LATIN SERIES · VOLUME 27

The History of Rome

Livy

Ab Urbe Condita

The History of Rome

Part Three: Books XXI–XXII

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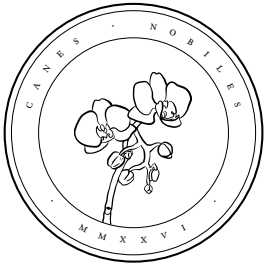
with a word-for-word interlinear English translation

preserving the original word order



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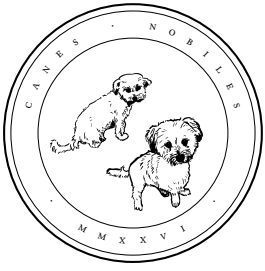

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BOOK XXI

I · THE GREATEST WAR

Livy will write the most memorable war ever waged, fought by peoples at the height of their strength, so evenly that the victors came nearer ruin, and with more hatred than force. At nine, Hannibal swore at the altar, at his father Hamilcar's bidding, to be Rome's enemy. Hamilcar, galled by the loss of Sicily and Sardinia, built a Punic empire in Spain and died; his son-in-law Hasdrubal ruled eight years by policy rather than force, was murdered by a barbarian, and was the man with whom Rome had renewed the treaty that made the Ebro the boundary and Saguntum free.

In parte operis mei licet mihi praefari, quod 1.1
in part of-the-work my it-is-allowed to-me to-say-in-preface what
in principio summae totius professi plerique sunt rerum
at the-beginning of-the-whole entire professed most have of-things
scriptores, bellum maxime omnium memorabile quae
the-writers a-war most of-all memorable which
unquam gesta sint me scripturum, quod Hannibale duce
ever waged were me going-to-write which with-Hannibal as-leader
Carthaginienses cum populo Romano gessere.
the-Carthaginians with the-people Roman waged
Nam neque ualidiores opibus ullae inter se ciuitates 1.2
for neither stronger in-resources any among themselves states
gentesque contulerunt arma neque his ipsis tantum
and-nations brought-together arms nor to-these themselves so-much
unquam uirium aut roboris fuit; et haud ignotas belli artes
ever of-strength or of-vigor was and not unknown of-war arts
inter sese sed expertas primo Punico conferebant
between themselves but tried in-the-first Punic they-were-bringing-together

bello, et adeo uaria fortuna belli ancepsque Mars fuit
war and so varied the-fortune of-the-war and-doubtful Mars was
ut propius periculum fuerint qui uicerunt.
that nearer to-danger were those-who conquered

1.3 Odiis etiam prope maioribus certarunt quam uiribus,
with-hatreds also almost greater they-contended than with-strength
Romanis indignantibus quod uictoribus uicti ultro
the-Romans being-indignant that on-the-victors the-vanquished of-their-own-accord
inferrent arma, Poenis quod superbe auareque crederent
were-bringing arms the-Carthaginians because arrogantly and-greedily they-believed
imperitatum uictis esse.
ruled over-the-vanquished to-have-been

1.4 Fama est etiam Hannibalem annorum ferme nouem, pueriliter
the-story is also Hannibal of-years about nine boyishly
blandientem patri Hamilcari ut duceretur in Hispaniam,
coaxing his-father Hamilcar that he-might-be-taken into Spain
cum perfecto Africo bello exercitum eo traiecturus
when finished the-African war the-army thither going-to-carry-across
sacrificaret, altaribus admotum tactis sacris iure
he-was-sacrificing to-the-altars brought-up the-touched sacred-things by-the-oath
iurando adactum se cum primum posset hostem fore
sworn bound himself when first he-could an-enemy going-to-be
populo Romano.
to-the-people Roman

1.5 Angebant ingentis spiritus uirum Sicilia Sardiniaque amissae:
were-galling of-huge spirit the-man Sicily and-Sardinia lost
nam et Siciliam nimis celeri desperatione rerum concessam
for both Sicily too by-swift despair of-affairs conceded
et Sardiniam inter motum Africae fraude Romanorum,
and Sardinia amid the-upheaval of-Africa by-the-fraud of-the-Romans
stipendio etiam insuper imposito, interceptam.
a-tribute also besides imposed intercepted

His anxius curis ita se Africo bello quod fuit sub 2.1
by-these anxious cares so himself in-the-African war which was after
recentem Romanam pacem per quinque annos, ita deinde
the-recent Roman peace for five years so then
nouem annis in Hispania augendo Punico imperio gessit
for-nine years in Spain by-increasing the-Punic dominion he-conducted
ut appareret maius eum quam quod gereret 2.2
that it-was-apparent a-greater him than that-which he-was-waging
agitare in animo bellum et, si diutius uixisset,
to-be-turning-over in mind war and if longer he-had-lived
Hamilcare duce Poenos arma Italiae inlaturos fuisse
with-Hamilcar as-leader the-Carthaginians arms on-Italy going-to-bring to-have-been
qui Hannibalis ductu intulerunt.
who of-Hannibal under-the-leadership they-brought
Mors Hamilcaris peropportuna et pueritia Hannibalis 2.3
the-death of-Hamilcar very-opportune and the-boyhood of-Hannibal
distulerunt bellum. Medius Hasdrubal inter patrem ac
put-off the-war in-the-middle Hasdrubal between the-father and
filium octo ferme annos imperium obtinuit, flore aetatis,
the-son eight about years the-command held in-the-flower of-his-age
uti ferunt, primo Hamilcari conciliatus, gener inde 2.4
as they-say first to-Hamilcar won-over as-son-in-law then
ob aliam indolem profecto animi adscitus et, quia
on-account-of other talent surely of-mind adopted and because
gener erat, factionis Barcinae opibus, quae apud milites
son-in-law he-was of-the-faction Barcine by-the-resources which with the-soldiers
plebemque plus quam modicae erant, haud sane uoluntate
and-the-plebs more than moderate were not indeed by-the-will
principum, in imperio positus.
of-the-leading-men in the-command placed

2.5 Is plura consilio quam ui gerens, hospitiis magis
he more by-counsel than by-force conducting by-hospitalities rather
regulorum conciliandisque per amicitiam principum nouis
of-the-chieftains and-by-winning through friendship of-the-leading-men new
gentibus quam bello aut armis rem Carthaginiensem auxit.
nations than by-war or arms the-state Carthaginian increased

2.6 Ceterum nihilo ei pax tutior fuit; barbarus eum
however in-nothing to-him the-peace safer was a-barbarian him
quidam palam ob iram interfecti ab eo domini
a-certain openly on-account-of anger of-having-been-killed by him of-his-master
obtruncat; comprensusque ab circumstantibus haud alio quam
cuts-down and-seized by the-bystanders not other than
si euasisset uoltu, tormentis quoque cum laceraretur, eo
if he-had-escaped with-a-face by-tortures also when he-was-being-torn of-that
fuit habitu oris ut superante laetitia dolores ridentis
he-was bearing of-face that overcoming joy the-pains of-one-laughing
etiam speciem praebuerit.
even the-appearance he-presented

2.7 Cum hoc Hasdrubale, quia mirae artis in sollicitandis
with this Hasdrubal because of-wonderful skill in rousing
gentibus imperioque suo iungendis fuerat, foedus
nations and-to-the-dominion his-own joining he-had-been the-treaty
renouauerat populus Romanus ut finis utriusque imperii
had-renewed the-people Roman that the-boundary of-each dominion
esset amnis Hiberus Saguntinisque mediis inter imperia
should-be the-river Ebro and-to-the-Saguntines in-the-middle between the-dominions
duorum populorum libertas seruaretur.
of-the-two peoples the-freedom should-be-preserved

II · HANNIBAL CHOSEN

The army hails the young Hannibal general. Hanno had once opposed sending him to Hasdrubal, warning that Hamilcar's son should be kept at home under the laws lest a small fire raise a great blaze, but the better part was outvoted. The veterans see Hamilcar young again. Hannibal is equally fit to obey and to command, bold in danger, tireless, sleeping on the ground in a soldier's cloak; his vices match his virtues: inhuman cruelty, worse than Punic perfidy, no fear of the gods, no oath kept. So he served three years under Hasdrubal.

In Hasdrubalis locum haud dubia res fuit quinam 3.1
into Hasdrubal's place not doubtful the-matter was who-indeed
successurus esset; praerogatiuam militarem qua extemplo
going-to-succeed was the-prior-vote military by-which at-once
iuuenis Hannibal in praetorium delatus imperatorque
the-young-man Hannibal into the-headquarters carried and-general
ingenti omnium clamore atque adsensu appellatus erat
with-huge of-all shouting and assent hailed had-been
fauor etiam plebis sequebatur.
the-favor also of-the-plebs followed
Hunc uixdum puberem Hasdrubal litteris ad se accersierat, 3.2
him scarcely grown-up Hasdrubal by-letter to himself had-summoned
actaque res etiam in senatu fuerat. Barcinis nitentibus ut
and-debated the-matter also in the-senate had-been the-Barcids striving that
adsuesceret militiae Hannibal atque in paternas succederet
might-grow-used to-soldiering Hannibal and into his-father's might-succeed
opes
resources

3.3 Hanno, alterius factionis princeps, ‘Et aequum postulare
Hanno of-the-other faction the-leader both fair to-ask
uidetur’ inquit, ‘Hasdrubal, et ego tamen non censeo quod
he-seems he-said Hasdrubal and I nevertheless not do-think what
petit tribuendum.’
he-asks to-be-granted

3.4 Cum admiratione tam ancipitis sententiae in se omnes
when with-wonder at-so double-edged an-opinion upon himself all
conuertisset, ‘Florem aetatis’ inquit, ‘Hasdrubal, quem ipse
he-had-turned the-flower of-youth he-said Hasdrubal which himself
patri Hannibalis fruendum praebuit, iusto iure eum a
to-the-father of-Hannibal to-be-enjoyed offered by-just right it from
filio repeti censet; nos tamen minime decet iuuentutem
the-son to-be-claimed-back thinks us however least befits the-youth
nostram pro militari rudimento adsuefacere libidini praetorum.
our for a-military first-training to-accustom to-the-lust of-the-generals

3.5 An hoc timemus ne Hamilcaris filius nimis sero imperia
or this do-we-fear lest Hamilcar's son too late commands
immodica et regni paterni speciem uideat et, cuius
immoderate and of-the-kingship paternal the-show may-see and of-which
regis genero hereditarii sint relicti exercitus nostri,
king to-the-son-in-law as-inheritance have-been left armies our
eius filio parum mature seruiamus?
his to-the-son too-little early we-may-be-slaves

3.6 Ego istum iuuenem domi tenendum sub legibus, sub
I that young-man at-home to-be-kept under the-laws under
magistratibus, docendum uiuere aequo iure cum ceteris censeo,
the-magistrates to-be-taught to-live with-equal right with the-others think
ne quandoque paruus hic ignis incendium ingens exsuscitet.’
lest at-some-time small this fire a-conflagration huge may-rouse

Pauci ac ferme optimus quisque Hannoni adsentiebantur; 4.1
few and about best each with-Hanno agreed
sed, ut plerumque fit, maior pars meliorem uicit. Missus
but as mostly happens the-greater part the-better overcame sent
Hannibal in Hispaniam primo statim aduentu omnem
Hannibal into Spain first at-once on-arrival the-whole
exercitum in se conuertit;
army upon himself turned
Hamilcarem iuuenem redditum sibi ueteres milites 4.2
Hamilcar young restored to-themselves the-old soldiers
credere; eundem uigorem in uoltu uimque in oculis,
believed the-same vigor in the-face and-the-force in the-eyes
habitum oris lineamentaque intueri. Dein breui
the-bearing of-the-countenance and-the-features they-gazed-at then shortly
effecit ut pater in se minimum momentum ad
he-brought-about that his-father in him least weight toward
fauorem conciliandum esset.
favor winning should-be
Nunquam ingenium idem ad res diuersissimas, parendum 4.3
never a-nature the-same for things most-opposite obeying
atque imperandum, habilius fuit. Itaque haud facile
and commanding more-apt was and-so not easily
discerneres utrum imperatori an exercitui carior esset;
could-you-have-told whether to-the-general or to-the-army dearer he-was
neque Hasdrubal alium quemquam praeficere malle ubi 4.4
nor Hasdrubal other anyone to-set-in-command preferred whenever
quid fortiter ac strenue agendum esset, neque milites
anything bravely and vigorously to-be-done was nor the-soldiers
alio duce plus confidere aut audere.
under-other leader more trusted or dared

4.5 Plurimum audaciae ad pericula capessenda, plurimum consilii
the-most of-daring for dangers taking-on the-most of-judgment
inter ipsa pericula erat. Nullo labore aut corpus fatigari
amid the-very dangers there-was by-no toil either the-body to-be-wearied
aut animus uinci poterat. Caloris ac frigoris patientia par;
or the-spirit to-be-overcome could of-heat and of-cold endurance equal
4.6 cibi potionisque desiderio naturali, non uoluptate modus
of-food and-drink by-desire natural not by-pleasure the-measure
finitus; uigiliarum somnique nec die nec nocte discriminata
was-bounded of-wakings and-of-sleep neither by-day nor by-night distinguished
tempora;
the-times
4.7 id quod gerendis rebus superesset quieti datum; ea
that which from-doing things was-left-over to-rest was-given that
neque molli strato neque silentio accersita; multi saepe
neither by-soft bedding nor by-silence summoned many often
militari sagulo opertum humi iacentem inter custodias
in-a-military cloak covered on-the-ground lying among the-sentries
stationesque militum conspexerunt.
and-the-posts of-the-soldiers saw
4.8 Vestitus nihil inter aequales excellens: arma atque equi
his-dress in-nothing among his-peers outstanding his-arms and horses
conspiciebantur. Equitum peditumque idem longe primus
were-conspicuous of-the-horsemen and-of-the-infantry the-same by-far first
erat; princeps in proelium ibat, ultimus conserto proelio
was first into battle he-went last joined the-battle
excedebat.
he-withdrew

Has tantas uiri uirtutes ingentia uitia aequabant, inhumana 4.9
these so-great of-the-man virtues huge vices equaled inhuman
crudelitas, perfidia plus quam Punica, nihil ueri, nihil sancti,
cruelty perfidy more than Punic nothing of-truth nothing of-sacred
nullus deum metus, nullum ius iurandum, nulla religio.
no of-the-gods fear no oath sworn no religion
Cum hac indole uirtutum atque uitiorum triennio sub 4.10
with this nature of-virtues and of-vices for-three-years under
Hasdrubale imperatore meruit, nulla re quae agenda
Hasdrubal as-general he-served by-no thing which to-be-done
uidendaque magno futuro duci esset praetermissa.
and-to-be-seen by-a-great going-to-be leader was omitted

III · THE CONQUESTS BEFORE SAGUNTUM

Treating Italy as his province, Hannibal resolves on war with Saguntum, but first subdues the Olcades and sacks Cartala, so that he may seem drawn into the war by events. He takes Hermandica and Arbocala from the Vaccaei, and when the Carpetani and their allies attack his column at the Tagus, he lets them cross into his cavalry and elephants and routs them. All beyond the Ebro but Saguntum is Carthaginian.

Ceterum ex quo die dux est declaratus, uelut Italia ei 5.1
however from which day leader he-was declared as-if Italy to-him
prouincia decreta bellumque Romanum mandatum esset,
as-province decreed and-the-war Roman entrusted had-been
nihil prolatandum ratus ne se quoque, ut patrem 5.2
nothing to-be-put-off thinking lest him also as his-father
Hamilcarem, deinde Hasdrubalem, cunctantem casus aliquis
Hamilcar then Hasdrubal delaying chance some
opprimeret, Saguntinis inferre bellum statuit.
might-overwhelm on-the-Saguntines to-bring war he-decided

5.3 Quibus oppugnandis quia haud dubie Romana arma
whom by-attacking because not doubtfully Roman arms
mouebantur, in Olcadum prius fines — ultra Hiberum
were-being-stirred into of-the-Olcades first the-territory beyond the-Ebro
ea gens in parte magis quam in dicione Carthaginiensium
that nation in part rather than in the-sway of-the-Carthaginians
erat — induxit exercitum, ut non petisse Saguntinos
was he-led-in the-army that not to-have-aimed-at the-Saguntines
sed rerum serie finitimis domitis gentibus
but of-events by-the-sequence the-neighboring having-been-subdued nations
iungendoque tractus ad id bellum uideri posset.
and-by-annexing drawn to that war to-seem might

5.4 Cartalam, urbem opulentam, caput gentis eius, expugnat
Cartala a-city wealthy the-capital of-the-nation that he-storms
diripitque; quo metu perculsae minores ciuitates stipendio
and-sacks by-which fear struck the-lesser states tribute
imposito imperium accepere. Victor exercitus opulentusque
imposed the-rule accepted the-victorious army and-rich
praeda Carthaginem Nouam in hiberna est deductus.
with-booty to-Carthage New into winter-quarters was led-down

5.5 Ibi large partiendo praedam stipendioque praeterito cum
there generously by-sharing the-booty and-the-pay overdue with
fide exsoluendo cunctis ciuium sociorumque animis in
good-faith by-discharging of-all of-the-citizens and-of-the-allies the-minds toward
se firmatis uere primo in Vaccaeos promotum bellum.
himself secured in-spring early against the-Vaccaei carried-forward the-war

5.6 Hermandica et Arbocala, eorum urbes, ui captae. Arbocala
Hermandica and Arbocala their cities by-force taken Arbocala
et uirtute et multitudine oppidanorum diu defensa;
both by-the-courage and by-the-number of-the-townsmen long defended

ab Hermandica profugi exsulibus Olcadum, priore aestate 5.7
from Hermandica the-fugitives with-the-exiles of-the-Olcades in-the-former summer
domitae gentis, cum se iunxissent, concitant Carpetanos
subdued nation when themselves they-had-joined rouse the-Carpetani
adortique Hannibalem regressum ex Vaccaeis haud procul 5.8
and-having-attacked Hannibal returning from the-Vaccaei not far
Tago flumine agmen graue praeda turbauere.
from-the-Tagus river the-column heavy with-booty they-threw-into-confusion
Hannibal proelio abstinuit castrisque super ripam positis, 5.9
Hannibal from-battle refrained and-the-camp above the-bank placed
cum prima quies silentiumque ab hostibus fuit, amnem
when first rest and-silence from the-enemy was the-river
uado traiecit ualloque ita praeducto ut locum ad
by-a-ford he-crossed and-with-a-rampart so drawn-in-front that room for
transgrediendum hostes haberent inuadere eos transeuntes
crossing the-enemy might-have to-attack them crossing
statuit.
he-decided
Equitibus praecepit ut, cum ingressos aquam uiderent, 5.10
the-horsemen he-instructed that when having-entered the-water they-saw
adorirentur impeditum agmen; in ripa elephantos —
they-should-attack the-encumbered column on the-bank the-elephants
quadraginta autem erant — disponit.
forty moreover there-were he-posts
Carpetanorum cum appendicibus Olcadum Vaccaeorumque 5.11
of-the-Carpetani with the-contingents of-the-Olcades and-of-the-Vaccaei
centum milia fuere, inuicta acies si aequo dimicaretur
a-hundred thousands there-were an-unconquered line if on-an-even should-be-fought
campo.
plain

5.12 Itaque et ingenio feroces et multitudine freti et, quod
and-so both by-nature fierce and in-number trusting and because
metu cessisse credebant hostem, id morari uictoriam
from-fear to-have-withdrawn they-believed the-enemy that to-delay the-victory
rati quod interesset amnis, clamore sublato passim sine
thinking that lay-between the-river a-shout raised everywhere without
ullius imperio qua cuique proximum est in amnem ruunt.
anyone's command where to-each nearest it-is into the-river they-rush

5.13 Et ex parte altera ripae uis ingens equitum in flumen
and from the-side other of-the-bank a-force huge of-horsemen into the-river
immissa, medioque alueo haudquaquam pari certamine
sent and-in-the-middle channel by-no-means in-an-equal contest
concursum,
it-was-clashed

5.14 quippe ubi pedes instabilis ac uix uado fidens uel
since where the-foot-soldier unsteady and scarcely the-ford trusting even
ab inermi equite, equo temere acto, peruerti posset,
by an-unarmed horseman his-horse at-random driven to-be-overturned could
eques corpore armisque liber, equo uel per medios
the-horseman in-body and-arms free the-horse even through the-middle
gurgites stabili, comminus eminusque rem gereret.
eddies steady at-close-quarters and-at-a-distance the-matter conducted

5.15 Pars magna flumine absumpta; quidam uerticoso amni
a-part great by-the-river consumed some by-the-eddying river
delati in hostes ab elephantis obtriti sunt.
carried-down against the-enemy by the-elephants trampled were

5.16 Postremi, quibus regressus in suam ripam tutior fuit,
the-hindmost to-whom the-return to their-own bank safer was
ex uaria trepidatione cum in unum colligerentur,
from varied panic when into one they-were-being-gathered
priusquam in tanto pauore reciperent animos, Hannibal
before in so-great panic they-could-recover their-spirits Hannibal

agmine quadrato amnem ingressus fugam ex ripa
with-a-column square the-river having-entered a-rout from the-bank
fecit uastatisque agris intra paucos dies Carpetanos
made and-having-been-laid-waste the-fields within few days the-Carpetani
quoque in deditionem accepit;
also into surrender received
et iam omnia trans Hiberum praeter Saguntinos 5.17
and now all-things beyond the-Ebro except the-Saguntines
Carthaginiensium erant.
of-the-Carthaginians were

IV · THE SIEGE BEGINS

Saguntum's envoys ask Rome for help. Before the Roman envoys sail, news comes that Saguntum is besieged; the senate sends them to Hannibal and then to Carthage to demand him. The city is attacked in three places. Hannibal is wounded in the thigh and the siege slackens while he heals; then the rams bring down three towers, and the two sides fight in the breach as on an open field, the Saguntines throwing the flaming phalarica.

Cum Saguntinis bellum nondum erat; ceterum iam 6.1
with the-Saguntines war not-yet there-was however already
belli causa certamina cum finitimis serebantur, maxime
of-war for-the-sake quarrels with the-neighbors were-being-sown most
Turdetanis.
with-the-Turdetani
Quibus cum adesset idem qui litis erat sator, 6.2
to-whom when was-present the-same-man who of-the-dispute was the-sower
nec certamen iuris sed uim quaeri appareret, legati
and-not a-contest of-right but force to-be-sought it-was-apparent envoys

a Saguntinis Romam missi auxilium ad bellum iam haud
by the-Saguntines to-Rome were-sent help for the-war now not
dubie imminens orantes.
doubtfully impending begging

6.3 Consules tunc Romae erant P. Cornelius Scipio et Ti.
the-consuls then at-Rome were Publius Cornelius Scipio and Tiberius
Sempronius Longus. Qui cum legatis in senatum introductis
Sempronius Longus who when the-envoys into the-senate brought-in
de re publica rettulissent placuissetque mitti legatos
about the-thing public they-had-referred and-it-had-been-resolved to-be-sent envoys
in Hispaniam ad res sociorum inspiciendas,
into Spain for the-affairs of-the-allies inspecting

6.4 quibus si uideretur digna causa, et Hannibali denuntiarent
to-whom if it-seemed worthy the-cause both to-Hannibal should-give-notice
ut ab Saguntinis, sociis populi Romani, abstineret et
that from the-Saguntines allies of-the-people Roman he-should-keep-off and
Carthaginem in Africam traicerent ac sociorum populi
to-Carthage into Africa should-cross and of-the-allies of-the-people
Romani querimonias deferrent —
Roman the-complaints should-carry

6.5 hac legatione decreta necdum missa, omnium spe
this embassy decreed and-not-yet sent of-all than-the-hope
celerius Saguntum oppugnari allatum est.
faster Saguntum to-be-besieged reported it-was

6.6 Tunc relata de integro res ad senatum est; alii
then brought from afresh the-matter to the-senate was some
prouincias consulibus Hispaniam atque Africam decernentes
provinces to-the-consuls Spain and Africa decreeing
terra marique rem gerendam censebant, alii totum in
by-land and-by-sea the-matter to-be-conducted thought others the-whole against
Hispaniam Hannibalemque intenderant bellum;
Spain and-Hannibal had-aimed the-war

erant qui non temere mouendam rem tantam 6.7
there-were who not rashly to-be-stirred a-matter so-great
exspectandosque ex Hispania legatos censerent.
and-to-be-awaited from Spain the-envoys thought
Haec sententia, quae tutissima uidebatur, uicit legatique 6.8
this opinion which safest seemed won and-the-envoys
eo maturius missi, P. Valerius Flaccus et Q.
so-much the-sooner sent Publius Valerius Flaccus and Quintus
Baebius Tampilus, Saguntum ad Hannibalem atque inde
Baebius Tampilus to-Saguntum to Hannibal and thence
Carthaginem si non absisteretur bello ad ducem ipsum
to-Carthage if not it-were-desisted from-war to the-leader the-very
in poenam foederis rupti deposcendum.
for punishment of-the-treaty broken demanding
Dum ea Romani parant consultantque, iam Saguntum 7.1
while these-things the-Romans prepare and-deliberate already Saguntum
summa ui oppugnabatur.
with-the-utmost force was-being-attacked
Ciuitas ea longe opulentissima ultra Hiberum fuit, sita 7.2
a-state that by-far wealthiest beyond the-Ebro was situated
passus mille ferme a mari. Oriundi a Zacyntho insula
paces a-thousand about from the-sea sprung from Zacynthus the-island
dicuntur mixtique etiam ab Ardea Rutulorum quidam generis;
they-are-said and-mixed also from Ardea of-the-Rutuli some of-the-race
ceterum in tantas breui creuerant opes seu maritimis 7.3
however to so-great shortly they-had-grown resources whether by-maritime
seu terrestribus fructibus seu multitudinis incremento seu
or land produce or of-the-multitude by-the-increase or
disciplinae sanctitate qua fidem socialem usque ad
of-discipline by-the-integrity by-which the-faith of-allies even to
perniciem suam coluerunt.
the-ruin their-own they-cherished

7.4 Hannibal infesto exercitu ingressus fines, peruastatis
Hannibal with-a-hostile army having-entered the-territory having-been-laid-waste
passim agris urbem tripertito adgreditur.
everywhere the-fields the-city in-three-divisions attacks

