεῖχον, ἀμφὶ 7
battle-order and was of-each-side (lacuna) the wings held around
τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν πεζῶν. Ἀννίβας δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἱππεῦσιν
the phalanx of-the infantry Hannibal and to-the indeed cavalry
ἀντέταξε τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, τῇ δὲ φάλαγγι τοὺς πεζούς·
opposed the elephants to-the and phalanx the infantry
τοὺς δὲ ἱππέας ἐκέλευσεν ὀπίσω τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἀτρεμεῖν
the and cavalry he-ordered behind the elephants to-keep-still
ἕως αὐτός τι σημήνῃ. γενομένων δ᾽ ἐν χερσὶ πάντων,
until he-himself something should-signal having-come and to hands all
οἱ μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἵπποι τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, οὐ φέροντες
the indeed of-Romans horses the elephants not bearing
αὐτῶν οὔτε τὴν ὄψιν οὔτε τὴν ὀδμήν, ἔφευγον· οἱ δὲ πεζοί,
of-them either the sight or the smell fled the but infantry
καίπερ ὑπὸ τοῦ κρύους καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀγρυπνίας
though by the cold and the river and the sleeplessness
τετρυμένοι τε καὶ μαλακοὶ ὄντες, ὅμως ὑπὸ τόλμης
worn-out both and soft being nevertheless through daring
τοῖς θηρίοις ἐπεπήδων καὶ ἐτίτρωσκον αὐτά, καὶ τινῶν
the beasts leapt-at and wounded them and of-some
καὶ τὰ νεῦρα ὑπέκοπτον, καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐνέκλινον ἤδη.
also the sinews cut and the infantry were-turning-back already
θεασάμενος δ᾽ ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐσήμηνε τὴν ἵππον κυκλοῦσθαι
having-seen and — Hannibal signalled the cavalry to-encircle
τοὺς πολεμίους. ἐσκεδασμένων δ᾽ ἄρτι τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν
the enemies having-been-scattered and just the Roman
ἱππέων διὰ τὰ θηρία καὶ τῶν πεζῶν μόνων τε ὄντων
cavalry because-of the beasts and the infantry alone both being
καὶ κακοπαθούντων καὶ δεδιότων τὴν περικύκλωσιν, φυγὴ
and suffering and fearing the encirclement flight
πανταχόθεν ἦν ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα. καὶ ἀπώλλυντο οἱ
from-everywhere was to the camps and perished some

μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων καταλαμβανόντων ἅτε πεζούς, οἱ
indeed by the cavalry overtaking as infantry others
δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ παραφέροντος· τοῦ γὰρ ἡλίου τὴν
and by the river carrying-away the for sun the
χιόνα τήξαντος ὁ ποταμὸς ἐρρύη μέγας, καὶ οὔτε στῆναι
snow having-melted the river flowed great and neither to-stand
διὰ τὸ βάθος οὔτε νεῖν διὰ τὰ ὅπλα ἐδύναντο.
because-of the depth nor to-swim because-of the arms they-could
Σκιπίων δὲ αὐτοῖς ἑπόμενος καὶ παρακαλῶν ὀλίγου μὲν
Scipio and them following and exhorting of-little indeed
ἐδέησε τρωθεὶς διαφθαρῆναι, μόλις δ' ἐς Κρεμῶνα
lacked having-been-wounded to-be-killed scarcely but to Cremona
διεσώθη φερόμενος. ἐπίνειον δὲ ἦν τι βραχὺ Πλακεντίας,
escaped being-carried a-trading-post and was some small of-Placentia
ᾧ προσβαλὼν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἀπώλεσε τετρακοσίους καὶ
which having-attacked — Hannibal lost four-hundred and
αὐτὸς ἐτρώθη. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε πάντες ἐχείμαζον, Σκιπίων
himself was-wounded and from this all wintered Scipio
μὲν ἐν Κρεμῶνι καὶ Πλακεντίᾳ, Ἀννίβας δὲ περὶ Πάδον.
indeed in Cremona and Placentia Hannibal and about Padus
8 οἱ δ' ἐν ἄστει Ῥωμαῖοι πυθόμενοι, καὶ τρίτον ἤδη
the and in the-city Romans having-learned and third already
πταίοντες περὶ Πάδον (ἥττηντο γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὑπὸ
failing about Padus they-had-been-defeated for indeed also by
Βοιῶν πρὸ Ἀννίβου), στρατιάν τε παρ' αὑτῶν ἄλλην
Boii before Hannibal army both from themselves another
κατέλεγον, σὺν τοῖς οὖσι περὶ τὸν Πάδον ὡς εἶναι
enrolled with the(-men) being about the Padus so-as to-be
τρισκαίδεκα τέλη, καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις ἑτέραν διπλασίονα
thirteen legions and to-the allies another double
ταύτης ἐπήγγελλον. ἤδη δὲ αὐτοῖς τὸ τέλος εἶχε πεζοὺς
of-this they-announced already and with-them the legion had infantry

πεντακισχιλίους καὶ ἱππέας τριακοσίους. καὶ τούτων τοὺς
five-thousand and cavalry three-hundred and of-these some
μὲν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἔπεμπον, τοὺς δ' ἐς Σαρδόνα κἀκείνην
indeed to Iberia they-sent others and to Sardinia that-too
πολεμουμένην, τοὺς δ' ἐς Σικελίαν. τὰ πλέονα δ' ἦγον
being-warred-on others and to Sicily the greater-part and they-led
ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν οἱ μετὰ Σκιπίωνα καὶ Σεμπρώνιον
against — Hannibal the after Scipio and Sempronius
αἱρεθέντες ὕπατοι, Σερουίλιός τε Γναῖος καὶ Γάιος
chosen consuls Servilius both Gnaeus and Gaius
Φλαμίνιος. ὧν ὁ μὲν Σερουίλιος ἐπὶ τὸν Πάδον
Flaminius of-whom — indeed Servilius to the Padus
ἐπειχθεὶς τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐκδέχεται παρὰ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος
having-hastened the command takes-over from — Scipio
(ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἀνθύπατος αἱρεθεὶς ἐς Ἰβηρίαν διέπλευσε),
— and Scipio proconsul chosen to Iberia sailed-across
Φλαμίνιος δὲ τρισμυρίοις τε πεζοῖς καὶ τρισχιλίοις
Flaminius and with-thirty-thousand both infantry and three-thousand
ἱππεῦσι τὴν ἐντὸς Ἀπεννίνων ὀρῶν Ἰταλίαν ἐφύλασσεν,
cavalry the within Apennine mountains Italy guarded
ἣν καὶ μόνην ἄν τις εἴποι κυρίως Ἰταλίαν. τὰ γὰρ
which also alone — one would-call properly Italy the for
Ἀπεννῖνα κατέρχεται μὲν ἐκ μέσων τῶν Ἀλπείων ἐπὶ
Apennines come-down indeed from the-middle of-the Alps to
θάλασσαν, ἔστι δ' αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ πάντα
the-sea is and of-them the-parts indeed on right all
καθαρῶς Ἰταλία, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα ἐς τὸν Ἰόνιον
purely Italy the-parts and on the-other-side to the Ionian
φθάνοντα νῦν μέν ἐστι καὶ ταῦτα Ἰταλία, ὅτι καὶ Τυρρηνία
reaching now indeed are also these Italy since also Etruria
νῦν Ἰταλία, οἰκοῦσι δ' αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν Ἕλληνες, ἀμφὶ
now Italy inhabit and them the-parts indeed Greeks about

τὴν Ἰόνιον ἀκτήν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ Κελτοί, ὅσοι τῇ Ῥώμῃ
the Ionian shore the and rest Celts as-many-as — on-Rome
τὸ πρῶτον ἐπιθέμενοι τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησαν. ὅτε γὰρ
the first having-attacked the city burned when for
αὐτοὺς ἐξελαύνων Κάμιλλος ἐδίωκε μέχρι τῶν Ἀπεννίνων
them driving-out Camillus pursued as-far-as the Apennine
ὀρῶν, ἐμοὶ δοκοῦσιν ὑπερβάντες αὐτά, ἀντὶ ἠθῶν τῶν
mountains to-me they-seem having-crossed them instead-of abodes the
ἰδίων, παρὰ τὸν Ἰόνιον οἰκῆσαι· καὶ τὸ μέρος τῆς
own by the Ionian to-have-settled and the part of-the
χώρας ἔτι νῦν οὕτω καλοῦσιν, Ἰταλίαν Γαλατικήν.
country still now so they-call Italy Gallic

9 Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν δὴ μεγάλοις στρατοῖς ἐς πολλὰ ὁμοῦ
Romans indeed indeed with-great armies into many-places together
διῄρηντο· Ἀννίβας δὲ τούτων αἰσθόμενος, ἅμα τῷ
had-been-divided Hannibal and these-things having-perceived together-with the
ἦρι, τοὺς ἄλλους λαθὼν ἐδῄου τὴν Τυρρηνίαν
spring the others having-escaped-notice-of ravaged — Etruria
καὶ προύβαινεν ἐς τὸ μέρος τὸ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης. οἱ δὲ
and advanced to the part the toward Rome they and
πλησιάζοντος αὐτοῦ πάνυ ἔδεισαν, οὐ παρούσης σφίσιν
approaching him very feared not being-present for-them
ἀξιομάχου δυνάμεως. ἐστράτευον δὲ ὅμως ἐκ τῶν
worthy-to-fight force they-levied but nevertheless from the
ὑπολοίπων ὀκτακισχιλίους, καὶ Κεντήνιον αὐτοῖς τινὰ τῶν
remaining eight-thousand and Centenius over-them one of-the
ἐπιφανῶν ἰδιωτῶν, οὐδεμιᾶς ἀρχῆς παρούσης, ἐπέστησάν
notable private-men no magistracy being-present set
τε καὶ ἐξέπεμπον ἐς Ὀμβρικοὺς ἐς τὴν Πλειστίνην
both and sent-out into Umbrians to the Plestine
λίμνην, τὰ στενὰ προληψόμενον, ᾗ συντομώτατόν ἐστιν
lake the narrows going-to-seize-first where shortest it-is

ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ Φλαμίνιος ὁ τοῖς
to — Rome in and this also Flaminius the with-the
τρισμυρίοις τὴν ἐντὸς Ἰταλίαν φυλάσσων, αἰσθόμενος τῆς
thirty-thousand the inner Italy guarding having-perceived the
σπουδῆς Ἀννίβου, μετέβαινεν ὀξέως, οὐ διαναπαύων τὴν
haste of-Hannibal moved swiftly not resting the
στρατιάν. δέει τε περὶ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ αὐτὸς ὢν
army from-fear both about the city and himself being
ἀπειροπόλεμός τε καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ δημοκοπίας
inexperienced-in-war both and into the office from demagoguery
ᾑρημένος, ἠπείγετο Ἀννίβᾳ συμπλεκῆναι.
chosen hastened with-Hannibal to-engage
ὁ δὲ αἰσθόμενος αὐτοῦ τῆς τε ὁρμῆς καὶ ἀπειρίας, ὄρος 10
he and having-perceived his the both impetus and inexperience a-mountain
μέν τι καὶ λίμνην προυβάλετο πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ, ψιλοὺς δὲ
indeed some and a-lake put-in-front before himself light-troops and
καὶ ἱππέας ἐς φάραγγα ἀποκρύψας ἐστρατοπέδευεν. καὶ
and cavalry in a-ravine having-hidden encamped and
αὐτὸν ὁ Φλαμίνιος κατιδὼν ἅμα ἕῳ σμικρὸν μέν
him — Flaminius having-seen together-with dawn a-little indeed
τι διέτριψε, τὸν στρατὸν ἀναπαύων ἐξ ὁδοιπορίας καὶ
some delayed the army resting from march and
χαρακοποιούμενος, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐξῆγεν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν
building-a-stockade after and this he-led-out at-once to the
μάχην αὖους ὄντας ὑπ᾽ ἀγρυπνίας καὶ κόπου. τῆς δ᾽
battle parched being from sleeplessness and fatigue the and
ἐνέδρας ἐκφανείσης ἐν μέσῳ ληφθεὶς τοῦ τε ὄρους καὶ τῆς
ambush having-appeared in middle caught of-the both mountain and the
λίμνης καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτός τε ἀνῃρέθη καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ
lake and the enemies himself both was-killed and with him
δισμύριοι. τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἔτι μυρίους, ἔς τινα κώμην
twenty-thousand the and rest still ten-thousand into some village

ὀχυρὰν συμφυγόντας, Μαάρβαλ ὁ ὑποστράτηγος Ἀννίβου,
strong having-fled-together Maharbal the lieutenant of-Hannibal
μεγίστην καὶ ὅδε ἐπὶ στρατηγίᾳ δόξαν ἔχων, οὐ δυνάμενος
greatest also he in generalship reputation having not being-able
ἑλεῖν εὐχερῶς, οὐδὲ ἀξιῶν ἀπεγνωκόσι μάχεσθαι, ἔπεισε τὰ
to-take easily nor thinking-fit with-the-desperate to-fight persuaded the
ὅπλα ἀποθέσθαι, συνθέμενος ἀπολύσειν ὅπῃ θέλοιεν. ὡς
arms to-lay-down having-agreed to-be-going-to-release where they-wished when
δὲ ἀπέθεντο, λαβὼν ἦγεν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν Ἀννίβαν
and they-laid-them-down having-taken he-led them to — Hannibal
γυμνούς. ὁ δ' οὐ φάμενος εἶναι κύριον χωρὶς αὑτοῦ ταῦτα
unarmed he and not saying to-be empowered without himself these-things
συνθέσθαι τὸν Μαάρβαλ, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων
to-agree — Maharbal the(-men) indeed from the allies
φιλανθρωπευσάμενος ἀπέλυσεν ἐς τὰ ἑαυτῶν, θηρεύων
having-treated-kindly released to the their-own hunting
τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τὰς πόλεις, ὅσοι δὲ Ῥωμαίων
with-the kindness the cities as-many-as and of-Romans
ἦσαν, εἶχε δήσας. τὴν δὲ λείαν τοῖς συστρατεύουσι
were he-kept having-bound the and booty to-the fellow-campaigning
Κελτοῖς ἀποδόμενος, ἵνα καὶ τούσδε θεραπεύσειε τῷ
Celts having-sold that also these he-might-court with-the
κέρδει, προύβαινεν ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν, αἰσθομένου μὲν ἤδη
gain advanced to the front having-perceived indeed already
τῶν γιγνομένων τοῦ περὶ Πάδον στρατηγοῦ Σερουιλίου,
the happenings the about Padus general Servilius
καὶ τετρακισμυρίοις ἐπὶ Τυρρηνίας ἐπειγομένου, Κεντηνίου
and with-forty-thousand to Etruria hastening Centenius
δὲ ἤδη τοῖς ὀκτακισχιλίοις τὰ στενὰ προειληφότος.
and already with-the eight-thousand the narrows having-seized-first

Ἀννίβας δὲ ἐπειδὴ τήν τε λίμνην εἶδε τὴν Πλειστίνην 11
Hannibal and when the both lake saw the Plestine
καὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτήν, καὶ τὸν Κεντήνιον ἐν μέσῳ
and the mountain the above it and — Centenius in middle
κρατοῦντα τῆς διόδου, τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν ὁδῶν ἐξήταζεν
mastering the pass the guides of-the roads questioned
εἴ τις εἴη περίοδος. οὐδεμίαν δὲ φαμένων εἶναι τρίβον,
whether any were a-way-round none and saying to-be a-path
ἀλλ᾽ ἀπόκρημνα πάντα καὶ φαραγγώδη, δι᾽ αὐτῶν
but sheer all and ravine-full through them
ὅμως ἔπεμπε τοὺς ψιλοὺς νύκτωρ τὸ ὄρος περιέναι,
nevertheless he-sent the light-troops by-night the mountain to-go-round
καὶ Μαάρβαλ μετ᾽ αὐτῶν. τεκμηράμενος δ᾽ ὅτε δύναιντο
and Maharbal with them having-calculated and when they-could
περιελθεῖν, προσέβαλε τῷ Κεντηνίῳ κατὰ μέτωπον. καὶ
to-go-round he-attacked — Centenius in front and
συνεστώτων ἑκατέρων, πάνυ προθύμως ὁ Μαάρβαλ ἐκ
engaged both-sides very eagerly — Maharbal from
κορυφῆς ἄνωθεν ὤφθη τε καὶ ἠλάλαξεν. Ῥωμαίων δ᾽
the-summit above was-seen both and raised-the-war-cry of-Romans and
εὐθὺς ἦν φυγὴ καὶ φόνος κεκυκλωμένων, καὶ τρισχίλιοι
at-once was flight and slaughter being-encircled and three-thousand
μὲν ἔπεσον ὀκτακόσιοι δ᾽ ἐλήφθησαν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ μόλις
indeed fell eight-hundred and were-taken the and rest scarcely
διέφυγον. πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ ἐν ἄστει, καὶ δείσαντες μὴ
escaped having-learned and the(-men) in the-city and having-feared lest
εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἔλθοι, τό τε τεῖχος
at-once against the city — Hannibal should-come the both wall
ἐπλήρουν λίθων καὶ τοὺς γέροντας ὥπλιζον, ὅπλων μὲν
filled with-stones and the old-men armed of-arms indeed
ἀποροῦντες, τὰ δὲ λάφυρα ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν καταφέροντες,
lacking the and spoils from the temples bringing-down

ἃ ἐκ πολέμων ἄλλων κόσμος αὐτοῖς περιέκειτο·
which from wars other as-adornment for-them lay-around
δικτάτορά τε, ὡς ἐν κινδύνῳ, Φάβιον εἵλοντο Μάξιμον.
a-dictator both as in danger Fabius chose Maximus

12–18 · FABIUS THE DELAYER

Fabius follows Hannibal but refuses battle, and his master of horse Minucius, who calls him a coward, is given equal command; when Minucius is beaten, Fabius rescues him and Minucius resigns. Trapped in a pass, Hannibal kills his captives and drives torch-horned oxen up the cliffs by night; the guards rush to the fires, and he slips through to winter at Geronia. Carthage sends him neither men nor money, so he calls Hasdrubal into Italy. Rome elects Aemilius Paullus and the demagogue Varro. At Cannae Aemilius would let hunger wear Hannibal down, but when Hannibal feigns a withdrawal, Varro leads out the army until the omens turn him back.

12 Ἀννίβας δέ, θεοῦ παράγοντος αὐτόν, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον αὖθις
Hannibal and a-god leading him to the Ionian again
ἐτράπη, καὶ τὴν παράλιον ὁδεύων ἐπόρθει, λείαν τε
turned and the coast marching ravaged booty both
περιήλαυνε πολλήν. Σερουίλιος δ' ὕπατος ἀντιπαριὼν
drove-off much Servilius and consul marching-alongside
αὐτῷ κατῆρεν ἐς Ἀρίμινον, ἀπέχων Ἀννίβου μίαν ἡμέραν·
him put-in to Ariminum being-distant from-Hannibal one day
ἔνθα τὴν στρατιὰν συνεῖχε καὶ τοὺς ἔτι φίλους Κελτῶν
where the army he-held-together and the still friendly of-Celts
ἀπεθάρρυνεν, ἕως ἀφικόμενος Φάβιος Μάξιμος ὁ δικτάτωρ
encouraged until having-arrived Fabius Maximus the dictator
Σερουίλιον μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπεν ὡς οὔτε ὕπατον οὔτε
Servilius indeed to Rome sent as neither consul nor
στρατηγὸν ἔτι ὄντα δικτάτορος ᾑρημένου, αὐτὸς
general any-longer being a-dictator having-been-chosen he-himself

δὲ τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ παρακολουθῶν ἐς μὲν χεῖρας οὐκ ἦει,
and — Hannibal following into indeed hands not went
πολλάκις ἐκείνου προκαλουμένου, πολιορκεῖν δ' οὐδένα
often him challenging to-besiege but no-one
εἴα, παραφυλάσσων καὶ ἐπικείμενος. ὁ δέ, τῆς χώρας
allowed watching and pressing-on he and the country
ἐξαναλωμένης, τροφῶν ἠπόρει, καὶ αὐτὴν αὖθις περιιὼν
having-been-used-up of-food lacked and it again going-round
ἑκάστης ἡμέρας ἐξέτασσε, προκαλούμενος ἐς μάχην. Φάβιος
each day drew-up challenging to battle Fabius
δ' οὐ συνεπλέκετο, καταγιγνώσκοντος αὐτοῦ Μινουκίου
but not engaged condemning him Minucius
Ῥούφου, ὃς ἵππαρχος μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ, ἔγραφε δ' ἐς Ῥώμην
Rufus who master-of-horse indeed was to-him wrote and to Rome
τοῖς φίλοις ὡς ὀκνοίη Φάβιος ὑπὸ δειλίας. διαδραμόντος
to-the friends that hesitated Fabius from cowardice having-run
δ' ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ θυσίας τινὰς τοῦ Φαβίου, ὁ Μινούκιος
and to Rome for sacrifices some — Fabius — Minucius
ἡγούμενος τοῦ στρατοῦ συνεπλέκη τινὰ μάχην τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ,
leading the army joined some battle — with-Hannibal
καὶ δόξας πλέον ἔχειν θρασύτερον ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπέστελλε
and having-seemed the-better to-have more-boldly to Rome wrote
τῇ βουλῇ, τὸν Φάβιον αἰτιώμενος οὐκ ἐθέλοντα νικῆσαι.
to-the senate — Fabius accusing not wishing to-conquer
καὶ ἡ βουλή, ἐπανεληλυθότος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἤδη
and the senate having-returned to the camp already
τοῦ Φαβίου, ἴσον ἰσχύειν αὐτῷ τὸν ἵππαρχον ἀπέφηνεν.
— Fabius equal to-have-power with-him the master-of-horse declared
οἱ μὲν δὴ μερισάμενοι τὴν στρατιὰν πλησίον ἀλλήλων 13
they indeed indeed having-divided the army near each-other
ἐστρατοπέδευον, καὶ τῆς γνώμης ἑκάτερος εἴχοντο τῆς
encamped and to-the judgment each held the

ἑαυτοῦ, Φάβιος μὲν ἐκτρύχειν Ἀννίβαν τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ
his-own Fabius indeed to-wear-down Hannibal by-the time and
πειρᾶσθαι μηδὲν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ παθεῖν, ὁ δὲ Μινούκιος μάχῃ
to-try nothing by him to-suffer — and Minucius by-battle
διακριθῆναι. συνιόντος δὲ ἐς μάχην τοῦ Μινουκίου, Φάβιος τὸ
to-decide meeting and in battle — Minucius Fabius the
μέλλον ἔσεσθαι προορῶν ἐν μέσῳ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀτρεμοῦσαν
about to-be foreseeing in middle the army quiet
ἔστησε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Μινουκίου τραπέντας
he-stationed the his-own and the(-men) — of-Minucius routed
ἀνελάμβανε, τοὺς δ᾽ Ἀννίβου διώκοντας ἀπεκρούετο. καὶ
took-up the(-men) and of-Hannibal pursuing he-beat-off and
Φάβιος μὲν ὧδε τὴν συμφορὰν ἐπεκούφισε τῷ Μινουκίῳ,
Fabius indeed thus the disaster lightened — for-Minucius
οὐδὲν ἐπιμηνίσας τῆς διαβολῆς· ὁ δὲ Μινούκιος αὑτοῦ
nothing having-borne-a-grudge-for the slander — and Minucius himself
καταγνοὺς ἀπειρίαν ἀπέθετο τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ τὸ μέρος
having-condemned for-inexperience laid-down the command and the part
τοῦ στρατοῦ παρέδωκε τῷ Φαβίῳ, ἡγουμένῳ πρὸς ἄνδρα
of-the army handed-over — to-Fabius thinking against a-man
τεχνίτην μάχης ἕνα καιρὸν εἶναι τὴν ἀνάγκην. οὗ δὴ καὶ ὁ
master of-battle one occasion to-be the necessity which indeed also —
Σεβαστὸς ὕστερον πολλάκις ἐμέμνητο, οὐκ ὢν εὐχερὴς οὐδ᾽
Augustus later often recalled not being eager even
οὗτος ἐς μάχας μᾶλλον τόλμῃ ἢ τέχνῃ χρῆσθαι. Φάβιος
he for battles rather by-daring than by-skill to-act Fabius
μὲν οὖν αὖθις ὁμοίως ἐφύλασσε τὸν Ἀννίβαν, καὶ τὴν χώραν
indeed then again likewise guarded — Hannibal and the country
πορθεῖν ἐκώλυεν, οὐ συμπλεκόμενος αὐτοῦ τῷ στρατῷ
to-ravage prevented not engaging his the army

παντί, τοῖς δ' ἀποσκιδναμένοις μόνοις ἐπιτιθέμενος, καὶ
whole the(-men) but scattering only attacking and
σαφῶς εἰδὼς ἀπορήσοντα τροφῶν αὐτίκα τὸν Ἀννίβαν.
clearly knowing going-to-lack of-food at-once — Hannibal
στενῆς δὲ διόδου πλησιαζούσης, ὁ μὲν Ἀννίβας αὐτὴν οὐ 14
narrow and pass approaching — indeed Hannibal it not
προείδετο, Φάβιος δὲ προπέμψας τετρακισχιλίους κατέλαβε,
foresaw Fabius but having-sent-ahead four-thousand seized
καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ θάτερα ἐστρατοπέδευεν ἐπὶ
and with-the rest himself on the-other-side encamped on
λόφου καρτεροῦ. ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβας ὡς ᾔσθετο ληφθεὶς ἐν
a-hill strong — and Hannibal when he-perceived caught in
μέσῳ Φαβίου τε καὶ τῶν στενῶν φυλασσομένων, ἔδεισε
middle of-Fabius both and of-the narrows guarded feared
μὲν ὡς οὔ ποτε πρότερον· οὐ γὰρ εἶχε διέξοδον, ἀλλὰ
indeed as not ever before not for he-had an-outlet but
πάντα ἦν ἀπόκρημνα καὶ δύσβατα, οὐδ' ἤλπιζε Φάβιον
all was precipitous and impassable nor hoped Fabius
ἢ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν στενῶν βιάσεσθαι διὰ τὴν τῶν
or the(-men) on the narrows to-be-going-to-force because-of the of-the
χωρίων ὀχυρότητα. ὧδε δ' ἔχων ἀπορίας τοὺς μὲν
places strength thus and being in-perplexity the indeed
αἰχμαλώτους ἐς πεντακισχιλίους ὄντας κατέσφαξεν, ἵνα
captives about five-thousand being slaughtered that
μὴ ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ νεωτερίσειαν, βοῦς δὲ ὅσας εἶχεν ἐν
not in the danger they-might-revolt oxen and as-many-as he-had in
τῷ στρατοπέδῳ (πολὺ δὲ πλῆθος ἦν), τοῖς κέρασιν αὐτῶν
the camp great and number was to-the horns their
δᾷδας περιέθηκε, καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης τὰς δᾷδας
torches he-fastened-round and night having-come-on the torches
ἐξάψας τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πῦρ ἔσβεσε, καὶ
having-lit the rest in the camp fire put-out and

σιγὴν βαθεῖαν ἔχειν παρήγγειλε, τοῖς δ' εὐτολμοτάτοις τῶν
silence deep to-keep ordered to-the and most-daring of-the
νέων ἐκέλευσε τὰς βοῦς ἐλαύνειν μετὰ σπουδῆς ἄνω πρὸς
young he-ordered the oxen to-drive with haste up to
τὰ ἀπόκρημνα, ἃ ἦν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ τε Φαβίου καὶ τῶν
the precipices which were in middle — both of-Fabius and of-the
στενῶν. αἱ δ' ὑπό τε τῶν ἐλαυνόντων ἐπειγόμεναι, καὶ
narrows they and by both the drivers being-hurried and
τοῦ πυρὸς ἐκκαίοντος αὐτάς, ἀνεπήδων ἐπὶ τοὺς κρημνοὺς
the fire burning them leapt onto the cliffs
ἀφειδῶς καὶ βιαίως, εἶτα κατέπιπτον καὶ αὖθις ἀνεπήδων.
recklessly and violently then fell-down and again leapt-up
15 Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οἱ ἑκατέρωθεν, ὁρῶντες ἐν μὲν τῷ
Romans and the(-men) on-both-sides seeing in indeed the
Ἀννίβου στρατοπέδῳ σιγὴν καὶ σκότον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὄρεσι
of-Hannibal camp silence and darkness in and the mountains
πῦρ πολὺ καὶ ποικίλον, οὐκ ἔχοντες ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ τὸ
fire much and varied not being-able as in night the
γιγνόμενον ἀκριβῶς ἐπινοῆσαι, ὁ μὲν Φάβιος εἴκαζεν εἶναί
happening exactly to-understand — indeed Fabius guessed to-be
τι στρατήγημα τοῦτο Ἀννίβου, καὶ συνεῖναι μὴ δυνάμενος
some stratagem this of-Hannibal and to-understand not being-able
ἀτρέμα συνεῖχε τὴν στρατιάν, τὴν νύκτα ὑφορώμενος·
quietly held-together the army the night suspecting
οἱ δ' ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς ὑπέλαβον, ἅπερ ἤθελεν ὁ
the(-men) and in the narrows supposed what wished —
Ἀννίβας, φεύγειν αὐτὸν ὡς ἐν ἀπόροις, ἄνω διὰ τῶν
Hannibal to-flee him as in straits up through the
κρημνῶν βιαζόμενον, καὶ μετεπήδων ἐπὶ τὴν φαντασίαν
cliffs forcing-his-way and shifted to the appearance
τοῦ πυρὸς καταθέοντες ὡς ἐκεῖ ληψόμενοι τὸν Ἀννίβαν
of-the fire running-down as there going-to-catch — Hannibal

κακοπαθοῦντα. ὁ δὲ ὡς εἶδε καταβάντας αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν
in-distress he and when he-saw come-down them from the
στενῶν, διέδραμεν ἐς αὐτὰ τοῖς ταχυτάτοις ἄνευ φωτὸς
narrows ran-through into them with-the swiftest without light
μετὰ σιωπῆς, ἵνα διαλάθοι, καταλαβὼν δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ
with silence that he-might-escape-notice having-seized and them and
κρατυνάμενος ἐσήμηνε τῇ σάλπιγγι· καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον
having-secured signaled with-the trumpet and the camp
ἀντεβόησεν αὐτῷ, καὶ πῦρ αἰφνίδιον ἐξέφηναν. Ῥωμαῖοι
shouted-back to-him and fire suddenly they-showed Romans
μὲν δὴ τότε ᾔσθοντο τῆς ἀπάτης, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ὁ
indeed indeed then perceived the deceit the and army the
ἄλλος Ἀννίβου καὶ οἱ τὰς βοῦς ἐλαύνοντες ἐπὶ τὰ
other of-Hannibal and the(-men) the oxen driving to the
στενὰ ἀδεῶς διέδραμον. καὶ αὐτοὺς συναγαγὼν ἀπῆρεν ἐς
narrows fearlessly ran-through and them having-gathered departed to
τὸ πρόσω. οὕτω μὲν ἐξ ἀέλπτου τότε ὁ Ἀννίβας αὐτός
the front so indeed from unhoped then — Hannibal himself
τε περιῆν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν περιέσωζε, καὶ ἐς Γερωνίαν
both survived and the army saved and to Geronia
τῆς Ἰαπυγίας ἐπειχθείς, ἣ σίτου πλήρης ἦν, ἐξεῖλεν
— of-Iapygia having-hastened which of-grain full was took
αὐτήν, καὶ ἐν ἀφθόνοις ἀδεῶς ἐχείμαζεν.
it and in abundance fearlessly wintered
ὁ δὲ Φάβιος καὶ τότε τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης ἐχόμενος εἵπετο, 16
— and Fabius also then to-the same judgment holding followed
καὶ τῆς Γερωνίας ἀποσχὼν δέκα σταδίους ἐστρατοπέδευε,
and — from-Geronia having-stood-off ten stades encamped
λαβὼν ἐν μέσῳ ποταμὸν Αὔφιδον. ληγόντων δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν
having-taken in middle river Aufidus ending and for-him the
ἓξ μηνῶν ἐφ᾽ οὓς αἱροῦνται Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς δικτάτορας, οἱ
six months for which choose Romans the dictators the

μὲν ὕπατοι Σερουίλιός τε καὶ Ἀτίλιος ἐπὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἀρχὰς
indeed consuls Servilius both and Atilius to the their-own offices
ἐπανῄεσαν, καὶ ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ὁ Φάβιος ἐς
returned and came to the camp and — Fabius to
Ῥώμην ἀπῄει, γίγνονται δέ τινες ἐν τῷδε τῷ χειμῶνι Ἀννίβᾳ
Rome departed happen and some in this the winter to-Hannibal
καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἀκροβολισμοὶ συνεχεῖς ἐς ἀλλήλους· καὶ τὰ
and Romans skirmishes continual with each-other and the-affairs
Ῥωμαίων ἐπικυδέστερα καὶ εὐθαρσέστερα ἦν. ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας
of-Romans more-glorious and more-confident were — and Hannibal
ἐπέστελλε μὲν ἀεὶ τὰ γιγνόμενα Καρχηδονίοις ὑπερεπαίρων,
wrote indeed always the happenings to-Carthaginians exaggerating
τότε δὲ ἀπολωλότων αὐτῷ πολλῶν ἠπόρει, καὶ στρατιὰν
then but having-perished for-him many he-was-at-a-loss and army
ᾔτει καὶ χρήματα. οἱ δὲ ἐχθροὶ πάντα ἐπισκώπτοντες τὰ
asked and money the and enemies everything mocking the-things
Ἀννίβου, καὶ τότε ὑπεκρίνοντο ἀπορεῖν ὅτι, τῶν νικώντων
of-Hannibal also then pretended to-be-at-a-loss that of-the victors
οὐκ αἰτούντων χρήματα ἀλλὰ πεμπόντων ἐς τὰς πατρίδας,
not asking money but sending to the fatherlands
ὁ Ἀννίβας αἰτοίη, λέγων νικᾶν. οἷς οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι
— Hannibal should-ask saying to-conquer by-which the Carthaginians
πεισθέντες οὔτε στρατιὰν ἔπεμπον οὔτε χρήματα. καὶ ὁ
persuaded neither army sent nor money and —
Ἀννίβας ταῦτ' ὀδυρόμενος ἔγραφεν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν Ἀσδρούβᾳ
Hannibal these-things lamenting wrote to Iberia to-Hasdrubal
τῷ ἀδελφῷ, παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν ἀρχομένου θέρους μεθ'
the brother urging him beginning summer with
ὅσης δύναιτο στρατιᾶς καὶ χρημάτων ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν
as-much as-he-could army and money to-invade into —

Ἰταλίαν, καὶ πορθεῖν αὐτῆς τὰ ἐπέκεινα, ἵνα δηῶτο
Italy and to-ravage its the further-parts that might-be-ravaged
πᾶσα καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι κάμνοιεν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἑκατέρωθεν.
all and Romans might-be-worn-out by them from-both-sides
καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν περὶ Ἀννίβαν, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τῷ 17
and these-things indeed were about Hannibal Romans and by-the
τε μεγέθει τῆς ἥττης τῆς Φλαμινίου καὶ Κεντηνίου
both greatness of-the defeat the of-Flaminius and Centenius
περιαλγοῦντες ὡς ἀνάξια σφῶν καὶ παράλογα καὶ
being-grieved as unworthy of-themselves and unexpected and
ἀθρόα παθόντες, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ὅλως οὐ φέροντες
in-a-mass having-suffered and the war wholly not bearing
ἔνδον ὄντα παρ᾽ ἑαυτοῖς, ἄλλα τε κατέλεγον ἐκ Ῥώμης
inside being among themselves other both enrolled from Rome
τέλη στρατιωτῶν τέσσαρα μετ᾽ ὀργῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν,
legions of-soldiers four with anger against — Hannibal
καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους πανταχόθεν ἤγειρον ἐς Ἰαπυγίαν.
and the allies from-everywhere gathered to Iapygia
ὑπάτους τε αἱροῦνται ἐκ μὲν δόξης πολεμικῆς Λεύκιον
consuls and choose from indeed reputation military Lucius
Αἰμίλιον τὸν Ἰλλυριοῖς πολεμήσαντα, ἐκ δὲ δημοκοπίας
Aemilius the with-Illyrians having-warred from and demagoguery
Τερέντιον Οὐάρρωνα, πολλὰ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς συνήθους
Terentius Varro many-things to-them from the customary
δοξοκοπίας ὑπισχνούμενον. καὶ αὐτοὺς παραπέμποντες
popularity-hunting promising and them escorting
ἐξιόντας ἐδέοντο κρῖναι τὸν πόλεμον μάχῃ, καὶ μὴ τὴν
going-out begged to-decide the war by-battle and not the
πόλιν ἐκτρύχειν χρόνῳ τε καὶ στρατείαις συνεχέσι καὶ
city to-wear-down by-time both and campaigns continual and
ἐσφοραῖς καὶ λιμῷ καὶ ἀργίᾳ τῆς γῆς δηουμένης. οἱ
levies and famine and idleness of-the land being-ravaged they

δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν ἐν Ἰαπυγίᾳ προσλαβόντες, καὶ τὸ
and the army the in Iapygia having-taken-over and the
σύμπαν ἔχοντες πεζοὺς μὲν ἑπτακισμυρίους ἱππέας δ'
whole having infantry indeed seventy-thousand cavalry and
ἑξακισχιλίους, ἐστρατοπέδευον ἀμφὶ κώμῃ τινὶ καλουμένῃ
six-thousand encamped about village a called
Κάνναις. καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας αὐτοῖς ἀντεστρατοπέδευεν. φύσει
Cannae and — Hannibal them encamped-against by-nature
δὲ ὢν φιλοπόλεμος ὁ Ἀννίβας καὶ οὔ ποτε φέρων ἀργίαν,
and being war-loving — Hannibal and not ever bearing idleness
τότε μάλιστα τῆς ἀπορίας αὐτὸν ἐνοχλούσης ἐξέτασσε
then most the perplexity him harassing drew-up
συνεχῶς ἐς μάχην, δεδιὼς μὴ οἱ μισθοφόροι μετάθοιντο
continually for battle fearing lest the mercenaries should-change-sides
διὰ τὴν ἀμισθίαν ἢ σκεδασθεῖεν ἐπὶ συλλογὴν ἀγορᾶς.
because-of the lack-of-pay or should-scatter for collecting of-provisions
καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω προὐκαλεῖτο τοὺς πολεμίους.
and he indeed so challenged the enemies
18 γνώμη δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων ἦν, Αἰμιλίου μὲν ὑπομένειν
the-judgment and of-the consuls was of-Aemilius indeed to-wait
ἐκτρύχοντας Ἀννίβαν οὐ δυνησόμενον ἀντέχειν ἐπὶ
wearing-down Hannibal not going-to-be-able to-hold-out for
πολὺ διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν, μηδὲ διὰ χειρὸς ἔρχεσθαι
long because-of the want nor to hand to-come
γεγυμνασμένῳ πολέμοις καὶ εὐτυχίαις ἀνδρὶ καὶ στρατῷ,
with-one-trained in-wars and successes a-man and army
Τερεντίου δ', οἷα δημοκόπου, μνημονεύειν ὧν ὁ δῆμος
of-Terentius but as a-demagogue to-remember what the people
ἐξιοῦσιν ἐνετέλλετο, καὶ κρῖναι τὴν μάχην ὀξέως. τούτοιν
them-going-out had-charged and to-decide the battle quickly of-these-two
Αἰμιλίῳ μὲν προσετίθετο Σερουίλιος ὁ πέρυσιν ὕπατος
with-Aemilius indeed sided Servilius the last-year consul

ἔτι παρών, Τερεντίῳ δὲ ὅσοι τε ἀπὸ βουλῆς καὶ τῶν
still present with-Terentius and as-many-as both from senate and the
καλουμένων ἱππέων ἡγοῦντο τῆς στρατιᾶς. ἀντεχόντων
called knights commanded of-the army holding-out
δ' ἔτι τῶν ἑτέρων, ὁ Ἀννίβας τοῖς χορτολογοῦσιν αὐτῶν
and still the others — Hannibal on-the foragers their
ἢ ξυλευομένοις ἐπιτιθέμενος ὑπεκρίνετο ἡττᾶσθαι, καὶ περὶ
or wood-cutters attacking pretended to-be-beaten and about
ἐσχάτην ποτὲ φυλακὴν ἐκίνει τὸ πλῆθος ὡς ἀναζευγνύς.
last at-length watch moved the multitude as withdrawing
ὁ δὲ Τερέντιος ἰδὼν ἐξῆγε τὴν στρατιὰν ὡς ἐπὶ
— and Terentius having-seen led-out the army as against
φεύγοντα τὸν Ἀννίβαν, ἀπαγορεύοντος αὐτῷ καὶ τότε
fleeing — Hannibal forbidding him even then
τοῦ Αἰμιλίου. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθεν, οἰωνίζετο ὁ Αἰμίλιος
— Aemilius when and not be-persuaded took-the-auspices — Aemilius
ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ, καθάπερ εἰώθασι, καὶ πέμψας ὁδεύοντι
by himself as they-are-accustomed and having-sent to-him-marching
ἤδη τῷ Τερεντίῳ τὴν ἡμέραν ἀπαίσιον ἔλεγεν εἶναι.
already — Terentius the day ill-omened said to-be
ὁ δ' ἐπανῄει μέν, αἰδούμενος οἰωνοῖς ἀπειθῆσαι, τὰς
he and returned indeed being-ashamed omens to-disobey the
δὲ κόμας ἐν ὄψει τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐτίλλετο καὶ χαλεπῶς
and hair in sight of-the army tore and grievously
ἔφερεν ὡς τὴν νίκην ἀφῃρημένος ὑπὸ ζηλοτυπίας τοῦ
bore-it as the victory having-been-robbed-of through jealousy of-the
συνάρχου. καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῷ συνηγανάκτει.
colleague and the multitude with-him was-indignant

Varro accuses Aemilius of robbing the city of victory, and Aemilius yields. Hannibal takes the ground where the midday east wind will blow dust into the Romans' faces, hides cavalry and light troops in the ravines, and arms five hundred Celtiberians with short swords under their tunics. These feign desertion and are stripped only of their visible arms; the Libyans feign flight, the ambush appears, and the five hundred fall on the Romans from behind. Varro leads the flight; Aemilius and Servilius die among fifty thousand. Hannibal, weeping, says he needs no second such victory; ten thousand break out to Canusium, and Varro leaves them to Scipio and hurries to Rome.

19 Ἀννίβου δ', ἐπεὶ τῆς πείρας ἐξέπιπτεν, αὐτίκα ἐς τὸ
Hannibal and when from-the attempt he-failed at-once into the
στρατόπεδον ἐπανελθόντος καὶ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν ἐκφήναντος,
camp having-returned and the pretence having-revealed
οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἐδίδασκε τὸν Τερέντιον πάνθ' ὑπονοεῖν τὰ
not-even this taught — Terentius everything to-suspect the-things
Ἀννίβου, ἀλλ' ὡς εἶχεν, ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐς τὸ στρατήγιον
of-Hannibal but as he-was in the arms into the headquarters
ἐσδραμών, παρόντων ἔτι τῶν τε ἀπὸ βουλῆς καὶ
having-run being-present still the(-men) both from senate and
ταξιάρχων καὶ χιλιάρχων, ᾐτιᾶτο περὶ τῶν οἰωνῶν τὸν
officers and tribunes he-accused about the omens —
Αἰμίλιον προφασίσασθαι καὶ νίκην φανερὰν ἀφελέσθαι
Aemilius to-have-made-pretexts and victory manifest to-have-robbed
τὴν πόλιν, ὀκνοῦντα ὑπὸ δειλίας, ἢ οἱ φθονοῦντα
the city hesitating from cowardice or him envying
διὰ ζηλοτυπίαν. οὕτω δ' αὐτοῦ βοῶντος ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἡ
through jealousy so and him shouting in anger the
στρατιὰ περιεστῶσα τὴν σκηνὴν ἐπήκουε, καὶ τὸν Αἰμίλιον
army standing-around the tent heard and — Aemilius

ἐβλασφήμουν. ὁ δὲ πολλὰ μὲν εἶπε τοῖς ἔνδον
reviled he and many-things indeed said to-the(-men) inside
συμφέροντα μάτην, Τερεντίῳ δέ, πλὴν Σερουιλίου, τῶν
advantageous in-vain to-Terentius but except Servilius the
ἄλλων συντιθεμένων εἶξεν. καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐξέτασσεν
others agreeing he-yielded and on-the following drew-up
αὐτὸς ἡγούμενος· παρεχώρει γὰρ ὁ Τερέντιος. Ἀννίβας δ'
himself leading gave-way for — Terentius Hannibal and
ᾔσθετο, καὶ τότε μὲν οὐκ ἐπεξῆλθεν (οὐ γάρ πω πρὸς
perceived and then indeed not went-out not for yet for
μάχην διετέτακτο), τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ κατέβαινον ἐς τὸ
battle he-had-been-arrayed on-the and following came-down into the
πεδίον ἑκάτεροι, Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐς τρία τεταγμένοι, μικρὸν
plain both-sides Romans indeed into three drawn-up a-little
ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διεστῶτες, καὶ μέρος ἕκαστον αὐτῶν εἶχε τοὺς
from each-other standing-apart and part each of-them had the
πεζοὺς ἐν μέσῳ, τοὺς δὲ ψιλοὺς καὶ ἱππέας ἑκατέρωθεν.
infantry in middle the and light-troops and cavalry on-both-sides
στρατηγοὶ δ' ἐφειστήκεσαν τῷ μέσῳ μὲν Αἰμίλιος, τῷ
generals and had-been-set-over the center indeed Aemilius the
δὲ λαιῷ Σερουίλιος, Τερέντιος δὲ τοῖς ἐπὶ δεξιά, χιλίους
and left Servilius Terentius and the on right thousand
ἀμφ' αὑτὸν ἕκαστος ἔχων ἱππέας ἐπειλεγμένους, ἐπικουρεῖν
about himself each having cavalry picked to-help
ὅπῃ τι πονοίη. οὕτω μὲν ἐτάξαντο Ῥωμαῖοι·
wherever anything was-hard-pressed so indeed were-drawn-up Romans
ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας πρῶτα μέν, εἰδὼς περὶ μεσημβρίαν εὖρον 20
— and Hannibal first indeed knowing about midday an-east-wind
ζοφώδη τὸν χῶρον ἐξ ἔθους ἐπιπνέοντα, προύλαβεν ὅπῃ
murky the place by custom blowing-on seized-first where
κατὰ νώτου τὸ πνεῦμα ἔμελλεν ἕξειν· ἔπειτα ἐς ὄρος
at back the wind it-was-going to-have then in a-mountain

περίφυτον καὶ φαραγγώδες ἱππέας προενήδρευσε καὶ
wooded and full-of-ravines cavalry he-set-in-ambush and
ψιλούς, οἷς εἴρητο, ὅταν αἱ φάλαγγες ἔργων ἔχωνται
light-troops to-whom it-had-been-told when the phalanxes in-action are-engaged
καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπίῃ, κατόπιν γίγνεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων.
and the wind comes-on behind to-be of-the enemies
ἄνδρας τε πεντακοσίους Κελτίβηρας ἐπὶ τοῖς μακροῖς
men both five-hundred Celtiberians in-addition-to the long
ξίφεσιν ὑπὸ τοῖς χιτῶσιν ἄλλα ξίφη βραχύτερα περιέζωσεν,
swords under the tunics other swords shorter he-girded
οἷς ἔμελλεν αὐτὸς ὅτε δέοι χρῆσθαι σημανεῖν.
with-which he-was-going himself when it-should-be-needful to-use to-signal
σύμπασαν δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν κἀκεῖνος ἐς τρία διῄρει, καὶ τοὺς
all and the army he-too into three divided and the
ἱππέας τοῖς κέρασιν ἐπέτασσεν ἐκ μεγάλων διαστημάτων, εἰ
cavalry on-the wings posted at great intervals if
δύναιντο κυκλώσασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους. ἐπέστησε δὲ τῷ μὲν
they-could to-encircle the enemies he-set-over and the indeed
δεξιῷ Μάγωνα τὸν ἀδελφόν, τῷ δὲ ἑτέρῳ τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν
right Mago the brother the and other the nephew
Ἄννωνα· τὸ δὲ μέσον αὐτὸς εἶχε κατὰ δόξαν Αἰμιλίου
Hanno the and center himself held on-account-of reputation of-Aemilius
τῆς ἐμπειρίας. δισχίλιοί τε ἱππεῖς ἐπίλεκτοι παρέθεον
for-the experience two-thousand both cavalry picked ran-beside
αὐτῷ, καὶ Μαάρβαλ ἑτέρους ἔχων χιλίους ἐφήδρευεν
him and Maharbal others having thousand lay-in-reserve
ὅπῃ τι πονούμενον ἴδοι. καὶ τάδε πράσσων ἐς
wherever anything hard-pressed he-should-see and these-things doing till
δευτέραν παρέτεινεν ὥραν, ἵνα τὸ πνεῦμα θᾶσσον ἐπέλθοι.
second he-protracted hour that the wind sooner might-come-on

γενομένων δὲ πάντων εὐτρεπῶν ἑκατέροις, οἱ στρατηγοὶ 21
having-become and all ready for-both-sides the generals
διέθεον παρακαλοῦντες αὐτούς, καὶ ὑπεμίμνησκον οἱ
ran-about exhorting them and reminded the(-ones)
μὲν γονέων τε καὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τῆς
indeed of-parents both and children and wives and of-the
προγεγενημένης ἥττης, ὡς ἐν τῇδε τῇ μάχῃ περὶ σωτηρίας
previous defeat as in this the battle about safety
κριθησομένους, ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας τῶν τε προγεγονότων ἐπὶ
going-to-be-decided — but Hannibal of-the both previous over
τοῖσδε τοῖς ἀνδράσι κατορθωμάτων, καὶ ὡς αἰσχρὸν
these the men successes and how shameful
ἡττᾶσθαι τῶν ἡττημένων. ἐπεὶ δ' αἵ τε σάλπιγγες ἤχησαν
to-be-beaten by-the beaten when and the both trumpets sounded
καὶ αἱ φάλαγγες ἐβόησαν, πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῶν οἱ τοξόται
and the phalanxes shouted first indeed of-them the archers
καὶ σφενδονῆται καὶ λιθοβόλοι προδραμόντες ἐς τὸ μέσον
and slingers and stone-throwers having-run-forward into the middle
ἀλλήλων κατῆρχον, μετὰ δὲ τούτους αἱ φάλαγγες ἐχώρουν
of-each-other began after and these the phalanxes advanced
ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον, φόνος τε καὶ πόνος ἦν πολὺς ἐκθύμως
to the work slaughter both and toil was great vehemently
ἀγωνιζομένων ἑκατέρων. ἐν ᾧ σημαίνει μὲν ὁ Ἀννίβας
fighting both-sides in which signals indeed — Hannibal
τοῖς ἱππεῦσι κυκλοῦσθαι τὰ κέρατα τῶν ἐχθρῶν, οἱ δὲ
to-the cavalry to-encircle the wings of-the enemies the and
τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἱππεῖς ὀλιγώτεροι τῶν πολεμίων ὄντες
of-the Romans cavalry fewer than-the enemies being
ἀντιπαρῆγον αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὴν τάξιν ἐκτείναντες ἐπὶ λεπτὸν
moved-alongside them and the line having-extended to thin
ἠγωνίζοντο ὅμως ὑπὸ προθυμίας, καὶ μάλισθ' οἱ τὸ
fought nevertheless through zeal and most the(-men) the

λαιὸν ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ. Ἀννίβας δὲ καὶ Μαάρβαλ
left holding by the sea Hannibal and also Maharbal
ὁμοῦ τοὺς περὶ σφᾶς ἐπῆγον κραυγῇ ἀπλέτῳ καὶ
together the(-men) about themselves led-on with-shouting immense and
βαρβαρικῇ, νομίσαντες ἐκπλήξειν τοὺς ἐναντίους. οἱ
barbaric thinking to-be-going-to-terrify the opponents they
δὲ καὶ τούτους εὐσταθῶς καὶ ἀκαταπλήκτως ὑπέμενον.
but also these steadily and undismayed withstood
22 διαπιπτούσης δὲ καὶ τῆσδε τῆς πείρας, ὁ Ἀννίβας τὸ
failing and also this the attempt — Hannibal the
σημεῖον ἐπῆρε τοῖς Κελτίβηρσι τοῖς πεντακοσίοις. οἱ δὲ
signal raised to-the Celtiberians the five-hundred they and
τῆς τάξεως ἐκδραμόντες ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους μετετίθεντο,
from-the line having-run-out to the Romans went-over
καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ δόρατα καὶ τὰ ξίφη τὰ
and the shields to-them and the spears and the swords the
φανερὰ ὥρεγον ὥσπερ αὐτομολοῦντες. καὶ ὁ Σερουίλιος
visible held-out as-if deserting and — Servilius
αὐτοὺς ἐπαινέσας τὰ μὲν ὅπλα αὐτῶν αὐτίκα παρεῖλεν,
them having-praised the indeed arms their at-once took-away
ἐν δὲ μόνοις, ὡς ᾤετο, τοῖς χιτῶσιν ἔστησεν ὀπίσω· οὐ
in and only as he-thought the tunics placed behind not
γὰρ ἐδοκίμαζε καταδεῖν αὐτομόλους ἐν ὄψει πολεμίων, οὐδὲ
for he-thought-fit to-bind deserters in sight of-enemies nor
ὑπώπτευεν ἐν χιτῶσι μόνοις ὁρῶν, οὐδὲ καιρὸς ἦν ἐν τοσῷδε
suspected in tunics only seeing nor time was in so-great
πόνῳ. σπεῖραι δ' ἕτεραι Λιβύων προσεποιήσαντο φεύγειν
toil cohorts and other of-Libyans pretended to-flee
ἄχρι τῶν ὀρῶν, συναλαλάξασαι μέγα. σύμβολον δ' ἦν
as-far-as the mountains having-raised-the-cry loudly a-signal and was
ἡ βοὴ τοῖς ἐν ταῖς φάραγξι κεκρυμμένοις ἀναστρέφειν
the shout for-the(-men) in the ravines hidden to-turn

ἐς τοὺς διώκοντας. καὶ εὐθὺς οἵ τε ψιλοὶ καὶ ἱππεῖς
against the pursuers and at-once the both light-troops and cavalry
ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἐξεφαίνοντο, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα κατέβαινε
from the ambush appeared and the wind came-down
πολὺ καὶ ζοφῶδες, ἐς τὰς Ῥωμαίων ὄψεις μετὰ κονιορτοῦ
much and murky into the of-Romans faces with dust
φερόμενον· ὃ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἐκώλυε προορᾶν τοὺς
being-borne which also most them hindered to-see-ahead the
πολεμίους. τά τε βέλη Ῥωμαίοις μὲν πάντα ἀμβλύτερα
enemies the both missiles for-Romans indeed all duller
διὰ τὴν ἀντίπνοιαν ἦν, τοῖς δὲ ἐχθροῖς ἐπιτυχῆ, τοῦ
because-of the contrary-wind were for-the but enemies well-aimed the
πνεύματος τὴν βολὴν συνωθοῦντος. οἱ δὲ οὔτε ἐκκλίνειν
wind the cast driving-on they and neither to-avoid
αὐτὰ προορῶντες οὔτ' ἀφιέναι καλῶς δυνάμενοι, σφίσι
them foreseeing nor to-hurl well being-able on-themselves
τε αὐτοῖς περιπταίοντες, ἤδη ποικίλως ἐθορυβοῦντο.
both themselves stumbling already in-various-ways were-thrown-into-confusion
τότε δὴ τὸν καιρὸν ὁρῶντες τὸν ἐπηγγελμένον σφίσιν 23
then indeed the moment seeing the promised to-them
οἱ πεντακόσιοι, τὰ ξίφη τὰ βραχύτερα ἐκ τῶν κόλπων
the five-hundred the swords the shorter from the bosoms
ἐπισπάσαντες πρώτους ἀνῄρουν ὧν ἦσαν ὀπίσω, μετὰ
having-drawn first killed those-whom they-were behind after
δ' ἐκείνους, ἁρπάσαντες αὐτῶν τὰ ξίφη τὰ μείζω καὶ τὰς
and those having-snatched their the swords the larger and the
ἀσπίδας καὶ τὰ δόρατα, πᾶσιν ἐνέπιπτον καὶ μετεπήδων
shields and the spears on-all fell and leapt-about
ἀφειδῶς· καὶ φόνον εἰργάζοντο πλεῖστον οὗτοι μάλιστα,
unsparingly and slaughter wrought most these most
ἅτε πάντων ὄντες ὀπίσω. τό τε κακὸν ἤδη πολὺ
inasmuch-as of-all being behind the both evil already great

τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ ποικίλον ἦν, πονουμένοις μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν
for-the Romans and manifold was being-pressed indeed by the
ἐναντίων, κεκυκλωμένοις δ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνέδρας, ἀναιρουμένοις
opponents being-encircled and by the ambush being-killed
δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναμεμιγμένων. οὐδ' ἐπιστρέψαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς
and by the(-men) mingled-with-them nor to-turn against them
ἐδύναντο διὰ τοὺς ἐπικειμένους σφίσιν ἐκ μετώπου·
could because-of the(-men) pressing them from front
οὐδ' ἐπεγίγνωσκον ἔτι αὐτοὺς εὐμαρῶς, Ῥωμαϊκὰς
nor recognized any-longer them easily Roman
ἀσπίδας ἔχοντας. ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δ' αὐτοὺς ὁ κονιορτὸς
shields having beyond everything and them the dust
ἠνώχλει, καὶ οὐκ εἶχον οὐδ' εἰκάσαι τὸ συμβαῖνον, ἀλλ'
harassed and not they-were-able even to-guess the happening but
οἷον ἐν θορύβῳ καὶ φόβῳ, πάντα πλείω νομίζοντες εἶναι, καὶ
as in confusion and fear everything more thinking to-be and
τὰς ἐνέδρας οὐ τοσαύτας, οὐδὲ τοὺς πεντακοσίους εἰδότες
the ambushes not so-many nor the five-hundred knowing
ὅτι ἦσαν πεντακόσιοι, ἀλλ' ὅλον σφῶν τὸ στρατόπεδον
that they-were five-hundred but whole their the army
ὑπὸ ἱππέων καὶ αὐτομόλων ἡγούμενοι κεκυκλῶσθαι,
by cavalry and deserters thinking to-have-been-encircled
τραπέντες ἔφευγον ἀκόσμως, πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ
having-turned fled disorderly first indeed the(-men) on the
δεξιοῦ, καὶ ὁ Τερέντιος αὐτοῖς ἐξῆρχε τῆς φυγῆς, μετὰ
right and — Terentius them led the flight after
δ' ἐκείνους οἱ τὸ λαιὸν ἔχοντες, ὧν ὁ Σερουίλιος
and those the(-men) the left holding of-whom — Servilius
ἡγούμενος πρὸς τὸν Αἰμίλιον διέδραμε· καὶ περὶ αὐτοὺς ἦν
leading to — Aemilius ran-across and about them were
ὅσον ἄριστον ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν, ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους.
as-many-as best of-cavalry both and infantry about the ten-thousand

καταθορόντες δ᾽ ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων οἱ στρατηγοί, καὶ μετ᾽ 24
having-leapt-down and from the horses the generals and after
αὐτοὺς ὅσοι ἄλλοι ἦσαν ἐπὶ ἵππων, ἐπεζομάχουν τοῖς
them as-many-as others were on horses fought-on-foot with-the
ἱππεῦσι τοῖς Ἀννίβου κεκυκλωμένοι. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐξ
cavalry the of-Hannibal encircled and many indeed from
ἐμπειρίας σὺν εὐψυχίᾳ καὶ ἀπονοίᾳ λαμπρὰ ἔδρασαν,
experience with courage and desperation brilliant-things they-did
ἐμπίπτοντες σὺν ὀργῇ τοῖς πολεμίοις, πανταχόθεν δὲ
falling with anger on-the enemies from-everywhere but
ἀνῃροῦντο, περιτρέχοντος αὐτοὺς τοῦ Ἀννίβου, καὶ τοὺς
were-killed running-round them — Hannibal and the
ἰδίους ὁτὲ μὲν ἐξοτρύνοντος καὶ παρακαλοῦντος τὸ
own(-men) at-times indeed rousing and exhorting the
λείψανον τῆς νίκης ἐκπονῆσαι, ὁτὲ δ᾽ ἐπιπλήσσοντός
remnant of-the victory to-finish at-times and rebuking
τε καὶ ὀνειδίζοντος, εἰ τὸ πλῆθος νενικηκότες ὀλίγων οὐ
both and reproaching if the multitude having-conquered few not
περιέσονται. Ῥωμαῖοι δ᾽, ἕως μὲν αὐτοῖς ὁ Αἰμίλιος
they-will-overcome Romans and as-long-as indeed for-them — Aemilius
καὶ ὁ Σερουίλιος περιῆσαν, πολλὰ δρῶντές τε καὶ
and — Servilius survived many-things doing both and
πάσχοντες ὅμως ὑπέμενον ἐν τάξει· ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἔπεσον
suffering nevertheless held-out in order when and fell
αὐτῶν οἱ στρατηγοί, διὰ μέσων βιαζόμενοι τῶν ἐχθρῶν
their the generals through the-middle forcing of-the enemies
μάλα καρτερῶς κατὰ μέρη διέφευγον, οἱ μέν, ἔνθαπερ
very stoutly by parts escaped some indeed where-indeed
οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν ἐπεφεύγεσαν, ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα δύο
the(-men) before them had-fled into the camps two
ὄντα· καὶ σύμπαντες οἵδε ἐγένοντο ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους καὶ
being and all-together these were about the ten-thousand and

πεντακισχιλίους, οἷς ὁ Ἀννίβας φυλακὴν ἐπέστησεν· οἱ
five-thousand over-whom — Hannibal a-guard set others
δ' ἐς Κάννας, περὶ δισχιλίους, καὶ παρέδωκαν ἑαυτοὺς οἵδε
and to Cannae about two-thousand and surrendered themselves these
οἱ δισχίλιοι τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ. ὀλίγοι δ' ἐς Κανύσιον διέδρασαν,
the two-thousand — to-Hannibal few and to Canusium escaped
καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ κατὰ μέρος ἐσκεδάσθησαν ἀνὰ τὰς ὕλας.
and the rest by part were-scattered through the woods
25 τοῦτο τέλος ἦν τῆς ἐπὶ Κάνναις Ἀννίβου τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων
this end was of-the at Cannae of-Hannibal both and of-Romans
μάχης, ἀρξαμένης μὲν ὑπὲρ ὥραν δευτέραν, ληξάσης δὲ
battle having-begun indeed after hour second having-ended and
πρὸ δύο τῆς νυκτὸς ὡρῶν, οὔσης δ' ἔτι νῦν ἀοιδίμου
before two of-the night hours being and still now famous
Ῥωμαίοις ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ· ἀπέθανον γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖσδε
for-Romans for disaster died for of-them in these
ταῖς ὥραις πεντακισμύριοι, καὶ ζώντων ἐλήφθη πολὺ
the hours fifty-thousand and alive was-taken great
πλῆθος ἀπό τε τῆς βουλῆς πολλοὶ παρόντες ἐτελεύτησαν,
multitude from both the senate many present perished
καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ταξίαρχοί τε πάντες καὶ λοχαγοὶ καὶ
and besides them officers both all and centurions and
τῶν στρατηγῶν αὐτῶν οἱ ἄριστοι δύο. ὁ δὲ φαυλότατός
of-the generals themselves the best two the and basest
τε καὶ τῶν συμφορῶν αἴτιος ἀρχομένης τῆς τροπῆς
both and of-the disasters cause beginning the rout
ἐπεφεύγει. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι δύο ἔτεσιν ἤδη περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν
had-fled and Romans in-two years already about — Italy
Ἀννίβᾳ πολεμοῦντες ἀπωλωλέκεσαν ἀνδρῶν ἰδίων τε
with-Hannibal warring had-lost of-men own both
καὶ συμμάχων ἐς δέκα μυριάδας.
and allied about ten myriads

Ἀννίβας δὲ νίκην ἀρίστην τε καὶ σπάνιον ἐξενεγκάμενος 26
Hannibal and victory best both and rare having-won
ἡμέρας μιᾶς στρατηγήμασι τέσσαρσι, τοῦ τε πνεύματος
of-day one by-stratagems four of-the both wind
τῇ φορᾷ καὶ τοῖς ὑποκριθεῖσιν αὐτομολεῖν καὶ τοῖς
by-the force and by-the(-men) having-pretended to-desert and by-the(-men)
προσποιηθεῖσι φεύγειν καὶ τοῖς ἐν μέσαις ταῖς φάραγξι
having-feigned to-flee and by-the(-men) in mid the ravines
κεκρυμμένοις, εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου τοὺς πεσόντας ἐπῄει,
hidden at-once from the action the fallen visited
θεώμενος δὲ τῶν φίλων τοὺς ἀρίστους ἀνῃρημένους ᾤμωξε,
beholding and of-the friends the best killed wailed
καὶ δακρύσας εἶπεν οὐ χρῄζειν ἑτέρας τοιᾶσδε νίκης. ὃ καὶ
and having-wept said not to-need another such victory which also
Πύρρον φασὶν εἰπεῖν πρὸ αὐτοῦ, τὸν Ἠπείρου βασιλέα,
Pyrrhus they-say to-have-said before him the of-Epirus king
Ῥωμαίων κἀκεῖνον ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ κρατοῦντα σὺν ὁμοίᾳ ζημίᾳ.
Romans he-too in Italy conquering with like loss
τῶν δὲ φυγόντων ἐκ τῆς μάχης οἱ μὲν ἐν τῷ μείζονι
of-the and having-fled from the battle the(-men) indeed in the greater
στρατοπέδῳ στρατηγὸν αὑτῶν ἑσπέρας ἑλόμενοι Πόπλιον
camp as-general for-themselves in-the-evening having-chosen Publius
Σεμπρώνιον, ἐβιάσαντο τοὺς Ἀννίβου φύλακας ὕπνου καὶ
Sempronius forced the of-Hannibal guards with-sleep and
κόπου πλήρεις ὄντας, καὶ διέδραμον ἐς Κανύσιον περὶ
fatigue full being and ran-through to Canusium about
μέσας νύκτας, ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους, οἱ δ᾽ ἐν τῷ βραχυτέρῳ
mid night about the ten-thousand the and in the smaller
πεντακισχίλιοι τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας ἐλήφθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ
five-thousand on-the following day were-taken by —
Ἀννίβου. Τερέντιος δὲ στρατὸν ἀγείρας τοὺς διερριμμένους
Hannibal Terentius and army having-gathered the scattered

ἐπειρᾶτο παραθαρρύνειν, καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσας
tried to-encourage and as-general over-them having-set
τῶν χιλιάρχων τινὰ Σκιπίωνα ἐς Ῥώμην διέδραμεν.
of-the tribunes one Scipio to Rome ran-off

27–31 · AFTER CANNAE

Rome mourns, sends Fabius Pictor to consult Delphi, frees eight thousand slaves, and gives Marcellus the war against Hannibal. Hannibal lets the captives send envoys to ask for ransom, but the senate refuses, to teach the army to conquer or die; Hannibal sells or kills the captives and makes the notable ones fight each other, fathers against sons. He besieges Petelia, whose men and women sally until, weak with hunger, they are all killed and Hanno takes the town. His Celtiberian horse are won over by countrymen sent from Iberia. At Argyrippa Dasius betrays the city to Hannibal, then offers it back to the senate and is thrown out; Hannibal burns Dasius' wife and children alive, and Fabius takes the town.

27 ἡ δὲ πόλις, ἀπαγγελθείσης τῆς συμφορᾶς, οἱ μὲν
the and city having-been-reported the disaster some indeed
ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐθρήνουν τε τοὺς οἰκείους ἀνακαλοῦντες,
in the streets lamented both the kinsmen calling-on
καὶ σφᾶς ὡς αὐτίκα ἁλωσομένους ὠλοφύροντο, αἱ δὲ
and themselves as at-once going-to-be-taken bewailed the and
γυναῖκες ἱκέτευον ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς μετὰ τῶν τέκνων λῆξαί
women supplicated in the temples with the children to-cease
ποτε τὰς συμφορὰς τῇ πόλει, οἱ δ' ἄρχοντες θυσίαις
at-last the disasters for-the city the and magistrates with-sacrifices
τε καὶ εὐχαῖς ἱλάσκοντο τοὺς θεούς, εἴ τι μήνιμα ἐνοχλεῖ,
both and prayers propitiated the gods if any wrath harasses
κορεσθῆναι τοῖς γεγονόσιν. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ Κόιντον μὲν
to-be-sated with-the happenings the and senate Quintus indeed
Φάβιον, τὸν συγγραφέα τῶνδε τῶν ἔργων, ἐς Δελφοὺς
Fabius the historian of-these the deeds to Delphi

ἔπεμπε χρησόμενον περὶ τῶν παρόντων, δούλους δὲ ἐς
sent going-to-consult about the present-matters slaves and about
ὀκτακισχιλίους τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐπιδόντων ἠλευθέρου, ὅπλα
eight-thousand the masters having-given-them freed arms
τε καὶ τόξα τοὺς ἐν ἄστει πάντας ἐργάζεσθαι παρεσκεύαζε,
both and bows the(-men) in the-city all to-make prepared
καὶ συμμάχους, καὶ ὥς, τινὰς συνέλεγεν. Κλαύδιόν τε
and allies even so some collected Claudius both
Μάρκελλον μέλλοντα πλεῖν ἐς Σικελίαν, ἐς τὸν Ἀννίβου
Marcellus about to-sail to Sicily to the of-Hannibal
πόλεμον μετέφερεν. ὁ δὲ τὸν μὲν στόλον ἐμερίσατο τῷ
war transferred he and the indeed fleet shared with-the
συνάρχῳ Φουρίῳ, καὶ τὸ μέρος ἔπεμψεν ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν,
colleague Furius and the part sent to — Sicily
αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς δούλους ἄγων καὶ ὅσους ἄλλους ἐδύνατο
himself and the slaves leading and as-many-as others he-could
τῶν πολιτῶν ἢ συμμάχων, γενομένους ἅπαντας ἐς μυρίους
of-the citizens or allies being all about ten-thousand
πεζοὺς καὶ δισχιλίους ἱππέας, ἐς τὸ Τεανὸν παρῆλθε, καὶ
infantry and two-thousand cavalry to — Teanum went and
ὅ τι πράξειν ὁ Ἀννίβας μέλλοι παρεφύλασσεν.
what ever to-do — Hannibal intended watched
Ἀννίβου δὲ δόντος τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἐς Ῥώμην 28
Hannibal and having-allowed the captives to Rome
πρεσβεύσασθαι περὶ σφῶν, εἰ θέλοιεν αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐν
to-send-envoys about themselves if wished them the(-men) in
ἄστει λύσασθαι χρημάτων, καὶ τοὺς αἱρεθέντας ὑπ᾽
the-city to-ransom with-money and the(-men) chosen by
αὐτῶν τρεῖς, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Γναῖος Σεμπρώνιος, ὁρκώσαντος
them three whom led Gnaeus Sempronius having-bound-by-oath
ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπανήξειν, οἱ μὲν οἰκεῖοι τῶν ἁλόντων,
to him to-be-going-to-return the indeed kinsmen of-the captured

περιστάντες τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἐπηγγέλλοντο λύσεσθαι
standing-round the senate-house promised to-be-going-to-ransom
τοὺς οἰκείους ἕκαστος ἰδίοις χρήμασι, καὶ παρεκάλουν
the kinsmen each with-own money and begged
τὴν βουλὴν τοῦτο σφίσιν ἐπιτρέψαι, καὶ ὁ δῆμος αὐτοῖς
the senate this to-them to-permit and the people with-them
συνεδάκρυε καὶ συνεδεῖτο· τῶν δὲ βουλευτῶν οἱ μὲν οὐκ
wept and joined-in-begging of-the but senators some indeed not
ἠξίουν ἐπὶ τοσαῖσδε συμφοραῖς ἄλλους τοσούσδε βλαβῆναι
thought-fit after so-great disasters other so-many to-be-harmed
τὴν πόλιν, οὐδὲ δούλους μὲν ἐλευθεροῦν τοὺς δὲ ἐλευθέρους
the city nor slaves indeed to-free the but free
ὑπερορᾶν, οἱ δ' οὐκ ᾤοντο δεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐθίζειν
to-disregard others and not thought it-needful them to-accustom
τῷδε τῷ ἐλέῳ φεύγειν, ἀλλ' ἢ νικᾶν μαχομένους ἢ
by-this the pity to-flee but either to-conquer fighting or
ἀποθνήσκειν ὡς οὐκ ὂν οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἐλεεῖσθαι
to-die as not being-possible even by the kinsmen to-be-pitied
τὸν φυγόντα. πολλῶν δὲ παραδειγμάτων ἐς ἑκάτερα
the(-one) having-fled many and examples to both-sides
λεχθέντων, οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν ἡ βουλὴ τοῖς συγγενέσι λύσασθαι
having-been-spoken not permitted the senate the kinsmen to-ransom
τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, ἡγουμένη, πολλῶν σφίσιν ἔτι κινδύνων
the captives thinking many for-them still dangers
ἐπόντων, οὐ συνοίσειν ἐς τὸ μέλλον τὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι
impending not to-be-going-to-benefit for the future the in the present
φιλανθρωπίαν, τὸ δ' ἀπάνθρωπον, εἰ καὶ σκυθρωπὸν
humanity the but inhumanity if even grim
εἴη, πρός τε τὰ μέλλοντα χρήσιμον ἔσεσθαι καὶ
it-should-be for both the future useful to-be-going-to-be and
ἐν τῷ παρόντι καταπλήξειν Ἀννίβαν τῷ τολμήματι.
in the present to-be-going-to-strike Hannibal with-the daring

Σεμπρώνιος οὖν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ δύο τῶν αἰχμαλώτων
Sempronius then and the(-men) with him two of-the captives
πρὸς Ἀννίβαν ἐπανῆεσαν. ὁ δ' ἔστι μὲν οὓς ἀπέδοτο
to Hannibal returned he and there-are indeed whom he-sold
τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, ἔστι δ' οὓς ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἀνῄρει, καὶ τοῖς
of-the captives are and whom in anger he-killed and with-the
σώμασι τὸν ποταμὸν ἐγεφύρου καὶ ἐπέρα. ὅσοι δ' ἦσαν
bodies the river bridged and crossed as-many-as and were
ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἢ ἄλλως ἐπιφανεῖς, μονομαχεῖν αὐτοὺς
from the senate or otherwise notable to-fight-in-single-combat them
ὑπὸ θεαταῖς τοῖς Λίβυσιν ἠνάγκασε, πατέρας τε υἱοῖς
before spectators the Libyans he-compelled fathers both with-sons
καὶ ἀδελφοὺς ἀδελφοῖς, οὐδὲν ἐκλείπων ὑπεροψίας ὠμῆς.
and brothers with-brothers nothing omitting of-contempt cruel
μετὰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἐπιὼν τὰ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἐλυμαίνετο, καὶ 29
after and this visiting the-places under Romans he-ravaged and
Πετηλίνοις μηχανήματα προσῆγεν. οἱ δ' ὀλίγοι μὲν ἦσαν,
Petelini engines brought-against they and few indeed were
ὑπὸ δὲ τόλμης μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπεξέθεον αὐτῷ,
from but daring with the women sallied against-him
καὶ πολλὰ καὶ γενναῖα ἔδρων, τάς τε μηχανὰς αὐτοῦ
and many and noble-deeds did the both engines his
συνεχῶς ἐνεπίμπρασαν, οὐχ ἧσσον αὐτοῖς τῶν γυναικῶν
continually burned not less with-them the women
ἀνδριζομένων. ὀλιγώτεροι δὲ γιγνόμενοι καθ' ἕκαστον
acting-the-man fewer and becoming at each
ἔργον ἐκακοπάθουν μάλιστα ὑπὸ λιμοῦ· καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας
action they-suffered most from famine and — Hannibal
αἰσθανόμενος περιετείχισεν αὐτούς, καὶ Ἄννωνα ἐπέστησε
perceiving walled-round them and Hanno set
τῇ πολιορκίᾳ. οἱ δ', ἐπιτείνοντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ κακοῦ,
over-the siege they and pressing them the evil

πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς ἀχρείους σφῶν ἐς μάχας ἐξέβαλον ἐς
first indeed the useless of-them for battles threw-out into
τὸ μεσοτείχιον, καὶ κτιννυμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἄννωνος
the space-between-the-walls and being-killed by — Hanno
ἐφεώρων ἀλύπως ὡς εὐμοιρότερον ἀποθνήσκοντας. τῷ δ'
looked-on without-grief as more-fortunate dying by-the and
αὐτῷ λόγῳ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάμπαν ἀποροῦντες ἐξέδραμον
same reasoning also the rest wholly at-a-loss ran-out
ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ γενναῖα καὶ
against the enemies and many indeed and noble-deeds also
τότε ἔδρασαν, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀτροφίας καὶ ἀσθενείας σωμάτων
then did through and want-of-food and weakness of-bodies
οὐδ' ὑποστρέψαι δυνάμενοι διεφθάρησαν ἅπαντες ὑπὸ τῶν
not-even to-turn-back being-able perished all by the
Λιβύων. καὶ τὴν πόλιν εἷλεν ὁ Ἄννων, ἐκφυγόντων καὶ
Libyans and the city took — Hanno having-escaped even
ὡς ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὀλίγων τῶν δραμεῖν δυνηθέντων. τούτους
so from it few of-the(-men) to-run having-been-able these
διερριμμένους οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι σπουδῇ συνῆγον, καὶ γενομένους
scattered the Romans with-zeal gathered and being
ἐς ὀκτακοσίους κατήγαγόν τε καὶ συνῴκισαν μετὰ τόνδε
about eight-hundred brought-back both and resettled after this
τὸν πόλεμον αὖθις ἐς τὴν πατρίδα, ἀγάμενοι τῆς τε
the war again into the fatherland admiring the both
περὶ σφᾶς εὐνοίας καὶ τοῦ παραδόξου τῆς προθυμίας.
toward themselves goodwill and the unexpectedness of-the zeal
30 τῶν δὲ Κελτιβήρων ἱππέων, οἳ ἐμισθοφόρουν Ἀννίβᾳ,
of-the and Celtiberian cavalry who served-for-pay to-Hannibal
λαμπρῶς ἀγωνιζομένων, ὅσοι Ῥωμαίων ἐστρατήγουν
brilliantly fighting as-many-as of-Romans commanded
ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, τοσούσδε ἑτέρους τὰς πόλεις τὰς ὑπὸ
in Iberia as-many others the cities the under

σφίσιν αἰτήσαντες ἐς ἀντίπαλον ἐκείνων ἔπεμψαν ἐς
them having-asked as a-counter to-them sent into
τὴν Ἰταλίαν, οἳ τοῖς ὁμοεθνέσιν, ὅτε πλησίον Ἀννίβου
— Italy who with-the fellow-countrymen when near Hannibal
στρατοπεδεύοιεν, ἀναμιγνύμενοι μετέπειθον αὐτούς.
they-encamped mingling persuaded-to-change them
καὶ πολλῶν μετατιθεμένων τε καὶ αὐτομολούντων ἢ
and many changing-sides both and deserting or
ἀποδιδρασκόντων οὐδὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἦν ἔτι τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ
running-away not-even the rest was any-longer — to-Hannibal
πιστόν, ὑποπτευόμενόν τε ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου καὶ ὑποπτεύοντες
faithful being-suspected both by him and suspecting
αὐτόν. κάκιον οὖν ἔπρασσεν ὁ Ἀννίβας τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε.
him worse then fared — Hannibal the from this
Ἀργύριππα δ᾽ ἐστὶ πόλις ἐν τῇ Δαυνίᾳ, ἣν Διομήδης 31
Argyrippa and is a-city in — Daunia which Diomedes
ὁ Ἀργεῖος λέγεται κτίσαι. καί τις ἔκγονος εἶναι τοῦ
the Argive is-said to-have-founded and some descendant to-be —
Διομήδους νομιζόμενος, Δάσιος, ἀνὴρ εὐμετάβολός τε
of-Diomedes thought Dasius a-man changeable both
τὸ φρόνημα καὶ οὐ Διομήδους ἄξιος, Ῥωμαίων περὶ
in-the mind and not of-Diomedes worthy of-Romans about
Κάννας τὴν μεγάλην ἥτταν ἡττημένων ἀπέστησε τὴν
Cannae the great defeat having-been-defeated detached the
πατρίδα πρὸς τοὺς Λίβυας ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων. τότε δ᾽ αὖ
fatherland to the Libyans from Romans then and again
δυσπραγοῦντος Ἀννίβου ἔλαθεν ἐς Ῥώμην διαπεύσας, καὶ
faring-badly Hannibal unnoticed to Rome having-ridden and
ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἐπαχθεὶς ἔφη δύνασθαι τὸ ἁμάρτημα
before the senate having-been-brought said to-be-able the offense
ἰάσασθαι καὶ μεταβαλεῖν αὖθις ἐς Ῥωμαίους τὴν πόλιν. οἱ
to-heal and to-change-over again to Romans the city they

δ᾽ ὀλίγου μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ διέφθειραν, ἐξέβαλον δ᾽ εὐθὺς
and almost indeed him also destroyed threw-out and at-once
ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. ὁ δὲ καὶ τούσδε καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν δεδιὼς
from the city he and both these and — Hannibal fearing
ἠλᾶτο ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν, καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀννίβας αὐτοῦ τὴν
wandered through the country and — indeed Hannibal his the
γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα ζῶντας ἔκαυσε, τὰ δὲ Ἀργύριππα
wife and the children alive burned — and Argyrippa
ἑτέρων ἐνδόντων εἷλε Φάβιος Μάξιμος νυκτός, καὶ
others having-betrayed-it took Fabius Maximus by-night and
κτείνας ὅσους ηὗρε Λιβύων, φρουρὰν ἐπέστησε τῇ πόλει.
having-killed as-many-as he-found of-Libyans a-garrison set-over the city

32–40 · TARENTUM, CAPUA, AND THE MARCH ON ROME

Cononeus, a hunter friendly with the Roman commander, has the gates opened by night and lets Hannibal into Tarentum; the Romans hold the citadel and burn his engines, and he has the Tarentines cut a channel across the city to bring their ships out. Thurii, Metapontum, and Heraclea go over to him, and Gracchus is betrayed to an ambush by his Lucanian guest-friend Flavius. While Hannibal is in Lucania, a consul takes his camp at Beneventum, and the consuls wall Capua in with a double circuit. Unable to relieve it, Hannibal marches on Rome, where old men, women, and children man the walls; he views the city by night and turns back, led astray by a god, awed by its fortune, or, as he said, unwilling to end the war.

32 Τάραντα δὲ φρουρουμένην ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων Κονωνεὺς ὧδε
Tarentum and being-garrisoned by Romans Cononeus thus
προύδωκεν. κυνηγετεῖν εἴθιστο ὁ Κονωνεύς, καὶ φέρων
betrayed to-hunt was-accustomed — Cononeus and bringing
ἀεί τι τῷ φρουράρχῳ Λιουίῳ συνήθης ἐκ τοῦδε
always something to-the garrison-commander Livius intimate from this
ἐγεγένητο. ὡς δὲ ἐν πολεμουμένῃ χώρᾳ, νυκτὸς ἔφη δεῖν

κυνηγετεῖν καὶ νυκτὸς φέρειν τὰ λαμβανόμενα. νυκτὸς
to-hunt and by-night to-bring the catches by-night
οὖν αὐτῷ τῶν πυλῶν ἀνοιγομένων, συνθέμενος Ἀννίβᾳ
then for-him the gates being-opened having-agreed with-Hannibal
καὶ στρατιώτας λαβών, τοὺς μὲν ἔκρυψεν ἐν λόχμῃ τινὶ
and soldiers having-taken some indeed he-hid in a-thicket some
πλησίον, τοὺς δ' ἐπακολουθεῖν ἐκέλευσεν ἑαυτῷ δι' ὀλίγου,
near others and to-follow ordered himself at short-interval
τοὺς δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ προσιέναι, θώρακας ἔνδοθεν ὑπεζωσμένους
others and with him to-approach breastplates inside girded
καὶ ξίφη, τὰ δ' ἐκτὸς ὡς ἂν ἐς κυνηγέτας ἐσκευασμένους.
and swords the and outside as — for hunters equipped
κάπρον τε αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ ξύλων ἐπιθεὶς ἦκε νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὰς
a-boar both for-them on poles having-placed came by-night to the
πύλας. καὶ τῶν φυλάκων, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἦν, ἀνοιξάντων,
gates and the guards as custom was having-opened
οἱ μὲν συνεσελθόντες αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀνοίξαντας αὐτίκα
the(-men) indeed having-entered-with him the(-men) having-opened at-once
διεχρῶντο, οἱ δ' ἐπόμενοι κατὰ σπουδὴν συνεσέπιπτον
killed the(-men) and following with haste fell-in-with
ἐκείνοις, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς λόχμης ἐδέχοντο, καὶ τὰς
them and the(-men) from the thicket received and the
πύλας ἀνεῴγνυον τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ. ὁ δὲ ἔσω παρελθὼν τῆς
gates opened — to-Hannibal he and inside having-come of-the
μὲν ἄλλης πόλεως εὐθὺς ἐκράτει, καὶ τοὺς Ταραντίνους
indeed rest city at-once mastered and the Tarentines
ἑταιρισάμενος τὴν ἄκραν ἔτι φρουρουμένην ἐπολιόρκει.
having-befriended the citadel still garrisoned besieged
ὧδε μὲν Κονωνεὺς Τάραντα προύδωκε· Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ὅσοι 33
thus indeed Cononeus Tarentum betrayed Romans and as-many-as
τὴν ἀκρόπολιν εἶχον, ἐς μὲν πεντακισχιλίους ἦσαν, καὶ
the acropolis held about indeed five-thousand were and

αὐτοῖς Ταραντίνων τέ τινες προσεχώρουν, καὶ ὁ τῆς ἐν
to-them of-Tarentines both some came-over and the of-the in
Μεταποντίῳ φρουρᾶς ἡγεμὼν τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς φρουρᾶς ἔχων
Metapontum garrison commander the half of-the garrison having
ἦλθε, βελῶν τε καὶ ὀργάνων πολλῶν ηὐπόρουν, ὡς
came of-missiles both and engines many they-were-well-supplied so-as
ἀπὸ τείχους εὐμαρῶς ἀμύνεσθαι τὸν Ἀννίβαν. ηὐπόρει
from wall easily to-ward-off — Hannibal was-well-supplied
δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας. πύργους τε οὖν καὶ καταπέλτας
and also — Hannibal towers both then and catapults
ἐπάγων καὶ χελώνας ἔνια διέσειε, καὶ δρεπάνοις ἀπὸ κάλων
bringing-up and tortoises some shook and with-sickles from ropes
ἐπάλξεις τε κατέσυρε καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀπεγύμνου. οἱ δὲ
battlements both dragged-down and the wall stripped they and
λίθους μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς μηχανὰς ἀφιέντες πολλὰ συνέτριβον,
stones indeed on the engines hurling many crushed
βρόχοις δὲ τὰ δρέπανα περιέσπων, καὶ πολλάκις ἐκθέοντες
with-nooses and the sickles pulled-aside and often running-out
ἄφνω συνετάρασσον ἀεί τι καὶ κτείναντες ἐπανήεσαν.
suddenly confounded always some also having-killed returned
ὡς δὲ καὶ πνεῦμά ποτε λάβρον ἐθεάσαντο, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ
when and also a-wind once violent they-saw some indeed from
τοῦ τείχους δᾷδας ἡμμένας καὶ στύππιον καὶ πίσσαν αὐτοῦ
the wall torches lit and tow and pitch there
τοῖς μηχανήμασιν ἐπερρίπτουν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκδραμόντες
on-the engines threw others and also having-run-out
ὑπέθηκαν. ἀπογνοὺς οὖν ὁ Ἀννίβας τῆσδε τῆς πείρας
set-under having-despaired then — Hannibal of-this the attempt
περιετείχισε τὴν πόλιν, χωρίς γε τοῦ πρὸς θαλάσσῃ
walled-round the city except at-least the by sea

μέρους· οὐ γὰρ ἦν καὶ τοῦτο δυνατόν. καὶ παραδοὺς
part not for was also this possible and having-handed-over
Ἄννωνι τὴν πολιορκίαν, ἐς Ἰάπυγας ἀνεχώρει.
to-Hanno the siege to Iapygians withdrew
λιμένες δ' εἰσὶ τοῖς Ταραντίνοις πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον ἐκ 34
harbors and are for-the Tarentines toward north wind from
πελάγους ἐσπλέοντι διὰ ἰσθμοῦ, καὶ τὸν ἰσθμὸν ἀπέκλειον
open-sea to-one-sailing-in through an-isthmus and the isthmus they-closed
γεφύραις, ὧν τότε κρατοῦντες οἱ Ῥωμαίων φρουροὶ σφίσι
with-bridges which then mastering the of-Romans guards for-themselves
μὲν ἐδέχοντο τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκ θαλάσσης, Ταραντίνοις δ'
indeed received the provisions from sea for-Tarentines but
ἐκώλυον ἐσκομίζεσθαι. ὅθεν ἠπόρουν ἀγορᾶς οἱ Ταραντῖνοι,
prevented to-be-brought-in whence lacked provisions the Tarentines
ἕως ἐπελθὼν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐδίδαξε λεωφόρον ὁδόν, ἣ
until having-come to-them — Hannibal taught a-public road which
διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως ἔφερεν ἀπὸ τῶν λιμένων ἐπὶ τὴν
through the-middle of-the city led from the harbors to the
νότιον θάλασσαν, ὀρύξαντας, ἰσθμὸν ἕτερον ποιήσασθαι.
southern sea having-dug isthmus another to-make
καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτω πράξαντες εἶχόν τε ἀγοράν, καὶ τριήρεσι
and they indeed so having-done had both provisions and with-triremes
τοὺς Ῥωμαίων φρουροὺς ναῦς οὐκ ἔχοντας ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος
the of-Romans guards ships not having under the wall
ἔβλαπτον, ὅτε μὴ χειμὼν εἴη μάλιστα, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν
harmed when not storm was most and the provisions
τὴν καταπλέουσαν ἐκείνοις ἀφῃροῦντο· οἱ δ' ἠπόρουν. καὶ
the sailing-in to-those took-away they and lacked and
νυκτὸς αὐτοῖς Θουρίων σῖτόν τε ναυσὶ πεμπόντων καὶ
by-night to-them of-Thurians grain both with-ships sending and
τριήρεις ἐς φυλακὴν τῶν νεῶν, οἱ Ταραντῖνοι καὶ οἱ σὺν
triremes for guard of-the ships the Tarentines and the with

αὐτοῖς Λίβυες πυθόμενοι καὶ λοχήσαντες ἔλαβον αὐτῷ
them Libyans having-learned and having-lain-in-ambush took with-very
τε σίτῳ καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἁπάσας. πρεσβευομένων
both grain and with-very men all sending-envoys
δὲ θαμινὰ τῶν Θουρίων, καὶ ἀξιούντων λύσασθαι τοὺς
and often the Thurians and asking to-ransom the(-men)
εἰλημμένους, οἱ Ταραντῖνοι τοὺς φοιτῶντας αὐτῶν
taken the Tarentines the(-men) visiting of-them
μετέπειθον ἐς Ἀννίβαν. καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ὅσους εἶχε
persuaded-to-change to Hannibal and — Hannibal as-many-as he-had
Θουρίων αἰχμαλώτους, εὐθὺς ἀπέλυεν. οἱ δὲ τοὺς οἰκείους
of-Thurians captives at-once released they and the kinsmen
σφῶν βιασάμενοι, τὰς πύλας Ἄννωνι ἀνέῳξαν. καὶ Θούριοι
theirs having-forced the gates to-Hanno opened and Thurians
μὲν Ῥωμαίοις Τάραντα περιποιούμενοι ἔλαθον οὕτως
indeed for-Romans Tarentum securing escaped-notice so
ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίοις αὐτοὶ γενόμενοι· ἡ δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει
under Carthaginians themselves having-become the but in the city
φρουρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐς Βρεντέσιον λαθοῦσα διέπλευσεν.
garrison of-Romans to Brundisium unnoticed sailed-across
35 Μεταποντῖνοι δ', ἐξ οὗ σφῶν ὁ φρούραρχος τὸ ἥμισυ
Metapontines and from when their the garrison-commander the half
τῆς φρουρᾶς ἄγων ἐς Τάραντα ᾤχετο, τοὺς λοιποὺς ὀλίγους
of-the garrison leading to Tarentum went the remaining few
γενομένους ἀπέκτειναν καὶ Ἀννίβᾳ προσέθεντο. προσέθετο
being killed and to-Hannibal joined joined
δὲ καὶ ἡ μεταξὺ Μεταποντίνων τε καὶ Θουρίων Ἡράκλεια,
and also the between of-Metapontines both and Thurians Heraclea
δέει μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμῃ. καὶ πάλιν ἦν ἐπικυδέστερα
through-fear rather than through-judgment and again were more-glorious
τὰ Ἀννίβου. τοῦ δ' ἑξῆς ἔτους καὶ Λευκανῶν τινες
the-affairs of-Hannibal of-the and next year also of-Lucanians some

ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων· οἷς Σεμπρώνιος Γράκχος
revolted from Romans whom Sempronius Gracchus
ἀνθύπατος ἐπελθὼν ἐπολέμει. Λευκανὸς δέ τις ἐκ τῶν
proconsul having-come warred a-Lucanian but some from the(-men)
ἔτι Ῥωμαίοις ἐμμενόντων Φλάουιος, φίλος ὢν καὶ ξένος
still with-Romans remaining Flavius friend being and guest-friend
Γράκχου, προδιδοὺς αὐτὸν ἔπεισεν ἔς τι χωρίον ἐλθόντα
of-Gracchus betraying him persuaded to some place having-come
συνθέσθαι Λευκανῶν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ὡς μετανοοῦσι, καὶ
to-make-terms of-Lucanians with-the generals as repenting and
δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν πίστεις. ὁ δ' οὐδὲν ὑποτοπήσας εἵπετο μεθ'
to-give and to-receive pledges he and nothing having-suspected followed with
ἱππέων τριάκοντα. Νομάδων δὲ πολλῶν αὐτὸν ἐξ ἐνέδρας
cavalry thirty Numidians and many him from ambush
κυκλωσαμένων, ὁ μὲν Φλάουιος ἐξίππευσεν ἐς ἐκείνους,
having-surrounded — indeed Flavius rode-off to them
ὁ δὲ Γράκχος συνεὶς τῆς προδοσίας καθήλατο μετὰ
— and Gracchus having-understood the treachery leapt-down with
τῶν ἱππέων, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ γενναῖα δρῶν κατεκόπη μετὰ
the cavalry and many and noble-deeds doing was-cut-down with
πάντων πλὴν τριῶν, οὓς μόνους εἶλεν ὁ Ἀννίβας, πολλὴν
all except three whom alone took — Hannibal much
ποιησάμενος σπουδὴν λαβεῖν ζῶντα Ῥωμαίων τὸν ἀνθύπατον.
having-made effort to-take alive of-Romans the proconsul
αἰσχρῶς δ' αὐτὸν ἐνηδρευμένον ἀγάμενος ὅμως τῆς
shamefully but him ambushed admiring nevertheless for-the
τελευταίας ἀρετῆς ἔθαψε, καὶ τὰ ὀστᾶ Ῥωμαίοις ἔπεμψεν.
last valor he-buried and the bones to-Romans sent
καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν Ἰάπυξιν ἐθέριζε καὶ σῖτον
and from this himself indeed in Iapygians reaped and grain
πολὺν ἐσώρευε,
much heaped-up

36 Ῥωμαίων δ' ἐπιθέσθαι Καπυαίοις ἐγνωκότων ἔπεμπεν
Romans and to-attack Capuans having-decided he-sent
Ἄννωνα μετὰ χιλίων πεζῶν καὶ χιλίων ἱππέων ἐσδραμεῖν
Hanno with thousand infantry and thousand cavalry to-run-in
νυκτὸς ἐς Καπύην. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐσέδραμε Ῥωμαίους
by-night into Capua and he indeed ran-in Romans
λαθών, οἱ δ' ἡμέρας γενομένης, ὡς πλέονας εἶδον
having-escaped-notice they and day having-come when more they-saw
ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν, τὸ συμβὰν ἔγνωσαν, καὶ τῆς μὲν
on the walls the happening knew and from-the indeed
πόλεως εὐθὺς ἀνεχώρουν, τὰ δὲ θέρη τὰ Καπυαίων καὶ
city at-once withdrew the but crops the of-Capuans and
τῶν ἄλλων Καμπανῶν προκατελάμβανον. ὀδυρομένοις
of-the other Campanians seized-first lamenting
δὲ περὶ τοῦδε τοῖς Καμπανοῖς ὁ Ἀννίβας ἔφη πολὺν
and about this to-the Campanians — Hannibal said much
ἔχειν σῖτον ἐν Ἰαπυγίᾳ, καὶ πέμποντας ἐκέλευε λαμβάνειν
to-have grain in Iapygia and sending ordered to-take
ὁσάκις θέλοιεν. οἱ δ' οὐκ ὑποζύγια μόνον οὐδ' ἄνδρας,
as-often-as they-wished they and not pack-animals only nor men
ἀλλὰ καὶ γύναια καὶ παιδία ἔπεμπον ἀχθοφορήσοντα
but also women and children sent going-to-carry
τοῦ σίτου· καὶ γὰρ ἐθάρρουν τῇ διόδῳ, μετελθόντος
the grain and for they-were-confident in-the passage having-moved
ἐς αὐτὴν ἐξ Ἰαπύγων Ἀννίβου, καὶ παρὰ τὸν Κάλωρα
to it from Iapygians Hannibal and by the Calor
ποταμὸν στρατοπεδεύοντος, πλησίον Βενεβενδέων, οὓς
river encamping near Beneventans whom
μόνους ἐδεδοίκεσαν Ῥωμαίοις ἔτι συμμάχους ὄντας. τότε
alone they-feared to-Romans still allies being then
δὲ Ἀννίβου παρόντος ἁπάντων κατεφρόνουν.
but Hannibal being-present all they-despised

συνέβη δὲ Ἀννίβαν μέν, καλοῦντος αὐτὸν Ἄννωνος, ἐς 37
it-happened and Hannibal indeed calling him Hanno to
Λευκανοὺς διελθεῖν, τὰ πολλὰ τῆς κατασκευῆς ἐν τῷ περὶ
Lucanians to-go-through the most of-the equipment in the about
Βενεβεντὸν στρατοπέδῳ μετ᾽ ὀλίγης φρουρᾶς καταλιπόντα,
Beneventum camp with small guard having-left
δυοῖν δὲ Ῥωμαίοις στρατηγούντοιν ὑπάτοιν, Φουλουίου
two and for-Romans commanding consuls Fulvius
τε Φλάκκου καὶ Κλαυδίου Ἄππίου, τὸν ἕτερον αὐτοῖν
both Flaccus and Claudius Appius the one of-the-two
πυθόμενον ἐπιδραμεῖν τοῖς Καμπανοῖς διαφέρουσι τὰ θέρη,
having-learned to-fall-on the Campanians carrying-off the crops
καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν οἷα ἀπαρασκεύους διαφθεῖραι, καὶ τὸν
and many indeed as unprepared to-destroy and the
σῖτον Βενεβενδεῦσι δοῦναι, λαβεῖν δὲ καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον
grain to-Beneventans to-give to-take and also the camp
Ἀννίβου, καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ παρασκευὴν ἁρπάσαι, καὶ
of-Hannibal and the in it equipment to-plunder and
Καπύην ἔτι ὄντος ἐν Λευκανοῖς Ἀννίβου περιταφρεῦσαί τε
Capua still being in Lucanians Hannibal to-trench-round both
καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ περιτειχίσαι πᾶσαν ἐν κύκλῳ. καὶ τοῦδε
and on the ditch to-wall-round all in a-circle and of-this
τοῦ περιτειχίσματος ἐκτὸς ἄλλο ποιήσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ
the siege-wall outside another having-made the generals
τὸ μέσον εἶχον ἀντὶ στρατοπέδου. ἐπάλξεις δ᾽ ἦσαν
the space-between held instead-of a-camp battlements and were
αὐτοῖς αἱ μὲν ἐς Καπυαίους πολιορκουμένους αἱ δ᾽
for-them some indeed toward Capuans besieged others and
ἐς τοὺς ἔξωθεν ἐπιόντας ἐπεστραμμέναι, ἥ τε ὄψις
toward the(-men) from-outside attacking turned the both sight
ἦν πόλεως μεγάλης σμικροτέραν ἐχούσης ἐν μέσῳ. τὸ
was of-a-city great a-smaller having in middle the

δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιτειχίσματος ἐς τὴν Καπύην διάστημα
and from the siege-wall to — Capua distance
διστάδιον ἦν μάλιστα· ἐν ᾧ πολλαὶ ἐγίγνοντο πεῖραι καὶ
two-stades was about in which many happened attempts and
συμβολαὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, πολλὰ δ' ὡς ἐν θεάτρῳ
engagements by each day many and as in a-theater
μεσοτειχίῳ μονομάχια, προκαλουμένων ἀλλήλους
in-the-space-between-walls single-combats challenging each-other
τῶν ἀρίστων. καί τις Καπυαῖος, Ταυρέας, Ῥωμαίων ἐν
the best and some Capuan Taureas of-Romans in
μονομαχίῳ Κλαύδιον Ἄσελλον περιφεύγων ὑπεχώρει, μέχρι
a-single-combat Claudius Asellus fleeing withdrew until
τοῖς Καπυαίων τείχεσιν ὁ Ἄσελλος ἐγκύρσας καὶ τὸν
upon-the of-Capuans walls — Asellus having-come-upon and the
ἵππον οὐ δυνάμενος ἐκ τῆς ῥύμης ἐπιστρέψαι διὰ τῶν
horse not being-able from the impetus to-turn through the
πολεμίων πυλῶν ἐς τὴν Καπύην ἐσήλατο σὺν ὁρμῇ, καὶ
enemy gates into — Capua leapt with dash and
διιππεύσας τὴν πόλιν ὅλην κατὰ τὰς ἑτέρας ἐξέδραμεν
having-ridden-through the city whole by the other ran-out
ἐς τοὺς ἐπὶ θάτερα Ῥωμαίους.
to the on the-other-side Romans

38 καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω παραβόλως διεσώζετο, Ἀννίβας δὲ τῆς
and he indeed so riskily was-saved Hannibal and of-the
χρείας ψευσθεὶς ἐφ' ἣν ἐς Λευκανοὺς μετεκέκλητο,
need having-been-disappointed for which to Lucanians he-had-been-called
ἀνέστρεφεν ἐς Καπύην, μέγα ποιούμενος μὴ περιιδεῖν
returned to Capua great making not to-overlook
πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ εὔκαιρον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις γενομένην.
a-city great and well-situated under Romans becoming
προσβαλὼν δὲ τῷ περιτειχίσματι καὶ μηδὲν δυνηθείς,
having-attacked and the siege-wall and nothing having-been-able

μηδ᾽ ἐπινοῶν ὅπως ἂν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσπέμψειεν ἢ σῖτον
nor devising how — into the city he-might-send either grain
ἢ στρατιάν, οὐδενὸς οὐδ᾽ ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνων αὐτῷ συμβαλεῖν
or army no-one even from those with-him to-join
δυναμένου διὰ τὴν ἐπιτείχισιν πάντῃ περιλαμβάνουσαν,
being-able because-of the counter-wall everywhere enclosing
ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἠπείγετο παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ, πυνθανόμενος
to — Rome hastened with-all the army learning
μὲν κἀκείνους ὑπὸ λιμοῦ πιέζεσθαι, ἐλπίζων δὲ τοὺς
indeed those-too by famine to-be-pressed hoping and the
στρατηγοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Καπύης ἀναστήσειν, ἢ αὐτός
generals their from Capua to-be-going-to-raise or himself
τι Καπύης μεῖζον ἐργάσεσθαι. συντόνῳ δὲ σπουδῇ
something than-Capua greater to-be-going-to-achieve with-intense and haste
διελθὼν ἔθνη πολλὰ καὶ πολέμια, τῶν μὲν οὐ
having-gone-through peoples many and hostile some indeed not
δυνηθέντων αὐτὸν ἐπισχεῖν, τῶν δὲ οὐδὲ ἐς πεῖραν
being-able him to-check others and not-even to trial
ἐλθεῖν ὑποστάντων, ἀπὸ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίων τῆς
to-come having-ventured from two and thirty stades —
Ῥώμης ἐστρατοπέδευσεν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀνιῆνος ποταμοῦ.
of-Rome encamped on the Anio river
καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐθορυβήθη θόρυβον οἷον οὐ πρότερον, 39
and the city was-thrown-into-tumult a-tumult such-as not before
οἰκεῖον μὲν οὐδὲν ἔχοντες ἱκανόν (ὃ γὰρ εἶχον, ἐν
own indeed nothing having sufficient what for they-had in
Καμπανίᾳ τότε ἦν), πολεμίου δὲ στρατοῦ τοσοῦδε σφίσιν
Campania then was of-enemy and army so-great on-them
ἐπιστάντος ἄφνω, καὶ στρατηγοῦ δι᾽ ἀρετὴν καὶ εὐτυχίαν
having-come-upon suddenly and a-general through valor and good-fortune
ἀμάχου. ὅμως δὲ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων οἱ μὲν δυνάμενοι
invincible nevertheless and from the present-means the indeed able

φέρειν ὅπλα τὰς πύλας ἐφύλασσον, οἱ δὲ γέροντες ἐς
to-bear arms the gates guarded the and old-men onto
τὸ τεῖχος ἀνεπήδων, γύναια δὲ καὶ παιδία λίθους καὶ
the wall leapt women and and children stones and
βέλη παρέφερον. οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν συνέθεον ἐς
missiles carried-up the(-men) and from the fields ran-together into
τὸ ἄστυ δρόμῳ. βοῆς δὲ παμμιγοῦς καὶ θρήνων καὶ
the city at-a-run of-shouting and mixed and laments and
εὐχῶν καὶ παρακελεύσεων πρὸς ἀλλήλους πάντα μεστὰ
prayers and exhortations to each-other everything full
ἦν. εἰσὶ δ' αὐτῶν οἳ τὴν γέφυραν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀνιῆνος
was are and of-them who the bridge the over the Anio
ἐκδραμόντες ἔκοπτον. μικρὸν δέ τι πολίχνιον Ῥωμαῖοί ποτε
having-run-out cut-down small and some town Romans once
ἐπιτειχίζοντες Αἰκανοῖς Ἄλβην ἀπὸ τῆς αὑτῶν μητροπόλεως
walling-against Aequians Alba from the their-own mother-city
ἐκάλεσαν· σὺν χρόνῳ δ' ἐπισύροντες ἢ διαφθείροντες, ἢ
named with time and slurring or corrupting or
ἐς τὴν Ἀλβανῶν σύγκρισιν, Ἀλβησέας αὐτοὺς καλοῦσιν.
for the of-Albans distinction Albenses them they-call
τούτων τότε τῶν Ἀλβησέων ἐς Ῥώμην δισχίλιοι δρόμῳ
of-these then the Albenses to Rome two-thousand at-a-run
διέθεον, τοῦ κινδύνου μετασχεῖν, καὶ ἅμα ἀφικνοῦντο καὶ
ran of-the danger to-share and at-once they-arrived and
ὡπλίζοντο καὶ τὰς πύλας ἐφρούρουν. τοσῇδε προθυμίᾳ
armed(-themselves) and the gates guarded with-such-great zeal
βραχὺ πολίχνιον ἐκ τοσῶνδε ἀποικιῶν ἐχρήσατο μόνη,
a-small town of so-many colonies used alone
οἷόν τι καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἐς Μαραθῶνα μικρὰ πόλις ἡ
like something also to-Athenians to Marathon small city the
Πλαταιέων ἔδραμε τοῦ τότε κινδύνου μετασχεῖν.
of-Plataeans ran of-the then danger to-share

τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν Ἄππιος μὲν Καπύῃ παρέμενε, κἀκεῖνος 40
of-the and generals Appius indeed at-Capua remained he-too
ἡγούμενος ἑλεῖν Καπύην, Φούλουιος δὲ Φλάκκος ἑτέραις
thinking to-take Capua Fulvius but Flaccus by-other
ὁδοῖς ἐπειχθεὶς ἀλήκτῳ τάχει ἀντεστρατοπέδευσε τῷ
roads having-hastened with-unceasing speed encamped-against —
Ἀννίβᾳ, μέσον ἔχων τὸν Ἀνιῆνα. τῷ δ' Ἀννίβᾳ τὴν γέφυραν
Hannibal in-middle having the Anio — and to-Hannibal the bridge
εὑρόντι λελυμένην καὶ τὸν Φούλουιον ἀντικαθήμενον,
having-found broken and — Fulvius sitting-opposite
ἔδοξε τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ περιοδεῦσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν
it-seemed-good the springs of-the river to-go-round and — indeed
Φούλουιος ἀντιπαρώδευεν, ὁ δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐνήδρευε, Νομάδας
Fulvius marched-alongside he and even so laid-an-ambush Numidian
ἱππέας ὑπολιπών, οἱ τῶν στρατῶν ἀναστάντων τὸν
cavalry having-left who the armies having-moved the
Ἀνιῆνα ἐπέρασαν καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐδῄουν, μέχρι παρὰ
Anio crossed and the-lands of-Romans ravaged until by
τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν γενόμενοι καὶ φοβήσαντες ἐπέστρεψαν ἐς
the city itself having-come and having-frightened turned-back to
Ἀννίβαν· οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοῖς παρήγγελτο. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπεὶ τάς
Hannibal so for to-them it-had-been-ordered he-himself and when the
τε πηγὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ περιῆλθε, καὶ ὁδὸς ἦν ἐς τὸ
both springs of-the river he-had-gone-round and road was to the
ἄστυ οὐ πολλή, λέγεται μὲν νυκτὸς σὺν τρισὶν ὑπασπισταῖς
city not long it-is-said indeed by-night with three shield-bearers
λαθὼν κατασκέψασθαι τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ τὴν τῆς δυνάμεως
unnoticed to-have-surveyed the city and the of-the force
ἐρημίαν καὶ θόρυβον τὸν ἐπέχοντα ἰδεῖν, ἀναστρέψαι
emptiness and tumult the prevailing to-have-seen to-have-turned-back
δ' ἐς Καπύην, εἴτε θεοῦ παράγοντος αὐτὸν ἀεὶ ὡς καὶ
and to Capua whether a-god leading-astray him always as also

τότε, εἴτε τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἀρετὴν καὶ τύχην δείσας,
then or the of-the city valor and fortune having-feared
εἴτε, ὡς αὐτὸς τοῖς ἐσβαλεῖν προτρέπουσιν ἔλεγεν,
or as he-himself to-the(-men) to-invade urging said
οὐκ ἐθέλων τὸν πόλεμον ἐκλῦσαι δέει Καρχηδονίων,
not wishing the war to-end from-fear of-Carthaginians
ἵνα μὴ καὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν αὐτὸς ἀποθοῖτο· οὐ γὰρ ὅ
that not also the command he-himself might-lay-down not for the
γε σὺν Φουλουίῳ στρατὸς ἦν αὐτῷ πάμπαν ἀξιόμαχος.
at-least with Fulvius army was for-him wholly worthy-to-fight
ὁ δὲ Φούλουιος ἀναστρέφοντι παρείπετο, κωλύων τε
— and Fulvius returning followed-him preventing both
προνομεύειν καὶ φυλασσόμενος μηδὲν ἐξ ἐνέδρας παθεῖν.
to-forage and guarding nothing from ambush to-suffer

41–47 · THE FALL OF CAPUA

Hannibal attacks Fulvius' unfinished camp by night with elephants, trumpeters, and men shouting in Latin that Fulvius orders a retreat to the hill, but Fulvius, suspecting a trick, guards the roads and kills the few who enter. Hannibal winters in luxury in Lucania. Capua, starving, surrenders with its Carthaginian garrison; the Romans cut off the deserters' hands, kill the leaders of the revolt, and take the land. At Tisia a man who brings in "captives" arms them, kills the garrison, and lets in the Romans, and Hannibal burns the guilty. At Salapia Dasius denounces his rival Blatius to Hannibal; Blatius talks his way clear, brings Roman horse, and traps and kills Dasius.

41 ὁ δ' ἐπιτηρήσας νύκτα ἀσέληνον, καὶ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ
he and having-watched-for a-night moonless and a-place in which
Φούλουιος ἑσπέρας τεῖχος μὲν οὐκ ἔφθανεν ἐγεῖραι, τάφρον
Fulvius in-the-evening a-wall indeed not had-time to-raise a-ditch
δ' ὀρυξάμενος καὶ διαστήματα ἀντὶ πυλῶν καταλιπὼν
but having-dug and gaps instead-of gates having-left

καὶ τὸ χῶμα προβαλὼν ἀντὶ τείχους ἡσύχαζεν, ἔς τε
and the mound having-thrown-up instead-of a-wall rested to both
λόφον ὑπερκείμενον αὐτοῦ καρτερὸν ἔπεμψε λαθὼν ἱππέας,
a-hill overhanging him strong sent unnoticed cavalry
οἷς εἴρητο ἡσυχάζειν ἕως οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν λόφον
to-whom it-had-been-told to-keep-quiet until the Romans the hill
ὡς ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν καταλαμβάνωσι, τοῖς δ' ἐλέφασι
as empty of-men should-seize on-the and elephants
τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἐπιβήσας ἐκέλευσεν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Φουλουίου
the Indians having-set-on he-ordered into the — of-Fulvius
στρατόπεδον ἐσβιάζεσθαι διά τε τῶν διαστημάτων καὶ
camp to-force-way through both the gaps and
διὰ τῶν χωμάτων, ὡς δύναιντο. σαλπικτὰς δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ
over the mounds as they-could trumpeters and with-them and
βυκανητάς τινας ἐξ ὀλίγου διαστήματος ἕπεσθαι κελεύσας,
horn-blowers some from small distance to-follow having-ordered
προσέταξεν, ὅταν ἔνδον γένωνται, τοὺς μὲν θόρυβον πολὺν
he-instructed when inside they-should-be some indeed uproar great
ἐγείρειν περιθέοντας, ἵνα πολλοὶ δόξωσιν εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ
to-raise running-round that many they-might-seem to-be others and
ῥωμαΐζοντας βοᾶν ὅτι Φούλουιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς
speaking-Latin to-shout that Fulvius the of-Romans general
κελεύει, τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκλιπόντας, ἐπὶ τὸν ἐγγὺς λόφον
orders the camp having-abandoned onto the near hill
ἀναπηδᾶν. τόδε μὲν ἦν τὸ στρατήγημα τοῦ Ἀννίβου, καὶ
to-run-up this indeed was the stratagem — of-Hannibal and
τούτων τὰ μὲν πρῶτα πάντα κατὰ νοῦν ἀπήντησεν· οἵ
of-these the indeed first all according-to plan turned-out the
τε γὰρ ἐλέφαντες ἐσῆλθον τοὺς φύλακας καταπατήσαντες,
both for elephants entered the guards having-trampled
καὶ οἱ σαλπικταὶ τὸ αὑτῶν ἐποίουν, καὶ ὁ θόρυβος
and the trumpeters the their-own did and the uproar

Ῥωμαίοις ἐξ εὐνῆς ἀνισταμένοις ἐν μελαίνῃ νυκτὶ ἀδόκητος
on-Romans from bed rising in black night unexpected
ἐμπεσὼν ἐπιφοβώτατος ἦν, τῶν τε ῥωμαϊζόντων ἀκούοντες
having-fallen most-terrifying was of-the both Latin-speakers hearing
ὅτι παρήγγελται φεύγειν ἐς τὸν λόφον, περὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἐγίγνοντο.
that it-has-been-ordered to-flee to the hill about this they-were
42 Φούλουιος δὲ ἀεί τινα προσδοκῶν ἐνέδραν, καὶ τοῦτο
Fulvius but always some expecting ambush and this
ὑποπτεύων ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς Ἀννίβου, εἴθ᾽ ὑπ᾽ οἰκείας τότε
suspecting in all the-doings of-Hannibal whether by own then
συνέσεως, εἴτε θεολήπτῳ γνώμῃ προσπεσών, εἴτε παρ᾽
intelligence or by-inspired judgment having-hit-on or from
αἰχμαλώτου τὰ ἀκριβέστατα μαθών, τοὺς χιλιάρχους ὀξέως
a-captive the most-exact having-learned the tribunes swiftly
ἐπέστησε ταῖς ἐς τὸν λόφον ἀγούσαις ὁδοῖς, κωλύειν τοὺς
set at-the to the hill leading roads to-prevent the(-men)
δι᾽ αὐτῶν φερομένους, καὶ μεταδιδάσκειν ὅτι τοῦτ᾽ οὐχ
through them rushing and to-correct-them that this not
ὁ στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων ἀλλ᾽ Ἀννίβας ἐκήρυξεν ἐνεδρεύων.
the general of-Romans but Hannibal proclaimed lying-in-ambush
αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς χώμασι φυλακὰς ἀκριβεῖς ἐπιστήσας, μή τις
himself and at-the mounds guards strict having-set lest any
ἔφοδος ἔξωθεν ἄλλη γένοιτο, ἐβοηδρόμει μεθ᾽ ἑτέρων ἀνὰ
attack from-outside other might-happen ran-about with others through
τὸ στρατόπεδον ἅπαντα ἔχειν ἀσφαλῶς, καὶ ὀλίγους τοὺς
the camp all to-be safe and few the(-men)
μετὰ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐσελθόντας εἶναι. δᾳδάς τε ἥπτε
with the elephants having-entered to-be torches both he-lit
καὶ πῦρ πανταχόθεν ἤγειρε, καὶ καταφανὴς ἦν ἡ τῶν
and fire from-everywhere raised and plain was the of-the(-men)
ἐσελθόντων ὀλιγότης, ὥστε αὐτῶν πάνυ καταφρονήσαντες
having-entered fewness so-that them greatly having-despised

οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐς ὀργὴν ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν δέους μεταβαλόντες,
the Romans into anger from the previous fear having-changed
εὐμαρῶς οἷα ψιλοὺς καὶ ὀλίγους διέφθειραν. οἱ δὲ ἐλέφαντες
easily as light-armed and few destroyed the and elephants
οὐκ ἔχοντες εὐρύχωρον οὐδὲν ἐς ἀναστροφήν, εἰλούμενοι
not having room-enough any for turning hemmed-in
περὶ σκηνὰς καὶ φάτνας, ἐβάλλοντο πρὸς ἁπάντων
among tents and stalls were-pelted by all
ἐπιτυχῶς διὰ τὴν στενότητα τοῦ χωρίου καὶ τὸ μέγεθος
successfully because-of the narrowness of-the place and the size
τῶν σωμάτων, μέχρι περιαλγοῦντές τε καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντες,
of-the bodies until being-pained both and being-enraged
καὶ ἐπιδραμεῖν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἔχοντες, τοὺς
and to-charge against the enemies not being-able the
ἐπιβάτας σφῶν ἀπεσείοντο καὶ κατεπάτουν σὺν ὀργῇ καὶ
riders their shook-off and trampled with anger and
βοῇ πάνυ ἠγριωμένοι, καὶ ἐξεπήδων ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου.
roaring very maddened and rushed-out from the camp
Φούλουιος μὲν δὴ Φλάκκος εὐσταθῶς καὶ εὐμηχάνως
Fulvius indeed indeed Flaccus steadily and resourcefully
αἰφνιδίῳ συνενεχθεὶς ἐνέδρᾳ περιῆν τοῦ Ἀννίβου, καὶ τὸν
with-a-sudden having-met ambush overcame — Hannibal and the
στρατὸν περιέσωζεν ἀεὶ πεφρικότα τὰς Ἀννίβου μηχανάς·
army saved always dreading the of-Hannibal devices
ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας ἐπεὶ τῆς πείρας ἀπέτυχεν, ἐς Λευκανοὺς 43
— and Hannibal when in-the attempt he-failed into Lucanians
διελθὼν ἐχείμαζε, καὶ ἐπὶ τρυφῆς ἦν οὐ συνήθους,
having-gone-through wintered and in luxury was not customary
ἐρωμένην τε εἶχεν ἄγριος ἀνήρ. καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτῷ κατ'
a-mistress both he-had a-savage man and at-once for-him by
ὀλίγον ἐτρέπετο πάντα. Φούλουιος δ' ἐς Καπύην πρὸς τὸν
little turned everything Fulvius and to Capua to the

συστράτηγον ἐπανήει, καὶ τοῖς Καπυαίοις προσέβαλλον
fellow-general returned and the Capuans attacked
ἄμφω καρτερῶς, ἐπειγόμενοι χειμῶνος ἑλεῖν τὴν πόλιν,
both stoutly hastening in-winter to-take the city
ἕως Ἀννίβας ἠρεμεῖ. Καπυαῖοι δέ, τῶν τροφῶν σφᾶς
while Hannibal stays-quiet Capuans and the foods them
ἐπιλειπουσῶν καὶ οὐδαμόθεν ἄλλων ἐπεισαγομένων,
failing and from-nowhere other being-brought-in
ἐνεχείρισαν ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς στρατηγοῖς· ἐνεχείρισαν δὲ καὶ
surrendered themselves to-the generals surrendered and also
ὅσοι Λιβύων αὐτοὺς ἐφρούρουν, αὐτοῖς στρατηγοῖς,
as-many-as of-Libyans them garrisoned with-very generals
Ἄννωνι ἑτέρῳ καὶ Βώσταρι. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τῇ μὲν πόλει
Hanno another and Bostar Romans and on-the indeed city
φρουρὰν ἐπέστησαν, καὶ ὅσους ηὗρον αὐτομολοῦντας,
a-garrison set and as-many-as they-found deserting
χεῖρας αὐτῶν ἀπέτεμον· Λιβύων δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐπιφανεῖς ἐς
hands their cut-off of-Libyans and the indeed notable to
Ῥώμην ἔπεμψαν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀπέδοντο. καὶ Καπυαίων
Rome sent the and rest sold and of-Capuans
αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν αἰτίους μάλιστα τῆς ἀποστάσεως
themselves the indeed guilty most of-the revolt
ἀπέκτειναν, τῶν δ' ἄλλων τὴν γῆν ἀφείλοντο μόνον.
killed of-the and others the land took-away only
εὔφορος δ' ἐστὶν ἐς σῖτον ἡ περὶ τὴν Καπύην πᾶσα·
fertile and is for grain the about — Capua all
πεδιὰς γάρ ἐστιν. Καπύη μὲν δὴ πάλιν ἐς Ῥωμαίους
plain for is Capua indeed indeed again to Romans
ἐπανῆκτο, καὶ μέγα τοῦτο Λιβύων ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν
had-been-brought-back and great this of-Libyans in — Italy
πλεονέκτημα περιῄρητο.
advantage had-been-taken-away

ἐν δὲ Βρεττίοις, οἳ μέρος εἰσὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἀνὴρ ἐκ 44
in and Bruttians who part are — of-Italy a-man from
πόλεως Τισίας φρουρουμένης ὑπὸ τῶν Λιβύων, ἐθίσας
city Tisia garrisoned by the Libyans having-made-a-habit
ἀεί τι λῄζεσθαι καὶ φέρειν τῷ φρουράρχῳ, καὶ
always something to-plunder and to-bring to-the garrison-commander and
παρὰ τοῦτο αὐτῷ συνήθης ἐς πάντα γεγονὼς καὶ σχεδὸν
because-of this to-him intimate in everything having-become and almost
συστράτηγος, ἤλγει τῶν φρουρῶν ἐς τὴν πατρίδα
a-fellow-general grieved the guards against the fatherland
ὑβριζόντων συνθέμενος οὖν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγῷ, καὶ
committing-outrages having-agreed then with-the of-Romans general and
πιστὰ δοὺς καὶ λαβών, ἑκάστοτέ τινας ὡς αἰχμαλώτους
pledges having-given and having-received each-time some as captives
ἐσῆγεν ἐς τὴν ἄκραν, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα αὐτῶν ἐσέφερεν
brought-in into the citadel and the arms their brought-in
ὡς σκῦλα. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλέονες ἐγένοντο, ἐξέλυσεν αὐτοὺς
as spoils when and more they-became he-released them
καὶ ὥπλισε, καὶ τὴν Λιβύων φρουρὰν ἀνεῖλε, καὶ παρὰ
and armed and the of-Libyans garrison killed and from
Ῥωμαίων ἄλλην ἐσηγάγετο. Ἀννίβου δὲ οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον
Romans another brought-in Hannibal and not long later
παροδεύοντος αὐτούς, οἱ μὲν φρουροὶ καταπλαγέντες ὑπὸ
passing-by them the indeed guards having-been-dismayed by
τοῦ δέους ἐξέφυγον ἐς Ῥήγιον, οἱ δὲ Τισιᾶται παρέδωκαν
the fear fled to Rhegium the and Tisiates surrendered
αὑτοὺς τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ. καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας τοὺς μὲν αἰτίους τῆς
themselves — to-Hannibal and — Hannibal the indeed guilty of-the
ἀποστάσεως ἔκαυσε, τῇ δὲ πόλει φρουρὰν ἐπέστησεν ἄλλην.
revolt burned to-the and city a-garrison set another

45 Ἰαπύγων δ' ἐν πόλει Σαλαπίᾳ, Λιβύων ὑπηκόῳ, δύο
of-Iapygians and in city Salapia to-Libyans subject two
ἦστην ἄνδρε τῶν μὲν ἄλλων γένει καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ δυνάμει
there-were men of-the indeed others in-birth and wealth and power
διαφέροντε, ἀλλήλοιν δ' ἐκ πολλοῦ διαφόρω. τούτοιν
excelling with-each-other but from long-ago at-odds of-these-two
Δάσιος μὲν τὰ Λιβύων ᾑρεῖτο, Βλάτιος δὲ τὰ Ῥωμαίων.
Dasius indeed the of-Libyans chose Blatius and the of-Romans
ἕως μὲν οὖν ἤκμαζε τὰ Ἀννίβου, ἐφ' ἡσυχίας ἦν ὁ
as-long-as indeed then flourished the-affairs of-Hannibal in quiet was —
Βλάτιος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἠγείρετο τὸ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῆς
Blatius when and rose the of-Romans and the most of-the
ἐσφετερισμένης ἀρχῆς ἀνελάμβανον, ἔπειθεν ὁ Βλάτιος
appropriated empire they-recovered tried-to-persuade — Blatius
τὸν ἐχθρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος αὑτῷ συμφρονῆσαι μόνης,
the enemy for the fatherland with-him to-agree alone
μή τι πάθοι, Ῥωμαίων αὐτὴν βίᾳ λαβόντων,
lest something it-might-suffer Romans it by-force having-taken
ἀνήκεστον. ὁ δ' ὑποκρινάμενος συντίθεσθαι, κατεμήνυσε
irreparable he and pretending to-agree revealed
τοῦτο Ἀννίβᾳ. καὶ ἐδίκαζεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀννίβας, Δασίου
this to-Hannibal and judged them — Hannibal Dasius
μὲν κατηγοροῦντος, Βλατίου δ' ἀπολογουμένου καὶ
indeed accusing Blatius and defending-himself and
συκοφαντεῖσθαι διὰ τὴν ἔχθραν λέγοντος· ὃ καὶ
to-be-slandered because-of the enmity saying which also
τέως ἄρα προορῶν ἐτόλμησεν ἐχθρῷ προσενεγκεῖν λόγον
until-then then foreseeing he-dared to-an-enemy to-bring word
τοιόνδε, ὡς ἀπίστῳ κατηγόρῳ διὰ τὴν ἔχθραν ἐσομένῳ.
such as untrustworthy accuser because-of the enmity going-to-be
Ἀννίβας δ' οὔτε ἀπορρῖψαι τὸ ἔργον οὔτε τῷ παρ' ἐχθροῦ
Hannibal and neither to-throw-aside the matter nor the from an-enemy

πιστεῦσαι ῥᾳδίως ἀξιῶν, μεθίστατο αὐτοὺς ὡς σκεψόμενος
to-trust easily thinking-fit removed them as going-to-consider
ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ. στενῆς δὲ τῆς ἐξόδου πάμπαν οὔσης, ὁ Βλάτιος
by himself narrow and the exit altogether being — Blatius
ἔφη τῷ Δασίῳ, τοὺς ἄλλους λαθών, "οὐ σώσεις, ὦ ἀγαθέ,
said — to-Dasius the others escaping-notice not will-you-save O good-man
τὴν πατρίδα;" ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῦτ᾽ εὐθὺς ἐκβοήσας ἐμήνυεν.
the fatherland he and also this at-once having-shouted-out revealed
καὶ ὁ Βλάτιος οἰκτισάμενος τότε μάλιστα ἀξιοπίστως εἶπεν 46
and — Blatius having-lamented then most credibly said
ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοιτο ὑπ᾽ ἐχθροῦ τεχνίτου. "τοῦτο δ᾽," ἔφη,
that he-was-being-plotted-against by an-enemy cunning this and he-said
"τὸ νῦν ἐπιβούλευμα καὶ τῆς πρότερον ἀμφιλογίας, εἴ
the now plot also from-the former dispute if
τις ἦν, ῥύσεταί με. τίς γὰρ ἂν ἢ πρότερον ἐχθρῷ περὶ
any was will-rescue me who for — either before to-an-enemy about
τοιῶνδε διεπίστευσεν, ἢ νῦν, εἰ καὶ τέως ἐπεπλάνητο,
such-things would-have-trusted or now if also until-then he-had-erred
ἀπίστῳ καὶ κατηγόρῳ περὶ ἐκεῖνα γεγενημένῳ,
to-an-untrustworthy and accuser about those-things having-been
κινδυνεύων ἔτι καὶ κρινόμενος καὶ ἀρνούμενος, αὖθις ἂν
being-in-danger still and being-tried and denying again —
τὰ δεύτερα ταῦτ᾽ ἐθάρρησεν εἰπεῖν, καὶ μάλιστ᾽ ἐν τῷ
the second these would-have-dared to-say and especially in the
δικαστηρίῳ, πολλῶν μὲν ἀκοῦσαι δυναμένων, τοῦ δὲ
court many indeed to-hear being-able the and
κατηγόρου καὶ τόδε μέλλοντος εὐθὺς ὁμοίως ἐρεῖν; εἰ δὲ
accuser also this going-to at-once likewise to-tell if and
δὴ καὶ ἐγεγένητο," ἔφη, "χρηστὸς ἐξαίφνης καὶ φίλος, τί
indeed even he-had-become he-said good suddenly and friend what
μοι συλλαβεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἔτι δυνατὸς ἦν; τί δ᾽
for-me to-help for the fatherland still able was-he what and

ἂν ἐδεόμην ἐγὼ μηδὲν ἐπικουρεῖν δυναμένου;" ἅ μοι δοκεῖ
— would-need I nothing to-help being-able which to-me it-seems
προϊδὼν πάλιν ὁ Βλάτιος ψιθύρως ἐντυχεῖν τῷ Δασίῳ,
having-foreseen again — Blatius in-a-whisper to-meet — Dasius
καὶ ἐς ἀπιστίαν αὐτὸν ἐμβαλεῖν μείζονα, ἐπαγαγέσθαι
and into distrust him to-throw greater to-draw-in
δ' ἐκ τοῦδε καὶ Ἀννίβαν ἐς ἀπιστίαν τῶν πρότερον
and from this also Hannibal into disbelief of-the before
εἰρημένων. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐκφυγὼν τὴν δίκην ὁ Βλάτιος
said not indeed even having-escaped the trial — Blatius
ἀφίστατο μὴ μεταπείθειν τὸν ἐχθρόν, καταφρονῶν ἄρα
ceased not to-persuade-to-change the enemy despising then
ὡς ἐς πάντα γεγονότος ἀπίστου. ὁ δὲ αὖθις ὑπεκρίνετο
as in everything having-become untrustworthy he and again pretended
συντίθεσθαι, καὶ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τῆς ἀποστάσεως ᾔτει μαθεῖν.
to-agree and the plan of-the revolt asked to-learn
ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν ὀκνήσας ἔφη, "διαδραμοῦμαι μὲν ἐπί τι
he and nothing having-hesitated said I-will-run-off indeed to some
τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐγὼ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν (μηνύσας αὐτῷ
of-the camps I of-the Roman having-informed him
τὸ πάνυ πορρωτάτω) καὶ στρατιὰν ἄξω λαβών· ἔστι
the very farthest and an-army I-will-lead having-taken is
γάρ μοι φίλος ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐκείνου τοῦ στρατοῦ· σὺ
for to-me friend the general of-that the army you
δ' ὑπομένειν μοι δεῦρο, καὶ τὰ ἔνδον ἐπιτηρεῖν."
and to-wait for-me here and the-things inside to-watch
47 ὁ μὲν εἶπεν οὕτω, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξέδραμε, λαθὼν Δάσιον,
he indeed said so and at-once ran-off escaping-notice-of Dasius
οὐκ ἐς ἐκεῖνο τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀλλ' ἐς Ῥώμην, ὁδὸν
not to that the camp but to Rome a-road
ἐλάσσονα. καὶ δοὺς τῇ βουλῇ τὸν υἱὸν ὅμηρον, ἱππέας
shorter and having-given to-the senate the son as-hostage cavalry

ᾔτει χιλίους, μεθ' ὧν ἠπείγετο κατὰ σπουδήν, τὸ μέλλον
asked thousand with whom he-hastened with haste the coming
ἔσεσθαι προορώμενος. ὁ δὲ Δάσιος ταῖς ἐπιούσαις ἡμέραις
to-be foreseeing — and Dasius on-the following days
τὸν ἐχθρὸν οὐχ ὁρῶν, εἴκασεν αὐτὸν ἐγχειρεῖν τοῖς
the enemy not seeing guessed him to-be-attempting the
ἐγνωσμένοις ὡς ἤδη πιστεύοντα αὐτῷ. νομίσας οὖν ἐς
decided-things as already trusting him having-thought then to
ἐκεῖνο τῷ ὄντι τὸ πορρωτέρω στρατόπεδον αὐτὸν οἴχεσθαι,
that in-the reality the farther camp him to-have-gone
διέδραμε πρὸς Ἀννίβαν, καταφρονῶν ὅτι φθάσει ἐκεῖνον
ran to Hannibal despising(-him) that he-will-forestall him
ἐπανελθών, καὶ "νῦν μέν," ἔφη, "παραδώσω σοι τὸν
having-returned and now indeed he-said I-will-hand-over to-you —
Βλάτιον ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ στρατιὰν ἐπάγοντα τῇ πόλει."
Blatius in the-act an-army leading-against the city
καὶ τὸ γεγονὸς ἐκθέμενος, καὶ λαβών τινας, ἐπανῆγεν
and the having-happened having-set-out and having-taken some he-led-back
ἐς τὴν πατρίδα μετὰ σπουδῆς ὡς οὔπω τοῦ Βλατίου
to the fatherland with haste as not-yet — Blatius
πλησιάζοντος. ὁ δ' ἔνδον τε ἦν ἄρτι, καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν
approaching he and inside both was just-now and the garrison
τὴν Λιβύων ὀλίγην οὖσαν ἀνελὼν ἐφύλασσε μηδένα
the of-Libyans small being having-killed guarded no-one
παρελθεῖν, καὶ πύλας τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἐκεκλείκει, τὰς δ'
to-pass and gates the indeed other he-had-shut those and
ἐς τὴν ἐπάνοδον Δασίου μόνας εἴασεν ἀνεῳχθαι. καὶ τὸ
for the return of-Dasius alone he-allowed to-be-open and the
κατ' ἐκείνας μέρος ἅπαν εἶχεν ἀνυπόπτως· τὰ δ' ἐντὸς
by those part all he-held unsuspected the-parts and inside
ἐξετετάφρευτο καὶ διείληπτο, ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι τοὺς
had-been-trenched and divided so-as not to-be-able the(-men)

ἐμπεσόντας ἐς ὅλην διαδραμεῖν. Δάσιος δὲ ἐπεὶ τὰς
falling-in into the-whole to-run-through Dasius and when the
πύλας εἶδεν ἀνεῳγμένας, ἥσθη νομίσας προλαβεῖν τὸν
gates he-saw open was-pleased having-thought to-have-forestalled the
ἐχθρόν, καὶ ἐσήλατο γεγηθώς. ὁ δ' ἐπικλείσας διέφθειρεν
enemy and leapt-in rejoicing he and having-shut-in destroyed
αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐσδραμόντας, ὠθουμένους ἐν στενῷ
him both and the(-men) having-run-in being-pushed in narrow-space
καὶ διαδρομὴν διὰ τὰς τάφρους οὐκ ἔχοντας. ὀλίγοι δ'
and running-through through the ditches not having few and
αὐτῶν διὰ τοῦ τείχους ἐξαλόμενοι διέφυγον.
of-them through the wall having-leapt-out escaped

48–54 · THE METAURUS

Hannibal surprises the consul Fulvius at Herdonia and kills him with eight thousand men. The Campanians return to Rome, all but Atella, whose people Hannibal moves to Thurii; Tarentum is betrayed back to Rome through its Bruttian commander's love for a woman. Marcellus, charging a few Numidians with three hundred horse, is killed; Hannibal, finding all his wounds in front, praises him as a soldier, mocks him as a general, and sends his bones to his son. A letter sealed with Marcellus' ring fails to deceive Salapia. Hasdrubal crosses the Alps in two months, but his letters are captured; the consuls Salinator and Nero destroy him near Sena, an equal return for Cannae. Hannibal withdraws into Bruttium; when his supply fleet is lost off Sardinia, he despairs of help, moves the strong cities to the plains, and kills many for their property.

48 καὶ Βλάτιος μὲν οὕτω περιῆν Δασίου, τρὶς ἀντενεδρεύων,
and Blatius indeed thus overcame Dasius thrice counter-plotting
Φούλουιος δὲ Ῥωμαίων ὕπατος Ἐρδονίαν ἐπολιόρκει· καὶ
Fulvius and of-Romans consul Herdonia besieged and
αὐτὸν Ἀννίβας ἔλαθεν ἑσπέρας ἐγγὺς γενόμενος, καὶ
him Hannibal escaped-notice in-the-evening near having-come and

ἀπεῖπε πυρὰ μὴ καίειν, καὶ σιωπὴν παρήγγειλεν. περὶ δὲ
forbade fires not to-burn and silence ordered about and
ἕω, γενομένης ὁμοῦ τι καὶ ὁμίχλης, τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας
dawn having-come together somewhat also of-mist the indeed cavalry
ἔπεμψεν ἐπιχειρεῖν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ αὐτοὺς
he-sent to-attack the of-Romans camp and them
ἠμύνοντο ἐκεῖνοι, σὺν θορύβῳ μὲν ὡς ἀπ᾽ εὐνῆς, σὺν
warded-off they with confusion indeed as from bed with
θάρσει δὲ οἷα ὀλίγους ποθὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπιφανέντας. ὁ
courage but as few from-somewhere to-them having-appeared —
δ᾽ Ἀννίβας ἐπὶ θάτερα τῷ πεζῷ τὴν πόλιν περιήει,
and Hannibal on the-other-side with-the infantry the city went-round
κατασκεπτόμενος ἅμα καὶ τοὺς ἔνδον ἐπελπίζων,
reconnoitering at-the-same-time also the(-men) inside encouraging
ἕως ἐπῆλθε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐν τῇ περιόδῳ, εἴτε προιδόμενος
until he-fell-on the Romans in the circuit whether having-foreseen
εἴτε κατὰ συντυχίαν, κυκλούμενος αὐτούς. οἱ δ᾽ ἔπιπτον
or by chance encircling them they and fell
ἤδη λάβρως καὶ ἀθρόως, ἀμφίβολοι γεγονότες· καὶ
already violently and in-masses caught-on-both-sides having-become and
ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους, καὶ ὁ ὕπατος αὐτὸς ὁ
died of-them about eight-thousand and the consul himself —
Φούλουιος. οἱ λοιποὶ δ᾽ ἔς τι χῶμα πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου
Fulvius the rest and to some mound before the camp
ἀναθορόντες αὐτό τε διέσωσαν, γενναίως ἀμυνόμενοι, καὶ
having-leapt-up it both saved nobly defending and
τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐκώλυσαν λαβεῖν τὸ στρατόπεδον.
— Hannibal prevented to-take the camp
μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν τὴν Ἰαπύγων ἀποστάντων 49
after and this Romans indeed the of-Iapygians having-revolted
ἐδῄουν, Ἀννίβας δὲ τὴν Καμπανῶν, ἐς Ῥωμαίους
ravaged Hannibal and the of-Campanians to Romans

μεταθεμένων χωρὶς Ἀτέλλης μόνης. καὶ Ἀτελλαίους
having-gone-over except Atella alone and Atellans
μετῴκιζεν ἐς Θουρίους, ἵνα μὴ τῷ Βρεττίων καὶ Λευκανῶν
resettled to Thurii that not by-the of-Bruttians and Lucanians
καὶ Ἰαπύγων ἐνοχλοῖντο πολέμῳ. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς
and Iapygians they-might-be-harassed war and Romans the(-men)
ἐκ Νουκερίας ἐκπεσόντας ἐν Ἀτέλλῃ μετῴκιζον· ἔς
from Nuceria expelled in Atella resettled into
τε τὴν Ἀννίβου ἔτι ὑπήκοον ἐσβαλόντες, Αὐλωνίαν τε
both the of-Hannibal still subject having-invaded Aulonia both
εἷλον καὶ τὴν Βρεττίων γῆν ἐπέτρεχον, καὶ Τάραντα
took and the of-Bruttians land overran and Tarentum
φρουρουμένην ὑπὸ Καρθάλωνος ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης
garrisoned by Carthalo from land and sea
ἐπολιόρκουν. ὁ δὲ Καρθάλων, ὀλίγων Καρχηδονίων
besieged — and Carthalo few Carthaginians
παρόντων, Βρεττίους ἐς τὴν φρουρὰν προσέλαβεν. τῶν
being-present Bruttians into the garrison took-in of-the
δὲ Βρεττίων ὁ φρούραρχος ἤρα γυναικός, ἧς ἀδελφὸς
and Bruttians the garrison-commander loved a-woman whose brother
ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις στρατευόμενος ἔπραξε διὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς
under Romans serving contrived through the sister
τὸν φρούραρχον ἐνδοῦναι Ῥωμαίοις, ἐπάγουσι τὰς
the garrison-commander to-give-way to-Romans bringing-up the
μηχανὰς ᾗ τοῦ τείχους αὐτὸς ἐφρούρει. Τάραντα μὲν
engines where of-the wall he-himself guarded Tarentum indeed
δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι τόνδε τὸν τρόπον ἀνέλαβον, εὔκαιρον ἐς
indeed Romans this the way recovered well-situated for
πολέμους χωρίον καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν.
wars a-place both by land and by sea

Ἀννίβας δὲ ἐπειγόμενος ἐς αὐτήν, ὡς ἔμαθεν εἰλημμένην, 50
Hannibal and hastening to it when he-learned having-been-taken
παρῆλθεν ἀχθόμενος ἐς Θουρίους κἀκεῖθεν ἐς Οὐενουσίαν,
went grieving to Thurii and-thence to Venusia
ἔνθα αὐτῷ Κλαύδιός τε Μάρκελλος ὁ Σικελίαν
where him Claudius both Marcellus the Sicily
ἑλών, πέμπτον ὑπατεύων τότε, καὶ Τίτος Κρισπῖνος
having-taken the-fifth-time being-consul then and Titus Crispinus
ἀντιστρατοπεδεύοντες οὐκ ἐτόλμων ἄρχειν μάχης. λείαν
encamping-against not dared to-begin battle booty
δέ τινα ὑπὸ Νομάδων ἀγομένην Μάρκελλος ἰδών, καὶ
but some by Numidians being-driven Marcellus having-seen and
δόξας ὀλίγους εἶναι τοὺς ἄγοντας, ἐπέδραμεν αὐτοῖς
having-thought few to-be the(-men) driving charged them
μετὰ τριακοσίων ἱππέων σὺν καταφρονήσει, καὶ πρῶτος
with three-hundred cavalry with contempt and first
ἡγεῖτο, θυμικὸς ὢν ἐς μάχας καὶ παρακινδυνευτικὸς ἀεί.
led spirited being for battles and venturesome always
ἄφνω δὲ πολλῶν τῶν Λιβύων φανέντων καὶ πανταχόθεν
suddenly and many of-the Libyans having-appeared and from-everywhere
αὐτῷ προσπεσόντων, οἱ μὲν οὐραγοῦντες Ῥωμαίων
on-him having-fallen the indeed rear-guard of-Romans
πρῶτοι φυγῆς ἦρχον, ὁ δὲ Μάρκελλος, ὡς ἑπομένων
first of-flight began — and Marcellus as following
αὐτῶν, ἐμάχετο γενναίως, μέχρι κατακοντισθεὶς ἀπέθανεν.
them fought nobly until struck-down-by-javelins he-died
καὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ σώματι ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐπιστάς, ὡς εἶδε
and his the body — Hannibal having-stood-over when he-saw
τὰ τραύματα πάντα ἐπὶ τῶν στέρνων, ἐπῄνεσε μὲν ὡς
the wounds all on the breast praised indeed as
στρατιώτην, ἐπέσκωψε δὲ ὡς στρατηγόν. καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον
a-soldier mocked but as a-general and the ring

αὐτοῦ περιελών, τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἔκαυσε λαμπρῶς, καὶ τὰ
his having-taken-off the indeed body burned splendidly and the
ὀστᾶ τῷ παιδὶ προσέπεμψεν ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον·
bones to-the son sent to the of-Romans camp
51 Σαλαπίνοις δὲ μηνίων εὐθὺς ἐτύπωσεν ἐπιστολὴν τῇ
with-Salapians and angered at-once sealed a-letter with-the
σφραγῖδι Μαρκέλλου, πρὶν αἰσθέσθαι πολλοὺς περὶ τοῦ
seal of-Marcellus before to-perceive many about the
θανάτου, καὶ αὐτόμολον ἄνδρα Ῥωμαῖον ἔπεμψε φέρειν,
death and a-deserter man Roman sent to-carry(-it)
δηλοῦντα ὅτι στρατιὰ Μαρκέλλου κατόπιν ἔρχοιτο, καὶ ὁ
showing that an-army of-Marcellus behind was-coming and —
Μάρκελλος αὐτὴν ὑποδέξασθαι κελεύοι. ἄρτι δ' εἰλήφεσαν
Marcellus it to-receive ordered just-now and they-had-received
Κρισπίνου γράμματα, περιπέμψαντος ἐς ἅπαντας ὅτι
of-Crispinus letters he-having-sent-round to all that
τῆς Μαρκέλλου σφραγῖδος Ἀννίβας κεκρατήκοι. τὸν
the of-Marcellus seal Hannibal had-gained-possession the
οὖν ἄγγελον, ἵνα μὴ παραμένων ἐπιγνοίη τὰ γιγνόμενα,
then messenger that not remaining he-might-learn the happenings
ἀπέπεμψαν ὑποσχόμενοι τὰ προστασσόμενα ποιήσειν,
they-sent-away having-promised the things-ordered to-be-going-to-do
αὐτοὶ δ' ὁπλισάμενοι τὴν ἐνέδραν ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν
they-themselves and having-armed-themselves the ambush on the walls
ἀνέμενον. καὶ προσιόντος τοῦ Ἀννίβου μετὰ Νομάδων,
awaited and approaching — Hannibal with Numidians
οὓς Ῥωμαϊκοῖς ὅπλοις ἐσκεύασε, τὰς μὲν πύλας ἐκ
whom with-Roman arms he-had-equipped the indeed gates by
μηχανήματος ἀνέσπασαν ὡς δὴ Μαρκέλλου προσιόντος
a-machine drew-up as indeed Marcellus approaching
ἀσμενίζοντες, ἐσδεξάμενοι δὲ ὅσων εὐμαρῶς κρατήσειν
welcoming having-admitted and as-many-as easily to-master

ἔμελλον, αὖθις ἐκ τοῦ μηχανήματος αὐτὰς ἐπικαθῆκαν,
they-were-about again by the machine them let-down
καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐσελθόντας ἔκτειναν, τοὺς δ' ἔξω
and the(-men) indeed having-entered killed the(-men) and outside
τῶν τειχῶν ἔτι περιεστῶτας ἄνωθεν ἔβαλλόν τε καὶ
the walls still standing-round from-above pelted both and
κατετίτρωσκον. καὶ δευτέρας τῆσδε πείρας ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐπὶ
wounded and in-the-second this attempt — Hannibal on
τῇ πόλει σφαλεὶς ἀπεχώρει.
the city having-failed withdrew
ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Ἀσδρούβας ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀννίβου, τὴν 52
in this and also Hasdrubal the brother of-Hannibal the
στρατιὰν ἣν ἐξενάγησεν ἐν τοῖς Κελτίβηρσιν ἔχων,
army which he-had-hired among the Celtiberians having
διέβαινεν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ Κελτῶν φιλίως αὐτὸν
crossed into — Italy and Celts in-friendly-way him
δεχομένων τὰ Ἄλπεια ὄρη, ὠδοποιημένα πρότερον
receiving the Alpine mountains made-passable before
ὑπὸ Ἀννίβου, διώδευε δύο μησίν, ὅσα τέως Ἀννίβας
by Hannibal traversed in-two months what until-then Hannibal
ἓξ διῆλθεν. ἐσέβαλέ τε ἐς Τυρρηνίαν ἄγων πεζοὺς
in-six went-through invaded both into Etruria leading infantry
μὲν τετρακισμυρίους ἐπὶ ὀκτακισχιλίοις, ἱππέας δὲ
indeed forty-thousand besides eight-thousand cavalry and
ὀκτακισχιλίους καὶ ἐλέφαντας πεντεκαίδεκα. καὶ γράμματα
eight-thousand and elephants fifteen and letters
πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔπεμπε, δηλῶν ὅτι παρείη. τούτων
to the brother sent showing that he-was-present these
τῶν γραμμάτων ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἁλόντων, οἱ ὕπατοι
the letters by Romans having-been-captured the consuls
Σαλινάτωρ καὶ Νέρων μαθόντες αὐτοῦ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς
Salinator and Nero having-learned his the number of-the

στρατιᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν γραμμάτων, συνῆλθον ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ
army from the letters came-together into the same
πάσαις ταῖς δυνάμεσι, καὶ ἀντεστρατοπέδευσαν αὐτῷ
with-all the forces and encamped-against him
περὶ πόλιν Σήνας. ὁ δ' οὔπω μάχεσθαι κεκρικώς, ἀλλὰ
about city Sena he and not-yet to-fight having-decided but
τῷ ἀδελφῷ συνελθεῖν ἐπειγόμενος, ὑπεχώρει. καὶ νυκτὸς
with-the brother to-join hastening withdrew and by-night
ἀναζεύξας περὶ ἕλη καὶ τέλματα καὶ ποταμὸν οὐκ εὔπορον
having-decamped about marshes and swamps and a-river not easily-crossed
ἠλᾶτο, μέχρι φανείσης ἡμέρας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καταλαβόντες
wandered until having-appeared day the Romans having-caught
αὐτοὺς διερριμμένους τε καὶ κεκμηκότας ὑπ' ἀγρυπνίας
them scattered both and exhausted from sleeplessness
καὶ κόπου, πλείστους μὲν αὐτῶν ἅμα τοῖς ταξιάρχοις
and fatigue most indeed of-them together-with the officers
συντασσομένους ἔτι καὶ συνιόντας διέφθειραν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπ'
drawing-up still and assembling destroyed and himself besides
ἐκείνοις Ἀσδρούβαν, πλείστους δ' αἰχμαλώτους ἔλαβον, καὶ
them Hasdrubal most and captives took and
μεγάλου δέους ἀπήλλαξαν τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἀμάχου ἂν σφίσι τοῦ
from-great fear freed — Italy invincible — for-them —
Ἀννίβου γενομένου, εἰ καὶ τήνδε τὴν στρατιὰν προσέλαβεν.
Hannibal having-become if even this the army he-had-added
53 θεὸς δέ μοι δοκεῖ τόδε Ῥωμαίοις ἀντιδοῦναι τῆς ἐπὶ
a-god and to-me seems this to-Romans to-have-given-in-return for-the at
Κάνναις ἀτυχίας, οὐ πόρρω τε ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ καὶ ἰσοστάσιόν
Cannae misfortune not far both behind that and equal
πως ἐκείνῃ γενόμενον· στρατηγοί τε γὰρ οἱ ἑκατέρων
somehow to-that having-been generals both for the of-each-side
ἀπώλοντο, καὶ στρατοῦ πλῆθος ἐγγυτάτω μάλιστα ἐπ'
perished and of-army number nearest about on

ἴσης, καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα πολλὰ γενέσθαι καὶ τοῖσδε
equal and the captives many to-be and to-these
κἀκείνοις συνηνέχθη, στρατοπέδων τε καὶ παρασκευῆς τῆς
and-to-those it-befell of-camps both and of-equipment of-the
ἀλλήλων δαψιλοῦς ἐκράτουν ἑκάτεροι. οὕτω παραλλὰξ ἡ
of-each-other abundant became-masters each so alternately the
πόλις εὐτυχιῶν καὶ συμφορῶν ἐπειρᾶτο. Κελτιβήρων δ'
city successes and disasters experienced of-Celtiberians and
ὅσοι διέφυγον ἐκ τοῦ κακοῦ, οἱ μὲν ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα
as-many-as escaped from the evil some indeed to the homes
οἱ δ' ἐς Ἀννίβαν ἐχώρουν.
others and to Hannibal went
ὁ δ' ἐπί τε τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ στρατιᾷ τοσῇδε δι' 54
he and over both the brother and army so-great through
ἀπειρίαν ὁδῶν αἰφνίδιον ἀπολωλυίᾳ δυσφορῶν, καὶ
inexperience of-roads suddenly having-perished being-distressed and
τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατον ἔτος ἔχων ἐν πόνοις ἀτρύτοις ἐξ οὗ
fourteenth year having in toils unceasing from when
Ῥωμαίοις ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ διεπολέμει, πάντων τε ὧν εἰλήφει
with-Romans in Italy he-warred of-all both which he-had-taken
πρότερον ἐκπεπτωκώς, ἐς Βρεττίους, ὅπερ αὐτῷ λοιπὸν
before having-been-ousted to Bruttians which for-him remaining
ἔθνος ὑπήκοον ἦν, ἀνεχώρει, καὶ ἡσύχαζεν ὡς ἑτέρας
people subject was withdrew and kept-quiet as of-another
δυνάμεως ἀφιξομένης ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος. οἱ δ' ἔπεμψαν μὲν
force going-to-arrive from Carthage they and sent indeed
αὐτῷ ναῦς ἑκατὸν στρογγύλας, ἐφ' ὧν σῖτός τε ἦν καὶ
to-him ships hundred merchant on which grain both was and
στρατιὰ καὶ χρήματα, οὐδενὸς δ' ἐρετικοῦ παραπέμποντος
army and money no and oared-ship escorting
αὐτὰς ἄνεμος ἐς Σαρδόνα κατήνεγκε, καὶ ὁ τῆς Σαρδόνος
them a-wind to Sardinia carried-down and the — of-Sardinia

στρατηγὸς ἐπιπλεύσας μακραῖς ναυσὶ κατέδυσε μὲν
praetor having-sailed-against with-long ships sank indeed
αὐτῶν εἴκοσιν, ἑξήκοντα δ' ἔλαβεν· αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ διέφυγον
of-them twenty sixty and took the and rest escaped
ἐς Καρχηδόνα. καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀπορούμενός τε
to Carthage and — Hannibal still more being-at-a-loss both
καὶ τὰ παρὰ Καρχηδονίων ἀπεγνωκώς, οὐδὲ Μάγωνος
and the-help from Carthaginians having-despaired-of not-even Mago
αὐτῷ τι, τοῦ ξενολογοῦντος ἐν Κελτοῖς καὶ Λίγυσιν,
to-him anything the hiring-mercenaries among Celts and Ligurians
ἐπιπέμποντος, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι περιορωμένου,
sending but the coming to-be watching
συνιδὼν ὅτι μένειν ἐπὶ πλεῖον οὐ δυνήσεται, αὐτῶν
having-perceived that to-remain for longer not he-will-be-able of-them
ἤδη Βρεττίων ὡς ἀλλοτρίων ὅσον οὔπω γενησομένων
already Bruttians as of-strangers all but going-to-become
κατεφρόνει, καὶ ἐσφορὰς ἐπέβαλλεν αὐτοῖς πάνυ πολλάς,
he-despised and levies imposed on-them very many
τάς τε ὀχυρὰς τῶν πόλεων μετῴκιζεν ἐς τὰ πεδινὰ ὡς
the both strong of-the cities he-resettled into the plains as
βουλευούσας ἀπόστασιν, πολλούς τε τῶν ἀνδρῶν αἰτιώμενος
planning revolt many both of-the men accusing
διέφθειρεν, ἵνα τὰς περιουσίας αὐτῶν σφετερίζοιτο.
he-destroyed that the property their he-might-appropriate

Scipio persuades Rome to carry the war to Libya and seizes Locri, where Pleminius plunders Persephone's temple. The image of the Mother of the Gods comes from Pessinus, and Claudia Quinta frees its stranded ship. Recalled as the Bruttians revolt, Hannibal plunders his last allies, kills the Italians who will not follow and the horses he cannot ship, and sails after sixteen years; the Bruttians are made public servants.

καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἦν, ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ γίγνονται 55
and he indeed in these-things was in and Rome become
μὲν ὕπατοι Λικίνιός τε Κράσσος καὶ Πόπλιος
indeed consuls Licinius both Crassus and Publius
Σκιπίων ὁ λαβὼν Ἰβηρίαν, τούτων δὲ Κράσσος
Scipio the having-taken Iberia of-these and Crassus
μὲν ἀντεστρατοπέδευσεν Ἀννίβᾳ περὶ Ἰαπυγίαν, Σκιπίων
indeed encamped-against Hannibal about Iapygia Scipio
δὲ τὸν δῆμον ἐδίδασκεν οὔ ποτε Καρχηδονίους οὐδ'
and the people taught not ever Carthaginians nor
Ἀννίβαν ἀποστήσεσθαι σφίσιν ἐνοχλοῦντας ἀμφὶ τὴν
Hannibal to-be-going-to-withdraw them harassing about —
Ἰταλίαν, εἰ μὴ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἐς Λιβύην διέλθοι
Italy if not of-Romans an-army into Libya should-cross
καὶ κίνδυνον αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσειεν οἰκεῖον. λιπαρήσας τε
and danger on-them should-bring domestic having-entreated both
πάνυ καρτερῶς, καὶ πείσας ὀκνοῦντας, ᾑρέθη
very strongly and having-persuaded hesitating he-was-chosen
στρατηγὸς αὐτὸς ἐς Λιβύην, καὶ διέπλευσεν εὐθὺς ἐς
general himself for Libya and sailed at-once to
Σικελίαν. ἔνθα στρατὸν ἀγείρας τε καὶ γυμνάσας
Sicily where an-army having-gathered both and having-trained
ἐπέπλευσε Λοκροῖς ἄφνω τοῖς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, φρουρουμένοις
sailed-against Locri suddenly the in Italy garrisoned

ὑπὸ Ἀννίβου· καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν κατασφάξας τε, καὶ
by Hannibal and the garrison having-slaughtered both and
παραδοὺς Πλημινίῳ τὴν πόλιν, αὐτὸς ἐς Λιβύην
having-handed-over to-Pleminius the city himself into Libya
διέπλευσεν. Πλημίνιος δὲ οὐδεμίαν ὕβριν ἢ ἀσέλγειαν
sailed Pleminius and no outrage or licentiousness
ἢ ὠμότητα ἐς τοὺς Λοκροὺς ἐκλιπών, ἐσύλησε
or cruelty against the Locrians having-omitted plundered
λήγων καὶ τὸ τῆς Φερσεφόνης ἱερόν. καὶ τόνδε
ending also the — of-Persephone temple and him
μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι μετὰ τῶν συναμαρτόντων αὐτῷ φίλων
indeed Romans with the having-sinned-with him friends
διέφθειραν ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ, καὶ τὰς περιουσίας αὐτῶν
destroyed in the prison and the property their
ἔδοσαν Λοκροῖς ἐς τὸν θησαυρὸν τῆς θεοῦ φέρειν·
gave to-Locrians into the treasury of-the goddess to-carry
ὅσα τε ἄλλα ἐδύναντο τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἀνευρόντες,
what both other they-could of-the lost having-found
τὸ λεῖπον ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ σφῶν ταμιείου τῇ θεῷ
the deficiency from the common their treasury to-the goddess
προσέθεσαν.
added

56 τοῦ δὲ αὐτοῦ χρόνου Κωνσεντίαν τε, μεγάλην πόλιν
of-the and same time Consentia both great city
Βρεττίων, καὶ ἄλλας ἓξ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ περιέσπασεν ἀπὸ
of-Bruttians and other six besides it detached from
Ἀννίβου Κράσσος. καὶ γιγνομένων ἐν Ῥώμῃ σημείων
Hannibal Crassus and happening in Rome signs
ἐκ Διὸς φοβερῶν, οἱ μὲν τὰ Σιβύλλεια ἐπισκεπτόμενοι
from Zeus fearful the indeed the Sibylline-books inspecting
δέκα ἄνδρες ἔφασαν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τι ἐς Πεσινοῦντα
ten men said from heaven something to Pessinus

τῆς Φρυγίας, ἔνθα σέβουσιν οἱ Φρύγες θεῶν μητέρα,
— of-Phrygia where worship the Phrygians of-gods mother
πεσεῖσθαι τῶνδε τῶν ἡμερῶν, καὶ δεῖν αὐτὸ
to-be-going-to-fall these the days and it-to-be-needful it
ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐνεχθῆναι. μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ πεσεῖν
to — Rome to-be-brought after not long and to-have-fallen
τε προσηγγέλθη καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐκομίσθη τὸ βρέτας.
both it-was-reported and to Rome was-brought the image
καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἑορτάζουσι καὶ νῦν μητρὶ θεῶν,
and the day they-celebrate also now to-mother of-gods
ᾗ τότε ἐκομίσθη. λέγεται δὲ τὴν ναῦν, ἣ
on-which then it-was-brought it-is-said and the ship which
ἔφερεν αὐτό, ἰλύι τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Τιβέριος
carried it in-the-mud of-the river the Tiber
ἐνσχεθεῖσαν οὐδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ σαλεύεσθαι, μέχρι, τῶν
held-fast by-no device to-be-moved until the
μάντεων προειπόντων ἕψεσθαι μόνως εἰ γυνὴ
seers having-foretold to-be-going-to-follow only if a-woman
καθαρεύουσα ξένων ἀνδρῶν ἑλκύσειε, Κλαυδίαν Κόινταν,
pure of-strange men should-draw(-it) Claudia Quinta
μοιχείας ἔγκλημα ἔχουσαν ἔτι ἄκριτον, καὶ δι᾽
of-adultery a-charge having still untried and through
ἀσωτίαν ἐς αὐτὸ πιθανωτάτην οὖσαν, ἐπιθειάσαι
extravagance for it most-credible being to-have-invoked-the-gods
τε πολλὰ περὶ τῆς ἀναμαρτησίας, καὶ ἀναδήσασθαι
both much about the sinlessness and to-have-fastened
τῇ μίτρᾳ τὸ σκάφος. καὶ ἡ θεὸς εἵπετο. Κλαυδία
with-the girdle the vessel and the goddess followed Claudia
μὲν δὴ ἐξ αἰσχίστης δόξης ἐς ἀρίστην μετέβαλε,
indeed indeed from most-shameful repute to best changed
Ῥωμαίοις δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῆς Κλαυδίας ἐκέλευε τὰ
to-Romans and also before — Claudia ordered the

Σιβύλλεια διὰ τοῦ παρὰ σφίσιν ἀρίστου τὸ βρέτας
Sibylline-books through the among them best the image
ἐκ Φρυγίας μεταγαγεῖν, καὶ τὸν ἄριστον ἐν τῷ τότε
from Phrygia to-bring-over and the best in the then
σφίσι δοκοῦντα εἶναι, Σκιπίωνα τὸν Νασικᾶν ἐπίκλην,
to-them seeming to-be Scipio the Nasica by-surname
ἐπεπόμφεσαν, υἱὸν μὲν ὄντα Γναίου Σκιπίωνος τοῦ
they-had-sent son indeed being of-Gnaeus Scipio the
στρατηγήσαντος ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ πεσόντος,
having-commanded in Iberia and in it having-fallen
ἀνεψιὸν δὲ Σκιπίωνος τοῦ Καρχηδονίους ἀφελομένου τὴν
cousin and of-Scipio the from-Carthaginians having-taken-away the
ἡγεμονίαν καὶ πρώτου κληθέντος Ἀφρικανοῦ. ὧδε μὲν
empire and first called Africanus thus indeed
ἡ θεὸς ἐς Ῥώμην δι' ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ἀρίστων
the goddess to Rome through men and women best
ἀφικνεῖτο.
arrived

57 ἐν δὲ Λιβύῃ Καρχηδονίων συνεχῶς ὑπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ
in and Libya Carthaginians continually by this —
Σκιπίωνος ἡττωμένων, ὅσοι Βρεττίων ταῦτ'
Scipio being-defeated as-many-as of-Bruttians these-things
ἐγίγνωσκον, ἀφίσταντο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀννίβου, καὶ τὰς
learned revolted from — Hannibal and the
φρουρὰς οἱ μὲν ἔκτεινον, οἱ δ' ἐξέβαλλον. οἱ
garrisons some indeed killed others and drove-out others
δὲ οὐδέτερα τούτων δυνάμενοι λάθρᾳ πρὸς τὴν
and neither of-these being-able secretly to the
σύγκλητον ἐπρέσβευον, τήν μὲν ἀνάγκην αὐτῶν καὶ
senate sent-envoys the indeed necessity their and
τὴν προαίρεσιν ὑποδεικνύοντες. Ἀννίβας δὲ ἐς μὲν
the intention showing Hannibal and into indeed

Πετηλίαν ἔνοπλος παρῆλθεν, οὐκέτι Πετηλίνων ἐχόντων
Petelia armed came no-longer Petelini holding
αὐτήν· ἐκβαλὼν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐδεδώκει Βρεττίοις.
it having-driven-out for them he-had-given(-it) to-Bruttians
ᾐτιᾶτο δ' ὅτι ἐπρέσβευσαν ἐς Ῥώμην, ἀρνουμένων
he-accused and that they-had-sent-envoys to Rome denying
δ' ἐκείνων ὑπεκρίνετο πιστεύειν. "ἵνα δ'," ἔφη,
and they he-pretended to-believe that but he-said
"μηδ' ὑπονοῆσθε," τοὺς μὲν δυνατοὺς παρέδωκε τοῖς
not-even you-may-be-suspected the indeed powerful he-handed-over to-the
Νομάσι, κεχωρισμένως τηρεῖν αὐτῶν ἕκαστον, τοῦ
Numidians separately to-guard of-them each the
δὲ πλήθους τὰ ὅπλα παρείλετο, τοὺς δὲ δούλους
and multitude the arms took-away the and slaves
καθοπλίσας ἐπέστησε τῇ πόλει φύλακας. καὶ τούτοις
having-armed set-over the city as-guards and to-these
ὅμοια τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἐπιὼν ἐποίει. Θουρίων δὲ
like-things the other cities visiting did of-Thurians and
τρισχιλίους Καρχηδονίοις μάλιστα εὔνους ἐξελόμενος,
three-thousand to-Carthaginians most well-disposed having-picked-out
καὶ πεντακοσίους ἄλλους ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγρῶν, τὰ λοιπὰ
and five-hundred others from the fields the rest
τῇ στρατιᾷ διαρπάζειν ἔδωκεν. καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐγκρατῆ
to-the army to-plunder gave and of-the city in-control
φρουρὰν καταλιπών, ἐς Κρότωνα τοὺς τρισχιλίους καὶ
a-garrison having-left to Croton the three-thousand and
πεντακοσίους μετῴκιζε, τὴν πόλιν εὔκαιρον ἡγούμενος
five-hundred resettled the city well-situated thinking
εἶναι, καὶ ταμιεῖον αὐτὴν ἑαυτῷ καὶ ὁρμητήριον ἐπὶ
to-be and a-store it for-himself and base against
τὰς ἄλλας τιθέμενος.
the others making

58 Καρχηδονίων δ' αὐτὸν μετακαλούντων κατὰ σπουδὴν
Carthaginians and him recalling with haste
ἐπικουρεῖν κινδυνευούσῃ τῇ πατρίδι ὑπὸ Σκιπίωνος,
to-help being-in-danger the fatherland by Scipio
καὶ τὸν ναύαρχον Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἵνα μὴ
and the admiral Hasdrubal to him that not
βραδύνειε, πεμψάντων, ἤχθετο μὲν τῆς Καρχηδονίων
he-might-delay having-sent was-grieved indeed of-the of-Carthaginians
ἐς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀπιστίας τε καὶ ἀχαριστίας
toward the commanders faithlessness both and ingratitude
ἐς πεῖραν ἐρχόμενος διὰ μακροῦ, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν
into experience coming through long-time and the blame
ἐδεδοίκει τοῦ τοσοῦδε πολέμου πρῶτος ἐμβαλὼν ἐν
he-feared of-the so-great war first having-launched(-it) in
Ἰβηρίᾳ, ἐγνώκει δ' ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ὅμως ἕπεσθαι, καὶ
Iberia he-had-decided but under necessity nevertheless to-follow and
ναῦς εἰργάζετο πολλάς, εὐξύλου τῆς Ἰταλίας οὔσης.
ships he-built many well-timbered — Italy being
τῶν δ' ἔτι ὑπηκόων οἱ πόλεων ὡς ἀλλοτρίων
of-the and still subject to-him cities as foreign
καταφρονῶν, ἔγνω διαρπάσαι πάσας, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν
despising he-decided to-plunder all and the army
πλουτίσας, εὔνουν ἐς τὰς ἐν Καρχηδόνι συκοφαντίας
having-enriched well-disposed toward the in Carthage slanders
ἐπαγαγέσθαι. αἰδούμενός τε αὐτὸς παρασπονδεῖν,
to-win being-ashamed both himself to-break-faith
Ἀσδρούβαν τὸν ναύαρχον ἐπὶ προφάσει περιέπεμπε,
Hasdrubal the admiral on pretext sent-round
τοὺς φρουροῦντας ὀψόμενον. ὁ δὲ ἐς ἑκάστην
the(-men) garrisoning going-to-inspect he and into each
πόλιν ἐσιὼν ἐκέλευσε τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσιν, αὐτούς τε
city entering ordered the inhabitants themselves both

καὶ δούλους αὐτῶν, ὅσα δύναιντο λαβόντας, ἐκ
and slaves their what they-could having-taken from
τῶν πόλεων μεθίστασθαι, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ διήρπαζεν.
the cities to-remove and the rest plundered
τούτων ἔνιοι πυνθανόμενοι, πρὶν τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν
of-these some learning before — Hasdrubal
ἥκειν, τοῖς φρουροῖς ἐπετίθεντο, καὶ συνέβαινεν ὅπου
to-come the garrisons attacked and it-happened where
μὲν κρατεῖν τὰς πόλεις ὅπου δὲ τοὺς φρουρούς,
indeed to-prevail the cities where and the garrisons
σφαγή τε ποικίλη καὶ γυναικῶν ὕβρις καὶ παρθένων
slaughter both varied and of-women outrage and of-maidens
ἀπαγωγαί, καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐν πόλεσιν ἑαλωκυίαις,
carrying-off and all as-much-as in cities taken
ἐγίγνοντο.
happened
αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Ἀννίβας τοὺς συστρατευομένους οἱ 59
himself and — Hannibal the(-men) campaigning-with him
τῶν Ἰταλῶν εἰδὼς εὖ γεγυμνασμένους, ἔπειθε
of-the Italians knowing well trained tried-to-persuade
πολλαῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν ἐς τὴν Λιβύην αὑτῷ συστρατεῦσαι.
with-many promises to — Libya with-him to-campaign
καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν τὰ ἡμαρτημένα σφίσιν ἐς
and of-these some indeed the offenses by-them against
τὰς πατρίδας δεδιότες εἵποντο, φεύγοντες τὴν οἰκείαν
the fatherlands fearing followed fleeing the home
ἑκόντες, οἱ δὲ οὐδὲν ἁμαρτόντες ὤκνουν. ἀθροίσας
willingly others and nothing having-offended hesitated having-gathered
οὖν τούσδε τοὺς ὑπομένειν ἀξιοῦντας ὡς δή
then these the(-men) to-remain claiming as indeed
τι λέξων αὐτοῖς ἢ χαριούμενος τῶν γεγονότων
something going-to-say to-them or going-to-reward for-the happenings

ἢ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐπισκήψων, περιέστησε
or about the future going-to-charge he-set-around(-them)
τὴν στρατιὰν ὡπλισμένην ἄφνω, καὶ προσέταξε
the army armed suddenly and ordered
τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράποδα ἐξ αὐτῶν ὅσα θέλουσιν
the own(-men) slaves from them as-many-as they-wish
ἐπιλέξασθαι. ὡς δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐπελέξαντο, οἱ δὲ
to-choose when and some indeed chose others and
ᾐδοῦντο συστρατιώτας πολλὰ συνειργασμένους σφίσιν
were-ashamed fellow-soldiers much having-toiled-with them
ἀνδραποδίσασθαι, τοὺς λοιποὺς κατηκόντισεν ἅπαντας,
to-enslave the rest he-shot-down all
τοῦ μὴ τοιούσδε ἄνδρας ποτὲ Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι
for-the not such men ever to-Romans to-become
χρησίμους. ἐπικατέσφαξε δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἵππους ἐς
useful slaughtered-over and them also horses about
τετρακισχιλίους καὶ πλῆθος ὑποζυγίων, οὐ δυνάμενος ἐς
four-thousand and a-multitude of-pack-animals not being-able to
Λιβύην ἐπάγεσθαι.
Libya to-take
60 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐς τὰς ναῦς τὸ πλῆθος ἐμβιβάσας
after and this into the ships the multitude having-embarked
τὸ πνεῦμα ἀνέμενεν, ὀλίγους ἐς φυλακὴν ἐπὶ
the wind awaited few for guard on
τῆς γῆς καταλιπών. οἱ δὲ Πετηλῖνοι καὶ σὺν
the land having-left the and Petelini and with
αὐτοῖς ἕτεροι Ἰταλοὶ ἐπέθεντο, καί τινας αὐτῶν
them other Italians attacked and some of-them
κατασφάξαντες ἀπέδρασαν. Ἀννίβας δ' ἐπὶ Λιβύης
having-slaughtered ran-off Hannibal and for Libya
ἀνήγετο, ἑκκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν ὁμαλῶς πορθήσας τε τὴν
put-to-sea in-sixteen years continuously having-ravaged both —

Ἰταλίαν, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐμπλήσας κακῶν μυρίων
Italy and the men having-filled with-evils countless
καὶ ἐς κίνδυνον ἔσχατον πολλάκις συναγαγών, τοῖς
and into danger extreme often having-brought the
τε ὑπηκόοις αὐτοῦ καὶ συμμάχοις ἐνυβρίσας ὡς
both subjects his and allies having-outraged as
πολεμίοις· ἅτε γὰρ καὶ τέως αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐπ'
enemies inasmuch-as for also until-then them not for
εὐνοίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ χρείᾳ χρώμενος, οὐδὲν ἔχων
goodwill rather than need using nothing having
ἔτι πρὸς αὐτῶν ὠφελεῖσθαι κατεφρόνησεν ὡς
any-longer from them to-be-benefited he-despised as
πολεμίων.
enemies

Ἀννίβου δ' ἀποπλεύσαντος ἡ βουλὴ τοῖς μὲν 61
Hannibal and having-sailed-away the senate the indeed
ἄλλοις ἔθνεσι τῆς Ἰταλίας, ὅσοι μετέθεντο πρὸς
other peoples — of-Italy as-many-as had-gone-over to
ἐκεῖνον, συνέγνω τῶν γεγονότων καὶ ἀμνηστίαν
him pardoned the happenings and amnesty
ἐψηφίσατο, Βρεττίων δὲ μόνων, οἳ μέχρι τέλους
voted from-Bruttians but alone who until the-end
αὐτῷ προθυμότατοι ἐγεγένηντο, χώραν τε πολλὴν
to-him most-zealous had-been land both much
ἀφείλετο καὶ ὅπλα, εἴ τινα ἦν ἔτι χωρὶς ὧν
took-away and arms if any were still apart-from those-which
Ἀννίβας ἀφῄρητο· ἔς τε τὸ μέλλον ἀπεῖπεν αὐτοῖς
Hannibal had-taken-away for both the future forbade them
μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ὡς οὐδ' ἐλευθέροις οὖσιν, ὑπηρέτας
not to-serve as not-even free being as-servants
δὲ τοῖς τε ὑπάτοις καὶ στρατηγοῖς τοῖς ἐς τὰς
and to-the both consuls and praetors the to the

τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡγεμονίας ἀπιοῦσιν ἐς τὰς δημοσίας
of-the provinces commands departing for the public
ὑπηρεσίας, οἷα θεράποντας, ἀκολουθεῖν. τοῦτο τὸ
services as attendants to-follow this the
τέλος ἦν Ἀννίβου τῆς ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν γενομένης
end was of-Hannibal of-the into — Italy having-happened
ἐσβολῆς.
invasion

APPIAN

ΛΙΒΥΚΗ

The Punic Wars

Phoenicians found Carthage fifty years before Troy falls; Romans and Carthaginians say Dido fled Tyre from Pygmalion, asked the Libyans for as much land as a bull's hide would cover, and cut it into one strap to enclose the Byrsa. Carthage rules Libya and the sea until Rome takes Sicily, Sardinia, and Iberia; a third war razes it. In the first, Atilius Regulus wins two hundred cities, but the Spartan Xanthippus destroys his army and takes him; Regulus urges Rome to fight on and returns to die in a spiked cage, and Carthage has Xanthippus drowned. Later Rome lets Carthage hire troops against its rebel mercenaries and exacts Sardinia for Roman traders it killed.