7.5 Angulus muri erat in planiorem patentioremque quam
an-angle of-the-wall there-was toward a-more-level and-more-open than
cetera circa uallem uergens; aduersus eum uineas agere
the-rest around valley sloping against it the-sheds to-move-up
instituit per quas aries moenibus admoueri posset.
he-began through which the-ram to-the-walls to-be-moved-up could

7.6 Sed ut locus procul muro satis aequus agendis uineis
but as the-ground far from-the-wall enough even for-moving-up the-sheds
fuit, ita haudquaquam prospere, postquam ad effectum
was so by-no-means successfully after to the-completion
operis uentum est, coeptis succedebat.
of-the-work come it-was to-the-undertakings it-turned-out

7.7 Et turris ingens imminebat et murus, ut in suspecto loco,
both a-tower huge overhung and the-wall as in a-suspected place
supra ceterae modum altitudinis emunitus erat, et iuuentus
above of-the-rest the-measure of-height fortified had-been and the-youth
delecta ubi plurimum periculi ac timoris ostendebatur ibi
picked where the-most of-danger and of-fear was-shown there
ui maiore obsistebant.
with-force greater they-resisted

7.8 Ac primo missilibus summouere hostem nec quicquam satis
and at-first with-missiles they-drove-back the-enemy nor anything enough
tutum munientibus pati; deinde iam non pro moenibus
safe for-those-fortifying they-allowed then now not before the-walls
modo atque turri tela micare, sed ad erumpendum etiam
only and the-tower weapons flashed but for sallying even
in stationes operaque hostium animus erat;
against the-posts and-the-works of-the-enemy the-spirit was

quibus tumultuariis certaminibus haud ferme plures Saguntini 7.9
in-which irregular skirmishes not about more Saguntines
cadebant quam Poeni.
fell than Carthaginians
Ut uero Hannibal ipse, dum murum incautius subit, 7.10
when indeed Hannibal himself while the-wall too-incautiously he-approaches
aduersum femur tragula grauiter ictus cecidit, tanta circa
in-front in-the-thigh by-a-javelin seriously struck fell so-great around
fuga ac trepidatio fuit ut non multum abesset quin
the-flight and alarm was that not much it-was-lacking but-that
opera ac uineae desererentur.
the-works and the-sheds were-abandoned
Obsidio deinde per paucos dies magis quam oppugnatio 8.1
a-blockade then for few days rather than an-assault
fuit dum uolnus ducis curaretur; per quod tempus
there-was while the-wound of-the-leader was-being-cured through which time
ut quies certaminum erat ita ab apparatu operum ac
as rest from-fighting there-was so from the-preparation of-works and
munitionum nihil cessatum.
of-fortifications nothing ceased-it-was
Itaque acrius de integro coortum est bellum pluribusque 8.2
and-so more-fiercely from afresh arisen has the-war and-in-more
partibus, uix accipientibus quibusdam opera locis, uineae
parts scarcely admitting in-certain the-works places the-sheds
coeptae agi admouerique aries.
began to-be-moved and-to-be-brought-up the-ram
Abundabat multitudine hominum Poenus — ad centum 8.3
abounded in-the-multitude of-men the-Carthaginian about a-hundred
enim quinquaginta milia habuisse in armis satis creditur—:
for fifty thousands to-have-had in arms enough it-is-believed

8.4 oppidani ad omnia tuenda atque obeunda multifariam
the-townsmen for all-things guarding and covering in-many-places
distineri coepti non sufficiebant.
to-be-distracted having-begun not were-sufficing

8.5 Itaque iam feriebantur arietibus muri quassataeque multae
and-so now were-being-struck by-the-rams the-walls and-shattered many
partes erant; una continentibus ruinis nudauerat urbem;
parts had-been one by-continuous collapse had-laid-bare the-city
tres deinceps turres quantumque inter eas muri erat cum
three in-succession towers and-as-much-as between them of-wall there-was with
fragore ingenti prociderant.
a-crash huge had-fallen-down

8.6 Captum oppidum ea ruina crediderant Poeni, qua,
taken the-town by-that collapse had-believed the-Carthaginians at-which
uelut si pariter utrosque murus texisset, ita utrimque in
as-if if equally both-sides the-wall had-covered so from-both-sides into
pugnam procursum est.
the-fight run-forward it-was

8.7 Nihil tumultuariae pugnae simile erat, quales in
nothing to-an-irregular fight like there-was such-as in
oppugnationibus urbium per occasionem partis alterius
the-assaults of-cities by the-chance of-the-side of-either
conseri solent, sed iustae acies, uelut patenti campo, inter
to-be-joined are-wont but regular lines as-if on-an-open plain between
ruinas muri tectaque urbis modico distantia interuallo
the-ruins of-the-wall and-the-houses of-the-city by-a-moderate distant interval
constiterant.
had-taken-their-stand

8.8 Hinc spes, hinc desperatio animos inritat, Poeno
on-this-side hope on-that despair the-spirits provokes the-Carthaginian
cepisse iam se urbem si paulum adnitatur credente,
to-have-taken now himself the-city if a-little he-should-strive believing

Saguntinis pro nudata moenibus patria corpora
the-Saguntines for stripped of-walls (their)-fatherland bodies
opponentibus nec ullo pedem referente ne in relictum
opposing nor any-one his-foot drawing-back lest into left
a se locum hostem immitteret.
by himself the-place the-enemy he-might-let-in
Itaque quo acrius et confertim magis utrimque 8.9
and-so by-how-much more-fiercely and closely more on-both-sides
pugnabatur, eo plures uolnerabantur nullo inter arma
it-was-fought by-so-much more were-wounded no among arms
corporaque uano intercidente telo.
and-bodies vain falling weapon
Phalarica erat Saguntinis missile telum hastili abiegno 8.10
the-phalarica was to-the-Saguntines a-missile weapon with-a-shaft of-fir
et cetera tereti praeterquam ad extremum unde ferrum
and in-the-rest round except at the-end whence the-iron
exstabat; id, sicut in pilo, quadratum stuppa circumligabant
projected that as in a-pilum squared with-tow they-bound-around
linebantque pice;
and-smeared with-pitch
ferrum autem tres longum habebat pedes ut cum armis 8.11
the-iron moreover three long had feet so-that with the-arms
transfigere corpus posset. Sed id maxime, etiamsi haesisset
to-pierce-through the-body it-could but this most even-if it-had-stuck
in scuto nec penetrasset in corpus,
in the-shield nor had-penetrated into the-body
pauorem faciebat quod, cum medium accensum mitteretur 8.12
panic caused because when in-the-middle kindled it-was-sent
conceptumque ipso motu multo maiorem ignem ferret,
and-caught by-the-very motion much greater fire it-carried

arma omitti cogebat nudumque militem ad insequentes
the-arms to-be-dropped it-forced and-naked the-soldier to the-following
ictus praebebat.
blows exposed

V · HANNO'S SPEECH

After the Saguntines drive the attackers back to their camp, Hannibal sends word that he has no leisure to receive the Roman envoys, who go on to Carthage. There Hanno alone pleads for the treaty: he had warned the senate not to send Hamilcar's son to the army; the Carthaginians are feeding the fire that will burn them; Rome's gods avenged the last broken treaty; Hannibal should be surrendered. The senate, almost all Hannibal's, answers the Romans that the Saguntines, not Hannibal, began the war. Hannibal promises his men the city's plunder, the siege resumes, the walls fall to undermining Africans, and Hannibal leaves briefly to crush the Oretani and Carpetani.

9.1 Cum diu anceps fuisset certamen et Saguntinis quia
when long doubtful had-been the-contest and to-the-Saguntines because
praeter spem resisterent creuissent animi, Poenus quia
beyond hope they-were-resisting had-grown the-spirits the-Carthaginian because
non uicisset pro uicto esset,
not he-had-won as-if conquered was

9.2 clamorem repente oppidani tollunt hostemque in ruinas
a-shout suddenly the-townsmen raise and-the-enemy into the-ruins
muri expellunt, inde impeditum trepidantemque exturbant,
of-the-wall drive thence hampered and-panicking they-thrust-out
postremo fusum fugatumque in castra redigunt.
finally routed and-put-to-flight into the-camp drive-back

9.3 Interim ab Roma legatos uenisse nuntiatum est; quibus
meanwhile from Rome envoys to-have-come announced it-was to-whom
obuiam ad mare missi ab Hannibale qui dicerent nec
to-meet-them to the-sea were-sent by Hannibal men-who should-say neither

tuto eos adituros inter tot tam effrenatarum gentium
safely they going-to-approach among so-many so unbridled of-nations
arma nec Hannibali in tanto discrimine rerum operae esse
arms nor to-Hannibal in so-great a-crisis of-affairs of-leisure to-be
legationes audire.
embassies to-hear
Apparebat non admissos protinus Carthaginem ituros. 9.4
it-was-apparent not admitted straightway to-Carthage going-to-go
Litteras igitur nuntiosque ad principes factionis Barcinae
a-letter therefore and-messengers to the-leaders of-the-faction Barcine
praemittit ut praepararent suorum animos ne quid pars
he-sends-ahead that they-should-prepare of-their-own the-minds lest anything the-party
altera gratificari populo Romano posset.
other to-oblige the-people Roman could
Itaque, praeterquam quod admissi auditique sunt, ea quoque 10.1
and-so except that admitted and-heard they-were that also
uana atque inrita legatio fuit.
vain and fruitless the-embassy was
Hanno unus aduersus senatum causam foederis magno silentio 10.2
Hanno alone against the-senate the-cause of-the-treaty with-great silence
propter auctoritatem suam, non cum adsensu audientium
on-account-of the-authority his-own not with the-assent of-the-hearers
egit, per deos foederum arbitros ac testes obtestans ne
pleaded by the-gods of-treaties the-arbiters and witnesses adjuring that-not
Romanum cum Saguntino suscitarent bellum;
a-Roman with the-Saguntine they-should-stir-up war
monuisse, praedixisse se ne Hamilcaris progeniem 10.3
to-have-warned to-have-foretold himself that-not Hamilcar's offspring
ad exercitum mitterent; non manes, non stirpem eius
to the-army they-should-send not the-shades not the-stock of-that

conquiescere uiri, nec unquam donec sanguinis nominisque
to-rest man nor ever until of-the-blood and-of-the-name
Barcini quisquam supersit quietura Romana foedera.
Barcine anyone should-survive going-to-rest Roman treaties

10.4 'Iuuenem flagrantem cupidine regni uiamque unam ad
a-young-man burning with-desire of-kingship and-a-way one to
id cernentem si ex bellis bella serendo succinctus armis
it discerning if from wars wars by-sowing girt with-arms
legionibusque uiuat, uelut materiam igni praebentes,
and-legions he-should-live as-if fuel to-the-fire offering
ad exercitus misistis. Aluistis ergo hoc incendium quo
to the-armies you-sent you-have-fed therefore this conflagration in-which
nunc ardetis.
now you-are-burning

10.5 Saguntum uestri circumsedent exercitus unde arcentur
Saguntum your besiege armies whence they-are-kept-off
foedere; mox Carthaginem circumsedebunt Romanae legiones
by-the-treaty soon Carthage will-besiege the-Roman legions
ducibus iisdem dis per quos priore bello rupta foedera
with-as-leaders the-same gods through whom in-the-former war broken the-treaties
sunt ulti.
have avenged

10.6 Utrum hostem an uos an fortunam utriusque populi
whether the-enemy or yourselves or the-fortune of-each people
ignoratis? Legatos ab sociis et pro sociis uenientes
are-you-ignorant-of envoys from allies and for allies coming
bonus imperator uester in castra non admisit; ius gentium
good general your into the-camp not admitted the-law of-nations
sustulit; hi tamen, unde ne hostium quidem legati arcentur,
he-has-abolished these however whence not of-enemies even envoys are-kept-off

pulsi, ad uos uenerunt. Res ex foedere repetuntur; publica
driven-off to you have-come restitution from the-treaty are-sought the-public
fraus absit: auctorem culpae et reum criminis deposcunt.
fraud be-absent the-author of-the-fault and the-accused of-the-crime they-demand
Quo lenius agunt, segnius incipiunt, eo cum 10.7
by-how-much more-gently they-act more-slowly they-begin by-so-much when
coeperint uereor ne perseuerantius saeuiant. Aegates insulas
they-have-begun I-fear lest more-persistently they-may-rage the-Aegates islands
Erycemque ante oculos proponite, quae terra marique per
and-Eryx before your-eyes set what by-land and-by-sea through
quattuor et uiginti annos passi sitis.
four and twenty years suffered you-have
Nec puer hic dux erat sed pater ipse Hamilcar, Mars 10.8
nor a-boy this the-leader was but the-father himself Hamilcar Mars
alter, ut isti uolunt. Sed Tarento, id est Italia,
a-second as those-men would-have-it but from-Tarentum that is from-Italy
non abstinueramus ex foedere, sicut nunc Sagunto non
not we-had-kept-off by the-treaty as now from-Saguntum not
abstinemus;
we-keep-off
uicerunt ergo di hominesque et, id de quo uerbis 10.9
conquered therefore gods and-men and that about which in-words
ambigebatur uter populus foedus rupisset, euentus belli uelut
it-was-disputed which people the-treaty had-broken the-outcome of-the-war as-if
aequus iudex, unde ius stabat, ei uictoriam dedit.
a-fair judge on-whose-side the-right stood to-that-one the-victory gave
Carthagini nunc Hannibal uineas turresque admouet: 10.10
against-Carthage now Hannibal sheds and-towers moves-up
Carthaginis moenia quatit ariete. Sagunti ruinae — falsus
Carthage's walls shakes with-the-ram Saguntum's ruins false

utinam uates sim — nostris capitibus incident, susceptumque
would-that a-prophet I-may-be on-our heads will-fall and-taken-up
cum Saguntinis bellum habendum cum Romanis est.
with the-Saguntines the-war to-be-waged with the-Romans is
10.11 Dedemus ergo Hannibalem? dicet aliquis. Scio meam
we-shall-surrender therefore Hannibal will-say someone I-know my
leuem esse in eo auctoritatem propter paternas inimicitias;
light to-be in this the-authority on-account-of my-father's enmities
sed et Hamilcarem eo perisse laetatus sum quod, si ille
but both Hamilcar for-this to-have-perished rejoiced I-have that if he
uiueret, bellum iam haberemus cum Romanis, et hunc iuuenem
were-living war now we-should-have with the-Romans and this young-man
tamquam furiam facemque huius belli odi ac detestor;
as the-fury and-the-torch of-this war I-hate and detest
10.12 nec dedendum solum id piaculum rupti foederis, sed si
nor to-be-surrendered only that expiation of-the-broken treaty but if
nemo deposcit, deuehendum in ultimas maris terrarumque
no-one demands to-be-carried-off into the-farthest of-sea and-lands
oras, ablegandum eo unde nec ad nos nomen famaque
shores to-be-banished thither whence neither to us the-name and-fame
eius accedere neque ille sollicitare quietae ciuitatis statum
his to-reach nor he to-trouble of-the-quiet state the-condition
possit, ego ita censeo.
could I so think
10.13 Legatos extemplo Romam mittendos qui senatui satisfaciant,
envoys at-once to-Rome to-be-sent who to-the-senate may-make-amends
alios qui Hannibali nuntient ut exercitum ab Sagunto
others who to-Hannibal may-announce that the-army from Saguntum
abducat ipsumque Hannibalem ex foedere Romanis dedant,
he-lead-away and-the-very Hannibal by the-treaty to-the-Romans they-surrender
tertiam legationem ad res Saguntinis reddendas decerno.'
a-third embassy for the-property to-the-Saguntines restoring I-propose

Cum Hanno perorasset, nemini omnium certare oratione 11.1
when Hanno had-finished to-no-one of-all to-contend in-speech
cum eo necesse fuit; adeo prope omnis senatus Hannibalis
with him necessary was so nearly all the-senate Hannibal's
erat, infestiusque locutum arguebant Hannonem quam
was and-more-hostilely to-have-spoken they-charged Hanno than
Flaccum Valerium, legatum Romanum.
Flaccus Valerius the-envoy Roman
Responsum inde legatis Romanis est bellum ortum ab 11.2
answered then to-the-envoys Roman it-was the-war arisen from
Saguntinis, non ab Hannibale esse; populum Romanum
the-Saguntines not from Hannibal to-be the-people Roman
iniuste facere, si Saguntinos uetustissimae Carthaginiensium
unjustly to-act if the-Saguntines to-the-most-ancient of-the-Carthaginians
societati praeponat.
alliance it-prefers
Dum Romani tempus terunt legationibus mittendis, Hannibal, 11.3
while the-Romans time waste in-embassies sending Hannibal
quia fessum militem proeliis operibusque habebat, paucorum
because weary the-soldiery with-battles and-works he-had of-few
iis dierum quietem dedit stationibus ad custodiam
to-them days rest gave posts for the-guarding
uinearum aliorumque operum dispositis. Interim animos
of-the-sheds and-of-the-other works having-been-stationed meanwhile the-spirits
eorum nunc ira in hostes stimulando, nunc spe
their now with-anger against the-enemy by-goading now with-the-hope
praemiorum accendit;
of-rewards he-kindles

11.4 ut uero pro contione praedam captae urbis edixit
when indeed before the-assembly the-booty of-the-taken city he-proclaimed
militum fore, adeo accensi omnes sunt ut, si extemplo
of-the-soldiers going-to-be so fired all were that if at-once
signum datum esset, nulla ui resisti uideretur posse.
the-signal given had-been by-no force to-be-resisted it-seemed to-be-able

11.5 Saguntini ut a proeliis quietem habuerant nec lacessentes
the-Saguntines as from battles rest had-had neither provoking
nec lacessiti per aliquot dies, ita non nocte, non die
nor provoked for several days so not by-night not by-day
unquam cessauerant ab opere, ut nouum murum ab ea
ever they-had-ceased from work that a-new wall from that
parte qua patefactum oppidum ruinis erat reficerent.
side on-which laid-open the-town by-the-ruins had-been they-might-rebuild

11.6 Inde oppugnatio eos aliquanto atrocior quam ante adorta est,
then an-assault them considerably fiercer than before attacked has
nec qua primum aut potissimum parte ferrent opem, cum
nor where first or chiefly in-part they-should-bring help since
omnia uariis clamoribus streperent, satis scire poterant.
all-things with-various shouts were-resounding enough to-know they-could

11.7 Ipse Hannibal qua turris mobilis, omnia munimenta urbis
himself Hannibal where a-tower movable all the-defenses of-the-city
superans altitudine, agebatur hortator aderat. Quae cum
overtopping in-height was-being-moved encourager was-present which when
admota catapultis ballistisque per omnia tabulata dispositis
moved-up with-catapults and-ballistas through all the-stories placed
muros defensoribus nudasset, tum Hannibal occasionem
the-walls of-defenders had-stripped then Hannibal the-opportunity
ratus, quingentos ferme Afros cum dolabris ad subruendum
thinking five-hundred about Africans with pickaxes for undermining
ab imo murum mittit;
from the-bottom the-wall sends

nec erat difficile opus, quod caementa non calce durata 11.8
nor was difficult the-work because the-rubble-stones not with-lime cemented
erant sed interlita luto, structurae antiquae genere.
were but smeared-between with-mud of-a-structure old by-the-kind
Itaque latius quam qua caederetur ruebat perque 11.9
and-so more-widely than where it-was-being-cut it-collapsed and-through
patentia ruinis agmina armatorum in urbem uadebant.
open by-the-ruins columns of-armed-men into the-city were-going
Locum quoque editum capiunt, conlatisque eo catapultis 11.10
a-place also high they-seize and-brought-together thither catapults
ballistisque ut castellum in ipsa urbe uelut arcem
and-ballistas that a-fort in the-very city as-if a-citadel
imminentem haberent muro circumdant; et Saguntini
overhanging they-might-have with-a-wall they-surround and the-Saguntines
murum interiorem ab nondum capta parte urbis ducunt.
a-wall inner from not-yet taken the-part of-the-city they-run-up
Utrimque summa ui et muniunt et pugnant; sed 11.11
on-both-sides with-the-utmost force both they-fortify and they-fight but
interiora tuendo minorem in dies urbem Saguntini
the-inner-parts by-defending smaller day-by day the-city the-Saguntines
faciunt.
make
Simul crescit inopia omnium longa obsidione et 11.12
at-the-same-time grows the-want of-all-things by-the-long siege and
minuitur exspectatio externae opis, cum tam procul Romani,
diminishes the-expectation of-foreign help since so far the-Romans
unica spes, circa omnia hostium essent.
the-only hope around all-things of-the-enemy were
Paulisper tamen adfectos animos recreauit repentina profectio 11.13
for-a-while however the-afflicted spirits revived the-sudden departure
Hannibalis in Oretanos Carpetanosque, qui duo populi,
of-Hannibal against the-Oretani and-the-Carpetani which two peoples

dilectus acerbitate consternati, retentis conquisitoribus
of-the-levy by-the-harshness alarmed the-recruiting-officers detained
metum defectionis cum praebuissent, oppressi celeritate
the-fear of-revolt when they-had-shown crushed by-the-speed
Hannibalis omiserunt mota arma.
of-Hannibal they-dropped the-raised arms

VI · THE FALL OF SAGUNTUM

Maharbal presses the siege in Hannibal's absence. Alco goes to Hannibal to beg peace and stays as a deserter; Alorcus, a Spaniard and the city's guest-friend, carries Hannibal's terms into the city: restitution to the Turdetani, the gold and silver given up, the people to leave with two garments each and live where he assigns. The leading men burn their treasure and throw themselves into the fire, a tower falls, and Hannibal takes the city and kills every grown man. Livy questions the annalists' chronology of the siege.

12.1 Nec Sagunti oppugnatio segnior erat Maharbale Himilconis
nor of-Saguntum the-siege slacker was Maharbal of-Himilco
filio — eum praefecerat Hannibal — ita impigre rem
the-son him had-put-in-charge Hannibal so energetically the-matter
agente ut ducem abesse nec ciues nec hostes sentirent.
conducting that the-leader to-be-absent neither the-citizens nor the-enemy perceived
12.2 Is et proelia aliquot secunda fecit et tribus arietibus
he both battles several successful fought and with-three rams
aliquantum muri discussit strataque omnia recentibus ruinis
a-good-deal of-the-wall shattered and-laid-low all-things with-recent ruins
aduenienti Hannibali ostendit.
to-the-arriving Hannibal showed