Καρχηδόνα τὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ Φοίνικες ᾤκισαν ἔτεσι πεντήκοντα 1
Carthage the in Libya Phoenicians founded in-years fifty
πρὸ ἁλώσεως Ἰλίου, οἰκισταὶ δ' αὐτῆς ἐγένοντο Ζῶρός
before capture of-Ilium founders and of-it were Zorus
τε καὶ Καρχηδών, ὡς δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ αὐτοὶ Καρχηδόνιοι
both and Carchedon as but Romans and themselves Carthaginians
νομίζουσι, Διδὼ γυνὴ Τυρία, ἧς τὸν ἄνδρα κατακαίνει
think Dido a-woman Tyrian whose the husband kills
Πυγμαλίων Τύρου τυραννεύων, καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐπέκρυπτεν.
Pygmalion of-Tyre being-tyrant and the deed concealed
ἡ δὲ ἐξ ἐνυπνίου τὸν φόνον ἐπέγνω, καὶ μετὰ χρημάτων
she and from a-dream the murder learned and with money
πολλῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν, ὅσοι Πυγμαλίωνος τυραννίδα
much and men as-many-as of-Pygmalion tyranny
ἔφευγον, ἀφικνεῖται πλέουσα Λιβύης ἔνθα νῦν ἔστι
fled arrives sailing of-Libya where now is
Καρχηδών. ἐξωθούμενοι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Λιβύων ἐδέοντο
Carthage being-pushed-out and by the Libyans they-asked
χωρίον ἐς συνοικισμὸν λαβεῖν, ὅσον ἂν βύρσα ταύρου
a-place for settlement to-take as-much-as — a-hide of-a-bull

περιλάβοι. τοῖς δὲ ἐνέπιπτε μέν τι καὶ γέλωτος ἐπὶ
might-encompass to-them and occurred indeed something also of-laughter at
τῇ τῶν Φοινίκων μικρολογίᾳ, καὶ ᾐδοῦντο ἀντειπεῖν
the of-the Phoenicians pettiness and they-were-ashamed to-refuse
περὶ οὕτω βραχυτάτου· μάλιστα δ' ἠπόρουν ὅπως ἂν
about so very-small most and they-were-puzzled how —
πόλις ἐν τηλικούτῳ διαστήματι γένοιτο, καὶ ποθοῦντες
a-city in so-small space might-be and longing
ἰδεῖν ὅ τι ἔστιν αὐτοῖς τοῦτο τὸ σοφόν, συνέθεντο
to-see what ever is to-them this the cleverness they-agreed
δώσειν καὶ ἐπώμοσαν. οἱ δὲ τὸ δέρμα περιτεμόντες
to-be-going-to-give and swore they and the hide having-cut-round
ἐς ἱμάντα ἕνα στενώτατον, περιέθηκαν ἔνθα νῦν ἔστιν ἡ
into a-strap one very-narrow laid-around where now is the
Καρχηδονίων ἀκρόπολις· καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε Βύρσα ὀνομάζεται.
of-Carthaginians citadel and from this Byrsa is-named
2 χρόνῳ δ', ἐντεῦθεν ὁρμώμενοι καὶ τῶν περιοίκων ἀμείνους
in-time and thence setting-out and than-the neighbors better
ὄντες ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, ναυσί τε χρώμενοι καὶ τὴν
being to hands to-come ships both using and the
θάλασσαν οἷα Φοίνικες ἐργαζόμενοι, τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἔξω τῇ
sea as Phoenicians working the city the outside —
Βύρσῃ περιέθηκαν. καὶ δυναστεύοντες ἤδη Λιβύης ἐκράτουν
to-Byrsa they-set-around and having-power already of-Libya mastered
καὶ πολλῆς θαλάσσης, ἐκδήμους τε πολέμους ἐστράτευον ἐς
and of-much sea foreign both wars waged to
Σικελίαν καὶ Σαρδὼ καὶ νήσους ἄλλας ὅσαι τῆσδε τῆς
Sicily and Sardinia and islands other as-many-as of-this the
θαλάσσης εἰσί, καὶ ἐς Ἰβηρίαν. πολλαχῇ δὲ καὶ ἀποικίας
sea are and to Iberia in-many-places and also colonies
ἐξέπεμπον. ἥ τε ἀρχὴ αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο δυνάμει μὲν
they-sent the both empire for-them became in-power indeed

ἀξιόμαχος τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ, περιουσίᾳ δὲ μετὰ τὴν Περσικήν.
worthy-to-fight with-the Greek in-wealth and after the Persian
ἑπτακοσίοις δ' αὐτοὺς ἔτεσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ Ῥωμαῖοι
seven-hundred and them in-years from the founding Romans
Σικελίαν ἀφείλοντο, καὶ Σαρδὼ μετὰ Σικελίαν, δευτέρῳ
Sicily took-away and Sardinia after Sicily in-second
δὲ πολέμῳ καὶ Ἰβηρίαν. ἔς τε τὴν ἀλλήλων ἐμβαλόντες
and war also Iberia into both the each-other's having-invaded
μεγάλοις στρατοῖς, οἱ μὲν Ἀννίβου σφῶν ἡγουμένου τὴν
with-great armies some indeed Hannibal them leading —
Ἰταλίαν ἐπόρθουν ἑκκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν ἑξῆς, οἱ δὲ Λιβύην
Italy ravaged sixteen years in-succession others and Libya
Κορνηλίου Σκιπίωνος τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου σφῶν στρατηγοῦντος,
Cornelius Scipio the elder them commanding
μέχρι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Καρχηδονίους ἀφείλοντο καὶ ναῦς καὶ
until the empire from-Carthaginians they-took-away and ships and
ἐλέφαντας, καὶ χρήματα σφίσιν ἐπέταξαν ἐσενεγκεῖν ἐν
elephants and money on-them imposed to-pay in
χρόνῳ. δεύτεραί τε σπονδαὶ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις
time second both treaty for-Romans and Carthaginians
αἵδε διέμειναν ἐς ἔτη πεντήκοντα, μέχρι λύσαντες αὐτὰς
this lasted for years fifty until having-broken it
τρίτον πόλεμον καὶ τελευταῖον ἀλλήλοις ἐπολέμησαν,
a-third war and last with-each-other they-warred
ἐν ᾧ Καρχηδόνα Ῥωμαῖοι κατέσκαψαν Σκιπίωνος τοῦ
in which Carthage Romans razed Scipio the
νεωτέρου σφῶν στρατηγοῦντος, καὶ ἐπάρατον ἔγνωσαν.
younger them commanding and accursed declared
αὖθις δ' ᾤκισαν ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν, ἀγχοτάτω μάλιστα τῆς
again but founded with-own men very-near most of-the
προτέρας, ὡς εὔκαιρον ἐπὶ Λιβύῃ χωρίον. τούτων τὰ
former as well-situated for Libya place of-these the-things

μὲν ἀμφὶ Σικελίαν ἡ Σικελικὴ γραφὴ δηλοῖ, τὰ δ'
indeed about Sicily the Sicilian account shows the-things and
ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ γενόμενα ἡ Ἰβηρική, καὶ ὅσα Ἀννίβας ἐς
in Iberia having-happened the Iberian and what Hannibal into
Ἰταλίαν ἐσβαλὼν ἔπραξεν, ἡ Ἀννιβαϊκή· τὰ δ' ἐν
Italy having-invaded did the Hannibalic the-things and in
Λιβύῃ γενόμενα ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἥδε συνάγει.
Libya having-happened from the-beginning this-one brings-together

3 ἤρξαντο δ' αὐτῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Σικελικὸν πόλεμον οἱ
began and of-them about the Sicilian war the
Ῥωμαῖοι, ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίαις ἐπιπλεύσαντες
Romans with-ships fifty and three-hundred having-sailed-against
ἐς Λιβύην, καὶ πόλεις τινὰς ἑλόντες, καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῇ
to Libya and cities some having-taken and a-general over the
δυνάμει καταλιπόντες Ἀτίλιον Ῥῆγλον, ὃς ἄλλας τε πόλεις
force having-left Atilius Regulus who other both cities
διακοσίας προσέλαβεν, αἳ Καρχηδονίων ἔχθει πρὸς αὐτὸν
two-hundred acquired which of-Carthaginians from-hatred to him
μετετίθεντο, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπιὼν ἐπόρθει. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ
went-over and the country going-over ravaged Carthaginians and
Λακεδαιμονίους στρατηγὸν ἤτουν, οἰόμενοι δι' ἀναρχίαν
from-Lacedaemonians a-general asked thinking through lack-of-leadership
κακοπραγεῖν. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ξάνθιππον αὐτοῖς ἔπεμπον, ὁ
to-fare-badly they indeed indeed Xanthippus to-them sent —
δὲ Ἀτίλιος ἀμφὶ λίμνῃ στρατοπεδεύων ὥρᾳ καύματος
and Atilius by a-lake encamping at-the-hour of-heat
περιώδευε τὴν λίμνην ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ὅπλων τε
went-round the lake against the enemies of-arms both
βάρει καὶ πνίγει καὶ δίψει καὶ ὁδοιπορίᾳ κακοπαθῶν, καὶ
by-weight and stifling-heat and thirst and marching suffering and
βαλλόμενος ἀπὸ κρημνῶν ἄνωθεν. ὡς δ' ἐπλησίασε περὶ
being-pelted from cliffs above when and he-came-near about

ἑσπέραν καὶ ποταμὸς αὐτοὺς διεῖργεν, ὁ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐπέρα
evening and a-river them separated he indeed at-once crossed
τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς καὶ τῷδε τὸν Ξάνθιππον ἐκπλήξων, ὁ δὲ
the river as also by-this — Xanthippus going-to-terrify he and
συντεταγμένην τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπαφίησι διὰ τῶν πυλῶν,
drawn-up the army sends-out through the gates
ἐλπίσας κεκμηκότος καὶ κακοπαθοῦντος περιέσεσθαι,
having-hoped exhausted and suffering to-be-going-to-overcome
καὶ τὴν νύκτα πρὸς τῶν νικώντων ἔσεσθαι. τῆσδε μὲν
and the night for the victors to-be-going-to-be of-this indeed
οὖν τῆς ἐλπίδος ὁ Ξάνθιππος οὐκ ἀπέτυχεν· ἀπὸ γὰρ
then the hope — Xanthippus not was-disappointed from for
τρισμυρίων ἀνδρῶν οὓς ὁ Ἀτίλιος ἦγεν, ὀλίγοι μόλις
thirty-thousand men whom — Atilius led few scarcely
αὐτῶν ἐς Ἀσπίδα πόλιν διέδρασαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες
of-them to Aspis city escaped the and rest all
οἱ μὲν ἀπώλοντο οἱ δ' ἐζωγρήθησαν. καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν
some indeed perished others and were-taken-alive and with them
ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀτίλιος, ὕπατος γεγονώς, αἰχμάλωτος ἦν.
the general Atilius consul having-been captive was
τόνδε μὲν δὴ μετ' οὐ πολὺ κάμνοντες οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι 4
this-one indeed indeed after not long weary the Carthaginians
σὺν οἰκείοις πρέσβεσιν ἔπεμψαν ἐς Ῥώμην, ἐργασόμενον
with own envoys sent to Rome going-to-procure
σφίσι διαλλαγὰς ἢ ἐπανήξοντα· καὶ ὁ Ἀτίλιος Ῥῆγλος
for-them terms or going-to-return and — Atilius Regulus
ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ τοῖς τέλεσι Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκήψας ἐγκρατῶς
in secret to-the magistrates of-Romans having-charged firmly
ἔχεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου, ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς λύμην ἕτοιμον, καὶ
to-hold-to the war returned to outrage ready and
αὐτὸν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι καθείρξαντες ἐν γαλεάγρᾳ κέντρα
him the Carthaginians having-shut-up in a-cage spikes

πάντοθεν ἐχούσῃ διέφθειραν. Ξανθίππῳ δὲ τὸ εὐτύχημα
from-everywhere having destroyed to-Xanthippus and the success
συμφορῶν ἦρξε· Καρχηδόνιοι γὰρ αὐτόν, ἵνα μὴ δοκοίη
of-disasters began Carthaginians for him that not it-might-seem
Λακεδαιμονίων ἔργον εἶναι τοσοῦτον, ὑποκρινάμενοι
of-Lacedaemonians work to-be so-great pretending
τιμᾶν δωρεαῖς πολλαῖς καὶ προπέμπειν ἐπὶ τριήρων ἐς
to-honor with-gifts many and to-escort on triremes to
Λακεδαίμονα, τοῖς τριηράρχοις ἐνετείλαντο μετὰ τῶν
Lacedaemon to-the trierarchs ordered with the
συμπλεόντων Λακώνων καταποντίσαι. ὁ μὲν δὴ δίκην
sailing-with-him Laconians to-drown he indeed indeed penalty
ἔδωκε τήνδε εὐπραξίας, καὶ τάδε ἦν τοῦ πρώτου πολέμου
paid this for-success and these-things were of-the first war
Ῥωμαίοις περὶ Λιβύην εὐπραγήματά τε καὶ ἀτυχήματα,
for-Romans about Libya successes both and misfortunes
μέχρι Καρχηδόνιοι Σικελίας Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέστησαν. ὅπως
until Carthaginians from-Sicily to-Romans withdrew how
δὲ ἀπέστησαν, ἐν τῇ Σικελικῇ γραφῇ δεδήλωται.
and they-withdrew in the Sicilian account has-been-shown
μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Ῥωμαίοις μὲν καὶ Καρχηδονίοις εἰρηναῖα
after and this for-Romans indeed and Carthaginians peaceful-things
ἦν ἐς ἀλλήλους, Λίβυες, δ' ὅσοι Καρχηδονίων ὄντες
were toward each-other Libyans and as-many-as of-Carthaginians being
ὑπήκοοι συνεμεμαχήκεσαν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ Σικελίαν, καὶ Κελτῶν
subjects had-fought-with them in Sicily and of-Celts
ὅσοι ἐμεμισθοφορήκεσαν, ἐγκλήματά τινα μισθῶν καὶ
as-many-as had-served-for-pay complaints some of-pay and
ὑποσχέσεων ἐς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἔχοντες ἐπολέμουν
promises against the Carthaginians having warred-on
αὐτοῖς μάλα καρτερῶς. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίους ἐς συμμαχίαν
them very strongly they and Romans to alliance

ὡς φίλους ἐκάλουν, καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ξενολογεῖν
as friends called and them the Romans to-hire-mercenaries
ἐς μόνον τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐφῆκαν·
for only this the war from — Italy allowed
ἀπείρητο γὰρ ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς καὶ τόδε. ἔπεμψαν
it-had-been-forbidden for in the treaty also this they-sent
δὲ καὶ διαλλακτῆρας, οἷς οἱ Λίβυες οὐχ ὑπήκουον, ἀλλὰ
and also mediators whom the Libyans not obeyed but
τὰς πόλεις ἐδήλωσαν ὑπηκόους εἶναι Ῥωμαίων, εἰ θέλοιεν·
the cities declared subjects to-be of-Romans if they-wished
οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐδέξαντο. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ ναυτικῷ πολλῷ
they and not accepted Carthaginians and with-a-navy great
ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐφεδρεύοντες τὴν ἀγορὰν αὐτῶν ἀφῃροῦντο
at-the cities lying-in-wait the provisions their took-away
τὴν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης, ἀσπόρου δὲ καὶ τῆς γῆς ὡς ἐν
the from the sea unsown and also the land as in
πολέμῳ γενομένης, Λιβύων μὲν διὰ τὸν λιμὸν ἐκράτουν,
war having-become Libyans indeed because-of the famine prevailed-over
ἐμπόρους δ', ὅσοι παρέπλεον, ἐλῄστευον ἐξ ἀπορίας·
merchants and as-many-as sailed-past they-plundered from want
τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίων καὶ κτείνοντες ἔβαλλον ἐς τὸ πέλαγος,
the(-men) and of-Romans also killing threw into the sea
ἵνα λανθάνοιεν. καὶ διέλαθον ἐπὶ πολύ. γνωσθέντος
that they-might-escape-notice and they-escaped-notice for long having-been-discovered
δὲ τοῦ γιγνομένου, ποινὴν αἰτούμενοι διωθοῦντο, μέχρι
and the happening penalty being-asked they-put-off until
Ῥωμαίων ἐπιστρατεύειν αὐτοῖς ψηφισαμένων Σαρδὼ ποινὴν
Romans to-march-against them having-voted Sardinia as-penalty
ἔδωκαν. καὶ τόδε ταῖς προτέραις συνθήκαις ἐνεγράφη.
they-gave and this to-the former treaty was-added

Carthage breaks the Iber boundary, Hannibal invades Italy, and the two Scipios die in Iberia; the younger Scipio retrieves it and asks to be sent to Libya. Some senators object while Italy is ravaged, but he is sent, with volunteers and no money from the state. In Sicily he has three hundred wealthy Sicilians hand their arms and horses to three hundred unarmed young Italians. Hasdrubal son of Gisco raises an army and betroths his daughter to Masinissa, but when Syphax agrees to join Scipio, Carthage gives her to Syphax; Masinissa, who has also joined Scipio, escapes Hasdrubal's assassins, recovers his father's kingdom, and wages a war of raids and flight against Syphax and Carthage.

6 οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι στρατεύουσιν ἐς
not much and later the Carthaginians march into
Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ αὐτὴν κατὰ μέρος ὑπήγοντο, μέχρι Ζακανθαίων
Iberia and it by part brought-over until Saguntines
ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους καταφυγόντων Καρχηδονίοις ὅρος ἐν
to Romans having-fled for-Carthaginians a-boundary in
Ἰβηρίᾳ γίγνεται, μὴ διαβαίνειν τὸν Ἴβηρα ποταμόν. καὶ
Iberia is-made not to-cross the Iber river and
τάσδε αὖ τὰς σπονδὰς ἔλυσαν Καρχηδόνιοι, περάσαντες
this again the treaty broke Carthaginians having-crossed
Ἀννίβου σφῶν ἡγουμένου. διαβάντες δέ, ὁ μὲν Ἀννίβας
Hannibal them leading having-crossed and — indeed Hannibal
διαστρατηγεῖν ἑτέροις τὰ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ καταλιπὼν ἐς
to-command others the-affairs in Iberia having-left into
τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσέβαλε· στρατηγοὶ δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ,
— Italy invaded generals and of-Romans in Iberia
Πόπλιός τε Κορνήλιος Σκιπίων καὶ Γναῖος Κορνήλιος
Publius both Cornelius Scipio and Gnaeus Cornelius
Σκιπίων, ἀλλήλοιν ἀδελφώ, λαμπρὰ ἔργα ἀποδεικνυμένω
Scipio to-each-other brothers brilliant deeds displaying

θνήσκετον ἄμφω πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ οἱ μετ'
die both at-the-hands-of the enemies and the after
αὐτοὺς στρατηγοὶ κακῶς ἔπραττον, μέχρι Σκιπίων ὁ
them generals badly fared until Scipio the
Ποπλίου Σκιπίωνος τοῦδε τοῦ περὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἀναιρεθέντος
of-Publius Scipio this the about Iberia killed
υἱὸς ἐπιπλεύσας, καὶ δόξαν ἅπασιν ἐμβαλὼν ὡς ἥκοι
son having-sailed-there and an-opinion into-all having-put that he-had-come
κατὰ θεὸν καὶ δαιμονίῳ χρῷτο συμβούλῳ περὶ ἁπάντων,
by god and a-divine-sign used as-counselor about everything
ἐκράτει τε λαμπρῶς, καὶ ἐπὶ δόξης ἐκ τοῦδε πολλῆς
prevailed both brilliantly and in reputation from this great
γενόμενος τὴν μὲν στρατηγίαν τοῖς ἐς διαδοχὴν
having-come the indeed command to-the(-men) for succession
ἐπιπεμφθεῖσι παρέδωκεν, ἐς δὲ Ῥώμην ἐπανελθὼν ἠξίου
sent handed-over to and Rome having-returned asked
πεμφθῆναι στρατηγὸς ἐς Λιβύην ὡς ἀναστήσων Ἀννίβαν ἐξ
to-be-sent general to Libya as going-to-remove Hannibal from
Ἰταλίας καὶ Καρχηδονίοις δίκην ἐπιθήσων ἐν τῇ πατρίδι.
Italy and on-Carthaginians punishment going-to-inflict in the fatherland
τῶν δὲ πολιτευομένων οἱ μὲν ἀντέλεγον οὐ χρῆναι, 7
of-the(-men) and engaged-in-politics some indeed opposed not it-to-be-needful
κεκενωμένης ἄρτι τῆς Ἰταλίας τοσοῖσδε πολέμοις καὶ
emptied lately — Italy by-so-many wars and
πορθουμένης ἔτι πρὸς Ἀννίβου, καὶ Μάγωνος ἐν πλευραῖς
being-ravaged still by Hannibal and Mago on the-flanks
ἐπ' αὐτὴν Λίγυάς τε καὶ Κελτοὺς ξενολογοῦντος, ἐς Λιβύην
against it Ligurians both and Celts hiring-as-mercenaries to Libya
στρατεύειν, οὐδὲ τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν χειροῦσθαι πρὶν τὴν οἰκείαν
to-march nor the foreign to-subdue before the own
ἀπαλλάξαι τῶν παρόντων· οἱ δὲ ᾤοντο Καρχηδονίους
to-free from-the present-evils others and thought Carthaginians

νῦν μὲν ἀδεεῖς ὄντας ἐφεδρεύειν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, οὐδὲν
now indeed fearless being to-lie-in-wait-for — Italy in-no-way
ἐνοχλουμένους οἴκοι, πολέμου δὲ οἰκείου σφίσι γενομένου
harassed at-home war but own for-them having-arisen
καὶ Ἀννίβαν μεταπέμψεσθαι. οὕτω μὲν ἐκράτησε πέμπειν
also Hannibal to-be-going-to-recall thus indeed prevailed to-send
ἐς Λιβύην Σκιπίωνα, οὐ μὴν συνεχώρησαν αὐτῷ καταλέγειν
to Libya Scipio not indeed they-allowed him to-enroll
στρατὸν ἐξ Ἰταλίας πονουμένης ἔτι πρὸς Ἀννίβου· ἐθελοντὰς
an-army from Italy being-hard-pressed still by Hannibal volunteers
δέ, εἴ τινες εἶεν, ἐπέτρεψαν ἐπάγεσθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἀμφὶ
but if any there-were they-permitted to-bring and the(-men) about
τὴν Σικελίαν ἔτι οὖσι χρῆσθαι. τριήρεις τε ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ
— Sicily still being to-use triremes both they-gave him
κατασκευάσασθαι δέκα, καὶ πληρώματα αὐταῖς λαβεῖν,
to-build ten and crews for-them to-take
ἐπισκευάσαι δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν Σικελίᾳ. καὶ χρήματα οὐκ ἔδωκαν,
to-refit and also the in Sicily and money not they-gave
πλὴν εἴ τις ἐθέλοι τῷ Σκιπίωνι κατὰ φιλίαν συμφέρειν.
except if anyone wished — to-Scipio from friendship to-contribute
οὕτως ἀμελῶς ἥπτοντο τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου τὰ πρῶτα,
so carelessly they-took-up this the war the first
μεγίστου σφίσι καὶ ἀξιοτιμοτάτου μετ' ὀλίγον γενομένου.
greatest for-them and most-honorable after little having-become
8 ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἔνθους ὢν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνι ἐκ πολλοῦ, καί
— and Scipio inspired being against Carthage from long-ago and
τινας ἱππέας τε καὶ πεζούς, ἐς ἑπτακισχιλίους μάλιστα.
some cavalry both and infantry about seven-thousand about
ἀθροίσας, διέπλευσεν ἐς Σικελίαν ἔχων ἀμφ' αὑτὸν
having-gathered sailed to Sicily having about himself
ἀρτιγενείους ἐπιλέκτους τριακοσίους, οἷς εἴρητο χωρὶς
newly-bearded picked three-hundred to-whom it-had-been-told without

ὅπλων ἕπεσθαι. Σικελῶν δ' αὖ τριακοσίους καταγράψας
arms to-follow of-Sicilians and in-turn three-hundred having-enrolled
εὐδαίμονας ἐκέλευσεν ἥκειν ἐς ἡμέραν ῥητήν, ἐσκευασμένους
wealthy he-ordered to-come for a-day appointed equipped
ὅπλοις τε καὶ ἵπποις ὅτι δύναιντο καλλίστοις. ὡς
with-arms both and horses as they-could finest when
δὲ ἀφίκοντο, προύθηκεν εἴ τις ἑαυτοῦ θέλοι τὸν
and they-came he-proposed if anyone for-himself wished the(-man)
στρατευσόμενον ἀντιδοῦναι. δεξαμένων δὲ πάντων,
going-to-serve to-give-in-exchange having-accepted and all
ἤγαγεν ἐς μέσον τοὺς τριακοσίους τοὺς ὅπλων ἐρήμους,
he-led into the-middle the three-hundred the of-arms bare
καὶ ἐς τούσδε ἐκείνοις προσέταξε μετασκευάσασθαι. οἱ
and to these to-those he-ordered to-change-equipment they
δ' ἑκόντες παρεδίδοσαν ὅπλα καὶ ἵππους. καὶ περιῆν
and willingly handed-over arms and horses and it-resulted
τῷ Σκιπίωνι τριακοσίους νέους Ἰταλιώτας ἔχειν ἀντὶ
— for-Scipio three-hundred young Italiots to-have instead-of
Σικελιωτῶν, κάλλιστα ἵπποις καὶ ὅπλοις ἀλλοτρίοις
Sicilians most-finely with-horses and arms of-others
ἐσκευασμένους, καὶ χάριν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷδε εἰδότας· οἷς
equipped and gratitude at-once for this knowing whom
δὴ καὶ προθυμοτάτοις ἐς πάντα χρώμενος διετέλει.
indeed also most-zealous for everything using he-continued
Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι Ἀσδρούβαν μὲν 9
Carthaginians and these-things learning Hasdrubal indeed
τὸν Γέσκωνος ἐπὶ θήραν ἐλεφάντων ἐξέπεμπον, Μάγωνι
the son-of-Gisco for hunting of-elephants sent-out to-Mago
δ' ἀμφὶ τὴν Λιγυστίνην ξεναγοῦντι πεζοὺς ἀπέστελλον
and about — Ligurian-coast hiring-mercenaries infantry sent
ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ ἱππέας ὀκτακοσίους καὶ ἐλέφαντας
about six-thousand and cavalry eight-hundred and elephants

ἑπτά, καὶ προσέτασσον αὐτῷ μεθ' ὅσων δύναιτο ἄλλων
seven and ordered him with as-many-as he-could others
ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς Τυρρηνίαν, ἵνα τὸν Σκιπίωνα περισπάσειεν
to-invade into Etruria that — Scipio he-might-draw-off
ἐκ Λιβύης. Μάγων μὲν δὴ καὶ τότε ἐβράδυνεν,
from Libya Mago indeed indeed also then delayed
Ἀννίβᾳ τε συνελθεῖν οὐ δυνάμενος πολὺ διεστῶτι, καὶ
with-Hannibal both to-join not being-able far standing-apart and
τὸ μέλλον ἀεὶ περιορώμενος. Ἀσδρούβας δ' ἀπὸ τῆς
the future always watching Hasdrubal and from the
θήρας ἐπανελθὼν κατέλεγε Καρχηδονίων τε καὶ Λιβύων
hunt having-returned enrolled of-Carthaginians both and Libyans
ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους πεζοὺς ἑκατέρων καὶ ἱππέας ἑξακοσίους,
about six-thousand infantry of-each and cavalry six-hundred
δούλους τε ἠγόραζε πεντακισχιλίους, τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐρέσσειν,
slaves both bought five-thousand the fleet to-row
καὶ παρὰ τῶν Νομάδων ἔλαβε δισχιλίους ἱππέας, καὶ
and from the Numidians took two-thousand cavalry and
ξένους ἐμισθοῦτο, καὶ πάντας ἐγύμναζε, διακοσίους σταδίους
foreigners hired and all trained two-hundred stades
ἀποσχὼν ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος.
having-stood-off from Carthage

10 Νομάδων δὲ τῶν ἐν Λιβύῃ δυνάσται μὲν ἦσαν κατὰ μέρη
of-Numidians and the in Libya princes indeed were by parts
πολλοί, Σύφαξ δ' ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας, καὶ τιμὴν εἶχε πρὸς
many Syphax and above all also honor had from
τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιφανῆ. Μασσυλίων δ' αὖ, γένους ἀλκίμου,
the others conspicuous of-Massylians and in-turn of-a-race valiant
παῖς ἦν τοῦ βασιλέως Μασσανάσσης, ὃς ἐτέθραπτο
son was of-the king Masinissa who had-been-brought-up
μὲν ἐν Καρχηδόνι καὶ ἐπεπαίδευτο, ὄντι δ' αὐτῷ καὶ
indeed in Carthage and educated being and him both

τὸ σῶμα καλῷ καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἀρίστῳ Ἀσδρούβας
the body handsome and the character best Hasdrubal
ὁ Γέσκωνος, οὐδενὸς Καρχηδονίων δεύτερος, ἠγγύησε
the son-of-Gisco to-no-one of-Carthaginians second betrothed
τὴν θυγατέρα, καίπερ ὄντι Νομάδι, Καρχηδόνιος ὤν.
the daughter though being a-Numidian Carthaginian being
ὡς δ' ἠγγύησεν, ἐπήγετο ἐς Ἰβηρίαν στρατηγῶν τὸ
when and he-had-betrothed he-took-along to Iberia commanding the
μειράκιον. Σύφαξ δὲ κνιζόμενος ὑπ' ἔρωτος ἐπὶ τῇ παιδὶ
youth Syphax and stung by love for the girl
τὰ Καρχηδονίων ἐλεηλάτει, καὶ Σκιπίωνι διαπλεύσαντι
the-lands of-Carthaginians plundered and with-Scipio having-sailed
πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας συνέθετο συμμαχήσειν ἐπὶ
to him from Iberia agreed to-be-going-to-ally against
Καρχηδονίους ἰόντι. αἰσθόμενοι δ' οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ
Carthaginians going having-perceived and the Carthaginians and
μέγα ποιούμενοι ἐς τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον Σύφακα
great making for the against Romans war Syphax
προσλαβεῖν, ἐξέδοσαν αὐτῷ τὴν παρθένον ἀγνοούντων καὶ
to-win gave to-him the maiden not-knowing and
ὄντων ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ Ἀσδρούβου τε καὶ Μασσανάσσου. ἐφ'
being in Iberia Hasdrubal both and Masinissa upon
οἷς ὁ Μασσανάσσης ὑπεραλγῶν συνετίθετο καὶ ὅδε ἐν
which — Masinissa grieving-greatly made-terms also he in
Ἰβηρίᾳ τῷ Σκιπίωνι, λανθάνων, ὡς ᾤετο, Ἀσδρούβαν. ὁ
Iberia — with-Scipio escaping-notice-of as he-thought Hasdrubal he
δ' αἰσθόμενος βαρέως μὲν ἔφερεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μειρακίου καὶ
and having-perceived heavily indeed bore(-it) for the youth and
τῆς θυγατρός, ὑβρισμένοιν ἀμφοῖν, ἡγεῖτο δ' ὅμως τῇ
the daughter outraged both thought but nevertheless for-the
πατρίδι συμφέρειν ἐκποδὼν Μασσανάσσην ποιήσασθαι,
fatherland to-be-advantageous out-of-the-way Masinissa to-put

καὶ ἐπανιόντι ἐς Λιβύην ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἐπὶ θανάτῳ τοῦ
and to-him-returning to Libya from Iberia upon death of-the
πατρὸς συνέπεμπε προπομποὺς ἱππέας, οἷς εἴρητο
father sent-with escorting cavalry to-whom it-had-been-told
ἀφανῶς ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ καὶ κτείνειν ὅπῃ δύναιντο.
secretly to-plot-against him and to-kill where they-could
11 ὁ δ' αἰσθόμενος ἐξέφυγέ τε, καὶ τὴν πατρῴαν ἀρχὴν
he and having-perceived escaped both and the paternal rule
ἐκρατύνετο, ἱππέας ἀθροίζων, οἷς ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς
secured cavalry gathering for-whom by-day both and by-night
ἦν ἔργον ἀκοντίοις πολλοῖς χρωμένους ἐπελαύνειν ἀεὶ καὶ
was work javelins many using to-ride-at always and
ἀναχωρεῖν καὶ αὖθις ἐπελαύνειν. καὶ ὅλως ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἡ
to-retreat and again to-ride-at and wholly is for-them the
μάχη φυγὴ καὶ δίωξις. ἴσασι δὲ καὶ λιμὸν φέρειν οἱ Νομάδες
battle flight and pursuit know and also hunger to-bear the Numidians
οἵδε, καὶ πόᾳ χρῆσθαι πολλάκις ἀντὶ σίτου· καὶ τὸ πάμπαν
these also grass to-use often instead-of grain and the altogether
ὑδροποτοῦσιν. ὅ τε ἵππος αὐτοῖς κριθῆς μὲν οὐδ' ὅλως
drink-water the both horse for-them of-barley indeed not-even at-all
γεύεται, ποηφαγῶν ἀεί, πίνει δὲ διὰ πολλοῦ. τοιούτους
tastes grazing always drinks and at long-intervals such
ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐς δισμυρίους συναγαγὼν ἐξῆγεν ἐπὶ
— Masinissa about twenty-thousand having-gathered led-out for
θήρας ἢ λεηλασίας ἑτέρων ἐθνῶν· ἅπερ ᾤετο καὶ ἔργα
hunting or plundering of-other peoples which he-thought both works
καὶ γυμνάσια εἶναι. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ καὶ Σύφαξ νομίζοντες
and exercises to-be Carthaginians and and Syphax thinking
ἐπὶ σφᾶς εἶναι τὴν παρασκευὴν τοῦ μειρακίου (οὐ γὰρ
against them to-be the preparation of-the youth not for

ἠγνόουν ἃ ἐλελυπήκεσαν αὐτόν), ἔκριναν προτέρῳ
they-were-ignorant-of what they-had-grieved him decided first
τῷδε πολεμεῖν ἔστε καθέλωσι, καὶ τότε Ῥωμαίοις ἀπαντᾶν.
this-one to-war-on until they-should-destroy and then Romans to-meet
Σύφαξ μὲν οὖν καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι πλείους ἦσαν παρὰ πολύ, 12
Syphax indeed then and Carthaginians more were by far
μετὰ δὲ ἁμαξῶν καὶ παρασκευῆς βαρείας καὶ τρυφῆς
with but wagons and equipment heavy and luxury
ἐστρατεύοντο· Μασσανάσσης δὲ πόνων τε πᾶσιν ἐξῆρχε,
campaigned Masinissa and in-toils both to-all led-the-way
καὶ ἱππικὸν μόνον εἶχε καὶ ὑποζύγιον οὐδέν, οὐδὲ ἀγοράν.
and cavalry only had and pack-animal none nor provisions
ὅθεν ῥᾳδίως ὑπέφευγέ τε καὶ ἐπεχείρει καὶ ἐς τὰ ὀχυρὰ
whence easily escaped both and attacked and to the strongholds
ἀνεπήδα. πολλάκις τε καὶ καταλαμβανόμενος διεσκίδνη τὸ
leapt-up often both and being-overtaken scattered the
στράτευμα, ὅπῃ δυνηθεῖεν ἀποφεύγειν κατὰ μέρη. καὶ σὺν
army where they-could to-flee by parts and with
ὀλίγοις αὐτὸς ὑπεκρύπτετό ποι, μέχρι συνέλθοιεν αὐτῷ
few himself hid somewhere until should-assemble to-him
νυκτὸς ἢ μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἐς τὸ συγκείμενον. τρίτος δέ ποτε
by-night or by day at the agreed-place third and once
ἐν σπηλαίῳ κρυπτόμενος ἔλαθε, τῶν πολεμίων περὶ τὸ
in a-cave hiding escaped-notice of-the enemies about the
σπήλαιον στρατοπεδευόντων. οὐδ᾽ ἔστιν ὅτε ἐστάθμευεν ἐν
cave encamping nor is when be-lodged in
στρατοπέδῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλιστ᾽ ἐστρατήγει λανθάνειν ὅποι
a-camp but even most be-schemed to-escape-notice where
ποτε εἴη. ὅθεν οὐκ εἶχον αὐτῷ συνεχῶς προεπιχειρεῖν
ever he-might-be whence not they-could him continually to-attack-first
οἱ πολέμιοι, ἀλλ᾽ ἠμύνοντο ἐπιόντα. ἀγορὰ δ᾽ ἦν αὐτῷ
the enemies but warded-off him-attacking provisions and was for-him

καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, ὅ τι περὶ ἑσπέραν καταλάβοι
by each day what ever about evening he-might-seize
χωρίον ἢ κώμην ἢ πόλιν, ληζομένῳ τε πάντα καὶ
place or village or city plundering both everything and
διαρπάζοντι καὶ μεριζομένῳ τοῖς συνοῦσιν. ὅθεν αὐτῷ
pillaging and dividing to-the(-men) being-with(-him) whence to-him
πολλοὶ τῶν Νομάδων ἐπεφοίτων, μισθοὺς μὲν οὐ διδόντι
many of-the Numidians resorted pay indeed not giving
τεταγμένους, τὰς δ᾽ ὠφελείας πολὺ πλείονας ἔχοντες.
fixed the but benefits much more having

13–18 · SCIPIO LANDS IN LIBYA

Scipio sacrifices and sails from Sicily with sixteen thousand foot. Masinissa, feigning friendship with Hasdrubal, informs Scipio, lures Hanno's cavalry into an ambush by Agathocles' tower near Utica, and exchanges Hanno for his own mother. At Locha the soldiers kill even women and children though the town has offered terms, and Scipio executes three centurions by lot; then they turn Hasdrubal's ambush and kill five thousand. He fails to storm Utica and besieges it. Syphax, feigning neutrality, proposes that each side keep what it holds and tries to buy Masinissa's murder, then openly joins Carthage and plans a combined attack.

13 καὶ Μασσανάσσης μὲν Καρχηδονίοις οὕτως ἐπολέμει, ὁ δὲ
and Masinissa indeed with-Carthaginians thus warred — and
Σκιπίων, ἐπεί οἱ πάντα εὐτρεπῆ ἐγεγένητο ἐν Σικελίᾳ,
Scipio when to-him everything ready had-become in Sicily
ἔθυε Διὶ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι, καὶ ἐς Λιβύην ἀνήγετο ἐπὶ νεῶν
sacrificed to-Zeus and Poseidon and to Libya put-to-sea on ships
μακρῶν μὲν δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα φορτίδων δὲ τετρακοσίων·
long indeed two and fifty of-merchantmen and four-hundred
κέλητές τε καὶ λέμβοι πολλοὶ συνείποντο αὐτῷ. καὶ
cutters both and boats many followed him and

στρατιὰν ἦγε πεζοὺς μὲν ἑξακισχιλίους ἐπὶ μυρίοις, ἱππέας
an-army he-led infantry indeed six-thousand besides ten-thousand cavalry
δὲ χιλίους καὶ ἑξακοσίους. ἐπήγετο δὲ καὶ βέλη καὶ ὅπλα
and thousand and six-hundred he-brought and also missiles and arms
καὶ μηχανήματα ποικίλα καὶ ἀγορὰν πολλήν. καὶ Σκιπίων
and engines various and provisions much and Scipio
μὲν ὧδε διέπλει, Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ καὶ Σύφαξ πυνθανόμενοι
indeed thus sailed-across Carthaginians and also Syphax learning
ἔγνωσαν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ὑποκρίνασθαί τε Μασσανάσσην
decided in the present to-pretend both to-Masinissa
καὶ ἐς φιλίαν ὑπαγαγέσθαι, μέχρι ὅτου Σκιπίωνος
and into friendship to-win-over until when Scipio
ἐπικρατήσαιεν. ὁ δ᾽ οὐκ ἠγνόει μὲν ἐξαπατώμενος,
they-should-overcome he and not was-ignorant indeed being-deceived
ἀντενεδρεύων δέ, καὶ μηνύων πάντα τῷ Σκιπίωνι, ἦκε πρὸς
counter-plotting but and reporting everything — to-Scipio came to
τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ὡς συνηλλαγμένος μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἱππέων.
— Hasdrubal as reconciled with the own cavalry
καὶ ἐστρατοπέδευον οὐ μακρὰν ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων Ἀσδρούβας τε
and they-encamped not far from each-other Hasdrubal both
καὶ Σύφαξ καὶ Μασσανάσσης περὶ Ἰτύκην πόλιν, ἐς ἣν ὁ
and Syphax and Masinissa about Utica city to which —
Σκιπίων καταχθεὶς ὑπ᾽ ἀνέμων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐστρατοπέδευσε
Scipio having-been-carried by winds also himself encamped
περὶ αὐτήν. οὐ πολὺ δ᾽ ἀπεῖχεν ὁ Ἀσδρούβας αὐτοῦ,
about it not far and was-distant — Hasdrubal from-him
στρατιὰν ἔχων ἐς δισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας
an-army having about twenty-thousand infantry and cavalry
ἑπτακισχιλίους καὶ ἐλέφαντας ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα.
seven-thousand and elephants hundred besides forty

14 Σύφαξ μὲν οὖν, εἴτε δείσας εἴτε ἄπιστος ἐς ἑκατέρους
Syphax indeed then whether having-feared or faithless to each-side
γιγνόμενος παρὰ μέρος, ἐσκήψατό τι λυπεῖν τὴν
becoming in turn pretended something to-trouble the
ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὁμόρους βαρβάρους, καὶ ἀνεζεύγνυεν
rule his the neighboring barbarians and withdrew
ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα· Σκιπίων δὲ κατ᾽ ὀλίγους ἔπεμπεν
to the home Scipio and by few sent
ἐπιχειρεῖν τῷ Ἀσδρούβᾳ, καί τινες αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν πόλεων
to-attack — Hasdrubal and some to-him also of-the cities
προσεχώρουν. νυκτὸς δὲ λαθὼν ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἦκεν ἐπὶ
came-over by-night and unnoticed — Masinissa came to
τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, καὶ δεξιωσάμενος αὐτὸν
the camp — of-Scipio and having-greeted him
ἐδίδασκε τῆς ἐπιούσης ἔς τι χωρίον ἀπὸ τριάκοντα
taught on-the following in some place from thirty
σταδίων Ἰτύκης, ἔνθα πύργος ἔστιν Ἀγαθοκλέους ἔργον
stades of-Utica where a-tower is of-Agathocles work
τοῦ Συρακοσίων τυράννου, μὴ πλείους πεντακισχιλίων
the of-Syracusans tyrant not more than-five-thousand
ἐνεδρεῦσαι. ἅμα δ᾽ ἡμέρᾳ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἔπειθε τὸν
to-lay-in-ambush together-with and day — Hasdrubal he-persuaded the
ἵππαρχον Ἄννωνα πέμψαι τό τε πλῆθος τῶν ἐχθρῶν
cavalry-commander Hanno to-send the both number of-the enemies
ἐπισκεψόμενον καὶ ἐς Ἰτύκην ἐσδραμούμενον, μή τι
going-to-reconnoiter and into Utica going-to-run-in lest anything
πλησιαζόντων πολεμίων νεωτερίσειαν· καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπισχνεῖτο,
approaching enemies they-might-revolt and himself promised
εἰ κελεύοιτο, ἕψεσθαι. Ἄννων μὲν δὴ χιλίους ἦγεν
if he-should-be-ordered to-be-going-to-follow Hanno indeed indeed thousand led
ἐπιλέκτους ἱππέας Καρχηδονίους καὶ Λιβύων τι πλῆθος,
picked cavalry Carthaginian and of-Libyans some number

Μασσανάσσης δὲ Νομάδας τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ· ὡς δ' ἐπὶ τὸν
Masinissa and Numidians the his-own when and to the
πύργον ἀφίκοντο καὶ ὁ Ἄννων ἐξίππευσεν ἐς τὴν Ἰτύκην
tower they-came and — Hanno rode-off to — Utica
σὺν ὀλίγοις, μέρος τι τῆς ἐνέδρας ἐξεφαίνετο, καὶ ὁ
with few part some of-the ambush appeared and —
Μασσανάσσης ἐκέλευσε τὸν τεταγμένον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσι
Masinissa ordered the(-man) posted over the cavalry
τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπιδραμεῖν αὐτοῖς ὡς οὖσιν ὀλίγοις. καὶ
of-the Carthaginians to-charge them as being few and
αὐτὸς ἐκ βραχέος εἵπετο ὡς ἐπιβοηθήσων. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ
himself from short-distance followed as going-to-help in middle and
τῶν Λιβύων γενομένων, ἥ τε πλείων ἐνέδρα κατεφαίνετο,
the Libyans having-come the both greater ambush was-revealed
καὶ συνηκόντισαν αὐτοὺς ἑκατέρωθεν οἵ τε Ῥωμαῖοι
and shot-down them from-both-sides the both Romans
καὶ ὁ Μασσανάσσης, πλὴν τετρακοσίων, οἳ ἐλήφθησαν
and — Masinissa except four-hundred who were-taken
αἰχμάλωτοι. Μασσανάσσης δ', ἐπεὶ τοῦτο ἐξετετέλεστο,
captives Masinissa and when this had-been-accomplished
ἀπήντα τῷ Ἄννωνι κατὰ σπουδὴν ὡς φίλος ἐπανιόντι, καὶ
went-to-meet — Hanno with haste as a-friend returning and
συλλαβὼν αὐτὸν ἀπῆγεν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος στρατόπεδον,
having-seized him led-off to the — of-Scipio camp
καὶ ἀντέδωκεν Ἀσδρούβᾳ τῆς μητρὸς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ.
and exchanged(-him) to-Hasdrubal for-the mother the his-own
Σκιπίων δὲ καὶ Μασσανάσσης τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθουν, 15
Scipio and and Masinissa the country ravaged
καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐξέλυον ὅσοι δεθέντες ἔσκαπτον ἐν
and of-Romans released as-many-as bound dug in
τοῖς ἀγροῖς, ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἢ Σικελίας ἢ ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς
the fields from Iberia or Sicily or from itself —

Ἰταλίας πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Ἀννίβου. πολιορκοῦσι δ' αὐτοῖς
Italy sent by Hannibal besieging and to-them
πόλιν μεγάλην ᾗ ὄνομα ἦν Λόχα, καὶ πολλὰ δεινὰ
a-city great whose name was Locha and many terrible-things
πάσχουσιν, οἱ μὲν Λοχαῖοι προστιθεμένων τῶν κλιμάκων
suffering the indeed Lochaeans being-set the ladders
ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο ἐκλείψειν τὴν πόλιν ὑπόσπονδοι, καὶ ὁ
offered-by-herald to-be-going-to-leave the city under-truce and —
Σκιπίων ἀνεκάλει τῇ σάλπιγγι τὴν στρατιάν· ἡ δ' οὐχ
Scipio recalled with-the trumpet the army it but not
ὑπήκουεν ὑπ' ὀργῆς ὧν ἐπεπόνθεσαν, ἀλλ' ἐπιβάντες τοῖς
obeyed from anger at-what they-had-suffered but having-mounted the
τείχεσι καὶ γύναια καὶ παιδία κατέσφαττον· ὁ δὲ τοὺς μὲν
walls both women and children slaughtered he and the indeed
ἔτι ὄντας Λοχαίων ἀφῆκεν ἀπαθεῖς, τὴν δὲ στρατιὰν τὴν
still living of-Lochaeans released unharmed the but army the
λείαν ἀφείλετο, καὶ τοὺς λοχαγούς, ὅσοι συνεξήμαρτον,
booty took-from and the centurions as-many-as had-joined-in-the-offense
ἐκλήρωσεν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, καὶ τρεῖς τοὺς λαχόντας ἐκόλασε
he-chose-by-lot in the middle and three the(-men) having-drawn punished
θανάτῳ. καὶ τάδε πράξας αὖθις ἐλεηλάτει. Ἀσδρούβας
with-death and these-things having-done again plundered Hasdrubal
δ' αὐτοὺς ἐνήδρευε, Μάγωνα μὲν τὸν ἵππαρχον
and them ambushed Mago indeed the cavalry-commander
ἐπιπέμψας ἐκ μετώπου, αὐτὸς δὲ ὄπισθεν ἐπιών. οἱ
having-sent-against from front himself and behind attacking they
δ' ἐν μέσῳ γενόμενοι τὸ ἔργον ἐμερίσαντο, καὶ ἐς
and in middle having-come the work divided and against
ἑκατέρους αὐτῶν ἑκάτερος ἐπιστραφεὶς πεντακισχιλίους τῶν
each of-them each having-turned five-thousand of-the

Λιβύων ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ χιλίους καὶ ὀκτακοσίους ἔλαβον
Libyans killed and thousand and eight-hundred took
αἰχμαλώτους, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐς τὰς πέτρας κατήραξαν.
captives the and rest to the rocks dashed-down
καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοῖσδε προσέβαλεν Ἰτύκῃ κατὰ 16
and — Scipio at-once upon these-things attacked Utica by
γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, δύο μὲν πεντήρεσιν ἐζευγμέναις
land and by sea on-two indeed quinqueremes lashed-together
πύργον ἐπιθείς, ὅθεν τριπήχη βέλη καὶ λίθους μεγάλους
a-tower having-placed whence three-cubit missiles and stones great
ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἠφίει, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐλύπει πολλὰ
at the enemies he-hurled and much indeed he-harmed much
δ' ἀντέπασχε θραυομένων τῶν νεῶν, χώματα δ' ἐπαίρων
and suffered-in-return being-broken the ships mounds and raising
μέγιστα, καὶ κριοῖς τὸ τεῖχος, ὅτε προσπελάσειε, τύπτων,
very-great and with-rams the wall when he-should-come-near striking
δρεπάνοις τε περισπῶν ὅσαι βύρσαι περὶ αὐτὸ καὶ ἄλλα
with-sickles both pulling-off as-many-as hides about it and other
σκεπαστήρια ἦν. οἱ δὲ τὰ μὲν χώματα ὑπετάφρευον,
coverings were they and the indeed mounds undermined
καὶ τὰ δρέπανα βρόχοις παρῆγον, καὶ τοὺς κριοὺς τῆς
and the sickles with-nooses drew-aside and the rams of-the
ὁρμῆς ἐξέλυον, ἐπιβάλλοντες ἐπικαρσίας δοκούς· ἐς δὲ τὰς
impetus robbed throwing-down cross beams on and the
μηχανὰς ἐξεπήδων μετὰ πυρός, ὅτε πνεῦμα φυλάξειαν
engines leapt-out with fire when a-wind they-watched-for
ἐς αὐτὰς ἐπίφορον. ὅθεν ὁ Σκιπίων ἀπογνοὺς οὕτως
toward them favorable whence — Scipio despairing so
αἱρήσειν τὴν πόλιν, ἐς πολιορκίαν αὐτῆς καθίστατο.
to-be-going-to-take the city to siege of-it settled

17 Σύφαξ δὲ τῶν γιγνομένων πυνθανόμενος ἦκε μετὰ τοῦ
Syphax and the happenings learning came with the
στρατοῦ, καὶ οὐ μακρὰν ἐστάθμευεν ἀπὸ Ἀσδρούβου. ἔτι
army and not far encamped from Hasdrubal still
δ' ὑποκρινόμενος εἶναι φίλος ἑκατέροις, καὶ τρίβειν τὸν
and pretending to-be friend to-both and to-protract the
πόλεμον ἐγνωκὼς μέχρι νηές τε ἕτεραι ναυπηγούμεναι
war having-decided until ships both other being-built
πρὸς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπιγένοιντο καὶ μισθοφόροι τινὲς
by the Carthaginians should-come and mercenaries some
Κελτῶν καὶ Λιγύων ἐπέλθοιεν, ἐπεχείρει διαιτᾶν διαλύσεις,
of-Celts and Ligurians should-arrive attempted to-arbitrate settlements
καὶ ἐδικαίου μήτε Ῥωμαίους Λιβύης μήτε Καρχηδονίους
and claimed neither Romans Libya nor Carthaginians
Ἰταλίας ἐπιβαίνειν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ, ἔχειν δὲ Ῥωμαίους
Italy to-set-foot-on for war to-have and Romans
Σικελίαν καὶ Σαρδὼ καὶ εἴ τινας ἄλλας νήσους ἔχουσι,
Sicily and Sardinia and if any other islands they-have
καὶ Ἰβηρίαν. ἢν δέ τις ἀπειθῇ, τοῖς πειθομένοις
and Iberia if and anyone disobey with-the(-men) obeying
ἔφη συμμαχήσειν. ἅμα δὲ ταῦτ' ἔπρασσε, καὶ
he-said to-be-going-to-ally at-the-same-time and these-things he-did and
Μασσανάσσην ἐπείρα μεταθέσθαι πρὸς αὑτόν, τήν τε
Masinissa tried to-change-over to himself the both
Μασσυλίων ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ βεβαιώσειν ὑπισχνούμενος, καὶ
of-Massylians rule to-him to-be-going-to-confirm promising and
τῶν θυγατέρων τριῶν οὐσῶν δώσειν ἐς γάμον ἣν
of-the daughters three being to-be-going-to-give in marriage whichever
ἂν ἐθέλῃ. ἔφερε δ' ὁ ταῦτα λέγων χρυσίον, ἵνα,
— he-wishes bore and the(-one) these-things saying gold that
εἰ μὴ πείσειε, δοίη τῶν θεραπευτήρων αὐτοῦ
if not he-should-persuade he-might-give to-one-of-the attendants his

τῷ κτείνειν Μασσανάσσην ὑπισχνουμένῳ. ὁ μὲν δὴ
to-the(-one) to-kill Masinissa promising he indeed indeed
μὴ πείθων ἔδωκέ τινι τὸ χρυσίον ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ· ὁ δὲ
not persuading gave to-someone the gold for the murder he and
λαβὼν ἔδειξε τῷ Μασσανάσσῃ, καὶ τὸν δόντα ἤλεγξεν.
having-taken showed(-it) — to-Masinissa and the giver convicted
Σύφαξ δ' οὐ προσδοκῶν ἔτι λήσειν, φανερῶς 18
Syphax and not expecting any-longer to-be-going-to-escape-notice openly
τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις συνεμάχει, πόλιν τε ἐν μεσογείῳ
with-the Carthaginians allied a-city both in the-interior
Θολοῦντα, Ῥωμαίων παρασκευὴν καὶ σῖτον πολὺν ἔχουσαν,
Tholus of-Romans equipment and grain much having
ἐκ προδοσίας εἷλε, καὶ τοὺς φρουροῦντας αὐτὴν
through treason took and the(-men) garrisoning it
ἔκτεινεν οὐκ ἐθελήσαντας ἀπελθεῖν ὑποσπόνδους, συμμαχίαν
killed not having-wished to-depart under-truce alliance
τε ἄλλην πολλὴν Νομάδων μετεπέμπετο. καὶ οἱ μισθοφόροι
both other great of-Numidians summoned and the mercenaries
παρῆσαν αὐτοῖς ἤδη, καὶ νῆες εὐτρεπῶς εἶχον, ὥστε
were-present for-them already and ships ready were so-that
ἔγνωστο πολεμεῖν Σύφακα μὲν ὁρμώμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς
it-was-decided to-fight Syphax indeed setting-out against the(-men)
πολιορκοῦντας Ἰτύκην, Ἀσδρούβαν δ' ἐπὶ τὸ Σκιπίωνος
besieging Utica Hasdrubal and against the of-Scipio
στρατόπεδον. τὰς δὲ ναῦς ἔδει ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπιπλεῖν,
camp the and ships it-was-needful against-the ships to-sail
καὶ γίγνεσθαι ταῦτα τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας ἅπαντα ὁμοῦ,
and to-happen these-things on-the following day all together
ἵνα μὴ διαρκέσειαν αὐτοῖς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα.
that not might-suffice for-them the Romans because-of the fewness

Learning the enemy's plan, Scipio tells his officers that daring and speed will win: he will attack Hasdrubal's camp by night while Masinissa watches Syphax. He sacrifices to Daring and Fear, and at the third watch his men fill the ditch, tear down the palisade, and fire the tents; the Libyans run from the flames into the Roman cavalry, and Masinissa cuts down Syphax's relief and takes his camp. Nearly thirty thousand of the enemy die against about a hundred Romans. Hasdrubal, condemned to death at Carthage, gathers an army of his own. Hamilcar sails against Scipio's fleet, but Scipio blocks the harbor with merchantmen lashed together as a wall, and the winter passes in blockade and famine at Carthage.

19 ὧν ἤδη νυκτὸς οὔσης ὁ Μασσανάσσης παρά τινων
of-which already night being — Masinissa from some
Νομάδων πυθόμενος μετέδωκε τῷ Σκιπίωνι. ὁ δὲ ἔδεισε,
Numidians having-learned shared-it — with-Scipio he and feared
καὶ ἠπόρει μὴ ἐς πολλὰ αὐτῷ διαιρούμενος ὁ στρατὸς
and was-at-a-loss lest into many for-him being-divided the army
ἀσθενέστερος ἐς πάντα γίγνηται. τοὺς οὖν ἡγεμόνας
weaker for everything should-become the then commanders
αὐτίκα νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν σκέψιν ἐκάλει, καὶ ἀπορούντων
at-once by-night to the deliberation called and being-at-a-loss
ἁπάντων ἐπὶ πολὺ σύννους γενόμενος εἶπε· "τόλμης
all for long thoughtful having-become he-said of-daring
καὶ ταχυτῆτος ἡμῖν, ὦ φίλοι, δεῖ, καὶ μάχης ἐξ
and of-speed for-us O friends there-is-need and of-battle from
ἀπογνώσεως. φθάσωμεν ἐπελθόντες τοῖς πολεμίοις. ὅσα
desperation let-us-anticipate having-attacked the enemies how-much
δ' ἐν τῷδε πλεονεκτήσομεν, μάθετε ἤδη. ἐκείνους μὲν
and in this we-shall-gain-advantage learn now them indeed
ἐκπλήξει τὸ ἀδόκητον τῆς ἐφόδου καὶ τὸ παράδοξον
will-terrify the unexpectedness of-the attack and the strangeness

τοῦ ἔργου, τῶν ὀλιγωτέρων προεπιχειρούντων· ἡμεῖς δ'
of-the deed the fewer attacking-first we and
οὐκ ἐς πολλὰ διῃρημένῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ χρησόμεθα ἀλλ'
not into many divided the army shall-use but
ἀθρόᾳ, οὐδ' ἐπάξομεν αὐτὴν ἅπασι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀλλ'
massed nor shall-we-lead it against-all the enemies but
οἷς ἂν ἐπιλεξώμεθα πρώτοις. σταθμεύουσι δ' ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν
whom — we-may-choose first they-encamp and by themselves
ἕκαστοι, καὶ ἐσμὲν αὐτοῖς κατὰ μέρος ἰσόμαχοι, τόλμῃ
each and we-are to-them by part equal-in-battle in-daring
δὲ καὶ εὐτυχίᾳ προύχομεν. καὶ ἢν ὁ θεὸς δῷ τῶν
but and in-good-fortune we-excel and if the god grant the
πρώτων ἐπικρατῆσαι, τῶν ἄλλων καταφρονήσομεν. οἷς
first to-overcome the others we-shall-despise whom
δ' ἐπιχειρητέον ἐστὶ πρώτοις, καὶ τίς ὁ καιρὸς ἢ τρόπος
and to-be-attacked it-is first and what the moment or manner
ἔσται τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως, ἢν ἀρέσκῃ, τὰ τῆς γνώμης ἐρῶ."
will-be of-the attack if it-pleases the of-the plan I-will-tell
συνθεμένων δὲ πάντων, "ὁ μὲν καιρός," εἶπεν, "εὐθὺς
having-agreed and all the indeed moment he-said at-once
ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ συλλόγου, νυκτὸς ἔτι οὔσης,
to-attack from this the assembly night still being
ὅτε καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐστὶ φοβερώτερον καὶ ἀνέτοιμα τὰ
when also the deed is more-fearful and unready the-things
ἐκείνων, καὶ οὐδεὶς τῶν συμμάχων αὐτοῖς δύναται βοηθεῖν
of-those and no-one of-the allies them can help
ἐν σκότῳ. φθάσομέν τε οὕτως αὐτῶν τὰ βουλεύματα
in darkness we-shall-anticipate both thus their the plans
μόνως, ἐγνωκότων ἡμῖν τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας ἐπιθέσθαι.
only having-decided us on-the following day to-attack
τριῶν δ' αὐτοῖς ὄντων στρατοπέδων, αἱ μὲν νῆές
three and for-them being camps the indeed ships

εἰσι πόρρω, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι ναυσὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιχειρεῖν,
are far and not it-is-possible with-ships by-night to-attack
Ἀσδρούβας δὲ καὶ Σύφαξ οὐ μακρὰν ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων. καὶ
Hasdrubal and and Syphax not far from each-other and
τούτοιν Ἀσδρούβας μέν ἐστι τὸ τοῦ πολέμου κεφάλαιον,
of-these-two Hasdrubal indeed is the of-the war head
Σύφαξ δὲ οὐκ ἂν νυκτὸς ἐπιτολμήσειε τῷ πόνῳ, βάρβαρος
Syphax and not — by-night would-dare the toil a-barbarian
ἀνὴρ καὶ τρυφῆς γέμων καὶ δέους. φέρε οὖν, ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐπὶ
man and of-luxury full and of-fear come then we indeed against
Ἀσδρούβαν μετὰ παντὸς ἴωμεν τοῦ στρατοῦ, Μασσανάσσην
Hasdrubal with all let-us-go the army Masinissa
δὲ τόνδε ἐπιτάξωμεν ἐφεδρεύειν τῷ Σύφακι, ἢν ἄρα καὶ
and this let-us-order to-lie-in-wait-for — Syphax if then even
παρὰ δόξαν ἐξίῃ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. πεζοὶ δὲ
against expectation he-should-come-out-of the camp on-foot and
χωρῶμεν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τοῦ Ἀσδρούβου, καὶ περιστάντες
let-us-advance against the palisade — of-Hasdrubal and having-surrounded
ἐπιχειρῶμεν ἐκ παντὸς μέρους σὺν ἐλπίδι τε χρηστῇ καὶ
let-us-attack from every side with hope both good and
τόλμῃ θρασυτάτῃ· τούτων γὰρ τὰ παρόντα δεῖται μάλιστα.
daring boldest of-these for the present-things need most
τοὺς δ᾽ ἱππέας (οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι νυκτὸς ἔτι
the and cavalry not for it-is-possible them to-use night still
οὔσης) προπέμψω πορρωτέρω κυκλοῦσθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον
being I-will-send-ahead farther to-encircle the camp
τῶν πολεμίων, ἵνα εἰ μὲν βιασθείημεν, ὑποδέχοιντο
of-the enemies that if indeed we-should-be-forced they-might-receive
ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐς φιλίους καταφεύγοιμεν, εἰ δ᾽ ἐπικρατοίημεν,
us and to friends we-might-flee if but we-should-prevail
ἐκφεύγοντας ἐκείνους διώκοιεν καὶ διαχρῷντο.”
fleeing them they-might-pursue and destroy

ταῦτ᾽ εἰπών, καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐκπέμψας ὁπλίσαι τὸν 21
these-things having-said and the commanders having-sent-out to-arm the
στρατόν, αὐτὸς ἐθύετο Τόλμῃ καὶ Φόβῳ, μηδὲν ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ
army himself sacrificed to-Daring and to-Fear nothing as in night
πανικόν οἱ γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτῷ θρασύτατον
panic to-him to-happen but the army his most-bold
μάλιστα ὀφθῆναι. τρίτης δὲ ἤδη φυλακῆς ἠρέμα τῇ
above-all to-be-seen at-third and already watch quietly with-the
σάλπιγγι ὑπεσήμαινε, καὶ μετὰ σιγῆς βαθυτάτης στρατὸς
trumpet he-signaled and with silence deepest an-army
τοσοῦτος ἐβάδιζεν, ἕως οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς περιέστησαν ἐν
so-great marched until the indeed cavalry surrounded in
κύκλῳ τοὺς πολεμίους, οἱ πεζοὶ δ᾽ ἐπὶ τὴν τάφρον
a-circle the enemies the infantry and to the ditch
αὐτῶν ἀφίκοντο. βοῇ δὲ τότε παμμιγεῖ καὶ σάλπιγξιν
their came with-a-shout and then confused and with-trumpets
ἀθρόαις καὶ βυκανήμασιν ἐς κατάπληξιν χρώμενοι τοὺς
massed and horns for terror using the
μὲν φύλακας ἐξέωσαν ἐκ τῶν φυλακτηρίων, τὴν δὲ
indeed guards they-thrust-out from the guard-posts the and
τάφρον ἔχουν καὶ τὰ σταυρώματα διέσπων. οἱ δ᾽
ditch filled and the palisades tore-apart the and
εὐτολμότατοι προδραμόντες ἐνέπρησάν τινας σκηνάς. καὶ
most-daring having-run-ahead set-fire-to some tents and
οἱ Λίβυες μετ᾽ ἐκπλήξεως ἀνεπήδων τε ἐξ ὕπνου, καὶ
the Libyans with terror leapt-up both from sleep and
τὰ ὅπλα μετελάμβανον, καὶ ἐς τὰς τάξεις ἀτάκτως
the arms took-up and into the ranks in-disorder
ἐφέροντο, καὶ τῶν παραγγελλομένων διὰ τὸν θόρυβον
rushed and the commands because-of the uproar
οὐ κατήκουον, οὐδ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὸ ἀκριβὲς τῶν
not heard nor very the general the exact-truth of-the

γιγνομένων εἰδότος. ἀναπηδῶντας οὖν αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι
happenings knowing leaping-up then them the Romans
καὶ ὁπλιζομένους ἔτι καὶ ταρασσομένους κατελάμβανον,
and arming still and confused caught
καὶ σκηνὰς πλέονας ἐνεπίμπρασαν, καὶ τοὺς ἐν ποσὶν
and tents more set-on-fire and the(-men) at feet
ἀνῄρουν. τοῖς δ' ἦν ἥ τε βοὴ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ ἡ
killed to-them and was the both shout of-the enemies and the
ὄψις καὶ τὰ ἔργα φοβερώτατα ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ ἀγνωσίᾳ
sight and the deeds most-fearful as in night and ignorance
τοῦ γιγνομένου κακοῦ. ἡγούμενοί τε εἰλῆφθαι τὸ
of-the happening evil thinking both to-have-been-taken the
στρατόπεδον, καὶ τὸ πῦρ τῶν ἐμπεπρησμένων σκηνῶν
camp and the fire of-the burned tents
δεδιότες, ἐξέπιπτον ἑκόντες ἐξ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐς τὸ πεδίον
fearing rushed-out willingly from them and into the plain
ὡς ἀσφαλέστερον ἐωθοῦντο· ὅθεν κατὰ μέρος, ὅπῃ
as safer pushed whence by part where
τύχοιεν, ἀκόσμως διεδίδρασκον, καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων
they-happened in-disorder scattered and into the of-Romans
ἱππέας, οἳ κύκλῳ περιεστήκεσαν, ἐμπίπτοντες ἀπέθνησκον.
cavalry who in-a-circle had-stood-around falling died

22 Σύφαξ δὲ νυκτὸς μὲν ἔτι, τῆς βοῆς αἰσθόμενος καὶ τὸ πῦρ
Syphax and by-night indeed still the shout perceiving and the fire
ὁρῶν, οὐκ ἐπεξῆλθεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἱππέων τινὰς ἐπικουρεῖν
seeing not came-out but of-the cavalry some to-help
ἔπεμψεν Ἀσδρούβᾳ, οἷς ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐπιπεσὼν ἄφνω
sent Hasdrubal whom — Masinissa having-fallen-on suddenly
πολὺν ἐργάζεται φόνον. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ μαθὼν ὁ
great makes slaughter together-with and day having-learned —
Σύφαξ Ἀσδρούβαν μὲν ἤδη φυγόντα, τῆς δὲ στρατιᾶς
Syphax Hasdrubal indeed already having-fled of-the and army

αὐτοῦ τοὺς μὲν ἀπολωλότας, τοὺς δ' εἰλημμένους ὑπὸ
his some indeed having-perished others and taken by
τῶν πολεμίων, τοὺς δὲ διερριμμένους, καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον
the enemies others and scattered and the camp
αὐτῇ παρασκευῇ Ῥωμαίους ἔχοντας, ἀνεζεύγνυε φεύγων
with-very equipment Romans holding decamped fleeing
ἐς τὰ μεσόγεια μετὰ θορύβου, πάντα καταλιπών, οἰόμενος
into the interior with uproar everything having-left thinking
εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Καρχηδονίων διώξεως αὐτῷ τὸν Σκιπίωνα
at-once from the of-Carthaginians pursuit upon-him — Scipio
ἐπανίοντα ἐπιστήσεσθαι. ὅθεν καὶ τοῦδε τὸν χάρακα καὶ
returning to-be-going-to-come whence also his the palisade and
τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ παρασκευὴν εἶλε Μασσανάσσης.
the in it equipment took Masinissa
καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι διὰ τόλμης μιᾶς, ἐν ὀλίγῳ μέρει νυκτός, 23
and Romans through daring one in a-little part of-night
δύο στρατοπέδων καὶ δύο στρατῶν πολὺ μειζόνων
two camps and two armies much greater
ἐκράτησαν ὁμοῦ. ἀπέθανον δὲ Ῥωμαίων μὲν ἀμφὶ τοὺς
overcame together died and of-Romans indeed about the
ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας, τῶν δ' ἐχθρῶν ὀλίγῳ δέοντες τρισμύριοι·
hundred men of-the and enemies by-a-little lacking thirty-thousand
καὶ αἰχμάλωτοι ἐγένοντο δισχίλιοι καὶ τετρακόσιοι. τῶν
and captives became two-thousand and four-hundred of-the
δὲ ἱππέων ἑξακόσιοι ἐπανιόντι τῷ Σκιπίωνι ἑαυτοὺς
and cavalry six-hundred returning — to-Scipio themselves
παρέδοσαν. καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων οἱ μὲν ἀνῄρηντο, οἱ δὲ
surrendered and of-the elephants some indeed had-been-killed others and
ἐτέτρωντο. Σκιπίων δὲ ὅπλων τε καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου
had-been-wounded Scipio and of-arms both and gold and silver
καὶ ἐλέφαντος πολλοῦ καὶ ἵππων ἄλλων τε καὶ Νομαδικῶν
and ivory much and horses others both and Numidian

κεκρατηκώς, καὶ διὰ μιᾶς τῆσδε νίκης, λαμπροτάτης
having-become-master and through one this victory most-brilliant
δὴ γενομένης, ἐς γόνυ τὰ Καρχηδονίων καταβαλὼν
indeed having-been to knee the of-Carthaginians having-brought-down
ἅπαντα, ἀριστεῖα τῷ στρατῷ διεδίδου, καὶ τῶν λαφύρων
everything prizes to-the army distributed and of-the spoils
τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπεν. καὶ τὸν στρατὸν
the most-notable to Rome sent and the army
ἐγύμναζε φιλοπόνως, προσδοκῶν Ἀννίβαν τε αὐτίκα ἀπὸ
trained industriously expecting Hannibal both at-once from
τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ Μάγωνα ἀπὸ Λιγυστίνων ἐπελεύσεσθαι.
— Italy and Mago from Ligurians to-be-going-to-come
24 καὶ Σκιπίων μὲν περὶ ταῦτα ἦν, Ἀσδρούβας δέ, ὁ
and Scipio indeed about these-things was Hasdrubal and the
στρατηγὸς ὁ Καρχηδονίων, ἐν μὲν τῇ νυκτομαχίᾳ μεθ᾽
general the of-Carthaginians in indeed the night-battle with
ἱππέων πεντακοσίων, τετρωμένος, ἐς Ἀνδὰν κατέφυγεν,
cavalry five-hundred wounded to Anda fled
ἔνθα μισθοφόρους τέ τινας ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐκπεσόντας καὶ
where mercenaries both some from the battle having-fallen-out and
Νομάδας συνέλεγε, καὶ δούλους ἐς ἐλευθερίαν συνεκάλει·
Numidians collected and slaves to freedom called
πυθόμενος δ᾽ ὅτι Καρχηδόνιοι θάνατον αὐτοῦ κατέγνωσαν
having-learned and that Carthaginians death his condemned
ὡς κακῶς ἐστρατηγηκότος, καὶ Ἄννωνα τὸν Βουμίλχαρος
as badly having-commanded and Hanno the son-of-Bomilcar
εἵλοντο στρατηγεῖν, ἴδιον αὑτοῦ τὸν στρατὸν ἐποίει, καὶ
chose to-command own his the army made and
κακούργους προσελάμβανε, καὶ ἐλῄζετο ἐς τὰς τροφάς,
criminals took-on and plundered for the provisions
καὶ ἐγύμναζεν οὓς εἶχεν, ἀμφὶ τρισχιλίους ἱππέας, πεζοὺς
and trained whom he-had about three-thousand cavalry infantry

δὲ ὀκτακισχιλίους, ὡς ἐν μόνῳ τῷ μάχεσθαι τὰς ἐλπίδας
and eight-thousand as in only the fighting the hopes
ἔχων. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ποιῶν Ῥωμαίους ὁμοῦ καὶ
having he indeed indeed these-things doing Romans together and
Καρχηδονίους ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐλάνθανε, Σκιπίων δ' ἐπῆγεν
Carthaginians for long escaped-notice-of Scipio and led-against
αὐτῇ Καρχηδόνι τὸν στρατὸν ὡπλισμένον, καὶ σοβαρῶς
itself Carthage the army armed and haughtily
ἐς μάχην προυκαλεῖτο, οὐδενὸς ἐξιόντος. Ἀμίλχαρ δὲ ὁ
to battle challenged no-one coming-out Hamilcar and the
ναύαρχος ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν ἐσπευσμένως ἐς τὸν ναύσταθμον
admiral with-ships hundred hastily to the naval-station
ἀνήγετο τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, ἐλπίσας αὐτόν τε φθάσειν
put-to-sea — of-Scipio having-hoped him both to-be-going-to-anticipate
ἐπανιόντα, καὶ τὰς οὔσας ἐκεῖ Ῥωμαίων εἴκοσι τριήρεις
returning and the being there of-Romans twenty triremes
ῥᾳδίως ταῖς ἑκατὸν αἱρήσειν.
easily with-the hundred to-be-going-to-take
καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἰδὼν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀπόπλουν, προύπεμπέ 25
and — Scipio having-seen his the sailing-out sent-ahead
τινας τὸν ἔσπλουν τοῦ λιμένος ἐμφράξαι στρογγύλοις
some the entrance of-the harbor to-block with-round
πλοίοις ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν ἐκ διαστήματος, ἵνα ὡς διὰ πυλῶν
ships at anchors at an-interval that as through gates
αἱ τριήρεις ἐκθέοιεν ὅτε καιρὸς εἴη, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα τοῖς
the triremes might-run-out when the-moment might-be and the ships with-the
κέρασι συνδῆσαί τε καὶ ἁρμόσαι πρὸς ἄλληλα, ἵνα ἀντὶ
yards to-bind both and to-fit to each-other that instead-of
τείχους ᾖ. καταλαβὼν δὲ τὸ ἔργον, ἤπτετο τοῦ πόνου.
a-wall it-might-be having-found and the work he-took-up the toil
καὶ βαλλομένων τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀπό τε τῶν πλοίων καὶ
and being-pelted the Carthaginians from both the ships and

ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους, αἱ νῆες ἐθραύοντο, καὶ
from the land and from the wall the ships were-shattered and
καμοῦσαι περὶ ἑσπέραν ἀπέπλεον. ἀπιούσαις δ' αὐταῖς αἱ
weary about evening sailed-away departing and them the
Ῥωμαίων ἐπέκειντο, ἐκθέουσαί τε διὰ τῶν διαστημάτων,
of-Romans pressed running-out both through the intervals
καὶ ὅτε βιάζοιντο, ὑποχωροῦσαι. μίαν δὲ καὶ ἀνεδήσαντο
and when they-were-pressed withdrawing one and also they-towed-off
κενὴν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἀνήγαγον. μετὰ δὲ
empty of-men and to — Scipio brought after and
τοῦτο ἐχείμαζον ἄμφω. καὶ Ῥωμαίοις μὲν ἦν ἐκ θαλάσσης
this wintered both and for-Romans indeed was from sea
ἀγορὰ δαψιλής, Ἰτυκαῖοι δὲ καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι λιμώττοντες
provision abundant Uticans and and Carthaginians starving
ἐλῄστευον τοὺς ἐμπόρους, μέχρι Ῥωμαίων νῆες ἄλλαι,
plundered the merchants until of-Romans ships other
πεμφθεῖσαι τῷ Σκιπίωνι, ἐφώρμουν τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ τὰς
sent — to-Scipio blockaded the enemies and the
λῃστρικὰς ἐκώλυον. οἱ δ' ἔκαμνον ἤδη σφόδρα τῷ λιμῷ.
pirate-ships prevented they and were-distressed already greatly by-the famine

26–30 · SOPHONISBA

Masinissa and Laelius rout Syphax and take him. Masinissa recovers his kingdom and marries Syphax's wife Sophonisba; when Scipio claims her as Roman spoil, Masinissa brings her poison and she drinks it. A plot to have Iberians fire Scipio's camp is betrayed by a servant, and Hanno turns the people against Hasdrubal. Scipio gives up the sieges of Utica and Hippo and ravages the land.