Itaque ad ipsam arcem extemplo ductus exercitus atroxque 12.3
and-so to the-very citadel at-once was-led the-army and-a-fierce
proelium cum multorum utrimque caede initum et pars
battle with of-many on-both-sides slaughter begun and a-part
arcis capta est. Temptata deinde per duos est exigua
of-the-citadel taken was tried then through two was slight
pacis spes, Alconem Saguntinum et Alorcum Hispanum.
of-peace a-hope Alco a-Saguntine and Alorcus a-Spaniard
Alco insciis Saguntinis, precibus aliquid moturum ratus, cum ad 12.4
Alco unaware the-Saguntines by-entreaties something going-to-move thinking when to
Hannibalem noctu transisset, postquam nihil lacrimae mouebant
Hannibal by-night he-had-crossed after nothing tears moved
condicionesque tristes, ut ab irato uictore, ferebantur,
and-the-terms harsh as from an-angry victor were-being-offered
transfuga ex oratore factus apud hostem mansit, moriturum
a-deserter from envoy made with the-enemy remained going-to-die
adfirmans qui sub condicionibus iis de pace ageret.
affirming whoever on terms these about peace should-treat
Postulabatur autem, redderent res Turdetanis 12.5
it-was-demanded moreover they-should-restore the-property to-the-Turdetani
traditoque omni auro atque argento egressi urbe
and-handed-over all the-gold and silver having-gone-out from-the-city
cum singulis uestimentis ibi habitarent ubi Poenus
with single garments there they-should-dwell where the-Carthaginian
iussisset.
should-have-ordered
Has pacis leges abnuente Alcone accepturos Saguntinos, Alorcus, 12.6
these of-peace terms refusing Alco going-to-accept the-Saguntines Alorcus
uinci animos ubi alia uincantur adfirmans, se pacis
to-be-conquered spirits when other-things are-conquered affirming himself of-peace

eius interpretem fore pollicetur; erat autem tum miles
that the-mediator going-to-be promises he-was moreover then a-soldier
Hannibalis, ceterum publice Saguntinis amicus atque hospes.
of-Hannibal however officially to-the-Saguntines a-friend and guest-friend
12.7 Tradito palam telo custodibus hostium transgressus
handed-over openly (his)-weapon to-the-guards of-the-enemy having-crossed
munimenta ad praetorem Saguntinum — et ipse ita
the-fortifications to the-praetor Saguntine and himself so
iubebat — est deductus.
ordered was led
12.8 Quo cum extemplo concursus omnis generis hominum esset
whither when at-once a-concourse of-every kind of-men had
factus, submota cetera multitudine senatus Alorco datus est,
been-made removed the-rest the-multitude the-senate to-Alorcus was given
cuius talis oratio fuit:
whose such speech was
13.1 'Si ciuis uester Alco, sicut ad pacem petendam ad
if citizen your Alco as for peace seeking to
Hannibalem uenit, ita pacis condiciones ab Hannibale ad
Hannibal came so of-peace the-terms from Hannibal to
uos rettulisset, superuacaneum hoc mihi fuisset iter,
you had-brought-back superfluous this to-me would-have-been the-journey
quo nec orator Hannibalis nec transfuga ad uos ueni;
by-which neither as-envoy of-Hannibal nor as-deserter to you I-have-come
13.2 sed cum ille aut uestra aut sua culpa manserit apud
but since he either by-your or by-his-own fault has-remained with
hostem — sua, si metum simulauit: uestra, si periculum
the-enemy by-his-own if fear he-pretended by-yours if danger
est apud uos uera referentibus — ego, ne ignoraretis
is with you true-things reporting I that-not you-should-be-ignorant

esse et salutis aliquas et pacis uobis condiciones, pro
to-be both of-safety some and of-peace for-you terms on-account-of
uetusto hospitio quod mihi uobiscum est ad uos ueni.
the-ancient guest-friendship which to-me with-you is to you have-come
Vestra autem causa me nec ullius alterius loqui quae loquor 13.3
for-your moreover sake me nor of-any other to-speak what I-say
apud uos uel ea fides sit quod neque dum uestris
with you even that a-proof may-be that neither while by-your-own
uiribus restitistis neque dum auxilia ab Romanis sperastis
strength you-resisted nor while help from the-Romans you-hoped
pacis unquam apud uos mentionem feci.
of-peace ever with you mention I-made
Postquam nec ab Romanis uobis ulla est spes nec uestra 13.4
after neither from the-Romans to-you any is hope nor your-own
uos iam aut arma aut moenia satis defendunt, pacem
you now either arms or walls enough defend peace
adfero ad uos magis necessariam quam aequam.
I-bring to you more necessary than fair
Cuius ita aliqua spes est, si eam, quemadmodum ut uictor 13.5
of-which so some hope is if it just-as as the-victor
fert Hannibal, sic uos ut uicti audiatis; si non id quod
offers Hannibal so you as conquered hear if not that which
amittitur in damno, cum omnia uictoris sint, sed quidquid
is-lost as loss since all-things the-victor's are but whatever
relinquitur pro munere habituri estis.
is-left as a-gift going-to-hold you-are
Urbem uobis, quam ex magna parte dirutam, captam fere 13.6
the-city from-you which in great part destroyed taken almost
totam habet, adimit: agros relinquit, locum adsignaturus
whole he-holds he-takes-away the-fields he-leaves a-place going-to-assign

in quo nouum oppidum aedificetis. Aurum et argentum
in which a-new town you-may-build the-gold and silver
omne, publicum priuatumque, ad se iubet deferri:
all public and-private to himself he-orders to-be-brought
13.7 corpora uestra coniugum ac liberorum uestrorum seruat
the-bodies your of-wives and of-children your he-keeps
inuiolata, si inermes cum binis uestimentis uelitis ab
inviolate if unarmed with two-each garments you-are-willing from
Sagunto exire.
Saguntum to-go-out
13.8 Haec uictor hostis imperat; haec, quamquam sunt
these-things the-victorious enemy commands these-things although they-are
grauia atque acerba, fortuna uestra uobis suadet. Equidem
heavy and bitter fortune your to-you urges I-indeed
haud despero, cum omnium potestas ei facta sit,
not despair since of-all-things the-power to-him made has-been
aliquid ex his rebus remissurum;
something of these things going-to-remit
13.9 sed uel haec patienda censeo potius quam trucidari
but even these-things to-be-endured I-think rather than to-be-butchered
corpora uestra, rapi trahique ante ora uestra coniuges
bodies your to-be-seized and-dragged before the-faces your wives
ac liberos belli iure sinatis.'
and children of-war by-the-law you-should-allow
14.1 Ad haec audienda cum circumfusa paulatim multitudine
for these-things hearing when having-poured-round gradually the-multitude
permixtum senatui esset populi concilium, repente
mingled with-the-senate was of-the-people the-assembly suddenly
primores secessione facta priusquam responsum daretur
the-leading-men a-withdrawal made before an-answer was-given
argentum aurumque omne ex publico priuatoque in forum
the-silver and-gold all from public and-private into the-forum

conlatum in ignem ad id raptim factum conicientes
brought into a-fire for that hastily made throwing
eodem plerique semet ipsi praecipitauerunt.
to-the-same-place most themselves they-themselves threw-headlong
Cum ex eo pauor ac trepidatio totam urbem peruasisset, 14.2
when from that panic and alarm the-whole city had-pervaded
alius insuper tumultus ex arce auditur. Turris diu
another besides uproar from the-citadel is-heard a-tower long
quassata prociderat, perque ruinam eius cohors Poenorum
battered had-fallen and-through the-ruin its a-cohort of-the-Carthaginians
impetu facto cum signum imperatori dedisset nudatam
an-onset made when the-signal to-the-general had-given stripped
stationibus custodiisque solitis hostium esse urbem,
of-posts and-of-guards usual of-the-enemy to-be the-city
non cunctandum in tali occasione ratus Hannibal, totis 14.3
not to-be-delayed in such opportunity thinking Hannibal with-whole
uiribus adgressus urbem momento cepit, signo dato ut
strength having-attacked the-city in-a-moment took the-signal given that
omnes puberes interficerentur. Quod imperium crudele,
all the-grown should-be-killed which command cruel
ceterum prope necessarium cognitum ipso euentu est;
however nearly necessary known by-the-very outcome was
cui enim parci potuit ex iis qui aut inclusi cum coniugibus 14.4
whom for to-be-spared could of those who either shut-in with wives
ac liberis domos super se ipsos concremauerunt aut
and children (their)-houses over them themselves burned or
armati nullum ante finem pugnae quam morientes fecerunt?
armed no before end of-fighting than dying made
Captum oppidum est cum ingenti praeda. Quamquam 15.1
taken the-town was with huge booty although
pleraque ab dominis de industria corrupta erant et in
most-things by the-owners on purpose spoiled had-been and in

caedibus uix ullum discrimen aetatis ira fecerat et
the-slaughters scarcely any distinction of-age anger had-made and
captiui militum praeda fuerant,
the-captives of-the-soldiers the-booty had-been

15.2 tamen et ex pretio rerum uenditarum aliquantum
yet both from the-price of-the-things sold a-good-deal
pecuniae redactum esse constat et multam pretiosam
of-money raised to-have-been it-is-agreed and much precious
supellectilem uestemque missam Carthaginem. Octauo mense
furniture and-clothing sent to-Carthage in-the-eighth month
quam coeptum oppugnari captum Saguntum quidam scripsere;
than begun to-be-besieged taken Saguntum some have-written

15.3 inde Carthaginem Nouam in hiberna Hannibalem
thence to-Carthage New into winter-quarters Hannibal
concessisse; quinto deinde mense quam ab Carthagine
to-have-withdrawn in-the-fifth then month than from Carthage
profectus sit in Italiam peruenisse.
set-out he-had into Italy to-have-arrived

15.4 Quae si ita sunt, fieri non potuit ut P. Cornelius
which if so they-are to-happen not could that Publius Cornelius
Ti. Sempronius consules fuerint, ad quos et principio
Tiberius Sempronius consuls were to whom both at-the-beginning
oppugnationis legati Saguntini missi sint et qui in suo
of-the-siege envoys Saguntine sent were and who in their-own
magistratu cum Hannibale, alter ad Ticinum amnem, ambo
magistracy with Hannibal the-one at the-Ticinus river both
aliquanto post ad Trebiam pugnauerint.
somewhat later at the-Trebia fought

Aut omnia breuiora aliquanto fuere aut Saguntum principio 15.5
either all-things shorter somewhat were or Saguntum at-the-beginning
anni, quo P. Cornelius Ti. Sempronius consules
of-the-year in-which Publius Cornelius Tiberius Sempronius consuls
fuerunt, non coeptum oppugnari est sed captum.
were not begun to-be-besieged was but taken
Nam excessisse pugna ad Trebiam in annum Cn. Seruili 15.6
for to-have-extended the-battle at the-Trebia into the-year of-Gnaeus Servilius
et C. Flamini non potest, quia C. Flaminius Arimini
and of-Gaius Flaminius not it-can because Gaius Flaminius at-Ariminum
consulatum iniit, creatus a Ti. Sempronio consule, qui
the-consulship entered created by Tiberius Sempronius the-consul who
post pugnam ad Trebiam ad creandos consules Romam cum
after the-battle at the-Trebia for creating consuls to-Rome when
uenisset comitiis perfectis ad exercitum in hiberna rediit.
he-had-come the-elections completed to the-army into winter-quarters returned

VII · ROME DECREES WAR

The envoys report all hostile at Carthage, and news of Saguntum's fall fills the fathers with grief, shame, and fear of an enemy hardened by twenty-three years of war among the Spanish peoples, while Rome had never been so idle. The consuls draw their provinces, Cornelius Spain and Sempronius Africa with Sicily; six legions and a fleet are decreed, and the people vote war on Carthage. Sempronius takes two legions, a hundred and sixty warships, and orders to cross to Africa if his colleague can keep Hannibal from Italy; Manlius the praetor goes to Gaul.

16.1 Sub idem fere tempus et legati qui redierant ab
about the-same about time both the-envoys who had-returned from
Carthagine Romam rettulerunt omnia hostilia esse, et
Carthage to-Rome reported all-things hostile to-be and
Sagunti excidium nuntiatum est;
of-Saguntum the-destruction announced was

16.2 tantusque simul maeror patres misericordiaque sociorum
and-so-great at-once grief the-fathers and-pity for-the-allies
peremptorum indigne et pudor non lati auxilii et ira
killed undeservedly and shame not of-brought help and anger
in Carthaginienses metusque de summa rerum cepit, uelut
against the-Carthaginians and-fear about the-sum of-things seized as
si iam ad portas hostis esset, ut tot uno tempore
if now at the-gates the-enemy were that by-so-many at-one time
motibus animi turbati trepidarent magis quam consulerent:
emotions of-mind disturbed they-were-agitated more than they-took-counsel

16.3 nam neque hostem acriorem bellicosioremque secum
for neither an-enemy fiercer and-more-warlike with-them
congressum nec rem Romanam tam desidem unquam
engaged nor the-state Roman so idle ever
fuisse atque imbellem.
to-have-been and unwarlike

16.4 Sardos Corsosque et Histros atque Illyrios lacessisse
the-Sardinians and-the-Corsicans and the-Histri and the-Illyrians to-have-provoked
magis quam exercuisse Romana arma et cum Gallis
rather than exercised the-Roman arms and with the-Gauls
tumultuatum uerius quam belligeratum:
to-have-been-skirmished more-truly than warred

16.5 Poenum hostem ueteranum, trium et uiginti annorum
the-Carthaginian an-enemy veteran of-three and twenty years
militia durissima inter Hispanas gentes semper uictorem,
in-service hardest among the-Spanish nations always victorious

duci acerrimo adsuetum, recentem ab excidio
to-a-leader most-energetic accustomed fresh from the-destruction
opulentissimae urbis, Hiberum transire;
of-a-most-wealthy city the-Ebro to-cross
trahere secum tot excitos Hispanorum populos; conciturum 16.6
to-draw with-him so-many roused of-the-Spaniards peoples going-to-stir
auidas semper armorum Gallicas gentes; cum orbe terrarum
eager always for-arms the-Gallic nations with the-circle of-the-lands
bellum gerendum in Italia ac pro moenibus Romanis esse.
war to-be-waged in Italy and before the-walls Roman to-be
Nominatae iam antea consulibus prouinciae erant; tum 17.1
named already before for-the-consuls the-provinces had-been then
sortiri iussi. Cornelio Hispania, Sempronio Africa cum
to-draw-lots ordered to-Cornelius Spain to-Sempronius Africa with
Sicilia euenit.
Sicily fell
Sex in eum annum decretae legiones et socium quantum 17.2
six for that year decreed legions and of-the-allies as-much-as
ipsis uideretur et classis quanta parari posset.
to-themselves it-seemed and a-fleet as-great-as to-be-prepared could
Quattuor et uiginti peditum Romanorum milia scripta 17.3
four and twenty of-infantry Roman thousands enrolled
et mille octingenti equites, sociorum quadraginta milia
and one-thousand eight-hundred horsemen of-the-allies forty thousands
peditum, quattuor milia et quadringenti equites; naues
of-infantry four thousands and four-hundred horsemen ships
ducentae uiginti quinqueremes, celoces uiginti deducti.
two-hundred twenty quinqueremes cutters twenty launched
Latum inde ad populum uellent iuberent populo 17.4
it-was-proposed then to the-people would-they-wish would-they-order to-the-people
Carthaginiensi bellum indici; eiusque belli causa
Carthaginian war to-be-declared and-of-that war for-the-sake

supplicatio per urbem habita atque adorati di, ut bene
a-supplication through the-city held and adored the-gods that well
ac feliciter eueniret quod bellum populus Romanus iussisset.
and happily might-turn-out which war the-people Roman had-ordered
17.5 Inter consules ita copiae diuisae: Sempronio datae legiones
between the-consuls thus the-forces divided to-Sempronius given legions
duae — ea quaterna milia erant peditum et treceni
two they four-each thousands were of-infantry and three-hundred-each
equites — et sociorum sedecim milia peditum, equites mille
horsemen and of-the-allies sixteen thousands of-infantry horsemen a-thousand
octingenti; naues longae centum sexaginta, celoces duodecim.
eight-hundred ships long a-hundred sixty cutters twelve
17.6 Cum his terrestribus maritimisque copiis Ti. Sempronius
with these land and-sea forces Tiberius Sempronius
missus in Siciliam, ita in Africam transmissurus si ad
sent into Sicily so into Africa going-to-cross if for
arcendum Italia Poenum consul alter satis esset.
keeping-off from-Italy the-Carthaginian the-consul other enough should-be
17.7 Cornelio minus copiarum datum, quia L. Manlius praetor
to-Cornelius less of-forces given because Lucius Manlius the-praetor
et ipse cum haud inualido praesidio in Galliam mittebatur;
also himself with not weak a-garrison into Gaul was-being-sent
17.8 nauium maxime Cornelio numerus deminutus; sexaginta
of-ships most to-Cornelius the-number diminished sixty
quinqueremes datae — neque enim mari uenturum aut ea
quinqueremes given nor for by-sea going-to-come or in-that
parte belli dimicaturum hostem credebant — et duae
part of-the-war going-to-fight the-enemy they-believed and two
Romanae legiones cum suo iusto equitatu et quattuordecim
Roman legions with their-own regular cavalry and fourteen
milibus sociorum peditum, equitibus mille sescentis.
thousands of-the-allies of-infantry horsemen a-thousand six-hundred

Duas legiones Romanas et decem milia sociorum peditum, 17.9
two legions Roman and ten thousands of-the-allies of-infantry
mille equites socios, sescentos Romanos Gallia prouincia
a-thousand horsemen allies six-hundred Roman Gaul the-province
eodem uersa in Punicum bellum habuit.
to-the-same turned to the-Punic war held

VIII · THE FOLD OF THE TOGA

Five senior envoys ask Carthage whether Hannibal attacked Saguntum by public decision. A Carthaginian replies that the question is not whose decision but whether it was right, and that Hasdrubal's treaty, made without Carthage's sanction, binds Carthage no more than Lutatius' first treaty bound Rome. Fabius, holding a fold of his toga, offers war or peace; told to give what he likes, he shakes out war, and the senators accept it. In Spain the Bargusii welcome the envoys, but the Volciani bid them seek allies where Saguntum's fate is unknown, and the Gauls laugh at the request to bar Hannibal.

His ita comparatis, ut omnia iusta ante bellum 18.1
these-things thus prepared that all-things rightful before the-war
fierent, legatos maiores natu, Q. Fabium M. Liuium
might-be-done envoys older by-birth Quintus Fabius Marcus Livius
L. Aemilium C. Licinium Q. Baebium in Africam
Lucius Aemilius Gaius Licinius Quintus Baebius into Africa
mittunt ad percontandos Carthaginienses publicone consilio
they-send for questioning the-Carthaginians whether-by-public counsel
Hannibal Saguntum oppugnasset,
Hannibal Saguntum had-attacked
et si id quod facturi uidebantur faterentur ac defenderent 18.2
and if that which going-to-do they-seemed they-should-admit and defend
publico consilio factum,
by-public counsel done

18.3 ut indicerent populo Carthaginiensi bellum. Romani
that they-should-declare on-the-people Carthaginian war the-Romans
postquam Carthaginem uenerunt, cum senatus datus esset
after to-Carthage they-came when the-senate given had-been
et Q. Fabius nihil ultra quam unum quod mandatum
and Quintus Fabius nothing further than the-one-thing that commanded
erat percontatus esset, tum ex Carthaginiensibus unus:
had-been asked had then of the-Carthaginians one

18.4 'Praeceps uestra, Romani, et prior legatio fuit, cum
headlong your Romans even the-former embassy was when
Hannibalem tamquam suo consilio Saguntum oppugnantem
Hannibal as-if by-his-own counsel Saguntum attacking
deposcebatis;
you-were-demanding

18.5 ceterum haec legatio uerbis adhuc lenior est, re asperior.
however this embassy in-words so-far milder is in-substance harsher
Tunc enim Hannibal et insimulabatur et deposcebatur;
then for Hannibal both was-being-accused and was-being-demanded
nunc ab nobis et confessio culpae exprimitur et ut a
now from us both a-confession of-guilt is-extorted and as from
confessis res extemplo repetuntur.
those-who-have-confessed restitution at-once is-demanded

18.6 Ego autem non priuato publicone consilio Saguntum
I moreover not by-private or-by-public counsel Saguntum
oppugnatum sit quaerendum censeam sed utrum iure an
attacked was to-be-asked would-think but whether by-right or
iniuria;
by-wrong

18.7 nostra enim haec quaestio atque animaduersio in ciuem
ours for this inquiry and punishment against a-citizen
nostrum est quid nostro aut suo fecerit arbitrio:
our is what by-our or by-his-own he-has-done judgment

uobiscum una disceptatio est licueritne per foedus 18.8
with-you the-one dispute is whether-it-was-allowed by the-treaty
fieri. Itaque quoniam discerni placet quid publico
to-be-done and-so since to-be-distinguished it-pleases what by-public
consilio, quid sua sponte imperatores faciant, nobis
counsel what of-their-own accord generals do to-us
uobiscum foedus est a C. Lutatio consule ictum in quo,
with-you a-treaty is by Gaius Lutatius the-consul struck in which
cum caueretur utrorumque sociis,
when provision-was-made for-the-allies of-both
nihil de Saguntinis — necdum enim erant socii uestri — 18.9
nothing about the-Saguntines not-yet for they-were allies your
cautum est. At enim eo foedere quod cum Hasdrubale
provided was but yet in-that treaty which with Hasdrubal
ictum est Saguntini excipiuntur.
struck was the-Saguntines are-excepted
Aduersus quod ego nihil dicturus sum nisi quod a uobis 18.10
against which I nothing going-to-say am except what from you
didici. Vos enim, quod C. Lutatius consul primo nobiscum
I-learned you for since Gaius Lutatius the-consul first with-us
foedus icit, quia neque auctoritate patrum nec populi
the-treaty struck because neither by-the-authority of-the-fathers nor of-the-people
iussu ictum erat, negastis uos eo teneri; itaque
by-the-order struck it-had-been denied yourselves by-it to-be-held and-so
aliud de integro foedus publico consilio ictum est.
another from afresh treaty by-public counsel struck was
Si uos non tenent foedera uestra nisi ex auctoritate aut 18.11
if you not hold treaties your unless by authority or
iussu uestro icta, ne nos quidem Hasdrubalis foedus quod
order your struck not us even Hasdrubal's treaty which
nobis insciis icit obligare potuit.
with-us unaware he-struck to-bind could

18.12 Proinde omittite Sagunti atque Hiberi mentionem facere
accordingly cease of-Saguntum and of-the-Ebro mention to-make
et quod diu parturit animus uester aliquando pariat.'
and what long labors-with mind your at-last let-it-bring-forth

18.13 Tum Romanus sinu ex toga facto, 'Hic' inquit, 'uobis bellum
then the-Roman a-fold in (his)-toga made here he-said for-you war
et pacem portamus; utrum placet sumite.' Sub hanc uocem
and peace we-carry whichever pleases take at this saying
haud minus ferociter, daret utrum uellet, succlamatum est;
not less fiercely he-should-give whichever he-wished shouted-back it-was

18.14 et cum is iterum sinu effuso bellum dare dixisset,
and when he again the-fold shaken-out war to-give had-said
accipere se omnes responderunt et quibus acciperent
to-accept themselves all answered and with-what they-accepted
animis iisdem se gesturos.
spirits with-the-same themselves going-to-wage

19.1 Haec derecta percontatio ac denuntiatio belli magis ex
this direct questioning and declaration of-war more from
dignitate populi Romani uisa est quam de foederum iure
the-dignity of-the-people Roman seemed was than about of-treaties the-right
uerbis disceptare, cum ante, tum maxime Sagunto excisa.
in-words to-dispute both before and especially Saguntum destroyed

19.2 Nam si uerborum disceptationis res esset, quid foedus
for if of-words of-disputation the-matter were in-what the-treaty
Hasdrubalis cum Lutati priore foedere, quod mutatum est,
of-Hasdrubal with of-Lutatius the-former treaty which changed was
comparandum erat,
to-be-compared was

19.3 cum in Lutati foedere diserte additum esset ita id ratum
since in Lutatius' treaty expressly added had-been so that valid
fore si populus censuisset, in Hasdrubalis foedere nec
going-to-be if the-people had-approved in Hasdrubal's treaty neither

exceptum tale quicquam fuerit et tot annorum silentio
excepted such anything had-been and by-so-many of-years silence
ita uiuo eo comprobatum sit foedus ut ne mortuo
so in-his-lifetime him approved had-been the-treaty that not dead
quidem auctore quicquam mutaretur?
even the-author anything was-changed
Quamquam, etsi priore foedere staretur, satis cautum erat 19.4
although even-if by-the-former treaty it-were-stood enough provided was
Saguntinis sociis utrorumque exceptis; nam neque additum
for-the-Saguntines the-allies of-both excepted for neither added
erat 'iis qui tunc essent' nec 'ne qui postea adsumerentur'.
was to-those who then were nor that-not who afterward should-be-taken-on
Et cum adsumere nouos liceret socios, quis aequum 19.5
and since to-take-on new it-was-allowed allies who fair
censeret aut ob nulla quemquam merita in amicitiam
would-think either on-account-of no anyone services into friendship
recipi aut receptos in fidem non defendi, tantum ne
to-be-received or received into protection not to-be-defended only that-not
Carthaginiensium socii aut sollicitarentur ad defectionem
of-the-Carthaginians the-allies either should-be-incited to revolt
aut sua sponte desciscentes reciperentur?
or of-their-own accord revolting should-be-received
Legati Romani ab Carthagine, sicut iis Romae imperatum 19.6
the-envoys Roman from Carthage as to-them at-Rome commanded
erat, in Hispaniam ut adirent ciuitates ut in
it-had-been into Spain that they-should-approach the-states that into
societatem perlicerent aut auerterent a Poenis
alliance they-might-entice or might-turn-away from the-Carthaginians
traiecerunt.
crossed

19.7 Ad Bargusios primum uenerunt, a quibus benigne excepti,
to the-Bargusii first they-came by whom kindly received
quia taedebat imperii Punici, multos trans Hiberum populos
because it-wearied of-the-rule Punic many across the-Ebro peoples
ad cupidinem nouae fortunae erexerunt.
to desire of-new fortune they-roused

19.8 Inde est uentum ad Volcianos, quorum celebre per
thence was come to the-Volciani whose famous through
Hispaniam responsum ceteros populos ab societate Romana
Spain answer the-other peoples from alliance Roman
auertit. Ita enim maximus natu ex iis in concilio respondit:
turned-away so for the-oldest by-birth of them in the-council answered

19.9 'Quae uerecundia est, Romani, postulare uos uti uestram
what modesty is-it Romans to-demand you that your
Carthaginiensium amicitiae praeponamus, cum qui id
of-the-Carthaginians to-the-friendship we-should-prefer when those-who that
fecerunt crudelius quam Poenus hostis perdidit uos socii
did more-cruelly than the-Carthaginian enemy destroyed you allies
prodideritis?
betrayed

19.10 Ibi quaeratis socios censeo ubi Saguntina clades ignota
there you-should-seek allies I-think where the-Saguntine disaster unknown
est; Hispanis populis sicut lugubre, ita insigne documentum
is to-the-Spanish peoples as mournful so striking a-lesson
Sagunti ruinae erunt ne quis fidei Romanae aut
of-Saguntum the-ruins will-be that-not anyone in-faith Roman or
societati confidat.'
in-alliance should-trust

Inde extemplo abire finibus Volcianorum iussi ab 19.11
thence at-once to-depart from-the-territory of-the-Volciani ordered from
nullo deinde concilio Hispaniae benigniora uerba tulere.
no afterward council of-Spain kinder words they-carried-off
Ita nequiquam peragrata Hispania in Galliam transeunt.
so in-vain traversed Spain into Gaul they-cross
In his noua terribilisque species uisa est, quod armati — 20.1
among these a-new and-terrible sight seen was in-that armed
ita mos gentis erat — in concilium uenerunt.
so the-custom of-the-nation was into the-council they-came
Cum uerbis extollentes gloriam uirtutemque populi Romani 20.2
when in-words extolling the-glory and-valor of-the-people Roman
ac magnitudinem imperii petissent ne Poeno
and the-greatness of-its-empire they-had-asked that-not to-the-Carthaginian
bellum Italiae inferenti per agros urbesque suas transitum
war on-Italy bringing through fields and-cities their passage
darent,
they-should-give
tantus cum fremitu risus dicitur ortus ut uix a 20.3
so-great with roaring laughter is-said arisen that scarcely by
magistratibus maioribusque natu iuuentus sedaretur;
the-magistrates and-elders by-birth the-youth was-quieted
adeo stolida impudensque postulatio uisa est censere, ne 20.4
so stupid and-shameless the-demand seemed was to-propose that-not
in Italiam transmittant Galli bellum, ipsos id auertere
into Italy should-carry-over the-Gauls the-war themselves it to-turn-away
in se agrosque suos pro alienis populandos obicere.
upon themselves and-fields their for others' to-be-ravaged to-expose
Sedato tandem fremitu responsum legatis est neque 20.5
quieted at-last the-roaring answered to-the-envoys it-was neither
Romanorum in se meritum esse neque Carthaginiensium
of-the-Romans toward them service to-be nor of-the-Carthaginians

iniuriam ob quae aut pro Romanis aut aduersus
wrong on-account-of which either for the-Romans or against
Poenos sumant arma;
the-Carthaginians they-should-take-up arms

20.6 contra ea audire sese gentis suae homines agro
against that to-hear themselves of-the-nation their-own men from-the-land
finibusque Italiae pelli a populo Romano stipendiumque
and-territory of-Italy to-be-driven by the-people Roman and-tribute
pendere et cetera indigna pati.
to-pay and other indignities to-suffer

20.7 Eadem ferme in ceteris Galliae conciliis dicta auditaque,
the-same-things about in the-other of-Gaul councils said and-heard
nec hospitale quicquam pacatumue satis prius auditum quam
nor hospitable anything or-peaceful enough before heard than
Massiliam uenere.
to-Massilia they-came

20.8 Ibi omnia ab sociis inquisita cum cura ac fide cognita:
there all-things by the-allies inquired with care and fidelity learned
praeoccupatos iam ante ab Hannibale Gallorum animos esse;
forestalled already before by Hannibal of-the-Gauls the-minds to-be
sed ne illi quidem ipsi satis mitem gentem fore — adeo
but not those even themselves enough gentle a-nation going-to-be so
ferocia atque indomita ingenia esse — ni subinde auro,
fierce and untamed their-natures to-be unless repeatedly with-gold
cuius auidissima gens est, principum animi concilientur.
of-which most-greedy the-nation is of-the-leading-men the-minds should-be-won

20.9 Ita peragratis Hispaniae et Galliae populis legati Romam
so traversed of-Spain and of-Gaul the-peoples the-envoys to-Rome
redeunt haud ita multo post quam consules in prouincias
return not so much after than the-consuls into the-provinces
profecti erant. Ciuitatem omnem in exspectationem belli
set-out had the-state whole into expectation of-war

erectam inuenerunt, satis constante fama iam Hiberum
roused they-found fairly consistent the-report already the-Ebro
Poenos tramisisse.
the-Carthaginians to-have-crossed

IX · HANNIBAL'S PREPARATIONS

At New Carthage Hannibal gives his Spanish troops leave to visit their homes and orders them back in spring. He pays his vows at Gades, sends Spaniards to garrison Africa and Africans to Spain, so that each army is a hostage for the other, and leaves his brother Hasdrubal in Spain with infantry, cavalry, elephants, and a fleet. Marching along the coast, he dreams of a divine youth sent to guide him to Italy, and of a serpent wrecking all behind him: the devastation of Italy.

Hannibal Sagunto capto Carthaginem Nouam in hiberna 21.1
Hannibal Saguntum taken to-Carthage New into winter-quarters
concesserat, ibique auditis quae Romae quaeque Carthagine
had-withdrawn and-there having-heard what at-Rome and-what at-Carthage
acta decretaque forent, seque non ducem solum sed etiam
done and-decreed had-been and-himself not the-leader only but also
causam esse belli,
the-cause to-be of-the-war
partitis diuenditisque reliquiis praedae nihil ultra differendum 21.2
divided and-sold-off the-remains of-the-booty nothing further to-be-put-off
ratus, Hispani generis milites conuocat.
thinking of-the-Spanish race the-soldiers calls-together
'Credo ego uos' inquit, 'socii, et ipsos cernere pacatis omnibus 21.3
believe I you he-said allies also yourselves to-see pacified all
Hispaniae populis aut finiendam nobis militiam exercitusque
of-Spain the-peoples either to-be-ended by-us service and-the-armies
dimittendos esse aut in alias terras transferendum bellum;
to-be-dismissed to-be or into other lands to-be-transferred the-war

21.4 ita enim hae gentes non pacis solum sed etiam uictoriae
so for these nations not of-peace only but also of-victory
bonis florebunt, si ex aliis gentibus praedam et gloriam
with-the-goods will-flourish if from other nations booty and glory
quaeremus.
we-shall-seek

21.5 Itaque cum longinqua ab domo instet militia incertumque sit
and-so since distant from home presses service and-uncertain it-is
quando domos uestras et quae cuique ibi cara sunt uisuri
when homes your and what to-each there dear are going-to-see
sitis, si quis uestrum suos inuisere uolt, commeatum do.
you-are if anyone of-you his-own to-visit wishes leave I-give

21.6 Primo uere edico adsitis, ut dis bene iuuantibus
at-the-beginning of-spring I-order you-be-present that with-the-gods well helping
bellum ingentis gloriae praedaeque futurum incipiamus.'
a-war of-huge glory and-booty going-to-be we-may-begin

21.7 Omnibus fere uisendi domos oblata ultro potestas grata
to-all almost of-visiting homes offered unasked the-power welcome
erat, et iam desiderantibus suos et longius in futurum
was both already missing their-own and further into the-future
prouidentibus desiderium.
foreseeing the-longing

21.8 Per totum tempus hiemis quies inter labores aut iam
through the-whole time of-winter rest between toils either now
exhaustos aut mox exhauriendos renouauit corpora animosque ad
spent or soon to-be-spent renewed bodies and-spirits for
omnia de integro patienda; uere primo ad edictum conuenere.
all-things from afresh to-be-endured in-spring early to the-order they-assembled

Hannibal cum recensuisset omnium gentium auxilia, Gades 21.9
Hannibal when he-had-reviewed of-all nations the-auxiliaries to-Gades
profectus Herculi uota exsoluit nouisque se obligat
having-set-out to-Hercules (his)-vows paid and-with-new himself binds
uotis, si cetera prospera euenissent.
vows if the-rest prosperous should-have-turned-out
Inde partiens curas simul in inferendum atque arcendum 21.10
thence dividing his-cares at-once to bringing and warding-off
bellum, ne, dum ipse terrestri per Hispaniam Galliasque
war that-not while himself by-the-land through Spain and-the-Gauls
itinere Italiam peteret, nuda apertaque Romanis Africa ab
route Italy he-sought naked and-open to-the-Romans Africa from
Sicilia esset, ualido praesidio firmare eam statuit;
Sicily should-be with-a-strong garrison to-strengthen it he-decided
pro eo supplementum ipse ex Africa maxime iaculatorum 21.11
in-place-of it a-supplement himself from Africa chiefly of-javelin-men
leuium armis petiit, ut Afri in Hispania, in Africa
light in-arms he-sought that the-Africans in Spain in Africa
Hispani, melior procul ab domo futurus uterque miles,
the-Spaniards better far from home going-to-be each soldier
uelut mutuis pigneribus obligati stipendia facerent.
as-if by-mutual pledges bound (their)-campaigns might-serve
Tredecim milia octingentos quinquaginta pedites caetratos 21.12
thirteen thousands eight-hundred fifty foot-soldiers targeteers
misit in Africam et funditores Baliares octingentos
he-sent into Africa and slingers Balearic eight-hundred
septuaginta, equites mixtos ex multis gentibus mille
seventy horsemen mixed from many nations a-thousand
ducentos.
two-hundred

21.13 Has copias partim Carthagini praesidio esse, partim distribui
these forces partly to-Carthage for-a-garrison to-be partly to-be-distributed
per Africam iubet. Simul conquisitoribus in ciuitates
through Africa he-orders at-the-same-time recruiting-officers into the-states
missis quattuor milia conscripta delectae iuuentutis,
sent four thousands enrolled of-picked youth
praesidium eosdem et obsides, duci Carthaginem iubet.
a-garrison the-same and hostages to-be-led to-Carthage he-orders

22.1 Neque Hispaniam neglegendam ratus, atque id eo
nor Spain to-be-neglected thinking and that by-so-much
minus quod haud ignarus erat circumitam ab Romanis eam
less because not unaware he-was beset by the-Romans it
legatis ad sollicitandos principum animos,
by-envoys for rousing of-the-leading-men the-minds

22.2 Hasdrubali fratri, uiro impigro, eam prouinciam destinat
to-Hasdrubal his-brother a-man energetic that province he-assigns
firmatque eum Africis maxime praesidiis, peditum Afrorum
and-strengthens him with-African chiefly garrisons of-infantry of-Africans
undecim milibus octingentis quinquaginta, Liguribus trecentis,
eleven thousands eight-hundred fifty Ligurians three-hundred
Baliaribus quingentis.
Baliares five-hundred

22.3 Ad haec peditum auxilia additi equites Libyphoenices,
to these of-infantry auxiliaries were-added horsemen Libyphoenicians
mixtum Punicum Afris genus, quadringenti quinquaginta
a-mixed Punic with-Africans race four-hundred fifty
et Numidae Maurique accolae Oceani ad mille
and Numidians and-Moors dwellers-by of-the-Ocean about a-thousand
octingenti et parua Ilergetum manus ex Hispania, ducenti
eight-hundred and a-small of-the-Ilergetes band from Spain two-hundred

equites, et, ne quod terrestris deesset auxilii genus,
horsemen and that-not any of-land should-be-lacking of-auxiliary kind
elephanti uiginti unus.
elephants twenty one
Classis praeterea data tuendae maritimae orae, quia 22.4
a-fleet besides given for-guarding the-maritime coast because
qua parte belli uicerant ea tum quoque
in-which part of-the-war they-had-conquered in-that then also
rem gesturos Romanos credi poterat, quinquaginta
the-matter going-to-conduct the-Romans to-be-believed could fifty
quinqueremes, quadriremes duae, triremes quinque; sed aptae
quinqueremes quadriremes two triremes five but fitted
instructaeque remigio triginta et duae quinqueremes erant
and-equipped with-rowers thirty and two quinqueremes were
et triremes quinque.
and triremes five
Ab Gadibus Carthaginem ad hiberna exercitus rediit; 22.5
from Gades to-Carthage to winter-quarters the-army returned
atque inde profectus praeter Onussam urbem ad Hiberum
and thence having-set-out past Onussa the-city to the-Ebro
maritima ora ducit.
by-the-maritime coast he-leads
Ibi fama est in quiete uisum ab eo iuuenem diuina specie 22.6
there the-story is in sleep seen by him a-youth of-divine appearance
qui se ab Ioue diceret ducem in Italiam Hannibali missum;
who himself by Jupiter said as-guide into Italy to-Hannibal sent
proinde sequeretur neque usquam a se deflecteret oculos.
accordingly he-should-follow nor anywhere from him should-turn-aside his-eyes
pauidum primo, nusquam circumspicientem aut respicientem, 22.7
fearful at-first nowhere looking-around or looking-back
secutum; deinde cura ingenii humani cum, quidnam
to-have-followed then by-the-curiosity of-nature human when what-indeed

id esset quod respicere uetitus esset, agitaret animo,
it might-be which to-look-back forbidden he-had-been he-pondered in-mind
temperare oculis nequiuisse;
to-restrain his-eyes to-have-been-unable

22.8 tum uidisse post sese serpentem mira magnitudine
then to-have-seen behind himself a-serpent of-wonderful size
cum ingenti arborum ac uirgultorum strage ferri ac
with huge of-trees and of-bushes destruction to-be-borne and
post insequi cum fragore caeli nimbum.
behind to-follow with a-crash of-the-sky a-storm-cloud

22.9 tum quae moles ea quidue prodigii esset quaerentem,
then what mass that or-what of-a-portent it-might-be asking
audisse uastitatem Italiae esse; pergeret porro ire nec
to-have-heard the-devastation of-Italy to-be he-should-go-on forward to-go nor
ultra inquireret sineretque fata in occulto esse.
further should-inquire and-should-allow the-fates in concealment to-be

X · OVER THE PYRENEES

Hannibal crosses the Ebro with ninety thousand foot and twelve thousand horse, subdues the peoples below the Pyrenees, and leaves Hanno to hold the passes; three thousand Carpetani desert, and he sends home seven thousand more. In Italy the Boii and Insubres rise, drive the commissioners settling Placentia and Cremona into Mutina, and ambush the praetor Manlius twice before he reaches Tannetum.

23.1 Hoc uisu laetus tripertito Hiberum copias traiecit,
by-this vision glad in-three-divisions the-Ebro the-forces he-carried-across
praemissis qui Gallorum animos, qua traducendus exercitus
sent-ahead men-who of-the-Gauls the-minds where to-be-led-across the-army
erat, donis conciliarent Alpiumque transitus specularentur.
was by-gifts should-win and-of-the-Alps the-crossings should-reconnoiter

Nonaginta milia peditum, duodecim milia equitum
ninety thousands of-infantry twelve thousands of-horsemen
Hiberum traduxit.
the-Ebro he-led-across
Ilergetes inde Bargusiosque et Ausetanos et Lacetaniam, 23.2
the-Ilergetes then and-the-Bargusii and the-Ausetani and Lacetania
quae subiecta Pyrenaeis montibus est, subegit oraeque
which lying-under the-Pyrenean mountains is he-subdued and-over-coast
huic omni praefecit Hannonem, ut fauces quae Hispanias
this whole he-set Hanno that the-passes which the-Spains
Galliis iungunt in potestate essent.
to-the-Gauls join in his-power should-be
Decem milia peditum Hannoni ad praesidium obtinendae 23.3
ten thousands of-infantry to-Hanno for a-garrison of-holding
regionis data et mille equites.
the-region given and a-thousand horsemen
Postquam per Pyrenaeum saltum traduci exercitus est 23.4
after through the-Pyrenean pass to-be-led-across the-army was
coeptus rumorque per barbaros manauit certior de
begun and-a-rumor through the-barbarians spread surer about
bello Romano, tria milia inde Carpetanorum peditum
the-war Roman three thousands thence of-the-Carpetani infantry
iter auerterunt. Constabat non tam bello motos quam
their-march turned-away it-was-agreed not so-much by-war moved as
longinquitate uiae insuperabilique Alpium transitu.
by-the-length of-the-way and-by-the-insuperable of-the-Alps crossing
Hannibal quia reuocare aut ui retinere eos anceps erat, 23.5
Hannibal because to-recall or by-force to-hold them hazardous it-was
ne ceterorum etiam feroces animi inritarentur,
lest of-the-rest also the-fierce spirits should-be-provoked

23.6 supra septem milia hominum domos remisit, quos et
above seven thousands of-men to-their-homes sent-back whom also
ipse grauari militia senserat, Carpetanos quoque ab se
himself to-be-irked by-service had-perceived the-Carpetani also by himself
dimissos simulans.
dismissed pretending

24.1 Inde, ne mora atque otium animos sollicitaret, cum
then that-not delay and idleness the-spirits might-unsettle with
reliquis copiis Pyrenaeum transgreditur et ad oppidum
the-remaining forces the-Pyrenees he-crosses and at the-town
Iliberrim castra locat.
Iliberris camp places

24.2 Galli quamquam Italiae bellum inferri audiebant, tamen,
the-Gauls although on-Italy war to-be-brought heard yet
quia ui subactos trans Pyrenaeum Hispanos fama
because by-force subdued across the-Pyrenees the-Spaniards the-report
erat praesidiaque ualida imposita, metu seruitutis ad arma
was and-garrisons strong imposed from-fear of-slavery to arms
consternati Ruscinonem aliquot populi conueniunt.
alarmed to-Ruscino several peoples assemble

24.3 Quod ubi Hannibali nuntiatum est, moram magis quam
which when to-Hannibal announced was delay more than
bellum metuens, oratores ad regulos eorum misit, conloqui
war fearing spokesmen to the-chieftains their he-sent to-confer
semet ipsum cum iis uelle; et uel illi propius Iliberrim
him himself with them to-wish and either they nearer to-Iliberris
accederent uel se Ruscinonem processurum, ut ex
should-approach or himself to-Ruscino going-to-advance that from
propinquo congressus facilior esset;
near-at-hand meeting easier might-be

nam et accepturum eos in castra sua se laetum nec 24.4
for both going-to-receive them into camp his-own himself glad nor
cunctanter se ipsum ad eos uenturum; hospitem enim se
hesitantly him himself to them going-to-come as-guest for himself
Galliae non hostem aduenisse, nec stricturum ante gladium,
to-Gaul not as-enemy to-have-come nor going-to-draw before his-sword
si per Gallos liceat, quam in Italiam uenisset.
if through the-Gauls it-be-allowed than into Italy he-had-come
Et per nuntios quidem haec; ut uero reguli 24.5
and through messengers indeed these-things when however the-chieftains
Gallorum castris ad Iliberrim extemplo motis haud grauate ad
of-the-Gauls the-camp to Iliberris at-once moved not reluctantly to
Poenum uenerunt, capti donis cum bona pace exercitum
the-Carthaginian came won by-gifts with good peace the-army
per fines suos praeter Ruscinonem oppidum transmiserunt.
through territory their past Ruscino the-town they-sent-through
In Italiam interim nihil ultra quam Hiberum transisse 25.1
to Italy meanwhile nothing further than the-Ebro to-have-crossed
Hannibalem a Massiliensium legatis Romam perlatum erat,
Hannibal by the-Massilians' envoys to-Rome brought had-been
cum, perinde ac si Alpes iam transisset, Boii sollicitatis 25.2
when just as if the-Alps already he-had-crossed the-Boii having-been-roused
Insubribus defecerunt, nec tam ob ueteres in
the-Insubres revolted nor so-much on-account-of old against
populum Romanum iras quam quod nuper circa Padum
the-people Roman angers as because lately around the-Po
Placentiam Cremonamque colonias in agrum Gallicum
Placentia and-Cremona colonies into the-territory Gallic
deductas aegre patiebantur.
led-out grudgingly they-were-bearing

25.3 Itaque armis repente arreptis, in eum ipsum agrum impetu
and-so arms suddenly seized into that very territory an-onset
facto tantum terroris ac tumultus fecerunt ut non agrestis
made so-much of-terror and of-tumult they-caused that not the-country
modo multitudo sed ipsi triumuiri Romani, qui ad agrum
only multitude but themselves the-commissioners Roman who for the-land
uenerant adsignandum, diffisi Placentiae moenibus Mutinam
had-come assigning distrusting Placentia's walls to-Mutina
confugerint, C. Lutatius, C. Seruilius, M. Annius.
fled Gaius Lutatius Gaius Servilius Marcus Annius

25.4 — Lutati nomen haud dubium est; pro Annio Seruilioque
Lutatius' name not doubtful is instead-of Annius and-Servilius
M'. Acilium et C. Herennium habent quidam annales,
Manius Acilius and Gaius Herennius have some annals
alii P. Cornelium Asinam et C. Papirium Masonem.
others Publius Cornelius Asina and Gaius Papirius Maso

25.5 Id quoque dubium est legati ad expostulandum missi ad
that also doubtful is the-envoys for remonstrating sent to
Boios uiolati sint, an in triumuiros agrum metantes
the-Boii violated were or against the-commissioners the-land measuring
impetus sit factus.
an-attack was made

25.6 Mutinae cum obsiderentur et gens ad oppugnandarum
at-Mutina when they-were-besieged and the-nation for of-attacking
urbium artes rudis, pigerrima eadem ad militaria opera, segnis
cities the-arts untrained most-sluggish the-same for military works slack
intactis adsideret muris, simulari coeptum de pace agi;
at-untouched sat-before walls to-be-pretended it-was-begun about peace to-be-treated

25.7 euocatique ab Gallorum principibus legati ad conloquium
and-summoned by the-Gauls' leading-men the-envoys to a-conference
non contra ius modo gentium sed uiolata etiam quae data
not against the-law only of-nations but violated also which given

in id tempus erat fide comprehenduntur, negantibus
for that time had-been the-faith are-seized denying
Gallis, nisi obsides sibi redderentur, eos dimissuros.
the-Gauls unless the-hostages to-them were-returned them going-to-release
Cum haec de legatis nuntiata essent et Mutina 25.8
when these-things about the-envoys announced had-been and Mutina
praesidiumque in periculo esset, L. Manlius praetor
and-the-garrison in danger was Lucius Manlius the-praetor
ira accensus effusum agmen ad Mutinam ducit. Siluae
with-anger fired a-loose column to Mutina leads woods
tunc circa uiam erant, plerisque incultis.
then around the-road were most uncultivated
Ibi inexplorato profectus in insidias praecipitat multaque 25.9
there unreconnoitered having-set-out into an-ambush he-rushes and-much
cum caede suorum aegre in apertos campos emersit.
with slaughter of-his-men with-difficulty into the-open plains emerged
Ibi castra communita et, quia Gallis ad temptanda ea 25.10
there a-camp fortified and because to-the-Gauls for attacking it
defuit spes, refecti sunt militum animi, quamquam ad
was-lacking hope restored were of-the-soldiers the-spirits although about
quingentos cecidisse satis constabat.
five-hundred to-have-fallen enough it-was-agreed
Iter deinde de integro coeptum nec, dum per patentia 25.11
the-march then from afresh begun nor while through open
loca ducebatur agmen, apparuit hostis;
places was-being-led the-column appeared the-enemy
ubi rursus siluae intratae, tum postremos adorti cum 25.12
when again the-woods entered then the-rearmost having-attacked with
magna trepidatione ac pauore omnium septingentos milites
great alarm and panic of-all seven-hundred soldiers
occiderunt, sex signa ademere.
they-killed six standards they-took

25.13 Finis et Gallis territandi et pauendi fuit Romanis ut
an-end both to-the-Gauls of-terrorizing and of-fearing was to-the-Romans when
ex saltu inuio atque impedito euasere. Inde apertis locis
from the-pass trackless and impeded they-emerged thence in-open places
facile tutantes agmen Romani Tannetum, uicum propinquum
easily guarding the-column the-Romans to-Tannetum a-village near
Pado, contendere.
to-the-Po made-their-way

25.14 Ibi se munimento ad tempus commeatibusque fluminis
there themselves with-a-fortification for the-time and-with-supplies of-the-river
et Brixianorum etiam Gallorum auxilio aduersus crescentem
and of-the-Brixian also Gauls by-the-help against growing
in dies multitudinem hostium tutabantur.
day-by day the-multitude of-the-enemy they-were-protecting

XI · THE CROSSING OF THE RHONE

Scipio sails to Massilia and camps at the Rhone's mouth, scarcely believing Hannibal over the Pyrenees, and sends three hundred horsemen to scout. Hannibal gathers boats from the river's people, sends Hanno upstream by night to take the Gauls on the far bank from the rear, and crosses under his smoke signal; the Gauls are caught and flee. The elephants are ferried on rafts covered with earth like a bridge.

26.1 Qui tumultus repens postquam est Romam perlatus et
which uproar sudden after was to-Rome brought and
Punicum insuper Gallico bellum auctum patres acceperunt,
the-Punic besides by-a-Gallic war increased the-fathers learned

26.2 C. Atilium praetorem cum una legione Romana et
Gaius Atilius the-praetor with one legion Roman and
quinque milibus sociorum, dilectu nouo a consule conscriptis,
five thousands of-allies by-a-levy new by the-consul enrolled

auxilium ferre Manlio iubent; qui sine ullo certamine —
help to-bring to-Manlius they-order who without any contest
abscesserant enim metu hostes — Tannetum peruenit.
had-withdrawn for from-fear the-enemy to-Tannetum arrived
Et P. Cornelius, in locum eius quae missa cum praetore 26.3
and Publius Cornelius in place of-that which sent with the-praetor
erat scripta legione noua, profectus ab urbe sexaginta
had-been enrolled a-legion new having-set-out from the-city with-sixty
longis nauibus praeter oram Etruriae Ligurumque et inde
long ships past the-coast of-Etruria and-of-the-Ligurians and thence
Saluum montes peruenit Massiliam
of-the-Salluvii the-mountains arrived-at Massilia
et ad proximum ostium Rhodani — pluribus enim diuisus 26.4
and at the-nearest mouth of-the-Rhone into-several for divided
amnis in mare decurrit — castra locat, uixdum satis credens
the-river into the-sea runs-down camp places scarcely enough believing
Hannibalem superasse Pyrenaeos montes.
Hannibal to-have-passed the-Pyrenean mountains
Quem ut de Rhodani quoque transitu agitare animaduertit, 26.5
whom when about of-the-Rhone also the-crossing to-be-busy he-noticed
incertus quonam ei loco occurreret necdum satis refectis
uncertain in-what-indeed him place he-should-meet and-not-yet enough recovered
ab iactatione maritima militibus trecentos interim delectos
from the-tossing at-sea the-soldiers three-hundred meanwhile picked
equites ducibus Massiliensibus et auxiliaribus Gallis ad
horsemen with-guides Massilian and auxiliary Gauls for
exploranda omnia uisendosque ex tuto hostes praemittit.
exploring all-things and-viewing from safety the-enemy he-sends-ahead
Hannibal ceteris metu aut pretio pacatis iam in Volcarum 26.6
Hannibal the-rest by-fear or by-price pacified already into of-the-Volcae
peruenerat agrum, gentis ualidae. Colunt autem circa
had-come the-land of-a-nation strong they-dwell moreover around

utramque ripam Rhodani; sed diffisi citeriore agro arceri
each bank of-the-Rhone but distrusting the-nearer land to-be-kept-off
Poenum posse, ut flumen pro munimento haberent,
the-Carthaginian to-be-able that the-river for a-defense they-might-have
omnibus ferme suis trans Rhodanum traiectis ulteriorem
all about their-own across the-Rhone carried-over the-farther
ripam armis obtinebant.
bank in-arms were-holding

26.7 Ceteros accolas fluminis Hannibal et eorum ipsorum quos
the-other dwellers-by of-the-river Hannibal and of-those themselves whom
sedes suae tenuerant simul perlicit donis ad naues
homes their-own had-held at-once he-entices with-gifts for ships
undique contrahendas fabricandasque; simul et
from-everywhere gathering and-building at-the-same-time also
ipsi traici exercitum leuarique quam primum
themselves to-be-carried-across the-army and-to-be-relieved as soon-as-possible
regionem suam tanta hominum urgente turba cupiebant.
the-region their-own by-so-great of-men pressing crowd desired

26.8 Itaque ingens coacta uis nauium est lintriumque temere ad
and-so a-huge collected mass of-ships was and-of-boats at-random for
uicinalem usum paratarum; nouasque alias primum Galli
local use prepared and-new others first the-Gauls
incohantes cauabant ex singulis arboribus,
beginning hollowed-out from single trees

26.9 deinde et ipsi milites simul copia materiae, simul
then also themselves the-soldiers both by-the-abundance of-timber and
facilitate operis inducti, alueos informes, nihil dummodo
by-the-ease of-the-work induced hulls shapeless nothing provided-that
innare aquae et capere onera possent curantes, raptim
to-swim-on the-water and to-take loads they-could caring hastily
quibus se suaque transueherent faciebant.
in-which themselves and-their-things they-might-carry-across made