τοῦ δ᾽ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος, ἐγγὺς ὄντος Σύφακος, Μασσανάσσης 26
of-the and same winter near being Syphax Masinissa
ᾔτησεν ἐπὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ στρατιᾷ τὸ τρίτον τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς
asked in-addition-to the own army the third of-the Roman
παρὰ Σκιπίωνος, καὶ λαβὼν ἡγουμένου τῶν Ῥωμαίων
from Scipio and having-received leading the Romans
Λαιλίου, τὸν Σύφακα ἐδίωκεν. ὁ δὲ ὑπέφευγε, μέχρι
Laelius — Syphax pursued he and retreated until
καθορώμενος περί τινι ποταμῷ συνετάσσετο ἐς μάχην. οἱ
being-sighted by some river drew-up for battle the
μὲν οὖν Νομάδες ἑκατέρωθεν, ὥσπερ ἔθος αὐτοῖς, πολλὰ καὶ
indeed then Numidians on-both-sides as custom for-them many and
ἀθρόα ἠφίεσαν ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλοις, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι προβαλλόμενοι
massed hurled at each-other the and Romans holding-before-them
τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐπῄεσαν. Σύφαξ δὲ Μασσανάσσην ἰδών,
the shields advanced Syphax and Masinissa having-seen
ἵετο ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ὑπ᾽ ὀργῆς· ὁ δ᾽ ἀντεπήλασε γεγηθώς. καὶ
rushed at him from anger he and rode-against-him rejoicing and
ἀγῶνος πολλοῦ περὶ ἄμφω γενομένου, τραπέντες οἱ
a-struggle great about both having-arisen routed the(-men)
τοῦ Σύφακος ἐς φυγὴν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπέρων, ἔνθα τις
— of-Syphax into flight the river crossed where someone
αὐτοῦ Σύφακος τὸν ἵππον ἔβαλεν· ὁ δ᾽ ἀπεσείσατο τὸν
himself of-Syphax the horse struck it and threw-off the
δεσπότην, καὶ ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐπιδραμὼν εἷλεν αὐτόν
master and — Masinissa having-run-up took himself
τε Σύφακα καὶ τὸν ἕτερον αὐτοῦ τῶν υἱῶν. καὶ τούσδε
both Syphax and the one his of-the sons and these
μὲν εὐθὺς ἔπεμπε Σκιπίωνι, ἀπέθανον δ᾽ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ
indeed at-once he-sent to-Scipio died and in the battle
Σύφακος μὲν ἐς μυρίους ἄνδρας, Ῥωμαίων δὲ πέντε καὶ
of-Syphax indeed about ten-thousand men of-Romans and five and

ἑβδομήκοντα, Μασσανάσσου δὲ τριακόσιοι. καὶ αἰχμάλωτοι
seventy of-Masinissa and three-hundred and captives
Σύφακος ἐγένοντο τετρακισχίλιοι. τούτων ἦσαν Μασσύλιοι
of-Syphax became four-thousand of-these were Massylians
δισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι, τῶν ἐς Σύφακα ἀπὸ
two-thousand and five-hundred of-the(-men) to Syphax from
Μασσανάσσου μεταστάντων· καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Μασσανάσσης
Masinissa having-gone-over and them — Masinissa
ἐπὶ τῷδε ᾔτησε παρὰ Λαιλίου, καὶ λαβὼν κατέσφαξεν.
for this asked from Laelius and having-received slaughtered
27 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Μασσυλίους καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν Σύφακος
after and this Massylians and the country the of-Syphax
ἐπῄεσαν, τοὺς μὲν αὖθις ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Μασσανάσσου
they-attacked some indeed again into the rule the of-Masinissa
καθιστάμενοι, τοὺς δὲ προσποιούμενοί τε καὶ τοὺς
restoring others and winning-over both and the(-men)
ἀπειθοῦντας αὐτῶν καταστρεφόμενοι. ἀφίκοντο δ' αὐτοῖς
disobeying of-them subduing came and to-them
καὶ ἐκ Κίρτης πρέσβεις, τὰ βασίλεια τοῦ Σύφακος
also from Cirta envoys the palace — of-Syphax
παραδιδόντες, ἰδίᾳ δὲ πρὸς Μασσανάσσην ἕτεροι παρὰ
handing-over privately and to Masinissa others from
Σοφωνίβας τῆς Σύφακος γυναικός, τὴν ἀνάγκην τοῦ γάμου
Sophonisba the of-Syphax wife the compulsion of-the marriage
διηγούμενοι. Σοφωνίβαν μὲν οὖν ἄσμενος εἶχε λαβὼν ὁ
relating Sophonisba indeed then gladly held having-taken —
Μασσανάσσης· καὶ αὐτήν, ἐπανιὼν πρὸς Σκιπίωνα αὐτός, ἐν
Masinissa and her returning to Scipio himself in
Κίρτῃ κατέλιπε, προορώμενος ἄρα τὸ μέλλον. Σκιπίων δὲ
Cirta left foreseeing then the future Scipio and
ἤρετο Σύφακα· "τίς σε δαίμων ἔβλαψε, φίλον ὄντα μοι καὶ
asked Syphax what you divinity harmed friend being to-me and

ἐπὶ Λιβύην ἐλθεῖν προτρέψαντα, ψεύσασθαι μὲν θεοὺς οὓς
to Libya to-come having-urged to-deceive indeed gods whom
ὤμοσας, ψεύσασθαι δὲ μετὰ τῶν θεῶν Ῥωμαίους, καὶ μετὰ
you-swore to-deceive and with the gods Romans and with
Καρχηδονίων ἀντὶ Ῥωμαίων ἑλέσθαι πολεμεῖν, τῶν
Carthaginians instead-of Romans to-choose to-war the(-men)
ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίους οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ σοι βεβοηθηκότων;"
against Carthaginians not before long to-you having-helped
ὁ δ' εἶπε, "Σοφωνίβα Ἀσδρούβα θυγάτηρ, ἧς ἐγὼ ἤρων
he and said Sophonisba of-Hasdrubal daughter whom I loved
ἐπ' ἐμῷ κακῷ. φιλόπατρις δ' ἐστὶν ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ ἱκανὴ
to my harm patriotic and is strongly and able
ἅπαντά τινα πεῖσαι πρὸς ἃ βούλεται. αὕτη με καὶ ἐκ
every one to-persuade to what she-wishes she me also from
τῆς ὑμετέρας φιλίας ἐς τὴν ἑαυτῆς μετέθηκε πατρίδα, καὶ
the your friendship to the her-own changed fatherland and
ἐς τόδε συμφορᾶς ἐκ τοσῆσδε εὐδαιμονίας κατέβαλεν.
to this misfortune from such prosperity cast-down
σοὶ δὲ παραινῶ (χρὴ γάρ, ὑμέτερον γενόμενον καὶ
you and I-advise it-is-needful for yours having-become and
Σοφωνίβας ἀπηλλαγμένον, νῦν γε ὑμῖν εἶναι βέβαιον)·
from-Sophonisba freed now at-least to-you to-be steadfast
φύλασσε Σοφωνίβαν, μὴ Μασσανάσσην ἐς ἃ βούλεται
guard-against Sophonisba lest Masinissa to what she-wishes
μεταγάγῃ. οὐ γὰρ δή, μὴ τὸ γύναιόν ποτε ἕληται τὰ
she-bring-over not for indeed not the woman ever will-choose the
Ῥωμαίων ἐλπίζειν ἄξιον· οὕτως ἐστὶν ἰσχυρῶς φιλόπολις."
of-Romans to-expect worth so she-is strongly patriotic
ταῦθ' ὁ μὲν ἔλεγεν, εἴτ' ἀληθεύων εἴτε ζηλοτυπούμενος 28
these-things he indeed said whether telling-truth or being-jealous
καὶ Μασσανάσσην ἐς τὰ μέγιστα βλάπτων· ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων
and Masinissa to the greatest harming — and Scipio

Σύφακα μέν, συνετόν τε φαινόμενον καὶ τῆς χώρας
Syphax indeed intelligent both appearing and of-the country
ἔμπειρον, ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ ἐπήγετο, καὶ γνώμης καὶ
experienced into the public-affairs brought and of-judgment and
συμβουλῆς μετεδίδου, οἷόν τι καὶ Κροίσῳ τῷ Λυδῷ
counsel gave-share as something also Croesus the Lydian
Κῦρος ἐχρῆτο, Λαιλίου δ' ἀφικομένου, καὶ ταὐτὰ περὶ
Cyrus used Laelius and having-arrived and the-same-things about
τῆς Σοφωνίβας πυθέσθαι παρὰ πολλῶν λέγοντος, ἐκέλευσε
— Sophonisba to-have-learned from many saying be-ordered
τὸν Μασσανάσσην τὴν Σύφακος γυναῖκα παραδοῦναι.
— Masinissa the of-Syphax wife to-hand-over
παραιτουμένου δ' ἐκείνου, καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτῆς ἄνωθεν ὡς
begging-off and him and the-things about her from-the-start as
ἐγένετο διηγουμένου, τραχύτερον ὁ Σκιπίων ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν
happened relating more-harshly — Scipio ordered him
μηδὲν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι βίᾳ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν λαφύρων, ἀλλ' ἐς
nothing to-take-away by-force of-the Roman spoils but into
τὸ μέσον καταθέντα αἰτεῖν, καὶ πείθειν, εἰ δύναιτο. ᾤχετο οὖν
the middle having-deposited to-ask and to-persuade if he-could went then
ὁ Μασσανάσσης μετά τινων Ῥωμαίων, παραδώσων αὐτοῖς
— Masinissa with some Romans going-to-hand-over to-them
τὴν Σοφωνίβαν. κρύφα δὲ αὐτῇ φέρων φάρμακον πρῶτος
— Sophonisba secretly and to-her carrying poison first
ἐνέτυχε, καὶ τὰ παρόντα προύθηκεν, ἢ πιεῖν ἢ Ῥωμαίοις
met-her and the present-things set-before-her either to-drink or to-Romans
δουλεύειν ἑκοῦσαν. οὐδέν τε εἰπὼν ἔτι ἐξήλασε τὸν ἵππον.
to-be-a-slave willing nothing both having-said more drove-off the horse
ἡ δὲ τῇ τροφῷ δείξασα τὴν κύλικα, καὶ δεηθεῖσα μηδὲν
she and to-the nurse having-shown the cup and having-begged nothing
ὀδύρασθαι καλῶς ἀποθανοῦσαν, ἔπιε τοῦ φαρμάκου. καὶ
to-lament nobly dying drank of-the poison and

αὐτὴν ὁ Μασσανάσσης τοῖς ἥκουσι Ῥωμαίων ἐπιδείξας,
her — Masinissa to-the(-men) having-come of-Romans having-shown
καὶ θάψας βασιλικῶς, ὑπέστρεφε πρὸς Σκιπίωνα. ὁ
and having-buried royally returned to Scipio he
δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπαινέσας τε, καὶ παρηγορήσας ὅτι πονηρᾶς
and him having-praised both and having-consoled that from-a-wicked
γυναικὸς ἀπηλλάγη, ἐστεφάνωσε τῆς ἐφόδου τῆς ἐπὶ
woman he-had-been-freed crowned for-the attack the on
Σύφακα καὶ ἐδωρήσατο πολλοῖς. ἀχθέντος δ' ἐς Ῥώμην
Syphax and presented with-many having-been-brought and to Rome
τοῦ Σύφακος, οἱ μὲν ἠξίουν περισώζειν ἄνδρα ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ
— Syphax some indeed claimed to-save a-man in Iberia
φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον αὐτοῖς γενόμενον, οἱ δὲ κολάζειν, ὅτι
friend and ally to-them having-been others and to-punish that
τοῖς φίλοις ἐπολέμησεν. ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ λύπης νοσῶν ἀπέθανεν.
the friends he-had-warred-on he and from grief falling-ill died
Ἀσδρούβας δὲ ἐπειδὴ καλῶς τοὺς συνόντας ἐγύμνασεν, 29
Hasdrubal and when well the(-men) with-him had-trained
ἔπεμπέ τινα πρὸς Ἄννωνα τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν
sent someone to Hanno the general of-the
Καρχηδονίων, ἀξιῶν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἄννωνα κοινωνῆσαι τὴν
Carthaginians asking with-him — Hanno to-share the
στρατηγίαν, καὶ ὑποδεικνὺς ὅτι πολλοὶ Σκιπίωνι σύνεισιν
command and pointing-out that many with-Scipio are
Ἴβηρες ἄκοντες, οὓς ἐάν τις χρυσίῳ καὶ ὑποσχέσεσι
Iberians unwilling whom if anyone with-gold and promises
διαφθείρῃ, τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐμπρήσουσι τὸ Σκιπίωνος. ἔφη
corrupt the camp will-burn the of-Scipio he-said
δὲ καὶ αὐτός, εἰ προμάθοι τὸν καιρόν, ἥξειν
and also himself if he-learned-beforehand the moment to-be-going-to-come
ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον. ταῦτα μὲν Ἀσδρούβας, ὁ δὲ Ἄννων ἐς
to the work these-things indeed Hasdrubal — and Hanno toward

μὲν τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπανούργει, τοῦ δ' ἐγχειρήματος οὐκ
indeed — Hasdrubal acted-knavishly of-the but undertaking not
ἀπήλπισεν, ἀλλ' ἄνδρα πιστὸν μετὰ χρυσίου, καθάπερ
despaired but a-man trustworthy with gold as-if
αὐτόμολον, ἐς τὸ Σκιπίωνος στρατόπεδον κατέπεμψεν, ὃς
a-deserter into the of-Scipio camp sent-down who
πιθανὸς ὢν ἐντυχεῖν ἑκάστῳ διέφθειρε πολλούς, ἡμέραν
persuasive being to-meet each corrupted many a-day
τε συνθέμενος αὐτοῖς ἐπανῆλθεν. καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ὁ
both having-agreed with-them returned and the day —
Ἄννων τῷ Ἀσδρούβᾳ μετέφερεν. Σκιπίωνι δὲ θυομένῳ
Hanno — to-Hasdrubal reported to-Scipio and sacrificing
κίνδυνον τὰ ἱερὰ ἐδήλου ἐμπρησμοῦ· καὶ περιπέμψας ἐς
danger the victims showed of-burning and having-sent-round into
ἅπαν τὸ στρατόπεδον, εἴ πού τι λάβρον ηὕρισκε πῦρ,
all the camp if anywhere any fierce he-found fire
κατέπαυεν. καὶ αὖθις ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἐθύετο. ὡς δ'
he-put-out and again for many days sacrificed when and
οὐκ ἀνίει τὰ ἱερὰ τὸν ἐμπρησμὸν ὑποδεικνύοντα, ὁ μὲν
not let-up the victims the burning pointing-out he indeed
ἐβαρυθύμει καὶ μεταστρατοπεδεῦσαι διεγνώκει,
was-dejected and to-move-camp had-decided
30 ἱππέως δὲ Ῥωμαίου θεράπων Ἴβηρ, ὑπονοήσας τι
of-a-horseman and Roman a-servant Iberian having-suspected something
περὶ τῶν συνθεμένων, ὑπεκρίνατο συνειδέναι, ἕως τὸ
about the(-men) having-agreed pretended to-share-the-secret until the
πᾶν ἔμαθε, καὶ ἐμήνυσε τῷ δεσπότῃ, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν
whole he-learned and informed the master he and him to —
Σκιπίωνα ἤγαγε, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἠλέγχετο. καὶ πάντας
Scipio led and the multitude was-convicted and all
ὁ Σκιπίων ἔκτεινε καὶ ἐξέρριψε πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου.
— Scipio killed and threw-out before the camp

αἴσθησις δ' ἦν Ἄννωνι μὲν ὀξεῖα πλησίον ὄντι, καὶ οὐκ
perception and was to-Hanno indeed quick near being and not
ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸ συγκείμενον, Ἀσδρούβας δὲ ἀγνοῶν ἀφίκετο.
he-came to the agreed-plan Hasdrubal and not-knowing arrived
ὡς δὲ τὸ πλῆθος εἶδε τῶν νεκρῶν, εἴκασε τὸ συμβὰν καὶ
when and the multitude he-saw of-the corpses guessed the outcome and
ἀνεχώρει. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἄννων ἐς τὸ πλῆθος διέβαλλεν,
withdrew and him — Hanno to the multitude slandered
ὡς ἀφίκοιτο Σκιπίωνι διδοὺς ἑαυτόν, ὁ δὲ οὐ λάβοι.
as he-had-come to-Scipio giving himself he and not had-received-him
Ἀσδρούβας μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἦν
Hasdrubal indeed indeed also from this to-the Carthaginians was
μᾶλλον διὰ μίσους· ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν Ἀμίλχαρ
more in hatred about and the same time Hamilcar
μὲν ἄφνω ταῖς Ῥωμαίων ναυσὶν ἐπιπλεύσας μίαν
indeed suddenly against-the of-Romans ships having-sailed one
ἔλαβε τριήρη καὶ φορτίδας ἕξ, Ἄννων δ' ἐπιθέμενος
took trireme and merchantmen six Hanno and having-attacked
τοῖς πολιορκοῦσιν Ἰτύκην ἀπεκρούσθη. Σκιπίων δέ,
the(-men) besieging Utica was-repulsed Scipio and
χρονίου τῆς πολιορκίας οὔσης, ταύτην μὲν διέλυσεν οὐδὲν
long the siege being this indeed broke-off nothing
ἀνύων, τὰς δὲ μηχανὰς ἐς Ἵππωνα πόλιν μετετίθει. καὶ
achieving the and engines to Hippo city transferred and
οὐδενὸς οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα προκόπτοντος αὐτῷ, κατακαύσας ὡς
nothing even there succeeding for-him having-burned as
ἄχρηστα τὰ μηχανήματα τὴν χώραν ἐπέτρεχε, τοὺς μὲν
useless the engines the country overran some indeed
ἐς φιλίαν ἐπαγόμενος, τοὺς δὲ λῃζόμενος.
into friendship winning-over others and plundering

Carthage makes Hannibal general with full powers, sends ships to hasten his crossing, and asks Scipio for peace, to gain time. Scipio grants a truce; the divided Roman senate sends advisers, and he grants terms: Mago to leave Liguria, Carthage to hire no mercenaries, hold at most thirty warships and only her own Libya, give up prisoners and deserters, and pay sixteen hundred talents, and Masinissa to rule the Massylians and what he can of Syphax's realm. Hannibal lands at Hadrumetum, gathers horses and allies, and shoots down four thousand deserting horsemen, suspecting them. The mob plunders a Roman supply convoy and attacks Scipio's envoys; Scipio sends their envoys home unharmed. After a cavalry battle near Zama, Hannibal, short of food, asks Masinissa to mediate, and Scipio grants new terms, with a thousand talents for the wrong.

31 Καρχηδόνιοι δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς κακοπραγίαις δυσφοροῦντες
Carthaginians and at the misfortunes distressed
αἱροῦνται στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα Ἀννίβαν, τὸν δὲ ναύαρχον
choose general with-full-powers Hannibal the and admiral
ἔπεμπον ἐπὶ νεῶν, ἐπισπέρχειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν.
they-sent with ships to-hurry him to the crossing
ἅμα δὲ ταῦτ' ἔπρασσον, καὶ ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα περὶ
at-the-same-time and these-things they-did and to — Scipio about
εἰρήνης ἐπρεσβεύοντο, ἡγούμενοι τούτοιν πάντως ἂν ἑνὸς
peace sent-envoys thinking of-these-two in-any-case — one
τυχεῖν, ἢ τὴν εἰρήνην ἕξειν, ἢ χρόνον διατρίψειν
to-obtain either the peace to-be-going-to-have or time to-be-going-to-spend
ἕως ἀφίκοιτο ὁ Ἀννίβας. Σκιπίων μὲν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἀνοχάς
until should-arrive — Hannibal Scipio indeed then to-them truce
τε ἔδωκε, καὶ τὴν δαπάνην τοῦ στρατοῦ λαβὼν
both gave and the expense of-the army having-received
πρεσβεύειν ἐφῆκεν ἐς Ῥώμην· οἱ δὲ ἐπρέσβευον, καὶ
to-send-envoys allowed to Rome they and sent-envoys and

τειχῶν ἐκτὸς ἐστάθμευον ὡς ἔτι πολέμιοι, ἀχθέντες τε ἐπὶ
of-walls outside lodged as still enemies having-been-led both to
τὴν βουλὴν ἐδέοντο συγγνώμης τυχεῖν. τῶν δὲ βουλευτῶν
the senate begged pardon to-obtain of-the and senators
οἱ μὲν τῆς Καρχηδονίων ἀπιστίας ὑπεμίμνησκον, ὁσάκις
some indeed the of-Carthaginians faithlessness recalled how-often
συνθοῖντο καὶ παραβαῖεν, ὅσα τε Ἀννίβας δράσειε δεινὰ
they-agreed and transgressed what both Hannibal did terrible-things
Ῥωμαίους καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων συμμάχους ἔν τε Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ
Romans and the of-Romans allies in both Iberia and
Ἰταλίᾳ· οἱ δὲ τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης χρήσιμον οὐ Καρχηδονίοις
Italy others and the of-the peace usefulness not for-Carthaginians
μᾶλλον ἢ σφίσιν ὑπεδείκνυον ἔσεσθαι, τῆς Ἰταλίας
more than for-themselves pointed-out to-be-going-to-be — Italy
τοσοῖσδε πολέμοις ἐκτετρυχωμένης, τό τε τοῦ μέλλοντος
by-so-many wars having-been-worn-out the both of-the future
περιδεὲς ἐπεξῄεσαν, ἐπιπλευσουμένων ἐπὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα
fearfulness they-went-through going-to-sail against — Scipio
αὐτίκα σὺν μεγάλοις στρατοῖς Ἀννίβου τε ἐξ Ἰταλίας
at-once with great armies Hannibal both from Italy
καὶ Μάγωνος ἐκ Λιγύων καὶ Ἄννωνος ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος.
and Mago from Ligurians and Hanno from Carthage
ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἀποροῦσα ἡ βουλὴ συμβούλους ἔπεμψε τῷ 32
at which being-at-a-loss the senate advisers sent —
Σκιπίωνι, μεθ᾽ ὧν ἔμελλε κρινεῖν τε καὶ πράξειν
to-Scipio with whom he-was-to to-judge both and to-do
ὅ τι δοκιμάσειε συνοίσειν. ὁ δὲ ἐς τὴν
what ever he-should-judge to-be-going-to-be-advantageous he and to the
εἰρήνην τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἐπὶ τοῖσδε συνέβη, Μάγωνα
peace with-the Carthaginians on these-terms agreed Mago
μὲν ἀποπλεῖν ἐκ Λιγύων αὐτίκα, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ
indeed to-sail-away from Ligurians at-once and for-the future

Καρχηδονίους μὴ ξενολογεῖν, μηδὲ ναῦς ἔχειν μακρὰς
Carthaginians not to-hire-mercenaries nor ships to-have long
πλείους τριάκοντα, μηδὲ πολυπραγμονεῖν τι πέρα
more than-thirty nor to-meddle in-anything beyond
ὧν ἔχουσιν ἐντὸς τῶν λεγομένων Φοινικίδων τάφρων,
what they-hold within the so-called Phoenician ditches
ἀποδοῦναι δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ὅσους αἰχμαλώτους αὐτῶν ἔχουσι
to-give-back and to-Romans as-many-as captives of-them they-hold
καὶ αὐτομόλους, ἀργυρίου τε αὐτοῖς τάλαντα χίλια καὶ
and deserters of-silver both to-them talents thousand and
ἑξακόσια ἐσενεγκεῖν ἐν χρόνῳ, ἔχειν δὲ Μασσανάσσην
six-hundred to-pay in time to-have and Masinissa
Μασσυλίους τε καὶ τῆς Σύφακος ἀρχῆς ὅσα δύναιτο.
Massylians both and of-the of-Syphax rule as-much-as he-could
τάδε μὲν συνέθεντο ἀλλήλοις. καὶ πρέσβεις διέπλεον,
these-things indeed they-agreed with-each-other and envoys sailed
οἱ μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην, τοὺς ὑπάτους ὁρκιοῦντες, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ
some indeed to Rome the consuls going-to-put-to-oath others and from
Ῥώμης ἐς Καρχηδόνα, καὶ τὰ τέλη τῶν Καρχηδονίων
Rome to Carthage and the magistrates of-the Carthaginians
αὐτοῖς ὤμνυεν. Μασσανάσσῃ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι χαριστήρια τῆς
to-them swore to-Masinissa and Romans thank-offerings of-the
συμμαχίας στέφανόν τε ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ καὶ σφραγῖδα χρυσῆν
alliance a-crown both of gold and a-seal golden
ἔπεμπον, καὶ ἐλεφάντινον δίφρον καὶ πορφύραν καὶ στολὴν
sent and ivory chair and purple and robe
Ῥωμαϊκὴν καὶ ἵππον χρυσοφάλαρον καὶ πανοπλίαν.
Roman and a-horse with-golden-trappings and full-armor
33 γιγνομένων δ' ἔτι τούτων ὁ Ἀννίβας ἄκων ἐς Καρχηδόνα
happening and still these-things — Hannibal unwilling to Carthage
ἔπλει, τὴν ἐς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀπιστίαν τοῦ δήμου καὶ
sailed the toward the magistrates faithlessness of-the people and

ταχυεργίαν ὑφορώμενος. ἀπιστῶν δ' ἔτι τὰς σπονδὰς
hastiness suspecting distrusting and still the treaty
ἔσεσθαι, καὶ εἰ γένοιντο, εὖ εἰδὼς οὐκ ἐς πολὺ βεβαίους
to-be-going-to-be and if they-should-be well knowing not for long firm
ἐσομένας, ἐς Ἀδρυμητὸν Λιβύης κατήγετο πόλιν, καὶ
going-to-be to Hadrumetum of-Libya put-in city and
σῖτον συνέλεγεν, ἐπί τε ὠνὴν ἵππων περιέπεμπε, καὶ τὸν
grain collected for both purchase of-horses sent-round and the
δυνάστην τῶν Νομάδων τῶν καλουμένων Ἀρεακιδῶν ἐς
prince of-the Numidians the called Areacidae into
φιλίαν ὑπήγετο. καὶ τετρακισχιλίους ἱππέας αὐτομόλους
friendship won-over and four-thousand cavalry deserters
αὐτῷ προσφυγόντας, οἳ Σύφακος ὄντες τότε ἐγίγνοντο
to-him having-fled who of-Syphax being then became
Μασσανάσσου, κατηκόντισεν ὑποπτεύσας· τοὺς δ' ἵππους
of-Masinissa shot-down having-suspected the and horses
διέδωκε τῷ στρατῷ. ἦλθε δὲ καὶ Μεσότυλος αὐτῷ δυνάστης
distributed to-the army came and also Mesotylus to-him prince
ἕτερος μετὰ χιλίων ἱππέων, καὶ Οὐερμινᾶς Σύφακος υἱὸς
another with thousand cavalry and Vermina of-Syphax son
ἕτερος, ἔτι τῶν πλεόνων τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς ἐπικρατῶν.
another still of-the most of-the paternal rule mastering
πόλεις τε Μασσανάσσου τὰς μὲν ὑπήγετο, τὰς δ' ἐβιάζετο.
cities both of-Masinissa some indeed won-over others and forced
Νάρκην δ' ἐνήδρευσεν ὧδε. ἀγορᾷ χρώμενος ἐσέπεμπεν
Narce and he-ambushed thus with-the-market using he-sent-in
ὡς ἐς φίλους. ὅτε δ' ἔδοξεν ἐπιθέσθαι, πλείους ἔπεμπε ξιφίδια
as to friends when and it-seemed to-attack more he-sent daggers
ἐπικρύπτοντας, οἷς εἴρητο τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἐς
hiding to-whom it-had-been-told the just-things to-do toward

τοὺς πιπράσκοντας μέχρι σαλπίγγων ἀκούσειαν, τότε δ'
the sellers until trumpets they-should-hear then and
ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς ἐντυχοῦσι καὶ τὰς πύλας οἱ φυλάσσειν.
to-attack to-the(-men) encountering and the gates for-him to-guard
34 οὕτω μὲν ἑάλω Νάρκη, Καρχηδονίων δὲ ὁ δῆμος ἄρτι τὰς
thus indeed was-taken Narce of-Carthaginians and the people lately the
συνθήκας πεποιημένοι, καὶ Σκιπίωνος αὐτοῖς ἔτι παρόντος,
treaty having-made and Scipio to-them still being-present
οὔπω τῶν ἰδίων πρέσβεων ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἀνεστροφότων,
not-yet the own envoys from Rome having-returned
ἀγορὰν Σκιπίωνος ὑπ' ἀνέμων κατενεχθεῖσαν ἐς Καρχηδόνα
provisions of-Scipio by winds carried-down to Carthage
διήρπασαν, καὶ τοὺς παραπέμποντας αὐτὴν ἔδησαν, πολλὰ
plundered and the(-men) escorting it bound much
τῆς βουλῆς ἀπειλούσης, καὶ παραινούσης μὴ λύειν συνθήκας
the council threatening and urging not to-break a-treaty
ἄρτι γεγενημένας· οἱ δὲ καὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις ἐπεμέμφοντο ὡς
lately made they and also the treaty blamed as
ἀδίκως γενομέναις, καὶ τὸν λιμὸν ἔφασαν ἐνοχλεῖν ὑπὲρ τὰς
unjustly made and the famine said to-press beyond the
παραβάσεις. Σκιπίων μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἠξίου πολέμου κατάρχειν
transgressions Scipio indeed then not thought-fit of-war to-begin
μετὰ σπονδάς, ἀλλ' ᾔτει δίκας ὡς φίλους ἁμαρτόντας·
after treaty but asked satisfaction as friends having-offended
οἱ δὲ καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις αὐτοῦ κρατεῖν ἐπενόουν, ἕως
they and also the envoys his to-seize planned until
ἀφίκοιντο αὐτοῖς οἱ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης. ἀλλὰ τούσδε μὲν
should-arrive to-them the(-men) from Rome but these indeed
Ἄννων τε ὁ μέγας καὶ Ἀσδρούβας ὁ ἔριφος ἐξείλοντο
Hanno both the great and Hasdrubal the kid rescued
τοῦ πλήθους καὶ προύπεμπον δύο τριήρεσιν· ἕτεροι
from-the multitude and escorted with-two triremes others

δὲ Ἀσδρούβαν τὸν ναύαρχον ἔπεισαν, ὁρμοῦντα περὶ τὴν
and Hasdrubal the admiral persuaded anchoring about the
Ἀπόλλωνος ἄκραν, ὅταν ἀποστῶσιν αἱ προπομποὶ τριήρεις,
of-Apollo cape when should-depart the escorting triremes
ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς τοῦ Σκιπίωνος. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπέθετο, καὶ
to-attack the(-men) — of-Scipio and he indeed attacked and
τῶν πρέσβεών τινες ἐκ τοξευμάτων ἀπέθανον· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ
of-the envoys some from arrows died the and rest
τιτρωσκόμενοί τε καὶ ἐρέσσοντες ἔφθασαν ἐς τὸν λιμένα
being-wounded both and rowing reached to the harbor
τοῦ σφετέρου στρατοπέδου, καὶ ἐξήλαντο τῆς νεὼς ἤδη
of-the their-own camp and leapt-out of-the ship already
λαμβανομένης. παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἦλθον αἰχμάλωτοι γενέσθαι.
being-taken by so-much they-came captives to-become
ὧν οἱ ἐν ἄστει Ῥωμαῖοι πυθόμενοι τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς 35
of-which the in the-city Romans having-learned the envoys the
Καρχηδονίων, οἳ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἔτι παρῆσαν, ἐκέλευον
of-Carthaginians who about the peace still were-present ordered
ἀποπλεῖν αὐτίκα ὡς πολεμίους. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐξέπλεον,
to-sail-away at-once as enemies and they indeed sailed-out
καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐς τὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος στρατόπεδον
and by the storm into the — of-Scipio camp
κατήγοντο· Σκιπίων δὲ τῷ ναυάρχῳ, πυθομένῳ περὶ
were-carried Scipio and to-the admiral asking about
αὐτῶν ὅ τι δέοι ποιεῖν, "οὐδὲν ὅμοιον," ἔφη,
them what ever it-was-needful to-do nothing like he-said
"ταῖς Καρχηδονίων ἀπιστίαις, ἀλλ' ἀπόπεμπε ἀπαθεῖς."
to-the of-Carthaginians treacheries but send-off-them unharmed
μαθοῦσα δ' ἡ γερουσία τὸν δῆμον ὠνείδιζε τῇ
having-learned and the council the people reproached with-the
συγκρίσει, καὶ συνεβούλευε καὶ νῦν δεηθῆναι Σκιπίωνος τὰ
comparison and advised also now to-beg Scipio the

μὲν συγκείμενα φυλάσσειν, δίκας δὲ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων
indeed agreed-terms to-keep satisfaction and of-the offenses
παρὰ Καρχηδονίων λαβεῖν. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ γερουσίᾳ
from Carthaginians to-take they and also very at-the council
δυσχεραίνοντες ἐκ πολλοῦ διὰ τὴν κακοπραγίαν, ὡς
being-vexed for long because-of the misfortune as
οὐκ εὖ τὰ συμφέροντα προορωμένῃ, καὶ ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν
not well the advantageous-things foreseeing and by men
δημοκόπων ἐρεθιζόμενοί τε καὶ ἐς ἀλόγους ἐλπίδας
demagogues provoked both and to unreasonable hopes
ἐπαιρόμενοι, τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐκάλουν μεθ' ἧς ἔχει στρατιᾶς.
being-raised — Hannibal called with what he-has army
36 ὁ δὲ ὁρῶν τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πολέμου, Ἀσδρούβαν αὐτοὺς
he and seeing the greatness of-the war Hasdrubal them
ἐκέλευε σὺν τῇ παρούσῃ δυνάμει καλεῖν. Ἀσδρούβας
ordered with the present force to-call Hasdrubal
μὲν δὴ τῆς καταδίκης αὐτῷ λυθείσης παρεδίδου
indeed indeed the condemnation for-him having-been-lifted handed-over
τὸν στρατὸν Ἀννίβᾳ, καὶ οὐδ' ὡς ἐπιφαίνεσθαι τοῖς
the army to-Hannibal and not-even so to-show-himself to-the
Καρχηδονίοις ἐθάρρει, ἀλλ' ἐκρύπτετο ἐν τῇ πόλει· Σκιπίων
Carthaginians dared but hid in the city Scipio
δὲ ναῦς τῇ Καρχηδόνι ἐπιστήσας εἶργεν αὐτοὺς ἀγορᾶς
and ships — at-Carthage having-stationed kept them from-provisions
ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, οὐκ εὐπορουῦντας οὐδ' ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀσπόρου
from sea not well-supplied nor from the land unsown
διὰ τὸν πόλεμον γενομένης. τῶν δ' αὐτῶν ἡμερῶν
because-of the war having-become of-the and same days
Ἀννίβου καὶ Σκιπίωνος ἱππομαχία γίγνεται περὶ Ζάμαν, ἐν
of-Hannibal and Scipio a-cavalry-battle happens about Zama in
ᾗ Σκιπίων ἐπλεονέκτει· καὶ ταῖς ἐπιούσαις ἀκροβολίσματα
which Scipio had-the-advantage and on-the following skirmishes

ἦν ἐς ἀλλήλους, ἕως αἰσθόμενος ὁ Σκιπίων Ἀννίβαν
were toward each-other until perceiving — Scipio Hannibal
ἰσχυρῶς τε ἀπορούμενον καὶ περιμένοντα ἀγορὰν φερομένην,
greatly both being-in-want and awaiting provisions being-carried
νυκτὸς ἔπεμψε Θέρμον χιλίαρχον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄγοντας
by-night sent Thermus tribune against the(-men) conveying
αὐτήν. καὶ λόφον ὁ Θέρμος ἐν στενῇ διόδῳ καταλαβών,
it and a-hill — Thermus in a-narrow pass having-seized
ἔκτεινε τῶν Λιβύων ἐς τετρακισχιλίους καὶ ἐζώγρησεν
killed of-the Libyans about four-thousand and took-alive
ἑτέρους τοσούσδε, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἧκε φέρων τῷ Σκιπίωνι.
others as-many and the provisions came bringing — to-Scipio
ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας ἐς ἔσχατον ἀφιγμένος ἀπορίας, καὶ τὸ παρὸν 37
— and Hannibal to the-utmost having-come of-want and the present
ἐπινοῶν ὅπως δύναιτο διαθέσθαι, πρέσβεις ἐς Μασσανάσσην
considering how he-could to-settle envoys to Masinissa
ἔπεμπεν, ὑπομιμνήσκων τε τῆς ἐν Καρχηδόνι διατριβῆς
sent reminding both of-the in Carthage stay
καὶ παιδεύσεως, καὶ παρακαλῶν ἔτι οἱ συναγαγεῖν ἐς
and education and urging still for-him to-bring-together into
συνθήκας Σκιπίωνα· τὰ γὰρ πρότερα τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν
treaty Scipio the for former-things of-the people and of-the
ἀνοητοτέρων τοῦ δήμου ἁμαρτήματα γενέσθαι. ὁ δὲ τῷ
more-foolish of-the people offenses to-have-been he and in
ὄντι τεθραμμένος τε καὶ πεπαιδευμένος ἐν Καρχηδόνι,
truth brought-up both and educated in Carthage
καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς πόλεως αἰδούμενός τε καὶ φίλος ὢν
and the dignity of-the city respecting both and friend being
ἔτι πολλοῖς ἐκεῖθεν, ἐδεήθη τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, καὶ συνήγαγεν
still to-many from-there begged — Scipio and brought-together
αὐτοὺς αὖθις ἐς τοιάσδε συνθήκας ὥστε Καρχηδονίους τάς
them again into such treaty that Carthaginians the

τε ναῦς καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας, οὓς ἔλαβον Ῥωμαίοις ἀγορὰν
both ships and the men whom they-took for-Romans provisions
φέροντας, ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ τὰ ἡρπασμένα ἅπαντα, ἢ τῶν
carrying to-give-back and the plundered-things all or of-the
ἀπολωλότων τιμὴν ἣν ἂν ὁρίσῃ Σκιπίων, ποινήν τε τοῦ
lost a-price which — should-fix Scipio as-penalty both of-the
ἀδικήματος χίλια τάλαντα ἐσενεγκεῖν, τάδε μὲν ἦν τὰ
wrong thousand talents to-pay these-things indeed were the
συγκείμενα, καὶ γενομένων ἀνοχῶν μέχρι αὐτὰ μάθωσι
agreed-terms and having-been-made a-truce until them should-learn
Καρχηδόνιοι, ὁ μὲν Ἀννίβας ἐξ ἀέλπτου περιεσώζετο,
Carthaginians — indeed Hannibal from unexpected was-saved
Καρχηδονίων δ' ἡ μὲν βουλὴ τὰ συμβάντα ὑπερησπάζετο,
of-Carthaginians and the indeed council the agreed-terms welcomed-gladly
καὶ παρεκάλει τὸν δῆμον ἐμμεῖναι τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις, τήν
and urged the people to-abide-by the decisions the
τε κακοπραγίαν σφῶν τὴν ἐς ἅπαντα διηγουμένη καὶ τὴν
both misfortune their the in everything relating and the
παροῦσαν ἀπορίαν στρατοῦ τε καὶ χρημάτων καὶ ἀγορᾶς.
present want of-army both and money and provisions

The mob calls the terms the generals' plot; Hasdrubal, wronged to the last, poisons himself and is beheaded. War resumes; the generals meet and part with threats. Trapped in a waterless plain, Hannibal must fight. Scipio's men rout the elephants, the generals duel, and Hannibal's veterans break. When he rides for his reserves, his men take it for flight, and Scipio beats them; Hannibal flees to Hadrumetum, three thousand stades in two days and nights.

οἱ δέ, οἷον ὄχλος, ἀφρόνως ἡγοῦντο τοὺς στρατηγοὺς 38
they and like a-mob foolishly thought the generals
σφῶν δι' ἑαυτοὺς ταῦτα Ῥωμαίοις συντίθεσθαι, ἵνα δι'
their for themselves these-things with-Romans to-arrange that through
ἐκείνων δυναστεύσωσι τῆς πατρίδος· ὃ καὶ Ἀννίβαν
them they-might-gain-power-over the fatherland which also Hannibal
νῦν καὶ Ἀσδρούβαν οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ ποιῆσαί τε, καὶ τὸ
now and Hasdrubal not before long to-have-done both and the
στρατόπεδον νυκτὸς ἐγχειρίσαντα τοῖς πολεμίοις, μετ'
camp by-night having-betrayed to-the enemies after
ὀλίγον καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐθελῆσαι τῷ Σκιπίωνι ἐνδοῦναι ἐπὶ τῷδε
little also himself to-have-wished — to-Scipio to-surrender for this
προσπελάσαντα, κρύπτεσθαί τε νῦν ἐν τῇ πόλει. βοῆς
having-approached to-hide both now in the city shouting
δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ θορύβου γενομένου. τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τινὲς
and at this and uproar having-arisen the assembly some
καταλιπόντες ἐζήτουν Ἀσδρούβαν περιιόντες. ὁ δ' ἔφθασε
having-left sought Hasdrubal going-around he and anticipated
μὲν ἐς τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς τάφον καταφυγὼν καὶ φαρμάκῳ
indeed to the of-the father tomb having-fled and with-poison
διαχρησάμενος αὑτόν· οἱ δὲ κἀκεῖθεν αὐτοῦ τὸν νέκυν
having-destroyed himself they and even-from-there his the corpse
ἐξελόντες, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἀποτεμόντες περιέφερον
having-taken-out and the head his having-cut-off carried-around

ἐπὶ δόρατος ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν. Ἀσδρούβας μὲν δὴ καὶ
on a-spear through the city Hasdrubal indeed indeed also
τὸ πρῶτον ἀδίκως ἐξεπεπτώκει, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ψευδῶς
the first unjustly had-been-banished and the second falsely
διεβέβλητο ὑπὸ Ἄννωνος, καὶ τότε πρὸς Καρχηδονίων
had-been-slandered by Hanno and then by Carthaginians
οὕτως ἀνῄρητο καὶ οὕτως ἀποθανὼν ὑβρίζετο.
thus had-been-killed and thus having-died was-outraged

39 Καρχηδόνιοι δ' ἐπέστελλον Ἀννίβᾳ λῦσαι τὰς ἀνοχὰς καὶ
Carthaginians and sent-word to-Hannibal to-break the truce and
πολεμεῖν Σκιπίωνι, κρῖναι δ' ὅτι τάχιστα τὸν πόλεμον
to-war-on Scipio to-decide and as quickly-as-possible the war
μάχῃ διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν. ὁ μὲν δὴ πέμψας ἔλυσε τὰς
by-battle because-of the want he indeed indeed having-sent broke the
ἀνοχάς, καὶ Σκιπίων Πάρθον τε, μεγάλην πόλιν, αὐτίκα
truce and Scipio Parthus both great city at-once
προσπεσὼν εἷλε, καὶ πλησίον Ἀννίβου μετεστρατοπέδευεν.
having-attacked took and near Hannibal moved-camp
ὁ δὲ ἀνεζεύγνυε, τρεῖς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις κατασκόπους
he and decamped three to-the Romans scouts
ἐπιπέμψας, οὓς ὁ Σκιπίων ἔλαβέ τε καὶ οὐκ ἔκτεινεν,
having-sent whom — Scipio caught both and not killed
ὥσπερ ἔθος τοὺς κατασκόπους κτείνειν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ
as custom the scouts to-kill but into the
στρατόπεδον καὶ τὰς ὁπλοθήκας καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα
camp and the armories and the engines
περιαχθῆναι κελεύσας, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν γυμναζομένην
to-be-led-around having-ordered and the army training
ἰδεῖν, ἀπέλυσε φράζειν Ἀννίβᾳ περὶ ἑκάστων. ὁ δὲ ἠξίωσεν
to-see released to-tell Hannibal about each-thing he and asked
ἔτι συνελθεῖν ἐς λόγους Σκιπίωνι, καὶ συνελθὼν

ἔλεγε Καρχηδονίους ἀγανακτῆσαι τῇ πρότερον εἰρήνῃ
said Carthaginians to-have-been-vexed at-the former peace
διὰ τὰ χρήματα, καὶ εἰ τοῦτο ἐκλυθείη, Σικελίας δὲ
because-of the money and if this should-be-remitted Sicily and
μόνον ἀξιοῖεν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Ἰβηρίας καὶ νήσων ὅσων
alone should-claim the Romans and Iberia and islands as-many-as
ἄρχουσι κρατεῖν, ἔσεσθαι τὰς συνθήκας βεβαίους. ὁ
they-rule to-hold to-be-going-to-be the treaty firm he
δὲ "πολύ," ἔφη, "κέρδος Ἀννίβᾳ τῆς φυγῆς ἔσται τῆς
and much he-said gain for-Hannibal of-the flight will-be the
ἐξ Ἰταλίας, εἰ ταῦτα προσλάβοι παρὰ Σκιπίωνος." καὶ
from Italy if these-things he-should-obtain from Scipio and
ἀπηγόρευε πέμπειν ἔτι πρὸς αὐτόν. διαπειλησάμενοί τε
forbade to-send any-longer to him having-threatened both
ἀλλήλοις ἀνεζεύγνυον ἑκάτερος ἐς τὸ αὑτοῦ στρατόπεδον.
each-other withdrew each to the his-own camp
πόλις δ' ἐγγὺς ἦν Κίλλα, καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν λόφος εὐφυὴς ἐς 40
a-city and near was Cilla and beside it a-hill well-suited for
στρατοπεδείαν, ὃν ἐπινοῶν ὁ Ἀννίβας προλαβεῖν, ἔπεμπέ
encampment which planning — Hannibal to-seize-first sent
τινας διαγράφειν τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀναστήσας
some to-mark-out the camp and at-once having-broken-camp
ἐβάδιζεν ὡς ἔχων τὸν λόφον. Σκιπίωνος δ' αὐτὸν
marched as holding the hill of-Scipio and him
φθάσαντός τε καὶ προλαβόντος, ἀποληφθεὶς ἐν πεδίῳ
having-anticipated both and having-seized-first cut-off in a-plain
μέσῳ καὶ ἀνύδρῳ διετέλει τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν ὀρύσσων
middle and waterless he-spent the night whole digging
φρέατα, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτῷ διαμώμενος τὴν ψάμμον
wells and the army his scooping-up the sand
ὀλίγον καὶ θολερὸν ἔπινον ἐπιμόχθως. ἀθεράπευτοί τε καὶ
little and muddy drank with-toil uncared-for both and

ἄσιτοι, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἔνιοι, διενυκτέρευσαν. ὧν ὁ
without-food and in the arms some passed-the-night which —
Σκιπίων αἰσθανόμενος προσέβαλεν ἅμα ἕῳ κεκμηκόσιν
Scipio perceiving attacked together-with dawn them-exhausted
ἐξ ὁδοῦ καὶ ἀγρυπνίας καὶ ἀνυδρίας. Ἀννίβας δ' ἤχθετο
from march and sleeplessness and lack-of-water Hannibal and was-vexed
μέν, οὐχ ὅτε βούλοιτο συνιὼν ἐς μάχην, ἑώρα δὲ ὡς εἴτε
indeed not when he-wished coming into battle he-saw but that whether
μένοι κατὰ χώραν, κακοπαθήσων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνυδρίας,
he-should-remain in place going-to-suffer by the lack-of-water
εἴτε φεύγοι, τὰ φρονήματα τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀναστήσων καὶ
or should-flee the spirits of-the enemies going-to-raise and
πολλὰ πεισόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπικειμένων. ὅθεν ἀναγκαῖον
much going-to-suffer by them pressing whence necessary
ἦν αὐτῷ μάχεσθαι. καὶ παρέτασσεν αὐτίκα ἄνδρας μὲν
it-was for-him to-fight and drew-up at-once men indeed
ἐς πεντακισμυρίους, ἐλέφαντας δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα. ἵστη δὲ
about fifty-thousand elephants and eighty he-placed and
πρώτους μὲν τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, ἐκ διαστημάτων, ἐφ' ὅλου
first indeed the elephants at intervals along whole
τοῦ μετώπου, φοβερώτατα σκευάσας. καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῖς ἦν
the front most-fearfully having-equipped and under them was
τὸ τρίτον τῆς στρατιᾶς, Κελτοὶ καὶ Λίγυες· τοξόται τε
the third of-the army Celts and Ligurians archers both
αὐτοῖς ἀνεμεμίχατο πάντῃ καὶ σφενδονῆται Μαυρούσιοί
with-them had-been-mixed everywhere and slingers Moors
τε καὶ Γυμνήσιοι. τούτων δ' ὄπισθεν ἡ δευτέρα τάξις
both and Balearians of-these and behind the second rank
ἦν, Καρχηδόνιοί τε καὶ Λίβυες. τρίτοι δ' ὅσοι ἐξ
was Carthaginians both and Libyans third and as-many-as from

Ἰταλίας εἵποντο αὐτῷ. οἷς δὴ καὶ μάλιστα, ὡς πλέον
Italy followed him in-whom indeed also most as more
δεδιόσιν, ἐθάρρει. ἡ δ' ἵππος περὶ τὰ κέρατα ἦν.
fearing he-trusted the and cavalry about the wings was
οὕτω μὲν Ἀννίβας ἐξέτασσε, Σκιπίωνι δ' ἦσαν ἀμφὶ τοὺς 41
thus indeed Hannibal drew-up for-Scipio and were about the
δισμυρίους καὶ τρισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δ' Ἰταλῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων
twenty-thousand and three-thousand cavalry and of-Italians and of-Romans
χίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι. συνεμάχει δὲ Μασσανάσσης
thousand and five-hundred fought-beside-him and Masinissa
ἱππεῦσι Νομάσι πολλοῖς, καὶ Δακάμας ἕτερος δυνάστης
with-cavalry Numidian many and Dacamas another prince
ἱππεῦσιν ἑξακοσίοις. τὸ μὲν οὖν πεζὸν ἐς τρεῖς καὶ
with-cavalry six-hundred the indeed then infantry into three also
ὅδε τάξεις ἐπέταττεν ὁμοίως Ἀννίβᾳ, λόχους δ' ὀρθίους
this-one ranks drew-up like Hannibal companies and in-column
ἐποιεῖτο πάντας, ἵνα δι' αὐτῶν οἱ ἱππεῖς εὐχερῶς
made all that through them the cavalry easily
διαθέοιεν. ἐφίστη δ' ἑκάστῳ λόχῳ προμάχους κατὰ
might-run-through he-set and before-each company front-fighters in
μέτωπον, οἳ ξύλα παχέα διπήχη μάλιστα, πυκνὰ καὶ τὰ
front who logs thick two-cubit about close-set and the
πολλὰ αὐτῶν σεσιδηρωμένα, ἔμελλον ὡς καταπέλτας ἐκ
most of-them iron-shod were-to as catapults from
χειρὸς ἐς τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπιόντας ἀφήσειν. παρήγγελτο
hand at the elephants attacking to-hurl it-had-been-ordered
δ' αὐτοῖς τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πεζοῖς ἐκκλίνειν τὴν ὁρμὴν
and to-them both and to-the other infantry to-dodge the charge
τῶν θηρίων, καὶ περιθέοντας ἀκοντίζειν ἐς αὐτὰ συνεχῶς,
of-the beasts and running-round to-hurl-javelins at them continually
καὶ προσπελάζοντας, ὅτε δύναιντο, ὑποτέμνειν τὰ νεῦρα.
and approaching when they-could to-cut the sinews

οὕτω μὲν οἱ πεζοὶ διετετάχατο τῷ Σκιπίωνι· τοὺς δ'
thus indeed the infantry had-been-drawn-up — for-Scipio the and
ἱππέας τοὺς μὲν Νομαδικοὺς ἐπέστησε τοῖς κέρασιν,
cavalry the indeed Numidian he-stationed at-the wings
εἰθισμένους τὴν τῶν ἐλεφάντων ὄψιν καὶ ὀδμὴν φέρειν,
accustomed the of-the elephants sight and smell to-bear
τοὺς δὲ Ἰταλικοὺς διὰ τὸ ἄηθες ὀπίσω πάντων,
the and Italian because-of the unfamiliarity behind all
ἑτοίμους ἐπελθεῖν διὰ τῶν διαστημάτων, ὅτε τὴν πρώτην
ready to-attack through the intervals when the first
τῶν ἐλεφάντων ὁρμὴν ὑπομείνειαν οἱ πεζοί. παρ' ἕκαστον
of-the elephants charge should-withstand the infantry beside each
δὲ τῶν ἱππέων τῶνδε ὑπηρέτης ἦν πολλὰ ἀκόντια φέρων,
and of-the cavalry these an-attendant was many javelins carrying
οἷς ἐπενόει τὰ θηρία ἀμύνεσθαι. οὕτω μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ
with-which he-planned the beasts to-ward-off thus indeed for-him also
ἡ ἵππος εἶχε, παρεδίδου δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν Λαιλίῳ, τὸ
the cavalry was-arranged he-assigned and the indeed right to-Laelius the
δὲ λαιὸν Ὀκταουίῳ. ἐν δὲ τοῖς μέσοις ἵστην αὐτός τε
and left to-Octavius in and the middle stood himself both
καὶ Ἀννίβας, κατὰ δόξαν ἀλλήλων, ἔχοντες ἀμφ' αὑτοὺς
and Hannibal in view of-each-other having about themselves
ἱππέας, ἐπικουρεῖν ὅπῃ τι πονούμενον ἴδοιεν, ὁ μὲν
cavalry to-help where any-part distressed they-should-see — indeed
Ἀννίβας τετρακισχιλίους, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων δισχιλίους, καὶ
Hannibal four-thousand — and Scipio two-thousand and
τοὺς τριακοσίους Ἰταλοὺς οὓς αὐτὸς ὥπλισεν ἐν Σικελίᾳ.
the three-hundred Italians whom himself had-armed in Sicily
42 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἕτοιμα ἦν αὐτοῖς, ἐπέτρεχε τοὺς ἰδίους ἐπισπέρχων
when and ready was for-them ran-along the own urging-on
ἑκάτερος, ὁ μὲν Σκιπίων τοὺς θεοὺς κατακαλῶν ἐν
each — indeed Scipio the gods invoking in

ὄψει τῶν στρατευομένων, ἐς οὓς οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι
sight of-the(-men) serving against whom the Carthaginians
παρεσπονδήκεσαν ὁσάκις ἔλυον τὰ συγκείμενα, καὶ τὴν
had-broken-faith as-often-as they-broke the agreements and the
στρατιὰν ἀξιῶν μὴ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων ἀφορᾶν,
army asking not at the multitude of-the enemies to-look
ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν ἀρετὴν αὑτῶν, ᾗ καὶ πρότερον τῶνδε
but at the valor their by-which also before these
τῶν ἐχθρῶν πλειόνων ὄντων ἐπεκράτησαν ἐν τῇδε τῇ γῇ.
the enemies more being they-prevailed in this the land
εἰ δ' ἔστι καὶ τοῖς νικήσασιν ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλοντι φόβος
if and there-is even for-the victors for the future fear
ἢ δέος ἢ ἀμφιβολία, πόσῳ ταῦτα τοῖς νενικημένοις
or dread or uncertainty how-much these-things for-the vanquished
πλεονάζειν ἀνάγκη. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων ἠρέθιζέ τε καὶ
to-abound necessity thus indeed — Scipio roused both and
παρηγόρει τῆς ὀλιγότητος· ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας τῶν τε ἐν
consoled for-the fewness — and Hannibal of-the both in
Ἰταλίᾳ γεγονότων ἔργων ὑπεμίμνησκεν αὐτούς, ὡς λαμπρὰ
Italy done deeds reminded them how brilliant
καὶ μεγάλα πράξειαν, οὐκ ἐπὶ Νομάσιν ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν
and great they-had-done not against Numidians but against all
Ἰταλοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ τὴν ὀλιγότητα τῶν ἐχθρῶν
Italians in — Italy and the fewness of-the enemies
αὐτόθεν ἑστὼς ἐπεδείκνυε, καὶ παρεκάλει μὴ χείρους
from-there standing pointed-out and urged not worse
ὀλιγωτέρων ἐν οἰκείᾳ γῇ πλέονας ὄντας ὀφθῆναι. τὸν δὲ
than-fewer in own land more being to-be-seen the and
κίνδυνον τοῦ παρόντος ἀγῶνος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ἑκάτερος
danger of-the present contest and the greatness each
τοῖς ἰδίοις ὑπερεπῆρεν, Ἀννίβας μὲν ὅτι Καρχηδόνα
to-the own exaggerated Hannibal indeed that Carthage

καὶ Λιβύην ἅπασαν ὁ ἀγὼν ὅδε κρινεῖ, ἢ δούλην
and Libya whole the contest this will-decide either slave
εὐθὺς ἡσσωμένων εἶναι, ἢ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἄρχειν ἁπάντων
at-once being-defeated to-be or for the hereafter to-rule all
ὧν ἐπεκράτουν, Σκιπίων δ' ὅτι νικωμένοις μὲν οὐδ'
of-which they-were-masters Scipio and that to-the-defeated indeed not-even
ἀναχώρησις ἔστιν ἀσφαλής, ἐπικρατοῦσι δὲ ἀρχὴ μεγάλη
retreat is safe to-the-victors and empire great
προσγίγνεται καὶ ἀνάπαυλα πόνων τῶν παρόντων καὶ ἐς
is-added and respite from-toils the present and to
τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀπόπλους καὶ ἐς τὸ μέλλον εὔκλεια.
the home voyage and for the future glory
43 οὕτω παροξύνας τοὺς ἰδίους ἑκάτερος ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα
thus having-roused the own each into the contest
συνήεσαν, Ἀννίβας μὲν σαλπίγγων κατάρξας, Σκιπίων δ'
they-came-together Hannibal indeed with-trumpets having-begun Scipio and
ἀντηχεῖν κελεύσας. συνιόντων δ' αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐλέφαντες
to-sound-back having-ordered coming-together and them the indeed elephants
κατῆρχον τῆς μάχης, ἐς τὸ φοβερώτατον ἐσκευασμένοι
began the battle to the most-fearful equipped
καὶ τοῖς κέντροις ἐξοτρυνόμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἐπικαθημένων·
and by-the goads urged-on by the(-men) sitting-on
περιθέοντες δ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Νομάδες ἱππεῖς ἐσηκόντιζον
running-round and them the Numidian cavalry hurled-javelins
ἀθρόως, μέχρι τρωθέντας τε καὶ φεύγοντας καὶ δυσπειθῶς
in-masses until wounded both and fleeing and disobedient
ἤδη ἔχοντας ἀπήγαγον ἐκ τῆς μάχης οἱ ἐπιβάται. καὶ
already being led-away from the battle the riders and
τάδε μὲν ἦν περὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὰ κέρατα ἐλέφαντας· οἱ
these-things indeed were about the about the wings elephants the(-men)
δ' ἐν μέσῃ τῇ φάλαγγι τοὺς Ῥωμαίων πεζοὺς κατεπάτουν,
and in middle the phalanx the of-Romans infantry trampled

ἀπείρους τε μάχης τοιάσδε ὄντας καὶ βαρεῖς ὑπὸ τῆς
inexperienced both of-battle such being and heavy from the
ὁπλίσεως, καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτὸ φεύγειν εὐκόλως ἢ διώκειν οὐ
armor and on the-spot to-flee easily or to-pursue not
δυναμένους, ἕως ὁ Σκιπίων τοὺς ἱππέας τοὺς Ἰταλικούς,
being-able until — Scipio the cavalry the Italian
ὀπίσω τεταγμένους καὶ κουφότερον ἐσκευασμένους,
behind posted and more-lightly equipped
ἐπαγαγὼν ἀποβῆναι τῶν ἵππων ταρασσομένων ἐκέλευσε,
having-brought-up to-dismount from-the horses being-terrified ordered
καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας περιθέοντας ἐσακοντίζειν. πρῶτός
and the elephants running-round to-hurl-javelins-at first
τε αὐτὸς ἀποβὰς ἔτρωσε τὸν προπηδῶντα τῶν
both himself having-dismounted wounded the leaping-forward of-the
ἐλεφάντων. θαρρησάντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ τιτρωσκόντων
elephants taking-courage and the others and wounding
ἤδη πανταχόθεν αὐτούς, καὶ οἵδε ὑπεχώρουν.
already from-everywhere them also these withdrew
καὶ γενομένης τῆς μάχης καθαρᾶς θηρίων, ὁ ἀγὼν ἐγίγνετο 44
and having-become the battle clear of-beasts the contest was
μόνων ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων. τὸ μὲν οὖν δεξιὸν τὸ
of-only men both and horses the indeed then right the
Ῥωμαίων, οὗ Λαίλιος ἐπεστάτει, τρέπεται τοὺς ἐναντίους
of-Romans where Laelius commanded routs the opposite
Νομάδας, Μασσανάσσου βαλόντος αὐτῶν τὸν δυνάστην
Numidians Masinissa having-struck their the prince
Μασσάθην· ὀξέως δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐπιδραμὼν
Massathes quickly but them — Hannibal having-ridden-up
συνέτασσε τὴν μάχην. τὸ δὲ λαιόν, ἔνθα Ῥωμαίων μὲν
re-formed the battle the and left where of-Romans indeed
Ὀκτάουιος ἐπεστάτει, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων Κελτοὶ καὶ Λίγυες
Octavius commanded of-the and enemies Celts and Ligurians

ἦσαν, ἐπόνει μάλα καρτερῶς ἑκατέροις. καὶ Σκιπίων μὲν
were labored very strongly for-both and Scipio indeed
ἔπεμπε Θέρμον τὸν χιλίαρχον ἐπικουρεῖν μετ᾽ ἐπιλέκτων·
sent Thermus the tribune to-help with picked-men
Ἀννίβας δ᾽ ἐπεὶ τὸ λαιὸν συνέστησεν, ἐς τοὺς Λίγυας καὶ
Hannibal and when the left he-had-rallied to the Ligurians and
Κελτοὺς μεθίππευεν, ἐπάγων ἅμα τὴν δευτέραν τάξιν
Celts rode-across bringing-up at-the-same-time the second rank
Καρχηδονίων τε καὶ Λιβύων. κατιδὼν δ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁ Σκιπίων
of-Carthaginians both and Libyans having-seen and him — Scipio
ἀντιπαρῆγε μεθ᾽ ἑτέρου στίφους. δύο δὲ στρατηγῶν
led-up-against-him with another body two and generals
ἀρίστων ἐς ἀγῶνα συνιόντων, ἔρις ἦν τῶν ὑφ᾽ ἑκατέρῳ
best into contest coming-together rivalry was of-the(-men) under each
λαμπρὰ καὶ δέος, καὶ προθυμίας οὐδετέροις τι ἐνέλιπε,
brilliant and fear and of-zeal for-neither anything was-lacking
σφοδροῦ καὶ ὀξέος ὄντος πόνου τε καὶ παρακελεύσεως.
violent and keen being of-toil both and exhortation
45 μακρᾶς δὲ καὶ ἀκρίτου τῆς μάχης οὔσης, οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοὺς
long and and undecided the battle being the generals the(-men)
κάμνοντας ἐλεοῦντες ὥρμων ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλους ὡς ἐν σφίσι τῆς
toiling pitying rushed at each-other as in themselves the
κρίσεως ταχυτέρας ἐσομένης. καὶ ἠκόντισαν ὁμοῦ, Σκιπίων
decision quicker going-to-be and hurled-javelins together Scipio
μὲν Ἀννίβου τὴν ἀσπίδα, ὁ δ᾽ Ἀννίβας ἔτυχε τοῦ ἵππου.
indeed of-Hannibal the shield — and Hannibal hit the horse
καὶ ὁ ἵππος ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς ἐξέφερεν ὀπίσω τὸν Σκιπίωνα,
and the horse from the blow carried back — Scipio
μέχρι περιβὰς ἕτερον ἵππον αὖθις ἐς τὸν Ἀννίβαν
until having-mounted another horse again at — Hannibal
ἠκόντισεν. ἀλλ᾽ ἀπέτυχεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τότε, τὸν δὲ ἱππέα τὸν
hurled but missed him also then the and horseman the

ἐγγὺς ἔβαλεν. ἦκε δ' ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Μασσανάσσης πυθόμενος.
near struck came and in this also Masinissa having-learned
καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν στρατηγὸν ὁρῶντες στρατιωτικῶς σφῶν
and the Romans the general seeing soldierly them
ὑπερμαχόμενον, καρτερώτερον τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνέπεσον καὶ
defending more-strongly the enemies fell-on and
ἐτρέψαντο καὶ φεύγοντας ἐδίωκον· οὐδὲ παριππεύοντος
routed and fleeing pursued not-even riding-alongside
αὐτοῖς τοῦ Ἀννίβου καὶ δεομένου στῆναι καὶ τῆς μάχης αὖθις
them — Hannibal and begging to-stand and of-the battle again
ἐς πεῖραν ἐλθεῖν ἔτι ἐπείθοντο. ἀπογνοὺς οὖν αὐτῶν ὁ
into trial to-come any-longer they-obeyed having-despaired then of-them —
Ἀννίβας τοὺς ἐξ Ἰταλίας οἱ συνελθόντας, ἐφεδρεύοντας
Hannibal the(-men) from Italy with-him having-come lying-in-reserve
ἔτι καὶ ἀτρεμοῦντας, ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, ἐλπίσας
still and keeping-quiet led to the battle having-hoped
Ῥωμαίοις ἅτε διώκουσιν ἀσυντακτοτέροις ἐπιπεσεῖσθαι.
on-Romans inasmuch-as pursuing more-disordered to-be-going-to-fall
οἱ δὲ τὸ ἐνθύμημα αὐτοῦ θεασάμενοι, μετὰ σπουδῆς
they and the design his having-seen with haste
ἀλλήλους ἐκ τῆς διώξεως ἀνεκάλουν, καὶ συνετάσσοντο
each-other from the pursuit called-back and formed
αὖθις ἐς μάχην. οὔτε δὲ ἵππων σφίσι παρόντων οὔτε
again for battle neither and horses for-them being-present nor
ἀκοντίων ἔτι ὄντων, ξίφεσιν ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐχρῶντο καὶ
javelins any-longer being with-swords on each-other they-used and
συνεπλέκοντο. φόνος τε ἦν πολὺς ἐνθάδε μάλιστα καὶ
grappled slaughter both was great here most and
τραύματα μέγιστα, καὶ πιπτόντων στόνος καὶ ἀναιρούντων
wounds very-great and of-those-falling groaning and of-those-killing

μεγαλαυχία, μέχρι ποτὲ καὶ τούσδε ἐτρέψαντο οἱ Ἰταλοὶ
boasting until at-last also these routed the Italians
καὶ φεύγουσιν εἵποντο, κρίσις τε ἦν λαμπρὰ τοῦ πολέμου.
and the-fleeing followed decision both was brilliant of-the war
46 καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐν τῇ φυγῇ θεασάμενος ἱππέων Νομάδων
and — Hannibal in the flight having-seen of-cavalry Numidian
πλῆθος συνεστώς, προσδραμὼν ἠξίου μὴ προλιπεῖν αὐτόν,
a-mass standing-together having-run-up asked not to-desert him
καὶ πείσας ἐπῆγε τοῖς διώκουσιν, ἐλπίσας
and having-persuaded led-them against-the(-men) pursuing having-hoped
ἐργάσεσθαί τινα παλινδίωξιν. πρώτοις δὲ Μασσυλίοις
to-be-going-to-make some counter-pursuit first and Massylians
ἐντυχὼν ἐμάχετο, καὶ μόνος ἦν ἔτι οὗτος ὁ ἀγὼν
having-met he-fought and alone was still this the contest
Μασσανάσσου καὶ Ἀννίβου συνεστώτων. φερομένων δὲ
of-Masinissa and Hannibal standing-together rushing and
καὶ τῶνδε ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ὑπὸ προθυμίας, ἐς μὲν τὴν
also these at each-other from zeal on indeed the
ἀσπίδα ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἠκόντισε βαλών, ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβας
shield — Masinissa hurled having-struck — and Hannibal
καὶ τότε ἔτυχε τοῦ ἵππου. καὶ ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐκπεσὼν
also then hit the horse and — Masinissa having-fallen
πεζὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ὥρμα, τόν τε ἐπελαύνοντά οἱ πρὸ
on-foot at — Hannibal rushed the both riding-at him before
τῶν ἄλλων ἱππέα βαλὼν ἀπέκτεινεν. καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν
the others horseman having-struck killed and of-the rest
τὰ ἀκόντια ἐς τὸν ἐλεφαντιστὴν ἐκδεχόμενος, ἓν τῶν
the javelins on the elephant-hide receiving one of-the
ἐμπεπηγότων ἐξεῖλε, καὶ ἀκοντίσας ἐς τὸν Ἀννίβαν αὖθις
fixed took-out and having-hurled at — Hannibal again
οὐδ' ὡς ἐπετύγχανεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐγγὺς ἱππέα καὶ ὅδε
not-even so hit but the near horseman also this-one

ἀπέκτεινεν. ἕτερον δ' ἐξέλκων ἐς τὸν βραχίονα ἐτρώθη,
killed another and pulling-out in the arm was-wounded
καὶ ὑπεχώρησεν ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐπ' ὀλίγον. Σκιπίων δὲ
and withdrew from the battle for a-little Scipio and
πυθόμενος ἔδεισε περὶ τῷ Μασσανάσσῃ, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔργον
having-learned feared for — Masinissa and to the action
ἠπείγετο· καὶ ηὗρε τὸν Μασσανάσσην ἐς τὴν μάχην αὖθις
hastened and found — Masinissa into the battle again
ἐπὶ ἵππου φερόμενον ἑτέρου, τὸ τραῦμα ἐπιδήσαντα. ὅ τε
on horse being-carried another the wound having-bound the both
ἀγὼν ἦν ἴσος αὖθις αὐτοῖς καὶ πάνυ καρτερός, αἰδουμένων
contest was equal again for-them and very strong respecting
τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἑκατέρων, ἕως ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐπί τινος λόφου
the generals each-side until — Hannibal on some hill
θεασάμενος Ἴβηρας καὶ Κελτοὺς συνεστῶτας ἐξίππευσεν
having-seen Iberians and Celts standing-together rode-off
ὡς κἀκείνους ἐπάξων. τότε γὰρ οἱ μαχόμενοι,
as also-those going-to-bring-up then for the(-men) fighting
τῆς μὲν αἰτίας οὐ συνιέντες, τὴν δ' ἀποχώρησιν αὐτοῦ
the indeed cause not understanding the and withdrawal his
φυγὴν ὑπολαβόντες εἶναι, τὸν ἀγῶνα μεθῆκαν ἑκόντες
flight having-supposed to-be the contest gave-up willingly
καὶ ἔφυγον ἀκόσμως, οὐχ ᾗπερ ἑώρων Ἀννίβαν, ἀλλ' ὅπῃ
and fled in-disorder not where they-saw Hannibal but where
τύχοιεν ἕκαστοι. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτω διελύθησαν, Ῥωμαῖοι
they-happened each and they indeed thus were-dispersed Romans
δ' αὐτούς, ὡς τετελεσμένης τῆς μάχης, ἐδίωκον ἀτάκτως,
and them as having-been-finished the battle pursued in-disorder
οὐδ' αὐτοὶ τῆς Ἀννίβου προαιρέσεως συνιέντες.
not-even themselves the of-Hannibal intention understanding

47 ὁ δ' ἐπανῄει πεφραγμένος Ἴβηρσι καὶ Κελτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ
he and came-back fenced with-Iberians and Celts from the
λόφου. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων αὖθις ἐκ τῆς διώξεως τοὺς Ῥωμαίους
hill and — Scipio again from the pursuit the Romans
ἀνεκάλει μετὰ σπουδῆς, καὶ παρέτασσε πολὺ πλείονας τῶν
called-back with haste and drew-up much more than-those
ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου καταβεβηκότων· ὅθεν αὐτῶν οὐ δυσχερῶς
from the hill having-come-down whence them not with-difficulty
περιεγίγνετο. Ἀννίβας δὲ καὶ τῆσδε τῆς πείρας τελευταίας
he-overcame Hannibal and also this the attempt last
γενομένης ἀποτυχών, ἔφευγεν ἤδη σαφῶς ἀπογνοὺς
having-become having-failed fled now clearly having-despaired-of
ἅπαντα. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐδίωκον ἱππεῖς ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ
everything and him pursued cavalry others both many and
Μασσανάσσης, περιώδυνος ὢν ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος, ἀεί
Masinissa in-great-pain being from the wound always
τε πλησιάζων, καὶ μέγα ποιούμενος αἰχμάλωτον Ἀννίβαν
both coming-near and great making captive Hannibal
ἀγαγεῖν Σκιπίωνι. τὸν δὲ νὺξ ἐρρύσατο, καὶ σκότιος μετ'
to-bring to-Scipio him but night rescued and in-the-dark with
εἴκοσιν ἱππέων, τῶν δυνηθέντων σὺν αὐτῷ συνανύσαι
twenty cavalry the(-men) having-been-able with him to-accomplish
τὸν δρόμον, ἐς πόλιν κατέφυγεν ᾗ ὄνομα Θῶν, ἔνθα
the race to a-city fled whose name Thon where
Βρεττίων ἔγνω καὶ Ἰβήρων ἱππέας πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς
of-Bruttians he-learned and of-Iberians cavalry many from the
ἥττης συμπεφευγότας. δείσας οὖν περὶ μὲν τῶν Ἰβήρων
defeat having-fled-together fearing then about indeed the Iberians
ὡς βαρβάρων ταχυέργων, περὶ δὲ Βρεττίων ὡς Ἰταλῶν
as barbarians quick-acting about and Bruttians as Italians
ὁμοεθνῶν Σκιπίωνι, μὴ ἐς συγγνώμην ὧν ἐξήμαρτον
of-the-same-race with-Scipio lest for pardon of-what they-had-offended

ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, προσαγάγωσιν αὐτὸν τῷ Σκιπίωνι,
in — Italy they-bring him — to-Scipio
λαθὼν ἐξέφυγε μεθ' ἑνὸς ἱππέως, ᾧ μάλιστ' ἐπίστευεν.
unnoticed escaped with one horseman whom most he-trusted
σταδίους δ' ἀνύσας ἐς τρισχιλίους δύο νυξί τε
stades and having-accomplished about three-thousand in-two nights both
καὶ ἡμέραις, ἧκεν ἐς πόλιν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης Ἀδρυμητόν, ἔνθα
and days came to a-city on sea Hadrumetum where
τι μέρος ἦν αὐτῷ στρατιᾶς σιτοφυλακοῦν. περιπέμπων
some part was to-him of-army guarding-grain sending-round
δ' ἐς τὰ πλησίον, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς μάχης διαφυγόντας
and to the neighborhood and the(-men) from the battle having-escaped
ἀναλαμβάνων, ὅπλα καὶ μηχανήματα εἰργάζετο.
taking-up arms and engines made

48–54 · CARTHAGE SUES FOR PEACE

Scipio burns the useless spoil and sends the gold and silver to Rome. Carthage's envoys fall to the ground, and Hasdrubal the Kid pleads that the fortunate should pity the fallen. Scipio answers that they deserve no pardon, but Rome will not imitate them: surrender the warships but ten and the elephants, return prisoners and deserters, pay ten thousand talents over fifty years, make no war on Masinissa, and keep their city and land.