Iamque omnibus satis comparatis ad traiciendum terrebant 27.1
and-now all-things enough prepared for crossing frightened
ex aduerso hostes omnem ripam equites uirique obtinentes.
from the-opposite the-enemy the-whole bank horsemen and-men holding
Quos ut auerteret, Hannonem Bomilcaris filium uigilia 27.2
whom that he-might-divert Hanno of-Bomilcar the-son at-the-watch
prima noctis cum parte copiarum, maxime Hispanis,
first of-the-night with part of-the-forces chiefly Spaniards
aduerso flumine ire iter unius diei iubet
opposite by-the-river to-go a-march of-one day orders
et, ubi primum possit quam occultissime traiecto amni, 27.3
and when first he-can as most-secretly crossed the-river
circumducere agmen ut cum opus facto sit adoriatur
to-lead-round the-column that when need of-action should-be he-might-attack
ab tergo hostes.
from the-rear the-enemy
Ad id dati duces Galli edocent inde milia quinque et uiginti 27.4
for that given guides Gauls inform thence thousands five and twenty
ferme supra paruae insulae circumfusum amnem latiore ubi
about upstream of-a-small island flowing-around the-river with-wider where
diuidebatur eoque minus alto alueo transitum ostendere.
it-was-divided and-by-that less deep channel the-crossing to-show
Ibi raptim caesa materia ratesque fabricatae in quibus 27.5
there hastily cut timber and-rafts built on which
equi uirique et alia onera traicerentur. Hispani sine
horses and-men and other loads might-be-carried-across the-Spaniards without
ulla mole in utres uestimentis coniectis ipsi caetris
any effort into skins their-clothes thrown themselves on-their-shields
superpositis incubantes flumen tranauere.
placed-on lying the-river swam-across

27.6 Et alius exercitus ratibus iunctis traiectus, castris prope
and the-other army on-rafts joined carried-across the-camp near
flumen positis, nocturno itinere atque operis labore fessus
the-river placed by-the-night march and of-the-work by-the-toil weary
quiete unius diei reficitur, intento duce ad consilium
by-the-rest of-one day is-refreshed intent the-leader for the-plan
opportune exsequendum.
opportunely carrying-out

27.7 Postero die profecti, ex loco edito fumo significant
on-the-next day having-set-out from a-place high by-smoke they-signal
transisse et haud procul abesse; quod ubi accepit Hannibal,
to-have-crossed and not far to-be-away which when learned Hannibal
ne tempori deesset dat signum ad traiciendum.
that-not the-moment he-might-fail gives the-signal for crossing

27.8 Iam paratas aptatasque habebat pedes lintres, eques fere
already prepared and-fitted he-had the-infantry boats the-horsemen mostly
propter equos nantes †...†. Nauium agmen ad excipiendum
beside their-horses swimming (corrupt) of-ships the-column for receiving
aduersi impetum fluminis parte superiore transmittens
of-the-opposing the-force river in-the-part upper crossing
tranquillitatem infra traicientibus lintribus praebebat;
calm below to-the-crossing boats provided

27.9 equorum pars magna nantes loris a puppibus trahebantur,
of-the-horses a-part great swimming by-reins from the-sterns were-dragged
praeter eos quos instratos frenatosque ut extemplo egresso
except those which saddled and-bridled that at-once disembarked
in ripam equiti usui essent imposuerant in naues.
on the-bank for-the-horseman for-use they-might-be they-had-put on the-ships

Galli occursant in ripa cum uariis ululatibus cantuque 28.1
the-Gauls run-to-meet on the-bank with various yells and-song
moris sui, quatientes scuta super capita uibrantesque
of-the-custom their-own shaking shields above their-heads and-brandishing
dextris tela,
in-their-right-hands weapons
quamquam et ex aduerso terrebat tanta uis nauium 28.2
although both from the-opposite frightened so-great a-mass of-ships
cum ingenti sono fluminis et clamore uario nautarum
with huge noise of-the-river and with-the-shouting various of-the-sailors
militumque, et qui nitebantur perrumpere impetum fluminis
and-soldiers both those-who strove to-break-through the-force of-the-river
et qui ex altera ripa traicientes suos hortabantur.
and those-who from the-other bank crossing their-own encouraged
Iam satis pauentes aduerso tumultu terribilior ab tergo 28.3
already enough fearing the-opposite uproar more-terrible from the-rear
adortus clamor, castris ab Hannone captis. Mox et ipse
assailed-them a-shout the-camp by Hanno taken soon also himself
aderat ancepsque terror circumstabat, et e nauibus tanta
was-present and-a-double terror stood-around both from the-ships so-great
ui armatorum in terram euadente et ab tergo improuisa
a-force of-armed-men onto the-land coming-out and from the-rear unexpected
premente acie.
pressing a-line
Galli postquam utroque uim facere conati pellebantur, 28.4
the-Gauls after in-both-directions force to-make having-tried were-driven
qua patere uisum maxime iter perrumpunt trepidique in
where to-lie-open seemed most the-way they-break-through and-in-panic into
uicos passim suos diffugiunt. Hannibal ceteris copiis per
villages everywhere their-own scatter Hannibal the-rest forces at
otium traiectis spernens iam Gallicos tumultus castra locat.
leisure carried-across scorning now Gallic uproars a-camp places

28.5 Elephantorum traiciendorum uaria consilia fuisse credo;
of-the-elephants to-be-carried-across various plans to-have-been I-believe
certe uariata memoria actae rei. Quidam congregatis ad
certainly varied is-the-memory of-the-done thing some gathered at
ripam elephantis tradunt ferocissimum ex iis inritatum ab
the-bank the-elephants relate the-fiercest of them provoked by
rectore suo, cum refugientem in aquam nantem sequeretur,
the-driver his-own when fleeing into the-water swimming it-pursued
traxisse gregem, ut quemque timentem altitudinem destitueret
to-have-drawn the-herd as each fearing the-depth deserted
uadum, impetu ipso fluminis in alteram ripam rapiente.
the-ford by-the-force itself of-the-river into the-other bank sweeping

28.6 Ceterum magis constat ratibus traiectos; id ut tutius
however more it-is-agreed on-rafts carried-across that as safer
consilium ante rem foret, ita acta re ad fidem
the-plan before the-event would-have-been so the-thing done to belief
pronius est.
more-inclined is

28.7 Ratem unam ducentos longam pedes, quinquaginta latam
a-raft one two-hundred long feet fifty broad
a terra in amnem porrexerunt, quam, ne secunda
from the-land into the-river they-stretched-out which that-not with-the-following
aqua deferretur, pluribus ualidis retinaculis parte
water should-be-carried-down by-several strong cables at-the-part
superiore ripae religatam pontis in modum humo
upper of-the-bank tied of-a-bridge in the-manner with-earth
iniecta constrauerunt ut beluae audacter uelut per solum
thrown-on they-paved that the-beasts boldly as-if over solid-ground
ingrederentur.
might-step

Altera ratis aeque lata, longa pedes centum, ad traiciendum 28.8
a-second raft equally broad long feet a-hundred for crossing
flumen apta, huic copulata est; tres tum elephanti per
the-river fit to-this joined was three then elephants over
stabilem ratem tamquam uiam praegredientibus feminis acti
the-steady raft as-if a-road going-ahead the-females driven
ubi in minorem adplicatam transgressi sunt,
when onto the-smaller attached passed they-had
extemplo resolutis quibus leuiter adnexa erat uinculis, 28.9
at-once undone by-which lightly attached it-had-been the-bonds
ab actuariis aliquot nauibus ad alteram ripam pertrahitur;
by light-oared several ships to the-other bank is-towed
ita primis expositis, alii deinde repetiti ac traiecti sunt.
so the-first set-ashore others then fetched-back and carried-across were
Nihil sane trepidabant, donec continenti uelut ponte 28.10
nothing indeed they-panicked until on-the-continuous as-if bridge
agerentur; primus erat pauor cum soluta ab ceteris rate
they-were-driven first was the-panic when loosed from the-rest the-raft
in altum raperentur.
into the-deep they-were-swept
Ibi urgentes inter se, cedentibus extremis ab aqua, 28.11
there jostling among themselves withdrawing the-outermost from the-water
trepidationis aliquantum edebant donec quietem ipse timor
of-alarm a-good-deal they-showed until quiet itself fear
circumspectantibus aquam fecisset.
for-those-looking-around-at the-water had-made
Excidere etiam saeuientes quidam in flumen; sed pondere 28.12
fell-out also raging some into the-river but by-weight
ipso stabiles, deiectis rectoribus, quaerendis pedetemptim
itself steady thrown-off their-drivers by-seeking step-by-step
uadis in terram euasere.
the-fords onto land escaped

Scipio's horsemen beat Hannibal's Numidians in a bloody skirmish, an omen of a victory neither cheap nor certain. The Boian envoys offer to guide Hannibal into Italy, but his army dreads the march and the Alps. He reproaches them: they have crossed the Pyrenees and the Rhone, the Alps are inhabited, and the Gauls once took Rome. He marches up the Rhone to the Island, settles a quarrel over the kingship of the Allobroges, is supplied by them with clothing, and crosses the swollen Druentia.

29.1 Dum elephanti traiciuntur, interim Hannibal Numidas equites
while the-elephants are-carried-across meanwhile Hannibal Numidian horsemen
quingentos ad castra Romana miserat speculatum ubi et
five-hundred to the-camp Roman had-sent to-spy where and
quantae copiae essent et quid pararent.
how-great the-forces were and what they-were-preparing

29.2 Huic alae equitum missi, ut ante dictum est, ab ostio
to-this squadron of-horsemen sent as before said it-was from the-mouth
Rhodani trecenti Romanorum equites occurrunt. Proelium
of-the-Rhone three-hundred of-the-Romans horsemen meet a-battle
atrocius quam pro numero pugnantium editur;
fiercer than for the-number of-those-fighting is-fought

29.3 nam praeter multa uolnera caedes etiam prope par
for besides many wounds the-slaughter also nearly equal
utrimque fuit, fugaque et pauor Numidarum Romanis
on-both-sides was and-the-flight and panic of-the-Numidians to-the-Romans
iam admodum fessis uictoriam dedit. Victores ad centum
now quite weary victory gave the-victors about a-hundred
sexaginta, nec omnes Romani sed pars Gallorum, uicti
sixty nor all Romans but part of-the-Gauls the-vanquished
amplius ducenti ceciderunt.
more-than two-hundred fell

Hoc principium simul omenque belli ut summae rerum 29.4
this beginning at-once and-omen of-the-war as for-the-sum of-things
prosperum euentum, ita haud sane incruentam ancipitisque
a-prosperous outcome so not indeed bloodless and-of-doubtful
certaminis uictoriam Romanis portendit.
contest a-victory to-the-Romans portended
Ut re ita gesta ad utrumque ducem sui redierunt, 29.5
when the-thing thus done to each leader their-own returned
nec Scipioni stare sententia poterat nisi ut ex consiliis
neither for-Scipio to-stand by-a-plan could except that from the-counsels
coeptisque hostis et ipse conatus caperet,
and-undertakings of-the-enemy also himself his-attempts he-should-take
et Hannibalem, incertum utrum coeptum in Italiam 29.6
and Hannibal uncertain whether the-begun toward Italy
intenderet iter an cum eo qui primus se obtulisset
he-should-press march or with that which first itself should-have-offered
Romanus exercitus manus consereret, auertit a praesenti
Roman army hands he-should-join turned-away from the-present
certamine Boiorum legatorum regulique Magali aduentus,
contest of-the-Boian envoys and-of-the-chieftain Magalus the-arrival
qui se duces itinerum, socios periculi fore
who themselves guides of-the-routes companions of-the-danger going-to-be
adfirmantes, integro bello nusquam ante libatis uiribus
affirming with-fresh war nowhere before tasted strength
Italiam adgrediendam censent.
Italy to-be-attacked urge
Multitudo timebat quidem hostem nondum oblitterata 29.7
the-multitude feared indeed the-enemy not-yet effaced
memoria superioris belli; sed magis iter immensum
the-memory of-the-former war but more the-march immense
Alpesque, rem fama utique inexpertis horrendam, metuebat.
and-the-Alps a-thing by-report certainly to-the-untried dreadful they-feared

30.1 Itaque Hannibal, postquam ipsi sententia stetit pergere
and-so Hannibal after for-himself the-decision stood to-go-on
ire atque Italiam petere, aduocata contione uarie militum
to-go and Italy to-seek having-called an-assembly variously of-the-soldiers
uersat animos castigando adhortandoque:
he-turns the-minds by-chiding and-by-exhorting

30.2 Mirari se quinam pectora semper impauida repens terror
to-wonder himself what-indeed breasts always fearless sudden terror
inuaserit. per tot annos uincentes eos stipendia facere
has-invaded through so-many years conquering them their-campaigns to-serve
neque ante Hispania excessisse quam omnes gentesque et
nor before from-Spain to-have-departed than all both-nations and
terrae quas duo diuersa maria amplectantur Carthaginiensium
lands which two opposite seas embrace of-the-Carthaginians
essent.
were

30.3 indignatos deinde quod quicumque Saguntum obsedissent
indignant then because whoever Saguntum had-besieged
uelut ob noxam sibi dedi postularet populus
as-if on-account-of an-offense to-itself to-be-surrendered demanded the-people
Romanus, Hiberum traiecisse ad delendum nomen Romanorum
Roman the-Ebro to-have-crossed for destroying the-name of-the-Romans
liberandumque orbem terrarum.
and-freeing the-circle of-the-lands

30.4 tum nemini uisum id longum, cum ab occasu solis ad
then to-no-one seemed that long when from the-setting of-the-sun to
exortus intenderent iter:
its-risings they-were-directing their-march

30.5 nunc, postquam multo maiorem partem itineris emensam
now after much the-greater part of-the-march traversed
cernant, Pyrenaeum saltum inter ferocissimas gentes
they-see the-Pyrenean pass among most-fierce nations

superatum, Rhodanum, tantum amnem, tot milibus
surmounted the-Rhone so-great a-river so-many thousands
Gallorum prohibentibus, domita etiam ipsius fluminis ui
of-Gauls preventing mastered also of-the-very river the-force
traiectum, in conspectu Alpes habeant quarum alterum latus
crossed in sight the-Alps they-have of-which the-other side
Italiae sit, in ipsis portis hostium fatigatos subsistere,
of-Italy is at the-very gates of-the-enemy wearied to-stop
quid Alpes aliud esse credentes quam montium altitudines? 30.6
what the-Alps other to-be believing than of-mountains heights
fingerent altiores Pyrenaei iugis: nullas profecto terras 30.7
they-should-imagine higher than-the-Pyrenean ridges no surely lands
caelum contingere nec inexsuperabiles humano generi esse.
the-sky to-touch nor insuperable to-the-human race to-be
Alpes quidem habitari, coli, gignere atque alere
the-Alps indeed to-be-inhabited to-be-tilled to-bring-forth and to-nourish
animantes; peruias paucis esse, esse et exercitibus.
living-things passable to-few to-be to-be also to-armies
eos ipsos quos cernant legatos non pinnis sublime elatos Alpes 30.8
those very whom they-see envoys not on-wings aloft raised the-Alps
transgressos. ne maiores quidem eorum indigenas sed aduenas
to-have-crossed not the-ancestors even of-these natives but newcomers
Italiae cultores has ipsas Alpes ingentibus saepe agminibus cum
of-Italy as-tillers these very Alps with-huge often columns with
liberis ac coniugibus migrantium modo tuto transmisisse.
children and wives of-migrants in-the-manner safely to-have-crossed
militi quidem armato nihil secum praeter instrumenta 30.9
for-a-soldier indeed armed nothing with-him except the-gear
belli portanti quid inuium aut inexsuperabile esse? Saguntum
of-war carrying what trackless or insuperable to-be Saguntum

ut caperetur, quid per octo menses periculi, quid laboris
that it-might-be-taken what through eight months of-danger what of-toil
exhaustum esse?
spent to-have-been

30.10 Romam, caput orbis terrarum, petentibus quicquam adeo
Rome the-head of-the-circle of-the-lands to-those-seeking anything so
asperum atque arduum uideri quod inceptum moretur?
rough and steep to-seem which the-undertaking should-delay

30.11 cepisse quondam Gallos ea quae adiri posse
to-have-taken once the-Gauls that which to-be-approached to-be-able
Poenus desperet; proinde aut cederent animo atque
the-Carthaginian despairs accordingly either they-should-yield in-spirit and
uirtute genti per eos dies totiens ab se uictae aut
valor to-the-nation during those days so-often by them conquered or
itineris finem sperent campum interiacentem Tiberi ac
of-the-march the-end they-should-hope the-plain lying-between the-Tiber and
moenibus Romanis.
the-walls Roman

31.1 His adhortationibus incitatos corpora curare atque ad
by-these exhortations roused their-bodies to-tend and for
iter se parare iubet.
the-march themselves to-prepare he-orders

31.2 Postero die profectus aduersa ripa Rhodani mediterranea
on-the-next day having-set-out up-the-opposite bank of-the-Rhone the-inland
Galliae petit, non quia rectior ad Alpes uia esset, sed
of-Gaul he-seeks not because more-direct to the-Alps the-way was but
quantum a mari recessisset minus obuium fore
by-as-much-as from the-sea he-had-withdrawn less in-the-way going-to-be
Romanum credens,
the-Roman believing

cum quo priusquam in Italiam uentum foret non erat 31.3
with whom before into Italy come it-had-been not was
in animo manus conserere.
in his-mind hands to-join
Quartis castris ad Insulam peruenit. Ibi †Sarar† Rhodanusque 31.4
in-the-fourth camp to the-Island he-arrived there the-Sarar and-the-Rhone
amnis diuersis ex Alpibus decurrentes, agri aliquantum
rivers different from Alps running-down of-land a-good-deal
amplexi confluunt in unum in mediis campis; Insulae
having-embraced flow-together into one in the-middle plains Island's
nomen inditum.
name given
Incolunt prope Allobroges, gens iam inde nulla Gallica 31.5
dwell near the-Allobroges a-nation already from-then than-no Gallic
gente opibus aut fama inferior. Tum discors erat.
nation in-resources or fame inferior then divided it-was
Regni certamine ambigebant fratres; maior et qui prius 31.6
over-the-kingship in-a-contest were-disputing brothers the-elder and who first
imperitarat, Braneus nomine, minore a fratre et coetu
had-ruled Braneus by-name the-younger by brother and by-a-band
iuniorum qui iure minus, ui plus poterant, pellebatur.
of-the-juniors who by-right less by-force more could was-being-driven-out
Huius seditionis peropportuna disceptatio cum ad Hannibalem 31.7
of-this discord very-opportune the-arbitration when to Hannibal
delata esset, arbiter regni factus, quod ea senatus
referred had-been arbiter of-the-kingship made because that of-the-senate
principumque sententia fuerat, imperium maiori restituit.
and-of-the-leading-men the-opinion had-been the-rule to-the-elder he-restored

31.8 Ob id meritum commeatu copiaque rerum omnium,
on-account-of that service with-supplies and-plenty of-things of-all
maxime uestis, est adiutus, quam infames frigoribus Alpes
chiefly of-clothing he-was helped which notorious for-cold the-Alps
praeparari cogebant.
to-be-prepared compelled

31.9 Sedatis certaminibus Allobrogum cum iam Alpes peteret,
settled the-quarrels of-the-Allobroges when now the-Alps he-was-seeking
non recta regione iter instituit sed ad laeuam in
not by-a-straight direction the-march he-set but to the-left into
Tricastinos flexit; inde per extremam oram Vocontiorum
the-Tricastini he-turned thence through the-farthest edge of-the-Vocontii
agri tendit in Trigorios, haud usquam impedita
of-the-land he-makes-his-way into the-Trigorii not anywhere obstructed
uia priusquam ad Druentiam flumen peruenit.
the-road before to the-Druentia river he-came

31.10 Is et ipse Alpinus amnis longe omnium Galliae fluminum
it also itself an-Alpine river by-far of-all of-Gaul rivers
difficillimus transitu est; nam cum aquae uim uehat
most-difficult for-crossing is for although of-water a-force it-carries
ingentem,
huge

31.11 non tamen nauium patiens est, quia nullis coercitus ripis,
not yet of-ships tolerant is because by-no confined banks
pluribus simul neque iisdem alueis fluens, noua semper
in-several at-once nor the-same channels flowing new always
per uada nouosque gurgites — et ob eadem
through fords and-new eddies and on-account-of the-same-things
pediti quoque incerta uia est — ad hoc saxa
for-the-foot-soldier also uncertain the-way is in-addition to-this rocks
glareosa uoluens, nihil stabile nec tutum ingredienti praebet;
gravelly rolling nothing steady nor safe to-one-stepping it-offers

et tum forte imbribus auctus ingentem transgredientibus 31.12
and then by-chance with-rains swollen huge to-those-crossing
tumultum fecit, cum super cetera trepidatione ipsi
confusion caused when on-top-of the-rest panic themselves
sua atque incertis clamoribus turbarentur.
by-their-own and uncertain shouts they-were-confused

XIII · INTO THE ALPS

Scipio finds the enemy camp deserted, sends his brother Gnaeus with most of the army to Spain, and returns by sea to meet Hannibal descending into Italy. Hannibal reaches the Alps, whose snows and savage people renew the army's terror. The mountaineers hold the heights by day; he seizes them by night when they go home, and the column, panicking on the narrow path, loses horses and baggage over the cliffs until he charges down. He takes the region's chief fort and feeds the army on its stores for three days. Later a people offering hostages and guides leads him into an ambush, and he spends a night cut off from his cavalry and baggage.

P. Cornelius consul, triduo fere postquam Hannibal a 32.1
Publius Cornelius the-consul in-three-days about after Hannibal from
ripa Rhodani mouit, quadrato agmine ad castra hostium
the-bank of-the-Rhone moved with-a-square column to the-camp of-the-enemy
uenerat, nullam dimicandi moram facturus;
had-come no of-fighting delay going-to-make
ceterum ubi deserta munimenta nec facile se tantum 32.2
however when deserted the-fortifications nor easily himself so-far
praegressos adsecuturum uidet, ad mare ac naues rediit,
gone-ahead going-to-overtake he-sees to the-sea and the-ships he-returned
tutius faciliusque ita descendenti ab Alpibus Hannibali
more-safely and-more-easily so descending from the-Alps Hannibal
occursurus.
going-to-meet

32.3 Ne tamen nuda auxiliis Romanis Hispania esset, quam
that-not however stripped of-auxiliaries Roman Spain should-be which
prouinciam sortitus erat, Cn. Scipionem fratrem cum
as-province drawn he-had Gnaeus Scipio his-brother with
maxima parte copiarum aduersus Hasdrubalem misit,
the-greatest part of-the-forces against Hasdrubal he-sent
32.4 non ad tuendos tantummodo ueteres socios conciliandosque
not for guarding only the-old allies and-winning
nouos sed etiam ad pellendum Hispania Hasdrubalem.
new but also for driving from-Spain Hasdrubal
32.5 Ipse cum admodum exiguis copiis Genuam repetit, eo
himself with quite scanty forces Genua sought-again with-that
qui circa Padum erat exercitu Italiam defensurus.
which around the-Po was army Italy going-to-defend
32.6 Hannibal ab Druentia campestri maxime itinere ad Alpes
Hannibal from the-Druentia by-a-level chiefly route to the-Alps
cum bona pace incolentium ea loca Gallorum peruenit.
with good peace of-the-inhabiting those places of-the-Gauls arrived
32.7 Tum, quamquam fama prius, qua incerta in maius
then although by-report before by-which uncertain-things into the-greater
uero ferri solent, praecepta res erat, tamen
than-the-truth to-be-carried are-wont anticipated the-thing had-been yet
ex propinquo uisa montium altitudo niuesque caelo
from near seen of-the-mountains the-height and-the-snows with-the-sky
prope immixtae, tecta informia imposita rupibus, pecora
almost mingled huts shapeless placed-on the-rocks the-flocks
iumentaque torrida frigore, homines intonsi et inculti,
and-beasts-of-burden withered by-cold men unshorn and unkempt
animalia inanimaque omnia rigentia gelu, cetera uisu quam
animate and-inanimate all-things stiff with-frost the-rest to-see than
dictu foediora terrorem renouarunt.
to-tell more-hideous the-terror renewed

Erigentibus in primos agmen cliuos apparuerunt imminentes 32.8
to-those-raising onto the-first the-column slopes appeared overhanging
tumulos insidentes montani, qui, si ualles occultiores
the-hillocks sitting-on mountaineers who if the-valleys more-hidden
insedissent, coorti ad pugnam repente ingentem fugam
they-had-occupied rising to battle suddenly huge rout
stragemque dedissent.
and-slaughter would-have-caused
Hannibal consistere signa iussit; Gallisque ad uisenda 32.9
Hannibal to-halt the-standards ordered and-the-Gauls for viewing
loca praemissis, postquam comperit transitum ea non
the-places sent-ahead after he-learned the-crossing there not
esse, castra inter confragosa omnia praeruptaque quam
to-be a-camp among rugged all and-steep as
extentissima potest ualle locat.
most-extended he-can in-a-valley places
Tum per eosdem Gallos, haud sane multum lingua 32.10
then through the-same Gauls not indeed much in-language
moribusque abhorrentes, cum se immiscuissent
and-customs differing when themselves they-had-mingled
conloquiis montanorum, edoctus interdiu tantum obsideri
in-the-conversations of-the-mountaineers informed by-day only to-be-held
saltum, nocte in sua quemque dilabi tecta, luce
the-pass at-night into their-own each to-slip-away dwellings at-light
prima subiit tumulos, ut ex aperto atque interdiu uim
first he-climbed-to the-hillocks as from the-open and by-day force
per angustias facturus.
through the-defile going-to-make

32.11 Die deinde simulando aliud quam quod parabatur
the-day then by-pretending other than what was-being-prepared
consumpto, cum eodem quo constiterant loco castra
spent when in-the-same where they-had-halted place the-camp
communissent,
they-had-fortified

32.12 ubi primum degressos tumulis montanos laxatasque
when first come-down from-the-hillocks the-mountaineers and-slackened
sensit custodias, pluribus ignibus quam pro numero
he-perceived the-guards more fires than for the-number
manentium in speciem factis impedimentisque cum equite
of-those-remaining for show made and-the-baggage with the-horsemen
relictis et maxima parte peditum,
left and the-greatest part of-the-infantry

32.13 ipse cum expeditis, acerrimo quoque uiro, raptim angustias
himself with the-light-armed most-spirited every man hastily the-defile
euadit iisque ipsis tumulis quos hostes tenuerant
gets-through and-on-those very hillocks which the-enemy had-held
consedit.
he-took-post

33.1 Prima deinde luce castra mota et agmen reliquum incedere
at-first then light the-camp moved and the-column remaining to-advance
coepit.
began

33.2 Iam montani signo dato ex castellis ad stationem
already the-mountaineers the-signal given from their-strongholds to the-station
solitam conueniebant, cum repente conspiciunt alios arce
usual were-assembling when suddenly they-see some their-citadel
occupata sua super caput imminentes, alios uia
seized their-own above their-head overhanging others by-the-road
transire hostes.
to-pass the-enemy

Utraque simul obiecta res oculis animisque immobiles 33.3
each at-once presented thing to-eyes and-minds motionless
parumper eos defixit; deinde, ut trepidationem in angustiis
for-a-while them fixed then when panic in the-defile
suoque ipsum tumultu misceri agmen uidere,
and-by-its-own itself confusion to-be-thrown-into-disorder the-column they-saw
equis maxime consternatis,
the-horses chiefly alarmed
quidquid adiecissent ipsi terroris satis ad perniciem 33.4
whatever they-should-have-added themselves of-terror enough for destruction
fore rati, peruersis rupibus iuxta, inuia ac deuia
going-to-be thinking over-twisted rocks alike trackless and off-the-road
adsueti decurrunt.
accustomed run-down
Tum uero simul ab hostibus, simul ab iniquitate locorum 33.5
then indeed at-once by the-enemy at-once by the-unevenness of-the-places
Poeni oppugnabantur plusque inter ipsos, sibi
the-Carthaginians were-assailed and-more among themselves for-himself
quoque tendente ut periculo primus euaderet, quam cum
each striving that from-danger first he-might-escape than with
hostibus certaminis erat.
the-enemy of-contest there-was
Et equi maxime infestum agmen faciebant, qui et 33.6
and the-horses most dangerous the-column made which both
clamoribus dissonis quos nemora etiam repercussaeque ualles
by-shouts discordant which the-woods also and-the-echoing valleys
augebant territi trepidabant, et icti forte aut uolnerati
increased terrified were-panicking and struck by-chance or wounded
adeo consternabantur, ut stragem ingentem simul hominum
so were-thrown-into-confusion that havoc huge at-once of-men
ac sarcinarum omnis generis facerent;
and of-packs of-every kind they-made

33.7 multosque turba, cum praecipites deruptaeque utrimque
and-many the-crowd since sheer and-broken-off on-both-sides
angustiae essent, in immensum altitudinis deiecit, quosdam
the-defile was into the-immense of-depth threw-down some
et armatos; et ruinae maxime modo iumenta
also armed and of-a-collapse most in-the-manner the-beasts-of-burden
cum oneribus deuoluebantur.
with their-loads rolled-down

33.8 Quae quamquam foeda uisu erant, stetit parumper
which-things although hideous to-see they-were stood for-a-while
tamen Hannibal ac suos continuit, ne tumultum ac
yet Hannibal and his-own held-back that-not the-confusion and
trepidationem augeret;
the-panic he-might-increase

33.9 deinde, postquam interrumpi agmen uidit periculumque esse,
then after to-be-broken the-column he-saw and-danger to-be
ne exutum impedimentis exercitum nequiquam incolumem
lest stripped of-baggage the-army in-vain unharmed
traduxisset, decurrit ex superiore loco et, cum impetu
he-should-have-led-across he-ran-down from the-higher place and when by-the-onset
ipso fudisset hostem, suis quoque tumultum auxit.
itself he-had-routed the-enemy for-his-own also the-confusion he-increased

33.10 Sed is tumultus momento temporis, postquam liberata
but that confusion in-a-moment of-time after freed
itinera fuga montanorum erant, sedatur, nec per otium
the-routes by-the-flight of-the-mountaineers were is-calmed nor at leisure
modo sed prope silentio mox omnes traducti.
only but almost in-silence soon all led-across

33.11 Castellum inde, quod caput eius regionis erat, uiculosque
a-fort then which the-capital of-that region was and-the-hamlets
circumiectos capit et capto cibo ac pecoribus per
lying-around he-takes and with-the-taken food and cattle for

triduum exercitum aluit; et, quia nec montanis
three-days the-army fed and because neither by-the-mountaineers
primo perculsis nec loco magno opere impediebantur,
at-first struck nor by-the-ground by-great effort they-were-hindered
aliquantum eo triduo uiae confecit.
a-good-deal in-those three-days of-the-way he-completed
Peruentum inde ad frequentem cultoribus alium, ut inter 34.1
it-was-arrived then at a-crowded with-tillers another as among
montanos, populum. Ibi non bello aperto sed suis artibus,
mountaineers people there not by-war open but by-his-own arts
fraude et insidiis, est prope circumuentus.
by-fraud and by-ambushes was nearly surrounded
Magno natu principes castellorum oratores ad Poenum 34.2
great by-birth the-leading-men of-the-forts as-spokesmen to the-Carthaginian
ueniunt, alienis malis, utili exemplo, doctos memorantes
come by-others' ills by-a-useful example taught saying
amicitiam malle quam uim experiri Poenorum;
friendship to-prefer than force to-try of-the-Carthaginians
itaque oboedienter imperata facturos; commeatum itinerisque 34.3
and-so obediently the-orders going-to-do supplies and-of-the-route
duces et ad fidem promissorum obsides acciperet.
guides and for the-guarantee of-their-promises hostages he-should-receive
Hannibal nec temere credendum nec †asperandos† ratus, ne 34.4
Hannibal neither rashly to-be-trusted nor to-be-spurned thinking lest
repudiati aperte hostes fierent, benigne cum respondisset,
rejected openly enemies they-should-become kindly when he-had-answered
obsidibus quos dabant acceptis et commeatu quem in
the-hostages whom they-were-giving received and the-supplies which onto
uiam ipsi detulerant usus, nequaquam ut inter pacatos
the-road themselves had-brought used by-no-means as among the-pacified
composito agmine duces eorum sequitur.
in-an-ordered column the-guides their follows

34.5 Primum agmen elephanti et equites erant; ipse post
the-front of-the-column the-elephants and the-horsemen were himself behind
cum robore peditum circumspectans sollicitus omnia
with the-strength of-the-infantry looking-around anxious at-all-things
incedebat.
advanced

34.6 Ubi in angustiorem uiam et ex parte altera subiectam
when into a-narrower way and on the-side other lying-under
iugo insuper imminenti uentum est, undique ex insidiis
a-ridge above overhanging come it-was from-all-sides from ambushes
barbari a fronte ab tergo coorti, comminus eminus
the-barbarians in front in the-rear rising at-close-quarters at-a-distance
petunt, saxa ingentia in agmen deuoluunt.
assail rocks huge onto the-column they-roll-down

34.7 Maxima ab tergo uis hominum urgebat. In eos uersa
the-greatest in the-rear a-mass of-men pressed against them turned
peditum acies haud dubium fecit quin, nisi firmata
of-the-infantry the-line not doubtful made but-that unless strengthened
extrema agminis fuissent, ingens in eo saltu accipienda
the-rear of-the-column had-been a-huge in that pass to-be-suffered
clades fuerit.
disaster would-have-been

34.8 Tunc quoque ad extremum periculi ac prope perniciem
then also to the-extreme of-danger and almost destruction
uentum est; nam dum cunctatur Hannibal demittere agmen
come it-was for while delays Hannibal to-send-down the-column
in angustias, quia non, ut ipse equitibus praesidio
into the-defile because not as he-himself to-the-horsemen for-protection
erat, ita peditibus quicquam ab tergo auxilii reliquerat,
was so to-the-infantry anything in the-rear of-help he-had-left

occursantes per obliqua montani interrupto medio agmine 34.9
running-against across the-slopes the-mountaineers broken the-middle column
uiam insedere, noxque una Hannibali sine equitibus atque
the-road occupied and-a-night one by-Hannibal without the-horsemen and
impedimentis acta est.
the-baggage spent was

XIV · THE DESCENT

On the ninth day the army reaches the summit and rests two days amid falling snow. Hannibal shows the despairing men Italy and the plains of the Po from a headland. The descent is worse: on a sheer slope where a landslide has carried the path away, men and beasts slip on old ice under new snow. He camps on the ridge, cuts a road through the rock by fire and vinegar, and in four days brings even the elephants down. Livy weighs the numbers who crossed and the pass they used.

Postero die iam segnius intercursantibus barbaris 35.1
on-the-next day now more-sluggishly running-in-between the-barbarians
iunctae copiae saltusque haud sine clade, maiore tamen
joined the-forces and-the-pass not without loss greater however
iumentorum quam hominum pernicie, superatus.
of-the-beasts-of-burden than of-men by-destruction surmounted
Inde montani pauciores iam et latrocinii magis quam 35.2
thence the-mountaineers fewer now and of-brigandage more than
belli more concursabant modo in primum, modo in
of-war in-the-manner ran-together now on the-first now on
nouissimum agmen, utcumque aut locus opportunitatem
the-rearmost column wherever either the-ground the-opportunity
daret aut progressi moratiue aliquam occasionem fecissent.
gave or having-advanced or-having-lagged some chance had-made

35.3 Elephanti sicut per artas uias magna mora agebantur, ita
the-elephants as through narrow roads with-great delay were-driven so
tutum ab hostibus quacumque incederent, quia insuetis
safe from the-enemy wherever they-went because to-the-unaccustomed
adeundi propius metus erat, agmen praebebant.
of-approaching nearer fear was the-column they-made

35.4 Nono die in iugum Alpium peruentum est per inuia
on-the-ninth day onto the-ridge of-the-Alps arrived-at it-was through trackless
pleraque et errores, quos aut ducentium fraus aut, ubi
most-places and wanderings which either of-those-leading the-fraud or when
fides iis non esset, temere initae ualles a coniectantibus
trust in-them not was rashly entered valleys by those-guessing
iter faciebant.
the-way made

35.5 Biduum in iugo statiua habita fessisque labore ac
two-days on the-ridge a-standing-camp held and-to-the-weary with-toil and
pugnando quies data militibus; iumentaque aliquot, quae
fighting rest given to-the-soldiers and-beasts-of-burden several which
prolapsa in rupibus erant, sequendo uestigia agminis in
slipped among the-rocks had by-following the-tracks of-the-column into
castra peruenere.
the-camp arrived

35.6 Fessis taedio tot malorum niuis etiam casus,
to-the-weary with-loathing of-so-many ills of-snow also a-fall
occidente iam sidere Vergiliarum, ingentem terrorem adiecit.
setting now the-star of-the-Pleiades huge terror added

35.7 Per omnia niue oppleta cum signis prima luce
through all-things with-snow filled when the-standards at-first light
motis segniter agmen incederet pigritiaque et desperatio in
moved sluggishly the-column advanced and-sloth and despair in
omnium uoltu emineret,
of-all the-face stood-out

praegressus signa Hannibal in promunturio quodam, 35.8
having-gone-ahead-of the-standards Hannibal on a-headland certain
unde longe ac late prospectus erat, consistere iussis militibus
whence far and wide the-view was to-halt ordered the-soldiers
Italiam ostentat subiectosque Alpinis montibus Circumpadanos
Italy he-shows and-lying-under the-Alpine mountains the-Circumpadane
campos,
plains
moeniaque eos tum transcendere non Italiae modo sed etiam 35.9
and-the-walls them then to-cross not of-Italy only but also
urbis Romanae; cetera plana, procliuia fore; uno aut
of-the-city Roman the-rest level downhill going-to-be in-one or
summum altero proelio arcem et caput Italiae in manu
at-most a-second battle the-citadel and the-head of-Italy in (their)-hand
ac potestate habituros.
and power going-to-have
Procedere inde agmen coepit iam nihil ne hostibus quidem 35.10
to-advance then the-column began now nothing not by-the-enemy even
praeter parua furta per occasionem temptantibus.
except small thefts by chance attempting
Ceterum iter multo quam in adscensu fuerat — ut 35.11
however the-march much than in the-ascent it-had-been as
pleraque Alpium ab Italia sicut breuiora ita arrectiora
most-parts of-the-Alps from the-side-of-Italy as shorter so steeper
sunt — difficilius fuit;
are more-difficult was
omnis enim ferme uia praeceps, angusta, lubrica erat, 35.12
all for about the-way sheer narrow slippery was
ut neque sustinere se ab lapsu possent nec qui
so-that neither to-hold-up themselves from slipping they-could nor those-who

paulum titubassent haerere adflicti uestigio suo, aliique
a-little had-stumbled to-stick struck in-the-track their-own and-others
super alios et iumenta in homines occiderent.
on-top-of others and the-beasts-of-burden on the-men fell

36.1 Ventum deinde ad multo angustiorem rupem atque ita
it-was-come then to a-much narrower rock and so
rectis saxis ut aegre expeditus miles temptabundus
with-sheer stones that with-difficulty a-light-armed soldier feeling-his-way
manibusque retinens uirgulta ac stirpes circa eminentes
and-with-his-hands holding the-bushes and stumps around projecting
demittere sese posset.
to-let-down himself could

36.2 Natura locus iam ante praeceps recenti lapsu terrae in
by-nature the-place already before steep by-a-recent slide of-earth to
pedum mille admodum altitudinem abruptus erat.
of-feet a-thousand quite depth broken-off had-been

36.3 Ibi cum uelut ad finem uiae equites constitissent,
there when as-if at the-end of-the-way the-horsemen had-halted
miranti Hannibali quae res moraretur agmen nuntiatur
to-the-wondering Hannibal what thing was-delaying the-column it-is-announced
rupem inuiam esse. Digressus deinde ipse ad locum uisendum.
the-rock impassable to-be gone-off then himself for the-place viewing

36.4 Haud dubia res uisa quin per inuia circa nec
not doubtful the-matter seemed but-that through the-trackless around and-not
trita antea, quamuis longo ambitu, circumduceret agmen.
trodden before however long by-a-detour he-must-lead-round the-column

36.5 Ea uero uia insuperabilis fuit; nam cum super ueterem
that indeed way insuperable was for when above the-old
niuem intactam noua modicae altitudinis esset, molli nec
snow untouched new of-moderate depth was in-the-soft and-not
praealtae facile pedes ingredientium insistebant;
very-deep easily the-feet of-those-stepping set-themselves

ut uero tot hominum iumentorumque incessu dilapsa 36.6
when indeed by-so-many of-men and-of-beasts-of-burden by-the-going melted
est, per nudam infra glaciem fluentemque tabem liquescentis
it-was on the-bare below ice and-the-flowing slush of-melting
niuis ingrediebantur.
snow they-were-stepping
Taetra ibi luctatio erat, glacie non recipiente uestigium 36.7
hideous there the-struggle was the-ice not receiving the-footprint
et in prono citius pedes fallente, ut, seu manibus in
and on the-slope more-quickly the-feet tripping that whether by-the-hands in
adsurgendo seu genu se adiuuissent, ipsis adminiculis
rising or by-the-knee themselves they-had-helped the-very supports
prolapsis iterum corruerent; nec stirpes circa radicesue ad
having-slipped again they-fell nor stumps around or-roots to
quas pede aut manu quisquam eniti posset erant; ita
which by-foot or hand anyone to-strain-up could were so
in leui tantum glacie tabidaque niue uolutabantur.
on the-smooth only ice and-the-melting snow they-were-rolling
Iumenta secabant interdum etiam infimam ingredientia 36.8
the-beasts-of-burden cut-through sometimes even the-lowest stepping-on
niuem et prolapsa iactandis grauius in conitendo
snow and having-slipped by-thrashing more-heavily in struggling
ungulis penitus perfringebant, ut pleraque uelut pedica
with-their-hooves deeply broke-through so-that most as-if in-a-snare
capta haererent in dura et alta concreta glacie.
caught stuck in the-hard and deep frozen ice
Tandem nequiquam iumentis atque hominibus fatigatis 37.1
at-last in-vain the-beasts-of-burden and the-men wearied
castra in iugo posita, aegerrime ad id ipsum loco
a-camp on the-ridge placed with-the-greatest-difficulty for that very the-place
purgato; tantum niuis fodiendum atque egerendum fuit.
cleared so-much of-snow to-be-dug and to-be-carried-out there-was

37.2 Inde ad rupem muniendam per quam unam uia esse poterat
thence for the-rock building-up through which alone a-way to-be could
milites ducti, cum caedendum esset saxum, arboribus circa
the-soldiers led since to-be-cut it-was the-rock trees around
immanibus deiectis detruncatisque struem ingentem lignorum
huge felled and-lopped a-pile huge of-logs
faciunt eamque, cum et uis uenti apta faciendo igni coorta
they-make and-it when also a-force of-wind fit for-making fire risen
esset, succendunt ardentiaque saxa infuso aceto putrefaciunt.
had they-set-alight and-the-burning rocks with-vinegar poured-on they-crumble

37.3 Ita torridam incendio rupem ferro pandunt molliuntque
so the-scorched by-the-fire rock with-iron they-open and-soften
anfractibus modicis cliuos ut non iumenta solum sed
with-turns moderate the-slopes so-that not the-beasts-of-burden only but
elephanti etiam deduci possent.
the-elephants also to-be-led-down could

37.4 Quadriduum circa rupem consumptum, iumentis prope
four-days around the-rock spent the-beasts-of-burden almost
fame absumptis; nuda enim fere cacumina sunt et, si
by-hunger destroyed bare for about the-peaks are and if
quid est pabuli, obruunt niues.
anything there-is of-fodder overwhelm-it the-snows

37.5 Inferiora uallis apricos quosdam colles habent riuosque
the-lower-parts of-the-valley sunny some hills have and-streams
prope siluas et iam humano cultu digniora loca.
near woods and now of-human tilling worthier places

37.6 Ibi iumenta in pabulum missa et quies muniendo
there the-beasts-of-burden to pasture sent and rest from-building
fessis hominibus data. Triduo inde ad planum descensum
to-the-weary men given in-three-days thence to the-level descended
et iam locis mollioribus et accolarum ingeniis.
and now with-places gentler and of-the-dwellers-by with-dispositions

Hoc maxime modo in Italiam peruentum est quinto 38.1
in-this chiefly manner into Italy arrived it-was in-the-fifth
mense a Carthagine Noua, ut quidam auctores sunt,
month from Carthage New as some authorities are
quinto decimo die Alpibus superatis.
on-the-fifth tenth day the-Alps having-been-surmounted
Quantae copiae transgresso in Italiam Hannibali fuerint 38.2
how-great the-forces having-crossed into Italy for-Hannibal were
nequaquam inter auctores constat. Qui plurimum, centum
by-no-means among the-authorities it-is-agreed those-who the-most a-hundred
milia peditum, uiginti equitum fuisse scribunt; qui
thousands of-infantry twenty of-horsemen to-have-been write those-who
minimum, uiginti milia peditum, sex equitum.
the-least twenty thousands of-infantry six of-horsemen
L. Cincius Alimentus, qui captum se ab Hannibale 38.3
Lucius Cincius Alimentus who captured himself by Hannibal
scribit, maxime auctor moueret, nisi confunderet numerum
writes most as-authority would-move-me unless he-confused the-number
Gallis Liguribusque additis;
the-Gauls and-the-Ligurians added
cum his octoginta milia peditum, decem equitum adducta; — 38.4
with these eighty thousands of-infantry ten of-horsemen brought
in Italia magis adfluxisse ueri simile est et ita quidam
in Italy rather to-have-flowed-in to-the-truth like is and so some
auctores sunt; —
authorities are
ex ipso autem audisse Hannibale, postquam Rhodanum 38.5
from the-very moreover to-have-heard Hannibal after the-Rhone
transierit triginta sex milia hominum ingentemque numerum
he-had-crossed thirty six thousands of-men and-a-huge number

equorum et aliorum iumentorum amisisse. Taurini Semigalli
of-horses and of-other beasts-of-burden to-have-lost the-Taurini half-Gauls
proxima gens erat in Italiam degresso.
the-nearest nation was into Italy to-him-having-come-down

38.6 Id cum inter omnes constet, eo magis miror ambigi
that since among all it-is-agreed by-so-much more I-wonder to-be-disputed
quanam Alpes transierit et uolgo credere Poenino — atque
by-where the-Alps he-crossed and commonly to-believe by-the-Pennine and
inde nomen ei iugo Alpium inditum — transgressum,
thence the-name to-it to-the-ridge of-the-Alps given having-crossed

38.7 Coelium per Cremonis iugum dicere transisse; qui ambo
Coelius by of-Cremo the-ridge to-say to-have-crossed which both
saltus eum non in Taurinos sed per Salassos montanos
passes him not into the-Taurini but through the-Salassi mountaineers
ad Libuos Gallos deduxerint.
to the-Libui Gauls would-have-led-down

38.8 Nec ueri simile est ea tum ad Galliam patuisse
nor to-the-truth like is those then to Gaul to-have-lain-open
itinera; utique quae ad Poeninum ferunt obsaepta gentibus
routes especially which to the-Pennine lead blocked by-nations
semigermanis fuissent.
half-German had-been

38.9 Neque hercule nomen montibus his, si quem forte id
nor by-Hercules the-name to-mountains these if anyone by-chance it
mouet, ab transitu Poenorum ullo Sedunoueragri, incolae
moves from the-crossing of-the-Carthaginians any the-Seduni-Veragri the-dwellers
iugi eius, norint inditum sed ab eo quem in summo
of-the-ridge that know given but from him whom on the-highest
sacratum uertice Poeninum montani appellant.
consecrated peak Penninus the-mountaineers call

Hannibal rests his army and storms the chief town of the Taurini, while Scipio takes over at Pisa the raw army of Manlius and Atilius and hurries to the Po. Scipio crosses the Po and, before battle at the Ticinus, tells his raw troops they face an enemy beaten in the last war, now reduced by the Alps to shadows of men; he hurried back from the Rhone to meet him; Hannibal is Rome's tributary and slave; they must fight as if before the walls of Rome, each defending his wife and children. Hannibal makes captive mountaineers fight to the death for arms and a horse.

Peropportune ad principia rerum Taurinis, proximae 39.1
very-opportunely for the-beginnings of-the-campaign for-the-Taurini the-nearest
genti, aduersus Insubres motum bellum erat. Sed armare
nation against the-Insubres begun war had-been but to-arm
exercitum Hannibal ut parti alteri auxilio esset, in
the-army Hannibal that to-the-side other for-help it-might-be in
reficiendo maxime sentientem contracta ante mala, non poterat;
recovering most feeling the-contracted before ills not could
otium enim ex labore, copia ex inopia, cultus ex inluuie 39.2
rest for after toil plenty after want care after filth
tabeque squalida et prope efferata corpora uarie mouebat.
and-wasting squalid and almost savage bodies variously affected
Ea P. Cornelio consuli causa fuit, cum Pisas nauibus 39.3
that for-Publius Cornelius the-consul the-reason was when to-Pisa by-ship
uenisset, exercitu a Manlio Atilioque accepto tirone et
he-had-come the-army from Manlius and-Atilius received raw and
in nouis ignominiis trepido ad Padum festinandi ut cum
in new disgraces alarmed to the-Po of-hastening that with
hoste nondum refecto manus consereret.
the-enemy not-yet recovered hands he-might-join

39.4 Sed cum Placentiam consul uenit, iam ex statiuis
but when to-Placentia the-consul came already from the-standing-camp
mouerat Hannibal Taurinorumque unam urbem, caput
had-moved Hannibal and-of-the-Taurini one city the-capital
gentis eius, quia uolentes in amicitiam non ueniebant,
of-that nation because willingly into friendship not were-coming
ui expugnarat;
by-force had-stormed

39.5 iunxissetque sibi non metu solum sed etiam uoluntate
and-he-would-have-joined to-himself not by-fear only but also by-will
Gallos accolas Padi, ni eos circumspectantes defectionis
the-Gauls dwellers-by of-the-Po had-not them looking-about-for of-revolt
tempus subito aduentu consul oppressisset.
the-time by-his-sudden arrival the-consul overwhelmed

39.6 Et Hannibal mouit ex Taurinis, incertos quae pars sequenda
and Hannibal moved from the-Taurini uncertain what side to-be-followed
esset Gallos praesentem secuturos esse ratus.
would-be the-Gauls the-present-one going-to-follow to-be thinking

39.7 Iam prope in conspectu erant exercitus conuenerantque
already almost in sight were the-armies and-had-met
duces sicuti inter se nondum satis noti, ita iam
the-leaders as among themselves not-yet enough known so already
imbutus uterque quadam admiratione alterius.
imbued each with-a-certain admiration of-the-other

39.8 Nam Hannibalis et apud Romanos iam ante Sagunti
for of-Hannibal both among the-Romans already before of-Saguntum
excidium celeberrimum nomen erat, et Scipionem Hannibal
the-destruction most-celebrated the-name was and Scipio Hannibal
eo ipso quod aduersus se dux potissimum lectus
by-that very that against him as-leader above-all chosen
esset praestantem uirum credebat;
he-had-been outstanding a-man believed

et auxerant inter se opinionem, Scipio, quod relictus 39.9
and they-had-increased between themselves the-esteem Scipio because left-behind
in Gallia obuius fuerat in Italiam transgresso Hannibali,
in Gaul in-the-way he-had-been into Italy having-crossed to-Hannibal
Hannibal et conatu tam audaci traiciendarum Alpium
Hannibal both by-the-attempt so bold of-crossing the-Alps
et effectu.
and by-the-achievement
Occupauit tamen Scipio Padum traicere et ad Ticinum amnem 39.10
was-first however Scipio the-Po to-cross and to the-Ticinus river
motis castris, priusquam educeret in aciem, adhortandorum
moved the-camp before he-led-out into line of-encouraging
militum causa talem orationem est exorsus.
the-soldiers for-the-sake such a-speech has begun
'Si eum exercitum, milites, educerem in aciem quem in 40.1
if that army soldiers I-were-leading-out into line which in
Gallia mecum habui, supersedissem loqui apud uos;
Gaul with-me I-had I-would-have-refrained to-speak before you
quid enim adhortari referret aut eos equites qui 40.2
what for to-encourage would-it-matter either those horsemen who
equitatum hostium ad Rhodanum flumen egregie uicissent,
the-cavalry of-the-enemy at the-Rhone river excellently had-conquered
aut eas legiones cum quibus fugientem hunc ipsum hostem
or those legions with whom fleeing this very enemy
secutus confessionem cedentis ac detractantis certamen
having-followed the-confession of-one-yielding and refusing the-contest
pro uictoria habui?
for victory I-held