Σκιπίων δὲ νίκην ἀρίστην νενικηκώς, τὰ μὲν ἄχρηστα 48
Scipio and victory best having-won the indeed useless-things
τῆς λείας ἐνεπίμπρη διαζωσάμενος αὐτός, ὥσπερ εἰώθασι
of-the booty burned having-girded-himself himself as are-accustomed
Ῥωμαίων οἱ στρατηγοί, χρυσίου δ' ἐς Ῥώμην τάλαντα
of-Romans the generals of-gold and to Rome talents
δέκα καὶ ἀργυρίου δισχίλια καὶ πεντακόσια καὶ ἐλέφαντα
ten and of-silver two-thousand and five-hundred and ivory

εἰργασμένον καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἔπεμπε,
worked and the notable of-the captives he-sent
καὶ Λαίλιον ἐξαγγελοῦντα περὶ τῆς νίκης, ἐπὶ νεῶν ***,
and Laelius going-to-announce about the victory on ships (lacuna)
τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἀποδόμενος τὴν τιμὴν ἐπιδιεῖλε τῷ στρατῷ,
the and rest having-sold the price distributed to-the army
καὶ δῶρα τοῖς ἀριστεύσασιν ἐδίδου, καὶ Μασσανάσσην
and gifts to-the(-men) having-excelled gave and Masinissa
ἐστεφάνου καὶ τότε. καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐπιὼν ἐχειροῦτο. τὸ
crowned also then and the cities visiting subdued the
μὲν δὴ τέλος τῆς Ἀννίβου τε καὶ Σκιπίωνος ἐν Λιβύῃ
indeed indeed end the of-Hannibal both and Scipio in Libya
μάχης, τότε πρῶτον ἀλλήλοις ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντων, τοῦτ'
battle then first with-each-other to hands having-come this
ἦν, ἀπέθανον δὲ Ῥωμαίων μὲν δισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι,
was died and of-Romans indeed two-thousand and five-hundred
Μασσανάσσου δ' ἔτι πλείονες, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων δισμύριοι
of-Masinissa and still more and of-the enemies twenty-thousand
καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι. αἰχμάλωτοι δ' ἐλήφθησαν ὀκτακισχίλιοι
and five-thousand captives and were-taken eight-thousand
καὶ πεντακόσιοι. καὶ Ἴβηρες ηὐτομόλησαν πρὸς Σκιπίωνα
and five-hundred and Iberians deserted to Scipio
τριακόσιοι, καὶ Νομάδες πρὸς Μασσανάσσην ὀκτακόσιοι.
three-hundred and Numidians to Masinissa eight-hundred
49 οὔπω δὲ οὔτε Καρχηδόνιοι τῶνδε οὔτε Ῥωμαῖοι πυθόμενοι,
not-yet and either Carthaginians of-these or Romans having-learned
οἱ μὲν ἐπέστελλον Μάγωνι, ξενολογοῦντι ἔτι Κελτούς,
the(-ones) indeed sent-word to-Mago hiring-mercenaries still Celts
ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, εἰ δύναιτο, ἢ ἐς Λιβύην μετὰ
to-invade into — Italy if he-could or to Libya with
τῶν μισθοφόρων καταπλεῦσαι, οἱ δέ, τῶνδε τῶν
the mercenaries to-sail-down the(-others) and these the

γραμμάτων ἁλόντων καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην κομισθέντων,
letters having-been-captured and to Rome brought
στρατιὰν ἄλλην καὶ ἵππους καὶ ναῦς καὶ χρήματα ἔπεμπον
army other and horses and ships and money sent
τῷ Σκιπίωνι. ὁ δὲ ἤδη τῇ Καρχηδόνι κατὰ μὲν τὴν γῆν
— to-Scipio he and already — to-Carthage by indeed the land
ἐπέπεμπεν Ὀκτάουιον, ταῖς δὲ ναυσὶν αὐτὸς ἐπέπλει. καὶ
sent-against Octavius with-the and ships himself sailed-against and
οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τὴν ἥσσαν Ἀννίβου πυθόμενοι, πρέσβεις ἐπὶ
the Carthaginians the defeat of-Hannibal having-learned envoys on
κελητίου προσέπεμπον τῷ Σκιπίωνι, ὧν ἡγοῦντο Ἄννων τε
a-light-boat sent — to-Scipio whom led Hanno both
ὁ μέγας λεγόμενος καὶ Ἀσδρούβας ὁ ἔριφος· οἳ τὸ κηρύκειον
the great called and Hasdrubal the kid who the herald's-staff
ὑψηλὸν ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τῆς πρῴρας, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ὤρεγον
high set on the prow and the hands stretched-out
ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἱκετῶν τρόπον. ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσεν
to — Scipio of-suppliants in-manner he and them ordered
ἥκειν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἐλθοῦσιν ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ
to-come to the camp and to-them-having-come on high
προκαθήμενος ἐχρημάτιζεν. οἱ δὲ μετ' οἰμωγῆς ἑαυτοὺς
seated-before gave-audience they and with wailing themselves
ἐρρίπτουν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος, καὶ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ἀνιστάντων καὶ
threw to the ground and the attendants raising-them and
λέγειν κελευόντων ὅ τι θέλοιεν, Ἀσδρούβας ὁ ἔριφος εἶπεν·
to-speak ordering what ever they-wished Hasdrubal the kid said
"ἐμοὶ μὲν ἔστιν, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ Ἄννωνι τῷδε, καὶ 50
for-me indeed it-is O Romans and for-Hanno this and
ὅσοι Καρχηδονίων ἔμφρονες, καθαρεύειν ἁμαρτημάτων
as-many-as of-Carthaginians sensible to-be-clean of-offenses
ὧν ἡμῖν ἐπικαλεῖτε· τοὺς γὰρ πρέσβεις ὑμῶν, ἐς οὓς
which on-us you-charge the for envoys your against whom

ἐξήμαρτεν ἡ πατρὶς ἄκουσα ὑπὸ λιμοῦ, περιεσώζομεν καὶ
offended the fatherland unwilling from famine we-saved and
πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπέμπομεν. χρὴ δ' ὑμᾶς μηδὲ Καρχηδονίων
to you sent it-is-needful and you not-even Carthaginians
καταγιγνώσκειν ἁπάντων, οἵ γε τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ πρότερον
to-condemn all who at-least the peace also before
ᾔτησαν καὶ λαβόντες προθύμως ὤμνυον. εἰσὶ δ' αἱ πόλεις
asked and having-received eagerly swore are and the cities
ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον εὐεπίστρεπτοι, καὶ τὸ πρὸς χάριν ἀεὶ παρὰ
to the worse easily-turned and the to please always among
τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἐπικρατεῖ. ἃ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπάθομεν, οὔτε
the multitudes prevails which also we suffered neither
πεῖσαι δυνηθέντες τὸ πλῆθος οὔτ' ἐπισχεῖν διὰ τοὺς
to-persuade having-been-able the multitude nor to-restrain because-of the(-men)
ἐκεῖ μὲν διαβάλλοντας ἡμᾶς, παρὰ δὲ ὑμῖν τὴν παρρησίαν
there indeed slandering us before and you the freedom-of-speech
ἀφῃρημένους. μὴ δὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐπειθείας ἢ
having-taken-away not indeed from the your obedience or
εὐβουλίας, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν κρίνετε, ἀλλ' εἴ
good-counsel O Romans the-things among us judge but if
τῳ καὶ τὸ πεισθῆναι τοῖς ἐπιτρίβουσιν ἀδίκημα
to-anyone also the to-have-been-persuaded by-the(-men) ruining-us a-wrong
εἶναι δοκεῖ, τὸν λιμὸν ἐπίδεσθε, καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην ἢ γέγονεν
to-be seems the famine look-at and the necessity which has-come
ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔργον ἑκούσιον
to-us from the suffering not for indeed of-the same a-deed voluntary
ἦν ἄρτι μὲν περὶ εἰρήνης παρακαλεῖν, καὶ χρήματα τοσαῦτα
was lately indeed about peace to-entreat and money so-much
διδόναι, καὶ τῶν νεῶν τῶν μακρῶν πλὴν ὀλίγων ἀφίστασθαι,
to-give and of-the ships the long except few to-give-up
καὶ τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑμῖν παριέναι, καὶ περὶ τῶνδε
and the most of-the empire to-you to-yield and about these-things

ὀμνύναι τε καὶ ὁρκοῦν πέμψαντας ἐς Ῥώμην, ἔτι δ'
to-swear both and to-administer-oaths having-sent to Rome still and
ὄντων τῶν ἡμετέρων πρέσβεων παρ' ὑμῖν ἑκόντας ἁμαρτεῖν.
being of-the our envoys with you willingly to-offend
ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν θεῶν τις ἔβλαψε, καὶ ὁ χειμὼν
but most indeed of-gods some-one harmed and the storm
ὁ τὴν ἀγορὰν ὑμῶν ἐς Καρχηδόνα καταγαγών· ἐπὶ
the(-one) the provisions your to Carthage having-carried-down upon
δὲ τῷ χειμῶνι ὁ λιμὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφείλετο μὴ καλῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν
and the storm the famine from-us took-away not well about the
ἀλλοτρίων φρονῆσαι, πάντων ἐνδεεῖς ὄντας. οὐδὲ λογισμὸν
of-others to-think of-everything lacking being nor reasoning
αἰτεῖν ἄξιον παρὰ πλήθους ἀσυντάκτου καὶ ἀτυχοῦντος."
to-ask worth from a-multitude disorderly and unfortunate
"εἰ δὲ καὶ ὡς ἀδικεῖν ὑμῖν δοκοῦμεν, οὐκ ἀτυχεῖν, 51
if and even so to-do-wrong to-you we-seem not to-be-unfortunate
ὁμολογοῦμεν, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν. ἔστι δὲ
we-agree and for this also we-entreat is and
τῶν μὲν οὐδὲν ἁμαρτόντων δικαιολογία, τῶν
of-the(-men) indeed nothing having-offended a-plea-of-justice of-the(-men)
δ' ἁμαρτόντων παράκλησις. ἐφ' ᾗ ταχύτερός ἐστιν ὁ
and having-offended entreaty at which quicker is the
τῶν εὐτυχούντων ἔλεος, τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ὑφορωμένων, ὅταν
of-the fortunate pity the human-things suspecting when
αἴσθωνται διὰ τὰς αἰφνιδίους μεταβολὰς παρακαλοῦντας
they-perceive through the sudden changes entreating
τοὺς ἐχθὲς ἀδικεῖν δυναμένους. οἷα καὶ ἡ Καρχηδονίων
the(-men) yesterday to-do-wrong being-able such also the of-Carthaginians
πόλις, ἡ τῆς Λιβύης μεγίστη καὶ δυνατωτάτη ναυσὶ καὶ
city the — of-Libya greatest and most-powerful in-ships and
χρήμασιν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐλέφασι καὶ στρατῷ πεζῷ τε καὶ ἱππικῷ,
money together and elephants and army infantry both and cavalry

καὶ ὑπηκόοις πολλοῖς, ἑπτακοσίοις ἔτεσιν ἀνθήσασα, καὶ
and subjects many for-seven-hundred years having-flourished and
Λιβύης πάσης καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνῶν καὶ νήσων καὶ θαλάσσης
of-Libya whole and other peoples and islands and sea
τοσῆσδε ἄρξασα, καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐς ἀμφήριστον ἐπὶ
so-great having-ruled and with-you yourselves into contest for
πλεῖστον ἐλθοῦσα, νῦν οὐκ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ ταῖς ναυσίν,
longest having-come now not in the sea and the ships
οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς ἐλέφασι καὶ ἵπποις, οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις, ὧν
nor in the elephants and horses nor in the subjects of-which
πάντων ὑμῖν ἀφίσταται, τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας, ἀλλ' ἐν
all to-you it-gives-up the hope of-the safety but in
αὐτοῖς ὑμῖν ἔχει τοῖς προπεπονθόσι κακῶς. ἃ χρὴ
yourselves you it-has the(-men) having-suffered-before badly which it-is-needful
θεωροῦντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς νέμεσιν φυλασσομένους,
observing you and the upon them retribution guarding-against
μετριοπαθῶς χρῆσθαι ταῖς εὐπραξίαις, καὶ τῆς σφετέρας
moderately to-use the successes and of-the your
αὐτῶν, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, μεγαλοφροσύνης καὶ τῆς Καρχηδονίων
own O Romans magnanimity and of-the of-Carthaginians
ποτὲ τύχης ἄξια πράσσειν, τάς τε τοῦ δαιμονίου
once fortune worthy-things to-do the both of-the divinity
μεταβολὰς ἀνεπιφθόνως ἐν ταῖς ἡμετέραις συμφοραῖς
changes without-envy in the our misfortunes
διατίθεσθαι, ἵνα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀναμάρτητα ᾖ
to-arrange that also toward the gods blameless may-be
τὰ ὑμέτερα ὑμῖν, καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀξιέπαινα πάντας."
the your-things for-you and toward men praiseworthy all

52 "οὐ γὰρ δὴ μὴ μετάθωνται γε καὶ νῦν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι
not for indeed lest they-change-sides at-least even now the Carthaginians
δέος ἔστιν, οἳ τοσήνδε μετάνοιαν καὶ δίκην τῆς πρὶν
fear there-is who such repentance and penalty of-the former

ἀγνωμοσύνης ὑφίστανται. ἔστι δ' ἀναμαρτησίας τοῖς μὲν
folly undergo is and of-sinlessness for-the indeed
σώφροσιν ἡ εὐβουλία φυλακή, τοῖς δ' ἁμαρτοῦσι τὸ
prudent the good-counsel a-guard for-the and having-offended the
προπαθεῖν καὶ μεταγνῶναι. βεβαιοτέρους τε εἰκός ἐστι
to-have-suffered and to-have-repented more-steadfast both likely it-is
τοὺς νενουθετημένους εἶναι τῶν ἀπειράτων. οὐδ' ἄξιον
the admonished to-be than-the untried nor worthy
Καρχηδονίοις ὑμᾶς ὠμότητα καὶ ἁμαρτίαν ἐπικαλοῦντας
against-Carthaginians you cruelty and offense charging
ταῦτα μιμεῖσθαι· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀτυχοῦσιν ἑτέρων
these-things to-imitate for-the indeed for unfortunate of-other
ἁμαρτημάτων ἄρχουσιν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας αἱ συμφοραί,
offenses begin through the want the misfortunes
τοῖς δ' εὖ πράσσουσιν ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ τὸ φιλάνθρωπόν
for-the and well faring in power the humanity
ἐστιν. οὐδ' εὐκλεές, οὐδὲ συμφέρον ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑμῖν
is nor glorious nor advantageous for the empire to-you
ἐστὶ πόλιν τοσήνδε καθαιρεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ περισώζειν.
it-is a-city so-great to-destroy rather than to-preserve
ἐστὲ δὲ ἀμείνονες μὲν ὑμεῖς τῶν ὑμετέρων συμφερόντων
you-are and better indeed you of-the your interests
κριταί, ἡμεῖς δ' ὑμῖν ἐς τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν δύο
judges we and to-you for the our-own safety two
ταῦτα μάλιστα φέρομεν ἐκ πάντων, τὸ τῆς Καρχηδονίων
these-things most we-bring of all the of-the of-Carthaginians
ποτὲ ἀξίωμα ἀρχῆς, καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν αὐτῶν ἐς πάντα
once dignity of-empire and the your own in all
μετριοπάθειαν, ἣ μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐς τοσοῦτον ὑμᾶς
moderation which with the arms to so-great you
ἐπῆρεν ἀρχῆς καὶ δυνάμεως. τίσι δὲ συνθήκαις, ἂν ἄρα
raised of-empire and power on-what and terms if then

διδῶτε τὴν εἰρήνην, χρησόμεθα περὶ αὐτῆς, περισσὸν
you-may-grant the peace we-shall-use about it superfluous
λέγειν τοὺς ἐφ' ὑμῖν τὰ ἑαυτῶν τιθεμένους."
to-speak for-the(-men) in your-hands the-things their-own placing
53 τοσαῦτ' εἰπὼν ὁ ἔριφος ἐπέκλαυσεν. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων
so-much having-said the kid wept — and Scipio
μεταστησάμενος αὐτοὺς ἐβουλεύετο μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων ἐπὶ
having-sent-out them deliberated with the best-men for
πολύ. ὡς δ' ἔκρινεν, ἐσκαλέσας αὐτοὺς ἔλεγεν ὧδε· "ἐστὲ
long when and he-had-decided having-called-in them said thus you-are
μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς συγγνώμης ἄξιοι, πολλάκις ἐς σπονδὰς
indeed of-no pardon worthy often against treaties
ἡμῶν ὑβρίσαντες, καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα νῦν καὶ ἐς πρεσβείας
our having-outraged and the last now also against embassies
ἁμαρτόντες οὕτω φανερῶς καὶ ἀθεμίτως ὡς μήτε ἐξαρνεῖσθαι
having-offended so openly and lawlessly as neither to-deny
μήτε ἀντιλέγειν ὅτι μὴ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἐστὲ τιμωρίας ἄξιοι.
nor to-contradict that not of-the utmost you-are punishment worthy
τί δὲ δεῖ κατηγορεῖν τῶν ὁμολογούντων; ἐς ἱκεσίας
what but need-is to-accuse the(-men) confessing to supplications
καταφεύγετε οἱ μηδ' ὄνομα Ῥωμαίων ὑπολιπόντες ἄν,
you-flee who not-even a-name of-Romans having-left would
εἰ ὑμεῖς ἐκρατήσατε. ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς μὲν οὐδέ ποθ' ὑμῖν
if you had-prevailed but we indeed not-even ever to-you
ὅμοια ποιήσομεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις ὑμῶν, ἔτι ὄντας
like-things shall-do since also the envoys your still being
ἐν Ῥώμῃ, παρεσπονδηκότων ὑμῶν καὶ ἐς πρέσβεις
in Rome having-broken-the-treaty you and against envoys
ἁμαρτόντων, ἥ τε πόλις ἀπέλυσε, κἀγὼ καταχθέντας ἐς
having-offended the both city released and-I having-been-brought-in into
τὸ στρατόπεδον πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἤδη πολεμοῦντας ἀπέπεμψα
the camp to you already warring sent-away

ἀπαθεῖς. χρὴ δ' ὑμᾶς καταγιγνώσκοντας αὐτῶν, ὅ
unharmed it-is-needful and you condemning yourselves what
τι ἂν λάβητε, κέρδος ἡγεῖσθαι. λέξω δ' ἃ μοι δοκεῖ,
ever — you-receive gain to-consider I-will-say and what to-me seems
καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος ἐπιψηφιεῖ ἃ ἂν δοκιμάσῃ."
and the senate will-ratify what — it-approves
"δίδομεν ὑμῖν καὶ ἔτι τὴν εἰρήνην, ὦ Καρχηδόνιοι, ἢν 54
we-give you also still the peace O Carthaginians if
τάς τε ναῦς τὰς μακρὰς παραδιδῶτε Ῥωμαίοις χωρὶς
the both ships the long you-hand-over to-Romans except
δέκα μόνων, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ὅσους ἔχετε, καὶ ὅσα
ten only and the elephants as-many-as you-have and what
ἡρπάσατε πρῴην, ἢ τῶν ἀπολωλότων τιμήν, ἐμοῦ τὰ
you-plundered lately or of-the lost value I the
ἀμφίβολα κρίνοντος, καὶ αἰχμάλωτα πάντα καὶ αὐτομόλους,
doubtful-cases judging and captives all and deserters
καὶ ὅσους Ἀννίβας ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἤγαγεν. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν
and as-many-as Hannibal from Italy led these-things indeed in
τριάκοντα ἡμέραις ἀφ' οὗ ἂν ἡ εἰρήνη κριθῇ· ἐν δ'
thirty days from when — the peace be-decided in and
ἑξήκοντα ἡμέραις Μάγωνα χρὴ Λιγύων ἀποστῆναι,
sixty days Mago it-is-needful from-Ligurians to-withdraw
καὶ τὰς φρουρὰς ὑμᾶς ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ὅσαι
and the garrisons you to-lead-out from the cities as-many-as
τῶν Φοινικίδων τάφρων ἐκτός εἰσι, καὶ ὅσα αὐτῶν ἔχετε
the Phoenician ditches outside are and what of-them you-have
ὅμηρα, ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην ἑκάστου ἔτους ἀναφέρειν
hostages to-give-back and to Rome each year to-bring
Εὐβοϊκὰ τάλαντα διακόσια ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἐνιαυτούς. καὶ
Euboic talents two-hundred for fifty years and
μήτε ξενολογεῖν ἀπὸ Κελτῶν ἢ Λιγύων ἔτι, μήτε
neither to-hire-mercenaries from Celts or Ligurians any-longer nor

Μασσανάσσῃ μηδὲ ἄλλῳ Ῥωμαίων φίλῳ πολεμεῖν, μηδὲ
Masinissa nor other of-Romans friend to-war-on nor
στρατεύειν τινὰ Καρχηδονίων ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνους ἀπό γε τοῦ
to-march anyone of-Carthaginians against them from at-least the
κοινοῦ. τὴν δὲ πόλιν ὑμᾶς ἔχειν, καὶ τὴν χώραν ὅσην
state the and city you to-have and the land as-much-as
ἐντὸς τῶν Φοινικίδων τάφρων εἴχετε ἐμοῦ διαπλέοντος ἐς
within the Phoenician ditches you-had I sailing-across to
Λιβύην. Ῥωμαίων τε εἶναι φίλους καὶ συμμάχους κατὰ γῆν
Libya of-Romans both to-be friends and allies by land
καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, ἢν ἀρέσκῃ ταῦτα τῇ βουλῇ. ἀρεσάντων
and by sea if please these-things the senate having-pleased
δέ, Ῥωμαίους ἀναχωρεῖν ἐκ Λιβύης πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν
and Romans to-withdraw from Libya in-fifty and hundred
ἡμέραις. ἀνοχὰς δὲ ἢν ἐθέλητε λαβεῖν ἔστε πρεσβεύσητε
days truce and if you-wish to-obtain until you-send-envoys
ἐς Ῥώμην, δώσετε μὲν ἡμῖν αὐτίκα ὅμηρα πεντήκοντα
to Rome you-will-give indeed us at-once hostages fifty
καὶ ἑκατὸν παῖδας, οὓς ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιλέξωμαι, δώσετε δὲ
and hundred boys whom — myself I-may-choose you-will-give and
ἐς δαπάνην τῇ στρατιᾷ ἄλλα τάλαντα χίλια καὶ ἀγοράν.
for expense to-the army other talents thousand and provisions
καὶ γενομένων τῶν σπονδῶν ἀπολήψεσθε τὰ ὅμηρα."
and having-been-made the treaty you-will-receive-back the hostages

At Carthage the nobles want the terms, but the market crowd refuses them and reviles even Hannibal when he urges acceptance, until a storm wrecks the fleet sent for grain and the city treats with Scipio. Scipio, said to fear that the consul Lentulus will take his command, warns the senate he will make the treaty himself if it delays. One of his friends urges mercy: Rome's good name, the gods' retribution, the Samnites and Bruttians spared, and Carthage's remaining strength. Publius Cornelius, Lentulus' kinsman, cites Saguntum, Nuceria, Acerrae, and Regulus and demands surrender at discretion. The senate takes Scipio's view; Appian reports the belief, later voiced by Cato, that Scipio meant to leave Rome a rival to keep it disciplined. Scipio returns in triumph, and Appian describes the procession.

ταῦτα τοῦ Σκιπίωνος εἰπόντος οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις ἔφερον 55
these-things — Scipio having-said the indeed envoys carried
ἐς Καρχηδόνα τοὺς λόγους, συνιόντος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους ἐς
to Carthage the words coming-together and the multitude into
ἐκκλησίαν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας, τοῖς μὲν ἀρίστοις ἐδόκει
assembly for many days to-the indeed best it-seemed
τὰ προτεινόμενα δέξασθαι καὶ μὴ περί τινων ἀπειθοῦντας
the proposals to-accept and not about some-things disobeying
κινδυνεύειν περὶ ἁπάντων, τὸ δ' ἀγοραῖον πλῆθος οὐ τὸ
to-risk about everything the but market multitude not the
παρὸν δεινὸν ἐκλογιζόμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν ὧν
present danger reckoning rather than the taking-away of-what
ἔχουσι, τοσήνδε οὖσαν, ἠπείθουν, καὶ ἠγανάκτουν εἰ ἐν
they-have such being disobeyed and were-indignant if in
λιμῷ τὸν σῖτον οἱ ἄρχοντες αἱροῦνται Ῥωμαίοις ἀντὶ τῶν
famine the grain the magistrates choose for-Romans instead-of the
πολιτῶν ἐς τὰς ἀνοχὰς παρασχεῖν, ἐφ' ἕκαστόν τε αὐτῶν
citizens for the truce to-provide against each both of-them
συνιστάμενοι πᾶσιν ἠπείλουν τὰς οἰκίας αὐτῶν διαρπάσειν
combining to-all threatened the houses their to-be-going-to-plunder

καὶ καταπρήσειν. τέλος δ' ἔγνωσαν Ἀννίβαν, ἔχοντα
and to-be-going-to-burn at-last and they-decided Hannibal having
μὲν ἤδη πεζοὺς ἑξακισχιλίους ἱππέας δὲ πεντακοσίους,
indeed already infantry six-thousand cavalry and five-hundred
σταθμεύοντα δ' ἐν πόλει Μαρθαμά, σύμβουλον ἐπὶ τοῖς
quartered and in the-city Marthama as-adviser on the
παροῦσι καλεῖν. ὁ δ' ἦκε, καὶ τῶν μετρίων δεδιότων
present-matters to-call he and came and the moderate fearing
μὴ φιλοπόλεμος ἀνὴρ ἐπιτρίψῃ τὸ πλῆθος, πάνυ σεμνῶς
lest a-war-loving man should-ruin the multitude very solemnly
ἐκέλευε τὴν εἰρήνην δέχεσθαι. ὁ δὲ δῆμος καὶ τόνδε ὑπ'
ordered the peace to-accept the and people also him from
ὀργῆς μανιώδους ἐβλασφήμει καὶ πᾶσιν ἠπείλει, μέχρι τῶν
rage frenzied reviled and all threatened until of-the
γνωρίμων τοὺς μὲν ἐς Μασσανάσσην καταφυγεῖν, τοὺς δὲ
notables some indeed to Masinissa to-flee others and
ἐς αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίους αὐτομολῆσαι, τῆς πόλεως ἀπογνόντας.
to themselves Romans to-desert of-the city having-despaired
56 οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι πυθόμενοι σῖτον πολὺν ἐς ἐμπόριόν τι
the and Carthaginians having-learned grain much into a-trading-place some
ὑπὸ Ἀννίβου σεσωρεῦσθαι, ὁλκάδας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξέπεμπον
by Hannibal to-have-been-heaped-up merchant-ships for it sent-out
καὶ ναῦς μακράς, ἐγνωκότες, εἰ τὸν σῖτον λάβοιεν,
and ships long having-decided if the grain they-got
ἐκστρατεῦσαι καὶ ὑπομεῖναι πᾶν ὅ τι ἂν ἡ τύχη κρίνῃ,
to-march-out and to-endure all what ever — the fortune should-decide
μᾶλλον ἢ Ῥωμαίοις δουλεύειν ἑκόντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄνεμός
rather than to-Romans to-be-slaves willing when and wind
τε καὶ χειμὼν τὰς ναῦς συνέτριψαν, ἀπογνόντες ἁπάντων
both and storm the ships shattered having-despaired-of everything
ἐμέμφοντο τοῖς θεοῖς ὡς ἐπιβουλεύουσι, καὶ συνετίθεντο
blamed the gods as plotting and came-to-terms

τῷ Σκιπίωνι, καὶ ἐπρεσβεύοντο ἐς Ῥώμην. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων
— with-Scipio and sent-envoys to Rome and — Scipio
ἔπεμπε τοὺς συμβουλεύσοντας κυροῦν τὰ συγκείμενα.
sent the(-men) going-to-advise to-confirm the agreed-terms
λέγεται δὲ τοῦτο ἐσηγήσασθαι τῇ τε πόλει συμφέρειν
it-is-said and this to-have-proposed for-the both city to-be-advantageous
ὑπολαβών, καὶ πυθόμενος Γναῖον Κορνήλιον Λέντλον τὸν
supposing and having-learned Gnaeus Cornelius Lentulus the
ὕπατον ἐφεδρεύειν αὐτοῦ τῇ στρατηγίᾳ, τὴν δόξαν οὐκ
consul to-lie-in-wait-for his the command the glory not
ἐθέλων ἑτέρου γενέσθαι. προσέταξε γοῦν λέγειν ἀπιοῦσιν
wishing of-another to-become he-ordered at-any-rate to-say to-those-departing
ὅτι βραδυνόντων Ῥωμαίων αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ συνθήσεται.
that delaying Romans himself by himself will-make-the-treaty
οἱ δὲ πάνυ μὲν ἥδοντο κεκρατηκότες πόλεως τοσαύτης, 57
they and very indeed were-pleased having-conquered a-city so-great
ἣ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πρότερον αὐτοὺς ἐδεδράκει, καὶ
which many and terrible-things before them had-done and
τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς δευτέραν ἢ τρίτην εἶχεν ἡγεμονίαν·
of-the(-men) on the earth second or third had leadership
οἱ σύμβουλοι δ' ἐστασίαζον, οἱ μὲν ἔτι σὺν ὀργῇ
the advisers and quarreled some indeed still with anger
χαλεπαίνοντες τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις, οἱ δὲ ἐλεοῦντες αὐτοὺς
being-harsh to-the Carthaginians others and pitying them
ἤδη, καὶ ἀξιοῦντες ἐν ταῖς ἀλλοτρίαις συμφοραῖς τὸ
already and claiming in the of-others misfortunes the
σφέτερον εὐπρεπῶς διατίθεσθαι. ὑπαναστὰς δέ τις
own-interest becomingly to-arrange having-stood-up and someone
τῶν Σκιπίωνος φίλων εἶπεν· "οὐ περὶ τῆς Καρχηδονίων
of-the of-Scipio friends said not about the of-Carthaginians
σωτηρίας ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἡ φροντίς, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀλλὰ περὶ
safety is for-us the concern O men but about

τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἔς τε θεοὺς πίστεως καὶ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν
the of-Romans toward both gods good-faith and among men
εὐφημίας, μὴ Καρχηδονίων αὐτῶν ὠμότερα πράξωμεν, οἳ
good-repute lest than-Carthaginians themselves crueler-things we-do who
Καρχηδονίοις ὠμότητα ἐπικαλοῦμεν, καὶ μετριοπαθείας ἀεὶ
on-Carthaginians cruelty charge and moderation always
φροντίσαντες ἐπὶ τῶν βραχυτέρων, ἀμελήσωμεν ἐν τοῖς
having-cared-for in the lesser-things we-neglect(-it) in the
μείζοσιν· ἃ μηδὲ λαθεῖν ἔνεστι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος,
greater which not-even to-escape-notice is-possible because-of the greatness
ἀλλ' ἐς ἅπασαν γῆν περιελεύσεται καὶ νῦν καὶ ὕστερον,
but into all earth will-go-round both now and later
ἢν πόλιν περιώνυμον καὶ θαλασσοκράτορα ἀνέλωμεν, ἣ
if a-city famous and sea-ruling we-destroy which
καὶ νήσων ἦρξε πολλῶν καὶ θαλάσσης ὅλης καὶ Λιβύης
also islands ruled many and sea whole and Libya
ὑπὲρ ἥμισυ, ἔν τε τοῖς πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀγῶσι πολλὰ
over half in both the against us ourselves contests many
καὶ τύχης καὶ δυνάμεως ἔργα ἐπεδείξατο, οἷς ἔτι μὲν
and of-fortune and of-power deeds displayed with-whom still indeed
φιλονεικοῦσιν ἐρίζειν ἔδει, πεσόντων δὲ φείδεσθαι,
being-contentious to-strive it-was-needful having-fallen and to-spare
καθὰ καὶ τῶν ἀθλητῶν οὐδεὶς τὸν πεσόντα ἔτι τύπτει,
as also of-the athletes no-one the fallen any-longer strikes
καὶ τῶν θηρίων τὰ πολλὰ φείδεται τῶν καταπεσόντων.
and of-the beasts the most spare the(-ones) fallen-down
καλὸν δ' ἐν τοῖς εὐτυχήμασι νέμεσιν θεῶν φυλάσσεσθαι καὶ
fine and in the successes retribution of-gods to-guard-against and
ἀνθρώπων φθόνον. εἰ δέ τις, ὅσα ἔδρασαν ἡμᾶς, ἀκριβῶς
of-men envy if and anyone what they-did us exactly
ἐκλογίζεται, αὐτὸ μάλιστά ἐστι τοῦτο τῆς τύχης τὸ
reckons itself most is this of-the fortune the

φοβερώτατον, εἰ περὶ μόνης ἄρτι σωτηρίας παρακαλοῦσιν
most-fearful if about only lately safety entreat
οἱ πόσα καὶ πηλίκα δεδυνημένοι δρᾶσαι καὶ οὐ
they how-many-things and how-great having-been-able to-do and not
πρὸ πολλοῦ περί τε Σικελίας καὶ Ἰβηρίας καλῶς
before long about both Sicily and Iberia nobly
ἀγωνισάμενοι. ἀλλ᾽ ἐκείνων μὲν δίκας ἔδοσαν, τῶν δὲ
having-contended but for-those indeed penalty they-paid of-the and
τελευταίων παραβάσεων λιμὸν αἰτιῶνται, κακὸν ἀνθρώποις
last transgressions famine they-blame an-evil to-men
ἐπιπονώτατον, ὃ πάντας ἐξαιρεῖν δύναται λογισμούς.”
most-painful which all to-take-away can reasonings
“ἐγὼ δ᾽ οὐκ ἐρῶ μὲν οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ Καρχηδονίων (οὐ γὰρ 58
I and not will-say indeed anything on-behalf-of Carthaginians not for
ἄξιον), οὐδ᾽ ἀγνοῶ καὶ πρότερον αὐτοὺς ἄλλας συνθήκας
worthy nor am-I-ignorant also before them other treaties
πρὸ τῶνδε παραβῆναι· ἃ δ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ποιοῦντες
before these to-have-transgressed what but in the such-cases doing
οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐς τόδε τύχης προῆλθον, εἰδότας ὑμᾶς
the fathers our to this fortune advanced knowing you
ἀναμνήσω. τῶν γὰρ γειτόνων ἡμῖν τῶνδε πάντων ἐν κύκλῳ
I-will-remind of-the for neighbors to-us these all in a-circle
πολλάκις ἀποστάντων καὶ σπονδὰς συνεχῶς λυσάντων οὐ
often having-revolted and treaties continually having-broken not
κατεφρόνησαν, οὐ Λατίνων, οὐ Τυρρηνῶν, οὐ Σαβίνων.
they-despised not of-Latins not of-Etruscans not of-Sabines
τούς τε αὖ μετ᾽ ἐκείνους περιοικοῦντας ἡμῖν Αἰκανοὺς καὶ
the(-men) both again after them dwelling-around us Aequians and
Οὐολούσκους καὶ Καμπανούς, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τῆς Ἰταλίας
Volscians and Campanians and as-many-as others — of-Italy
ἐς σπονδὰς ὕβρισεν, εὐσταθῶς ἔφερον. καὶ τὸ Σαυνιτῶν
against treaties outraged calmly they-bore and the of-Samnites

γένος τρὶς μὲν φιλίας καὶ συνθηκῶν καταφρονῆσαν, ἔτεσι
race thrice indeed friendship and treaties having-despised for-years
δ᾽ ὀγδοήκοντα μεγίστους ἡμῖν πολέμους πεπολεμηκὸς οὐκ
and eighty very-great on-us wars having-waged not
ἀνέστησαν, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ὅσοι Πύρρον προσηγάγοντο
they-uprooted nor the others as-many-as Pyrrhus brought-in
κατὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας. οὐδ᾽ ἡμεῖς, τὰ ἔναγχος ταῦτα, τοὺς
against — Italy nor we the recently these-things the(-men)
Ἰταλῶν Ἀννίβᾳ προσθεμένους διεφθείραμεν, οὐδὲ Βρεττίους,
of-Italians to-Hannibal having-joined destroyed nor Bruttians
οἳ μέχρι τέλους αὐτῷ συνηγωνίσαντο, ἀλλὰ γῇ μόνῃ
who until the-end with-him contended but with-land alone
ζημιώσαντες εἰάσαμεν ἔχειν τὰ ὑπόλοιπα, ὡς εὐσεβὲς ὁμοῦ
having-penalized we-allowed to-have the remaining-things as pious together
καὶ ἐς εὐτυχίαν ἡμῖν χρήσιμον, μὴ ἀφανίζειν ἀνθρώπων
and for good-fortune for-us useful not to-annihilate of-men
γένη μᾶλλον ἢ νουθετεῖν."
races rather than to-admonish

59 "τί οὖν παθόντες ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίων ἀλλάξωμεν τὴν
what then having-suffered in-the-case-of Carthaginians should-we-change the
φύσιν, ᾗ χρώμενοι μέχρι νῦν εὐτυχοῦμεν; ὅτι μείζων
nature which using until now we-prosper that greater
ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις αὕτη; δι᾽ αὐτὸ μέντοι καὶ τοῦτο
is the city this because-of that-very-thing however also this
μᾶλλον ἔτι φειδοῦς ἀξία. ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι πολλάκις παρεσπόνδησεν
more still of-sparing worthy but that often it-broke-faith
ἐς ἡμᾶς; καὶ γὰρ ἕτεροι, καὶ σχεδὸν ἅπαντες. ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι
toward us and for others and nearly all but that
μικρὰν νῦν ὑφίστανται τιμωρίαν; ὧν νῆές τε πᾶσαι χωρὶς
small now they-undergo punishment whose ships both all except
δέκα παραιροῦνται, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, οἷς ἰσχύουσι,
ten are-taken-away and the elephants by-which they-are-strong

παραδιδόασι, καὶ τάλαντα Εὐβοϊκὰ μύρια τελοῦσι, καὶ
they-hand-over and talents Euboic ten-thousand they-pay and
πόλεων ἁπασῶν ἀφίστανται καὶ χώρας ὅσης ἄρχουσιν
from-cities all they-withdraw and from-land as-much-as they-rule
ἐκτὸς τῶν Φοινικίδων τάφρων, καὶ στρατολογεῖν αὐτοῖς
outside the Phoenician ditches and to-levy-troops for-them
ἀπηγόρευται, καὶ ὅσα λιμώττοντες ἥρπασαν ἀποδιδόασιν
is-forbidden and what starving they-plundered they-give-back
ἔτι λιμώττοντες, καὶ τῶν ἀμφιλόγων ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς Σκιπίων
still starving and of-the disputed-matters is for-them Scipio
ὁ πολεμήσας κριτής. ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶνδε
the having-warred judge I indeed both for-the greatness of-these
καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἐπαινῶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα, καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀξιῶ
and for-the number praise — Scipio and you ask
φείσασθαι διὰ τὸν φθόνον καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρωπείων
to-spare because-of the envy and the of-the human-affairs
μεταβολήν, οἷς εἰσὶν ἔτι νῆες, πρὶν συνθώμεθα, πολλαὶ
change for-whom are still ships before we-agree many
καὶ πλῆθος ἐλεφάντων, καὶ Ἀννίβας στρατηγικώτατος ἀνὴρ
and a-multitude of-elephants and Hannibal most-skilled-in-command man
ἤδη στρατιὰν ἔχει, καὶ Μάγων ἐκ Κελτῶν καὶ Λιγύων
already an-army has and Mago from Celts and Ligurians
ἑτέρους ἄγει πολλούς, καὶ Οὐερμινᾶς ὁ Σύφακος αὐτοῖς
others leads many and Vermina the son-of-Syphax with-them
συμμαχεῖ καὶ ἄλλα Νομάδων ἔθνη, δούλους τε ἔχουσι
allies and other of-Numidians peoples slaves both they-have
πολλούς. καὶ ἢν ἀπογνῶσι τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν, ἀφειδῶς ἅπασι
many and if they-despair-of the-things from us unsparingly all
χρήσονται. χαλεπώτερον δ' οὐδὲν ἀφειδίας ἐν μάχαις,
they-will-use harsher and nothing than-recklessness in battles
ἐν αἷς καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀνώμαλον καὶ ἐπίφθονόν ἐστιν."
in which also the divinity uneven and envious is

60 “ἃ καὶ Σκιπίων ἔοικεν ὑφορώμενος ἐπιστεῖλαι μὲν ἡμῖν
which also Scipio seems suspecting to-have-sent indeed to-us
τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην, ἐπειπεῖν δ’ ὅτι καὶ βραδυνόντων
the his-own opinion to-have-added and that also delaying
συνθήσεται. εἰκὸς δ’ ἐκεῖνον καὶ τάδε ἄμεινον ἡμῶν
he-will-make-the-treaty likely and him also these-things better than-us
ἐκλογίζεσθαι καὶ πλέον τι συνορᾶν, ὄντα ἐπὶ τῶν
to-reckon and more something to-perceive being on the
ἔργων. λυπήσομέν τε, ἀκυροῦντες αὐτοῦ τὴν παραίνεσιν,
deeds we-shall-grieve both annulling his the advice
ἄνδρα φιλόπολιν καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐξαίρετον, ὃς οὐδ’ ἐς
a-man patriotic and general exceptional who not-even to
Λιβύην ἡμᾶς ὁρμωμένους παρώξυνέ τε, καὶ στρατιὰν οὐ
Libya us setting-out urged-on both and an-army not
λαβὼν αὑτῷ συνεστήσατο, καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ προήγαγεν
having-received for-himself assembled and the-things there advanced
ἡμῖν ἐς ὅσον οὐκ ἠλπίζομεν. ὃ καὶ θαυμάζειν ἄξιον,
for-us to as-much-as not we-hoped which also to-wonder worthy
ὅτι ῥᾳθύμως ἔχοντες ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου νῦν
that indifferently being at beginning of-this the war now
ἔχετε φιλονείκως καὶ ἀμέτρως. εἰ δέ τις ταῦτα μὲν
you-are contentiously and immoderately if and anyone these-things indeed
ἡγεῖται καλῶς ἔχειν, δέδιε δὲ μὴ καὶ νῦν τὰς σπονδὰς
thinks well to-be fears and lest also now the treaty
παραβῶσιν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, μάλιστα μὲν εἰκὸς αὐτοὺς ἤδη
should-transgress the Carthaginians most indeed likely them already
σπονδῶν φυλακῆς αἰσθάνεσθαι, πολλὰ ἐκ τῶν παραβάσεων
of-treaties of-keeping to-perceive much from the transgressions
παθόντας, καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἐς τὸ μέλλον ποιήσεσθαι
having-suffered and the piety for the future to-be-going-to-make
περὶ πολλοῦ, ἐξ ἀσεβείας ἐς γόνυ πεσόντας· οὐκ ἔστι
of much from impiety to knee having-fallen not it-is

δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν συμβούλων ἄρτι μὲν καταφρονεῖν τῶν
and of-the same advisers lately indeed to-despise the
Καρχηδονίων ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι ἰσχυόντων, δεδιέναι δ' αὖθις
Carthaginians as nothing any-longer being-strong to-fear and again
ὡς ἀποστῆναι δυναμένους. ἡμῖν δὲ τὸ φυλάσσειν αὐτοὺς
as to-revolt being-able for-us and the to-watch them
ἐς τὸ μὴ πάλιν αὔξεσθαι τοῦ νῦν ἀνελεῖν εὐχερέστερόν
for the not again to-grow than-the now to-destroy easier
ἐστι· νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀπογνώσεως μαχοῦνται, ὕστερον
is now indeed for from desperation they-will-fight later
δ' ἀεὶ δεδιότας τηρήσομεν. ἅλις δὲ κακῶν ἔξουσι
and always fearing we-shall-watch enough and of-evils they-will-have
καὶ χωρὶς ἡμῶν, οἷς οἵ τε περίοικοι πάντες ἐπικείσονται
even without us whom the both neighbors all will-press
δυσμεναίνοντες τῆς ποτὲ βίας, καὶ Μασσανάσσης, ἀνὴρ
hostile for-the once violence and Masinissa a-man
πιστότατος ἡμῖν, ἐφεδρεύσει παρὼν ἀεί."
most-faithful to-us will-lie-in-wait-for being-present always
"εἰ δ' ἄρα τις καὶ τῶνδε πάντων καταφρονεῖ, ὅπως δ' 61
if and then anyone also of-these all is-contemptuous how and
αὐτὸς ἐκδέξεται τὴν Σκιπίωνος ἀρχήν, τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μόνον
himself will-succeed-to the of-Scipio command the his-own only
σκοπεῖ, καὶ πιστεύει καὶ τὰ τῆς τύχης αὐτῷ ἐς τέλος
regards and trusts also the of-the fortune for-him to the-end
ἀπαντήσειν, τί καὶ χρησόμεθα τῇ πόλει λαβόντες
to-be-going-to-turn-out what also shall-we-do with-the city having-taken
αὐτήν, ἢν καὶ λάβωμεν; ἀνελοῦμεν ἄρδην, ὅτι σῖτον
it if even we-take-it shall-we-destroy-it utterly because grain
ἡμῶν καὶ ναῦς ἥρπασαν; ἃ μετὰ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἀξιοῦσιν
our and ships they-plundered which with many others they-offer
ἀποδοῦναι. ἢ τοῦτο μὲν οὐ πράξομεν, νέμεσίν τε θεῶν
to-give-back or this indeed not we-shall-do retribution both of-gods

φυλασσόμενοι καὶ ψόγον ἀνθρώπων, Μασσανάσσῃ δ' ἔχειν
guarding-against and censure of-men to-Masinissa and to-hold
δώσομεν; ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ φίλος ἐστίν, οὐ χρὴ στερροποιεῖν
shall-we-give-it but if even friend he-is not it-is-needful to-make-strong
οὐδ' ἐκεῖνον ἀμέτρως, ἡγεῖσθαι δὲ τὴν ἔριν αὐτῶν τὴν
even him immoderately to-think and the strife their the
ἐς ἀλλήλους τῷ Ῥωμαίων κοινῷ συμφέρειν. ἀλλ'
toward each-other to-the of-Romans commonwealth to-be-advantageous but
ἐς προσόδους τὴν χώραν ἀνήσομεν; ἀλλ' ἡ φυλάξουσα
for revenues the country shall-we-let-out but the going-to-guard(-it)
στρατιὰ τὴν πρόσοδον ἀναλώσει· πολλῆς γάρ, ὡς ἐν
army the revenue will-spend much for as among
πολλοῖς περιοίκοις καὶ πᾶσι βαρβάροις, δεησόμεθα. ἀλλ'
many neighbors and all barbarians we-shall-need but
ἀποίκους πέμψομεν ἐς μέσους τοσούσδε Νομάδας; οἳ τῶν
colonists shall-we-send into the-midst-of so-many Numidians who the
μὲν βαρβάρων ἰσχυόντων ἀεὶ δεινὰ πείσονται, ἢν δ'
indeed barbarians being-strong always terrible-things will-suffer if but
ἐπικρατήσωσιν αὐτῶν, ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἡμῖν ἔσονται φοβεροὶ καὶ
they-should-prevail over-them for the future to-us they-will-be fearsome and
ἐπίφθονοι, χώραν τοσήνδε καὶ πολὺ κρείττονα τῆς ἡμετέρας
envied land so-great and much better than-the ours
ἔχοντες. ἃ καὶ αὐτά μοι δοκεῖ συνιδὼν ὁ Σκιπίων
having which also these-very-things to-me seems having-perceived — Scipio
κελεύειν ἡμῖν δέχεσθαι τὰς Καρχηδονίων παρακλήσεις.
to-order us to-accept the of-Carthaginians entreaties
πειθώμεθα οὖν καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις καὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ."
let-us-obey then both to-the(-men) begging and the general
62 ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπε, Πόπλιος δὲ Κορνήλιος, Κορνηλίου
he indeed thus spoke Publius and Cornelius of-Cornelius
Λέντλου συγγενὴς τοῦ τότε ὄντος ὑπάτου καὶ τὸν
Lentulus kinsman of-the then being consul and —

Σκιπίωνα διαδέξεσθαι προσδοκῶντος, ἀντέλεγεν οὕτως·
Scipio to-be-going-to-succeed expecting spoke-against thus
"τὸ μὲν συμφέρον ἐστὶ μόνον ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις, ὦ ἄνδρες,
the indeed advantageous is alone in the wars O men
χρήσιμον· καὶ ὅσῳ δυνατὴν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀποφαίνουσιν
useful and as-much-as powerful still also now show
οὗτοι τὴν πόλιν, φυλάξασθαι χρὴ τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτῆς
these the city to-guard-against it-is-needful the faithlessness its
μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν προανελεῖν, ἐπεὶ μὴ τὴν
with the power and the strength to-destroy-first since not the
ἀπιστίαν δυνάμεθα. οὐδεὶς δ' ἡμῖν καιρὸς ἐς τὸ λῦσαι
faithlessness we-can no and for-us occasion for the to-dissolve
τὸν ἀπὸ Καρχηδονίων φόβον ἐπιτηδειότερός ἐστι τοῦ
the from Carthaginians fear more-suitable is than-the
παρόντος, ἐν ᾧ πάντων εἰσὶν ἀσθενεῖς καὶ ἄποροι, πρὶν
present in which in-everything they-are weak and resourceless before
αὖθις αὐτῶν ἐς ἑκάτερον αὐξηθῆναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸν τοῦ
again them for each-of-the-two to-grow not however also the of-the
δικαίου λογισμὸν ἂν περιφύγοιμι, οὐδ' ἀμετρίας μοι δοκῶ
just reasoning — I-would-avoid nor of-immoderation to-me I-seem
δόξαν οἴσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίοις, οἳ παρὰ
a-reputation to-be-going-to-bear the city for Carthaginians who in
μὲν τὰς εὐπραξίας ἀδικοῦσι καὶ ἐνυβρίζουσιν ἐς ἅπαντας,
indeed the successes do-wrong and outrage toward all
ἐν δὲ ταῖς συμφοραῖς παρακαλοῦσιν, ἂν δὲ τύχωσιν, εὐθὺς
in and the misfortunes entreat if and they-obtain-it at-once
ἐπὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις μετατίθενται. καὶ οὔτε σπονδῶν ἐστὶν
on the treaties change-sides and neither of-treaties is
αὐτοῖς αἰδὼς οὔτε λόγος ὅρκων· οὓς οὗτος ἀξιοῖ περισώζειν
to-them respect nor account of-oaths whom this-man claims to-save
διὰ νέμεσιν θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων φθόνον. ἐγὼ δ' αὐτοὺς

ἡγοῦμαι τοὺς θεοὺς ἐς τόδε τὴν Καρχηδόνα περιενεγκεῖν,
think the gods to this — Carthage to-have-brought-round
ἵνα δῶσί ποτε δίκην τῆς ἀσεβείας οἳ καὶ περὶ Σικελίαν
that they-may-pay at-last penalty for-the impiety who also about Sicily
καὶ Ἰβηρίαν καὶ Ἰταλίαν καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Λιβύῃ, καὶ πρὸς
and Iberia and Italy and in itself — Libya both toward
ἡμᾶς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας, ἀεὶ συνετίθεντο καὶ
us and toward the others all always made-treaties and
παρώρκουν καὶ δεινὰ καὶ σχέτλια ἔδρων. ὧν τὰ
broke-oaths and terrible-things and wretched-things did of-which the
ἀλλότρια ὑμῖν πρὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων διέξειμι, ἵνα εἰδῆτε
of-others for-you before the ours I-will-go-through that you-may-know
πάντας ἐφησθησομένους Καρχηδονίοις, εἰ δίκην δοῖεν."
all going-to-rejoice over-Carthaginians if penalty they-should-pay

63 "οὗτοι Ζακανθαίους, πόλιν Ἰβηρίας ἐπιφανῆ, σφίσι τε
these Saguntines city of-Iberia notable with-them both
αὐτοῖς ἔνσπονδον καὶ φίλην ἡμῖν, ἡβηδὸν ἔκτειναν οὐδὲν
themselves in-treaty and friendly to-us all-of-age killed in-nothing
ἀδικοῦντας. οὗτοι Νουκερίαν ὑπήκοον ἡμῶν ἐπὶ συνθήκῃ
doing-wrong these Nuceria subject ours on agreement
λαβόντες, καὶ ὀμόσαντες σὺν δύο ἱματίοις ἕκαστον
having-taken and having-sworn with two cloaks each
ἀπολύσειν, τὴν μὲν βουλὴν αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ βαλανεῖα
to-be-going-to-release the indeed council their into the baths
συνέκλεισαν καὶ ὑποκαίοντες τὰ βαλανεῖα ἀπέπνιξαν,
shut-up and heating the baths suffocated
τὸν δὲ δῆμον ἀπιόντα κατηκόντισαν. Ἀχερρανῶν δὲ τὴν
the and people departing shot-down of-Acerrans and the
βουλὴν ἐν σπονδαῖς ἐς τὰ φρέατα ἐνέβαλον, καὶ τὰ
council in treaty into the wells threw and the
φρέατα ἐπέχωσαν. Μᾶρκόν τε Κορνήλιον ὕπατον ἡμέτερον
wells filled-up Marcus both Cornelius consul ours

ὅρκοις ἀπατήσαντες ἤγαγον μὲν ὡς ἐπισκεψόμενον αὐτῶν
by-oaths having-deceived led indeed as going-to-visit their
τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀρρωστοῦντα, συναρπάσαντες δὲ ἀπήγαγον
the general being-ill having-seized but carried-off
ἐς Λιβύην ἐκ Σικελίας αἰχμάλωτον μετὰ δύο καὶ εἴκοσι
to Libya from Sicily captive with two and twenty
νεῶν. ἔκτειναν δὲ καὶ Ῥῆγλον αἰκισάμενοι, στρατηγὸν
ships they-killed and also Regulus having-tortured general
ἕτερον ἡμῶν, ὑπ' εὐορκίας ἐπανελθόντα πρὸς αὐτούς.
another ours from oath-keeping having-returned to them
ὅσα δ' Ἀννίβας ἢ πολεμῶν ἢ ἐνεδρεύων ἢ παρορκῶν
what and Hannibal either warring or ambushing or forswearing
ἔς τε πόλεις καὶ στρατόπεδα ἡμῶν καὶ λήγων ἐς
against both cities and camps our and ending against
τοὺς συμμάχους ἔδρασε τοὺς αὑτοῦ, τάς τε πόλεις
the allies did the his-own the both cities
πορθῶν καὶ τοὺς αὐτῷ συστρατευσαμένους κατακαίνων,
ravaging and the(-men) with-him having-campaigned killing
μακρὸν ἂν εἴη καταλέγειν. πλὴν ὅτι τετρακόσια ἡμῶν
long — it-would-be to-enumerate except that four-hundred our
ἀνέστησεν ἄστη. τοὺς δ' αἰχμαλώτους ἡμῶν τοὺς μὲν ἐς
he-uprooted towns the and captives our some indeed into
τάφρους καὶ ποταμοὺς ἐμβαλόντες ὡς γεφύραις ἐπέβαινον,
ditches and rivers having-thrown as on-bridges they-walked-over
τοὺς δὲ τοῖς ἐλέφασιν ὑπέβαλλον, τοὺς δ' ἀλλήλοις
others and to-the elephants threw-under others and with-each-other
μονομαχεῖν ἐκέλευον, ἀδελφοὺς ἀδελφοῖς συνιστάντες
to-fight-in-single-combat they-ordered brothers against-brothers pitting
καὶ πατέρας υἱοῖς. τὰ δ' ἔναγχος ταῦτα, περὶ
and fathers against-sons the-things and recently these about
εἰρήνης ἐπρέσβευον ἐνταῦθα καὶ παρεκάλουν καὶ ὤμνυον,
peace they-sent-envoys here and entreated and swore

καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ἔτι παρῆσαν, ἐν δὲ Λιβύῃ τὰς ναῦς
and the envoys their still were-present in and Libya the ships
ἡμῶν διήρπαζον καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας κατέδεον. τοσοῦτον
our plundered and the soldiers bound so-much
αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀνοίας διὰ τὴν ὠμότητα περίεστιν.”
in-them also of-folly because-of the cruelty abounds
64 “τούτοις οὖν τίς ἐστιν ἔλεος ἢ μετριοπάθεια παρ’
for-these then what is pity or moderation from
ἑτέρων, τοῖς οὐδὲν μέτριον οὐδ’ ἥμερον ἐς οὐδένας
others for-the(-men) nothing moderate nor gentle toward anyone
εἰργασμένοις; τοῖς, ὥσπερ ἔφη Σκιπίων, εἰ ἐλάβοντο
having-done for-the(-men) as said Scipio if they-had-got
ἡμῶν, οὐδ’ ἂν ὄνομα Ῥωμαίων ὑπολιποῦσιν; ἀλλὰ πίστις
us not-even — a-name of-Romans would-have-left but good-faith
ἐστὶ βέβαιος ἡ δεξιά. ποία; τίς σπονδή, τίς ὅρκος ὃν οὐκ
is firm the right-hand what what treaty what oath which not
ἐπάτησαν; τίς δὲ συνθήκη καὶ χάρις ἐς ἣν οὐχ ὕβρισαν;
they-trampled what and agreement and favor toward which not they-outraged
μὴ μιμησώμεθα, φησίν, αὐτούς. τίνα γὰρ συνθήκην ἡμεῖς
let-us-not imitate he-says them what for agreement we
λύομεν οἱ μήπω τι συνθέμενοι; ἀλλὰ τὴν ὠμότητα,
break who not-yet anything having-agreed but the cruelty
φησίν, αὐτῶν μὴ μιμησώμεθα. φίλους οὖν καὶ συμμάχους
he-says their let-us-not imitate friends then and allies
ποιησόμεθα τοὺς ὠμοτάτους; οὐδέτερα τούτων ἄξια. ἀλλ’
shall-we-make the most-cruel neither of-these worthy but
ἐπιτρεψάτωσαν ἡμῖν αὑτοὺς νόμῳ νενικημένων, ὡς πολλοὶ
let-them-surrender to-us themselves by-the-law of-the-vanquished as many
σφᾶς ἐπέτρεψαν, σκεψόμεθα δ’ ἡμεῖς. καὶ ὅ τι ἂν
themselves surrendered we-shall-consider and we also what ever —
δῶμεν, εἴσονται χάριν, οὐχὶ συνθήκην νομίζοντες εἶναι.
we-may-give they-will-know as-a-favor not agreement thinking to-be

διαφέρει δὲ τούτοιν ἑκάτερον ὧδε. μέχρι μὲν συντίθενται,
differs and of-these-two each thus as-long-as indeed they-make-treaties
παραβήσονται καθάπερ καὶ πάλαι, πρόφασιν ἀεί τινα
they-will-transgress as also long-ago a-pretext always some
τῶν συνθηκῶν φέροντες ὡς ἐν αὐταῖς ἡλαττωμένοι· τὰ δ'
of-the treaties bringing as in them having-been-worsted the and
ἀμφίλογα εὐπροφάσιστα. ὅταν δὲ παραδῶσιν αὑτούς, καὶ
disputable-matters easy-to-make-pretexts-of when but they-surrender themselves and
τὰ ὅπλα παρελώμεθα, καὶ τὰ σώματα ἐφ' ἡμῖν γένηται, καὶ
the arms we-take-away and the bodies in our-power become and
πεισθῶσιν ὅτι μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ἴδιον, τὰ μὲν φρονήματα
they-are-persuaded that nothing for-them is own the indeed spirits
αὐτῶν καταβήσεται, ἀγαπήσουσι δ' ὅ τι ἂν παρ'
their will-come-down they-will-be-content and with-what ever — from
ἡμῶν λάβωσιν ὡς ἀλλότριον. εἰ μὲν οὖν Σκιπίων ἑτέρως
us they-receive as another's if indeed then Scipio otherwise
δοκεῖ, τὰς γνώμας ἔχετε συγκρίνειν· εἰ δὲ συνθήσεται
thinks the opinions you-may compare if and he-will-make-the-treaty
Καρχηδονίοις χωρὶς ὑμῶν, τί καὶ ἐπέστελλεν ὑμῖν; ἐγὼ
with-Carthaginians without you why also did-he-send-word to-you I
μὲν γάρ, ὡς ὑμῖν κυρίοις οὖσι περὶ τῶνδε κρῖναι, τὴν
indeed for as to-you masters being about these-things to-decide the
γνώμην εἶπον, ἣν νομίζω συνοίσειν τῇ πόλει."
opinion spoke which I-think to-be-going-to-be-advantageous to-the city
τοιαῦτα μὲν καὶ ὁ Πόπλιος εἶπεν· ἡ δὲ βουλὴ κατ' ἄνδρα 65
such-things indeed also — Publius said the and senate by man
παρ' ἑκάστου ψῆφον ᾔτει, καὶ ἐς τὴν Σκιπίωνος γνώμην αἱ
from each vote asked and to the of-Scipio opinion the
πλείους συνέδραμον. ἐγίγνοντο οὖν αἱ συνθῆκαι, τρίται αἵδε,
majority ran-together became then the treaty third this
Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις πρὸς ἀλλήλους. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων
for-Romans and Carthaginians toward each-other and — Scipio

ἐς αὐτὰς ἐδόκει μάλιστα τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐναγαγέσθαι,
into it seemed most the Romans to-have-led
εἴτε τῶν εἰρημένων οὕνεκα λογισμῶν, εἴτε ὡς ἀρκοῦν
whether of-the stated for-the-sake-of reasonings or as being-enough
Ῥωμαίοις ἐς εὐτυχίαν τὸ μόνην ἀφελέσθαι Καρχηδονίους
for-Romans for good-fortune the only to-take-away-from Carthaginians
τὴν ἡγεμονίαν· εἰσὶ γὰρ οἳ καὶ τόδε νομίζουσιν, αὐτὸν
the leadership there-are for who also this think him
ἐς Ῥωμαίων σωφρονισμὸν ἐθελῆσαι γείτονα καὶ ἀντίπαλον
for of-Romans discipline to-have-wished a-neighbor and rival
αὐτοῖς φόβον ἐς ἀεὶ καταλιπεῖν, ἵνα μή ποτε ἐξυβρίσειαν
for-them fear for ever to-leave that not ever they-should-run-riot
ἐν μεγέθει τύχης καὶ ἀμεριμνίᾳ. καὶ τόδε οὕτω φρονῆσαι
in greatness of-fortune and freedom-from-care and this thus to-have-thought
τὸν Σκιπίωνα οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἐξεῖπε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις
— Scipio not much later declared to-the Romans
Κάτων, ἐπιπλήττων παρωξυμμένοις κατὰ Ῥόδου. ὁ δὲ
Cato rebuking (them)-having-been-provoked against Rhodes — and
Σκιπίων ταῦτα συνθέμενος ἐκ Λιβύης ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν
Scipio these-things having-agreed from Libya to — Italy
παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ διέπλει, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσήλαυνε
with-all the army sailed and into — Rome rode
θριαμβεύων, ἐπιφανέστατα δὴ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ.
celebrating-a-triumph most-splendidly indeed of-the(-men) before him
66 καὶ ὁ τρόπος, ᾧ καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρώμενοι διατελοῦσιν, ἐστὶ
and the manner which also now still using they-continue is
τοιόσδε. ἐστεφάνωνται μὲν ἅπαντες, ἡγοῦνται δὲ σαλπικταί
such are-crowned indeed all lead and trumpeters
τε καὶ λαφύρων ἅμαξαι, πύργοι τε παραφέρονται μιμήματα
both and of-spoils wagons towers both are-carried-alongside representations
τῶν εἰλημμένων πόλεων, καὶ γραφαὶ καὶ σχήματα τῶν
of-the taken cities and paintings and figures of-the

γεγονότων, εἶτα χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος ἀσήμαντός τε καὶ
events then gold and silver uncoined both and
σεσημασμένος καὶ εἴ τι τοιουτότροπον ἄλλο, καὶ
coined and if anything of-such-kind other and
στέφανοι ὅσοις τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα ἀναδοῦσιν
crowns with-which the general for-valor's sake crown
ἢ πόλεις ἢ σύμμαχοι ἢ τὰ ὑπ᾽ αὐτῷ στρατόπεδα. βόες
either cities or allies or the under him armies oxen
δ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε λευκοί, καὶ ἐλέφαντες ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς βουσί, καὶ
and after these white and elephants were after the oxen and
Καρχηδονίων αὐτῶν καὶ Νομάδων ὅσοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων
of-Carthaginians themselves and Numidians as-many-as of-the leaders
ἐλήφθησαν. αὐτοῦ δ᾽ ἡγοῦνται τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ῥαβδοῦχοι
were-taken himself and precede the general lictors
φοινικοῦς χιτῶνας ἐνδεδυκότες, καὶ χορὸς κιθαριστῶν τε καὶ
purple tunics having-put-on and a-chorus of-lyre-players both and
τιτυριστῶν, ἐς μίμημα Τυρρηνικῆς πομπῆς, περιεζωσμένοι
pipers in imitation of-Etruscan procession girded
τε καὶ στεφάνην χρυσῆν ἐπικείμενοι· ἵσα τε βαίνουσιν
both and a-crown golden wearing in-step both they-walk
ἐν τάξει μετὰ ᾠδῆς καὶ μετ᾽ ὀρχήσεως. Λυδοὺς αὐτοὺς
in order with song and with dancing Lydians them
καλοῦσιν, ὅτι (οἶμαι) Τυρρηνοὶ Λυδῶν ἄποικοι. τούτων
they-call because I-think Etruscans of-Lydians colonists of-these
δέ τις ἐν μέσῳ, πορφύραν ποδήρη περικείμενος καὶ
and someone in the-middle purple reaching-the-feet wearing and
ψέλια καὶ στρεπτὰ ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ, σχηματίζεται ποικίλως
bracelets and necklaces of gold makes-gestures variously
ἐς γέλωτα ὡς ἐπορχούμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐπὶ δ᾽ αὐτῷ
for laughter as dancing-in-mockery-of the enemies after and him
θυμιατηρίων πλῆθος, καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς θυμιάμασιν,
of-censers a-multitude and the general after the incense

ἐφ᾽ ἅρματος καταγεγραμμένου ποικίλως, ἔστεπται μὲν
on a-chariot painted variously is-crowned indeed
ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθων πολυτίμων, ἔσταλται δ᾽ ἐς τὸν
with gold and stones precious is-dressed and in the
πάτριον τρόπον πορφύραν, ἀστέρων χρυσῶν ἐνυφασμένων,
ancestral manner purple with-stars golden woven-in
καὶ σκῆπτρον ἐξ ἐλέφαντος φέρει, καὶ δάφνην, ἣν ἀεὶ
and a-scepter of ivory carries and laurel which always
Ῥωμαῖοι νομίζουσι νίκης σύμβολον. ἐπιβαίνουσι δ᾽ αὐτῷ
Romans consider of-victory symbol mount and with-him
ἐπὶ τὸ ἅρμα παῖδές τε καὶ παρθένοι, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν
onto the chariot boys both and girls and on the
παρηόρων ἑκατέρωθεν ἥθεοι συγγενεῖς. καὶ παρέπονται
trace-horses on-either-side youths relatives and follow
ὅσοι παρὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἦσαν αὐτῷ γραμματεῖς
as-many-as in the war were with-him secretaries
τε καὶ ὑπηρέται καὶ ὑπασπισταί. καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκείνους ἡ
both and attendants and shield-bearers and after them the
στρατιὰ κατά τε ἴλας καὶ τάξεις, ἐστεφανωμένη πᾶσα
army by both squadrons and ranks crowned all
καὶ δαφνηφοροῦσα· οἱ δὲ ἀριστεῖς καὶ τὰ ἀριστεῖα
and bearing-laurel the and best-fighters also the prizes
ἐπίκεινται. καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων οὓς μὲν ἐπαινοῦσιν, οὓς δὲ
wear and of-the commanders some indeed they-praise others and
σκώπτουσιν, οὓς δὲ ψέγουσιν· ἀφελὴς γὰρ ὁ θρίαμβος,
they-mock others and they-blame unaffected for the triumph
καὶ ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ λέγειν ὅ τι θέλοιεν. ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐς
and in license to-say what ever they-wish having-arrived and at
τὸ Καπιτώλιον ὁ Σκιπίων τὴν μὲν πομπὴν κατέπαυσεν,
— Capitol — Scipio the indeed procession ended
εἱστία δὲ τοὺς φίλους, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστίν, ἐς τὸ ἱερόν.
feasted and the friends as custom is in the temple

Carthage grows rich in fifty years' peace as Masinissa takes its land with Roman help. Seeing its wealth, Rome secretly votes war; Cato says ever after that Carthage must not exist, Nasica that fear should keep it. Carthage exiles Masinissa's party and attacks Gulussa. At eighty-eight Masinissa fights Hasdrubal as young Scipio watches, starves him out, and Gulussa kills the army.

καὶ τέλος εἶχε Ῥωμαίοις ὁ δεύτερος πρὸς Καρχηδονίους 67
and end had for-Romans the second against Carthaginians
πόλεμος, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Ἰβηρίας, λήξας δ' ἐν Λιβύῃ
war having-begun from Iberia having-ended and in Libya
ἐς τάσδε τὰς περὶ αὐτῆς Καρχηδόνος σπονδάς. καὶ
in this the about itself Carthage treaty and
ὀλυμπιάδες ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἦσαν ἀμφὶ τὰς ἑκατὸν
olympiads among the Greeks were about the hundred
καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τέσσαρας. Μασσανάσσης δὲ
and forty and four Masinissa and
Καρχηδονίοις τε μηνίων καὶ Ῥωμαίοις θαρρῶν ἐπέβαινε
with-Carthaginians both angry and in-Romans trusting encroached-on
γῇ πολλῇ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ὡς γενομένῃ ποτὲ ἑαυτοῦ. καὶ
land much of-the Carthaginians as having-been once his-own and
οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι Ῥωμαίους παρεκάλουν σφίσι Μασσανάσσην
the Carthaginians Romans entreated for-them Masinissa
συναλλάξαι. οἱ δ' ἔπεμπον διαλλακτάς, οἷς εἴρητο
to-reconcile they and sent mediators to-whom it-had-been-told
συμπράσσειν ὅσα δύναιντο Μασσανάσσῃ. οὕτω μὲν
to-help as-much-as they-could Masinissa thus indeed
τὴν γῆν ἀπετέμετο Καρχηδονίων ὁ Μασσανάσσης, καὶ
the land cut-off of-Carthaginians — Masinissa and
συνθῆκαι Καρχηδονίοις καὶ πρὸς τόνδε ἐγένοντο, αἳ
a-treaty for-Carthaginians also with him was-made which

διέμειναν ἐς ἔτη πεντήκοντα, ἐν οἷς μάλιστα ἡ Καρχηδὼν
lasted for years fifty in which especially — Carthage
εἰρηνεύουσα ὁμαλῶς ἐς μέγα δυνάμεως καὶ εὐανδρίας
being-at-peace evenly to great power and abundance-of-men
ἦλθεν ἔκ τε πεδίων εὐκαρπίας καὶ θαλάσσης εὐκαιρίας.
came from both plains' fruitfulness and sea's convenience
68 καὶ εὐθύς, οἷον ἐν ταῖς εὐτυχίαις γίγνεται, οἱ μὲν
and at-once as in the prosperities happens some indeed
ἐρρωμάιζον, οἱ δὲ ἐδημοκράτιζον, οἷς δ' ἤρεσκε
favored-Rome others and favored-democracy to-others and pleased
Μασσανάσσης. ἡγοῦντο δ' ἑκάστων οἱ καὶ δόξῃ
Masinissa led and each the(-men) both in-reputation
καὶ ἀρετῇ προύχοντες, τῶν μὲν ῥωμαϊζόντων ὁ μέγας
and in-virtue excelling of-the(-men) indeed favoring-Rome the great
Ἄννων, τῶν δ' αἱρουμένων τὰ Μασσανάσσου
Hanno of-the(-men) and choosing the-cause of-Masinissa
Ἀννίβας ὁ ψὰρ ἐπικαλούμενος, τῶν δὲ δημοκρατιζόντων
Hannibal the starling called of-the(-men) and favoring-democracy
Ἀμίλχαρ, ᾧ Σαυνίτης ἐπώνυμον ἦν, καὶ Καρθάλων·
Hamilcar to-whom Samnite a-surname was and Carthalo
οἳ φυλάξαντες Ῥωμαίους τε Κελτίβηρσι πολεμοῦντας καὶ
who having-watched Romans both with-Celtiberians warring and
Μασσανάσσην ἐπικουροῦντα υἱῷ πρὸς ἑτέρων Ἰβήρων
Masinissa helping his-son by other Iberians
συγκεκλεισμένῳ, πείθουσι τὸν Καρθάλωνα βοήθαρχον
shut-in persuade — Carthalo commander-of-auxiliaries
ὄντα, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇδε τῇ ἀρχῇ τὴν χώραν περιιόντα, ἐπιθέσθαι
being and in this the office the country going-round to-attack
τοῖς Μασσανάσσου σκηνουμένοις ἐν ἀμφιλόγῳ γῇ. ὁ δὲ
the of-Masinissa camping in disputed land he and
καὶ ἔκτεινέ τινας αὐτῶν καὶ λείαν περιήλασε, καὶ τοὺς
also killed some of-them and booty drove-off and the

ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς Λίβυας ἐπὶ τοὺς Νομάδας ἤγειρεν. ἄλλα
in the fields Libyans against the Numidians roused other
τε πολλὰ αὐτοῖς ἔργα πολέμων ἐς ἀλλήλους γίγνεται,
both many for-them deeds of-wars against each-other happen
μέχρι Ῥωμαίων ἕτεροι πρέσβεις ἐπῆλθον ἐς διαλύσεις,
until of-Romans other envoys came for settlements
οἷς ὁμοίως εἴρητο Μασσανάσσῃ βοηθεῖν ἀδήλως.
to-whom likewise it-had-been-told Masinissa to-help covertly
καὶ ἐβεβαίωσαν οἵδε τῷ Μασσανάσσῃ ὅσα προειλήφει,
and confirmed these — to-Masinissa what he-had-seized-before
μετὰ τέχνης, ὧδε. εἶπον μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἤκουσαν, ἵνα
with craft thus they-said indeed nothing nor heard that
μή τι ὡς ἐν δίκῃ Μασσανάσσης ἐλαττοῖτο, ἐν μέσῳ
not in-anything as in a-trial Masinissa should-be-worsted in middle
δ' ἀμφοῖν γενόμενοι τὰς χεῖρας διέστησαν· καὶ τοῦτο ἦν
and of-both having-come the hands they-parted and this was
αὐτοῖς κέλευσμα πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἐς διαλύσεις. οὐ πολὺ δ'
their order to both for settlements not much and
ὕστερον ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἠμφισβήτει καὶ τῶν λεγομένων
later — Masinissa disputed also of-the so-called
μεγάλων πεδίων καὶ χώρας πεντήκοντα πόλεων, ἣν
great plains and land of-fifty cities which
Τύσκαν προσαγορεύουσιν. ἐφ' οἷς πάλιν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι
Tusca they-call at which again the Carthaginians
κατέφυγον ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους. οἱ δ' ὑπέσχοντο μὲν αὐτοῖς
fled to Romans they and promised indeed to-them
καὶ τότε πρέσβεις πέμψειν ἐς δίαιταν, διέτριψαν δὲ
also then envoys to-be-going-to-send for arbitration delayed but
ἕως εἴκασαν πολλὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων διεφθάρθαι.
until they-guessed much of-the Carthaginians to-have-been-ruined

69 καὶ τότε πρέσβεις ἔπεμπον ἑτέρους τε καὶ Κάτωνα, οἳ ἐς
and then envoys they-sent others both and Cato who to
τὴν ἀμφίλογον γῆν ἀφικόμενοι ἠξίουν σφίσιν ἀμφοτέρους
the disputed land having-arrived claimed to-them both
περὶ ἁπάντων ἐπιτρέπειν. Μασσανάσσης μὲν οὖν, οἷα
about everything to-submit Masinissa indeed then as
πλεονεκτῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἀεὶ θαρρῶν, ἐπέτρεπεν,
gaining-the-advantage and in-Romans always trusting submitted
οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δ' ὑπώπτευον, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς πρότερον
the Carthaginians but suspected since also the former-ones
ᾔδεσαν οὐκ εὖ δικάσαντας. ἔφασαν οὖν τὰς συνθήκας
they-knew not well having-judged they-said then the treaty
τὰς ἐπὶ Σκιπίωνος οὐδὲν χρῄζειν δικῶν οὐδὲ
the in-the-time-of Scipio in-no-way to-need trials nor
διορθώσεως, ὅσα μὴ ἐξ αὐτῶν παραβαίνεται μόνα.
correction what-things except from it is-transgressed alone
οἱ δ' οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοι περὶ μέρους δικάζειν ἐπανῆεσαν,
they and not having-endured about a-part to-judge returned
καὶ τὴν χώραν περιεσκόπουν, ἀκριβῶς τε εἰργασμένην
and the country surveyed carefully both worked
καὶ κατασκευὰς μεγάλας ἔχουσαν. εἶδον δὲ καὶ τὴν
and works great having saw and also the
πόλιν ἐσελθόντες, ὅση τε τὴν δύναμιν ἦν, καὶ πλῆθος
city having-entered how-great both the power was and number
ὅσον ηὔξητο ἐκ τῆς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ κατὰ Σκιπίωνα
how-much had-grown from the not before long under Scipio
διαφθορᾶς. ἐπανελθόντες τε ἐς Ῥώμην, ἔφραζον οὐ ζήλου
ruin having-returned both to Rome they-declared not of-jealousy
μᾶλλον ἢ φόβου γέμειν αὐτοῖς τὰ Καρχηδονίων,
rather than of-fear to-be-full for-them the-affairs of-Carthaginians
πόλεως δυσμενοῦς τοσῆσδε καὶ γείτονος εὐχερῶς οὕτως
a-city hostile so-great and neighboring easily so

αὐξανομένης. καὶ ὁ Κάτων μάλιστα ἔλεγεν οὔ ποτε
growing and — Cato most said not ever
Ῥωμαίοις βέβαιον οὐδὲ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἔσεσθαι πρὶν
for-Romans secure even the freedom to-be-going-to-be before
ἐξελεῖν Καρχηδόνα. ὧν ἡ βουλὴ πυνθανομένη ἔκρινε
to-destroy Carthage which the senate learning decided
μὲν πολεμεῖν, ἔτι δ' ἔχρῃζε προφάσεων, καὶ τὴν κρίσιν
indeed to-war still but needed pretexts and the decision
ἀπόρρητον εἶχον. Κάτωνα δ' ἐξ ἐκείνου φασὶν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ
secret kept Cato and from that-time they-say in the senate
συνεχεῖ γνώμῃ λέγειν, Καρχηδόνα μὴ εἶναι, Σκιπίωνα
with-constant opinion to-say Carthage not to-be Scipio
δὲ τὸν Νασικᾶν τὰ ἐναντία ἀξιοῦν, Καρχηδόνα ἐᾶν, ἐς
and the Nasica the opposite to-claim Carthage to-let-be for
φόβον ἄρα καὶ τόνδε· Ῥωμαίων ἐκδιαιτωμένων ἤδη.
fear then even this of-Romans departing-from-their-ways already
Καρχηδονίων δ' οἱ δημοκρατίζοντες τοὺς τὰ 70
of-Carthaginians and the(-men) favoring-democracy the(-men) the-cause
Μασσανάσσου φρονοῦντας ἐξέβαλον, ἐς τεσσαράκοντα
of-Masinissa favoring expelled up-to forty
μάλιστα ὄντας, καὶ ψῆφον ἐπήνεγκαν φυγῆς, καὶ τὸν δῆμον
about being and a-vote passed of-exile and the people
ὤρκωσαν μήτε καταδέξεσθαί ποτε μήτε ἀνέξεσθαι
made-swear neither to-be-going-to-receive-back ever nor to-be-going-to-tolerate
τῶν λεγόντων καταδέχεσθαι. οἱ δ' ἐξελαθέντες ἐπὶ
the(-men) proposing to-receive-back they and having-been-expelled to
τὸν Μασσανάσσην κατέφυγον, καὶ ἐξώτρυνον ἐς πόλεμον.
— Masinissa fled and urged-on to war
ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτως ἔχων ἔπεμπε τῶν παίδων ἐς
he and also himself so being-disposed sent of-the sons to
Καρχηδόνα Γολόσσην τε καὶ Μικίψαν, ἀξιῶν καταδέχεσθαι
Carthage Gulussa both and Micipsa claiming to-receive-back

τοὺς δι᾽ αὐτὸν ἐξεληλαμένους. τούτοις προσιοῦσι τὰς
the(-men) because-of him expelled for-these approaching the
πύλας ὁ βοήθαρχος ἀπέκλεισε, δείσας μὴ τὸν δῆμον
gates the commander-of-auxiliaries shut fearing lest the people
οἱ συγγενεῖς τῶν φευγόντων καταδακρύσειαν. Γολόσσῃ
the relatives of-the exiles should-move-by-weeping to-Gulussa
δὲ καὶ ἐπανιόντι Ἀμίλχαρ ὁ Σαυνίτης ἐπέθετο, καί
and also returning Hamilcar the Samnite attacked and
τινας μὲν ἔκτεινεν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐθορύβησεν, ἐφ᾽ οἷς ὁ
some indeed killed him and threw-into-confusion upon which —
Μασσανάσσης προφάσεις τάσδε ποιούμενος ἐπολιόρκει
Masinissa pretexts these making besieged
πόλιν Ὀρόσκοπα. καὶ τῆσδε παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας
a-city Oroscopa also this contrary-to the treaty
ἐφιέμενος. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι πεζοῖς μὲν δισμυρίοις
coveting the and Carthaginians with-infantry indeed twenty-thousand
καὶ πεντακισχιλίοις, ἱππεῦσι δὲ πολιτικοῖς τετρακοσίοις,
and five-thousand with-cavalry and citizen four-hundred
Ἀσδρούβα τοῦ τότε σφῶν βοηθάρχου στρατηγοῦντος,
Hasdrubal the then their commander-of-auxiliaries commanding
ἐπὶ τὸν Μασσανάσσην ἐστράτευον. καὶ πλησιάσασιν αὐτοῖς
against — Masinissa marched and having-approached to-them
Ἄσασίς τε καὶ Σούβας ταξίαρχοι τοῦ Μασσανάσσου,
Asasis both and Subas officers — of-Masinissa
διενεχθέντες τι τοῖς παισὶ Μασσανάσσου, προσέδραμον
having-quarreled somewhat with-the sons of-Masinissa ran-over
ἐς αὐτομολίαν ἱππέας ἄγοντες ἑξακισχιλίους, οἷς ἐπαρθεὶς
to desertion cavalry leading six-thousand by-whom elated
ὁ Ἀσδρούβας μετεστρατοπέδευεν ἐγγυτέρω τοῦ βασιλέως,
— Hasdrubal moved-camp nearer to-the king
καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀκροβολίαις ἐπὶ κρεισσόνων ἦν. ὁ δὲ
and in the skirmishes on the-better-side was — and

Μασσανάσσης ἐνεδρεύων αὐτὸν ὑπεχώρει κατ᾽ ὀλίγον οἷα
Masinissa ambushing him withdrew by little as
φεύγων, ἕως προσήγαγεν ἐς πεδίον μέγα καὶ ἔρημον, οὗ
fleeing until he-brought-him into a-plain great and deserted where
πανταχόθεν ἦσαν λόφοι καὶ ἀπόκρημνα καὶ ἀγορᾶς ἀπορία.
on-all-sides were hills and cliffs and of-provisions want
τότε δ᾽ ἐπιστρέψας ἐστρατοπέδευεν ἐν τοῖς πεδινοῖς· ὁ
then and having-turned encamped in the flat-ground —
δὲ Ἀσδρούβας ἐς τοὺς λόφους ὡς ὀχυρωτέρους ἀνέδραμεν.
and Hasdrubal to the hills as stronger ran-up
καὶ οἱ μὲν τῆς ἐπιούσης ἔμελλον ἐς χεῖρας ἥξειν, 71
and they indeed on-the following were-about to hands to-come
Σκιπίων δ᾽ ὁ νεώτερος, ὁ τὴν Καρχηδόνα ὕστερον
Scipio and the younger the — Carthage later
ἑλών, ὑποστρατευόμενος τότε Λευκόλλῳ Κελτίβηρσι
having-taken serving-under then Lucullus with-Celtiberians
πολεμοῦντι, ἐς τὸν Μασσανάσσην ἀφικνεῖτο πεμφθεὶς
warring to — Masinissa arrived sent
ἐλέφαντας αἰτῆσαι. καὶ αὐτῷ Μασσανάσσης, τοῦ σώματος
elephants to-ask and him Masinissa of-the body
ὡς ἐς μάχην ἐπιμελούμενος, ἱππέας ἀπαντᾶν ἔπεμψε, καὶ
as for battle taking-care cavalry to-meet sent and
τῶν παίδων τισὶν ἐκέλευεν ἐλθόντα ὑποδέξασθαι. αὐτὸς
of-the sons to-some he-ordered him-having-come to-receive himself
δ᾽ ἅμ᾽ ἕῳ τὸν στρατὸν ἐξέτασσεν, ὀγδοήκοντα μὲν
and together-with dawn the army drew-up eighty indeed
καὶ ὀκτὼ γεγονὼς ἔτη, ἱππεύων δ᾽ ἔτι καρτερῶς καὶ
and eight having-become years riding and still strongly and
γυμνὸν τὸν ἵππον ἀναβαίνων, ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶ Νομάσι, καὶ
bare the horse mounting as custom is for-Numidians both
στρατηγῶν καὶ μαχόμενος, εἰσὶ γὰρ Λιβύων οἱ Νομάδες
commanding and fighting are for of-Libyans the Numidians

εὐρωστότατοι, καὶ μακροβίων ὄντων μακροβιώτατοι. αἴτιον
most-robust and long-lived being longest-lived cause
δ' ἴσως ὅ τε χειμὼν οὐ πολὺ κρύος ἔχων, καὶ τὸ θέρος
and perhaps the both winter not much cold having and the summer
οὐ κατακαῖον ὥσπερ Αἰθίοπάς τε καὶ Ἰνδούς. διὸ καὶ
not scorching as Ethiopians both and Indians wherefore also
τῶν θηρίων τὰ δυνατώτατα ἥδε ἡ γῆ φέρει, καὶ οἱ
of-the beasts the most-powerful this the land bears and the
ἄνδρες ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ καὶ πόνοις εἰσὶν ἀεί. ὀλίγος τε ὁ
men in open-air and toils are always little both the
οἶνος αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἡ τροφὴ πᾶσιν ἁπλῆ τε καὶ εὐτελής.
wine for-them and the food for-all simple both and cheap
ὁ μὲν δὴ Μασσανάσσης ἐπιβὰς ἵππου διεκόσμει τὸν
— indeed indeed Masinissa having-mounted a-horse arrayed the
στρατόν, καὶ Ἀσδρούβας ἀντεξῆγε τὸν ἴδιον αὐτῷ, πολὺ
army and Hasdrubal led-out-against the his-own him great
πλῆθος· ἤδη γὰρ καὶ τῷδε πολλοὶ προσεληλύθεσαν ἐκ
multitude already for also to-him many had-come from
τῆς χώρας. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἐθεᾶτο τὴν μάχην ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ
the country — and Scipio watched the battle from high
καθάπερ ἐκ θεάτρου. ἔλεγε τε πολλάκις ὕστερον, ἀγῶσι
as from a-theater said both often later contests
συνενεχθεὶς ποικίλοις, οὔποτε ὧδε ἡσθῆναι· μόνον γὰρ
having-encountered various never so to-have-been-pleased alone for
ἔφη τόνδε τὸν πόνον ἄφροντις ἰδεῖν, μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν
he-said this the toil free-from-care to-see myriads of-men
συνιούσας ἐς μάχην ἕνδεκα. ἔλεγέ τε σεμνύνων δύο πρὸ
coming-together into battle eleven said both magnifying two before
αὐτοῦ τὴν τοιάνδε θέαν ἰδεῖν ἐν τῷ Τρωικῷ πολέμῳ,
himself the such sight to-have-seen in the Trojan war
τὸν Δία ἀπὸ τῆς Ἴδης καὶ τὸν Ποσειδῶνα ἐκ Σαμοθρᾴκης.
— Zeus from the Ida and — Poseidon from Samothrace

γενομένης δὲ τῆς μάχης ἐς νύκτα ἀπ᾽ ἠοῦς, καὶ 72
having-lasted and the battle until night from dawn and
πολλῶν πεσόντων ἑκατέρωθεν, ἔδοξεν ἐπὶ κρεισσόνων ὁ
many having-fallen on-both-sides it-seemed on the-better-side —
Μασσανάσσης γενέσθαι. καὶ αὐτῷ ὑποστρέφοντι ἀπὸ τοῦ
Masinissa to-have-been and to-him returning from the
ἔργου ὁ Σκιπίων ὤφθη. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν οἷα φίλον ἐκ πάππου
action — Scipio was-seen he and him as friend from grandfather
περιεῖπε θεραπεύων. ὅπερ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι μαθόντες, ἐδέοντο
treated serving which the Carthaginians having-learned begged
τοῦ Σκιπίωνος πρὸς Μασσανάσσην σφᾶς συναλλάξαι. ὁ
— Scipio with Masinissa them to-reconcile he
δὲ συνήγαγε μὲν αὐτούς, γιγνομένων δὲ προκλήσεων οἱ
and brought-together indeed them taking-place and proposals the
Καρχηδόνιοι τῷ Μασσανάσσῃ τὴν μὲν περὶ τὸ Ἐμπόριον
Carthaginians — to-Masinissa the indeed about — Emporium
γῆν ἔλεγον μεθήσειν, καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα δώσειν
land said to-be-going-to-give-up and of-silver talents to-be-going-to-give
διακόσια αὐτίκα καὶ ὀκτακόσια σὺν χρόνῳ, τοὺς δ᾽
two-hundred at-once and eight-hundred in time the and
αὐτομόλους αἰτοῦντος οὐχ ὑπέστησαν οὐδ᾽ ἀκοῦσαι, ἀλλ᾽
deserters him-asking not they-undertook even to-hear but
ἄπρακτοι διεκρίθησαν. καὶ Σκιπίων μὲν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἔχων
unsuccessful they-parted and Scipio indeed to Iberia having
τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπανήει, Μασσανάσσης δὲ τὸν λόφον τῶν
the elephants returned Masinissa and the hill of-the
πολεμίων περιταφρεύσας, ἐφύλασσε μηδεμίαν αὐτοῖς ἀγορὰν
enemies having-entrenched-around guarded no for-them provisions
ἐσφέρεσθαι. οὐδ᾽ ἄλλως ἐγγὺς ἦν οὐδέν, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτῷ μόλις
to-be-brought-in nor otherwise near was anything since even to-him scarcely
ἐκ μακροῦ σφόδρα ἐπιμόχθως ἐφέρετο ὀλίγη. Ἀσδρούβας
from far very laboriously was-brought little Hasdrubal

δ᾽ εὐθὺς μὲν ἐδόκει δύνασθαι διεκπαῖσαι τοὺς πολεμίους
and at-once indeed seemed to-be-able to-break-through the enemies
ἐρρωμένῳ ἔτι καὶ ἀπαθεῖ τῷ στρατῷ, ἀγορὰν δ᾽ ἔχων
strong still and unharmed the army provisions and having
Μασσανάσσου πλείονα προκαλεῖσθαι τὸν Μασσανάσσην
than-Masinissa more to-challenge — Masinissa
ἐνόμιζε, καὶ παρέμενε, πυνθανόμενος ἅμα καὶ
he-thought and remained learning at-the-same-time also
Ῥωμαίων ἐπιέναι πρέσβεις ἐς διαλύσεις. οἱ δ᾽ ἦλθον μέν,
of-Romans to-be-coming envoys for settlements they and came indeed
εἴρητο δ᾽ αὐτοῖς, εἰ Μασσανάσσης ἐλασσοῖτο, λῦσαι
it-had-been-told and to-them if Masinissa should-be-worsted to-resolve
τὴν διαφοράν, εἰ δ᾽ ἐπὶ κρεισσόνων εἴη, καὶ παροξῦναι.
the difference if but on the-better-side he-should-be also to-urge-on
73 οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸ ἑαυτῶν ἔπραξαν, ὁ δὲ λιμὸς τὸν
they indeed indeed the their-own did the and famine —
Ἀσδρούβαν καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐξέτριβε· καὶ τοῖς
Hasdrubal and the Carthaginians wore-down and in-the
σώμασι πάντα ἔχοντες ἀσθενῶς, βιάσασθαι μὲν οὐκέτι
bodies in-everything being weakly to-force indeed no-longer
τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδύναντο, τὰ δ᾽ ὑποζύγια πρῶτον,
the enemies they-could the and pack-animals first
εἶτα τοὺς ἵππους ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἔθυον, καὶ
then the horses after the pack-animals they-slaughtered and
ἱμάντας ἑψοῦντες ἤσθιον. καὶ νόσων αὐτοὺς ἰδέαι πᾶσαι
straps boiling ate and of-diseases them forms all
κατελάμβανον ἔκ τε πονηρίας τροφῶν καὶ ἀκινησίας
seized from both badness of-foods and inactivity
ἔργων καὶ ὥρας ἔτους· συνεκέκλειστο γὰρ ἐς ἓν χωρίον
of-works and season of-year had-been-shut-up for into one place
καὶ στενὸν στρατόπεδον ὄχλος ἀνθρώπων ἐν Λιβύῃ θέρους.
and narrow camp a-crowd of-men in Libya in-summer

τῶν τε ξύλων αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν ἕψησιν ἐπιλιπόντων τὰ
the both wood them for the boiling having-failed the
ὅπλα κατέκαιον. καὶ τῶν ἀποθνησκόντων οὐδεὶς οὔτ'
arms they-burned and of-the(-men) dying no-one either
ἐξεφέρετο, Μασσανάσσου τὴν φυλακὴν οὐκ ἀνιέντος, οὔτ'
was-carried-out Masinissa the guard not relaxing or
ἐξεκαίετο ξύλων ἀπορίᾳ. ὁ οὖν φθόρος αὐτοῖς ἦν πολύς
was-burned of-wood for-want the then destruction for-them was great
τε καὶ περιώδυνος, συνοῦσιν ὀδωδόσι καὶ σηπομένοις
both and very-painful being-with stinking and rotting
σώμασιν. τό τε πλεῖστον ἤδη τοῦ στρατοῦ διέφθαρτο· καὶ
bodies the both most already of-the army had-perished and
τὸ ὑπόλοιπον οὐδεμίαν σφίσιν ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας ὁρῶντες,
the remainder no for-themselves hope of-safety seeing
τοὺς αὐτομόλους ὑπέστησαν ἐκδοῦναι τῷ Μασσανάσσῃ,
the deserters undertook to-hand-over — to-Masinissa
καὶ πεντακισχίλια ἀργυρίου τάλαντα πεντήκοντα ἔτεσιν
and five-thousand of-silver talents in-fifty years
ἐσενεγκεῖν, τούς τε φυγάδας σφῶν καταδέξασθαι παρὰ
to-pay the both exiles their to-receive-back contrary-to
τὸ ὅρκιον, καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ μιᾶς πύλης τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καθ'
the oath and themselves through one gate the enemies by
ἕνα διεξελθεῖν σὺν χιτωνίσκῳ μόνῳ. Γολόσσης δ' αὐτοῖς
one to-pass-through with a-tunic only Gulussa and them
ἀπιοῦσι, χαλεπαίνων τῆς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ διώξεως, εἴτε
departing being-angry for-the not before long pursuit whether
συνειδότος τοῦ πατρὸς εἴτε δι' ἑαυτοῦ, Νομάδας ἱππέας
knowing the father or through himself Numidian cavalry
ἐπέπεμψεν, οἳ οὐκ ἀμυνομένους, οὔτε ὅπλον ἔχοντας ἐς
sent-against-them who not defending-themselves neither a-weapon having for
ἄμυναν οὔτε φυγεῖν ὑπ' ἀσθενείας δυναμένους ἔκτειναν. ἔκ
defense nor to-flee from weakness being-able killed from

τε μυριάδων πέντε στρατοῦ καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίων ἀνδρῶν
both myriads five of-army and eight-thousand men
ὀλίγοι πάμπαν ἐς Καρχηδόνα περιεσώθησαν, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς
few altogether to Carthage were-saved and with them
Ἀσδρούβας τε ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ ἕτεροι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν.
Hasdrubal both the general and others of-the notables

74–79 · THE THIRD WAR DECLARED

Carthage condemns the generals of the war on Masinissa and sends envoys to Rome, who are told only that Carthaginians know what will satisfy Rome. Utica surrenders, and the senate declares war, secretly ordering the consuls Manilius and Censorinus not to stop until Carthage is razed. Openly it promises Carthage freedom and its land for three hundred noble children and obedience; the children go to Sicily, their mothers clinging to the ships, and the consuls promise the rest at Utica. There the envoys plead the treaties, the tribute paid, and the decree's promise, and ask why an army comes against a people who surrender.