40.3 Nunc quia ille exercitus, Hispaniae prouinciae scriptus, ibi
now because that army of-Spain for-the-province enrolled there
cum fratre Cn. Scipione meis auspiciis rem gerit
with my-brother Gnaeus Scipio under-my auspices the-matter conducts
ubi eum gerere senatus populusque Romanus uoluit,
where it to-conduct the-senate and-people Roman wished
40.4 ego, ut consulem ducem aduersus Hannibalem ac Poenos
I that a-consul as-leader against Hannibal and the-Carthaginians
haberetis, ipse me huic uoluntario certamini obtuli, nouo
you-might-have I-myself myself to-this voluntary contest have-offered for-a-new
imperatori apud nouos milites pauca uerba facienda sunt.
general before new soldiers few words to-be-made are
40.5 Ne genus belli neue hostem ignoretis, cum iis est
that-not the-kind of-war nor-yet the-enemy you-may-be-ignorant-of with those it-is
uobis, milites, pugnandum quos terra marique priore bello
for-you soldiers to-be-fought whom by-land and-by-sea in-the-former war
uicistis, a quibus stipendium per uiginti annos exegistis,
you-conquered from whom tribute through twenty years you-exacted
a quibus capta belli praemia Siciliam ac Sardiniam habetis.
from whom taken of-war as-prizes Sicily and Sardinia you-hold
40.6 Erit igitur in hoc certamine is uobis illisque animus
there-will-be therefore in this contest that for-you and-for-them spirit
qui uictoribus et uictis esse solet. Nec nunc illi
which to-the-victors and to-the-vanquished to-be is-wont nor now they
quia audent sed quia necesse est pugnaturi sunt, qui plures
because they-dare but because necessary it-is going-to-fight are who more
paene perierint quam supersint;
almost have-perished than survive

nisi creditis, qui exercitu incolumi pugnam detractauere, 40.7
unless you-believe those-who with-the-army unharmed battle refused
eos duabus partibus peditum equitumque in transitu Alpium
them two parts of-infantry and-of-horsemen in the-crossing of-the-Alps
amissis plus spei nactos esse.
lost more of-hope gained to-have
At enim pauci quidem sunt sed uigentes animis corporibusque, 40.8
but yet few indeed they-are but vigorous in-spirits and-bodies
quorum robora ac uires uix sustinere uis ulla possit.
whose strength and might scarcely to-withstand force any could
Effigies immo, umbrae hominum, fame, frigore, inluuie, 40.9
likenesses rather shadows of-men by-hunger by-cold by-filth
squalore enecti, contusi ac debilitati inter saxa rupesque;
by-squalor worn-out bruised and weakened among stones and-rocks
ad hoc praeusti artus, niue rigentes nerui, membra
besides this frostbitten limbs with-snow stiff sinews members
torrida gelu, quassata fractaque arma, claudi ac debiles equi.
parched by-frost battered and-broken arms lame and feeble horses
Cum hoc equite, cum hoc pedite pugnaturi estis; reliquias 40.10
with this cavalry with this infantry going-to-fight you-are remnants
extremas hostis, non hostem habetis, ac nihil magis uereor
last of-an-enemy not an-enemy you-have and nothing more I-fear
quam ne cui, uos cum pugnaueritis, Alpes uicisse
than lest to-anyone you when you-have-fought the-Alps to-have-conquered
Hannibalem uideantur.
Hannibal may-seem
Sed ita forsitan decuit, cum foederum ruptore duce ac 40.11
but so perhaps it-was-fitting with the-treaties' breaker as-leader and
populo deos ipsos sine ulla humana ope committere ac
people the-gods themselves without any human help to-begin and

profligare bellum, nos, qui secundum deos uiolati sumus,
to-overthrow the-war us who next-to the-gods wronged have-been
commissum ac profligatum conficere.
begun and overthrown to-finish

41.1 Non uereor ne quis me haec uestri adhortandi causa
not I-fear lest anyone me these-things of-you encouraging for-the-sake
magnifice loqui existimet, ipsum aliter animo adfectum esse.
grandly to-speak may-think myself otherwise in-mind affected to-be

41.2 Licuit in Hispaniam, prouinciam meam, quo iam
it-was-allowed into Spain province my whither already
profectus eram, cum exercitu ire meo, ubi et fratrem consilii
set-out I-had with army to-go my where both my-brother of-counsel
participem ac periculi socium haberem et Hasdrubalem
a-sharer and of-danger a-partner I-should-have and Hasdrubal
potius quam Hannibalem hostem et minorem haud dubie
rather than Hannibal as-enemy and a-lesser not doubtfully
molem belli;
mass of-war

41.3 tamen, cum praeterueherer nauibus Galliae oram, ad famam
yet when I-was-sailing-past by-ship of-Gaul the-coast at the-report
huius hostis in terram egressus, praemisso equitatu ad
of-this enemy onto land having-disembarked sent-ahead the-cavalry to
Rhodanum moui castra.
the-Rhone I-moved the-camp

41.4 Equestri proelio, qua parte copiarum conserendi manum
in-a-cavalry battle with-which part of-the-forces of-joining hand
fortuna data est, hostem fudi; peditum agmen, quod in
the-fortune given was the-enemy I-routed the-infantry column which in
modum fugientium raptim agebatur, quia adsequi terra
the-manner of-fugitives hastily was-being-driven because to-overtake by-land
non poteram, regressus ad naues quanta maxime potui
not I-could having-returned to the-ships with-as-great greatest I-could

celeritate tanto maris terrarumque circuitu, in radicibus
speed by-so-great of-sea and-of-lands a-circuit at the-roots
prope Alpium huic timendo hosti obuius fui.
almost of-the-Alps this to-be-feared enemy in-the-way I-was
Utrum, cum declinarem certamen, improuidus incidisse 41.5
whether when I-was-avoiding the-contest unforeseeing to-have-fallen-in
uideor an occurrere in uestigiis eius, lacessere ac trahere
I-seem or to-meet-(him) in the-tracks his to-provoke and to-draw
ad decernendum?
for deciding
Experiri iuuat utrum alios repente Carthaginienses per 41.6
to-try it-pleases whether others suddenly Carthaginians through
uiginti annos terra ediderit an iidem sint qui ad
twenty years the-earth has-produced or the-same they-are who at
Aegates pugnauerunt insulas et quos ab Eryce duodeuicenis
the-Aegates fought islands and whom from Eryx at-eighteen-each
denariis aestimatos emisistis,
denarii valued you-let-go
et utrum Hannibal hic sit aemulus itinerum Herculis, ut 41.7
and whether Hannibal this is a-rival of-the-journeys of-Hercules as
ipse fert, an uectigalis stipendiariusque et seruus populi
he-himself claims or a-tributary and-taxpayer and slave of-the-people
Romani a patre relictus.
Roman by his-father left
Quem nisi Saguntinum scelus agitaret, respiceret 41.8
whom unless the-Saguntine crime were-driving he-would-look-back-at
profecto, si non patriam uictam, domum certe patremque
surely if not his-fatherland conquered his-home at-least and-his-father
et foedera Hamilcaris scripta manu,
and the-treaties of-Hamilcar written by-the-hand

41.9 qui iussus ab consule nostro praesidium deduxit ab Eryce,
who ordered by consul our the-garrison withdrew from Eryx
qui graues impositas uictis Carthaginiensibus leges
who heavy imposed on-the-conquered Carthaginians terms
fremens maerensque accepit, qui decedens Sicilia stipendium
roaring and-grieving accepted who leaving Sicily tribute
populo Romano dare pactus est.
to-the-people Roman to-pay agreed has

41.10 Itaque uos ego, milites, non eo solum animo quo
and-so you I soldiers not with-that only spirit with-which
aduersus alios hostes soletis, pugnare uelim, sed cum
against other enemies you-are-wont to-fight would-wish but with
indignatione quadam atque ira, uelut si seruos uideatis
indignation a-certain and anger as-if if slaves you-were-seeing
uestros arma repente contra uos ferentes.
your arms suddenly against you bearing

41.11 Licuit ad Erycem clausos ultimo supplicio humanorum,
it-was-allowed at Eryx shut-in by-the-last punishment of-men
fame interficere; licuit uictricem classem in Africam
by-hunger to-kill it-was-allowed the-victorious fleet into Africa
traicere atque intra paucos dies sine ullo certamine
to-carry-across and within few days without any contest
Carthaginem delere;
Carthage to-destroy

41.12 ueniam dedimus precantibus, emisimus ex obsidione, pacem
pardon we-gave to-them-begging we-let-out from the-siege peace
cum uictis fecimus, tutelae deinde nostrae duximus,
with the-conquered we-made under-the-protection then our we-held
cum Africo bello urgerentur.
when by-the-African war they-were-pressed

Pro his impertitis furiosum iuuenem sequentes 41.13
in-return-for these imparted a-mad young-man following
oppugnatum patriam nostram ueniunt. Atque utinam pro
to-attack the-fatherland our they-come and would-that for
decore tantum hoc uobis et non pro salute esset certamen!
honor only this for-you and not for safety were the-contest
Non de possessione Siciliae ac Sardiniae, de quibus 41.14
not about the-possession of-Sicily and Sardinia about which
quondam agebatur, sed pro Italia uobis est pugnandum.
once it-was-disputed but for Italy for-you it-is to-be-fought
Nec est alius ab tergo exercitus qui, nisi nos uincimus, 41.15
nor is another in the-rear army which unless we conquer
hosti obsistat, nec Alpes aliae sunt, quas dum superant,
the-enemy may-oppose nor Alps others are which while they-surmount
comparari noua possint praesidia; hic est obstandum, milites,
to-be-prepared new can garrisons here it-is to-be-withstood soldiers
uelut si ante Romana moenia pugnemus.
as-if if before the-Roman walls we-were-fighting
Unusquisque se non corpus suum sed coniugem ac 41.16
each-one himself not body his-own but (his)-wife and
liberos paruos armis protegere putet; nec domesticas
children small with-arms to-protect should-think nor domestic
solum agitet curas sed identidem hoc animo reputet
only should-turn-over cares but repeatedly this in-mind should-reflect
nostras nunc intueri manus senatum populumque Romanum:
our now to-watch hands the-senate and-people Roman
qualis nostra uis uirtusque fuerit, talem deinde fortunam 41.17
such-as our strength and-valor shall-have-been such then the-fortune
illius urbis ac Romani imperii fore.'
of-that city and of-the-Roman empire going-to-be

42.1 Haec apud Romanos consul. Hannibal rebus prius quam
these-things before the-Romans the-consul Hannibal by-deeds before than
uerbis adhortandos milites ratus, circumdato ad spectaculum
by-words to-be-encouraged the-soldiers thinking surrounded for the-spectacle
exercitu captiuos montanos uinctos in medio statuit
the-army captive mountaineers bound in the-middle placed
armisque Gallicis ante pedes eorum proiectis interrogare
and-arms Gallic before the-feet their thrown-down to-ask
interpretem iussit, ecquis, si uinculis leuaretur armaque
the-interpreter ordered whether-anyone if from-his-bonds he-were-freed and-arms
et equum uictor acciperet, decertare ferro uellet.
and a-horse as-victor should-receive to-fight-it-out with-the-sword would-wish

42.2 Cum ad unum omnes ferrum pugnamque poscerent et
when to a-man all the-sword and-the-fight demanded and
deiecta in id sors esset, se quisque eum optabat quem
cast for that the-lot had-been himself each him wished whom
fortuna in id certamen legeret,
fortune for that contest should-choose

42.3 et, ut cuiusque sors exciderat, alacer, inter gratulantes
and as of-each the-lot had-fallen-out eager among those-congratulating
gaudio exsultans, cum sui moris tripudiis arma raptim
with-joy leaping with of-his-own custom war-dances arms hastily
capiebat.
took

42.4 Ubi uero dimicarent, is habitus animorum non inter
when indeed they-fought such the-state of-minds not among
eiusdem modo condicionis homines erat sed etiam inter
of-the-same only condition men was but also among
spectantes uolgo, ut non uincentium magis quam bene
the-spectators commonly that not of-the-conquerors more than of-the-well
morientium fortuna laudaretur.
dying the-fortune was-praised

Hannibal tells his men that the captives' choice was an image of their own: the seas on either side, the Po before, the Alps behind, they must win or die. Victory brings all Rome holds as their reward; their enemy is a raw army under a six-month general who does not know his men, while he himself grew up in his father's camp and knows each soldier's deeds. The Romans, cruel and arrogant, set them bounds; they will win because they have nowhere to retreat.

Cum sic aliquot spectatis paribus adfectos dimisisset, 43.1
when thus several watched pairs affected he-had-dismissed
contione inde aduocata ita apud eos locutus fertur.
an-assembly then called so before them to-have-spoken he-is-reported
'Si, quem animum in alienae sortis exemplo paulo ante 43.2
if which spirit in of-another's lot the-example a-little before
habuistis, eundem mox in aestimanda fortuna uestra habueritis,
you-had the-same soon in assessing fortune your you-shall-have
uicimus, milites; neque enim spectaculum modo illud
we-have-conquered soldiers nor for a-spectacle only that
sed quaedam ueluti imago uestrae condicionis erat.
but a-certain as-it-were image of-your condition it-was
Ac nescio an maiora uincula maioresque necessitates 43.3
and I-know-not whether greater bonds and-greater necessities
uobis quam captiuis uestris fortuna circumdederit.
for-you than for-captives your fortune may-have-put-around
Dextra laeuaque duo maria claudunt nullam ne ad 43.4
on-the-right and-on-the-left two seas shut-in no not for
effugium quidem nauem habentes; circa Padus amnis, maior
escape even ship having around the-Po river greater
ac uiolentior Rhodano, ab tergo Alpes urgent, uix integris
and more-violent than-the-Rhone in the-rear the-Alps press scarcely by-whole
uobis ac uigentibus transitae.
you and vigorous crossed

43.5 Hic uincendum aut moriendum, milites, est, ubi primum hosti
here to-be-conquered or to-be-died soldiers it-is where first the-enemy
occurristis. Et eadem fortuna, quae necessitatem pugnandi
you-met and the-same fortune which the-necessity of-fighting
imposuit, praemia uobis ea uictoribus proponit quibus ampliora
imposed prizes for-you those as-victors offers than-which greater
homines ne ab dis quidem immortalibus optare solent.
men not from the-gods even immortal to-pray are-wont

43.6 Si Siciliam tantum ac Sardiniam parentibus nostris ereptas
if Sicily only and Sardinia from-the-fathers our snatched
nostra uirtute reciperaturi essemus, satis tamen ampla
by-our valor going-to-recover we-were enough yet ample
pretia essent: quidquid Romani tot triumphis partum
prizes they-would-be whatever the-Romans by-so-many triumphs won
congestumque possident, id omne uestrum cum ipsis
and-heaped-up possess it all yours with the-very
dominis futurum est;
masters going-to-be is

43.7 in hanc tam opimam mercedem, agite dum, dis bene
for this so rich reward come-on now with-the-gods well
iuuantibus arma capite.
helping arms take-up

43.8 Satis adhuc in uastis Lusitaniae Celtiberiaeque montibus
enough so-far in the-vast of-Lusitania and-of-Celtiberia mountains
pecora consectando nullum emolumentum tot laborum
flocks by-chasing no profit of-so-many toils
periculorumque uestrorum uidistis;
and-dangers your you-have-seen

tempus est iam opulenta uos ac ditia stipendia facere 43.9
the-time is now rich you and wealthy campaigns to-make
et magna operae pretia mereri, tantum itineris per tot
and great of-labor rewards to-earn so-much of-march through so-many
montes fluminaque et tot armatas gentes emensos.
mountains and-rivers and so-many armed nations having-traversed
Hic uobis terminum laborum fortuna dedit; hic dignam 43.10
here to-you the-end of-toils fortune has-given here a-worthy
mercedem emeritis stipendiis dabit.
reward for-the-completed campaigns it-will-give
Nec, quam magni nominis bellum est, tam difficilem 43.11
nor as of-great name the-war is so difficult
existimaritis uictoriam fore; saepe et contemptus hostis
should-you-think the-victory going-to-be often both a-despised enemy
cruentum certamen edidit et incliti populi regesque
a-bloody contest has-produced and famous peoples and-kings
perleui momento uicti sunt.
by-very-slight effort conquered have-been
Nam dempto hoc uno fulgore nominis Romani, quid est 43.12
for removed this one brilliance of-the-name Roman what is-there
cur illi uobis comparandi sint?
why they with-you to-be-compared should-be
Ut uiginti annorum militiam uestram cum illa uirtute, cum 43.13
that of-twenty years the-service your with that valor with
illa fortuna taceam, ab Herculis columnis, ab Oceano
that fortune I-may-pass-over from Hercules' pillars from the-Ocean
terminisque ultimis terrarum per tot ferocissimos
and-from-the-bounds farthest of-the-lands through so-many most-fierce
Hispaniae et Galliae populos uincentes huc peruenistis;
of-Spain and of-Gaul peoples conquering hither you-have-come

43.14 pugnabitis cum exercitu tirone, hac ipsa aestate caeso,
you-will-fight with an-army raw in-this very summer cut-down
uicto, circumsesso a Gallis, ignoto adhuc duci suo
beaten besieged by the-Gauls unknown so-far to-the-leader its-own
ignorantique ducem.
and-not-knowing its-leader

43.15 An me in praetorio patris, clarissimi imperatoris, prope
or me in the-headquarters of-(my)-father a-most-illustrious general almost
natum, certe eductum, domitorem Hispaniae Galliaeque,
born certainly brought-up the-tamer of-Spain and-of-Gaul
uictorem eundem non Alpinarum modo gentium sed
the-conqueror the-same not of-the-Alpine only nations but
ipsarum, quod multo maius est, Alpium, cum semenstri
of-the-very which much greater is Alps with six-months-old
hoc conferam duce, desertore exercitus sui?
this shall-I-compare leader the-deserter of-the-army his-own

43.16 cui si quis demptis signis Poenos Romanosque
to-whom if anyone removed the-standards the-Carthaginians and-the-Romans
hodie ostendat, ignoraturum certum habeo utrius exercitus
today should-show going-to-be-ignorant certain I-hold of-which army
sit consul.
he-is consul

43.17 Non ego illud parui aestimo, milites, quod nemo est uestrum
not I that at-little value soldiers that no-one is of-you
cuius non ante oculos ipse saepe militare aliquod ediderim
of-whom not before the-eyes myself often military some I-have-performed
facinus, cui non idem ego uirtutis spectator ac testis
a-deed to-whom not the-same I of-valor the-spectator and witness
notata temporibus locisque referre sua possim decora.
noted by-times and-places to-recount their could exploits

Cum laudatis a me miliens donatisque, alumnus prius 43.18
with those-praised by me a-thousand-times and-rewarded a-nursling before
omnium uestrum quam imperator, procedam in aciem
of-all of-you than general I-shall-advance into the-line
aduersus ignotos inter se ignorantesque.
against unknown among themselves and-not-knowing
Quocumque circumtuli oculos, plena omnia uideo animorum 44.1
wherever I-have-turned (my)-eyes full all-things I-see of-spirits
ac roboris, ueteranum peditem, generosissimarum gentium
and of-strength a-veteran infantry of-the-noblest nations
equites frenatos infrenatosque,
horsemen bridled and-unbridled
uos socios fidelissimos fortissimosque, uos, Carthaginienses, 44.2
you allies most-faithful and-bravest you Carthaginians
cum ob patriam, tum ob iram iustissimam
both on-account-of the-fatherland and on-account-of anger most-just
pugnaturos.
going-to-fight
Inferimus bellum infestisque signis descendimus in Italiam, 44.3
we-bring war and-with-hostile standards we-descend into Italy
tanto audacius fortiusque pugnaturi quam hostis,
by-so-much more-boldly and-more-bravely going-to-fight than the-enemy
quanto maior spes, maior est animus inferentis uim
by-how-much greater the-hope greater is the-spirit of-one-bringing force
quam arcentis.
than of-one-warding-off
Accendit praeterea et stimulat animos dolor, iniuria, 44.4
fires besides and goads the-spirits resentment wrong
indignitas. Ad supplicium depoposcerunt me ducem primum,
indignity for punishment they-demanded me the-leader first

deinde uos omnes qui Saguntum oppugnassetis; deditos
then you all who Saguntum had-attacked surrendered
ultimis cruciatibus adfecturi fuerunt.
with-the-utmost tortures going-to-afflict they-were

44.5 Crudelissima ac superbissima gens sua omnia suique
most-cruel and most-arrogant nation its-own all-things and-of-its-own
arbitrii facit; cum quibus bellum, cum quibus pacem
judgment makes with whom war with whom peace
habeamus, se modum imponere aequum censet. Circumscribit
we-may-have itself the-measure to-impose fair thinks it-circumscribes
includitque nos terminis montium fluminumque, quos non
and-shuts-in us by-bounds of-mountains and-rivers which not
excedamus, neque eos, quos statuit, terminos obseruat:
we-may-pass nor those which it-has-set bounds observes

44.6 "Ne transieris Hiberum; ne quid rei tibi sit cum
do-not cross the-Ebro let-not anything of-business to-you be with
Saguntinis." Ad Hiberum est Saguntum? "Nusquam te
the-Saguntines at the-Ebro is Saguntum nowhere you
uestigio moueris."
from-your-footprint may-move

44.7 Parum est quod ueterrimas prouincias meas, Siciliam ac
too-little it-is that the-most-ancient provinces my Sicily and
Sardiniam, ademisti? Adimis etiam Hispanias et, si
Sardinia you-have-taken-away you-take-away also the-Spains and if
inde cessero, in Africam transcendes. Transcendes autem?
thence I-shall-withdraw into Africa you-will-cross you-will-cross but
Transcendisse dico. Duos consules huius anni, unum in
to-have-crossed I-say two consuls of-this year one into
Africam, alterum in Hispaniam miserunt. Nihil usquam
Africa the-other into Spain they-have-sent nothing anywhere
nobis relictum est nisi quod armis uindicarimus.
to-us left is except what with-arms we-shall-have-claimed

Illis timidis et ignauis esse licet, qui respectum habent, 44.8
for-them timid and cowardly to-be it-is-allowed who a-refuge have
quos sua terra, suus ager per tuta ac pacata itinera
whom their-own land their-own field through safe and peaceful routes
fugientes accipient: uobis necesse est fortibus uiris esse
fleeing will-receive for-you necessary it-is brave men to-be
et, omnibus inter uictoriam mortemue certa desperatione
and all-things between victory or-death by-sure despair
abruptis, aut uincere aut, si fortuna dubitabit, in proelio
broken-off either to-conquer or if fortune shall-hesitate in battle
potius quam in fuga mortem oppetere.
rather than in flight death to-meet
Si hoc omnibus destinatum in animo est, iterum dicam, 44.9
if this for-all fixed in mind is again I-shall-say
uicistis; nullum contemptu mortis incitamentum ad
you-have-conquered no than-the-contempt of-death incitement to
uincendum homini ab dis immortalibus acrius datum est.'
conquering to-man by the-gods immortal sharper given has-been

The Romans bridge the Ticinus. Hannibal promises land, money, citizenship, and freedom, and seals it by killing a lamb with a flint. Scipio, scouting with his cavalry, meets Hannibal doing the same; the Numidians ride round into his rear, and the wounded consul is saved by his son, the future Africanus. Scipio withdraws across the Po to Placentia, Hannibal takes some six hundred stragglers at the river, and he camps six miles from Placentia and offers battle.