74 τοιόσδε μὲν ὁ Μασσανάσσου καὶ Καρχηδονίων πόλεμος
such indeed the of-Masinissa and of-Carthaginians war
ἦν, ἐκδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν ὁ τρίτος ἐν Λιβύῃ καὶ τελευταῖος
was follows and it the third in Libya and last
Ῥωμαίων. καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι τῷ Μασσανάσσου πταίσματι
of-Romans and Carthaginians at-the of-Masinissa defeat
συμπεσόντες, ἀσθενεστάτης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τῆς πόλεως
having-fallen-in weakest by it the city
γενομένης, αὐτόν τε Μασσανάσσην ἐδεδοίκεσαν ἐγγὺς ἔτι
having-become himself both Masinissa feared near still
ὄντα μετὰ πολλοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ Ῥωμαίους δυσμενεῖς ὄντας
being with large army and Romans hostile
ἀεὶ σφίσι καὶ πρόφασιν θησομένους τὰ ἐς τὸν
always to-them and a-pretext going-to-make the-things toward —

Μασσανάσσην γενόμενα. ὧν οὐδέτερον κακῶς ὑπενόουν·
Masinissa having-happened of-which neither wrongly they-suspected
αὐτίκα γὰρ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πυθόμενοι στρατὸν ἐπήγγελλον ἐς
at-once for the Romans having-learned an-army announced to
ὅλην τὴν Ἰταλίαν, τὴν μὲν χρείαν οὐ λέγοντες, ὡς δ'
whole — Italy the indeed need not saying that but
ἂν ὀξέως ἔχοιεν ἐς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα χρῆσθαι. καὶ
— quickly they-might-be for the being-ordered to-use and
οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι νομίζοντες ἐκλύσειν τὴν πρόφασιν,
the Carthaginians thinking to-be-going-to-remove the pretext
ἐπεκήρυσσον Ἀσδρούβᾳ τε τῷ στρατηγήσαντι τοῦδε
proclaimed for-Hasdrubal both the having-commanded this
τοῦ πρὸς Μασσανάσσην πολέμου καὶ Καρθάλωνι τῷ
the against Masinissa war and for-Carthalo the
βοηθάρχῳ, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἐφῆπτο τοῦ ἔργου,
commander-of-auxiliaries and if anyone other had-taken-part-in the deed
θάνατον, ἐς ἐκείνους τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ πολέμου περιφέροντες.
death to those the blame of-the war turning
ἔς τε Ῥώμην πρέσβεις ἔπεμπον, οἳ κατηγόρουν μὲν αὐτοῦ
to both Rome envoys they-sent who accused indeed himself
Μασσανάσσου, κατηγόρουν δὲ καὶ τῶνδε τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὡς
Masinissa accused and also these the men as
ἀμυναμένων αὐτὸν ὀξέως τε καὶ προπετῶς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐς
having-resisted him quickly both and rashly and the city into
πρόφασιν ἔχθρας ἐμβαλόντων. ὡς δέ τις τῶν βουλευτῶν
a-pretext of-enmity having-thrown when and someone of-the senators
τοὺς πρέσβεις ἤρετο ὅπως οὐκ ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ πολέμου τοὺς
the envoys asked how not at beginning of-the war the
αἰτίους, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν ἧσσαν ἐξεκήρυξαν, καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς
guilty but after the defeat they-proclaimed and to us
οὐ πρότερον ἀλλὰ νῦν πρεσβεύεσθε, οἱ μὲν ἀποκρίσεως
not before but now you-send-envoys they indeed for-an-answer

ἠπόρουν, ἡ δὲ βουλὴ πάλαι διεγνωκυῖα πολεμῆσαι καὶ
were-at-a-loss the and senate long-ago having-decided to-make-war and
προφάσεις ἐρεσχηλοῦσα ὧδε ἀπεκρίνατο, Καρχηδονίους οὔπω
pretexts toying-with thus answered Carthaginians not-yet
Ῥωμαίοις ἱκανῶς ἀπολογήσασθαι. πάλιν οὖν ἀγωνιῶντες
to-Romans sufficiently to-have-made-defense again then being-anxious
ἠρώτων, εἰ δοκοῦσιν ἁμαρτεῖν, τί παθόντες ἀπολύσονται
they-asked if they-seem to-have-offended what having-suffered they-will-be-freed-from
τὸ ἔγκλημα. οἱ δὲ οὕτως ἔφασαν τῷ ῥήματι, "εἰ τὸ ἱκανὸν
the charge they and thus said with-the phrase if the sufficient
ποιήσετε Ῥωμαίοις." ζητούντων δ' ἐκείνων ὅ τι εἴη
you-will-do for-Romans seeking and them what ever might-be
τὸ ἱκανόν, οἱ μὲν ᾤοντο Ῥωμαίους ἐθέλειν τοῖς χρήμασι
the sufficient some indeed thought Romans to-wish to-the money
προσεπιθεῖναι τοῖς ἐπὶ Σκιπίωνος ὡρισμένοις, οἱ δὲ
to-add the in-the-time-of Scipio fixed others and
Μασσανάσσῃ τῆς ἀμφιλόγου γῆς μεταστῆναι. ἀποροῦντες
for-Masinissa from-the disputed land to-withdraw being-at-a-loss
οὖν πάλιν ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπον, καὶ παρεκάλουν γνῶναι
then again to Rome they-sent and entreated to-learn
σαφῶς ὅ τι ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἱκανόν. οἱ δὲ αὖθις ἔφασαν
clearly what ever is for-them the sufficient they and again said
εἰδέναι Καρχηδονίους καλῶς, καὶ εἰπόντες ἀπέπεμψαν.
to-know Carthaginians well and having-said dismissed-them
75 οἱ μὲν δὴ φόβου καὶ ἀπορίας ἦσαν ἐν τούτῳ, Ἰτύκη
they indeed indeed of-fear and perplexity were in this Utica
δέ, ἡ Λιβύης μεγίστη μετὰ Καρχηδόνα πόλις, λιμένας τε
and the of-Libya greatest after Carthage city harbors both
ἔχουσα εὐόρμους καὶ στρατοπέδων καταγωγὰς δαψιλεῖς,
having good-anchorage and for-armies landing-places abundant
ἑξήκοντα σταδίους ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος ἀφεστῶσα καὶ καλῶς
sixty stades from Carthage distant and well

ἐς πόλεμον αὐτοῖς ἐπικειμένη, τὰ Καρχηδονίων ἄρα
for war against-them lying the-cause of-Carthaginians then
καὶ αὕτη τότε ἀπογνοῦσα καὶ τὸ πάλαι μῖσος ἐς αὐτοὺς
also it then having-despaired-of and the old hatred toward them
ἐκφέρουσα ἐν καιρῷ, πρέσβεις ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψεν, οἳ
bringing-out at-the-right moment envoys to Rome sent who
τὴν Ἰτύκην Ῥωμαίοις ἐπέτρεπον. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ καὶ τέως
— Utica to-Romans surrendered the and senate also until-then
ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ὁρμῶσά τε καὶ παρασκευαζομένη, πόλεως
for the war eager both and preparing a-city
ὀχυρᾶς οὕτω καὶ ἐπικαίρου προσγενομένης ἐξέφηνέ τε τὴν
strong so and well-placed having-been-added declared both the
γνώμην, καὶ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, οὗπερ εἰώθασι περὶ
opinion and into — Capitol where they-are-accustomed about
πολέμου σκοπεῖν, συνελθοῦσα ἐψηφίσατο Καρχηδονίοις
war to-consider having-met voted against-Carthaginians
πολεμεῖν. στρατηγούς τε τοὺς ὑπάτους αὐτίκα ἐξέπεμπον,
to-make-war generals both the consuls at-once sent-out
ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ πεζοῦ Μάνιον Μανίλιον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ
over indeed the infantry Manius Manilius over and the
στόλου Λεύκιον Μάρκιον Κηνσωρῖνον, οἷς ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ
fleet Lucius Marcius Censorinus to-whom in secret
ἐλέλεκτο μὴ ἀνασχεῖν τοῦ πολέμου πρὶν Καρχηδόνα
it-had-been-said not to-desist-from the war before Carthage
κατασκάψαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ θύσαντες ἐς Σικελίαν ἔπλεον
to-raze they indeed indeed having-sacrificed to Sicily sailed
ὡς ἐκεῖθεν ἐς τὴν Ἰτύκην διαβαλοῦντες, ναυσὶ δ' ἐφέροντο
as from-there to — Utica going-to-cross on-ships and were-carried
πεντήκοντα μὲν πεντήρεσιν, ἑκατὸν δ' ἡμιολίαις, ἀφράκτοις
fifty indeed quinqueremes hundred and hemioliae undecked
δὲ καὶ κερκούροις καὶ στρογγύλοις πολλοῖς. καὶ στρατὸν
and also cercuri and round-ships many and an-army

ἦγον ὀκτακισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας ἐς τετρακισχιλίους,
led eighty-thousand infantry and cavalry about four-thousand
ἀρίστους ἅπαντας· ὡς γὰρ ἐς ἐπιφανῆ στρατείαν καὶ
best all as for to a-notable campaign and
προῦπτον ἐλπίδα πᾶς τις ἀστῶν καὶ συμμάχων ὥρμα,
a-manifest hope every one of-citizens and allies hastened
καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἐθελονταὶ παρήγγελλον ἐς τὸν κατάλογον.
and many also volunteers enrolled into the muster
76 Καρχηδονίοις δὲ προσέπεσεν ἥ τε κρίσις τοῦ πολέμου
on-Carthaginians and fell the both decision of-the war
καὶ τὸ ἔργον ὁμοῦ δι᾽ ἑνὸς ἀγγέλου· ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς
and the action together through one messenger the for same
ἔφερέ τε τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ τὰς ναῦς
carried both the decree of-the war and the ships
ἐδήλου πλεῖν ἐπὶ σφᾶς. ἐκπλαγέντες οὖν ἀπεγίγνωσκον
reported to-sail against them panic-stricken then they-despaired-of
αὑτῶν ἀπορίᾳ τε νεῶν καὶ ἀπωλείᾳ προσφάτῳ τοσῇσδε
themselves from-want both of-ships and loss recent of-so-great
νεότητος, οὐ συμμάχους ἔχοντες, οὐ μισθοφόρους ἑτοίμους,
youth not allies having not mercenaries ready
οὐ σῖτον ἐς πολιορκίαν συνενηνεγμένον, οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδέν,
not grain for siege collected not other anything
ὡς ἐν ἀκηρύκτῳ καὶ ταχεῖ πολέμῳ, οὐδ᾽ αὐτοὶ διαρκεῖν
as in an-undeclared and swift war nor themselves to-hold-out
δυνάμενοι Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Μασσανάσσῃ. πρέσβεις οὖν
being-able against-Romans both and Masinissa envoys then
ἑτέρους ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπον αὐτοκράτορας, ὅπῃ δύναιντο,
others to Rome they-sent with-full-powers however they-could
τὰ παρόντα διαθέσθαι. οἷς ἡ σύγκλητος εἶπεν, ἐὰν τοῖς
the present-things to-settle to-whom the senate said if to-the
ὑπάτοις ἔτι οὖσιν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν τῶνδε, οἱ
consuls still being in Sicily in-thirty days of-these the

Καρχηδόνιοι τριακοσίους τοὺς ἐνδοξοτάτους σφῶν παῖδας
Carthaginians three-hundred the most-distinguished their children
ἐς ὁμηρείαν παράσχωσι καὶ τἆλλα κατακούσωσιν αὐτῶν,
for hostage-ship should-provide and in-the-rest should-obey them
ἔξειν Καρχηδόνα ἐλευθέραν τε καὶ αὐτόνομον, καὶ
to-be-going-to-hold Carthage free both and autonomous and
γῆν ὅσην ἔχουσιν ἐν Λιβύῃ. ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τὸ φανερὸν
land as-much-as they-hold in Libya these-things indeed for the open
ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἔδωκαν ἐς Καρχηδόνα
they-voted and to-the envoys gave to Carthage
φέρειν τὸ δόγμα· ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ δὲ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐπέστειλαν
to-carry the decree in secret and to-the consuls they-sent-word
ἔχεσθαι τῶν ἰδίᾳ σφίσιν ἐντεταλμένων.
to-hold-to the privately to-them commanded
οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τὴν μὲν γνώμην ὑπώπτευον, οὐκ ἐπὶ 77
the and Carthaginians the indeed intention suspected not on
συνθήκῃ βεβαίᾳ τὰ ὅμηρα παρέχοντες· οἷα δ' ἐν κινδύνῳ
agreement firm the hostages providing as but in danger
τοσῷδε, τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐν ᾧ μηδὲν ἐκλείψουσι τιθέμενοι,
so-great the hopes in which nothing they-will-leave-undone placing
σπουδῇ προλαβόντες τὴν προθεσμίαν, τοὺς παῖδας ἦγον
with-zeal anticipating the deadline the children led
ἐς Σικελίαν, γονέων τε αὐτοῖς ἐπικλαιόντων καὶ οἰκείων,
to Sicily parents both over-them weeping and relatives
καὶ μάλιστα τῶν μητέρων, αἳ σὺν ὀλολυγῇ μανιώδει
and most the mothers who with wailing frenzied
τῶν τέκνων ἐξήπτοντο καὶ νεῶν τῶν φερουσῶν αὐτὰ καὶ
to-the children clung and to-ships the carrying them and
στρατηγῶν τῶν ἀγόντων, ἀγκυρῶν τε ἐπελαμβάνοντο καὶ
to-generals the leading anchors both seized and
καλῴδια διέσπων καὶ ναύταις συνεπλέκοντο καὶ τὸν πλοῦν
cables tore and with-sailors grappled and the voyage

ἐκώλυον. εἰσὶ δ' αἳ καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ τῆς θαλάσσης
hindered there-are and who even until far of-the sea
παρένεον, δεδακρυμέναι τε καὶ ἐς τὰ τέκνα ἀφορῶσαι. αἱ
swam-alongside weeping both and at the children gazing others
δ' ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τὰς κόμας ἐτίλλοντο καὶ τὰ στέρνα ἔκοπτον
and on the land the hair tore and the breasts beat
ὡς ἐπὶ πένθει· ἐδόκουν γὰρ ὄνομα μὲν ἐς εὐπρέπειαν
as at mourning they-thought for in-name indeed for decency
εἶναι τὴν ὁμηρείαν, ἔργῳ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἔκδοσιν, ἐπ'
to-be the hostage-ship in-fact but of-the city a-surrender on
οὐδεμιᾷ συνθήκῃ τῶνδε τῶν παίδων διδομένων. καὶ πολλαὶ
no agreement these the children being-given and many
καὶ τοῦτο ἐν ταῖς οἰμωγαῖς κατεμαντεύοντο τῇ πόλει,
also this in the wailings prophesied for-the city
μηδὲν αὐτὴν ὀνήσειν τοὺς παῖδας ἐκδιδομένους· ἐν
in-nothing it to-be-going-to-benefit the children being-handed-over in
μὲν δὴ τῇ Καρχηδόνι τῶν ὁμήρων ἡ ἀναγωγὴ τοιάδε
indeed indeed — Carthage of-the hostages the departure such
τις ἦν, ἐν δὲ τῇ Σικελίᾳ παραλαβόντες αὐτὰ οἱ ὕπατοι
some was in and — Sicily having-received them the consuls
διέπεμπον ἐς Ῥώμην, καὶ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἔφασαν ἐς
sent-across to Rome and to-the Carthaginians said as-to
τὸ τέλος τοῦ πολέμου τὰ λοιπὰ ἐρεῖν ἐν Ἰτύκῃ.
the end of-the war the rest to-be-going-to-say in Utica
78 διαπλεύσαντές τε ἐς αὐτὴν ἐστρατοπέδευον, ὁ μὲν πεζὸς
having-crossed both to it encamped the indeed infantry
ἔνθα πάλαι τὸ Σκιπίωνος ἦν στρατόπεδον, αἱ δὲ νῆες ἐν
where long-ago the of-Scipio was camp the and ships in
τοῖς λιμέσι τοῖς Ἰτυκαίων. ἀφικομένων δὲ κἀκεῖ πρέσβεων
the harbors the of-Uticans having-arrived and there-too envoys
ἐκ Καρχηδόνος, οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι προυκάθηντο ἐπὶ βήματος
from Carthage the indeed consuls sat-in-front on a-platform

ὑψηλοῦ, ἡγεμόνων τε σφίσι καὶ χιλιάρχων παρεστώτων,
high officers both with-them and tribunes standing-beside
ἡ στρατιὰ δ' ἑκατέρωθεν ἐπὶ μῆκος πολὺ ὅπλοις τε
the army and on-each-side for length great with-arms both
ἐπισήμοις ἐσκεύαστο, καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἔφερον ὀρθά, ἵνα οἱ
conspicuous was-equipped and the standards carried upright that the
πρέσβεις τὸ πλῆθος ἐκ τούτων συμβάλοιεν. ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ
envoys the number from these might-infer when and the
μὲν ὕπατοι τῷ σαλπικτῇ προσέταξαν ὑποσημῆναι σιωπήν,
indeed consuls to-the trumpeter ordered to-signal silence
ὁ δὲ κήρυξ ἀνεῖπε τοὺς Καρχηδονίων πρέσβεις προσιέναι,
the and herald proclaimed the of-Carthaginians envoys to-come-forward
οἱ μὲν ἐσήγοντο διὰ στρατοπέδου μακροῦ, καὶ τοῦ
they indeed were-led-in through camp long and the
βήματος οὐ προσεπέλαζον, ἀλλὰ περισχοίνισμα ἦν ἐν μέσῳ,
platform not approached but a-roped-enclosure was in between
οἱ δ' ὕπατοι λέγειν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον ὅ τι χρῄζοιεν. καὶ
the and consuls to-speak them ordered what ever they-wanted and
οἱ πρέσβεις ἔλεγον ἐλεεινὰ πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα, συνθηκῶν
the envoys said pitiable-things many and various of-treaties
τε πέρι τῶν σφίσι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους γενομένων, καὶ
both about the for-them with Romans made and
Καρχηδόνος αὐτῆς χρόνου καὶ πλήθους καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ
of-Carthage itself of-age and population and power and
ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐς πολὺ μεγίστης ἐν γῇ καὶ θαλάσσῃ γενομένης.
of-empire the for long greatest on land and sea having-been
οὐκ ἐπὶ σεμνολογίᾳ δὲ ἔφασαν λέγειν· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι καιρὸν
not for grandiloquence but they-said to-speak not for to-be time
ἐν συμφοραῖς σεμνολογίας, "ἀλλ' ἐς σωφρόνισμα ὑμῖν, ὦ
in misfortunes for-grandiloquence but for a-lesson to-you O
Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ μετριοπάθειαν ἡ τῆς ἡμετέρας μεταβολῆς
Romans and moderation the of-the our change

ὀξύτης ἔστω. κράτιστοι δέ, ὅσοι τοὺς πταίσαντας
swiftness let-be best and as-many-as the fallen
ἐλεοῦντες τὸ σφέτερον εὔελπι ποιοῦνται τῷ μηδὲν ἐς
pitying the their-own hopeful make by-the in-no-way against
ἄλλας τύχας ἁμαρτεῖν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ὑμῶν ἄξια καὶ τῆς
others' fortunes to-offend and these-things indeed of-you worthy and of-the
ὑμετέρας εὐσεβείας, ἣν προσποιεῖσθε μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων·"
your piety which you-claim most of-men
79 "εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀνημέρων ἐτετυχήκειμεν ἐχθρῶν, κόρος ἐστὶν
if and even savage we-had-met enemies satiety is
ἀτυχημάτων ὅσα πεπόνθαμεν, οἳ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς
of-misfortunes as-many-as we-have-suffered who the leadership of-the
τε γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἀφῃρήμεθα, καὶ τὰς ναῦς ὑμῖν
both land and sea have-been-deprived-of and the ships to-you
παρεδώκαμεν, καὶ ἄλλας οὐκ ἐπικτώμεθα, καὶ θήρας καὶ
handed-over and others not we-acquire and from-hunting and
κτήσεως ἐλεφάντων ἀπέστημεν, καὶ ὅμηρα τὰ κράτιστα καὶ
acquisition of-elephants we-desisted and hostages the best both
πάλαι καὶ νῦν παρεδώκαμεν, καὶ φόρους τελοῦμεν εὐτάκτως
long-ago and now handed-over and tributes we-pay punctually
οἱ παρ' ἑτέρων ἀεὶ λαμβάνοντες. καὶ τάδε ἤρκεσε
we-who from others always receiving and these-things sufficed
τοῖς πατράσιν ὑμῶν, οἷς ἐπολεμήσαμεν· καὶ συνθήκας
for-the fathers your with-whom we-warred and treaties
ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐγράψαντο ἡμῖν ὡς φίλοις τε καὶ συμμάχοις,
on them they-wrote for-us as for-friends both and allies
καὶ ὅρκος ἔστιν ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις ἀμφοῖν ὅμοιος. κἀκεῖνοι
and an-oath is in the treaties for-both alike and-they
μὲν ἡμῖν, οἷς ἐπολεμήσαμεν, πιστοὶ μετὰ ταῦτα
indeed to-us with-whom we-warred faithful after these-things
ἐγένοντο· ὑμεῖς δέ, οἷς οὐδ' ἐς χεῖρας ἤλθομεν,
were you and with-whom not-even to hands we-came

τί τῶνδε τῶν συνθηκῶν αἰτιώμενοι παραβεβάσθαι, τὸν
what of-these the treaties accusing to-have-been-transgressed the
πόλεμον τόνδε ὀξέως οὕτως ἐψηφίσασθέ τε καὶ ἀκηρύκτως
war this quickly so voted both and undeclared
ἐπηγάγετε ἡμῖν; πότερον οὐ δίδομεν τοὺς φόρους; ἢ ναῦς
brought-against us whether not we-give the tributes or ships
ἔχομεν, ἢ τοὺς ἐπιφθόνους ἐλέφαντας; ἢ οὐ πιστοὶ τὰ
we-have or the envied elephants or not faithful in-the
πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐξ ἐκείνου γεγόναμεν; ἢ οὐκ ἐλεεινοὶ τῶν
toward you since that-time we-have-been or not pitiable for-the
πέντε μυριάδων τῶν χθὲς ἀπολομένων ὑπὸ λιμοῦ; ἀλλὰ
five myriads the yesterday having-perished by famine but
Μασσανάσσῃ πεπολεμήκαμεν· πολλά γε πλεονεκτοῦντι·
with-Masinissa we-have-warred much at-least taking-advantage
καὶ πάντα δι' ὑμᾶς ἐφέρομεν. ἀπαύστως δ' ἔχων
and everything because-of you we-bore unceasingly and being
καὶ ἀθεμίστως ἐς ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸ ἔδαφος ἐν ᾧ καὶ
and lawlessly toward us also the ground in which both
ἐτράφη καὶ ἐπαιδεύθη, γῆν ἄλλην ἡμῶν ἀπέσπα περὶ
he-was-reared and was-educated land other of-ours tore-away about
τὸ Ἐμπόριον· καὶ λαβὼν καὶ τήνδε ἐπέβαινεν ἑτέρας,
— Emporium and having-taken also this encroached-on others
μέχρι τὰς συνθήκας ἡμῖν τὰς πρὸς ὑμᾶς συνέχεεν· εἰ
until the treaties for-us the with you he-confounded if
τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου πρόφασις, ἡμεῖς δὲ
this is the of-this the war pretext we and
καὶ τοὺς ἀμυναμένους αὐτὸν ἐξεκηρύξαμεν, καὶ πρὸς
also the(-men) having-resisted him proclaimed and to
ὑμᾶς πρέσβεις ἐπέμψαμεν οἳ περὶ τούτων ἀπελογοῦντο,
you envoys we-sent who about these-things made-defense
καὶ ἑτέρους αὐτοκράτορας ὅπῃ θέλετε συνθέσθαι. τί οὖν
and others with-full-powers however you-wish to-agree why then

ἔδει νεῶν καὶ στόλου καὶ στρατοῦ πρὸς ἄνδρας οὐχ
was-there-need of-ships and fleet and army against men not
ὁμολογοῦντας μὲν ἁμαρτεῖν, ἑαυτοὺς δὲ ὑμῖν ἐπιτρέποντας;
confessing indeed to-have-offended themselves but to-you surrendering
ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἀπατῶντες ὑμᾶς, οὐδὲ μικρολογούμενοι παθεῖν
that and not deceiving you nor haggling to-suffer
ὅ τι ἂν ζημιῶτε, ταῦτα προυτείνομεν, ἐπιδέδεικται
what ever — you-penalize these-things we-offered has-been-shown
σαφῶς. ὅτε τοὺς ἀρίστους παῖδας ἐς ὁμηρείαν αἰτοῦσιν ὑμῖν
clearly when the best children for hostage-ship asking you
εὐθύς, ὡς τὸ δόγμα ἐκέλευε, τὰς τριάκοντα προλαβόντες
at-once as the decree ordered the thirty anticipating
ἡμέρας, ἀπεστείλαμεν. τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ δόγματός ἐστιν, ἢν
days we-sent of-the and same decree is if
παράσχωμεν ὑμῖν τὰ ὅμηρα, τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἐλευθέραν
we-provide to-you the hostages — Carthage free
ἐᾶν καὶ αὐτόνομον, κεκτημένην ἃ ἔχομεν."
to-let-be and autonomous possessing what we-have

80–89 · THE COMMAND TO LEAVE

Censorinus has Carthage hand over its armor and catapults, then orders the city abandoned and refounded eighty stades from the sea. The envoys fall on the ground and lament until even the Romans weep, and Banno pleads the treaties and begs Rome to kill the people rather than the city. Censorinus answers that the sea led Carthage into wrong, as it did Athens, and that Carthage is its people, not its ground.

80 οἱ μὲν δὴ πρέσβεις τοσαῦτα εἶπον, Κηνσωρῖνος δ'
the indeed indeed envoys so-much said Censorinus and
ὑπαναστὰς ἀντέλεξεν ὧδε· "τὰς μὲν αἰτίας τοῦ πολέμου
having-stood-up replied thus the indeed causes of-the war

τί δεῖ λέγειν ὑμῖν, ὦ Καρχηδόνιοι, πρεσβεύσασιν
why is-there-need to-tell you O Carthaginians having-sent-envoys
ἐς Ῥώμην καὶ παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου μαθοῦσιν; ὃ δὲ
to Rome and from the senate having-learned what but
ἐψεύσασθε περὶ ἡμῶν, τοῦθ' ὑμᾶς ἐλέγξω. καὶ γὰρ τὸ δόγμα
you-lied about us this you I-will-refute and for the decree
δηλοῖ, καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑμῖν ἐν Σικελίᾳ προείπομεν τὰ ὅμηρα
shows and we to-you in Sicily told-beforehand the hostages
παραλαμβάνοντες, τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν δοξάντων ἐπικελεύσειν
receiving the rest of-the decisions to-be-going-to-enjoin
ἐν Ἰτύκῃ. τῶν μὲν οὖν ὁμήρων τῆς τε ταχυτῆτος καὶ τῆς
in Utica the indeed then hostages the both speed and the
ἐπιλέξεως ἐπαινοῦμεν ὑμᾶς· τί δὲ ὅπλων δεῖ τοῖς
selection we-praise you why and of-arms is-there-need for-the(-men)
εἰρηνεύουσι καθαρῶς; φέρετε· πάντα ὅσα δημόσιά τε
keeping-peace sincerely bring all as-many-as public both
καὶ ἴδια ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἔχει, βέλη τε καὶ καταπέλτας,
and private each of-you has missiles both and catapults
ἡμῖν παράδοτε." ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν, οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις
to-us hand-over be indeed thus spoke the and envoys
ἔφασαν ἐθέλειν μὲν καὶ τοῖσδε ὑπακοῦσαι, ἀπορεῖν
said to-wish indeed also these to-obey to-be-at-a-loss
δὲ ὅπως Ἀσδρούβαν, ᾧ θάνατον ἐπεκήρυξαν, δύο
but how Hasdrubal on-whom death they-had-proclaimed two
μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν ἤδη συναγαγόντα καὶ αὐτῇ Καρχηδόνι
myriads of-men already having-gathered and itself beside-Carthage
παραστρατοπεδεύοντα ἀμυνοῦνται. εἰπόντων δὲ τῶν
encamping they-will-ward-off having-said and the
ὑπάτων ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι τούτων ἐπιμελήσονται, οἱ μὲν
consuls that Romans for-these-things will-care they indeed
καὶ ταῦτα δώσειν ὑπέσχοντο. καὶ συμπεμφθέντες
also these-things to-be-going-to-give promised and sent-with

αὐτοῖς Κορνήλιός τε Σκιπίων ὁ Νασικᾶς καὶ Γναῖος
them Cornelius both Scipio the Nasica and Gnaeus
Κορνήλιος ὁ Ἰσπανὸς ἐπίκλησιν παρελάμβανον εἴκοσι
Cornelius the Hispanus by-surname received twenty
μυριάδας πανοπλιῶν, καὶ βελῶν καὶ ἀκοντίων πλῆθος
myriads of-full-armors and of-missiles and of-javelins a-multitude
ἄπειρον, καὶ καταπέλτας ὀξυβελεῖς τε καὶ λιθοβόλους ἐς
boundless and catapults bolt-shooting both and stone-throwing about
δισχιλίους· καὶ φερομένων αὐτῶν ἡ μὲν ὄψις ἦν λαμπρὰ
two-thousand and being-carried them the indeed sight was brilliant
καὶ παράλογος, ἀμαξῶν τοσῶνδε ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν τῶν πολεμίων
and strange of-wagons so-many by very the enemies
ἀγομένων, οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις εἵποντο αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὅσοι τῆς
being-led the and envoys followed them and as-many-as of-the
γερουσίας ἢ τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως ἄριστοι ἢ ἱερεῖς ἢ ἄλλως
council or of-the rest city best or priests or otherwise
ἐπιφανεῖς ἔμελλον τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐς ἐντροπὴν ἢ ἔλεον ἄξειν.
notable were-going the consuls to shame or pity to-bring
ἐσαχθέντες δὲ αὐτῷ κόσμῳ τοῖς ὑπάτοις παρέστησαν. καὶ
having-been-led-in and with-very attire to-the consuls they-stood-before and
ὁ Κηνσωρῖνος (ἦν γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἱκανώτερος τοῦ συνάρχου)
— Censorinus was for to-speak more-able than-the colleague
ἀναστὰς καὶ τότε, καὶ σκυθρωπάσας ἐπὶ πολύ, ἔλεξεν ὧδε.
having-stood-up also then and having-looked-grim for long said thus
81 "τῆς μὲν εὐπειθείας ὑμᾶς, ὦ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ προθυμίας
for-the indeed obedience you O Carthaginians and zeal
τῆς μέχρι νῦν ἔς τε τὰ ὅμηρα καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἐπαινοῦμεν,
the until now toward both the hostages and the arms we-praise
χρὴ δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις βραχυλογεῖν. ὑπόστητε
it-is-needful and in the necessary-things to-be-brief bear
γενναίως τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς συγκλήτου κέλευσμα· ἔκστητε
nobly the rest of-the senate command move-out-of

τῆς Καρχηδόνος ἡμῖν, καὶ ἀνοικίσασθε ὅπῃ θέλετε τῆς
— Carthage for-us and resettle where you-wish of-the
ὑμετέρας, ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίους ἀπὸ θαλάσσης· τήνδε γὰρ
your-own eighty stades from sea this for
ἡμῖν ἔγνωσται κατασκάψαι.” οἱ δ’ ἔτι λέγοντος αὐτοῦ
by-us has-been-decided to-raze they and still speaking him
τὰς χεῖρας ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνέσχον μετὰ βοῆς, καὶ
the hands to the heaven raised with shouting and
τοὺς θεοὺς ὡς ἠπατημένοι κατεκάλουν, πολλά τε καὶ
the gods as deceived invoked many both and
δυσχερῆ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐβλασφήμουν, ἢ θανατῶντες ἢ
offensive-things against Romans reviled either courting-death or
ἔκφρονες ὄντες, ἢ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐς μύσος πρέσβεων
out-of-their-minds being or the Romans to pollution of-envoys
διερεθίζοντες. ἔς τε τὴν γῆν σφᾶς ἐρρίπτουν, καὶ χερσὶ
provoking to both the ground themselves they-threw and with-hands
καὶ κεφαλαῖς αὐτὴν ἔτυπτον· οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας
and heads it beat some and also the clothes
ἐπερρήγνυντο, καὶ τοῖς σώμασι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐνύβριζον
tore and the bodies the their-own abused
ὡς ὑπὸ ἀνοίας ἐνηδρευμένοι. ἐπεὶ δέ ποτε αὐτοῖς ὁ
as by folly having-been-ensnared when and at-length them the
οἶστρος ἔληξε, σιωπὴ πολλὴ καὶ κατήφεια ἦν οἷα νεκρῶν
frenzy left silence great and dejection was as-of corpses
κειμένων. Ῥωμαῖοι δ’ ἐξεπλήσσοντο, καὶ οἱ ὕπατοι φέρειν
lying Romans and were-astonished and the consuls to-bear
αὐτοὺς ἐγνώκεσαν ὡς ἐπὶ ἀλλοκότῳ κελεύσματι, μέχρι
them had-decided as at a-strange command until
παύσαιντο ἀγανακτοῦντες, καλῶς εἰδότες ὅτι τὰ μέγιστα
they-should-cease being-indignant well knowing that the greatest
δεινὰ αὐτίκα μὲν ἐς θρασύτητα ἐκπλήσσει, σὺν χρόνῳ δὲ
terrors at-once indeed into boldness drive with time and

καταδουλοῖ τὴν τόλμαν ἡ ἀνάγκη. ὃ καὶ τότε ἔπαθον οἱ
enslaves the daring the necessity which also then suffered the
Καρχηδόνιοι· παρὰ γὰρ τὴν σιωπὴν ἁπτομένου σφῶν τοῦ
Carthaginians during for the silence touching them the
κακοῦ μᾶλλον, ἀγανακτεῖν μὲν ἔτι ἐπαύσαντο, ἀνέκλαιον
evil more to-be-indignant indeed still they-ceased they-wailed
δὲ καὶ κατεθρήνουν ἑαυτούς τε καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας
but and lamented themselves both and children and wives
ἐξ ὀνομάτων, καὶ τὴν πατρίδα αὐτήν, ὡς ἐς ἄνθρωπον
by names and the fatherland itself as to a-person
ἀκούουσαν λέγοντες οἰκτρὰ καὶ πολλά. οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς καὶ
listening saying pitiable-things and many the and priests also
τὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ὀνόματα καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς θεοὺς ἀνεκάλουν,
the of-the temples names and the in them gods invoked
ὡς παροῦσι κἀκείνοις προφέροντες τὴν ἀπώλειαν. ἦν τε
as being-present also-to-them laying-before the destruction was both
παμμιγὴς καὶ ἐλεεινὸς οἶκτος οἰμωζόντων ὁμοῦ τά τε
confused and pitiable lamentation wailing together the both
κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια, μέχρι καὶ Ῥωμαίους αὐτοῖς ἐπιδακρῦσαι.
common and the private until also Romans over-them to-weep
82 τοὺς δὲ ὑπάτους ἐσῄει μὲν οἶκτος ἀνθρωπίνης μεταβολῆς,
the and consuls came-over indeed pity of-human change
σκυθρωποὶ δ' ἀνέμενον καὶ τούτων κόρον αὐτοῖς ἐγγενέσθαι.
gloomy but they-waited also of-these satiety for-them to-arise
ὡς δὲ καὶ ὀδυρμῶν ἔληξαν, αὖθις ἦν σιωπή. καὶ λόγον
when and also from-laments they-ceased again was silence and reckoning
αὑτοῖς διδόντες ὡς ἡ μὲν πόλις ἐστὶν ἄνοπλος ἔρημος,
for-themselves giving that the indeed city is unarmed deserted
οὐ ναῦν, οὐ καταπέλτην, οὐ βέλος, οὐ ξίφος ἔχουσα,
not a-ship not a-catapult not a-missile not a-sword having
οὐκ ἄνδρας οἰκείους ἱκανοὺς ἀπομάχεσθαι πέντε μυριάδων
not men own sufficient to-fight-it-out five myriads

ἔναγχος διεφθαρμένων, ξενικὸν δὲ οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἢ φίλος ἢ
lately having-perished foreign and nothing is either friend or
σύμμαχος ἢ καιρὸς ἐς ταῦτα, ἔχουσι δ' αὐτοῖς οἱ πολέμιοι
ally or opportunity for these-things hold and theirs the enemies
καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὴν χώραν, καὶ περικάθηνται
both the children and the arms and the land and besiege
τὸ ἄστυ ἔνοπλοι ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῷ καὶ μηχανήμασι καὶ
the city armed with-ships and infantry and engines and
ἵπποις, Μασσανάσσης δ' ἐχθρὸς ἕτερος ἐν πλευραῖς,
horses Masinissa and enemy another on flank
θορύβου μὲν ἔτι καὶ ἀγανακτήσεως ἐπέσχον ὡς οὐδὲν ἐν
of-uproar indeed still and indignation they-refrained as in-no-way in
ταῖς συμφοραῖς ὠφελούντων, ἐς δὲ λόγους αὖθις ἐτράποντο.
the misfortunes helping to and speeches again turned
καὶ Βάννων, ᾧ Τιγίλλας ἐπώνυμον ἦν, ἐπιφανέστατος
and Banno to-whom Tigillas a-surname was most-notable
ὢν ἐν τοῖς τότε παροῦσιν, αἰτήσας εἰπεῖν ἔλεξεν·
being among the(-men) then present having-asked to-speak said
"εἰ μὲν ἔστι καὶ τῶν πρότερον εἰρημένων ἔτι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, 83
if indeed there-is also of-the before said still to you
ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, λόγος, ἐροῦμεν, οὐχ ὡς δίκαια προφέροντες
O Romans account we-will-speak not as just-things putting-forward
(οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐν καιρῷ τοῖς ἀτυχοῦσιν ἀντιλογία), ἀλλ'
not for is in season for-the unfortunate counter-argument but
ἵνα μάθητε ὡς οὐκ ἀπροφάσιστός ἐστιν ὑμῖν ὁ ἔλεος
that you-may-learn that not without-pretext is for-you the pity
ὁ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, οὐδὲ ἄλογος. ἡμεῖς γὰρ Λιβύης ἄρχοντες καὶ
the on us nor unreasonable we for of-Libya ruling and
θαλάσσης ὅτι πλείστης, περὶ ἡγεμονίας ὑμῖν ἐπολεμήσαμεν·
of-sea as most about leadership with-you warred
καὶ ταύτης ἀπέστημεν ἐπὶ Σκιπίωνος, ὅτε τὰς
and this gave-up in-the-time-of Scipio when the

ναῦς ὑμῖν παρέδομεν καὶ ἐλέφαντας ὅσους εἴχομεν, καὶ
ships to-you we-handed-over and elephants as-many-as we-had and
φόρους ἐταξάμεθα δώσειν καὶ δίδομεν ἐν καιρῷ. πρὸς
tributes undertook to-be-going-to-give and we-give in season by
οὖν θεῶν τῶν τότε ὀμωμοσμένων, φείδεσθε μὲν ἡμῶν,
then gods of-the then sworn-by spare indeed us
φείδεσθε δὲ τῶν Σκιπίωνος ὅρκων, ὀμόσαντος ἔσεσθαι
spare and the of-Scipio oaths having-sworn to-be-going-to-be
Ῥωμαίους Καρχηδονίοις συμμάχους καὶ φίλους. οὐδ' ἔστιν
Romans to-Carthaginians allies and friends nor is
ἐς ταῦθ' ὅ τι ἡμάρτομεν. οὐ ναῦς ἔχομεν, οὐκ ἐλέφαντας,
in these what ever we-offended not ships we-have not elephants
οὐ τοὺς φόρους ἐκλείπομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεμαχήσαμεν ὑμῖν
not the tributes we-fail-in but even fought-alongside you
ἐπὶ τρεῖς βασιλέας. μηδέ τῳ παραστῇ καταγιγνώσκειν,
against three kings let-not anyone occur to-condemn
εἰ ταῦτα καὶ πρῴην εἴπομεν, ὅτε τὰ ὅπλα ᾐτεῖτε· αἵ
if these-things also the-other-day we-said when the arms you-asked the
τε γὰρ συμφοραὶ ποιοῦσι μακρολόγους, καὶ ἅμα
both for misfortunes make long-winded and at-the-same-time
συνθηκῶν οὐδὲν ἐν ταῖς ἱκεσίαις δυνατώτερον, οὐδ' ἔχομεν
than-treaties nothing in the supplications more-powerful nor have-we
ἐς οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἀντὶ λόγων καταφυγεῖν, οἳ τὴν δύναμιν
to nothing other instead-of words to-flee-for-refuge who the power
ὑμῖν ἅπασαν ἐξέδομεν. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρότερα τοιαῦτα,
to-you all surrendered the indeed indeed former-things such
ὧν ὁ Σκιπίων ἐστὶν ἡμῖν, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, βεβαιωτής· τῶν
of-which — Scipio is for-us O Romans guarantor of-the
δὲ παρόντων ὑμεῖς, ὦ ὕπατοι, δημιουργοὶ καὶ μάρτυρές
and present-things you O consuls makers and witnesses
ἐστε ἡμῖν. ὅμηρα ᾐτήσατε, καὶ τὰ κράτιστα ἠγάγομεν ὑμῖν.
are for-us hostages you-asked and the best we-brought to-you

ὅπλα ἠτήσατε, καὶ πάντα ἐλάβετε, ὧν οὐδὲ οἱ ληφθέντες
arms you-asked and all you-received which not-even the captured
ἐν ταῖς πολιορκίαις ἑκόντες μεθίενται. ἐπιστεύσαμεν δὲ
in the sieges willingly give-up trusted and
ἡμεῖς τῷ Ῥωμαίων ἤθει καὶ τρόπῳ· καὶ γὰρ ἡ σύγκλητος
we the of-Romans character and manner and for the senate
ἡμῖν ἐπέστειλε, καὶ ὑμεῖς, τὰ ὅμηρα αἰτοῦντες, ἔφατε
to-us sent-word and you the hostages asking said
τὴν Καρχηδόνα αὐτόνομον ἐάσειν, εἰ λάβοιτε. εἰ δὲ
— Carthage autonomous to-be-going-to-let-be if you-received if and
προσέκειτο καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὑμῶν ἀνέξεσθαι κελευόντων,
had-been-added also the rest you to-be-going-to-endure ordering
οὐκ εἰκὸς ἦν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ὁμήροις, αἰτήματι
not likely was you for indeed the hostages in-demand
σαφεῖ, τὴν πόλιν αὐτόνομον ἔσεσθαι προαγορεῦσαι,
clear the city autonomous to-be-going-to-be to-proclaim
ἐν δὲ προσθήκῃ τῶν ὁμήρων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν Καρχηδόνος
in and the-addition of-the hostages to-make the of-Carthage
αὐτῆς κατασκαφήν, ἣν εἰ θέμις ὑμῖν ἐστὶν ἀνελεῖν, πῶς
itself razing which if lawful for-you it-is to-destroy how
ἐλευθέραν ἔτι ἀφήσετε ἢ αὐτόνομον, ὡς ἐλέγετε;"
free still will-you-leave or autonomous as you-said
"τάδε μὲν εἴχομεν εἰπεῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν προτέρων 84
these-things indeed we-had to-say both about the former
συνθηκῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς γενομένων. εἰ δὲ
treaties and about the-things toward you having-happened if and
καὶ τούτων οὐκ ἀνέξεσθε, παρίεμεν ἅπαντα, καὶ ὃ τοῖς
even these not you-will-endure we-give-up everything and what for-the
ἀτυχοῦσίν ἐστι λοιπόν, ὀδυρόμεθα καὶ δεόμεθα. πολλὴ δ'
unfortunate is left we-lament and we-beg great and
ἡ ἱκεσία δι' ἀφθονίαν κακῶν· ὑπέρ τε γὰρ πόλεως
the supplication because-of abundance of-evils for both for a-city

παρακαλοῦμεν ἀρχαίας, χρησμοῖς μετὰ θεῶν συνῳκισμένης,
we-entreat ancient by-oracles with gods founded
καὶ ὑπὲρ δόξης ἐπὶ μέγα προελθούσης, καὶ ὀνόματος
and for a-glory to great having-advanced and a-name
ἐπιφοιτήσαντος ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ὅλην, ὑπέρ τε ἱερῶν τῶν
having-spread over the earth whole for both temples the
ἐν αὐτῇ τοσῶνδε καὶ θεῶν οὐδὲν ἀδικούντων, οὓς μὴ
in it so-many and gods in-nothing doing-wrong whom not
πανηγύρεις ἀφέλησθε καὶ πομπὰς καὶ ἑορτάς, μηδὲ τοὺς
festivals take-away and processions and feasts nor the
τάφους τὰ ἐναγίσματα, οὐδὲν ὑμῖν ἔτι τῶν νεκρῶν
tombs the offerings-to-the-dead in-no-way to-you still the dead
ἐπιζημίων ὄντων. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν ἔστιν ἔλεος (φατὲ δὲ
harmful being if and also for-us there-is pity you-say and
καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐλεεῖν οἳ συγχωρεῖτε μετοικίσασθαι), φείσασθε
also us to-pity who allow to-resettle spare
πολιτικῆς ἑστίας, φείσασθε ἀγορᾶς, φείσασθε βουλαίας θεοῦ,
civic hearth spare market spare of-the-council goddess
πάντων τε τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα τοῖς ἔτι ζῶσι τερπνὰ καὶ
of-all both the others as-much-as to-the still living pleasant and
τίμια. τί γὰρ δὴ καὶ δέος ἔστιν ὑμῖν ἔτι Καρχηδόνος, οἳ
honored what for indeed also fear is for-you still of-Carthage who
καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἔχετε ἡμῶν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφθόνους
both the ships have ours and the arms and the envied
ἐλέφαντας; περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀνοικίσεως, εἴ τῳ δοκεῖ τοῦτο
elephants about and the resettlement if to-anyone it-seems this
ἐς παρηγορίαν ἡμῖν προτίθεσθαι, ἔστι καὶ τόδε ἀμήχανον,
as consolation to-us to-be-offered is also this impossible
ἀνδράσιν ἐς ἤπειρον ἀνοικίσασθαι θαλασσοβιώτοις, ὧν
for-men into the-mainland to-resettle living-by-the-sea of-whom
ἄπειρον πλῆθος ἐργάζεται τὴν θάλασσαν. δίδομεν δ' ὑμῖν
a-boundless multitude works the sea we-offer and you

ἀντίδοσιν αἱρετωτέραν ἡμῖν καὶ εὐκλεεστέραν ὑμῖν. τὴν
an-exchange more-choiceworthy for-us and more-glorious for-you the
μὲν πόλιν ἐᾶτε τὴν οὐδενὸς ὑμῖν αἰτίαν, αὐτοὺς δὲ
indeed city let-be the of-nothing to-you guilty ourselves and
ἡμᾶς οὓς ἀνοικίζετε, εἰ θέλετε, διαχρήσασθε. οὕτω γὰρ
us whom you-resettle if you-wish destroy thus for
ἀνθρώποις δόξετε χαλεπαίνειν, οὐχ ἱεροῖς καὶ θεοῖς καὶ
to-men you-will-seem to-be-harsh not to-temples and gods and
τάφοις καὶ πόλει μηδὲν ἀδικούσῃ."
tombs and a-city in-nothing doing-wrong
"δόξης δ' ἀγαθῆς καὶ εὐσεβοῦς ἐφίεσθε, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, 85
of-reputation and good and pious you-aim-at O Romans
παρὰ πάντα ἔργα, καὶ μετριοπάθειαν ἐν τοῖς εὐτυχήμασιν
in all deeds and moderation in the successes
ἐπαγγέλλεσθε, καὶ τοῦθ' οἷς ἂν ἀεὶ λάβητε
you-profess and this to-whomever — always you-capture
καταλογίζεσθε· μὴ δή, πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν, τῶν τε
you-reckon-up not indeed by Zeus and gods the both
ἄλλων καὶ ὅσοι Καρχηδόνα ἔτι ἔχουσί τε καὶ μή ποτε
others and as-many-as Carthage still hold both and not ever
μνησικακήσαιεν ὑμῖν μηδὲ παισὶν ὑμετέροις, μὴ ἀγαθὴν
may-they-bear-a-grudge against-you nor children your not good
δόξαν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐν ἡμῖν πρώτοις διαβάλητε, μηδὲ
reputation of-you yourselves on us first discredit nor
τοιῷδε ἔργῳ τὴν εὔκλειαν ὑμῶν καταμιάνητε, χαλεπῷ
by-such-a deed the glory your defile hard
μὲν ἐργασθῆναι χαλεπῷ δὲ ἀκουσθῆναι, παρά τε πρώτοις
indeed to-be-done hard and to-be-heard among both first
ὑμῖν ἐξ ἅπαντος τοῦ βίου γενησομένῳ. πόλεμοι γὰρ
for-you from all the life going-to-be wars for
πολλοὶ μὲν Ἕλλησιν ἐγένοντο καὶ βαρβάροις, πολλοὶ δὲ
many indeed for-Greeks happened and for-barbarians many and

ὑμῖν, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, πρὸς ἑτέρους· καὶ οὐδείς πω κατέσκαψε
for-you O Romans against others and no-one yet razed
πόλιν χεῖράς τε πρὸ μάχης καθεῖσαν καὶ ὅπλα καὶ τέκνα
a-city hands both before battle having-lowered and arms and children
παραδοῦσαν. καὶ εἴ τις ἔστιν ἐς ἀνθρώπους ἄλλη ζημία,
having-handed-over and if any is for men other penalty
καὶ ταύτην παθεῖν ὑπομένουσαν. προφέροντες δ' ὑμῖν
also this to-suffer enduring putting-forward and to-you
ὁρκίους θεοὺς καὶ τύχην ἀνθρωπείαν καὶ τὴν φοβερωτάτην
of-oaths gods and fortune human and the most-fearful
τοῖς εὐτυχοῦσι Νέμεσιν, δεόμεθα μήτε ἐς τὴν ὑμετέραν
to-the fortunate Nemesis we-beg neither in the your
εὐπραγίαν ὑμᾶς ὑβρίσαι, μήτε τὰς ἡμετέρας συμφορὰς
success you to-be-insolent nor the our misfortunes
ἐς ἀνήκεστον προαγαγεῖν, συγχωρῆσαι δ', εἰ μὴ δίδοτε
to incurable to-carry-on to-allow but if not you-grant
τὴν πόλιν ἔχειν, ἔς γε τὴν σύγκλητον ἔτι πρεσβεῦσαι
the city to-have to at-least the senate still to-send-envoys
περὶ αὐτῆς καὶ δεηθῆναι. βραχὺ δ' ὁρᾶτε τὸ διάστημα
about it and to-beg short and you-see the interval
τοῦ χρόνου, βάσανον μὲν ἡμῖν φέρον μακρὰν ἐν ὀλίγῳ
of-the time torture indeed to-us bringing long in a-short-time
διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐσομένων ἀμφιβολίαν· ὑμῖν δὲ τὸ μὲν
because-of the of-the coming-things uncertainty for-you and the indeed
ἀσφαλὲς ἴσον, ἢ νῦν ἢ μετ' ὀλίγον τὰ δοκοῦντα δρᾶν,
safe equal either now or after little the decided-things to-do
τὸ δ' εὐσεβὲς καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἐπιγίγνεται."
the but piety and humanity is-added

86 τοιαῦτα μὲν εἶπεν ὁ Βάννων, οἱ δὲ ὕπατοι δῆλοι μὲν
such-things indeed said — Banno the and consuls clear indeed
ἦσαν ἐσκυθρωπακότες παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον ὅτι μηδὲν

ἐνδώσουσιν αὐτοῖς, παυσαμένου δὲ ὁ Κηνσωρῖνος ἔλεξε·
they-will-concede to-them having-ceased and — Censorinus said
"περὶ μὲν ὧν ἡ σύγκλητος προσέταξε, τί δεῖ πολλάκις
about indeed what the senate ordered why is-there-need often
λέγειν; προσέταξε γάρ, καὶ χρὴ γενέσθαι· οὐδὲ ἀναθέσθαι
to-say it-ordered for and it-must happen nor to-postpone
δυνάμεθα τὰ ἤδη κεκελευσμένα γενέσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ εἰ
we-can the already ordered to-happen these-things and if
μὲν ὡς ἐχθροῖς ἐπεκελεύομεν, ἔδει μόνον εἰπεῖν
indeed as to-enemies we-commanded it-would-be-necessary only to-say
καὶ ποιεῖν ἀναγκάζειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ κοινῇ, τάχα μέν
and to-do to-compel since but for benefit common perhaps indeed
τι καὶ ἡμῶν, τὸ δὲ πλέον ὑμῶν, ὦ Καρχηδόνιοι, γίγνεται,
somewhat also ours the but more yours O Carthaginians it-turns-out
οὐκ ὀκνήσω καὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς ὑμῖν εἰπεῖν, ἢν δύνησθε
not I-will-hesitate also the reasonings to-you to-tell if you-can
πεισθῆναι μᾶλλον ἢ βιασθῆναι. ἡ θάλασσα ὑμᾶς ἥδε,
to-be-persuaded rather than to-be-forced the sea you this
μεμνημένους τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ ποτὲ ἀρχῆς καὶ δυνάμεως, ἀδικεῖν
remembering the in it once empire and power to-do-wrong
ἐπαίρει, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἐς συμφορὰς περιφέρει. Σικελίᾳ τε
raises and from this into misfortunes carries-round Sicily both
γὰρ δι' αὐτὴν ἐπεχειρήσατε, καὶ Σικελίαν ἀπωλέσατε·
for because-of it you-attacked and Sicily you-lost
ἔς τε Ἰβηρίαν διεπλεύσατε, καὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἀφῄρησθε. ἔν τε
to both Iberia you-crossed and Iberia were-deprived-of in both
ταῖς συνθήκαις ἐλῄζεσθε τοὺς ἐμπόρους, καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους
the treaties you-plundered the merchants and the our
μάλιστα, ἵνα λανθάνοιτε, κατεποντοῦτε, ἕως ἁλόντες
most that you-might-escape-notice you-drowned until caught
ποινὴν ἡμῖν ἔδοτε Σαρδώ. οὕτω καὶ Σαρδοῦς ἀφῃρέθητε
as-penalty to-us you-gave Sardinia thus also of-Sardinia you-were-deprived

διὰ τὴν θάλασσαν, ἣ πέφυκε πείθειν ἅπαντας ἀεὶ
because-of the sea which is-by-nature to-persuade all always
τοῦ πλέονος ὀρέγεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ ταχυεργίαν."
of-the more to-reach-for because-of the in it quick-dealing
87 "ὃ καὶ Ἀθηναίους, ὅτε ἐγένοντο ναυτικοί, μάλιστα ηὔξησέ
which also Athenians when they-became naval most increased
τε καὶ καθεῖλεν· ἔοικε γὰρ τὰ θαλάσσια τοῖς ἐμπορικοῖς
both and destroyed resembles for the of-the-sea to-the mercantile
κέρδεσιν, ἃ καὶ τὴν αὔξησιν ἔχει καὶ τὴν ἀπώλειαν
gains which also the growth has and the loss
ἀθρόαν. ἴστε γοῦν αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ὧν ἐπεμνήσθην,
sudden you-know at-any-rate themselves those whom I-mentioned
ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον ἐκτείνοντες ἐς Σικελίαν
that the empire over the Ionian extending to Sicily
οὐ πρὶν ἀπέστησαν τῆς πλεονεξίας, πρὶν τὴν ἀρχὴν
not before desisted from-the greed before the empire
ἅπασαν ἀφαιρεθῆναι, καὶ λιμένας καὶ ναῦς παραδοῦναι τοῖς
all to-be-taken-away and harbors and ships to-hand-over to-the
πολεμίοις, καὶ φρουρὰν ἐνδέξασθαι τῇ πόλει, καὶ τὰ τείχη
enemies and a-garrison to-receive into-the city and the walls
σφῶν αὐτοὶ τὰ μακρὰ καθελεῖν, καὶ σχεδὸν ἠπειρῶται
their themselves the long to-pull-down and nearly mainlanders
τότε κἀκεῖνοι γενέσθαι. ὃ καὶ διέσωσεν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον
then they-too to-become which also saved for longest
αὐτούς. εὐσταθέστερος γάρ, ὦ Καρχηδόνιοι, ὁ ἐν ἠπείρῳ
them steadier for O Carthaginians the on mainland
βίος, γεωργίᾳ καὶ ἠρεμίᾳ προσπονῶν· καὶ σμικρότερα μὲν
life with-farming and quiet laboring and smaller indeed
ἴσως τὰ κέρδη, βεβαιότερα δὲ καὶ ἀκινδυνότερα καθάπαξ
perhaps the gains more-secure and and less-dangerous altogether
τὰ τῆς γεωργίας τῶν ἐμπόρων. ὅλως τέ μοι δοκεῖ
the of-the farming than-those of-merchants wholly both to-me seems

πόλις ἡ μὲν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ναῦς τις εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ
a-city the indeed in the sea a-ship some to-be rather than
γῆ, πολὺν τὸν σάλον τῶν πραγμάτων ἔχουσα καὶ τὰς
land much the tossing of-the affairs having and the
μεταβολάς, ἡ δὲ ἐν τῷ μεσογείῳ καρποῦσθαι τὸ ἀκίνδυνον
changes the and in the interior to-enjoy the safety
ὡς ἐν γῇ. διὰ τοῦτ᾽ ἄρα καὶ τὰ πάλαι βασίλεια ὡς
as on land because-of this then also the old royal-seats as
ἐπίπαν ἦν ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε μέγιστα ἐγένοντο
for-the-most-part were in middle and from this greatest became
τὰ Μήδων καὶ Ἀσσυρίων καὶ Περσῶν καὶ ἑτέρων."
the of-Medes and Assyrians and Persians and others
"ἀλλὰ βασιλικῶν μὲν ὑποδειγμάτων παύομαι, οὐδὲν ὑμῖν 88
but of-royal indeed examples I-cease in-no-way to-you
ἔτι διαφερόντων· ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑμετέραν Λιβύην ἀπίδετε,
any-longer mattering at and the your Libya look
ὅσαι μεσόγειοι πόλεις ἀκινδύνως βιοῦσιν. ὧν ἧς
how-many inland cities without-danger live of-which to-whichever
ἂν ἐθέλητε, γείτονες ἔσεσθε, ἵνα τὴν ἐρεθίζουσαν ὑμᾶς ὄψιν
— you-wish neighbors you-will-be that the provoking you sight
τε καὶ μνήμην ἀφῆτε τῶν νῦν ἐνοχλούντων κακῶν, ὅταν
both and memory you-may-let-go of-the now troubling evils when
ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν κενὴν σκαφῶν ἀφορῶντες ἀναμιμνήσκησθε
at the sea empty of-vessels gazing you-are-reminded
τοῦ πλήθους ὧν εἴχετε νεῶν, καὶ λαφύρων ὅσων ἐφέρετε,
of-the number which you-had of-ships and spoils how-much you-brought
καὶ ἐς οἵους γε τοὺς λιμένας κατήγεσθε σοβαροί, καὶ
and into what-kind at-least the harbors you-put-in proud and
τὰ νεώρια καὶ τὰ τῶν σκευῶν ταμιεῖα ἐνεπίμπλατε. τί δὲ
the dockyards and the of-the gear storehouses you-filled what and
αἱ ἐν τοῖς τείχεσιν ὑποδοχαὶ στρατοπέδων τε καὶ ἵππων
the in the walls lodgings of-armies both and horses

καὶ ἐλεφάντων; τί δὲ θησαυροὶ τούτοις παρῳκοδομημένοι;
and elephants what and treasuries for-these built-alongside
τί ταῦτα μνημεῖα ὑμῖν ἐστίν; ἢ τί ἄλλο πλὴν ὀδύνη,
what these-things memorials to-you are or what else except pain
καὶ ἐρέθισμα ἐπανελθεῖν ἐς αὐτά, εἴ ποτε δύναισθε;
and provocation to-return to them if ever you-could
πάθος ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπειον τοῖς μεμνημένοις τῆς ποτὲ
a-passion is human for-the(-men) remembering the former
τύχης, ἐλπίζειν τὴν τύχην ἐπανελεύσεσθαι, φάρμακον δὲ
fortune to-hope the fortune to-be-going-to-return remedy and
κακῶν ἀκεστήριον λήθη, ἧς οὐκ ἔνι μετασχεῖν
of-evils healing forgetfulness of-which not is-possible to-share
ὑμῖν, ἢν μὴ τὴν ὄψιν ἀπόθησθε. καὶ τούτου σαφέστατος
for-you if not the sight you-put-away and of-this clearest
ἔλεγχος, ὅτι πολλάκις συγγνώμης καὶ συνθηκῶν τυχόντες
proof that often pardon and treaties having-obtained
παρεσπονδήσατε. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔτι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐφίεσθε καὶ
you-broke-faith if indeed then still the empire you-aim-at and
δυσμεναίνετε ἡμῖν ὡς ἀφῃρημένοι καὶ καιροφυλακεῖτε,
are-hostile to-us as deprived and watch-for-an-opportunity
δεῖ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως ὑμῖν καὶ λιμένων τοιῶνδε καὶ
there-is-need this the city for-you and harbors such and
νεωρίων καὶ τειχῶν ἐς στρατοπέδου τρόπον εἰργασμένων.
dockyards and walls in camp's manner made
καὶ τί ἔτι φειδόμεθα ἐχθρῶν εἰλημμένων; εἰ δὲ τῆς μὲν
and why still do-we-spare enemies captured if but from-the indeed
ἀρχῆς ἀπέστητε καθαρῶς, οὐ λόγῳ μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμῃ,
empire you-withdrew sincerely not in-word rather than in-mind
μόνα δ' ἐξῄρησθε Λιβύης ἃ ἔχετε, καὶ τάδε
only and you-have-been-left-with of-Libya what you-have and these-things
ἀπροφασίστως συνέθεσθε ἡμῖν, φέρετε, καὶ ἔργῳ ταῦτα
without-pretext you-agreed with-us come also in-fact these-things

ἐπιδείξατε, ἐς μὲν Λιβύην, ἣν ἔχετε, ἀνοικισάμενοι, τῆς
show to indeed Libya which you-have having-resettled from-the
δὲ θαλάσσης ἐκστάντες, ἧς ἀπέστητε."
and sea having-stood-out from-which you-withdrew
"μηδ' ὑποκρίνεσθε ἐλεεῖν ἱερὰ καὶ ἑστίας καὶ ἀγορὰς καὶ 89
nor pretend to-pity temples and hearths and markets and
τάφους· ὧν τάφοι μὲν ἔστων ἀκίνητοι, καὶ ἐναγίζετε
tombs of-which tombs indeed let-be undisturbed and make-offerings
αὐτοῖς ἐπερχόμενοι καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς θύειν εἰ θέλετε ἐπιόντες,
to-them coming and at-the temples to-sacrifice if you-wish visiting
τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ καθέλωμεν. οὐ γὰρ καὶ νεωρίοις θύετε, οὐδὲ
the and rest let-us-pull-down not for also to-dockyards you-sacrifice nor
ἐναγίζετε τείχεσιν. ἑστίας δὲ καὶ ἱερὰ ἄλλα καὶ ἀγορὰς
make-offerings to-walls hearths and and temples other and markets
ἔνι καὶ μετελθόντας ἐργάσασθαι, καὶ ταχὺ κἀκεῖνα ὑμῖν
it-is-possible also having-moved to-make and quickly those-too for-you
ἔσται πάτρια, ᾧ λόγῳ καὶ τὰ ἐν Τύρῳ καταλιπόντες
will-be ancestral in-which way also the-things in Tyre having-left
ἠλλάξασθε Λιβύην, τά τε ἐπίκτητα ὑμῖν τότε γενόμενα
you-took-in-exchange Libya the both acquired by-you then having-become
νῦν πάτρια τίθεσθε. βραχεῖ τε λόγῳ μάθοιτε ἂν ὡς
now ancestral you-consider in-short both word you-might-learn — that
οὐχ ὑπὸ δυσμενείας ἀλλ' ἐπὶ βεβαίῳ τε ὁμονοίᾳ καὶ
not from enmity but for firm both concord and
ἀμεριμνίᾳ κοινῇ τάδε προστάσσομεν, εἰ ἀναμνησθείητε
freedom-from-care common these-things we-command if you-should-recall
ὅτι καὶ Ἄλβην ἡμεῖς, οὐκ ἐχθρὰν ἀλλὰ μητρόπολιν οὖσαν,
that also Alba we not hostile but mother-city being
οὐδὲ δυσμεναίνοντες ἀλλ' ὡς ἄποικοι προτιμῶντες, ἐπὶ
nor being-hostile but as colonists honoring for
συμφέροντι κοινῷ μετῳκίσαμεν ἐς Ῥώμην, καὶ ἐλυσιτέλησεν
advantage common moved to Rome and it-profited

ἀμφοτέροις. ἀλλ᾽ εἰσὶ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἔτι χειρώνακτες πολλοὶ
both but there-are for for-you still craftsmen many
θαλασσοβίωτοι. καὶ τούτου πεφροντίκαμεν, ὡς ἂν εὐκόλως
living-by-the-sea and of-this we-have-taken-thought that — easily
ἐπιμιγνύοισθε τῇ θαλάσσῃ, καὶ τὴν τῶν ὡραίων διάθεσίν
you-may-mingle with-the sea and the of-the produce disposal
τε καὶ ἀντίληψιν ἔχοιτε εὐμαρῆ· οὐ γὰρ μακρὰν ὑμᾶς
both and acquisition you-may-have easy not for far you
ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, ἀλλ᾽ ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίους ἀναδραμεῖν
from sea but eighty stades to-go-up
κελεύομεν. ἡμεῖς δὲ ταῦτα προστάσσοντες ὑμῖν ἑκατὸν
we-order we and these-things commanding you a-hundred
τῆς θαλάσσης ἀπέχομεν. χωρίον δὲ ὑμῖν δίδομεν, ὃ
from-the sea are-distant a-place and to-you we-give which
θέλετε, ἐπιλέξασθαι, καὶ μετελθοῦσιν αὐτονόμοις εἶναι.
you-wish to-choose and having-moved autonomous to-be
τοῦτο δ᾽ ἐστὶν ὃ προυλέγομεν, αὐτόνομον ἐάσειν
this and is what we-said-before autonomous to-be-going-to-let-be
Καρχηδόνα, εἰ πείθοιτο ἡμῖν· Καρχηδόνα γὰρ ὑμᾶς, οὐ
Carthage if it-should-obey us Carthage for you not
τὸ ἔδαφος ἡγούμεθα.”
the ground we-consider

The envoys ask the consuls to bring the fleet alongside to show the city, and return in silence. The crowd tears apart the senators who advised giving up hostages and arms, stones the envoys, and maltreats the Italians there; the hostages' mothers taunt the people. The senate declares war, frees the slaves, and makes the condemned Hasdrubal general outside and Masinissa's grandson Hasdrubal general within; refused a truce, men and women work day and night making shields, swords, and catapults, and the women give their hair for ropes. The consuls delay, expecting surrender; Masinissa, resentful that others take credit for his work, holds back, and the consuls attack.

τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ Κηνσωρῖνος ἡσύχασεν. καὶ τῶν 90
so-much having-said — Censorinus fell-silent and the
Καρχηδονίων ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως οὐδὲν ἀποκριναμένων ἐπεῖπεν·
Carthaginians from consternation nothing having-answered he-added
"ἃ μὲν ἔδει πείθοντα καὶ παρηγοροῦντα εἰπεῖν,
what indeed it-was-needful persuading and consoling to-say
εἴρηται· τὸ δὲ πρόσταγμα τῆς βουλῆς δεῖ γενέσθαι καὶ
has-been-said the but command of-the senate must happen and
αὐτίκα γενέσθαι. ἄπιτε οὖν· ἐστὲ γὰρ ἔτι πρέσβεις." ὃ μὲν
at-once happen depart then you-are for still envoys he indeed
εἶπεν οὕτως, οἱ δ' ἐξωθούμενοι πρὸς τῶν ὑπηρετῶν, καὶ
said thus they and being-pushed-out by the attendants and
τὸ μέλλον ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων ἔσεσθαι προορῶντες, ᾔτησαν
the future by Carthaginians to-be foreseeing asked
αὖθις εἰπεῖν. καὶ ἐσαχθέντες ἔφασαν "τὸ μὲν ἀπαραίτητον
again to-speak and having-been-led-in said the indeed inexorableness
τοῦ κελεύσματος ὁρῶμεν· οὐ γὰρ οὐδὲ πρεσβεῦσαι δίδοτε
of-the command we-see not for even to-send-envoys you-grant
ἐς Ῥώμην. ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπανελεύσεσθαι μὲν πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὐκ
to Rome we and to-be-going-to-return indeed to you not

ἐλπίζομεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων ἔτι λέγοντες ἀπολεῖσθαι·
hope but by Carthaginians still speaking to-be-going-to-perish
δεόμεθα δ' ὑμῶν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν (ἐσμὲν γὰρ πάντα
we-beg and you not for ourselves we-are for everything
παθεῖν ἕτοιμοι) ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἔτι Καρχηδόνος, εἰ δύναιτο
to-suffer ready but for itself still Carthage if it-could
καταπλαγεῖσα τὰς συμφορὰς ὑποστῆναι. περιστήσατε αὐτῇ
panic-stricken the misfortunes to-endure station-around it
τὰς ναῦς ἕως ὁδεύοντες ἄπιμεν, ἵνα καὶ θεωροῦντες καὶ
the ships while traveling we-depart that both seeing and
ἀκούοντες ὧν προσετάξατε ἐνέγκωσιν, ἂν ἄρα δύνωνται.
hearing what you-ordered they-may-bear if then they-can
ἐς τοῦτο δ' ἡμῖν ἀνάγκης ἀφῖκται καὶ τύχης ὡς
to this and to-us of-necessity has-come and of-fortune as
αὐτοὶ παρακαλεῖν ὑμᾶς τὰς ναῦς ἐπάγειν ἐπὶ τὴν
ourselves to-urge you the ships to-bring against the
πατρίδα." οἱ μὲν δὴ τοσαῦτα εἰπόντες ἀπῆεσαν, καὶ ὁ
fatherland they indeed indeed so-much having-said departed and —
Κηνσωρῖνος πεντήρεσιν εἴκοσι παραπλεύσας ἀνεκώχευε
Censorinus with-quinqueremes twenty having-sailed-alongside lay-to
παρὰ τὴν πόλιν· τῶν δὲ πρέσβεων οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῆς
by the city of-the and envoys some indeed from the
ὁδοῦ διεδίδρασκον, οἱ δὲ πλέονες ἐπορεύοντο σιγῇ.
road ran-off the and most went in-silence
91 Καρχηδόνιοι δ' οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐς τοὺς πρέσβεις,
Carthaginians and some indeed from the walls toward the envoys
ὁπότε ἥξουσιν, ἀφεώρων καὶ βραδύνουσιν αὐτοῖς ἤχθοντο,
when they-will-come gazed and delaying them were-vexed
καὶ τὰς κόμας ἐτίλλοντο· οἱ δ' ὑπήντων ἔτι προσιοῦσιν,
and the hair tore others and went-to-meet still approaching
οὐκ ἀναμένοντες ἀλλ' ἐπειγόμενοι μαθεῖν. σκυθρωποὺς δὲ
not waiting but hastening to-learn gloomy and

ὁρῶντες ἐτύπτοντο τὰ μέτωπα, καὶ διηρώτων, οἱ μὲν ὁμοῦ
seeing beat the foreheads and questioned some indeed together
πάντας οἱ δ' ἕκαστον, ὡς εἶχέ τις φιλίας ἢ γνώσεως
all others and each as had anyone of-friendship or acquaintance
ἐς αὐτόν, ἐπιστρέφων τε καὶ πυνθανόμενος. ὡς δὲ οὐδεὶς
toward him turning-round both and inquiring when and no-one
ἀπεκρίνετο, ἀνώμωζον ὡς ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ σαφεῖ. καὶ οἱ
answered they-wailed as at destruction clear and the(-men)
ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους ἀκούοντες συνανώμωζον αὐτοῖς, οὐκ εἰδότες
on the wall hearing wailed-with them not knowing
μὲν οὐδέν, ὡς δ' ἐπὶ σαφεῖ καὶ μεγάλῳ κακῷ. περὶ δὲ τὰς
indeed anything as but at clear and great evil about and the
πύλας ὀλίγου μὲν αὐτοὺς καὶ συνεπάτουν, ἐπιπίπτοντες
gates nearly indeed them also trampled falling-on
ἀθρόοι, ὀλίγου δὲ καὶ διέσπασαν, εἰ μὴ τοσόνδε ἔφασαν,
in-masses nearly and also tore-apart if not so-much they-said
ὅτι χρὴ τῇ γερουσίᾳ πρότερον ἐντυχεῖν. τότε γὰρ οἱ
that it-is-needful the council first to-meet then for some
μὲν διίσταντο αὐτοῖς, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὡδοποίουν ἐπιθυμίᾳ
indeed parted for-them others and also made-way from-desire
τοῦ θᾶσσον μαθεῖν. ὡς δὲ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσῆλθον,
of-the quicker to-learn when and into the council-house they-went-in
ἡ μὲν γερουσία τοὺς ἄλλους μετεστήσατο, καὶ μόνοι
the indeed council the others put-out and alone
συνήδρευον ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἔξω περιειστήκεσαν.
sat by themselves the but multitude outside stood-around
οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἀπήγγελλον πρῶτα μὲν τὸ κέλευσμα τῶν
the and envoys reported first indeed the command of-the
ὑπάτων· καὶ εὐθὺς ἦν βοὴ τῆς γερουσίας, καὶ ὁ δῆμος
consuls and at-once was a-shout of-the council and the people
ἔξω συνεβόα. ὡς δὲ ἐπῆγον οἱ πρέσβεις ὅσα ἀντέλεξαν
outside shouted-with-them when and went-on the envoys what they-replied

δικαιολογούμενοι καὶ δεόμενοι καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην πρεσβεῦσαι
pleading and begging and to Rome to-send-envoys
παραιτούμενοι, αὖθις ἦν τῆς βουλῆς σιγὴ βαθεῖα, τὸ τέλος
requesting again was of-the council silence deep the end
μαθεῖν περιμενούσης, καὶ ὁ δῆμος αὐτῇ συνεσιώπα. ὡς
to-learn waiting and the people with-it kept-silent when
δ' ἔμαθον ὅτι μηδὲ πρεσβεύειν ἐπέτρεψαν, ἠλάλαξαν
and they-learned that not-even to-send-envoys they-allowed they-shrieked
ἐξαίσιον ὀδυρόμενοι, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐσέδραμεν ἐς αὐτούς.
extraordinarily lamenting and the people ran-in at them
92 καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἦν οἶστρος ἄλογός τε καὶ μανιώδης, οἷον
and from this was frenzy irrational both and maniacal as
ἐν τοῖς βακχείοις πάθεσί φασι τὰς μαινάδας ἀλλόκοτα
in the Bacchic experiences they-say the maenads strange-things
καινουργεῖν. οἱ μὲν τῶν βουλευτῶν τοὺς περὶ τῶν
to-contrive some indeed of-the councilors the(-men) about the
ὁμήρων ἐσηγησαμένους ὡς ἐξάρχους τῆς ἐνέδρας ᾐκίζοντο
hostages having-proposed as leaders of-the trap tortured
καὶ διέσπων, οἱ δὲ τοὺς συμβουλεύσαντας περὶ τῶν
and tore-apart others and the(-men) having-advised about the
ὅπλων. οἱ δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις κατέλευον ὡς κακῶν
arms others and the envoys stoned as of-evils
ἀγγέλους, οἱ δὲ καὶ περιέσυρον ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν. ἕτεροι
messengers others and also dragged-around through the city others
δὲ τοὺς Ἰταλούς, οἳ ἔτι παρ' αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐν αἰφνιδίῳ καὶ
and the Italians who still among them as in a-sudden and
ἀκηρύκτῳ κακῷ ἦσαν, ἐλυμαίνοντο ποικίλως, ἐπιλέγοντες
undeclared evil were abused variously adding
ὁμήρων πέρι καὶ ὅπλων καὶ ἀπάτης ἀμύνεσθαι. οἰμωγῆς
of-hostages about and arms and deceit to-avenge of-wailing
τε ἅμα καὶ ὀργῆς καὶ δέους καὶ ἀπειλῆς ἡ πόλις
both at-once and of-anger and fear and threat the city

ἐνεπέπληστο, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἀνεκάλουν τὰ φίλτατα, καὶ
was-filled and in the streets they-called-on the dearest and
ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ ὡς ἄσυλα κατέφευγον, καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὠνείδιζον
into the temples as inviolable fled and the gods reproached
ὡς οὐδὲ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπικουρῆσαι δυναμένους. ἕτεροι δὲ
as not-even them- -selves to-help being-able others and
ἐς τὰς ὁπλοθήκας ἰόντες ἔκλαιον, ὁρῶντες κενάς· οἱ δ'
into the armories going wept seeing them-empty others and
ἐς τὰ νεώρια καταθέοντες ὠδύροντο τὰς ναῦς ὡς ἀπίστοις
into the dockyards running-down lamented the ships as to-faithless
ἀνδράσιν ἐκδεδομένας. καὶ τὰ ὀνόματά τινες τῶν ἐλεφάντων
men handed-over and the names some of-the elephants
ἀνεκάλουν ὡς ἔτι παρόντων, τούς τε προγόνους καὶ σφᾶς
called as still present the both ancestors and them-
αὐτοὺς ἐλοιδόρουν, ὡς δέον μήτε ναῦς μήτε ἐλέφαντας
-selves reviled as it-being-needful neither ships nor elephants
μήτε φόρους μήτε τὰ ὅπλα παραδόντας ἀποθανεῖν σὺν τῇ
nor tributes nor the arms having-handed-over to-die with the
πατρίδι ὡπλισμένῃ. μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς ἐς ὀργὴν ἀνέκαιον
fatherland armed most and them to anger inflamed
αἱ μητέρες αἱ τῶν ὁμήρων, οἷά τινες ἐκ τραγῳδίας ἐρινύες
the mothers the of-the hostages like some from tragedy furies
ἐντυγχάνουσαι μετ' ὀλολυγῆς ἑκάστῳ, καὶ τὴν ἔκδοσιν τῶν
meeting with wailing each and the surrender of-the
παίδων προφέρουσαι καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπόρρησιν· ἐπεγέλων
children reproaching and the their-own refusal mocked
τε αὐτοῖς ὡς θεῶν ἀμυνομένων αὐτοὺς ἀντὶ τῶν παίδων.
and them as gods avenging them instead-of the children
ὀλίγον δ' ὅσον ἐσωφρόνει, τὰς πύλας ἀπέκλειε, καὶ
little and as-much-as kept-its-senses the gates shut and
τὸ τεῖχος λίθων ἀντὶ καταπελτῶν ἐπλήρουν.
the wall with-stones instead-of catapults filled

93 ἡ δὲ βουλὴ πολεμεῖν μὲν ἐψηφίσατο αὐτῆς ἡμέρας,
the and council to-make-war indeed voted the-same day
καὶ τοὺς δούλους ἐκήρυξεν ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, στρατηγοὺς
and the slaves proclaimed free to-be generals
δὲ εἵλοντο τῶν μὲν ἔξω πράξεων Ἀσδρούβαν, ᾧ
and chose of-the indeed outside operations Hasdrubal on-whom
θάνατος ἐπικήρυκτος ἦν, ἔχοντα δισμυρίων ἤδη σύνοδον
death proclaimed was having of-twenty-thousand already an-assembly
ἀνδρῶν· καί τις ἐξέτρεχεν αὐτοῦ δεησόμενος μὴ
of-men and someone ran-out him going-to-beg not
μνησικακῆσαι τῇ πατρίδι ἐν ἐσχάτῳ κινδύνου, μηδέ, ὧν
to-bear-a-grudge-against the fatherland in extremity of-danger nor what
ὑπ᾽ ἀνάγκης ἠδικήθη Ῥωμαίων δέει, νῦν ἀναφέρειν.
under necessity he-had-been-wronged of-Romans from-fear now to-bring-up
ἐντὸς δὲ τειχῶν ἡρέθη στρατηγὸς ἕτερος Ἀσδρούβας,
within and walls was-chosen general another Hasdrubal
θυγατριδοῦς Μασσανάσσου. ἔπεμψαν δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς
grandson-by-a-daughter of-Masinissa they-sent and also to the
ὑπάτους, αἰτοῦντες αὖθις ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα ἀνοχάς, ἵνα
consuls asking again of-days thirty truce that
πρεσβεύσειαν ἐς Ῥώμην. ἀποτυχόντες δὲ καὶ τότε, ἐπὶ
they-might-send-envoys to Rome having-failed and also then in
θαυμαστῆς ἐγίγνοντο μεταβολῆς τε καὶ τόλμης ὁτιοῦν
a-wonderful they-were change both and daring anything-whatever
παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν. ταχὺ δὲ καὶ
to-suffer rather than the city to-leave quickly and also
θάρσους ἐκ τῆς μεταβολῆς ἐπίμπλαντο. καὶ δημιουργεῖα
with-courage from the change they-were-filled and workshops
μὲν τὰ δημόσια τεμένη καὶ ἱερὰ πάντα, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο
indeed the public precincts and temples all and if anything other
εὐρύχωρον ἦν, ἐγένετο· εἰργάζοντο δὲ ὁμοῦ ἄνδρες τε καὶ
spacious was became worked and together men both and

γυναῖκες ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτός, μὴ ἀναπαυόμενοι καὶ σῖτον
women by-day both and by-night not resting and food
αἱρούμενοι παρὰ μέρος, ἐπὶ ὅρῳ τακτῷ, θυρεοὺς ἑκατὸν
taking by turn by rule fixed shields hundred
ἡμέρας ἑκάστης καὶ ξίφη τριακόσια καὶ καταπελτικὰ βέλη
day each and swords three-hundred and catapult missiles
χίλια, σαυνία δὲ καὶ λόγχας πεντακοσίας, καὶ καταπέλτας
thousand javelins and and lances five-hundred and catapults
ὅσους δυνηθεῖεν. ἐς δὲ τὰς ἐπιτάσεις αὐτῶν ἀπέκειραν
as-many-as they-could for and the tensioning-ropes of-them they-cut-off
τὰς γυναῖκας, τριχῶν ἑτέρων ἀπορίᾳ.
the women of-hair other for-want
καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τούτῳ σπουδῆς καὶ παρασκευῆς ἦσαν, οἱ δ’ 94
and they indeed in this of-haste and preparation were the and
ὕπατοι τάχα μέν τι καὶ ὄκνῳ, μὴ εὐθὺς ἐπιχειρεῖν
consuls perhaps indeed somewhat also from-hesitation not at-once to-attack
ἐς ἔργον ἀλλόκοτον, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄνοπλον
into a-work strange at-the-same-time and also the city unarmed
οὖσαν λήψεσθαι κατὰ κράτος, ὅτε θέλοιεν, ἡγούμενοι,
being to-be-going-to-take by force whenever they-wished thinking
διέμελλον ἔτι καὶ ἐνδώσειν αὐτοὺς ἐνόμιζον ἐκ τῆς
delayed still and to-be-going-to-yield them they-thought from the
ἀπορίας, οἷον ἐν τοῖς δυσχερέσι γίγνεσθαι φιλεῖ, εὐθὺς
want as in the difficult-things to-happen is-wont at-once
μὲν ἀντιλέγειν, προϊόντος δὲ χρόνου καὶ λογισμοῦ φόβον
indeed to-object proceeding and time and reasoning fear
ἅπτεσθαι τῶν ἀπειθούντων. ἃ καὶ τῶν Καρχηδονίων
to-seize the(-men) disobeying which also of-the Carthaginians
τις αὐτῶν, εἰκάσας σφῶν ἤδη τὸ δέος ἅπτεσθαι,
someone themselves having-guessed them already the fear to-seize
ἐτόλμησεν ὡς ἐπὶ δή τι ἄλλο παρελθὼν ἐς τὸ μέσον
dared as on indeed some other having-come-forward into the middle

εἰπεῖν, ὅτι χρὴ τῶν κακῶν ἐπιλέγεσθαι τὰ μετριώτερα,
to-say that it-is-needful of-the evils to-choose the more-moderate
ὄντας ἀνόπλους, οὕτω σαφῶς εἰπὼν τὰ τῆς γνώμης.
being unarmed so clearly having-spoken the-things of-the opinion
Μασσανάσσης δὲ ἤχθετο Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ ἔφερε βαρέως
Masinissa and was-vexed with-Romans and bore-it heavily
ὅτι τὴν Καρχηδονίων δύναμιν αὐτὸς ἐς γόνυ βαλὼν
that the of-Carthaginians power himself to knee having-brought
ἄλλους ἑώρα τῷ ἐπιγράμματι αὐτῆς ἐπιτρέχοντάς τε
others he-saw to-the title of-it running-up both
καὶ οὐ κοινώσαντας αὐτῷ πρὶν ἐπελθεῖν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς
and not having-shared with-him before to-attack as in the
πάλαι πολέμοις ἐποίουν. ὅμως δ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ὑπάτων
old wars they-did nevertheless and him the consuls
ἀποπειρωμένων καὶ καλούντων ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν, ἔφη τὴν
sounding and calling for alliance he-said the
συμμαχίαν πέμψειν, ὅταν αἴσθηται δεομένων. καὶ
alliance to-be-going-to-send when he-perceives(-them) needing and
μετ' οὐ πολὺ πέμψας ἤρετο εἴ τινος ἤδη δέονται. οἱ
after not long having-sent asked if anything already they-need they
δὲ οὐ φέροντες αὐτοῦ τὸ σοβαρόν, ἤδη δέ τι καὶ
and not bearing his the haughtiness already and somewhat also
ἀπιστοῦντες ὡς δυσμεναίνοντι, ἀπεκρίναντο προσπέμψειν
distrusting as being-hostile answered to-be-going-to-send
ὅτε δεηθεῖεν. περὶ δὲ ἀγορᾶς τῷ στρατῷ καὶ πάνυ
when they-should-need about and provisions for-the army also very
ἐφρόντιζον, ἐκ μόνης ἔχοντες Ἀδρυμητοῦ καὶ Λέπτεως
were-concerned from only having Hadrumetum and Leptis
καὶ Θάψου καὶ Ἰτύκης καὶ Ἀχόλλης· τὰ γὰρ δὴ λοιπὰ
and Thapsus and Utica and Acholla the for indeed rest
Λιβύης ἦν ἔτι πάντα ὑπὸ Ἀσδρούβᾳ, ὅθεν ἐκεῖνος ἀγορὰν
of-Libya was still all under Hasdrubal whence he provisions

ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔπεμπεν. ὀλίγων δ' ἐς ταῦτα διατριφθεισῶν
to Carthage sent few and on these having-been-spent
ἡμερῶν, οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι προσῄεσαν ἄμφω τῇ πόλει τῶν
days the indeed consuls advanced both to-the city of-the
Καρχηδονίων ἐς μάχην ἐσκευασμένοι, καὶ ἐπεχείρουν.
Carthaginians for battle equipped and attacked

95–100 · THE SIEGE BEGINS

Carthage lies on a peninsula behind a triple wall stabling elephants and horses, and its two harbors open into each other. Its people repulse the consuls; Censorinus breaches the wall, but his engines are burned, and the tribune Scipio saves the Romans who rush in. Fire-boats nearly burn the fleet. Scipio routs a night attack on Manilius' camp, and Phameas harasses foragers except under Scipio.

ἦν δὲ ἡ πόλις ἐν μυχῷ κόλπου μεγίστου, χερρονήσῳ τι 95
was and the city in recess of-a-gulf very-great to-a-peninsula somewhat
μάλιστα προσεοικυῖα. αὐχὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἠπείρου
most resembling a-neck for it from the mainland
διεῖργεν, εὖρος ὢν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίων· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ
separated breadth being five and twenty stades from and the
αὐχένος ταινία στενὴ καὶ ἐπιμήκης, ἡμισταδίου μάλιστα
neck a-strip narrow and long of-half-a-stade about
τὸ πλάτος, ἐπὶ δυσμὰς ἐχώρει, μέση λίμνης τε καὶ
the width toward west ran in-the-middle of-lagoon both and
τῆς θαλάσσης *** ἁπλῷ τείχει περίκρημνα ὄντα, τὰ
the sea (lacuna) with-single wall precipitous being the-parts
δὲ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν ἐς ἤπειρον, ἔνθα καὶ ἡ Βύρσα
and toward south toward mainland where also — Byrsa
ἦν ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐχένος, τριπλῷ τείχει. τούτων δ' ἕκαστον
was on the neck with-triple wall of-these and each

ἦν ὕψος μὲν πηχῶν τριάκοντα, χωρὶς ἐπάλξεών τε καὶ
was height indeed of-cubits thirty apart-from battlements both and
πύργων, οἳ ἐκ διπλέθρου διαστήματος αὐτοῖς τετρώροφοι
towers which at two-plethra interval for-them four-storied
περιέκειντο, βάθος δὲ ποδῶν τριάκοντα, διώροφον δ' ἦν
lay-around depth and of-feet thirty two-storied and was
ἑκάστου τείχους τὸ ὕψος, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κοίλῳ τε ὄντι
of-each wall the height and in it hollow both being
καὶ στεγανῷ κάτω μὲν ἐστάθμευον ἐλέφαντες τριακόσιοι,
and roofed below indeed were-stalled elephants three-hundred
καὶ θησαυροὶ παρέκειντο αὐτοῖς τῶν τροφῶν, ἱπποστάσια
and stores lay-beside them of-the foods stables
δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοὺς ἦν τετρακισχιλίοις ἵπποις, καὶ ταμιεῖα
and above them were for-four-thousand horses and storehouses
χιλοῦ τε καὶ κριθῆς, ἀνδράσι τε καταγωγαὶ πεζοῖς μὲν
of-fodder both and of-barley for-men both quarters for-infantry indeed
ἐς δισμυρίους, ἱππεῦσι δὲ ἐς τετρακισχιλίους. τοσήδε
about twenty-thousand for-cavalry and about four-thousand such
παρασκευὴ πολέμου διετέτακτο σταθμεύειν ἐν τοῖς τείχεσι
preparation of-war had-been-arranged to-be-quartered in the walls
μόνοις. γωνία δ' ἥ παρὰ τὴν γλῶσσαν ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ
alone the-angle and which beside the tongue from this the
τείχους ἐπὶ τοὺς λιμένας περιέκαμπτεν, ἀσθενὴς ἦν μόνη
wall to the harbors bent-round weak was alone
καὶ ταπεινή, καὶ ἠμέλητο ἐξ ἀρχῆς.
and low and had-been-neglected from the-beginning
96 οἱ δὲ λιμένες ἐς ἀλλήλους διεπλέοντο, καὶ ἔσπλους ἐκ
the and harbors into each-other were-navigable and an-entrance from
πελάγους ἐς αὐτοὺς ἦν ἐς εὖρος ποδῶν ἑβδομήκοντα, ὃν
open-sea into them was in breadth of-feet seventy which
ἁλύσεσιν ἀπέκλειον σιδηραῖς. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος ἐμπόροις
with-chains they-closed iron the indeed indeed first for-merchants

ἀνεῖτο, καὶ πείσματα ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ πυκνὰ καὶ ποικίλα·
was-left-open and moorings were in it close-set and various
τοῦ δ' ἐντὸς ἐν μέσῳ νῆσος ἦν, καὶ κρηπῖσι μεγάλαις ἥ
of-the and inner in middle an-island was and with-quays great the
τε νῆσος καὶ ὁ λιμὴν διείληπτο. νεωρίων τε ἔγεμον αἱ
both island and the harbor had-been-lined of-docks both were-full the
κρηπῖδες αἵδε ἐς ναῦς διακοσίας καὶ εἴκοσι πεποιημένων,
quays these for ships two-hundred and twenty made
καὶ ταμιείων ἐπὶ τοῖς νεωρίοις ἐς τριηρετικὰ σκεύη. κίονες
and of-storehouses over the docks for trireme gear columns
δ' ἑκάστου νεωσοίκου προῦχον Ἰωνικοὶ δύο, ἐς εἰκόνα
and of-each ship-shed projected Ionic two into likeness
στοᾶς τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ τε λιμένος καὶ τῆς νήσου
of-a-colonnade the appearance of-the both harbor and of-the island
περιφέροντες. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς νήσου σκηνὴ ἐπεποίητο τῷ
carrying-round on and the island a-pavilion had-been-made for-the
ναυάρχῳ, ὅθεν ἔδει καὶ τὸν σαλπικτὴν σημαίνειν, καὶ
admiral whence it-was-needful also the trumpeter to-signal and
τὸν κήρυκα προλέγειν, καὶ τὸν ναύαρχον ἐφορᾶν. ἔκειτο
the herald to-proclaim and the admiral to-oversee lay
δ' ἡ νῆσος κατὰ τὸν ἔσπλουν, καὶ ἀνετέτατο ἰσχυρῶς,
and the island opposite the entrance and had-been-raised strongly
ἵνα ὅ τε ναύαρχος τὰ ἐκ πελάγους πάντα ἐφορᾷ, καὶ
that the both admiral the from open-sea everything might-oversee and
τοῖς ἐπιπλέουσιν ἀφανὴς ἡ τῶν ἔνδον ἦ ὄψις
to-the(-men) sailing-in invisible the of-the-things inside might-be view
ἡ ἀκριβής. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐσπλεύσασιν ἐμπόροις εὐθὺς
the exact not indeed even to-the having-sailed-in merchants at-once
ἦν τὰ νεώρια σύνοπτα· τεῖχός τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς διπλοῦν
were the docks visible a-wall both for to-them double

περιέκειτο, καὶ πύλαι, αἳ τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου
lay-around and gates which the merchants from the first
λιμένος ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσέφερον οὐ διερχομένους τὰ νεώρια.
harbor into the city brought not passing-through the docks
97 οὕτω μὲν εἶχεν ἡ πόλις ἡ Καρχηδονίων ἡ τότε, οἱ δ'
thus indeed was the city the of-Carthaginians the then the and
ὕπατοι διελόμενοι τὸ ἔργον ᾔεσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους,
consuls having-divided the task went against the enemies
Μανίλιος μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἠπείρου κατὰ τὸν αὐχένα, ἐγχώσων
Manilius indeed from the mainland by the neck going-to-fill-up
τε τὴν τάφρον καὶ βραχὺ ἐπιτείχισμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῇ
both the ditch and small outwork the on it
βιασόμενος, καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ ὑψηλὰ τείχη· Κηνσωρῖνος
going-to-force and after that the high walls Censorinus
δὲ κλίμακας ἔκ τε γῆς καὶ νεῶν ἐπέφερε κατὰ τὴν εὐτελῆ
and ladders from both land and ships brought-up at the poor
τοῦ τείχους γωνίαν. ἄμφω δ' ὡς ἀνόπλων κατεφρόνουν,
of-the wall angle both and as unarmed despised
ἕως ἐντυχόντες ὅπλοις τε καινοῖς καὶ ἀνδρῶν προθυμίᾳ
until having-met arms both new and of-men zeal
παραλόγῳ κατεπλάγησαν καὶ ὑπεχώρουν. καὶ εὐθὺς
unexpected they-were-struck-with-terror and withdrew and at-once
αὐτοῖς τοῦτο πρῶτον ἀντεκεκρούκει, ἐλπίσασιν ἀμαχὶ
for-them this first had-struck-against having-hoped without-a-fight
λήψεσθαι τὴν πόλιν. ὡς δὲ καὶ αὖθις ἐπεχείρουν καὶ αὖθις
to-be-going-to-take the city when and also again they-attacked and again
ἀπετύγχανον, τὰ μὲν τῶν Καρχηδονίων φρονήματα ἐπῆρτο,
failed the indeed of-the Carthaginians spirits were-raised
οἱ δ' ὕπατοι δεδιότες Ἀσδρούβαν ὄπισθεν σφῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν
the and consuls fearing Hasdrubal behind them beyond the
λίμνην οὐκ ἐκ μακροῦ διαστήματος ἐστρατοπεδευμένον,
lagoon not from long interval encamped

ὠχύρουν καὶ αὐτοὶ δύο στρατόπεδα, Κηνσωρῖνος μὲν ἐπὶ
fortified also themselves two camps Censorinus indeed on
τῆς λίμνης ὑπὸ τοῖς τείχεσι τῶν πολεμίων, Μανίλιος δ' ἐν
the lagoon under the walls of-the enemies Manilius and in
τῷ αὐχένι τῆς ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον ὁδοῦ. ὡς δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐγήγερτο
the neck of-the to the mainland road when and for-them had-been-raised
τὰ στρατόπεδα, ὁ Κηνσωρῖνος ἐπὶ ὕλῃ ἐς μηχανὰς
the camps — Censorinus for timber for engines
διέπλευσε διὰ τῆς λίμνης· καὶ ἀπέβαλεν ὑλοτόμων ἐς
sailed-across through the lagoon and lost of-woodcutters about
πεντακοσίους ἄνδρας ὅπλα τε πολλά, Ἱμίλκωνος αἰφνίδιον
five-hundred men arms both many Himilco suddenly
αὐτῷ, τοῦ Καρχηδονίων ἱππάρχου, προσπεσόντος, ᾧ
on-him the of-Carthaginians cavalry-commander having-fallen to-whom
Φαμέας ἐπώνυμον ἦν. κομίσας δ' ὅμως τινὰ ὕλην,
Phameas a-surname was having-brought and nevertheless some timber
μηχανὰς ἐποίησε καὶ κλίμακας. καὶ πάλιν ἐπεχείρουν ἄμφω
engines he-made and ladders and again attacked both
τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἀπετύγχανον ὁμοίως. Μανίλιος μὲν οὖν
the city and failed likewise Manilius indeed then
μικρὸν ἔτι προσκαμὼν καὶ μόλις τι τοῦ προτειχίσματος
little still having-labored-more and scarcely somewhat of-the outwork
καταβαλών, ἀπέγνω μηδὲ ἐπιχειρεῖν ἔτι ταύτῃ·
having-thrown-down resolved not-even to-attack any-longer there
Κηνσωρῖνος δὲ χώσας τι τῆς λίμνης παρὰ τὴν 98
Censorinus and having-filled-in somewhat of-the lagoon by the
ταινίαν, ἵνα εὐρύτερον εἴη, δύο μηχανὰς κριοφόρους
strip that broader it-might-be two engines ram-bearing
ἐπῆγε μεγάλας, τὴν μὲν ὠθουμένην ἑξακισχιλίοις πεζοῖς,
brought-up great the(-one) indeed pushed by-six-thousand infantry
ἡγουμένων τῶν χιλιάρχων, τὴν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐρετῶν,
leading the tribunes the(-other) and by the rowers

ἡγουμένων καὶ τοῖσδε ναυάρχων. φιλονεικίας δ', ὡς ἐν
leading also these admirals rivalry and as in
ἴσῳ καὶ ὁμοίῳ ἔργῳ, τοῖς τε ὑπηρέταις καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν
equal and like work for-the both men and the commanders
αὐτῶν γενομένης, συνέπεσέ τι τοῦ τείχους, καὶ τὰ
of-them having-arisen fell somewhat of-the wall and the
ἐντὸς ἤδη κατεφαίνετο. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ καὶ ὡς αὐτοὺς
inside already appeared Carthaginians and even so them
ἀπωσάμενοι, τὰ πεσόντα νυκτὸς ᾠκοδόμουν. οὐκ ἀρκούσης
having-repulsed the fallen-part by-night rebuilt not sufficing
δ' ἐς τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῖς τῆς νυκτός, δεδιότες περὶ τῷ ἤδη
and for the work for-them the night fearing about the already
γεγονότι, μὴ καὶ τοῦτο μεθ' ἡμέραν αἱ Ῥωμαίων μηχαναὶ
having-happened lest also this by day the of-Romans engines
νεότευκτον καὶ ὑγρὸν ἔτι καταβάλοιεν, ἐξέδραμον ἐπὶ τὰ
newly-built and wet still should-throw-down ran-out against the
μηχανήματα τῶν πολεμίων, οἱ μὲν σὺν ὅπλοις, οἱ δὲ
engines of-the enemies some indeed with arms others and
γυμνοὶ λαμπάδας ἡμμένας ἔχοντες, καὶ ἐνέπρησαν μὲν
unarmed torches lit having and burned indeed
οὐχ ὅλα (οὐ γὰρ ἔφθασαν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιδραμόντων),
not wholly not for they-were-in-time Romans having-run-up
ἀχρεῖα δ' ὅλα ποιήσαντες ἀνεχώρουν. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ
useless but wholly having-made withdrew together-with and day
Ῥωμαίοις ἐπέπεσεν ὁρμὴ διὰ τοῦ πεσόντος οὔπω
to-Romans came an-impulse through the fallen-part not-yet
τελέως ἐγηγερμένου βιάσασθαι καὶ ἐσδραμεῖν· καὶ γάρ
completely raised to-force and to-run-in and for
τι πεδίον ἐντὸς ἐφαίνετο εὐφυὲς ἐς μάχην, ἐν ᾧ τοὺς
some plain inside appeared well-suited for battle in which the
ἐνόπλους ἔστησαν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι κατὰ μετώπου, τοὺς δ'
armed stationed the Carthaginians in front the and

ἀνόπλους αὐτοῖς ἐπέταξαν σὺν λίθοις ὀπίσω καὶ ξύλοις,
unarmed them assigned with stones behind and sticks
ἑτέρους τε πολλοὺς διαθέντες ἐπὶ τῶν περικειμένων οἰκιῶν
others both many having-posted on the surrounding houses
ἀνέμενον τοὺς ἐπερχομένους ἐσδραμεῖν. οἱ δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον
awaited the(-men) coming to-run-in they and still more
ἠρεθίζοντο ὡς ὑπὸ γυμνῶν ἀνδρῶν καταφρονούμενοι, καὶ
were-provoked as by unarmed men being-despised and
θρασέως ἐπεπήδων. Σκιπίων δέ, ὃς μετ' ὀλίγον εἷλε
boldly leapt-in Scipio and who after little took
Καρχηδόνα καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο Ἀφρικανὸς ἐπεκλήθη, χιλιαρχῶν
Carthage and for this Africanus was-surnamed being-tribune
τότε ὤκνει, καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ λόχους ἐς πολλὰ διελών,
then hesitated and the his-own companies into many having-divided
καὶ στήσας ἐκ διαστήματος ἐπὶ τοῦ τειχίου, κατιέναι μὲν
and having-posted at interval on the wall to-go-down indeed
ἐς τὴν πόλιν οὐκ εἴα, τοὺς δὲ ἐσελθόντας ἐξωθουμένους
into the city not allowed the(-men) and having-gone-in being-pushed-out
ὑπὸ τῶν Καρχηδονίων πάντοθεν αὐτοῖς ἐπιπεσόντων
by the Carthaginians from-everywhere on-them having-fallen
ὑπεδέχετο καὶ περιέσωζεν. καὶ τοῦτο πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ
he-received and saved and this first him into
δόξης ἐποίησεν, εὐβουλότερον τοῦ στρατηγοῦ φανέντα.
reputation made wiser than-the general having-appeared
κυνὸς δ' ἦν ἐπιτολή, καὶ τὸ Κηνσωρίνου στρατόπεδον 99
of-the-dog and was the-rising and the of-Censorinus camp
ἐνόσει, σταθμεῦον ἐπὶ λίμνῃ σταθεροῦ καὶ βαρέος ὕδατος καὶ
was-sick encamping by a-lagoon of-stagnant and heavy water and
ὑπὸ τείχεσι μεγίστοις, οὐ καταπνεόμενον ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης.
under walls very-great not ventilated from the sea
ὅθεν ὁ Κηνσωρῖνος ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης
whence — Censorinus to the sea from the lagoon

μετεστρατοπέδευσεν. καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, ὅτε γίγνοιτο
moved-camp and the Carthaginians when there-was
πνεῦμα ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπίφορον, σκάφας φρυγάνων
a-wind toward the Romans favorable boats of-brushwood
καὶ στυππίου εἵλκον ὑπὸ τοῖς τείχεσιν, οὐ καθορώμενοι
and tow dragged under the walls not seen
τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀπὸ κάλων· εἰ δὲ ἐπικάμπτοντες ἔμελλον
by-the enemies by ropes if and turning-round they-were-about
γενήσεσθαι καταφανεῖς, θεῖον αὐταῖς καὶ πίσσαν ἐπιχέοντες
to-become visible sulfur on-them and pitch pouring
ἀνέτεινον τὰ ἱστία, καὶ πλήσαντες ἀνέμου πῦρ ἐνέβαλον ἐς
raised the sails and having-filled with-wind fire threw into
τὰ σκάφη. τὰ δὲ τῷ τε ἀνέμῳ καὶ τῇ ῥοπῇ τοῦ πυρὸς
the boats they and by-the both wind and the force of-the fire
ἐς τὰς Ῥωμαίων ναῦς ἐωθεῖτο καὶ ἐλυμαίνετο καὶ ὀλίγου
toward the of-Romans ships were-driven and did-damage and nearly
τὸν στόλον κατέφλεξεν. μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολὺ Κηνσωρῖνος
the fleet burned-up after and not long Censorinus
μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην ᾤχετο ἀρχαιρεσιάσων, οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι
indeed to Rome went going-to-hold-the-elections the and Carthaginians
τῷ Μανιλίῳ θρασύτερον ἐπέκειντο· καὶ νυκτός, οἱ μὲν
— Manilius more-boldly pressed and by-night some indeed
ὅπλα ἔχοντες οἱ δὲ γυμνοί, σανίδας φέροντες ἐπετίθεσαν
arms having others and unarmed planks carrying laid
τῇ κατὰ σφᾶς τάφρῳ τοῦ Μανιλίου, καὶ τὸ χαράκωμα
on-the opposite them ditch — of-Manilius and the palisade
διέσπων. ἀπορουμένων δὲ ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ τῶν ἔνδον, ὁ
tore-apart being-at-a-loss and as in night the(-men) inside —
Σκιπίων ἐξέδραμε σὺν ἱππεῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατὰ
Scipio ran-out with cavalry from the camp by
πύλας ἄλλας, ἔνθα οὐδεὶς πόλεμος, καὶ περιδραμὼν τοὺς
gates other where no fighting and having-run-round the

Καρχηδονίους κατεφόβησεν. οἱ δὲ ἀνεχώρουν ἐς τὴν
Carthaginians terrified they and withdrew into the
πόλιν. καὶ δεύτερον ὁ Σκιπίων ἐδόκει τῷδε τῷ ἔργῳ
city and second-time — Scipio seemed by-this the deed
περισῶσαι Ῥωμαίους, ἐν νυκτὶ θορυβουμένους.
to-have-saved Romans in night being-thrown-into-confusion
ὁ δὲ Μανίλιος τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον ἔτι μᾶλλον 100
— and Manilius the indeed camp still more
ὠχύρου, τεῖχός τε ἀντὶ χάρακος αὐτῷ περιτιθεὶς καὶ
fortified a-wall both instead-of palisade for-it putting-around and
ἐπίνειον φρούριον ἐγείρων ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης διὰ
a-naval-station fort raising on the sea because-of
τὴν καταπλέουσαν ἀγοράν· τραπεὶς δ' ἐς τὰ μεσόγεια
the coming-by-sea provisions having-turned and into the interior
μυρίοις πεζοῖς καὶ ἱππεῦσι δισχιλίοις τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθει,
with-ten-thousand infantry and cavalry two-thousand the country ravaged
ξυλευόμενός τε καὶ χορτολογῶν καὶ ἀγορὰν συλλέγων.
gathering-timber both and foraging and provisions collecting
ἡγεῖτο δ' ἀεὶ τῶν προνομευόντων χιλίαρχος ἕτερος παρ'
led and always the foragers tribune one after
ἕτερον. καὶ Φαμέας ὁ ἵππαρχος ὁ τῶν Λιβύων, νέος
another and Phameas the cavalry-commander the of-the Libyans young
τε ὢν ἔτι καὶ θρασύτερος ἐς μάχας, καὶ ἵπποις χρώμενος
both being still and rather-bold for battles and horses using
μικροῖς καὶ ταχέσι, καὶ ποηφαγοῦσιν ὅτε μηδὲν εἴη, καὶ
small and swift and grazing when nothing there-was and
φέρουσι δίψος, εἰ δεήσειε, καὶ λιμόν, ὑποκρυπτόμενος ἐν
bearing thirst if it-should-be-needful and hunger hiding in
λόχμαις ἢ φάραγξιν, ὅπῃ τι ἀμελούμενον ἴδοι, ἐφίπτατο
thickets or ravines where anything neglected he-saw swooped
ἐξ ἀφανοῦς ὥς τις ἀετός, καὶ λυμηνάμενος ἀπεπήδα· ὅτε δὲ
from unseen-place like some eagle and having-done-damage leapt-away when but

Σκιπίων ἄρχοι, οὐδαμοῦ οὐδ' ἐπεφαίνετο. ὁ γάρ τοι Σκιπίων
Scipio led nowhere even appeared — for surely Scipio
ἀεὶ συντεταγμένους ἦγε τοὺς πεζούς, καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας τῶν
always in-formation led the infantry and the cavalry the
ἵππων ἐπιβεβηκότας· ἔν τε ταῖς προνομαῖς οὐ πρὶν διέλυε
horses having-mounted in both the foragings not before dissolved
τὴν σύνταξιν ἢ τὸ πεδίον, ὃ ἔμελλε θεριεῖν, ἱππεῦσι
the formation than the plain which he-was-going to-reap with-cavalry
καὶ ὁπλίταις περιλάβοι· καὶ τότε κύκλῳ αὐτὸς ἑτέραις
and hoplites he-surrounded and then in-a-circle himself with-other
ἴλαις ἱππέων ἀεὶ περιήει, καὶ τῶν θεριζόντων τὸν
squadrons of-cavalry always went-round and of-the reapers the(-one)
ἀποσκιδνάμενον ἢ ἐξιόντα τοῦ κύκλου πικρῶς ἐκόλαζεν.
straggling or going-out-of the circle harshly punished

101–104 · SCIPIO'S REPUTATION GROWS

Phameas avoids Scipio, and the other tribunes say from envy that Phameas has a guest-friendship from his fathers with Scipio's grandfather; the Libyans surrender only to Scipio, whose word they trust, and he beats off a night attack on the naval station with torches. Manilius marches on Nepheris against Scipio's advice and is beaten crossing a stream; Scipio covers the retreat with cavalry charging in relays and rescues four cohorts surrounded on a hill. Hasdrubal buries the fallen tribunes when Scipio asks, and the army hails him as divinely guided, as his grandfather was.

101 ὅθεν οἱ Φαμέας οὐκ ἐπεχείρει μόνῳ. καὶ γιγνομένου
whence him Phameas not attacked alone and happening
τοῦδε συνεχῶς τὸ μὲν κλέος ηὔξετο τῷ Σκιπίωνι, οἱ
this continually the indeed fame grew — for-Scipio the
δ' ἕτεροι χιλίαρχοι κατὰ φθόνον ἐλογοποίουν ξενίαν
and other tribunes from envy told-tales a-guest-friendship

ἐκ πατέρων εἶναι Φαμέᾳ πρὸς Σκιπίωνα τὸν τοῦδε
from fathers to-be for-Phameas with Scipio the of-this-one
πάππον. Λιβύων δὲ τοῖς ἐς πύργους καὶ φρούρια,
grandfather of-Libyans and the(-men) into towers and forts
ἃ πολλὰ ἦν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, καταφυγοῦσιν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι
which many were in the country having-fled the indeed other
χιλίαρχοι σπενδόμενοι καὶ μεθιέντες ἐπετίθεντο ἀπιοῦσιν,
tribunes making-truces and releasing attacked departing
ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἐς τὰ οἴκοι παρέπεμπε, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε οὐ
— and Scipio to the homes escorted and from this not
πρὶν ἦ Σκιπίωνα ἀφικέσθαι συνετίθετο οὐδείς. τοσαύτη
before than Scipio to-arrive made-terms anyone so-great
δόξα αὐτοῦ ἀνδρείας τε πέρι καὶ πίστεως καὶ παρὰ
reputation his of-courage both about and of-good-faith both among
τοῖς ἰδίοις δι᾽ ὀλίγου ἐγεγένητο καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις.
the own within little had-become and among the enemies
ἐπανελθόντων δ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς προνομῆς ἐς τὸ
having-returned and them from the foraging to the
στρατόπεδον, οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι νυκτὸς ἐπέθεντο τῷ ἐπινείῳ·
camp the Carthaginians by-night attacked the naval-station
καὶ θόρυβος ἦν ποικίλος, συνεπηχούντων ἐς ἔκπληξιν τῶν
and uproar was various echoing for terror of-the
ἐν ἄστει Καρχηδονίων. ὁ μὲν οὖν Μανίλιος τὸν στρατὸν
in the-city Carthaginians — indeed then Manilius the army
ἔνδον συνεῖχεν ὡς ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ κακοῦ· ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων
inside held-together as in ignorance of-the trouble — and Scipio
ἱππέων ἴλας δέκα λαβὼν ἐπῆγε μετὰ δᾳδῶν ἡμμένων,
of-cavalry squadrons ten having-taken led-on with torches lit
προειπὼν διὰ τὴν νύκτα μὴ συμπλέκεσθαι, περιτρέχειν
having-ordered because-of the night not to-engage to-run-round
δὲ σὺν τῷ πυρὶ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐπιφαίνειν καὶ φόβον
but with the fire and the number to-display and fear

ἐμπεσουμένων παρέχειν ἀεί, μέχρι ταρασσόμενοι
of-those-going-to-fall-on to-provide always until being-thrown-into-confusion
διχόθεν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι κατεπλάγησαν καὶ ἐς τὴν
on-two-sides the Carthaginians were-terrified and into the
πόλιν ἐσέφυγον. καὶ τόδε τοῖς Σκιπίωνος κατορθώμασι
city fled and this to-the of-Scipio successes
προσεγίγνετο. ἦν τε διὰ στόματος ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἔργοις ὡς
was-added was both on the-mouth for all deeds as
μόνος ἄξιος Παύλου τε τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ Μακεδόνας ἑλόντος
alone worthy of-Paullus both the father the Macedonians having-taken
καὶ τῶν Σκιπιώνων, ἐς οὓς κατὰ θέσιν ἀνείληπτο.
and of-the Scipios into whom by adoption he-had-been-received
102 Μανιλίου δὲ ἐς Νέφεριν ὁδεύοντος ἐπὶ Ἀσδρούβαν,
Manilius and to Nepheris marching against Hasdrubal
ἐδυσχέραινεν ὁ Σκιπίων ὁρῶν πάντα ἀπόκρημνα καὶ
was-displeased — Scipio seeing everything precipitous and
φάραγγας καὶ λόχμας, καὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ προειλημμένα. ὡς
ravines and thickets and the heights seized-beforehand when
δ' ἀπὸ σταδίων τριῶν ἐγεγένηντο τοῦ Ἀσδρούβα, καὶ
and from stades three they-had-come — of-Hasdrubal and
ἔς τι ῥεῦμα καταβάντας ἐχρῆν ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸν
into some stream having-gone-down it-was-necessary to-go-up against —
Ἀσδρούβαν, ἐνέκειτο δὴ τότε, καὶ συνεβούλευε στραφῆναι
Hasdrubal insisted indeed then and advised to-turn-back
ὡς ἄλλου καιροῦ καὶ μηχανῆς ἄλλης ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν
as of-other occasion and device other against — Hasdrubal
δεομένους. ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ κατὰ ζῆλον αὐτοῦ τῶν ἑτέρων
needing opposing and from jealousy of-him the other
χιλιάρχων, καὶ μαλακίαν καὶ οὐκ εὐβουλίαν ἡγουμένων
tribunes and softness and not prudence considering-it
εἰ τοὺς πολεμίους ἰδόντες ἀναχωρήσουσιν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ
if the enemies having-seen they-will-retreat in which also

καταφρονοῦντες φεύγουσιν ἐπικείσονται, δεύτερα τούτων
despising fleeing they-will-press second to-these
ἠξίου στρατόπεδον πρὸ τοῦ ῥεύματος ἐγεῖραι, ἵν' εἰ
he-asked a-camp before the stream to-raise that if
βιασθεῖεν, ἔχοιεν ἀναχώρησιν, οὐκ ὄντος αὐτοῖς
they-should-be-forced they-might-have a-retreat not being for-them
νῦν οὐδ' ὅποι καταφεύγοιεν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐγέλων, καὶ
now even where they-might-flee they and also this laughed-at and
τὸ ξίφος τις ἠπείλησεν ἀπορρίψειν, εἰ μὴ Μανίλιος
the sword someone threatened to-be-going-to-throw-away if not Manilius
ἀλλὰ Σκιπίων ἄρχοι. διέβαινεν οὖν ὁ Μανίλιος, οὐδὲ
but Scipio should-command crossed then — Manilius not-even
τἄλλα ὢν ἐμπειροπόλεμος, καὶ αὐτῷ περάσαντι ὁ
in-other-respects being experienced-in-war and him having-crossed —
Ἀσδρούβας ἀπήντα, φόνος τε ἦν πολὺς ἐξ ἑκατέρων. καὶ
Hasdrubal met slaughter both was great on each-side and
ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἀναδραμὼν ἐς τὸ φρούριον, ἔνθα μηδὲν
— Hasdrubal having-run-up into the fort where nothing
παθεῖν ἐδύνατο, ἐφήδρευεν ἀπιοῦσιν ἐπιθέσθαι. οἱ δὲ σὺν
to-suffer he-could lay-in-wait-for those-departing to-attack they and with
μετανοίᾳ τῶν γεγονότων ἀπεχώρουν, ἄχρι μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ
regret of-the happenings withdrew as-far indeed as the
ῥεῦμα ἐν τάξει· δυσπόρου δ' ὄντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ
stream in order hard-to-cross and being the river and
διαβάσεων ὀλίγων τε καὶ δυσχερῶν, ἐς ἀταξίαν διῃροῦντο
crossings few both and difficult into disorder were-broken-up
ὑπ' ἀνάγκης. καὶ ὁ Ἀσδρούβας καθορῶν ἐπέκειτο λαμπρῶς
from necessity and — Hasdrubal seeing pressed brilliantly
τότε μάλιστα, καὶ πλῆθος ἔκτεινεν οὐδ' ἀμυνομένων ἀλλὰ
then most and a-multitude killed not defending-themselves but

φευγόντων. ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ τῶν χιλιάρχων τρεῖς οἳ τὸν
fleeing fell and also of-the tribunes three who the
στρατηγὸν μάλιστα ἐπεπείκεσαν ἐς τὴν μάχην.
general most had-persuaded into the battle

103 ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων τριακοσίους ἱππέας οὓς εἶχεν ἀμφ' αὐτόν, καὶ
— and Scipio three-hundred cavalry whom he-had about himself and
ὅσους ἄλλους συναγαγεῖν ἔφθασε, διελὼν ἐς δύο τοῖς
as-many-as others to-gather he-managed having-divided into two against-the
ἐχθροῖς ἐπῆγε σὺν δρόμῳ πολλῷ, παρὰ μέρος ἀκοντίζοντάς
enemies led with charge great by turn hurling-javelins
τε καὶ εὐθὺς ἀποχωροῦντας, εἶτ' αὖθις ἐπιόντας καὶ
both and at-once withdrawing then again attacking and
πάλιν εὐθὺς ἀποπηδῶντας. οὕτω γὰρ εἴρητο αὐτοῖς,
again at-once leaping-away thus for it-had-been-told them
τοὺς ἡμίσεας ἀεὶ παρὰ μέρος ἐπιέναι καὶ ἀκοντίσαντας
the half always by turn to-attack and having-hurled
ἀπελαύνειν, ὥσπερ ἐν κύκλῳ περιιόντας. γιγνομένου δὲ
to-ride-off as-if in a-circle going-round happening and
τοῦδε πυκνοῦ, καὶ διαστήματος οὐδενὸς ὄντος, οἱ μὲν
this rapid and of-interval none being the indeed
Λίβυες ἐβάλλοντο συνεχῶς, καὶ ἐπιστρέφοντες ἐς τὸν
Libyans were-struck continually and turning toward —
Σκιπίωνα ἧσσον τοῖς περῶσιν ἐπέκειντο, οἱ δ' ἔφθασαν
Scipio less the(-men) crossing pressed they and managed
διελθεῖν τὸ ῥεῦμα. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀφίππευσε
to-cross the stream and — Scipio after them rode-off
βαλλόμενός τε καὶ χαλεπῶς. σπεῖραι δ' ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦδε
being-struck both and with-difficulty cohorts and in beginning of-this
τοῦ πόνου τέσσαρες ἀποσχισθεῖσαι τοῦ ῥεύματος ὑπὸ
the struggle four cut-off from-the stream by
τῶν πολεμίων ἔς τινα λόφον ἀνέδραμον· καὶ αὐτὰς ὁ
the enemies onto some hill ran-up and them —

Ἀσδρούβας περιεκάθητο, ἀγνοούντων ἔτι Ῥωμαίων, ἕως
Hasdrubal besieged not-knowing still Romans until
ἐστάθμευσαν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔμαθον, ἠπόρουν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν
they-encamped when and they-learned they-were-at-a-loss and to-some indeed
ἐδόκει φεύγειν καὶ μὴ κινδυνεύειν ἅπασι δι' ὀλίγους,
it-seemed to-flee and not to-risk all for-the-sake-of few
ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἐδίδασκεν ἀρχομένων μὲν ἔργων εὐβουλίᾳ
— and Scipio taught beginning indeed works prudence
χρῆσθαι, κινδυνευόντων δὲ ἀνδρῶν τοσῶνδε καὶ σημείων
to-use being-in-danger but men so-many and standards
τόλμῃ παραβόλῳ. αὐτὸς δ' ἐπιλεξάμενός τινας ἱππέων
with-daring reckless himself and having-chosen some of-cavalry
ἴλας, ἐπανοίσειν ἔφη ἐκείνους, ἢ χαίρων αὐτοῖς
squadrons to-be-going-to-bring-back he-said them or gladly with-them
συναπολεῖσθαι. δύο τε ἡμερῶν σιτία φέρων εὐθὺς ὥδευε,
to-be-going-to-perish two both days' food carrying at-once marched
δεδιότος πάνυ τοῦ στρατοῦ μὴ οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἐπανέλθοι. ὡς
fearing very the army lest not-even himself should-return when
δ' ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον ἔνθα ἦσαν οἱ πολιορκούμενοι, τὸν
and he-came to the hill where were the besieged the
μὲν ἄντικρυς αὐτοῦ δρόμῳ κατέλαβε, καὶ μία τοὺς δύο
indeed opposite it at-a-run he-seized and one the two
χαράδρα διεῖργεν, οἱ δὲ Λίβυες τότε μάλιστα ἐπέκειντο
ravine separated the and Libyans then most pressed
τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐνενεύκεσαν, ὡς
the besieged and toward them had-turned as
οὔπω δυναμένου τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἐπικουρεῖν ἐξ ὁδοιπορίας
not-yet being-able — Scipio to-help from march
συντόνου. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ὡς εἶδε τὰς πέζας τῶν δύο
strenuous — and Scipio when he-saw the foot-slopes of-the two
λόφων τὴν χαράδραν περιιούσας, τὸν καιρὸν οὐ μεθῆκεν,
hills the ravine going-round the opportunity not let-go

ἀλλὰ περιέδραμε δι᾽ αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολεμίους. οἱ
but ran-round through them above the enemies they
δ᾽ ἤδη κυκλούμενοι διέφευγον ἀκόσμως, μεθιέντος αὐτοὺς
and already being-encircled fled in-disorder allowing them
ἀπιέναι τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἀδεῶς, πολὺ πλείονας ὄντας.
to-depart — Scipio fearlessly much more being
104 οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ τούσδε ὁ Σκιπίων περιέσωσεν ἐν
thus indeed indeed also these — Scipio saved in
ἀπογνώσει γενομένους. καὶ αὐτὸν ἡ στρατιὰ μακρόθεν
despair having-been and him the army from-far
ἰδοῦσα ἐξ ἀέλπτου περισεσωσμένον τε καὶ περισώσαντα
having-seen from unexpected saved both and having-saved
τοὺς ἑτέρους, μέγα ἠλάλαξαν ἡδόμενοι. καὶ δαιμόνιον
the others greatly raised-the-war-cry rejoicing and a-divinity
αὐτῷ συλλαμβάνειν ἐδόξαζον, ὃ καὶ τῷ πάππῳ Σκιπίωνι
him to-assist held which also to-the grandfather Scipio
προσημαίνειν ἐδόκει τὰ μέλλοντα. ὁ μὲν δὴ Μανίλιος
to-foreshow seemed the future-things — indeed indeed Manilius
ἀνεζεύγνυεν ἐς τὸ πρὸς τῇ πόλει στρατόπεδον, πολλὴν
withdrew to the by the city camp great
τίσιν ὑποσχὼν τοῦ μὴ πεισθῆναι Σκιπίωνι τῆς
penalty having-paid for-the not to-have-been-persuaded by-Scipio from-the
στρατείας ἀποτρέποντι· ἀχθομένων δὲ πάντων ἐπὶ τῇ
campaign dissuading being-vexed and all at the
τῶν πεσόντων ἀταφίᾳ, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τοῖς χιλιάρχοις,
of-the fallen lack-of-burial and most at the tribunes
ὁ Σκιπίων τινὰ λύσας τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἔπεμψε πρὸς
— Scipio one having-released of-the captives sent to
Ἀσδρούβαν, καὶ παρῄνει θάψαι τοὺς χιλιάρχους. ὁ δ᾽
Hasdrubal and urged to-bury the tribunes he and
ἐρευνησάμενος τὰ νεκρά, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς σφραγῖδος εὑρών
having-searched the corpses and from the signet-ring having-found

(χρυσοφοροῦσι γὰρ τῶν στρατευομένων οἱ χιλίαρχοι,
wear-gold for of-the(-men) serving the tribunes
τῶν ἐλαττόνων σιδηροφορούντων), ἔθαψεν αὐτούς, εἴτε τὸ
the lesser wearing-iron buried them whether the
ἔργον ἀνθρώπειον καὶ κοινὸν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἡγούμενος,
deed human and common in the wars considering
εἴτε τὴν Σκιπίωνος δόξαν ἤδη δεδιώς τε καὶ θεραπεύων.
or the of-Scipio reputation already fearing both and courting
Ῥωμαίοις δ' ἀναζευγνύουσι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσδρούβα
to-Romans and withdrawing indeed from — Hasdrubal
ἐπέκειτο Φαμέας, διὰ τὸ πταῖσμα θορυβουμένοις· ἐσιοῦσι
pressed Phameas because-of the defeat being-in-confusion entering
δὲ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῆς πόλεως ἐκδραμόντες ὑπήντων,
and the Carthaginians from-the city having-run-out met
καί τινα καὶ τῶν σκευοφόρων διέφθειραν.
and some also of-the baggage-carriers destroyed

105–111 · MASINISSA'S DEATH AND PHAMEAS

Envoys from the senate hear everyone praise Scipio. Masinissa, fortunate in all things, dies at ninety charging his sons to let Scipio divide his kingdom; Scipio gives Micipsa Cirta, Gulussa war and peace, and Mastanabal justice. Scipio meets Phameas across a ravine and urges him to come over; while Manilius marches again on Nepheris, Phameas deserts with two thousand two hundred horsemen. Scipio sails to Rome with him, and the army prays he return as consul. Piso, the new consul, fails before Aspis and Hippagreta, whose people burn his engines. Elated, Carthage sends to Micipsa, Mastanabal, the Moors, and the Macedonian pretender, and the general Hasdrubal's charge of treason gets Hasdrubal, Masinissa's grandson, beaten to death in the council.

105 ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔπεμπε
in this and also the senate into the camp sent
τοὺς εἰσομένους καὶ μεταδώσοντας αὐτῇ τὰ ἀκριβέστατα,
the(-men) going-to-learn and going-to-report to-it the most-exact-things
ἐφ᾽ ὧν ὅ τε Μανίλιος καὶ τὸ συνέδριον καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν
before whom — both Manilius and the council and the rest of-the
χιλιάρχων, ἐσβεσμένου τοῦ φθόνου διὰ τὴν εὐπραγίαν,
tribunes extinguished the envy because-of the success
ἐμαρτύρουν τῷ Σκιπίωνι, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἅπας καὶ τὰ ἔργα
bore-witness — to-Scipio and the army whole and the deeds
ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνοις, ὥστ᾽ ἐπανελθόντες οἱ πρέσβεις διεθρόησαν
besides them so-that having-returned the envoys spread-abroad
ἐς ἅπαντας τὴν ἐμπειρίαν καὶ ἐπίτευξιν τοῦ Σκιπίωνος
to all the experience and success — of-Scipio
καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν ὁρμήν. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ
and of-the army the toward him enthusiasm the and senate
τούτοις μὲν ἔχαιρε, πολλῶν δὲ γεγενημένων πταισμάτων
at-these-things indeed rejoiced many but having-happened defeats
ἐς Μασσανάσσην ἔπεμπε, καὶ παρεκάλει συμμαχεῖν αὐτὸν
to Masinissa sent and urged to-ally him
ἐρρωμένως ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα. ὁ δ᾽ ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πρέσβεων
vigorously against Carthage he but by indeed the envoys
οὐ κατελήφθη, κάμνων δὲ γήρᾳ καὶ νόσῳ, καὶ παῖδας
not was-found being-ill and with-old-age and sickness and children
ἔχων νόθους μὲν πλείονας, οἷς ἐδεδώρητο πολλά,
having bastard indeed more to-whom he-had-given much
γνησίους δὲ τρεῖς οὐδὲν ἀλλήλοις τὰ ἔργα ἐοικότας,
legitimate and three in-nothing to-each-other the deeds resembling
ἐκάλει τὸν Σκιπίωνα κατὰ φιλίαν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ
called — Scipio from friendship his-own both and of-the
πάππου σύμβουλόν οἱ περὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς
grandfather adviser to-him about the children and the kingdom

ἐσόμενον. ὁ δὲ ᾔει μὲν αὐτίκα, μικρὸν δὲ πρὶν ἐλθεῖν ὁ
going-to-be he and went indeed at-once little but before to-come —
Μασσανάσσης ἀποψύχων ἐπέσκηψε τοῖς παισὶ πείθεσθαι
Masinissa expiring charged to-the sons to-obey
τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, ὡς ἂν αὐτοῖς διαιρῇ τὰ ὄντα.
— Scipio how — for-them he-should-divide the possessions
καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀνὴρ ἐς πάντα 106
and he indeed this having-said died a-man in everything
ἐπιτυχής, ᾧ τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν τὴν πατρῴαν θεὸς
fortunate to-whom the indeed rule the paternal god
ἔδωκεν, ἀφαιρεθέντι πρὸς Καρχηδονίων καὶ Σύφακος,
granted having-been-deprived by Carthaginians and Syphax
ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ προαγαγεῖν ἐπὶ μέγιστον, ἀπὸ Μαυρουσίων
to-recover and to-advance to greatest from Moors
τῶν παρ᾽ ὠκεανῷ μέχρι τῆς Κυρηναίων ἀρχῆς ἐς τὰ
the by ocean as-far-as the of-Cyrenaeans rule into the
μεσόγεια, ἡμερῶσαι δὲ γῆν πολλήν, τὰ πολλὰ τῶν
interior to-tame and land much for-the most-part of-the
Νομάδων ποηφαγούντων διὰ τὸ ἀγεώργητον, θησαυρούς
Numidians grazing because-of the untilled-state treasures
τε μεγάλους χρημάτων καταλιπεῖν καὶ στρατιὰν πολλὴν
both great of-money to-leave and army large
γεγυμνασμένην, τῶν δ᾽ ἐχθρῶν Σύφακα μὲν αἰχμάλωτον
trained of-the and enemies Syphax indeed captive
ἑλεῖν αὐτοχειρί, Καρχηδόνι δ᾽ αἴτιον τῆς ἀναστάσεως
to-take with-his-own-hand for-Carthage and cause of-the uprooting
γενέσθαι, πάμπαν ἀσθενῆ Ῥωμαίοις ὑπολιπόντα. ἔφυ
to-become altogether weak for-Romans having-left was
δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα μέγας τε καὶ εὔρωστος ἐς γῆρας
and also the body great both and robust into old-age
πολύ, καὶ μάχης ἐπειρᾶτο μέχρι τοῦ θανάτου, ἵππου
much and of-battle made-trial until the death horse

τε χωρὶς ἀναβολέως ἐπέβαινεν. καὶ μεγίστῳ δὴ τῷδ'
both without mounting-aid mounted and greatest indeed by-this
ἐτεκμηρίωσε μάλιστα τὴν εὐρωστίαν αὐτοῦ· πολλῶν γὰρ
proved most the robustness his many for
αὐτῷ παίδων γιγνομένων τε καὶ ἀποθνησκόντων, οὔποτε
to-him children being-born both and dying never
μὲν ἦσαν αὐτῷ μείους τῶν δέκα, τετραετὲς δὲ παιδίον
indeed were to-him fewer than-the ten four-year-old and a-child
ἐνενηκοντούτης ὢν ἀπέλιπεν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Μασσανάσσης
ninety-year-old being he-left — indeed indeed Masinissa
ὧδε χρόνου τε καὶ σώματος ἔχων ἐτεθνήκει, Σκιπίων δὲ
so of-time both and body having had-died Scipio and
τοῖς μὲν νόθοις αὐτοῦ παισὶ προσέθηκεν ἑτέρας δωρεάς,
to-the indeed bastard his sons added other gifts
τοῖς δὲ γνησίοις τοὺς μὲν θησαυροὺς καὶ φόρους καὶ
to-the and legitimate the indeed treasures and revenues and
τὸ ὄνομα τῆς βασιλείας κοινὸν ἀπέφηνε, τὰ δ' ἄλλα
the name of-the kingship common declared the and rest
διέκρινεν ὡς ἔμελλεν ἁρμόσειν πρὸς ὃ ἐβούλετο ἕκαστος,
distributed as were-going to-suit to what wished each
Μικίψῃ μέν, ὃς πρεσβύτατος ὢν εἰρηνικώτατος ἦν, Κίρτην
to-Micipsa indeed who eldest being most-peaceable was Cirta
ἐξαίρετον ἔχειν καὶ τὰ βασίλεια τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ, Γολόσσῃ δέ,
chosen to-have and the palace the in it to-Gulussa and
στρατιωτικῷ τε ὄντι καὶ δευτέρῳ καθ' ἡλικίαν, πολέμου τε
military both being and second by age of-war both
καὶ εἰρήνης εἶναι κυρίῳ, Μαστανάβᾳ δέ, ὃς νεώτατος ὢν
and peace to-be master to-Mastanabal and who youngest being
ἤσκει δικαιοσύνην, δικάζειν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις τὰ ἀμφίλογα.
practiced justice to-judge for-the subjects the disputed-matters

οὕτω μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ περιουσίαν 107
thus indeed — Scipio the rule and wealth
Μασσανάσσου διεῖλε τοῖς παισί, καὶ Γολόσσην εὐθὺς ἐς
of-Masinissa divided to-the sons and Gulussa at-once into
συμμαχίαν ἐπήγετο· ὁ δὲ τὰς Φαμέου μάλιστα ἐνέδρας,
alliance brought he and the of-Phameas especially ambushes
αἳ πολλὰ Ῥωμαίους ἐλύπουν, ἐρευνώμενος ἀνέστελλεν.
which much Romans troubled searching-out checked
ἐν δέ τινι χειμασίᾳ Σκιπίων καὶ Φαμέας ἀντιπαρώδευον
in and some winter-storm Scipio and Phameas marched-opposite
ἀλλήλοις, μέσην ἔχοντες ἄβατον χαράδραν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐς
each-other middle having impassable ravine and nothing against
ἀλλήλους δυνάμενοι. δεδιὼς δ' ὁ Σκιπίων μή τις ἐνέδρα
each-other being-able fearing and — Scipio lest some ambush
κατὰ τὸ πρόσθεν εἴη, προϊὼν κατεσκέπτετο σὺν τρισὶ
in the front might-be advancing reconnoitered with three
φίλοις. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Φαμέας ἰδὼν ἀντιπροήει μεθ'
friends and him — Phameas having-seen came-forward-opposite with
ἑνὸς φίλου. ἐλπίσας δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Σκιπίων εἰπεῖν τι
one friend having-hoped and him — Scipio to-say something
θέλειν, ἐξίππευσε μεθ' ἑνὸς καὶ ὅδε φίλου. καὶ ὡς ἤδη
to-wish rode-out with one also this-one friend and when already
κατακούειν ἐδύναντο ἀλλήλων, πρὸ Καρχηδονίων οἱ
to-hear they-could each-other before Carthaginians to-him
προελήλυθεν. "τί δὴ τῆς ἰδίας σωτηρίας οὐ προνοεῖς, εἰ μὴ
it-has-advanced why indeed of-the own safety not you-provide if not
τῆς κοινῆς δύνασαι;" ὁ δέ, "τίς ἐστιν," ἔφη, "μοι σωτηρία,
of-the common you-can he and what is he-said for-me safety
Καρχηδονίων μὲν οὕτως ἐχόντων, Ῥωμαίων δ' ὑπ' ἐμοῦ
of-Carthaginians indeed thus being of-Romans and by me
κακὰ πολλὰ πεπονθότων;" καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων, "ἐγγυῶμαί
evils many having-suffered and — Scipio I-guarantee

σοί," φησιν, "εἰ πιστὸς ἐγὼ καὶ ἀξιόχρεως, καὶ σωτηρίαν
to-you he-says if trustworthy I and reliable both safety
καὶ συγγνώμην παρὰ Ῥωμαίων καὶ χάριν ἔσεσθαι." ὁ
and pardon from Romans and favor to-be-going-to-be he
δ' ἐπῄνεσε μὲν ὡς ἀξιοπιστότατον ἐκ πάντων, "κρινῶ"
and praised indeed as most-trustworthy of all I-will-judge
δ', ἔφη· "κἂν δυνατὸν ἡγῶμαι, φανερὸν ἔσται σοι."
but he-said and-if possible I-think clear it-will-be to-you
108 καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις διεκρίθησαν, ὁ δὲ Μανίλιος
and they indeed on these-terms parted — and Manilius
αἰδούμενος τὴν δυσπραξίαν τὴν ἐς Ἀσδρούβαν αὐτῷ
being-ashamed-of the failure the against Hasdrubal for-him
γενομένην, αὖθις ἐς Νέφεριν ἐστράτευε, πεντακαίδεκα
having-happened again to Nepheris marched fifteen
ἡμερῶν τροφὰς ἐπαγόμενος. πλησιάσας δ' ἔθετο χάρακα
of-days food bringing having-come-near and he-set a-palisade
καὶ ὠχύρου καὶ ἐτάφρευε, καθὰ Σκιπίων ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ
and fortified and entrenched as Scipio in the former
στρατείᾳ παρήγγειλεν. οὐδὲν δὲ ἀνύων ἐν αἰδοῖ μείζονι
campaign had-advised nothing but achieving in shame greater
ἐγίγνετο καὶ φόβῳ τοῦ πάλιν αὐτοῖς ἀπιοῦσι τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν
he-was and in-fear of-the again them departing — Hasdrubal
ἐπιθέσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν τῷδε ἦν ἀπορίας, ἐπιστολὴν δέ
to-attack and he indeed in this was of-perplexity a-letter and
τις ἐκ τοῦ Γολόσσου στρατοῦ ἔφερε τῷ Σκιπίωνι. ὁ
someone from the of-Gulussa army brought — to-Scipio he
δ', ὡς εἶχε, σεσημασμένην ἐπέδειξε τῷ στρατηγῷ. καὶ
and as it-was sealed showed to-the general and
λύσαντες ηὗρον· "ἐς τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν ἐγὼ μὲν τόδε τὸ
having-opened they-found for this the day I indeed this the
χωρίον καταλήψομαι· σὺ δ' ἐλθὲ μεθ' ὅσων βούλει, καὶ
place will-seize you and come with as-many-as you-wish and

τοῖς προφύλαξιν εἰπὲ δέχεσθαι τὸν νυκτὸς ἀφικνούμενον.”
to-the outposts say to-receive the(-one) by-night arriving
ἡ μὲν ἐπιστολὴ χωρὶς ὀνομάτων τοιάδ’ ἐδήλου, συνῆκε
the indeed letter without names such-things showed understood
δ’ ὁ Σκιπίων εἶναι παρὰ Φαμέου. καὶ ὁ Μανίλιος
and — Scipio it-to-be from Phameas and — Manilius
ἐδεδοίκει μὲν περὶ τῷ Σκιπίωνι, μή τις ἀπάτη παρ’
feared indeed about — Scipio lest some deceit from
ἀνδρὸς γένοιτο πιθανωτάτου πάντων ἐς ἐνέδρας· εὔελπιν
a-man should-happen most-persuasive of-all for ambushes hopeful
δ’ αὐτὸν ὁρῶν ἔπεμπεν, ἐπιτρέψας περὶ μὲν τῆς σωτηρίας
but him seeing sent having-permitted about indeed the safety
δοῦναι πίστιν ἀσφαλῆ τῷ Φαμέᾳ, χάριν δὲ μὴ ὁρίζειν,
to-give pledge secure — to-Phameas favor but not to-define
ἀλλ’ ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι Ῥωμαίους τὰ πρέποντα ποιήσειν.
but to-promise Romans the fitting-things to-be-going-to-do
οὐ μὴν ἐδέησεν οὐδ’ ἐπαγγελίας· ὁ γάρ τοι Φαμέας
not indeed was-needed not-even promise — for surely Phameas
ὡς ἦκεν ἐς τὸ συγκείμενον, περὶ μὲν τῆς σωτηρίας ἔφη
when he-came to the appointed-place about indeed the safety said
πιστεύειν δεξιουμένῳ Σκιπίωνι, τὰς δὲ χάριτας Ῥωμαίοις
to-trust giving-his-right-hand Scipio the and favors to-Romans
ἐπιτρέπειν. ταῦτα δ’ εἰπὼν ἐξέτασσε τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐς
to-leave these-things and having-said he-drew-up on-the following for
μάχην, καὶ προπηδήσας μετὰ τῶν ἰλαρχῶν ἐς τὸ
battle and having-leapt-forward with the squadron-commanders into the
μεταίχμιον ὡς ἐπί τινα σκέψιν ἑτέραν, εἶπεν· “εἰ μὲν
space-between as for some consideration other said if indeed
ἔστιν ἔτι τῇ πατρίδι βοηθεῖν, ἕτοιμός εἰμι μεθ’ ὑμῶν· εἰ
it-is still for-the fatherland to-help ready I-am with you if
δ’ ἔχει τὰ ἐκείνης ὡς ἔχει, ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ τῆς ἰδίας
but are the-things of-it as they-are to-me indeed it-seems of-the own

σωτηρίας προνοεῖν, καὶ πίστιν ἔλαβον ἐπί τε ἐμαυτῷ καὶ
safety to-take-thought and a-pledge I-received for both myself and
ὅσους πείσαιμι ὑμῶν, καιρὸς δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐπιλέγεσθαι
as-many-as I-might-persuade of-you time and also you to-choose
τὰ συνοίσοντα." ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπε, τῶν δ'
the going-to-be-advantageous-things he indeed thus spoke of-the and
ἰλαρχῶν οἱ μὲν σὺν τοῖς αὑτῶν ηὐτομόλησαν, καὶ
squadron-commanders some indeed with the their-own deserted and
ἐγένοντο πάντες ἐς διακοσίους καὶ δισχιλίους ἱππέας·
became all about two-hundred and two-thousand cavalry
τοὺς δ' Ἄννων κατεκώλυσεν, ᾧ Λεῦκος ἦν ἐπίκλησις.
the(-others) and Hanno prevented to-whom Leucus was surname
109 ἐπανιόντι δὲ τῷ Σκιπίωνι μετὰ τοῦ Φαμέου ὁ στρατὸς
returning and — to-Scipio with — Phameas the army
ἀπήντα, καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα ηὐφήμουν ὡς ἐπὶ θριάμβῳ.
met and — Scipio acclaimed as at a-triumph
Μανίλιος δ' ὑπερηδόμενός τε, καὶ οὐκέτι τὴν ἐπάνοδον
Manilius and rejoicing-greatly both and no-longer the return
αἰσχρὰν ἐπὶ τῷδε ἡγούμενος, οὐδ' Ἀσδρούβαν ἔψεσθαι
disgraceful for this thinking nor Hasdrubal to-be-going-to-follow
προσδοκῶν καταπεπληγμένον, ἀνεζεύγνυεν αὐτίκα δι'
expecting struck-with-terror withdrew at-once through
ἔνδειαν, ἑπτακαιδεκάτην ἡμέραν ἀντὶ πεντεκαίδεκα ἔχων.
want seventeenth day instead-of fifteen having
τρισὶ δ' ἄλλαις ἐχρῆν κακοπαθοῦντα ἐπανελθεῖν. ὁ
in-three and others it-was-necessary suffering to-return —
οὖν Σκιπίων τόν τε Φαμέαν καὶ Γολόσσην καὶ τοὺς ὑφ'
then Scipio — both Phameas and Gulussa and the under
ἑκατέρῳ λαβὼν ἱππέας, προσλαβὼν δέ τινας καὶ
each having-taken cavalry having-taken-in-addition and some also
τῶν Ἰταλικῶν, ἐς πεδίον ἠπείχθη τὸ καλούμενον μέγα
of-the Italians to a-plain hastened the called great

βάραθρον, καὶ πολλὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ λείαν τε καὶ ἀγορὰν ἦκε
pit and much from it booty both and provisions came
φέρων τῷ στρατῷ περὶ νύκτα. Μανίλιος δὲ πυθόμενός
bringing to-the army about night Manilius and having-learned
οἱ διάδοχον ἐπιέναι Καλπούρνιον Πίσωνα, προέπεμπεν
for-him a-successor to-be-coming Calpurnius Piso sent-off
ἐς Ῥώμην Σκιπίωνα μετὰ Φαμέου· καὶ ὁ στρατὸς
to Rome Scipio with Phameas and the army
ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν καταθέοντες ηὐφήμουν τὸν Σκιπίωνα, καὶ
to the ship running-down acclaimed — Scipio and
ηὔχοντο ὕπατον ἐς Λιβύην ἐπανελθεῖν ὡς μόνον αἱρήσοντα
prayed consul to Libya to-return as alone going-to-take
Καρχηδόνα. θεόληπτος γάρ τις αὐτοῖς ἥδε ἡ δόξα ἐνέπιπτε,
Carthage god-inspired for some them this the opinion came-upon
Σκιπίωνα μόνον αἱρήσειν Καρχηδόνα· καὶ πολλοὶ
Scipio alone to-be-going-to-take Carthage and many
ταῦτα τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπέστελλον. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ
these-things to-the relatives to Rome wrote the and senate
Σκιπίωνα μὲν ἐπῄνει, Φαμέαν δ' ἐτίμησαν ἁλουργίδι
Scipio indeed praised Phameas and they-honored with-a-purple-robe
καὶ ἐπιπορπήματι χρυσῷ καὶ ἵππῳ χρυσοφαλάρῳ καὶ
and brooch golden and horse with-golden-trappings and
πανοπλίᾳ καὶ ἀργυρίου δραχμαῖς μυρίαις, ἔδωκαν δὲ
full-armor and of-silver drachmas ten-thousand they-gave and
καὶ μνῶν ἑκατὸν ἀργύρωμα καὶ σκηνὴν καὶ κατασκευὴν
also of-minae hundred silver-plate and a-tent and equipment
ἐντελῆ. καὶ ἐπήλπισαν περὶ πλειόνων, εἰ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ
complete and held-out-hopes about more if the rest of-the
πολέμου συνεκπονήσειεν αὐτοῖς. ὁ δ' ὑποσχόμενος ἐς
war he-should-help-finish for-them he and having-promised to
Λιβύην διέπλευσεν ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον.
Libya sailed to the of-Romans camp

110 ἦκε δὲ Καλπούρνιος Πίσων ὁ ὕπατος ἅμα ἦρι, καὶ
came and Calpurnius Piso the consul together-with spring and
σὺν αὐτῷ Λεύκιος Μαγκῖνος ἐπὶ τὴν ναυαρχίαν· οἳ
with him Lucius Mancinus for the command-of-the-fleet who
Καρχηδονίοις μὲν οὐκ ἐπεχείρουν, οὐδὲ Ἀσδρούβᾳ, τὰς
Carthaginians indeed not attacked nor Hasdrubal the
δὲ πόλεις ἐπιόντες Ἀσπίδος μὲν ἀπετύγχανον, ἐκ γῆς
and cities attacking at-Aspis indeed failed from land
καὶ θαλάσσης ἀποπειράσαντες, ἑτέραν δ' ἐγγὺς εἷλεν ὁ
and sea having-made-trial other but near took —
Πίσων, καὶ διήρπαζεν αἰτιωμένην ἐπὶ συνθήκαις αὐτῷ
Piso and plundered complaining on terms to-him
προσελθεῖν. ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης ἐς Ἱππάγρετα μετῆλθεν, ἣ
to-have-come-over from and this to Hippagreta moved which
μεγάλη τε ἦν καὶ τείχεσι καὶ ἀκροπόλει καὶ λιμέσι
great both was and with-walls and citadel and harbors
καὶ νεωρίοις ὑπ' Ἀγαθοκλέους τοῦ Σικελιωτῶν τυράννου
and dockyards by Agathocles the of-Sicilian-Greeks tyrant
κατεσκεύαστο καλῶς, μέση δ' οὖσα Καρχηδόνος καὶ
had-been-equipped well in-the-middle and being of-Carthage and
Ἰτύκης τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐλῄστευε τὴν Ῥωμαίοις διαπλέουσαν·
Utica the provisions it-plundered the to-Romans sailing-across
ὅθεν καὶ πάνυ ἐπλούτουν. καὶ ὁ Καλπούρνιος ἀμύνασθαί
whence also very they-were-rich and — Calpurnius to-punish
τε αὐτοὺς ἐπενόει, καὶ τό γε κέρδος ἀφελέσθαι.
both them planned and the at-least gain to-take-away
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τὸ θέρος ὅλον ἐφεδρεύων οὐκ ἤνυε, δὶς
but he indeed the summer whole besieging not succeeded twice
δ' ἐκδραμόντες οἱ Ἱππαγρέτιοι, Καρχηδονίων αὐτοῖς
and having-sallied the Hippagretans Carthaginians them

συμμαχούντων, τὰς μηχανὰς αὐτοῦ κατέπρησαν. καὶ ὁ
helping the engines his burned and he
μὲν ἄπρακτος ἐς Ἰτύκην ἐπανελθὼν ἐχείμαζεν.
indeed unsuccessful to Utica having-returned wintered
οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δέ, ἐπειδή σφισι καὶ τὸ Ἀσδρούβα 111
the Carthaginians and since for-them also the of-Hasdrubal
στρατόπεδον ἀπαθὲς ἦν, καὶ αὐτοὶ κρείττους ἐν τῇ
camp unharmed was and themselves stronger in the
μάχῃ ἐγεγένητο Πίσωνος ἀμφὶ τὰ Ἱππάγρετα, Βιθύας
battle had-become than-Piso about — Hippagreta Bithyas
τε αὐτοῖς ὁ Νομὰς μετὰ ὀκτακοσίων ἱππέων ἀπὸ
both to-them the Numidian with eight-hundred cavalry from
Γολόσσου προσεκεχωρήκει, καὶ Μικίψην καὶ Μαστανάβαν
Gulussa had-come-over and Micipsa and Mastanabal
τοὺς Μασσανάσσου παῖδας ἑώρων ὑπισχνουμένους μὲν
the of-Masinissa sons they-saw promising indeed
ἀεὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὅπλα καὶ χρήματα, βραδύνοντας δὲ καὶ
always to-Romans arms and money delaying but and
περιορωμένους ἄρα τὸ μέλλον, ἐπῄρθησαν τοῖς φρονήμασι
watching then the future were-elated in-the spirits
καὶ Λιβύην ἀδεῶς ἐπῄεσαν, κρατυνόμενοί τε τὴν χώραν
and Libya fearlessly overran securing both the country
καὶ πολλὰ ὑβριστικὰ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι κατὰ Ῥωμαίων
and many insolent-things in the cities against Romans
ἐκκλησιάζοντες. ἔς τε τὴν ἀνανδρίαν αὐτῶν προύφερον
haranguing to both the cowardice their brought-forward
τὰ ἐς Νέφεριν αὐτοῖς δὶς γενόμενα, καὶ ὅσα ἔναγχος
the-things at Nepheris to-them twice having-happened and what lately
ἐς Ἱππάγρετα, καὶ τὸ αὐτῆς Καρχηδόνος ἀνόπλου τε
at Hippagreta and the itself of-Carthage unarmed both
οὔσης καὶ ἀφράκτου μὴ δεδυνῆσθαι κατασχεῖν. ἔπεμπον δὲ
being and unfenced not to-have-been-able to-hold they-sent and

καὶ ἐς Μικίψην καὶ Μαστανάβαν καὶ ἐς τοὺς αὐτονόμους
also to Micipsa and Mastanabal and to the independent
Μαυρουσίων, παρακαλοῦντες ὁμοῦ, καὶ διδάσκοντες ὅτι
of-Moors urging at-the-same-time and teaching that
καὶ σφίσι μεθ' αὑτοὺς ἐπιχειρήσουσι Ῥωμαῖοι. ἔστελλον δὲ
also them after themselves will-attack Romans they-sent and
καὶ ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἄλλους πρὸς τὸν νομιζόμενον υἱὸν εἶναι
also into Macedonia others to the reputed son to-be
Περσέως, πολεμοῦντα Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ ἀνέπειθον ἔχεσθαι τοῦ
of-Perseus warring-on Romans and persuaded to-hold-to the
πολέμου καρτερῶς ὡς οὐκ ἐλλειψόντων αὐτῷ χρημάτων
war strongly as not going-to-fail to-him of-money
καὶ νεῶν ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος. ὅλως τε μικρὸν οὐδὲν ἔτι
and ships from Carthage wholly both small nothing any-longer
ἐφρόνουν ὁπλισάμενοι, ἀλλὰ θυμῷ καὶ τόλμῃ καὶ παρασκευῇ
they-thought having-armed but in-spirit and daring and preparation
κατὰ μικρὸν ηὔξοντο. ἐπῆρτο δ' ἐν μέρει καὶ Ἀσδρούβας
by little grew was-elated and in turn also Hasdrubal
ὁ κατὰ τὴν χώραν στρατηγὸς τῷ δὶς κρατῆσαι
the in the country general by-the twice to-have-defeated
Μανιλίου· τήν τε τῆς πόλεως στρατηγίαν προσλαβεῖν
Manilius the both of-the city command to-acquire-in-addition
ἐπειγόμενος, Ἀσδρούβαν τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῆς, ἀδελφιδοῦν
hastening Hasdrubal the commander of-it nephew
ὄντα Γολόσσου, διέβαλλε τῇ βουλῇ τὰ Καρχηδονίων
being of-Gulussa slandered to-the council the-things of-Carthaginians
Γολόσσῃ προδιδόναι. καὶ τοῦ λόγου προτεθέντος ἐς
to-Gulussa to-betray and the speech having-been-put-forward into
μέσον, ὁ μὲν ἠπορεῖτο ὡς ἐπ' ἀδοκήτῳ, οἱ δὲ
the-middle he indeed was-at-a-loss as at an-unexpected-thing they and
τύπτοντες αὐτὸν τοῖς ὑποβάθροις κατέβαλον.
striking him with-the footstools struck-down

Alarmed by Piso's inaction, the people elect Scipio consul though he stands only for the aedileship and is under age, and give him Libya. Mancinus, having broken into Carthage over the cliffs, is trapped against the wall, and Scipio sails from Utica by night and rescues him. Finding the army idle and plundering, Scipio rebukes it: all who do not serve must leave, and the rest will follow his own example of work.

ἐς δὲ Ῥώμην ἐξαγγελλομένης τῆς τε Πίσωνος ἀπραξίας 112
to and Rome being-reported the both of-Piso inaction
καὶ Καρχηδονίων παρασκευῆς, ὁ δῆμος ἤχθετο καὶ
and of-Carthaginians preparation the people was-vexed and
ἐδεδοίκει αὐξομένου πολέμου μεγάλου τε καὶ ἀδιαλλάκτου
feared growing a-war great both and irreconcilable
καὶ γείτονος· οὐ γάρ τινα διάλυσιν προσεδόκων, ἄπιστα
and neighboring not for any settlement they-expected faithless-things
πρότεροι κελεύσαντες. τῶν δ' οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ Σκιπίωνος
first having-ordered of-the and not before long of-Scipio
ἔργων, ἐν Λιβύῃ χιλιαρχοῦντος ἔτι, μεμνημένοι, καὶ
deeds in Libya being-tribune still remembering and
παραβάλλοντες αὐτὰ τοῖς παροῦσι, τῶν τε ἐπεσταλμένων
comparing them with-the present of-the both written
σφίσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ στρατοπέδου φίλων καὶ οἰκείων
to-them by the from camp friends and relatives
ἀναφέροντες, ὥρμηντο ὕπατον ἐς Καρχηδόνα πέμπειν
reporting they-were-eager consul to Carthage to-send
Σκιπίωνα. ἐνειστήκει δ' ἀρχαιρέσια, καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων (οὐ
Scipio were-at-hand and elections and — Scipio not
γάρ πω δι' ἡλικίαν αὐτῷ συνεχώρουν ὑπατεύειν οἱ
for yet because-of age him allowed to-be-consul the
νόμοι) ἀγορανομίαν μετῄει, καὶ ὁ δῆμος αὐτὸν ὕπατον
laws aedileship stood-for and the people him consul

ᾑρεῖτο. παρανόμου δ' ὄντος καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων προφερόντων
chose unlawful and being and the consuls citing
αὐτοῖς τὸν νόμον, ἐλιπάρουν καὶ ἐνέκειντο, καὶ ἐκεκράγεσαν
to-them the law they-entreated and pressed and were-crying-out
ἐκ τῶν Τυλλίου καὶ Ῥωμύλου νόμων τὸν δῆμον εἶναι
from the of-Tullius and of-Romulus laws the people to-be
κύριον τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν νόμων
master of-the elections and of-the about them laws
ἀκυροῦν ἢ κυροῦν ὃν ἐθέλοιεν. τέλος δὲ τῶν δημάρχων
to-annul or to-confirm whichever they-wished at-last and of-the tribunes
τις ἔφη τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀφαιρήσεσθαι τὴν χειροτονίαν, εἰ
one said the consuls to-be-going-to-deprive-of the voting if
μὴ σύνθοιντο τῷ δήμῳ. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τοῖς δημάρχοις
not they-should-agree with-the people and the senate the tribunes
ἐπείθετο λῦσαι τὸν νόμον τόνδε καὶ μετὰ ἔτος ἓν αὖθις
obeyed to-repeal the law this and after year one again
ἀναγράψαι, οἷόν τι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, λύοντες ἐν χρείᾳ
to-reenact like something also Lacedaemonians repealing in need
τὴν ἀτιμίαν τῶν ἁλόντων περὶ Πύλον, ἔφασαν·
the disfranchisement of-the(-men) captured at Pylos said
"κοιμάσθων οἱ νόμοι τήμερον." οὕτω μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων
let-sleep the laws today thus indeed — Scipio
ἀγορανομίαν μετιὼν ᾔρητο ὕπατος, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ σύναρχος
aedileship standing-for was-chosen consul and him the colleague
Δροῦσος περὶ Λιβύης πρὸς αὑτὸν ἐκέλευε διακληροῦσθαι,
Drusus about Libya with himself ordered to-cast-lots
μέχρι τις τῶν δημάρχων ἐσηγήσατο τῆσδε τῆς στρατηγίας
until one of-the tribunes proposed of-this the command
τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ δήμου γενέσθαι· καὶ ὁ δῆμος εἵλετο τὸν
the decision of-the people to-be and the people chose —
Σκιπίωνα. ἐδόθη δ' αὐτῷ στρατὸς ἐκ μὲν καταλόγου,
Scipio was-given and to-him an-army from indeed levy

ὅσος ἦν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων, ἐθελοντὰς δ' ἄγειν
as-much-as was instead-of the lost volunteers and to-lead
ὅσους πείσειε παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων, καὶ ἐς βασιλέας
as-many-as he-might-persuade from the allies and to kings
καὶ πόλεις, ὅσας δοκιμάσειε, πέμπειν, τὸν Ῥωμαίων
and cities as-many-as he-should-approve to-send the of-Romans
δῆμον ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἐπιγράφοντα. καὶ ἔστιν οὓς ἔλαβεν
people in-the letters naming-as-sender and there-are whom he-received
οὕτω παρά τε πόλεων καὶ βασιλέων.
thus from both cities and kings
ὁ μὲν δὴ τάδε διοικησάμενος ἐς Σικελίαν καὶ 113
he indeed indeed these-things having-arranged to Sicily and
ἀπὸ Σικελίας ἐς Ἰτύκην ἔπλει· Καλπούρνιος δὲ Πίσων
from Sicily to Utica sailed Calpurnius and Piso
ἐπολιόρκει τὰ μεσόγεια, καὶ Μαγκῖνος ἐφορμῶν Καρχηδόνι,
besieged the interior and Mancinus blockading Carthage
μέρος τι τοῦ τείχους ἀμελούμενον ἰδών, οὗ κρημνοὶ
part some of-the wall neglected having-seen where cliffs
προύκειντο συνεχεῖς καὶ δύσβατοι, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ ἦν καὶ
lay-in-front continuous and hard-to-climb and because-of it was also
ἀμελούμενον, ἤλπισε λαθὼν κλίμακας ἐποίσειν ἐπὶ
neglected hoped unnoticed ladders to-be-going-to-bring against
τὸ τεῖχος. καὶ προσέθηκε μέν, καί τινες τῶν στρατιωτῶν
the wall and he-set indeed and some of-the soldiers
ἀνῆλθον εὐτόλμως· οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δ' ὀλίγων ἔτι ὄντων
went-up daringly the Carthaginians and few still being
καταφρονήσαντες, ἀνέῳξαν πύλην ἐς τοὺς κρημνοὺς
having-despised opened a-gate onto the cliffs
ἐκφέρουσαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐξέδραμον. καὶ
leading and against the Romans ran-out and
αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τρεψάμενοί τε καὶ διώκοντες ἐς τὴν
them the Romans having-routed both and pursuing into the

πόλιν διὰ τῆς πύλης συνεσέδραμον. βοῆς δ' ὡς ἐπὶ νίκῃ
city through the gate ran-in-together shouting and as at victory
γενομένης, ὅ τε Μαγκῖνος ἐκφερόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς,
having-arisen — both Mancinus carried-away by the pleasure
καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ταχὺς ὢν καὶ κουφόνους, καὶ ὁ ἄλλος
and in-the other-respects quick being and light-minded and the other
ὅμιλος ἅμα τῷ Μαγκίνῳ, τὰς ναῦς ἀφέντες ἐς τὸ τεῖχος
crowd together-with — Mancinus the ships having-left to the wall
ἐβοηδρόμουν ἄνοπλοί τε καὶ γυμνοί. ἤδη δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ
ran-to-help unarmed both and naked already and the god
περὶ δείλην ἑσπέραν ὄντος, ἐχυρόν τι πρὸς τῷ τείχει
about late evening being strong something by the wall
καταλαβόντες ἡσύχαζον, τροφῶν δ' ἀπορῶν ὁ Μαγκῖνος
having-seized they-kept-quiet of-food and being-in-want — Mancinus
ἐκάλει Πίσωνα καὶ τοὺς Ἰτυκαίων ἄρχοντας, ἐπικουρεῖν
called Piso and the of-Uticans magistrates to-help
αὐτῷ κινδυνεύοντι καὶ τροφὰς φέρειν κατὰ σπουδήν. καὶ
him being-in-danger and food to-bring with haste and
ὁ μὲν ἔμελλεν ἅμ' ἕῳ πρὸς τῶν Καρχηδονίων
he indeed was-likely together-with dawn by the Carthaginians
ἐξωθούμενος ἐς τοὺς κρημνοὺς συντριβήσεσθαι.
being-pushed-out onto the cliffs to-be-crushed

114 Σκιπίων δ' ἑσπέρας ἐς Ἰτύκην κατήγετο, καὶ περὶ
Scipio and in-the-evening into Utica put-in and about
μέσας νύκτας ἐντυχὼν οἷς ὁ Μαγκῖνος ἔγραφε, τόν τε
middle night having-read what — Mancinus wrote the both
σαλπικτὴν ἐκέλευεν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἠχεῖν, καὶ τοὺς
trumpeter ordered at-once for war to-sound and the
κήρυκας συγκαλεῖν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ὅσοι συνεληλύθεσαν
heralds to-call-together to sea as-many-as had-come
ἐξ Ἰταλίας αὐτῷ, καὶ τοὺς ἡβῶντας Ἰτυκαίων· ὅσοι δ'
from Italy with-him and the of-age of-Uticans as-many-as and

ὑπερήλικες, ἀγορὰν ἐς τὰς τριήρεις καταφέρειν. αἰχμάλωτά
over-age provisions onto the triremes to-carry-down captives
τε Καρχηδονίων τινὰ λύσας, ἀφῆκεν ἐξαγγέλλειν αὐτοῖς
both of-Carthaginians some having-released let-go to-announce to-them
ἐπιπλεῖν Σκιπίωνα. ἔς τε τὸν Πίσωνα ἱππέας ἄλλους ἐπ᾽
to-be-sailing-against Scipio to both — Piso cavalry others after
ἄλλοις ἔπεμπε, καλῶν αὐτὸν κατὰ τάχος. καὶ αὐτὸς ἐσχάτης
others sent calling him with speed and himself in-the-last
φυλακῆς ἀνήγετο, κελεύσας, ὅταν πλησιάζωσιν, ὀρθοὺς
watch put-to-sea having-ordered when they-approach upright
ἐπὶ τῶν καταστρωμάτων ἑστάναι τοῦ πλέονα τὴν ὄψιν
on the decks to-stand for-the greater the appearance
ἐμποιεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις. ὁ μὲν δὴ τάδ᾽ ἔπρασσεν, ὁ δὲ
to-make for-the enemies he indeed indeed these-things did — and
Μαγκῖνος, ἅμ᾽ ἕῳ τῶν Καρχηδονίων αὐτῷ πανταχόθεν
Mancinus together-with dawn the Carthaginians on-him from-all-sides
ἐπιπιπτόντων, πεντακοσίους μέν, οὓς μόνους εἶχεν ἐνόπλους,
falling five-hundred indeed whom alone he-had armed
περιέστησε τοῖς γυμνοῖς τρισχιλίοις οὖσι, τιτρωσκόμενος
placed-around the unarmed three-thousand being being-wounded
δὲ δι᾽ ἐκείνων καὶ συνωθούμενος ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἤδη
but through those and being-pushed against the wall already
κατεκρημνίζετο, καὶ αἱ νῆες ὤφθησαν αἱ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος,
was-being-thrown-down and the ships were-seen the — of-Scipio
ῥοθίῳ τε φοβερῷ καταπλέουσαι καὶ μεσταὶ πανταχόθεν
with-dash both fearful sailing-in and full everywhere
ὁπλιτῶν ἐφεστώτων, Καρχηδονίοις μὲν ᾐσθημένοις διὰ
of-hoplites standing for-Carthaginians indeed having-perceived through
τῶν αἰχμαλώτων οὐκ ἀνέλπιστοι, Ῥωμαίοις δ᾽ ἀγνοοῦσιν
the captives not unexpected for-Romans and not-knowing
ἀδόκητον σωτηρίαν φέρουσαι· μικρὸν γὰρ ὑποχωρησάντων
unexpected safety bringing a-little for having-withdrawn

τῶν Καρχηδονίων, ὁ Σκιπίων τοὺς κινδυνεύοντας ἐς αὐτὰς
the Carthaginians — Scipio the(-men) being-in-danger into them
ἀνέλαβεν. καὶ Μαγκῖνον μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην αὐτίκα ἔπεμψε (καὶ
took-up and Mancinus indeed to Rome at-once sent also
γὰρ ἦκεν αὐτῷ Σερρανὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ναυαρχίαν διάδοχος),
for came to-him Serranus for the command-of-the-fleet successor
αὐτὸς δ' οὐ μακρὰν τῆς Καρχηδόνος ἐστρατοπέδευεν. οἱ δὲ
himself and not far — of-Carthage encamped the and
Καρχηδόνιοι τῶν τειχῶν ἐς πέντε σταδίους προελθόντες
Carthaginians from-the walls about five stades having-advanced
ἀντήγειραν αὐτῷ χάρακα, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐς τόνδε τὸν χάρακα
raised-opposite him a-palisade and to-them to this the palisade
ἀφίκοντο Ἀσδρούβας τε ὁ τῆς χώρας στρατηγὸς καὶ
came Hasdrubal both the of-the country general and
Βιθύας ὁ ἵππαρχος ἑξακισχιλίους πεζοὺς ἄγοντες καὶ
Bithyas the cavalry-commander six-thousand infantry leading and
ἱππέας ἐς χιλίους, χρόνῳ καὶ μελέτῃ γεγυμνασμένους.
cavalry about thousand by-time and practice trained
115 ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων οὐδὲν εὔκοσμον ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις
— and Scipio nothing orderly among the soldiers
ὁρῶν οὐδὲ τεταγμένον, ἀλλ' ἐς ἀργίαν καὶ πλεονεξίαν
seeing nor disciplined but into idleness and greed
καὶ ἁρπαγὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ Πίσωνος ἐπιτετραμμένους, ἄλλο τε
and plunderings by — Piso turned other both
πλῆθος αὐτοῖς συνόντας ἀγοραῖον, οἳ τῆς λείας χάριν
a-crowd with-them being market-folk who of-the booty for-the-sake
ἑπόμενοι τοῖς θρασυτέροις συνεξέτρεχον ἐπὶ τὰς ἁρπαγὰς
following the bolder ran-out-with-them on the plunderings
ἄνευ παραγγέλματος ἰοῦσι, τοῦ νόμου λιποστράτιον ἐν
without order going the law desertion in
τοῖς πολέμοις ἡγουμένου τὸν ἀποχωροῦντα πορρωτέρω
the wars considering the(-one) withdrawing farther-than

σάλπιγγος ἀκοῆς, ὅσα τε πταίσειαν οὗτοι, πάντα ἐς
of-trumpet hearing what both they-should-fail these all onto
τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀναφερόμενα, καὶ ὅσα διαρπάσειαν, ἑτέρας
the general being-referred and what they-should-plunder of-other
ἔριδος αὐτοῖς καὶ κακῶν γιγνόμενα ἀρχάς· πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ
strife for-them and evils becoming beginnings many for even
συσκήνων κατεφρόνουν διὰ τὰ κέρδη, καὶ ἐς ἀνόμους
tent-mates despised because-of the gains and into lawless
πληγὰς καὶ τραύματα καὶ ἀνδροφονίας ἐχώρουν. ὧν
blows and wounds and murders went which
αἰσθόμενος ὁ Σκιπίων, καὶ ἐλπίζων οὔποτε κρατήσειν
having-perceived — Scipio and expecting never to-be-going-to-overcome
τῶν πολεμίων εἰ μὴ τῶν ἰδίων κρατήσειε, συνήγαγεν
the enemies if not the own(-men) be-should-master assembled
ἐς ἐκκλησίαν αὐτούς, καὶ ἐπὶ βῆμα ὑψηλὸν ἀναβὰς
into assembly them and onto a-platform high having-mounted
ἐπέπληξεν ὧδε.
rebuked thus
"ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὑπὸ Μανιλίῳ στρατηγῷ 116
I with you O men under Manilius general
ταττόμενος, τῆς εὐπειθείας ἐν ὑμῖν μάρτυσιν ἔδωκα πεῖραν,
posted of-the obedience among you witnesses gave proof
ἣν νῦν ὑμᾶς αἰτῶ στρατηγῶν, κολάσαι μὲν ἐς ἔσχατον
which now you I-ask being-general to-punish indeed to utmost
ἔχων ἐξουσίαν τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας, ὠφέλιμον δ' ἡγούμενος
having power the disobedient useful but thinking
προαγορεῦσαι. ἴστε δὲ ἃ πράττετε· καὶ τί με δεῖ
to-warn-beforehand you-know and what you-do and why me is-needful
λέγειν ἃ αἰσχύνομαι; λῃστεύετε μᾶλλον ἢ πολεμεῖτε, καὶ
to-say what I-am-ashamed-of you-plunder rather than you-make-war and
διαδιδράσκετε, οὐ στρατοπεδεύετε· καὶ πανηγυρίζουσιν ὑπὸ
you-run-off not you-camp and to-people-at-festival through

τῶν κερδῶν, οὐ πολιορκοῦσιν ἐοίκατε· καὶ τρυφᾶν
the gains not to-besiegers you-are-like and to-live-luxuriously
ἐθέλετε πολεμοῦντες ἔτι, οὐ νενικηκότες. τοιγάρτοι τὰ
you-wish warring still not having-conquered therefore the-affairs
τῶν πολεμίων ἐξ ἀέλπτου καὶ βραχέος, οὗ κατέλιπον, ἐς
of-the enemies from unexpected and small where I-left to
τοσοῦτον ἐπῆρται δυνάμεως, καὶ ἡμῖν ὁ πόνος ἐκ τῆσδε
so-great have-been-raised of-power and for-us the toil from this
τῆς ῥᾳστώνης γέγονε χαλεπώτερος. τὰς δ' αἰτίας εἰ μὲν
the ease has-become harder the and blame if indeed
ἐν ὑμῖν οὔσας ἑώρων, εὐθὺς ἂν ἐκόλαζον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνατίθημι
in you being I-saw at-once — I-would-punish since and I-attribute-it
ἑτέρῳ, νῦν μὲν ὑμᾶς ἀφίημι τῶν μέχρι νῦν γεγονότων.
to-another now indeed you I-release-from the until now happenings
ἥκω δὲ οὐ λῃστεύσων ἔγωγε ἀλλὰ νικήσων, οὐδὲ
I-come and not going-to-plunder I but going-to-conquer nor
χρηματιούμενος πρὸ τῆς νίκης, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς πρῶτον
going-to-make-money before the victory but the enemies first
ἐξεργασόμενος. ἄπιτε πάντες ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τήμερον,
going-to-finish-off depart all from the camp today
ὅσοι μὴ στρατεύεσθε, χωρὶς τῶν ἐπιτραπησομένων ὑπ'
as-many-as not serve except the(-men) going-to-be-permitted by
ἐμοῦ μένειν. τοῖς δ' ἐξιοῦσιν οὐδ' ἐπανελθεῖν δίδωμι,
me to-remain to-the(-men) and going-out not-even to-return I-grant
πλὴν εἴ τις ἀγορὰν φέροι, καὶ ταύτην στρατιωτικήν
except if anyone provisions should-bring and these military
τε καὶ ψιλήν. ἔσται δὲ καὶ τούτοις χρόνος ὡρισμένος ἐν
both and plain will-be and also for-these a-time fixed in
ᾧ τὰ ὄντα διαθήσονται, καὶ τῆς πράσεως αὐτῶν ἐγὼ
which the possessions they-will-dispose-of and of-the sale of-them I
καὶ ὁ ταμίας ἐπιμελησόμεθα. καὶ τάδε μὲν εἰρήσθω
and the quaestor will-take-care and these-things indeed let-be-said

τοῖς περιττοῖς, ὑμῖν δὲ τοῖς ἐστρατευμένοις ἓν ἔστω
to-the superfluous to-you and the(-men) serving one let-be
παράγγελμα κοινὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἔργοις ὁ ἐμὸς τρόπος καὶ
order common for all works the my manner and
πόνος· πρὸς γὰρ τόδε κατευθύνοντες αὑτοὺς οὔτε προθυμίας
toil for by this guiding yourselves neither of-zeal
ἁμαρτήσεσθε οὔτε χάριτος ἀτυχήσετε. χρὴ δὲ νῦν μὲν
you-will-fall-short nor of-favor will-you-fail it-is-needful and now indeed
πονεῖν, ἐν ᾧ κινδυνεύομεν, τὰ δὲ κέρδη καὶ τὴν τρυφὴν
to-toil in which we-are-in-danger the and gains and the luxury
ἐς τὸν πρέποντα καιρὸν ἀναθέσθαι. ταῦτ' ἐγὼ προστάσσω
for the fitting time to-postpone these-things I command
καὶ ὁ νόμος, καὶ τοῖς μὲν εὐπειθῶς ἔχουσιν οἵσει
and the law and for-the indeed obediently disposed will-bring
πολλὴν ἀγαθῶν ἀμοιβήν, τοῖς δ' ἀπειθοῦσι μετάνοιαν."
great of-goods return for-the and disobedient repentance

117–126 · THE SIEGE OF CARTHAGE

Scipio breaks into the Megara by night, and the Carthaginians flee to the Byrsa. Hasdrubal tortures Roman prisoners on the wall and turns tyrant. Scipio walls off the isthmus, starving the city, and blocks the harbor with a mole; Carthage digs a new mouth, and its fleet fights an even battle and is mauled at the quay. Swimmers burn his engines there, but he takes the quay, and in winter destroys the army at Nepheris.

ὁ μὲν δὴ Σκιπίων ταῦτ' εἶπε, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀπήλαυνε 117
— *indeed indeed Scipio these-things said and at-once drove-out*
τὸ πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν ἀχρείων, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ὅσα περιττὰ
the crowd of-men useless and with them what superfluous
καὶ μάταια καὶ τρυφερὰ ἦν. καθαροῦ δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ
and vain and luxurious was purified and the army

γενομένου καὶ περιδεοῦς καὶ ἐς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα
having-become and very-fearful and to the commands
ὀξέος, ἀπεπείραζε τῶν καλουμένων Μεγάρων νυκτὸς μιᾶς
quick he-made-trial-of the so-called Megara by-night one
διχῇ λανθάνων. χωρίον δ' ἐστὶν εὐμέγεθες ἐν τῇ
in-two-places escaping-notice a-place and is of-good-size in the
πόλει τὰ Μέγαρα, τῷ τείχει παρεζευγμένον· ἐς ὃ
city — Megara to-the wall joined to which
τῇ μὲν ἑτέρους περιέπεμπε, τῇ δ' αὐτὸς σὺν
on-one-side indeed others he-sent-round on-the(-other) and himself with
πελέκεσι καὶ κλίμαξι καὶ μοχλοῖς ἐβάδιζε σταδίους εἴκοσιν
axes and ladders and crowbars marched stades twenty
ἀψοφητί, μετὰ σιγῆς βαθυτάτης. αἰσθήσεως δ' ἄνωθεν,
noiselessly with silence deepest perception and from-above
ὅτε μάλιστ' ἐπλησίαζε, καὶ βοῆς ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν
when most he-was-approaching and shouting from the walls
γενομένης, ἀντεβόησεν αὐτός τε πρῶτος καὶ ὁ στρατὸς
having-arisen shouted-back himself both first and the army
αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ θάτερα ἀπεσταλμένοι μέγιστον, ὡς
his and the(-men) on the-other-side sent loudest so-that
τῷδε πρώτῳ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους καταπλαγῆναι, τοσούτων
by-this first the Carthaginians to-be-terrified so-many
ἐχθρῶν ἐν πλευραῖς ἄφνω νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένων. κατὰ μὲν
enemies on flanks suddenly by-night having-come-upon on indeed
οὖν τὸ τεῖχος οὐδέν, καίπερ ἐπιχειρῶν, ἤνυεν, ἐς δέ τινος
then the wall nothing though attacking he-achieved onto but some
ἰδιώτου πύργον ἔρημον, ἐκτὸς ὄντα τοῦ τείχους καὶ τὸ
private-man's tower deserted outside being the wall and the
ὕψος ἴσον ὄντα τῷ τείχει, νεανίας ἀνεβίβασεν εὐτόλμους,
height equal being to-the wall youths he-sent-up daring
οἳ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἀκοντίοις ἀνέστελλον, ξύλα τε
who the(-men) on the walls with-javelins drove-back beams both

καὶ σανίδας ἐς τὸ διάστημα ἐπιθέντες καὶ δι᾽ αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ
and planks onto the gap having-laid and over them onto the
τείχη διαδραμόντες καθήλαντο ἐς τὰ Μέγαρα, καὶ πυλίδα
walls having-run leapt-down into — Megara and a-postern
κόψαντες ἐδέχοντο τὸν Σκιπίωνα. ὁ δὲ ἐσῆλθε μὲν σὺν
having-broken received — Scipio he and entered indeed with
ἀνδράσι τετρακισχιλίοις, καὶ φυγὴ ταχεῖα τῶν Καρχηδονίων
men four-thousand and flight quick of-the Carthaginians
ἐς τὴν Βύρσαν ἦν ὡς τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως ἁλούσης. βοή
into — Byrsa was as the rest city having-been-taken shouting
τε ἐγίγνετο ποικίλη καί τινων αἰχμαλωσία καὶ θόρυβος, ὡς
both arose various and of-some capture and uproar so-that
καὶ τοὺς ἔξω στρατοπεδεύοντας ἐκλιπεῖν τὸ χαράκωμα
even the(-men) outside encamping to-abandon the palisade
καὶ ἐς τὴν Βύρσαν ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀναδραμεῖν. ὁ δὲ
and into — Byrsa together with-the others to-run-up — and
Σκιπίων (τὸ γὰρ χωρίον, τὰ Μέγαρα, ἐλαχανεύετο
Scipio the for place — Megara was-planted-with-vegetables
καὶ φυτῶν ὡραίων ἔγεμεν, αἱμασιαῖς τε καὶ θριγκοῖς
and with-plants seasonal was-full with-stone-walls both and hedges
βάτου καὶ ἄλλης ἀκάνθης καὶ ὀχετοῖς βαθέος ὕδατος
of-bramble and other thorn and with-channels of-deep water
ποικίλοις τε καὶ σκολιοῖς κατάπλεων ἦν) ἔδεισε μὴ ἄβατον
various both and winding full was feared lest impassable
καὶ δυσχερὲς ᾖ στρατῷ διώκοντι ἐν ἀγνωσίᾳ μάλιστα
and difficult it-might-be for-an-army pursuing in ignorance especially
διόδων, καί τις ἐν νυκτὶ ἐνέδρα γένοιτο. ἀνεζεύγνυε δή.
of-passages and some in night ambush might-happen withdrew indeed
καὶ γενομένης ἡμέρας ὁ Ἀσδρούβας, χαλεπῶς ἔχων 118
and having-become day — Hasdrubal harshly taking-it
τῆς ἐς τὰ Μέγαρα ἐπιχειρήσεως, ὅσα Ῥωμαίων
at-the on — Megara attempt as-many-as of-Romans

εἶχεν αἰχμάλωτα, ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀγαγών, ὅθεν εὐσύνοπτα
he-had captives onto the wall having-led whence clearly-visible
Ῥωμαίοις ἔμελλε τὰ δρώμενα ἔσεσθαι, τῶν μὲν ὀφθαλμοὺς
to-Romans were-going the things-done to-be of-some indeed eyes
ἢ γλώττας ἢ νεῦρα ἢ αἰδοῖα σιδηρίοις ἐξεῖλκε καμπύλοις,
or tongues or sinews or private-parts with-irons tore-out curved
τῶν δ' ὑπέτεμνε τὰ πέλματα καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους
of-others and cut-under the soles and the fingers
ἐξέκοπτεν, ἢ τὸ δέρμα τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος ἀπέσπα,
cut-off or the skin of-the rest body tore-off
καὶ πάντας ἔμπνους ἔτι κατεκρήμνιζεν, ἀδιάλλακτα τοῖς
and all breathing still threw-down irreconcilable for-the
Καρχηδονίοις τὰ ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἐπινοῶν. καὶ ὁ μὲν
Carthaginians the-relations toward Romans planning and he indeed
αὐτοὺς οὕτως ἠρέθιζε τὴν σωτηρίαν ἔχειν ἐν μόνῃ τῇ μάχῃ,
them thus provoked the safety to-have in only the battle
περιέστη δ' αὐτῷ ἐς τὸ ἐναντίον ὧν ἐπενόει. ὑπὸ γὰρ
it-turned-out and for-him to the opposite of-what he-planned from for
συνειδότος οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῶνδε τῶν ἀθεμίστων ἔργων
consciousness the Carthaginians of-these the lawless deeds
περιδεεῖς ἀντὶ προθύμων ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν
very-fearful instead-of zealous became and — Hasdrubal
ὡς καὶ τὴν συγγνώμην σφῶν ἀφῃρημένον ἐμίσουν· καὶ
as also the pardon their having-taken-away hated and
μάλισθ' ἡ βουλὴ αὐτοῦ κατεβόα ὡς ὠμὰ καὶ ὑπερήφανα
most the council him cried-out-against as cruel and arrogant-things
δεδρακότος ἐν συμφοραῖς οἰκείαις τοσαῖσδε. ὁ δὲ καὶ
having-done in misfortunes own so-great he and also
τῶν βουλευτῶν τινὰς ἔκτεινε συλλαμβάνων, καὶ ἐς πάντα
of-the councilors some killed arresting and in everything
ὢν ἤδη περιδεὴς ἐς τυραννίδα μᾶλλον ἢ στρατηγίαν
being already very-fearful into tyranny rather than generalship

περιῆλθεν, ὡς ἐν τῷδε μόνῳ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἔξων, εἰ
passed as in this alone the safety going-to-have if
φοβερὸς αὐτοῖς εἴη καὶ δι' αὐτὸ καὶ δυσεπιχείρητος.
fearsome to-them he-might-be and through this also hard-to-attack
ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων τὸν μὲν χάρακα τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ὃν τῇ 119
— and Scipio the indeed palisade of-the enemies which on-the
προτέρᾳ κατελελοίπεσαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ φεύγοντες, ἐνέπρησεν,
former-day they-had-abandoned to the city fleeing burned
ὅλου δὲ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ κρατῶν διετάφρευεν αὐτὸν ἐκ
whole and the isthmus mastering entrenched it from
θαλάσσης ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἀπέχων τῶν πολεμίων ὅσον
sea to sea being-distant from-the enemies as-much-as
ὁρμὴν βέλους. οἱ δὲ ἐπέκειντο, καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ ἔργον
a-cast of-a-missile they and pressed and it-was for-him a-work
ἐπὶ σταδίους τοῦ μετώπου πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐργαζομένῳ
over stades of-the front five and twenty working
τε ὁμοῦ καὶ μαχομένῳ. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦτ' ἐξετετέλεστο,
both together and fighting when and for-him this had-been-completed
ἑτέραν ὤρυσσε τάφρον ἴσην, οὐ πολὺ τῆς προτέρας
another he-dug ditch equal not much from-the former
διασχών, ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον ἀφορῶσαν. δύο τε ἐπικαρσίας
having-separated toward the mainland facing two both cross
αὐταῖς ἑτέρας περιθεὶς ὡς γενέσθαι τὸ ὅλον ὄρυγμα
for-them others having-put-around so-that to-become the whole excavation
τετράγωνον, ἐσταύρωσε πάντα ξύλοις ὀξέσιν. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς
four-sided palisaded all with-stakes sharp and on the
σταυροῖς τὰς μὲν ἄλλας τάφρους ἐχαράκωσε, τῇ δ' ἐς
stakes the indeed other ditches he-palisaded the and toward
τὴν Καρχηδόνα ὁρώσῃ καὶ τεῖχος παρῳκοδόμησεν ἐπὶ
— Carthage looking also a-wall built-along for
τοὺς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους, ὕψος μὲν δυώδεκα ποδῶν
the five and twenty stades height indeed of-twelve feet

χωρὶς ἐπάλξεών τε καὶ πύργων, οἳ ἐκ διαστήματος
apart-from battlements both and towers which at intervals
ἐπέκειντο τῷ τείχει, τὸ δὲ βάθος ἐφ' ἥμισυ μάλιστα τοῦ
lay-upon the wall the and depth for half about of-the
ὕψους. ὁ δ' ἐν μέσῳ πύργος ὑψηλότατός τε ἦν, καὶ
height the and in middle tower very-high both was and
ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ξύλινος ἐπέκειτο τετρώροφος, ὅθεν καθεώρα τὰ
on it wooden lay four-storied whence he-observed the
γιγνόμενα ἐν τῇ πόλει. ταῦτα δ' ἡμέραις εἴκοσι καὶ νυξὶν
happenings in the city these-things and in-days twenty and nights
ἐργασάμενος ὅλῳ τῷ στρατῷ πονοῦντι, καὶ παραλλὰξ
having-worked with-whole the army toiling and alternately
ἐργαζομένῳ τε καὶ πολεμοῦντι καὶ σῖτον ἢ ὕπνον
working both and fighting and food or sleep
αἱρουμένῳ, τὴν στρατιὰν ἐσήγαγεν ἐς τόδε τὸ χαράκωμα.
taking the army he-led-in into this the palisade
120 καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ τοῦτο στρατόπεδόν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ κατὰ
and was for-him this camp both together and against
τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιτείχισμα ἐπίμηκες, ὅθεν ὁρμώμενος τὴν
the enemies a-fortification long whence setting-out the
ἀγορὰν ἀφῃρεῖτο Καρχηδονίους, ὅση κατὰ γῆν αὐτοῖς
provisions he-took-from Carthaginians as-much-as by land to-them
ἐφέρετο· ὅτι γὰρ μὴ τῷδε τῷ αὐχένι μόνῳ, τὰ λοιπὰ
was-brought except for not by-this the neck alone the rest
ἡ Καρχηδὼν περίκλυστος ἦν. καὶ τοῦτο πρῶτον αὐτοῖς
— Carthage sea-washed was and this first for-them
καὶ μάλιστα ἐγίγνετο λιμοῦ καὶ κακῶν αἴτιον· ἅτε
and most became of-famine and evils cause inasmuch-as
γὰρ τοῦ πλήθους παντὸς ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐς τὴν πόλιν
for the multitude whole from the fields into the city
ἀνοικισαμένου, οὔτε προϊόντες ποι διὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν,
having-moved neither going-out anywhere because-of the siege

οὔτε ξένων ἐμπόρων διὰ τὸν πόλεμον θαμινὰ ἐπιόντων,
nor foreign merchants because-of the war often coming
μόνῃ τῇ τῆς Λιβύης ἀγορᾷ χρώμενοι, μικρὰ μέν ποτε
only the — of-Libya provisions using little indeed sometimes
καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης, ὅτε ὡραῖον εἴη, τὰ πλέονα δὲ κατὰ τὴν
also by sea when seasonable it-was the more but by the
γῆν ἐπεκομίζοντο, ἀφῃρημένοι δὲ τότε τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς
land they-imported deprived and then of-the from the land
κομιδήν, ἐπιπόνως ᾔσθοντο τοῦ λιμοῦ. Βιθύας δέ, ὅσπερ
transport painfully perceived the famine Bithyas and who
ἵππαρχος ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐπέπεμπτο ἐπὶ σῖτον ἐκ πολλοῦ,
cavalry-commander was for-them and had-been-sent for grain from long
προσελθεῖν μὲν ἢ βιάσασθαι τὸ χαράκωμα τοῦ Σκιπίωνος
to-approach indeed or to-force the palisade — of-Scipio
οὐκ ἐτόλμα, περιφέρων δὲ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐς τὰ πόρρω διὰ
not dared carrying-round but the provisions to the distant-parts through
μακροῦ ναυσὶν ἐσέπεμπεν, ἐφορμουσῶν μὲν τῇ Καρχηδόνι
long-way with-ships sent-in blockading indeed — Carthage
νεῶν τοῦ Σκιπίωνος· ἀλλ᾽ οὔτε διηνεκῶς οὔτε πυκναὶ
ships — of-Scipio but neither continuously nor close
συνειστήκεσαν ὡς ἐν ἀλιμένῳ καὶ περικρήμνῳ θαλάσσῃ,
were-stationed as in harborless and precipitous sea
παρά τε τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἀνακωχεύειν, τῶν
by both the city itself not they-could to-lie-to the
Καρχηδονίων τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐφεστώτων, καὶ τοῦ κύματος
Carthaginians on-the walls standing and the wave
ἐκεῖ μάλιστα διὰ τὰς πέτρας ταρασσομένου. ὅθεν αἱ
there most because-of the rocks being-troubled whence the
φορτίδες αἱ Βιθύου, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἔμπορος ὑπὸ κέρδους
merchantmen the of-Bithyas and if any other merchant by gain
ἐθελοκινδύνως ἠπείγετο, φυλάσσοντες ἄνεμον ἐκ πόντου
willing-to-risk hastened watching wind from sea

πολὺν πεπετασμένοις τοῖς ἱστίοις διέθεον, ἀδυνάτων οὐσῶν
strong with-spread the sails ran-through unable being
ἔτι τῶν τριήρων ὁλκάδας φερομένας ἱστίῳ καὶ πνεύματι
still the triremes merchant-ships carried by-sail and wind
διώκειν. σπανίως μὲν οὖν ἐγίγνετο καὶ μόνον ὅτε βίαιον
to-pursue rarely indeed then it-happened and only when violent
εἴη πνεῦμα ἐκ πόντου· καὶ ταῦτα δ', ὅσα φέροιεν αἱ
was wind from sea and these-things and as-much-as brought the
νῆες, Ἀσδρούβας τρισμυρίοις ἀνδράσι μόνοις διένεμεν, οὓς
ships Hasdrubal to-thirty-thousand men only distributed whom
ἐς μάχην ἐπείλεκτο, καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου πλήθους κατεφρόνει·
for battle he-had-picked and the other multitude despised
ὅθεν ἐμόχθουν μάλιστα ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ.
whence they-labored most by the famine

121 καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων αἰσθανόμενος ἐπενόει τὸν ἔσπλουν αὐτοῖς
and — Scipio perceiving planned the entrance for-them
τοῦ λιμένος, ἐς δύσιν τε ἀφορῶντα καὶ οὐ πάνυ
of-the harbor toward west both facing and not very
πόρρω τῆς γῆς ὄντα, ἀποκλεῖσαι. χῶμα οὖν ἐς τὴν
far from-the land being to-close-off a-mole then into the
θάλασσαν ἔχου μακρόν, ἀρχόμενος μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ταινίας
sea he-heaped long beginning indeed from the strip
ἥ μεταξὺ τῆς λίμνης οὖσα καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης γλῶσσα
which between the lagoon being and the sea tongue
ἐκαλεῖτο, προϊὼν δ' ἐς τὸ πέλαγος καὶ εὐθύνων ἐπὶ τὸν
was-called going-on and into the open-sea and directing toward the
ἔσπλουν. ἔχου δὲ λίθοις μεγάλοις τε καὶ πυκνοῖς, ἵνα
entrance he-heaped and with-stones great both and close-set that
μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος διαφέροιντο. καὶ πλάτος τοῦ
not by the surf they-might-be-carried-apart and breadth of-the
χώματος τὸ μὲν ἄνω τεσσάρων καὶ εἴκοσι ποδῶν, τὸ δ'
mole the indeed above of-four and twenty feet the and

ἐς τὸν βυθὸν καὶ τετραπλάσιον ἦν. τοῖς δὲ Καρχηδονίοις
at the bottom also four-times was to-the and Carthaginians
ἀρχομένου μὲν τοῦδε τοῦ ἔργου καταφρόνησις ἦν ὡς
beginning indeed this the work contempt was as
χρονίου τε καὶ μακροῦ καὶ ἴσως ἀδυνάτου· προϊόντος δὲ
long-lasting both and long and perhaps impossible proceeding and
σὺν ἐπείξει τοσοῦδε στρατοῦ, μήτε ἡμέραν ἐκλείποντος
with haste of-so-great army neither day leaving-off
ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις μήτε νύκτα, ἔδεισαν, καὶ στόμα ἕτερον
at the works nor night they-feared and mouth another
ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ λιμένος ὤρυσσον ἐς μέσον τὸ πέλαγος,
on the-other-side of-the harbor dug into middle the open-sea
οἳ μηδὲν χῶμα προελθεῖν ἐδύνατο ὑπὸ βάθους τε καὶ
where no mole to-advance could because-of depth both and
πνευμάτων ἀγριωτέρων. διώρυσσον δ' ἅμα γυναιξὶ
winds wilder dug-through and together-with women
καὶ παισίν, ἔνδοθεν ἀρχόμενοι καὶ πάνυ λανθάνοντες·
and children from-inside beginning and very escaping-notice
ἅμα δὲ καὶ ναῦς ἐξ ὕλης παλαιᾶς ἐναυπήγουν,
at-the-same-time and also ships from timber old built
πεντήρεις τε καὶ τριήρεις, οὐδὲν ὑπολείποντες εὐψυχίας τε
quinqueremes both and triremes nothing falling-short of-courage both
καὶ τόλμης. οὕτω δ' ἅπαντα ἐπέκρυπτον ὡς μηδὲ τοὺς
and of-daring thus and everything they-concealed that not-even the
αἰχμαλώτους ἔχειν τι τῷ Σκιπίωνι σαφὲς εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ
captives to-have anything — to-Scipio clear to-say but
κτύπον μὲν ἐν τοῖς λιμέσιν ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς εἶναι
a-din indeed in the harbors by-day both and by-night to-be
πολὺν ἀπαύστως, τὴν δὲ χρείαν οὐκ εἰδέναι, μέχρι γε
much unceasingly the but purpose not to-know until at-least
δὴ πάντων ἑτοίμων γενομένων οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τὸ στόμα
indeed all ready having-become the Carthaginians the mouth

ἀνέῳξαν περὶ ἕω, καὶ ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα μὲν τριηρετικαῖς,
opened about dawn and with-ships fifty indeed trireme-type
κερκούροις δὲ καὶ μυοπάρωσι καὶ ἄλλοις βραχυτέροις
with-cercuri and and with-myoparones and others smaller
πολλοῖς ἐξέπλεον, ἐς κατάπληξιν ἐσκευασμένοι φοβερῶς.
many sailed-out for terror equipped fearsomely
122 Ῥωμαίους δὲ τό τε στόμα ἄφνω γενόμενον καὶ ὁ στόλος ἐπὶ
Romans and the both mouth suddenly having-appeared and the fleet at
τῷ στόματι ἐς τοσόνδε κατέπληξεν ὡς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους,
the mouth to such-a-degree terrified that the Carthaginians
εἰ αὐτίκα ταῖς ναυσὶ ταῖς Ῥωμαίων ἐπέθεντο, ἠμελημέναις
if at-once the ships the of-Romans had-attacked neglected
τε ὡς ἐν τειχομαχίᾳ, καὶ οὐδενὸς ναύτου παρόντος οὐδ'
both as in wall-fighting and no sailor being-present nor
ἐρέτου, ὅλου ἂν τοῦ ναυστάθμου κρατῆσαι. νῦν οὖν (ἁλῶναι
rower whole — the naval-station to-have-mastered now then to-be-taken
γὰρ ἔδει Καρχηδόνα) τότε μὲν ἐς μόνην ἐπίδειξιν
for it-was-fated Carthage then indeed for only display
ἐπέπλευσαν, καὶ σοβαρῶς ἐπιτωθάσαντες ἀνέστρεφον,
sailed-against and haughtily having-jeered returned
τρίτῃ δ' ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς ναυμαχίαν καθίσταντο·
on-the-third and day after this for sea-battle prepared
καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τάς τε ναῦς καὶ τἄλλα εὐτρεπισάμενοι
and the Romans the both ships and the-rest having-made-ready
ἀντανήγοντο. βοῆς δὲ καὶ παρακελεύσεως ἑκατέρωθεν
put-out-against-them shouting and and exhortation on-both-sides
γενομένης καὶ προθυμίας ἐρετῶν τε καὶ κυβερνητῶν καὶ
having-arisen and zeal of-rowers both and helmsmen and
τῶν ἐπιβατῶν, ὡς ἐν τῷδε λοιπῷ Καρχηδονίοις μὲν τῆς
of-the marines as in this remaining for-Carthaginians indeed the
σωτηρίας οὔσης Ῥωμαίοις δὲ τῆς νίκης ἐντελοῦς, πληγαί
safety being for-Romans and the victory complete blows

τε πολλαὶ καὶ τραύματα ποικίλα ἐγίγνετο παρ᾽ ἀμφοῖν
both many and wounds various happened from both
μέχρι μέσης ἡμέρας. ἐν δὲ τῷ πόνῳ τὰ σκάφη τῶν
until middle day in and the toil the boats of-the
Λιβύων τὰ σμικρὰ ταῖς Ῥωμαϊκαῖς ναυσὶ μεγάλαις οὔσαις
Libyans the small at-the Roman ships large being
ἐς τοὺς ταρσοὺς ὑποτρέχοντα διετίτρη πρύμνας καὶ
to the oar-banks running-under bored-through sterns and
ἐξέκοπτε πηδάλια καὶ κώπας, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα
cut-off rudders and oars and other many and various
ἐλύπει, εὐμαρῶς τε ὑποφεύγοντα καὶ εὐμαρῶς ἐπιπλέοντα.
harmed easily both slipping-away and easily sailing-against
ἀκρίτου δ᾽ ἔτι τῆς ναυμαχίας οὔσης, καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐς
undecided and still the sea-battle being and the day to
δείλην τρεπομένης, ἔδοξε τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ὑποχωρεῖν,
evening turning it-seemed-good to-the Carthaginians to-withdraw
οὔ τι κατὰ ἧτταν ἀλλ᾽ ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ὑπερτιθεμένοις.
not at-all from defeat but to the following putting-it-off
καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ σκάφη τὰ βραχύτερα προύφευγε, καὶ 123
and their the boats the smaller fled-ahead and
τὸν ἔσπλουν προλαβόντα ἐς ἄλληλα ὠθεῖτο ὑπὸ τοῦ
the entrance having-seized-first against each-other were-pushed by the
πλήθους, καὶ τὸ στόμα βύζην ἀπέκλειεν. ὅθεν αἱ μείζους
number and the mouth to-the-full closed whence the larger
ἐπανιοῦσαι τὸν ἔσπλουν ἀφῄρηντο, καὶ ἐς τὸ χῶμα
returning the entrance were-deprived-of and to the quay
κατέφυγον, ὃ πρὸ τοῦ τείχους εὐρύχωρον ἐμπόροις ἐς
fled which before the wall spacious for-merchants for
διάθεσιν φορτίων ἐγεγένητο ἐκ πολλοῦ· καὶ παρατείχισμα
disposal of-cargoes had-been-made from long and an-outwork
ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ βραχὺ ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ ἐπεποίητο, ἵνα μὴ
on it small in this the war had-been-made that not

ὡς ἐν εὐρυχώρῳ στρατοπεδεύσειάν ποτε οἱ πολέμιοι. ἐς
as on spacious-ground might-encamp ever the enemies to
μὲν δὴ τόδε τὸ χῶμα αἱ νῆες αἱ τῶν Καρχηδονίων,
indeed indeed this the quay the ships the of-the Carthaginians
ἀπορίᾳ λιμένος, καταφυγοῦσαι μετωπηδὸν ὡρμίσαντο·
from-want of-harbor having-fled prow-on anchored
καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπιπλέοντας οἱ μὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν
and the enemies sailing-against some indeed from very the
νεῶν, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ χώματος, οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ
ships others and from the quay others and from the
διατειχίσματος ἀπεμάχοντο. Ῥωμαίοις δὲ ὁ μὲν ἐπίπλους
cross-wall fought-off for-Romans and the indeed approach
ἦν ῥᾴδιος καὶ τὸ μάχεσθαι ναυσὶν ἑστώσαις εὐμαρές,
was easy and the fighting against-ships standing easy
αἱ δ' ἀναχωρήσεις δι' ἀναστροφὴν τῶν νεῶν, μακρῶν
the but withdrawals because-of turning of-the ships long
οὐσῶν, βραδεῖαί τε καὶ δυσχερεῖς ἐπεγίγνοντο· ὅθεν
being slow both and difficult came-about whence
ἀντέπασχον ἐν τῷδε τὰ ὅμοια (ὅτε γὰρ ἐπιστρέφοιεν,
they-suffered-in-return in this the like-things when for they-turned
ἐπλήσσοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπιπλεόντων), μέχρι
they-were-struck by the Carthaginians sailing-against until
νῆες Σιδητῶν πέντε, αἳ φιλίᾳ Σκιπίωνος εἵποντο,
ships of-Sidetans five which in-friendship of-Scipio followed
τὰς μὲν ἀγκύρας καθῆκαν ἐκ πολλοῦ διαστήματος ἐς
the indeed anchors let-down at long distance into
τὸ πέλαγος, ἁψάμεναι δ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν κάλους μακροὺς
the open-sea having-fastened and from them ropes long
εἰρεσίᾳ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἐπέπλεον, καὶ ὅτε ἐγχρίμψειαν,
by-rowing the Carthaginians sailed-against and when they-came-close
ὑπεχώρουν τοὺς κάλους ἐπισπώμεναι κατὰ πρύμναν, αὖθις
withdrew the ropes pulling-in by stern again

τε ῥοθίῳ καταπλέουσαι πάλιν ἀνήγοντο κατὰ πρύμναν.
both with-a-dash sailing-in again put-out by stern
τότε γὰρ ὁ στόλος ἅπας, τὸν νοῦν τῶν Σιδητῶν ὁρῶντές
then for the fleet whole the idea of-the Sidetans seeing
τε καὶ μιμούμενοι, πολλὰ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἔβλαπτον. καὶ τὸ
both and imitating much the enemies harmed and the
ἔργον ἐς νύκτα ἐτελεύτα, καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν διέφυγον αἱ
action into night ended and into the city fled the
τῶν Καρχηδονίων νῆες, ὅσαι γε ἔτι ἦσαν ὑπόλοιποι.
of-the Carthaginians ships as-many-as at-least still were remaining
Σκιπίων δὲ γενομένης ἡμέρας ἐπεχείρει τῷ χώματι· 124
Scipio and having-become day attacked the quay
καὶ γὰρ ἦν εὔκαιρον ἐπιτείχισμα τοῦ λιμένος. κριοῖς
and for it-was a-convenient fortification-against the harbor with-rams
οὖν τὸ παρατείχισμα τύπτων, καὶ μηχανήματα πολλὰ
then the outwork striking and engines many
ἐπάγων, μέρος αὐτοῦ κατέβαλεν. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι,
bringing-up part of-it threw-down the and Carthaginians
καίπερ ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ κακώσεως ποικίλης ἐνοχλούμενοι,
although by famine and suffering various being-troubled
νυκτὸς ἐξέδραμον ἐπὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων μηχανήματα, οὐ κατὰ
by-night ran-out against the of-Romans engines not by
γῆν (οὐ γὰρ ἦν δίοδος) οὐδὲ ναυσὶν (ἁλιτενὴς γὰρ ἦν ἡ
land not for was passage nor by-ships shallow for was the
θάλασσα), ἀλλὰ γυμνοὶ δᾳδας ἔφερον, οὐχ ἡμμένας ἵνα
sea but naked torches carried not lit that
μὴ μακρόθεν εἶεν καταφανεῖς· ἐς δὲ τὴν θάλασσαν
not from-afar they-might-be visible into and the sea
ἐμβάντες ᾗ μή τις ἂν προσεδόκησεν, οἱ μὲν ἄχρι τῶν
having-entered where not anyone — would-have-expected some indeed up-to the
μαστῶν βρεχόμενοι διεβάδιζον, οἱ δὲ καὶ διένεον, ἕως ἐπὶ
breasts being-wet waded others and also swam until onto

τὰ μηχανήματα ἐλθόντες ἐξῆψαν τὸ πῦρ, καὶ κατάφωροι
the engines having-come they-kindled the fire and detected
γενόμενοι πολλὰ μὲν ἔπαθον, ἅτε γυμνοὶ τιτρωσκόμενοι,
having-become much indeed suffered inasmuch-as naked being-wounded
πολλὰ δ' ἀντέδρασαν ὑπὸ τόλμης· οἳ καὶ τὰς ἀκίδας τῶν
much but did-in-return from daring who also the barbs of-the
βελῶν καὶ τὰς αἰχμὰς ἐν στέρνοις καὶ ὄψεσι φέροντες
missiles and the points in breasts and faces carrying
οὐκ ἀνίεσαν, ὥσπερ θηρία ταῖς πληγαῖς ἐγκείμενοι, μέχρι
not let-up like beasts at-the blows pressing until
τὰ μηχανήματα ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐτρέψαντο
the engines they-burned and the Romans routed
θορυβουμένους. ἔκπληξίς τε καὶ τάραχος ἦν ἀνὰ ὅλον τὸ
being-thrown-into-confusion consternation both and turmoil was through whole the
στρατόπεδον, καὶ φόβος οἷος οὐ πρίν, ὑπὸ μανίας γυμνῶν
camp and fear such-as not before from frenzy of-naked
πολεμίων, ὥστε δείσας ὁ Σκιπίων μετὰ ἱππέων ἔξω
enemies so-that fearing — Scipio with cavalry outside
περιέθει, καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους, εἰ μὴ λήξαιεν τῆς φυγῆς,
ran-round and the own-men if not they-should-cease from-the flight
ἐκέλευε βάλλειν. ἔστι δὲ οὓς ἔβαλε καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἕως οἱ
ordered to-strike are and whom he-struck and killed until the
πλείους συνεώσθησαν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, καὶ
most were-pushed-together into the camp by necessity and
διενυκτέρευσαν ἔνοπλοι, τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν δεδιότες.
passed-the-night armed the desperation of-the enemies fearing
οἱ δὲ τὰς μηχανὰς ἐμπρήσαντες ἐξένεον αὖθις ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα.
they and the engines having-burned swam-out again to the home
125 ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ Καρχηδόνιοι μέν, οὐκ ἐνοχλουσῶν
together-with and day Carthaginians indeed not troubling
σφᾶς ἔτι μηχανῶν πολεμίων, τὸ διαπεπτωκὸς τοῦ
them any-longer engines of-the-enemy the fallen-part of-the

διατειχίσματος ᾠκοδόμουν, καὶ πύργους ἐν αὐτῷ πολλοὺς
cross-wall rebuilt and towers in it many
ἐποίουν ἐκ διαστήματος, Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἑτέρας ἐργασάμενοι
made at intervals Romans and other having-made
μηχανὰς χώματα ἤγειρον ἀντιμέτωπα τοῖς πύργοις, δᾳδά
engines mounds raised facing the towers pine-torch
τε συγκεκομμένην καὶ θεῖον ἐν κώθωσι καὶ πίσσαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς
both chopped and sulfur in pots and pitch at them
ἐσφενδόνων, καὶ ἔστιν οὓς τῶν πύργων ἐνεπίμπρασαν, καὶ
slung and are which of-the towers they-set-on-fire and
τοὺς Καρχηδονίους φεύγοντας ἐδίωκον. ὀλισθηρὸς δ' ἦν
the Carthaginians fleeing pursued slippery and was
ὁ δρόμος ὑφ' αἵματος πεπηγότος ὑπογύου τε καὶ πολλοῦ,
the course from blood congealed fresh both and abundant
ὥστε τῶν φευγόντων ἀπελίποντο ἄκοντες. ὁ δὲ
so-that of-the(-men) fleeing they-were-left-behind unwilling — and
Σκιπίων τοῦ χώματος ὅλου κατασχὼν ἀπετάφρευεν αὐτό,
Scipio the quay whole having-seized entrenched-off it
καὶ τεῖχος ἤγειρεν ἐκ πλίνθων, οὔτε κολοβώτερον τοῦ
and a-wall raised of bricks neither lower than-the
τῶν πολεμίων οὔτ' ἐκ μακροῦ διαστήματος ἀπ' αὐτῶν. ὡς
of-the enemies nor at long distance from them when
δ' ἐξείργαστο αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ τεῖχος, τετρακισχιλίους ἐς
and had-been-completed for-him also the wall four-thousand into
αὐτὸ ἔπεμψεν, ἐπαφιέναι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς βέλη τε καὶ ἀκόντια
it he-sent to-shoot-at the enemies missiles both and javelins
σὺν καταφρονήσει. οἱ δὲ ἰσομέτωποι γενόμενοι ἔβαλλον
with contempt they and level-fronted having-become struck
αὐτοὺς ἐπιτυχῶς. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐς ταῦτα ἀναλώθη.
them successfully and the summer on these-things was-spent

126 χειμῶνος δ᾽ ἀρχομένου τὴν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Καρχηδονίων
winter and beginning the in the country of-the Carthaginians
δύναμίν τε καὶ συμμάχους ὁ Σκιπίων ἔγνω προκαθελεῖν,
force both and allies — Scipio decided to-destroy-first
ὅθεν αὐτοῖς ἀγορὰ διεπέμπετο. περιπέμψας οὖν ἑτέρωσε
whence to-them provisions were-sent having-sent-round then elsewhere
ἑτέρους, αὐτὸς ἐς Νέφεριν ἐπὶ Διογένη τὸν μετ᾽ Ἀσδρούβαν
others himself to Nepheris against Diogenes the after Hasdrubal
φρουροῦντα τὴν Νέφεριν ἠπείγετο διὰ τῆς λίμνης, καὶ
guarding — Nepheris hastened through the lagoon and
Γάιον Λαίλιον κατὰ γῆν περιέπεμπεν. ὡς δὲ ἀφίκετο,
Gaius Laelius by land sent-round when and he-arrived
δύο σταδίους ἀποσχὼν τοῦ Διογένους ἐστρατοπέδευε, καὶ
two stades being-distant — from-Diogenes he-encamped and
Γολόσσην καταλιπὼν ἐγχειρεῖν ἀπαύστως τῷ Διογένει
Gulussa having-left to-attack unceasingly — Diogenes
αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνος ἠπείγετο· ὅθεν ἐς Νέφερίν τε καὶ
himself to Carthage hastened whence to Nepheris both and
Καρχηδόνα διετρόχαζεν, ἀεὶ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἐφορῶν. δύο
Carthage he-ran-back-and-forth always the happenings overseeing two
δὲ τοῦ Διογένους μεσοπυργίων καταπεσόντων ἦκεν ὁ
and — of-Diogenes curtains having-fallen came —
Σκιπίων, καὶ χιλίους ἐπιλέκτους ὄπισθεν τοῦ Διογένους
Scipio and thousand picked behind — Diogenes
ἐνεδρεύσας, ἑτέροις ἐκ μετώπου τρισχιλίοις, ἀριστίνδην
having-ambushed with-others from front three-thousand by-merit
καὶ τοῖσδε ἐπιλεγομένοις, ἐπέβαινεν ἐπὶ τὰ πεπτωκότα τῶν
also these chosen advanced onto the fallen-parts of-the
μεσοπυργίων, οὐκ ἀθρόους ἀναβιβάζων, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μέρη
curtains not in-a-mass sending-up but by parts
πυκνοὺς ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλοις, ἵνα μηδὲ βιασθέντες οἱ πρῶτοι φυγεῖν
close-packed after each-other that not-even forced the first to-flee

δύναιντο διὰ τοὺς ἑπομένους. πολλῆς δὲ βοῆς οὔσης
might-be-able because-of the(-men) following great and shouting being
καὶ πόνου, καὶ τῶν Λιβύων ἐς ταῦτα ἐπεστραμμένων,
and toil and the Libyans toward these-things having-turned
οἱ χίλιοι, καθάπερ αὐτοῖς προείρητο, οὐδενὸς ἐς αὐτοὺς
the thousand as for-them had-been-ordered no-one at them
ἀποβλέποντος οὐδ' ὑπονοοῦντος ἐνέπεσον ἐς τὸ χαράκωμα
looking nor suspecting fell into the palisade
εὐτόλμως, καὶ διέσπων αὐτὸ καὶ ὑπερέβαινον. καὶ τῶν
daringly and tore it and climbed-over and the
πρώτων ἔνδον γενομένων αἴσθησις ἐγίγνετο ταχεῖα, καὶ
first inside having-become perception arose quick and
ἔφευγον οἱ Λίβυες, οὐχ ὅσους ἑώρων, ἀλλὰ πολὺ πλέονας
fled the Libyans not as-many-as they-saw but much more
ἡγούμενοι τοὺς ἐσελθόντας εἶναι. Γολόσσης δ' αὐτοῖς
thinking the(-men) having-entered to-be Gulussa and them
ἐπιτρέχων σὺν Νομάσι πολλοῖς καὶ ἐλέφασι πολὺν εἰργάζετο
running-at with Numidians many and elephants great made
φόνον, ὡς ἀπολέσθαι μὲν ἐς ἑπτακισμυρίους σὺν τοῖς
slaughter so-that to-perish indeed about seventy-thousand with the
ἀχρείοις, ἁλῶναι δ' ἐς μυρίους, διαφυγεῖν δ' ἀμφὶ τοὺς
noncombatants to-be-taken and about ten-thousand to-escape and about the
τετρακισχιλίους. ἑάλω δὲ καὶ ἡ πόλις ἡ Νέφεριs ἐπὶ τῷ
four-thousand was-taken and also the city — Nepheris after the
στρατοπέδῳ, δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμέραις ἄλλαις πολιορκηθεῖσα
camp two and twenty days more besieged
πρὸς τοῦ Σκιπίωνος πάνυ κακοπαθῶς ἐν χειμῶνι καὶ
by — Scipio very with-suffering in winter and
ψυχρῷ χωρίῳ. τὸ δὲ ἔργον τόδε μάλιστα συνήνεγκεν ἐς
cold place the and deed this most contributed to
τὴν τῆς Καρχηδόνος ἅλωσιν. ἥδε γὰρ ἡ στρατιὰ τὴν
the — of-Carthage capture this for the army the

ἀγορὰν αὐτοῖς διεπόρθμευε, καὶ ἐς τόδε τὸ στρατόπεδον
provisions for-them conveyed and toward this the camp
οἱ Λίβυες ἀφορῶντες ἐθάρρουν. τότε δ' αὐτοῦ ληφθέντος
the Libyans looking took-courage then and it having-been-taken
καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Λιβύης χωρία τοῖς στρατηγοῖς Σκιπίωνος
also the rest — of-Libya places to-the generals of-Scipio
προσεχώρει ἢ οὐ δυσχερῶς ἐλαμβάνετο. ἥ τε ἀγορὰ τοὺς
came-over or not with-difficulty were-taken the both provisions the
Καρχηδονίους ἐπέλιπε, καὶ οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἐκ Λιβύης ἀλλοτρίας
Carthaginians failed and nothing neither from Libya foreign
ἤδη γενομένης οὔτ' ἀλλαχόθεν αὐτοῖς καταπλεῖν ἐδύνατο,
already having-become nor from-elsewhere to-them to-sail-in could
διά τε τὸν πόλεμον αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν ὥραν χειμέριον οὖσαν.
because-of both the war itself and the season wintry being

127–132 · THE FALL OF CARTHAGE

In spring Laelius breaks into the Cothon and Scipio takes the market-place, and his soldiers strip the golden shrine of Apollo. For six days and nights the Romans fight their way up through six-story houses to the Byrsa, firing the streets; the dead and living are dragged together into the pits by the stone-clearers. Fifty thousand surrender. The Roman deserters hold out in the temple of Asclepius with Hasdrubal, who slips out to beg for his life; his wife reproaches him before Scipio, kills her children, and throws herself into the fire. Scipio weeps over the fall of so great a city and quotes Homer on the day when holy Ilium will perish, fearing, Polybius says, for Rome.

127 ἀρχομένου δ' ἦρος ὁ μὲν Σκιπίων ἐπεχείρει τῇ τε
beginning and spring — indeed Scipio attacked — both
Βύρσῃ καὶ τῶν λιμένων τῷ καλουμένῳ Κώθωνι, ὁ δὲ
Byrsa and of-the harbors the called Cothon — and
Ἀσδρούβας νυκτὸς ἐνεπίμπρη τὸ μέρος τοῦ Κώθωνος τὸ
Hasdrubal by-night set-on-fire the part — of-Cothon the

τετράγωνον. ἐλπίσας δ' ἔτι τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἐπιθήσεσθαι,
four-sided having-hoped and still — Scipio to-be-going-to-attack
καὶ πρὸς τόδε τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπεστραμμένων, ἔλαθε
and toward this the Carthaginians having-turned escaped-notice
Λαίλιος ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ Κώθωνος ἐς τὸ περιφερὲς αὐτοῦ
Laelius on the-other-side — of-Cothon into the round its
μέρος ἀνελθών. βοῆς δ' ὡς ἐπὶ νίκῃ γενομένης οἱ
part having-climbed shouting and as at victory having-arisen some
μὲν ἔδεισαν, οἱ δὲ πανταχόθεν ἤδη καταφρονοῦντες
indeed feared others and from-everywhere already despising
ἐβιάζοντο τὴν ἀνάβασιν, ξύλα καὶ μηχανήματα καὶ σανίδας
forced the ascent timbers and engines and planks
ἐπὶ τὰ διαστήματα διατιθέντες, ἀσθενῶν τὰ σώματα τῶν
over the gaps laying weak the bodies of-the
φυλάκων ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ γεγονότων, καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις
guards from the famine having-become and in-the spirits
ἀπαγορευόντων. ληφθέντος δὲ τοῦ περὶ τὸν Κώθωνα
giving-up having-been-taken and the about — Cothon
τείχους, τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐγγὺς οὖσαν ὁ Σκιπίων κατέλαβεν.
wall the market-place near being — Scipio seized
οὐδέν τε ὡς ἐν ἑσπέρᾳ πλέον ἔτι δυνάμενος, ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις
nothing both as in evening more still being-able in the arms
διενυκτέρευσε μεθ' ἁπάντων. ἀρχομένης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας
passed-the-night with all beginning and the day
ἑτέρους ἀκμῆτας ἐκάλει τετρακισχιλίους, οἳ ἐσιόντες ἱερὸν
others fresh he-called four-thousand who entering a-temple
Ἀπόλλωνος, οὗ τό τε ἄγαλμα κατάχρυσον ἦν καὶ δῶμα
of-Apollo where the both statue gilded was and a-shrine
αὐτῷ χρυσήλατον ἀπὸ χιλίων ταλάντων σταθμοῦ περιέκειτο,
for-it of-beaten-gold of thousand talents weight lay-around

ἐσύλων καὶ ταῖς μαχαίραις ἔκοπτον, ἀμελήσαντες τῶν
plundered and with-the knives cut neglecting the
ἐφεστώτων, ἕως ἐμερίσαντο καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐτράποντο.
officers until they-divided and to the work turned
128 Σκιπίωνι δ' ἦν μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Βύρσαν ἡ σπουδή· τὸ γὰρ
for-Scipio and was indeed toward — Byrsa the zeal the for
ὀχυρώτατον τῆς πόλεως ἦν, καὶ οἱ πλέονες ἐς αὐτὴν
strongest of-the city was and the most into it
συνεπεφεύγεσαν. τριῶν δ' οὐσῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀνόδων
had-fled-together three and being from the market-place ascents
ἐς αὐτήν, οἰκίαι πυκναὶ καὶ ἑξώροφοι πανταχόθεν ἦσαν,
to it houses close-set and six-storied on-all-sides were
ὅθεν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι βαλλόμενοι τὰς πρώτας τῶν οἰκιῶν
whence the Romans being-pelted the first of-the houses
κατέλαβον, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἠμύνοντο τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν
seized and from them warded-off the(-men) on the
πλησίον. ὅτε δ' αὐτῶν κρατήσειαν, ξύλα καὶ σανίδας τοῖς
neighboring when and them they-mastered timbers and planks over-the
διαστήμασι τῶν στενωπῶν ἐπιτιθέντες διέβαινον ὡς ἐπὶ
gaps of-the alleys laying crossed as on
γεφυρῶν. καὶ ὅδε μὲν ὁ πόλεμος ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν τεγῶν ἄνω,
bridges and this indeed the war was on the roofs above
ἕτερος δ' ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς κατὰ τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας.
another and in the alleys against the(-men) meeting
στόνου δὲ καὶ οἰμωγῆς καὶ βοῆς πάντα καὶ ποικίλων
with-groaning and and wailing and shouting everything and of-various
παθῶν ἐνεπίμπλατο, κτεινομένων τε ἐν χερσί, καὶ
sufferings was-filled being-killed both in hand-to-hand and
ζώντων ἔτι ῥιπτουμένων ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν ἐς τὸ
living still being-thrown from-above from the roofs to the
ἔδαφος, καὶ φερομένων ἐνίων ἐπὶ δόρατα ὀρθὰ ἢ αἰχμὰς
ground and falling some onto spears upright or points

ἄλλας ἢ ξίφη. ἐνεπίμπρη δ' οὐδὲν οὐδείς πω διὰ
other or swords set-fire and nothing no-one yet because-of
τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν τεγῶν, ἕως ἐπὶ τὴν Βύρσαν ἦκεν ὁ
the(-men) on the roofs until to — Byrsa came —
Σκιπίων· καὶ τότε τοὺς τρεῖς ὁμοῦ στενωποὺς ἐνεπίμπρη,
Scipio and then the three together alleys set-on-fire
καὶ τὸ ἀεὶ πιμπράμενον ἑτέροις ὁδοποιεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ἵν'
and the ever being-burned others to-clear ordered that
εὐμαρῶς ὁ στρατὸς ἀλλασσόμενος διαθέοι.
easily the army relieving might-run-through
ἄλλη δ' ἦν ἐκ τοῦδε ὄψις ἑτέρων κακῶν, τοῦ μὲν πυρὸς 129
another and was from this sight of-other evils the indeed fire
ἐπιφλέγοντος πάντα καὶ καταφέροντος, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν
blazing-over everything and bringing-down the and men
τὰ οἰκοδομήματα οὐ διαιρούντων ἐς ὀλίγον, ἀλλ' ἀθρόα
the buildings not dismantling into little but in-masses
βιαζομένων ἀνατρέπειν. ὅ τε γὰρ κτύπος ἐκ τοῦδε πολὺ
forcing to-overturn the both for crash from this much
πλείων ἐγίγνετο, καὶ μετὰ τῶν λίθων ἐξέπιπτον ἐς τὸ μέσον
greater became and with the stones fell-out into the middle
ἀθρόοι νεκροί. ζῶντές τε ἕτεροι, πρεσβῦται μάλιστα καὶ
in-masses corpses living both others old-men especially and
παιδία καὶ γύναια, ὅσα τοῖς μυχοῖς τῶν οἰκιῶν ἐκέκρυπτο,
children and women as-many-as in-the recesses of-the houses had-hidden
οἱ μὲν καὶ τραύματα φέροντες οἱ δ' ἡμίφλεκτοι, φωνὰς
some indeed also wounds bearing others and half-burned cries
ἀηδεῖς ἀφιέντες. ἕτεροι δ', ὡς ἀπὸ τοσοῦδε ὕψους μετὰ
unpleasant uttering others and as from so-great height with
λίθων καὶ ξύλων καὶ πυρὸς ὠθούμενοι καὶ καταπίπτοντες,
stones and timbers and fire being-pushed and falling-down
ἐς πολλὰ σχήματα κακῶν διεσπῶντο ῥηγνύμενοί τε
into many shapes of-evils were-torn being-broken both

καὶ κατασπασσόμενοι. καὶ οὐδ' ἐς τέλος αὐτοῖς ταῦτα
and being-mangled and not-even to the-end for-them these-things
ἀπέχρη· λιθολόγοι γὰρ ὅσοι πελέκεσι καὶ ἀξίναις καὶ
sufficed stone-clearers for as-many-as with-axes and hatchets and
κοντοῖς τὰ πίπτοντα μετέβαλλόν τε καὶ ὠδοποίουν τοῖς
poles the falling-things moved both and made-a-way for-the(-men)
διαθέουσιν, οἱ μὲν τοῖς πελέκεσι καὶ ταῖς ἀξίναις, οἱ
running-through some indeed with-the axes and the hatchets others
δὲ ταῖς χηλαῖς τῶν κοντῶν, τούς τε νεκροὺς καὶ τοὺς
and with-the hooks of-the poles the both dead and the(-men)
ἔτι ζῶντας ἐς τὰ τῆς γῆς κοῖλα μετέβαλλον ὡς ξύλα καὶ
still living into the of-the ground hollows moved as timbers and
λίθους ἐπισύροντες ἢ ἀνατρέποντες τῷ σιδήρῳ, ἦν τε
stones dragging or overturning with-the iron was both
ἄνθρωπος ἀναπλήρωμα βόθρου. μεταβαλλόμενοι δ' οἱ μὲν
a-man filling of-a-pit being-moved and some indeed
ἐς κεφαλὰς ἐφέροντο, καὶ τὰ σκέλη σφῶν ὑπερίσχοντα
onto heads were-carried and the legs their projecting-above
τῆς γῆς ἤσπαιρον ἐπὶ πλεῖστον· οἱ δ' ἐς μὲν τοὺς
the ground writhed for longest others and onto indeed the
πόδας ἔπιπτον κάτω, καὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ὑπερεῖχον ὑπὲρ
feet fell down and with-the heads projected above
τὸ ἔδαφος, ἵπποι δ' αὐτοὺς διαθέοντες ἐς τὰς ὄψεις ἢ
the ground horses and them running-through into the faces or
τὸν ἐγκέφαλον ἐκόλαπτον, οὐχ ἑκόντων τῶν ἐποχουμένων
the brain struck not willing the riders
ἀλλ' ὑπὸ σπουδῆς, ἐπεὶ οὐδ' οἱ λιθολόγοι ταῦτ' ἔδρων
but from haste since not-even the stone-clearers these-things did
ἑκόντες· ἀλλ' ὁ τοῦ πολέμου πόνος καὶ ἡ δόξα τῆς νίκης
willingly but the of-the war toil and the glory of-the victory
ἐγγὺς καὶ ἡ τοῦ στρατοῦ σπουδή, καὶ κήρυκες ὁμοῦ καὶ
near and the of-the army haste and heralds together and

σαλπικταὶ πάντα θορυβοῦντες, χιλίαρχοί τε καὶ λοχαγοὶ
trumpeters all-things confusing tribunes both and centurions
μετὰ τῶν τάξεων ἐναλλασσόμενοι καὶ διαθέοντες, ἔνθους
with the companies relieving and running-through frenzied
ἅπαντας ἐποίουν καὶ ἀμελεῖς τῶν ὁρωμένων ὑπὸ σπουδῆς.
all made and careless of-the sights from haste
καὶ ταῦτα πονουμένων ἐδαπανήθησαν ἓξ ἡμέραι τε 130
and these-things toiling were-spent six days both
καὶ νύκτες, τῆς μὲν στρατιᾶς ἐναλλασσομένης, ἵνα μὴ
and nights the indeed army relieving that not
κάμοιεν ὑπ᾽ ἀγρυπνίας καὶ κόπου καὶ φόνου καὶ
they-might-be-exhausted by sleeplessness and fatigue and slaughter and
ὄψεως ἀηδοῦς, Σκιπίωνος δ᾽ ἀπαύστως ἐφεστῶτος ἢ
sight unpleasant Scipio and unceasingly standing-by or
διαθέοντος ἀύπνου, καὶ σῖτον οὕτως ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων
running-through sleepless and food thus at the works
αἱρουμένου, μέχρι κάμνων καὶ παρειμένος ἐκαθέζετο ἐφ᾽
taking until exhausted and slackened he-sat on
ὑψηλοῦ, τὰ γιγνόμενα ἐφορῶν. πολλῶν δ᾽ ἔτι πορθουμένων,
high the happenings overseeing many and still being-ravaged
καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ μακροτάτου δοκοῦντος ἔσεσθαι, προσέφυγον
and the evil longest seeming to-be-going-to-be fled-for-refuge
ἐβδόμης ἡμέρας αὐτῷ τινες ἐστεμμένοι στέμματα
on-the-seventh day to-him some garlanded with-garlands
Ἀσκληπίεια· τόδε γὰρ ἦν τὸ ἱερὸν ἐν ἀκροπόλει μάλιστα
of-Asclepius this for was the temple in citadel most
τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιφανὲς καὶ πλούσιον, ὅθεν οἵδε τὰς ἱκετηρίας
of-the others notable and rich whence these the suppliant-branches
λαβόντες ἐδέοντο τοῦ Σκιπίωνος περὶ μόνης συνθέσθαι
having-taken begged — Scipio about only to-agree
σωτηρίας τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἐπὶ τῷδε τῆς Βύρσης ἐξιέναι,
safety for-the(-men) wishing on this — from-Byrsa to-go-out

ὁ δὲ ἐδίδου, χωρὶς αὐτομόλων. καὶ ἐξῄεσαν αὐτίκα μυριάδες
he and granted except deserters and went-out at-once myriads
πέντε ἀνδρῶν ἅμα καὶ γυναικῶν, ἀνοιχθέντος αὐτοῖς στενοῦ
five of-men together and of-women having-been-opened for-them a-narrow
διατειχίσματος. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐφυλάσσοντο, ὅσοι δ'
cross-wall and these indeed were-guarded as-many-as and
αὐτόμολοι Ῥωμαίων ἦσαν, ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἐνακοσίους μάλιστα,
deserters of-Romans were about the nine-hundred about
ἀπογνόντες αὑτῶν ἐς τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον ἀνέδραμον μετ'
having-despaired-of themselves into — Asclepieum ran-up with
Ἀσδρούβα καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς Ἀσδρούβα καὶ δύο παίδων
Hasdrubal and the wife — of-Hasdrubal and two children
ἀρρένων. ὅθεν εὐμαρῶς ἀεὶ ἐμάχοντο, καίπερ ὄντες ὀλίγοι,
male whence easily always they-fought although being few
διὰ τὸ ὕψος τοῦ τεμένους καὶ τὸ ἀπόκρημνον, ἐς ὃ καὶ
because-of the height of-the precinct and the steepness to which also
παρὰ τὴν εἰρήνην διὰ βαθρῶν ἑξήκοντα ἀνέβαινον. ὡς δὲ
during the peace by steps sixty they-went-up when and
ὅ τε λιμὸς αὐτοὺς καθῄρει καὶ ἡ ἀγρυπνία καὶ ὁ φόβος
the both famine them wore-down and the sleeplessness and the fear
καὶ ὁ πόνος, τοῦ κακοῦ προσπελάζοντος, τὸ μὲν τέμενος
and the toil the evil approaching the indeed precinct
ἐξέλιπον, ἐς δὲ τὸν νεὼν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ τέγος ἀνέτρεχον.
they-left into and the temple its and the roof ran-up
131 κἀν τούτῳ λαθὼν ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἔφυγε πρὸς τὸν
and-in this unnoticed — Hasdrubal fled to —
Σκιπίωνα μετὰ θαλλῶν· καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Σκιπίων ἐκάθισε
Scipio with olive-branches and him — Scipio seated
πρὸ ποδῶν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τοῖς αὐτομόλοις ἐπεδείκνυεν. οἱ δ'
before feet his-own and to-the deserters showed they and
ὡς εἶδον, ᾔτησαν ἡσυχίαν σφίσι γενέσθαι, καὶ γενομένης
when they-saw asked silence for-them to-be-made and having-been-made

Ἀσδρούβᾳ μὲν ἐλοιδορήσαντο πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα, τὸν δὲ
Hasdrubal indeed they-reviled much and various the and
νεὼν ἐνέπρησάν τε καὶ κατεκαύθησαν. τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα
temple set-on-fire both and were-burned-up the and wife
τοῦ Ἀσδρούβα λέγουσιν, ἀπτομένου τοῦ πυρὸς ἀντικρὺ
— of-Hasdrubal they-say catching the fire opposite
τοῦ Σκιπίωνος γενομένην, κατακοσμήσασθαί τε ὡς ἐν
— Scipio having-stood to-have-adorned-herself both as in
συμφοραῖς ἐδύνατο, καὶ παραστησαμένην τὰ τέκνα εἰπεῖν
misfortunes she-could and having-set-beside-her the children to-have-said
ἐς ἐπήκοον τοῦ Σκιπίωνος· "σοὶ μὲν οὐ νέμεσις ἐκ θεῶν,
in hearing — of-Scipio for-you indeed not retribution from gods
ὦ Ῥωμαῖε· ἐπὶ γὰρ πολεμίαν ἐστράτευσας· Ἀσδρούβαν
O Roman against for an-enemy you-marched Hasdrubal
δὲ τόνδε πατρίδος τε καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ τέκνων
but this-one of-fatherland both and temples and of-me and children
προδότην γενόμενον οἵ τε Καρχηδόνος δαίμονες ἀμύναιντο,
betrayer having-become the both of-Carthage divinities may-avenge
καὶ σὺ μετὰ τῶν δαιμόνων." εἶτ' ἐς τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν
and you with the divinities then to — Hasdrubal
ἐπιστρέψασα εἶπεν· "ὦ μιαρὲ καὶ ἄπιστε καὶ μαλακώτατε
having-turned she-said O foul and faithless and softest
ἀνδρῶν, ἐμὲ μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς παῖδας τόδε τὸ πῦρ
of-men me indeed and the my children this the fire
θάψει· σὺ δὲ τίνα κοσμήσεις θρίαμβον ὁ τῆς μεγάλης
will-bury you and what will-you-adorn triumph the of-the great
Καρχηδόνος ἡγεμών; τίνα δ' οὐ δώσεις δίκην τῷδε
Carthage leader what and not will-you-pay penalty to-this-one
ᾧ παρακαθέζῃ;" τοσαῦτ' ὀνειδίσασα κατέσφαξε τοὺς
by-whom you-sit so-much having-reproached she-slaughtered the
παῖδας, καὶ ἐς τὸ πῦρ αὐτούς τε καὶ ἑαυτὴν ἐπέρριψεν.
children and into the fire them both and herself threw

132 ὧδε μέν φασι τὴν Ἀσδρούβα γυναῖκα, ὡς αὐτὸν ἐχρῆν
thus indeed they-say the of-Hasdrubal wife as himself it-was-needful
Ἀσδρούβαν, εἰποῦσαν ἀποθανεῖν· ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων πόλιν ὁρῶν
Hasdrubal having-spoken to-have-died — and Scipio a-city seeing
ἑπτακοσίοις ἔτεσιν ἀνθήσασαν ἀπὸ τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ, καὶ
for-seven-hundred years having-flourished from the founding and
γῆς τοσῆσδε καὶ νήσων καὶ θαλάσσης ἐπάρξασαν, ὅπλων
over-land so-great and islands and sea having-ruled of-arms
τε καὶ νεῶν καὶ ἐλεφάντων καὶ χρημάτων εὐπορήσασαν
both and ships and elephants and money having-been-rich
ἴσα ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ταῖς μεγίσταις, τόλμῃ δὲ καὶ προθυμίᾳ
equally with-the empires the greatest in-daring and and zeal
πολὺ διασχοῦσαν, ἥ γε καὶ ναῦς καὶ ὅπλα πάντα
much having-excelled which at-least also ships and arms all
περιῃρημένη τρισὶν ὅμως ἔτεσιν ἀντέσχε πολέμῳ τοσῷδε
having-been-deprived-of for-three nevertheless years held-out against-war so-great
καὶ λιμῷ, τότε ἄρδην τελευτῶσαν ἐς πανωλεθρίαν ἐσχάτην,
and famine then utterly ending into ruin extreme
λέγεται μὲν δακρῦσαι καὶ φανερὸς γενέσθαι κλαίων ὑπὲρ
it-is-said indeed to-have-wept and visible to-have-become weeping for
πολεμίων, ἐπὶ πολὺ δ' ἔννους ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ γενόμενός τε,
enemies for long and thoughtful by himself having-become both
καὶ συνιδὼν ὅτι καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη καὶ ἀρχὰς ἁπάσας
and having-perceived that both cities and peoples and empires all
δεῖ μεταβαλεῖν ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπους δαίμονα, καὶ τοῦτ'
it-is-needful to-change as men fate and this
ἔπαθε μὲν Ἴλιον, εὐτυχής ποτε πόλις, ἔπαθε δὲ ἡ Ἀσσυρίων
suffered indeed Ilium fortunate once city suffered and the of-Assyrians
καὶ Μήδων καὶ Περσῶν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἀρχὴ μεγίστη γενομένη,
and of-Medes and of-Persians after them empire greatest having-become

καὶ ἡ μάλιστα ἔναγχος ἐκλάμψασα ἡ Μακεδόνων, εἴτε
and the most recently having-blazed-forth the of-Macedonians whether
ἑκὼν εἴτε προφυγόντος αὐτὸν τοῦδε τοῦ ἔπους,
willingly or having-escaped him this the verse

ἔσσεται ἦμαρ ὅταν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ Ἴλιος ἱρὴ
will-be a-day when ever may-perish Ilium holy
καὶ Πρίαμος καὶ λαὸς ἐϋμμελίω Πριάμοιο.
and Priam and people of-good-ashen-spear of-Priam

Πολυβίου δ' αὐτοῦ ἐρομένου σὺν παρρησίᾳ (καὶ γὰρ ἦν
of-Polybius and him asking with frankness and for was
αὐτοῦ καὶ διδάσκαλος) ὅ τι βούλοιτο ὁ λόγος, φασὶν
his also teacher what ever meant the word they-say
οὐ φυλαξάμενον ὀνομάσαι τὴν πατρίδα σαφῶς, ὑπὲρ
not having-guarded-himself to-have-named the fatherland clearly for
ἧς ἄρα, ἐς τἀνθρώπεια ἀφορῶν, ἐδεδίει.
which then to the-human-affairs looking he-feared

133–136 · ROME REJOICES, CARTHAGE REFOUNDED

Scipio lets the army plunder, returns Sicily's stolen offerings, and burns the arms to Ares and Athena; Rome rejoices all night. Ten commissioners order the remains razed and cursed, punish and reward the allies, and make the land a province; Scipio holds a triumph rich in gold. Gaius Gracchus' colony fails when wolves tear up its bounds; Caesar plans a refoundation, and Augustus carries it out near the old site, a hundred and two years after its destruction.

καὶ τάδε μὲν Πολύβιος αὐτὸς ἀκούσας συγγράφει· 133
and these-things indeed Polybius himself having-heard records
Σκιπίων δ', ἐπεὶ κατέσκαπτο Καρχηδών, ἐπὶ μέν τινα
Scipio and when had-been-razed Carthage for indeed some

ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸν ἐπέτρεψε τῇ στρατιᾷ διαρπάζειν ὅσα
of-days number allowed to-the army to-plunder what
μὴ χρυσὸς ἢ ἄργυρος ἢ ἀναθήματα ἦν, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτ᾽
not gold or silver or offerings was after and this
ἀριστεῖα πολλὰ διαδοὺς ἅπασι, χωρὶς τῶν ἐς
prizes many having-distributed to-all except the(-men) against
τὸ Ἀπολλώνιον ἁμαρτόντων, ναῦν ὀξυτάτην κοσμήσας
the temple-of-Apollo having-offended a-ship swiftest having-adorned
λαφύροις ἄγγελον τῆς νίκης ἔστειλεν ἐς Ῥώμην, ἐς δὲ
with-spoils as-messenger of-the victory sent to Rome to and
Σικελίαν περιέπεμπεν, ὅσα Καρχηδόνιοι σφῶν ἀναθήματα
Sicily sent-round-word what Carthaginians their offerings
κοινὰ πολεμοῦντες ἔλαβον, ἐλθόντας ἐπιγιγνώσκειν καὶ
public warring took having-come to-recognize and
κομίζεσθαι· ὃ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἐδημαγώγησεν ὡς μετὰ
to-recover which also most him made-popular as with
τοῦ δυνατοῦ φιλάνθρωπον. ἀποδόμενος δὲ τὴν λείαν τὴν
the power humane having-sold and the booty the
περισσήν, ὅπλα καὶ μηχανήματα καὶ ναῦς ἀχρήστους Ἄρει
surplus arms and engines and ships useless to-Ares
καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ διαζωσάμενος αὐτὸς ἔκαιε κατὰ τὰ πάτρια.
and Athena having-girded-himself himself burned according-to the ancestral-customs
134 οἱ δ᾽ ἐν ἄστει ὡσαύτως τὴν ναῦν ἰδόντες καὶ τῆς νίκης
the(-men) and in the-city likewise the ship having-seen and of-the victory
περὶ δείλην ἑσπέραν πυθόμενοι ἐς τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐξεπήδων καὶ
about late evening having-learned into the streets leapt-out and
διενυκτέρευον μετ᾽ ἀλλήλων, ἡδόμενοι καὶ συμπλεκόμενοι
passed-the-night with each-other rejoicing and embracing
ὡς ἄρτι μὲν ἐλεύθεροι φόβων γεγονότες, ἄρτι δ᾽ ἄρχοντες
as lately indeed free of-fears having-become lately and rulers
ἑτέρων ἀσφαλῶς, ἄρτι δὲ βέβαιον τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες,
of-others securely lately and secure the city having

καὶ νενικηκότες οἵαν οὔτινα πρότερον ἄλλην νίκην. πολλὰ
and having-won such-as none before other victory many
μὲν γὰρ αὑτοῖς συνῄδεσαν ἔργα λαμπρά, πολλὰ δὲ
indeed for to-themselves they-knew-of deeds brilliant many and
τοῖς πατράσιν ἔς τε Μακεδόνας καὶ Ἴβηρας καὶ ἐς
to-the fathers against both Macedonians and Iberians and against
Ἀντίοχον τὸν μέγαν ἔναγχος καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν Ἰταλίαν·
Antiochus the great recently and about itself Italy
πόλεμον δ' οὐδένα ἄλλον οὕτως ἐπὶ θύραις ἐπίφοβον
war but no other so at doors fearsome
αὐτοῖς ᾔδεσαν, διά τε ἀνδρείαν καὶ φρόνημα καὶ τόλμαν
to-them they-knew because-of both courage and spirit and daring
ἐχθρῶν καὶ ἀπιστίαν ἐν σφίσιν ἐπικίνδυνον γενόμενον.
of-enemies and faithlessness among them dangerous having-been
ἀνέφερον δὲ καὶ ὧν ἔπαθον ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων ἔν τε
they-recounted and also what they-had-suffered from Carthaginians in both
Σικελίᾳ καὶ Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν Ἰταλίαν ἑκκαίδεκα
Sicily and Iberia and about itself Italy in-sixteen
ἔτεσιν, Ἀννίβου τετρακόσια ἐμπρήσαντος ἄστη καὶ μυριάδας
years Hannibal four-hundred having-burned towns and myriads
ἀνδρῶν τριάκοντα ἐν μόναις μάχαις ἀνελόντος, ἐπί τε
of-men thirty in only battles having-killed against both
τὴν Ῥώμην πολλάκις ἐλάσαντος καὶ ἐς ἔσχατον κινδύνου
— Rome often having-marched and into utmost of-danger
συναγαγόντος. ὧν ἐνθυμούμενοι μάλιστα ἐξίσταντο
having-brought which pondering most they-were-beside-themselves
περὶ τῆς νίκης ἐς ἀπιστίαν αὐτῆς, καὶ αὖθις ἀνεπυνθάνοντο
about the victory into disbelief of-it and again inquired
ἀλλήλων εἰ τῷ ὄντι Καρχηδὼν κατέσκαπται· ἐλεσχήνευόν
of-each-other if in truth Carthage has-been-razed they-chatted
τε δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς ὅπως μὲν αὐτῶν τὰ ὅπλα περιῃρέθη
both through whole night how indeed their the arms were-taken-away

καὶ ὅπως αὐτίκα παρὰ δόξαν ἐτεκτήναντο ἕτερα, ὅπως
and how at-once against expectation they-fashioned others how
δὲ τὰς ναῦς ἀφῃρέθησαν καὶ στόλον ἐπήξαντο πάλιν ἐξ
and the ships they-were-deprived-of and a-fleet built again from
ὕλης παλαιᾶς, τό τε στόμα τοῦ λιμένος ὡς ἀπεκλείσθη,
timber old the both mouth of-the harbor how it-was-blocked
καὶ στόμα ὡς ὠρύξαντο ἕτερον ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις. καὶ τὸ τῶν
and mouth how they-dug another in-few days and the of-the
τειχῶν ὕψος αὐτοῖς διὰ στόματος ἦν, καὶ τὰ τῶν λίθων
walls height for-them on the-mouth was and the of-the stones
μεγέθη, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ὃ πολλάκις ταῖς μηχαναῖς ἐπήνεγκαν.
sizes and the fire which often at-the engines they-brought
ὅλως τε τὸν πόλεμον ὡς ὁρῶντες ἄρτι γιγνόμενον ἀλλήλοις
wholly both the war as seeing lately happening to-each-other
διετύπουν, καὶ ἐς τὰς φαντασίας τῶν λεγομένων τῷ
they-depicted and into the imaginings of-the things-told with-the
σχήματι τοῦ σώματος συνεφέροντο. καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα
posture of-the body they-were-carried-along and — Scipio
ὁρᾶν ἐδόκουν ἐπὶ κλιμάκων, ἐπὶ νεῶν, ἐν πύλαις, ἐν μάχαις,
to-see they-seemed on ladders on ships at gates in battles
πανταχοῦ διαθέοντα. οὕτω μὲν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διενυκτέρευσαν,
everywhere running-through thus indeed the Romans passed-the-night
135 ἅμα δ᾽ ἡμέρᾳ θυσίαι τε καὶ πομπαὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐγίγνοντο
together-with and day sacrifices both and processions to-the gods took-place
κατὰ φυλήν, καὶ ἀγῶνες ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ θέαι ποικίλαι.
by tribe and games after these and spectacles various
δέκα δὲ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἡ βουλὴ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἔπεμπε
ten and of-them- -selves the senate the best sent
διαθησομένους Λιβύην μετὰ Σκιπίωνος ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων
going-to-arrange Libya with Scipio for the of-Romans
συμφέρον· οἳ Καρχηδόνος μὲν εἴ τι περίλοιπον ἔτι ἦν,
advantage who of-Carthage indeed if anything remaining still was

ἔκριναν κατασκάψαι Σκιπίωνα, καὶ οἰκεῖν αὐτὴν ἀπεῖπον
decided to-raze Scipio and to-inhabit it forbade
ἅπασι, καὶ ἐπηράσαντο, μάλιστα περὶ τῆς Βύρσης, εἴ
to-all and laid-curses most about — Byrsa if
τις οἰκήσειεν αὐτὴν ἢ τὰ καλούμενα Μέγαρα· ἐπιβαίνειν
anyone should-inhabit it or the called Megara to-set-foot-on
δ' οὐκ ἀπεῖπον. ὅσαι δὲ πόλεις συνεμεμαχήκεσαν
but not forbade as-many-as and cities had-fought-beside
τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπιμόνως, ἔδοξε καθελεῖν ἁπάσας· καὶ
the enemies persistently it-seemed-good to-destroy all and
ὅσαι Ῥωμαίοις ἐβεβοηθήκεσαν, χώραν ἔδωκαν ἑκάστῃ
as-many-as to-Romans had-helped land they-gave to-each
τῆς δορικτήτου, καὶ πρῶτον μάλιστα Ἰτυκαίοις τὴν μέχρι
of-the spear-won and first most to-Uticans the as-far-as
Καρχηδόνος αὐτῆς καὶ Ἱππῶνος ἐπὶ θάτερα. τοῖς δὲ
Carthage itself and Hippo on the-other-side to-the and
λοιποῖς φόρον ὥρισαν ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν,
rest tribute they-fixed on the land and on the persons
ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ ὁμοίως. καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐτήσιον αὐτοῖς
for-man and for-woman alike and a-praetor annual for-them
ἐκ Ῥώμης ἐπιπέμπειν ἔκριναν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα
from Rome to-send they-decided they indeed indeed these-things
προστάξαντες ἀπέπλεον ἐς Ῥώμην, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἐποίει τὰ
having-ordered sailed-away to Rome — and Scipio did the
δόξαντα, καὶ θυσίας ἐτέλει καὶ ἀγῶνας ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ. ὡς δὲ
decided-things and sacrifices performed and games for the victory when and
αὐτῷ πάντα ἐξετετέλεστο, διαπλεύσας ἐπιφανέστατα δὴ
for-him everything had-been-completed having-sailed most-splendidly indeed
πάντων διεθριάμβευε πολύχρυσον θρίαμβον, ἀγαλμάτων
of-all celebrated-a-triumph rich-in-gold a-triumph with-statues
τε γέμοντα καὶ ἀναθημάτων, ὅσα Καρχηδόνιοι χρόνῳ
both full and offerings what Carthaginians in-time

πολλῷ καὶ συνεχέσι νίκαις ἐκ πάσης γῆς συνενηνόχεσαν
long and continuous victories from all land had-brought-together
ἐς Λιβύην. τότε δ' ἦν ὅτε καὶ κατὰ Μακεδόνων,
to Libya then and it-was when also over Macedonians
ἁλόντος Ἀνδρίσκου τοῦ ψευδοφιλίππου, τρίτος ἤγετο
having-been-captured Andriscus the false-philip third was-led
θρίαμβος, καὶ κατὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πρῶτος ὑπὸ Μομμίου.
a-triumph and over — Greece first by Mummius
καὶ ἦν ταῦτα ἀμφὶ τὰς ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ὀλυμπιάδας.
and were these-things about the sixtieth and hundredth olympiads
136 χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον, Γαΐου Γράκχου δημαρχοῦντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ
in-time and later Gaius Gracchus being-tribune in Rome
καὶ στάσεων οὐσῶν ἐξ ἀπορίας, ἔδοξε κληρούχους
and seditions being from want it-seemed-good settlers
ἐς Λιβύην πέμπειν ἑξακισχιλίους, διαγραφομένων δ' ἀμφὶ
to Libya to-send six-thousand being-laid-out and about
τὴν Καρχηδόνα τῶν θεμελίων λύκοι τὰ θεμέλια ἀθρόα
— Carthage the foundations wolves the foundations all-together
διέσπασαν καὶ συνέχεαν. καὶ τότε μὲν ἀνέσχεν ἡ βουλὴ
tore-apart and confounded and then indeed desisted the senate
τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ· χρόνῳ δὲ αὖθις, ὁπότε Γάιος Καῖσαρ ὁ
from-the settlement in-time and again when Gaius Caesar the
καὶ δικτάτωρ ὕστερον αὐτοῖς διηνεκὴς γενόμενος Πομπήιον
also dictator later for-them perpetual having-become Pompey
ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐδίωκε καὶ τοὺς Πομπηίου φίλους ἐς Λιβύην
to Egypt pursued and the of-Pompey friends to Libya
ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου, λέγεται, τῇ Καρχηδόνι παραστρατοπεδεύων,
from Egypt it-is-said — by-Carthage encamping
ὑπ' ἐνυπνίου στρατὸν πολὺν ἰδὼν κλαίοντα ἐνοχληθῆναι,
from a-dream an-army great having-seen weeping to-have-been-troubled
καὶ αὐτίκα ἑαυτῷ ἐς μνήμην ὑπογράψασθαι Καρχηδόνα
and at-once for-himself for memory to-have-noted-down Carthage

συνοικίζειν. καὶ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ τῶν ἀπόρων αὐτὸν ἐς
to-resettle and after not long the poor him to
Ῥώμην ἐπανελθόντα περὶ γῆς παρακαλούντων, συνέτασσεν
Rome having-returned about land entreating he-arranged
ὡς πέμψων τοὺς μὲν ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα τοὺς δ᾽ ἐς
as going-to-send some indeed to — Carthage others and to
Κόρινθον. ἀλλ᾽ ὅδε μὲν θᾶσσον ἀνῃρέθη πρὸς τῶν ἐχθρῶν
Corinth but he indeed sooner was-killed by the enemies
ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων βουλευτηρίῳ, ὁ δ᾽ ἐκείνου παῖς Ἰούλιος
in the of-Romans senate-house the and his son Julius
Καῖσαρ, ὁ Σεβαστὸς ἐπίκλησιν, ἐντυχὼν ἄρα ταῖς
Caesar the Augustus by-surname having-come-upon then the
ὑπογραφαῖς τοῦ πατρὸς συνῴκισε τὴν νῦν Καρχηδόνα,
notes of-the father settled the present Carthage
ἀγχοτάτω μάλιστα ἐκείνης, φυλαξάμενος τῆς πάλαι τὸ
very-near most to-that guarding-against of-the old the
ἐπάρατον. οἰκήτοράς τε Ῥωμαίους μὲν αὐτὸν τρισχιλίους
accursedness settlers both Romans indeed him three-thousand
μάλιστα πυνθάνομαι, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐκ τῶν περιοίκων
about I-learn the and rest from the neighbors
συναγαγεῖν. ὧδε μὲν Λιβύης τῆς ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίοις
to-have-gathered thus indeed of-Libya the under Carthaginians
Ῥωμαῖοι κατέσχον, καὶ Καρχηδόνα κατέσκαψάν τε καὶ
Romans took-possession and Carthage razed both and
συνῴκισαν αὖθις μετὰ ἔτη τῆς κατασκαφῆς ἑκατὸν καὶ δύο.
resettled again after years of-the razing hundred and two