45.1 His adhortationibus cum utrimque ad certamen accensi
by-these exhortations when on-both-sides for the-contest fired
militum animi essent, Romani ponte Ticinum iungunt
of-the-soldiers the-spirits were the-Romans with-a-bridge the-Ticinus join
tutandique pontis causa castellum insuper imponunt:
and-of-guarding the-bridge for-the-sake a-fort on-top they-place

45.2 Poenus hostibus opere occupatis Maharbalem cum
the-Carthaginian the-enemy with-the-work occupied Maharbal with
ala Numidarum, equitibus quingentis, ad depopulandos
a-squadron of-Numidians horsemen five-hundred for ravaging
sociorum populi Romani agros mittit;
of-the-allies of-the-people Roman the-fields sends

45.3 Gallis parci quam maxime iubet principumque
the-Gauls to-be-spared as much-as-possible he-orders and-of-the-leading-men
animos ad defectionem sollicitari. Ponte perfecto traductus
the-minds to revolt to-be-incited the-bridge completed led-across
Romanus exercitus in agrum Insubrium quinque milia
the-Roman army into the-land of-the-Insubres five thousands
passuum ab Victumulis consedit.
of-paces from Victumulae encamped

45.4 Ibi Hannibal castra habebat; reuocatoque propere Maharbale
there Hannibal the-camp had and-recalled hastily Maharbal
atque equitibus cum instare certamen cerneret, nihil
and the-horsemen when to-be-imminent the-contest he-saw nothing

unquam satis dictum praemonitumque ad cohortandos milites
ever enough said and-forewarned for encouraging the-soldiers
ratus, uocatis ad contionem certa praemia pronuntiat in
thinking called to an-assembly fixed rewards he-proclaims in
quorum spem pugnarent:
whose hope they-should-fight
agrum sese daturum esse in Italia, Africa, Hispania, ubi 45.5
land himself going-to-give to-be in Italy Africa Spain where
quisque uelit, immunem ipsi qui accepisset liberisque;
each should-wish tax-free to-himself who had-received and-to-his-children
qui pecuniam quam agrum maluisset, ei se argento
who money rather-than land should-have-preferred him himself with-silver
satisfacturum;
going-to-satisfy
qui sociorum ciues Carthaginienses fieri uellent, potestatem 45.6
who of-the-allies citizens Carthaginian to-become should-wish the-power
facturum; qui domos redire mallent, daturum se
going-to-grant who to-their-homes to-return should-prefer going-to-give himself
operam ne cuius suorum popularium mutatum secum
effort that-not any of-their-own countrymen changed with-them
fortunam esse uellent.
(their)-fortune to-be they-should-wish
Seruis quoque dominos prosecutis libertatem proponit 45.7
to-slaves also their-masters having-attended freedom he-offers
binaque pro his mancipia dominis se redditurum.
and-two-each for these slaves to-the-masters himself going-to-return
Eaque ut rata scirent fore, agnum laeua manu, 45.8
and-these-things that valid they-might-know going-to-be a-lamb in-his-left hand
dextra silicem retinens, si falleret, Iouem ceterosque
in-his-right a-flint holding if he-should-deceive Jupiter and-the-other
precatur deos ita se mactarent quemadmodum ipse
he-prays gods so him they-should-slaughter as himself

agnum mactasset, et secundum precationem caput
the-lamb should-have-slaughtered and after the-prayer the-head
pecudis saxo elisit.
of-the-beast with-the-stone he-crushed

45.9 Tum uero omnes, uelut dis auctoribus in spem suam
then indeed all as-if with-the-gods as-guarantors into hope their-own
quisque acceptis, id morae quod nondum pugnarent ad
each received that of-delay that not-yet they-were-fighting for
potienda sperata rati, proelium uno animo et uoce
getting the-hoped-for thinking battle with-one spirit and voice
una poscunt.
one demand

46.1 Apud Romanos haudquaquam tanta alacritas erat, super
among the-Romans by-no-means so-great eagerness there-was besides
cetera recentibus etiam territos prodigiis;
other-things by-recent also frightened portents

46.2 nam et lupus intrauerat castra laniatisque obuiis ipse
for both a-wolf had-entered the-camp and-having-torn those-in-its-way itself
intactus euaserat, et examen apum in arbore praetorio
untouched had-escaped and a-swarm of-bees on a-tree the-headquarters
imminente consederat.
overhanging had-settled

46.3 Quibus procuratis Scipio cum equitatu iaculatoribusque expeditis
which expiated Scipio with the-cavalry and-javelin-men light-armed
profectus ad castra hostium exque propinquo copias, quantae
having-set-out toward the-camp of-the-enemy and-from near the-forces how-great
et cuius generis essent, speculandas obuius fit Hannibali
and of-what kind they-were to-be-reconnoitered in-the-way becomes to-Hannibal
et ipsi cum equitibus ad exploranda circa loca progresso.
also himself with the-horsemen for exploring around the-places having-advanced

Neutri alteros primo cernebant; densior deinde incessu 46.4
neither the-others at-first saw thicker then by-the-going
tot hominum et equorum oriens puluis signum
of-so-many men and horses rising dust the-sign
propinquantium hostium fuit. Consistit utrumque agmen et
of-approaching enemy was halts each column and
ad proelium sese expediebant.
for battle themselves they-were-readying
Scipio iaculatores et Gallos equites in fronte locat, Romanos 46.5
Scipio the-javelin-men and the-Gallic horsemen in front places the-Romans
sociorumque quod roboris fuit in subsidiis; Hannibal
and-of-the-allies what of-strength there-was in reserve Hannibal
frenatos equites in medium accipit, cornua Numidis firmat.
bridled horsemen into the-middle receives the-wings with-Numidians strengthens
Vixdum clamore sublato iaculatores fugerunt inter subsidia ac 46.6
scarcely the-shout raised the-javelin-men fled among the-reserves and
secundam aciem. Inde equitum certamen erat aliquamdiu
the-second line then of-the-horsemen the-contest was for-some-time
anceps; dein quia turbabant equos pedites intermixti,
doubtful then because confused the-horses the-foot-soldiers mixed-among
multis labentibus ex equis aut desilientibus ubi suos
many slipping from their-horses or leaping-down when their-own
premi circumuentos uidissent, iam magna ex parte ad
to-be-pressed surrounded they-had-seen now great in part to
pedes pugna abierat,
the-feet the-fight had-gone
donec Numidae qui in cornibus erant circumuecti paulum 46.7
until the-Numidians who on the-wings were having-ridden-round a-little
ab tergo se ostenderunt. Is pauor perculit Romanos,
in the-rear themselves showed that panic struck the-Romans

auxitque pauorem consulis uolnus periculumque intercursu
and-increased the-panic the-consul's wound and-the-danger by-the-intervention
tum primum pubescentis filii propulsatum.
then first of-his-coming-of-age son warded-off

46.8 Hic erit iuuenis penes quem perfecti huiusce belli
this will-be the-young-man with whom of-the-finished this war
laus est, Africanus ob egregiam uictoriam de
the-glory is Africanus on-account-of (his)-outstanding victory over
Hannibale Poenisque appellatus.
Hannibal and-the-Carthaginians called

46.9 Fuga tamen effusa iaculatorum maxime fuit quos primos
the-flight however disorderly of-the-javelin-men most was whom first
Numidae inuaserunt; alius confertus equitatus consulem in
the-Numidians attacked the-other close-packed cavalry the-consul into
medium acceptum, non armis modo sed etiam corporibus
the-middle received not with-arms only but also with-bodies
suis protegens, in castra nusquam trepide neque effuse
its-own protecting into the-camp nowhere in-panic nor in-disorder
cedendo reduxit.
by-withdrawing led-back

46.10 Seruati consulis decus Coelius ad seruum natione Ligurem
of-the-saved consul the-glory Coelius to a-slave by-birth a-Ligurian
delegat; malim equidem de filio uerum esse, quod et
assigns I-would-prefer indeed of the-son true to-be what both
plures tradidere auctores et fama obtinuit.
more have-handed-down authorities and the-report has-held

47.1 Hoc primum cum Hannibale proelium fuit; quo facile
this the-first with Hannibal battle was by-which easily
apparuit et equitatu meliorem Poenum esse et
it-was-apparent both in-cavalry better the-Carthaginian to-be and

ob id campos patentes, quales sunt inter Padum
on-account-of that plains open such-as are between the-Po
Alpesque, bello gerendo Romanis aptos non esse.
and-the-Alps for-war waging for-the-Romans suited not to-be
Itaque proxima nocte iussis militibus uasa silentio colligere 47.2
and-so on-the-next night ordered the-soldiers the-baggage in-silence to-gather
castra ab Ticino mota festinatumque ad Padum est ut
the-camp from the-Ticinus moved and-hastened to the-Po it-was that
ratibus, quibus iunxerat flumen, nondum resolutis sine
on-the-rafts by-which he-had-joined the-river not-yet undone without
tumultu atque insectatione hostis copias traiceret.
uproar and pursuit of-the-enemy the-forces he-might-carry-across
Prius Placentiam peruenere quam satis sciret Hannibal ab 47.3
before to-Placentia they-arrived than enough knew Hannibal from
Ticino profectos; tamen ad sescentos moratorum in
the-Ticinus they-had-set-out yet about six-hundred of-the-loiterers on
citeriore ripa Padi segniter ratem soluentes cepit. Transire
the-nearer bank of-the-Po slowly the-raft untying he-took to-cross
pontem non potuit, ut extrema resoluta erant tota rate
the-bridge not he-could as the-end undone was the-whole raft
in secundam aquam labente.
onto the-following water gliding
Coelius auctor est Magonem cum equitatu et Hispanis 47.4
Coelius the-authority is Mago with the-cavalry and the-Spanish
peditibus flumen extemplo tranasse, ipsum Hannibalem
infantry the-river at-once to-have-swum himself Hannibal
per superiora Padi uada exercitum traduxisse, elephantis
through the-upper of-the-Po fords the-army to-have-led-across the-elephants
in ordinem ad sustinendum impetum fluminis oppositis.
in a-line for withstanding the-force of-the-river set-opposite

47.5 Ea peritis amnis eius uix fidem fecerint;
that to-those-acquainted with-the-river that scarcely credit would-make
nam neque equites armis equisque saluis tantam uim
for neither the-horsemen with-arms and-horses safe so-great a-force
fluminis superasse ueri simile est — ut iam Hispanos
of-river to-have-overcome to-the-truth like is that now the-Spaniards
omnes inflati trauexerint utres—, et multorum dierum
all inflated had-carried-across skins and of-many days
circuitu Padi uada petenda fuerunt qua exercitus grauis
by-a-circuit of-the-Po the-fords to-be-sought were where the-army heavy
impedimentis traduci posset.
with-baggage to-be-led-across could

47.6 Potiores apud me auctores sunt qui biduo uix locum
preferable with me the-authorities are who in-two-days scarcely a-place
rate iungendo flumini inuentum tradunt; ea cum Magone
by-raft for-joining the-river found relate by-it with Mago
equites et Hispanorum expeditos praemissos.
the-horsemen and of-the-Spaniards the-light-armed sent-ahead

47.7 Dum Hannibal, circa flumen legationibus Gallorum audiendis
while Hannibal around the-river with-embassies of-the-Gauls hearing
moratus, traicit grauius peditum agmen, interim Mago
delayed carries-across the-heavier of-infantry column meanwhile Mago
equitesque ab transitu fluminis diei unius itinere
and-the-horsemen from the-crossing of-the-river of-a-day of-one by-the-march
Placentiam ad hostes contendunt.
to-Placentia to the-enemy make-their-way

47.8 Hannibal paucis post diebus sex milia a Placentia castra
Hannibal few after days six thousands from Placentia a-camp
communiuit et postero die in conspectu hostium acie
fortified and on-the-next day in sight of-the-enemy the-line
directa potestatem pugnae fecit.
drawn-up the-opportunity of-battle he-offered

Gallic auxiliaries murder the guards and desert, and Scipio, fearing a general revolt, moves to the Trebia. Clastidium's granary is betrayed to Hannibal. At sea, Hiero seizes Punic ships near Messana and warns the praetor Aemilius that a fleet means to take Lilybaeum; the Romans, forewarned by the moonlight, beat it off the harbor. The consul Sempronius arrives, is welcomed by Hiero, takes Melita and its garrison, and is summoned to Italy, where he joins his colleague at the Trebia.

Insequenti nocte caedes in castris Romanis, tumultu tamen 48.1
on-the-following night a-slaughter in the-camp Roman in-uproar however
quam re maior, ab auxiliaribus Gallis facta est.
than in-fact greater by the-auxiliary Gauls made was
Ad duo milia peditum et ducenti equites uigilibus ad portas 48.2
about two thousands of-infantry and two-hundred horsemen the-sentries at the-gates
trucidatis ad Hannibalem transfugiunt; quos Poenus benigne
butchered to Hannibal desert whom the-Carthaginian kindly
adlocutus et spe ingentium donorum accensos in ciuitates
having-addressed and with-hope of-huge gifts fired into the-states
quemque suas ad sollicitandos popularium animos dimisit.
each their-own for rousing of-their-countrymen the-minds dismissed
Scipio caedem eam signum defectionis omnium Gallorum 48.3
Scipio slaughter that the-signal of-revolt of-all the-Gauls
esse ratus contactosque eo scelere uelut iniecta rabie ad
to-be thinking and-infected by-that crime as-if thrown-on madness to
arma ituros,
arms going-to-go
quamquam grauis adhuc uolnere erat, tamen quarta 48.4
although heavy still from-his-wound he-was yet at-the-fourth
uigilia noctis insequentis tacito agmine profectus, ad
watch of-the-night following with-a-silent column having-set-out to

Trebiam fluuium iam in loca altiora collesque impeditiores
the-Trebia river now into places higher and-hills more-difficult
equiti castra mouet.
for-the-cavalry the-camp moves

48.5 Minus quam ad Ticinum fefellit; missisque Hannibal
less than at the-Ticinus did-he-escape-notice and-sent Hannibal
primum Numidis, deinde omni equitatu turbasset
first the-Numidians then all the-cavalry he-would-have-confused
utique nouissimum agmen, ni auiditate praedae in uacua
at-least the-rearmost column had-not by-greed of-booty into the-empty
Romana castra Numidae deuertissent.
Roman camp the-Numidians turned-aside

48.6 Ibi dum perscrutantes loca omnia castrorum nullo satis
there while searching places all of-the-camp by-no enough
digno morae pretio tempus terunt, emissus hostis est
worthy of-delay reward time they-waste let-slip the-enemy was
de manibus; et cum iam transgressos Trebiam Romanos
from their-hands and when now having-crossed the-Trebia the-Romans
metantesque castra conspexissent, paucos moratorum
and-measuring-out the-camp they-had-caught-sight-of a-few of-the-loiterers
occiderunt citra flumen interceptos.
they-killed on-this-side-of the-river intercepted

48.7 Scipio, nec uexationem uolneris in uia iactati ultra
Scipio neither the-torment of-his-wound on the-road jolted further
patiens et collegam — iam enim et reuocatum ex Sicilia
enduring and his-colleague already for also recalled from Sicily
audierat — ratus exspectandum, locum qui prope flumen
he-had-heard thinking to-be-waited-for the-place which near the-river
tutissimus statiuis est uisus delectum communiit.
safest for-a-standing-camp has seemed chosen fortified

Nec procul inde Hannibal cum consedisset, quantum 48.8
nor far thence Hannibal when he-had-encamped as-much-as
uictoria equestri elatus, tantum anxius inopia quae per
by-the-victory of-cavalry elated so-much anxious with-the-want which through
hostium agros euntem, nusquam praeparatis commeatibus,
of-the-enemy the-fields going nowhere prepared supplies
maior in dies excipiebat,
greater day-by day met-him
ad Clastidium uicum, quo magnum frumenti numerum 48.9
to Clastidium a-village whither a-great of-grain quantity
congesserant Romani, mittit. Ibi cum uim pararent,
had-heaped the-Romans he-sends there when force they-were-preparing
spes facta proditionis; nec sane magno pretio, nummis
hope was-made of-betrayal nor indeed at-great price with-coins
aureis quadringentis, Dasio Brundisino praefecto praesidii
gold four-hundred Dasius of-Brundisium the-commander of-the-garrison
corrupto traditur Hannibali Clastidium. Id horreum fuit
bribed is-handed-over to-Hannibal Clastidium that the-granary was
Poenis sedentibus ad Trebiam.
for-the-Carthaginians sitting at the-Trebia
In captiuos ex tradito praesidio, ut fama clementiae 48.10
against the-captives from the-surrendered garrison that a-reputation of-clemency
in principio rerum colligeretur, nihil saeuitum est.
at the-beginning of-the-campaign might-be-gathered nothing raged was
Cum ad Trebiam terrestre constitisset bellum, interim circa 49.1
when at the-Trebia the-land had-halted war meanwhile around
Siciliam insulasque Italiae imminentes et a Sempronio
Sicily and-the-islands to-Italy overhanging both by Sempronius
consule et ante aduentum eius terra marique res gestae.
the-consul and before the-arrival his by-land and-by-sea things were-done

49.2 Viginti quinqueremes cum mille armatis ad depopulandam
twenty quinqueremes with a-thousand armed-men for ravaging
oram Italiae a Carthaginiensibus missae; nouem Liparas, octo
the-coast of-Italy by the-Carthaginians sent nine the-Liparae eight
ad insulam Volcani tenuerunt, tres in fretum auertit aestus.
to the-island of-Vulcan reached three into the-strait turned the-tide

49.3 Ad eas conspectas a Messana duodecim naues ab Hierone
to them sighted from Messana twelve ships by Hiero
rege Syracusanorum missae, qui tum forte Messanae erat
the-king of-the-Syracusans sent who then by-chance at-Messana was
consulem Romanum opperiens, nullo repugnante captas
the-consul Roman awaiting with-no-one resisting captured
naues Messanam in portum deduxerunt.
the-ships to-Messana into the-harbor led

49.4 Cognitum ex captiuis praeter uiginti naues, cuius ipsi
it-was-learned from the-captives besides the-twenty ships of-which themselves
classis essent, in Italiam missas, quinque et triginta alias
of-the-fleet they-were into Italy sent five and thirty other
quinqueremes Siciliam petere ad sollicitandos ueteres
quinqueremes Sicily to-be-making-for for rousing the-old
socios;
allies

49.5 Lilybaei occupandi praecipuam curam esse; credere eadem
of-Lilybaeum of-being-seized the-chief concern to-be to-believe by-the-same
tempestate qua ipsi disiecti forent eam quoque
storm by-which themselves scattered they-had-been that also
classem ad Aegates insulas deiectam.
fleet to the-Aegates islands driven-off

Haec, sicut audita erant, rex M. Aemilio praetori, 49.6
these-things as heard they-had-been the-king to-Marcus Aemilius the-praetor
cuius Sicilia prouincia erat, perscribit monetque Lilybaeum
whose Sicily the-province was writes and-warns Lilybaeum
firmo teneret praesidio.
by-a-strong he-should-hold garrison
Extemplo et circa a praetore ad ciuitates missi legati 49.7
at-once both around by the-praetor to the-states sent legates
tribunique suos ad curam custodiae intendere,
and-tribunes their-own to care of-guarding directed
et ante omnia Lilybaeum tueri apparatu belli, edicto 49.8
and before all-things Lilybaeum guarded with-preparation of-war an-edict
proposito ut socii nauales decem dierum cocta cibaria ad
set-up that the-naval allies of-ten days cooked rations to
naues deferrent et ubi signum datum esset ne quis
the-ships should-bring and when the-signal given had-been that-not anyone
moram conscendendi faceret, perque omnem oram qui ex
delay of-embarking should-make and-along the-whole coast men-who from
speculis prospicerent aduentantem hostium classem missis.
watchtowers should-look-out-for the-approaching of-the-enemy fleet sent
Itaque quamquam de industria morati cursum nauium erant 49.9
and-so although on purpose delayed the-course of-the-ships had
Carthaginienses ut ante lucem accederent Lilybaeum,
the-Carthaginians that before light they-might-approach Lilybaeum
praesensum tamen est quia et luna pernox erat et
foreseen nevertheless it-was because both the-moon all-night was and
sublatis armamentis ueniebant.
with-raised sails they-were-coming

49.10 Extemplo datum signum ex speculis et in oppido ad arma
at-once given the-signal from the-watchtowers and in the-town to arms
conclamatum est et in naues conscensum; pars militum
shouted it-was and onto the-ships embarked part of-the-soldiers
in muris portarumque in stationibus, pars in nauibus erant.
on the-walls and-of-the-gates at the-posts part on the-ships were

49.11 Et Carthaginienses, quia rem fore haud cum imparatis
and the-Carthaginians because the-affair going-to-be not with the-unprepared
cernebant, usque ad lucem portu se abstinuerunt,
they-saw until to light from-the-harbor themselves kept-off
demendis armamentis eo tempore aptandaque ad pugnam
in-taking-down the-sails that time and-in-fitting for battle
classe absumpto.
the-fleet consumed

49.12 Ubi inluxit, recepere classem in altum ut spatium
when it-grew-light they-drew-back the-fleet into the-deep that room
pugnae esset exitumque liberum e portu naues
of-battle there-might-be and-an-exit free from the-harbor the-ships
hostium haberent.
of-the-enemy might-have

49.13 Nec Romani detractauere pugnam et memoria circa ea
nor the-Romans refused the-battle both by-the-memory around those
ipsa loca gestarum rerum freti et militum multitudine ac
very places of-the-done deeds trusting and of-the-soldiers in-the-number and
uirtute.
valor

50.1 Ubi in altum euecti sunt, Romanus conserere pugnam et
when into the-deep sailed-out they-had the-Roman to-join battle and
ex propinquo uires conferre uelle;
from near strength to-match wished

contra eludere Poenus et arte non ui rem 50.2
on-the-contrary evaded the-Carthaginian and by-skill not by-force the-thing
gerere nauiumque quam uirorum aut armorum malle
conducted and-of-ships than of-men or of-arms preferred
certamen facere.
a-contest to-make
Nam ut sociis naualibus adfatim instructam classem, ita 50.3
for as with-naval allies abundantly equipped the-fleet so
inopem milite habebant et, sicubi conserta nauis esset,
poor in-soldiers they-had and if-anywhere grappled a-ship had-been
haudquaquam par numerus armatorum ex ea pugnabat.
by-no-means equal a-number of-armed-men from it fought
Quod ubi animaduersum est, et Romanis multitudo sua 50.4
which when noticed it-was both for-the-Romans the-multitude their
auxit animum et paucitas illis minuit.
increased the-spirit and the-fewness for-them diminished
Extemplo septem naues Punicae circumuentae: fugam ceterae 50.5
at-once seven ships Punic surrounded flight the-rest
ceperunt. Mille et septingenti fuere in nauibus captis
took a-thousand and seven-hundred were on the-ships captured
milites nautaeque, in his tres nobiles Carthaginiensium.
soldiers and-sailors among these three nobles of-the-Carthaginians
Classis Romana incolumis, una tantum perforata naui sed 50.6
the-fleet Roman unharmed one only pierced ship but
ea quoque ipsa reduce, in portum rediit.
that also itself returning into the-harbor came-back
Secundum hanc pugnam, nondum gnaris eius qui 50.7
after this battle not-yet aware of-it those-who
Messanae erant Ti. Sempronius consul Messanam uenit.
at-Messana were Tiberius Sempronius the-consul to-Messana came

Ei fretum intranti rex Hiero classem ornatam obuiam
to-him the-strait entering the-king Hiero a-fleet equipped to-meet
duxit,
led

50.8 transgressusque ex regia in praetoriam nauem, gratulatus
and-having-crossed from the-royal into the-flagship ship having-congratulated
sospitem cum exercitu et nauibus aduenisse precatusque
safe with army and ships to-have-arrived and-having-prayed-for
prosperum ac felicem in Siciliam transitum,
prosperous and happy into Sicily a-crossing

50.9 statum deinde insulae et Carthaginiensium conata exposuit
the-state then of-the-island and of-the-Carthaginians the-attempts he-set-forth
pollicitusque est, quo animo priore bello populum
and-promised has with-what spirit in-the-former war the-people
Romanum iuuenis adiuuisset, eo senem adiuturum;
Roman as-a-young-man he-had-helped with-that as-an-old-man going-to-help

50.10 frumentum uestimentaque sese legionibus consulis sociisque
grain and-clothing himself to-the-legions of-the-consul and-to-the-allies
naualibus gratis praebiturum; grande periculum Lilybaeo
naval free going-to-provide great danger for-Lilybaeum
maritimisque ciuitatibus esse et quibusdam uolentibus nouas
and-for-the-coastal states to-be and to-some wishing new
res fore.
things going-to-be

50.11 Ob haec consuli nihil cunctandum uisum quin
on-account-of these-things to-the-consul nothing to-be-delayed it-seemed but-that
Lilybaeum classe peteret. Et rex regiaque classis
Lilybaeum with-the-fleet he-should-seek and the-king and-the-royal fleet
una profecti. Nauigantes inde pugnatum ad Lilybaeum
together set-out sailing thence fought at Lilybaeum
fusasque et captas hostium naues accepere.
and-routed and captured of-the-enemy the-ships they-learned

A Lilybaeo consul, Hierone cum classe regia dimisso 51.1
from Lilybaeum the-consul Hiero with the-fleet royal dismissed
relictoque praetore ad tuendam Siciliae oram, ipse in insulam
and-left the-praetor for guarding of-Sicily the-coast himself to the-island
Melitam, quae a Carthaginiensibus tenebatur, traiecit.
Melita which by the-Carthaginians was-being-held crossed
Aduenienti Hamilcar Gisgonis filius, praefectus praesidii, 51.2
to-him-arriving Hamilcar of-Gisgo the-son the-commander of-the-garrison
cum paulo minus duobus milibus militum oppidumque cum
with a-little less-than two thousands of-soldiers and-the-town with
insula traditur. Inde post paucos dies reditum Lilybaeum
the-island is-handed-over thence after few days returned to-Lilybaeum
captiuique et a consule et a praetore, praeter insignes
and-the-captives both by the-consul and by the-praetor except those-distinguished
nobilitate uiros, sub corona uenierunt.
in-nobility men under the-wreath were-sold
Postquam ab ea parte satis tutam Siciliam censebat consul, ad 51.3
after from that side enough safe Sicily thought the-consul to
insulas Volcani, quia fama erat stare ibi Punicam classem,
the-islands of-Vulcan because the-report was to-stand there the-Punic fleet
traiecit; nec quisquam hostium circa eas insulas inuentus;
he-crossed nor anyone of-the-enemy around those islands found
iam forte transmiserant ad uastandam Italiae oram 51.4
already by-chance they-had-crossed for ravaging of-Italy the-coast
depopulatoque Vibonensi agro urbem etiam terrebant.
and-having-ravaged the-Vibonese land the-city also they-were-terrifying
Repetenti Siciliam consuli escensio hostium in agrum 51.5
to-the-returning to-Sicily consul a-landing of-the-enemy into the-land
Vibonensem facta nuntiatur, litteraeque ab senatu de
Vibonese made is-announced and-a-letter from the-senate about

transitu in Italiam Hannibalis et ut primo quoque
the-crossing into Italy of-Hannibal and that at-the-first every
tempore collegae ferret auxilium missae traduntur.
time to-his-colleague he-should-bring help sent is-delivered

51.6 Multis simul anxius curis exercitum extemplo in naues
by-many at-once anxious cares the-army at-once onto ships
impositum Ariminum mari supero misit, Sex. Pomponio
put to-Ariminum by-the-sea upper he-sent to-Sextus Pomponius
legato cum uiginti quinque longis nauibus Vibonensem
the-legate with twenty five long ships the-Vibonese
agrum maritimamque oram Italiae tuendam attribuit,
land and-the-maritime coast of-Italy to-be-guarded he-assigned

51.7 M. Aemilio praetori quinquaginta nauium classem
for-Marcus Aemilius the-praetor of-fifty ships the-fleet
expleuit. Ipse compositis Siciliae rebus decem nauibus
he-filled-up himself settled of-Sicily the-affairs with-ten ships
oram Italiae legens Ariminum peruenit. Inde cum exercitu
the-coast of-Italy skirting to-Ariminum arrived thence with army
suo profectus ad Trebiam flumen collegae coniungitur.
his-own having-set-out to the-Trebia river with-his-colleague is-joined

With both consuls facing him, Hannibal ravages the land of Gauls who court both sides, and when they appeal to the consul, Sempronius, against his wounded colleague's advice, sends cavalry who scatter the plunderers. Elated, he thinks the war his to win before the elections, and calls Scipio sick in spirit. Hannibal, who knows his enemy's temper and hears from Gallic spies that the Romans are ready for battle, begins to look for a place for an ambush.

Iam ambo consules et quidquid Romanarum uirium erat 52.1
now both consuls and whatever of-Roman strength there-was
Hannibali oppositum aut illis copiis defendi posse
to-Hannibal opposed either by-those forces to-be-defended to-be-able
Romanum imperium aut spem nullam aliam esse satis
the-Roman empire or hope no other to-be enough
declarabat.
declared

Tamen consul alter, equestri proelio uno et uolnere suo 52.2
yet consul the-one by-the-cavalry battle one and by-wound his-own
comminutus, trahi rem malebat; recentis animi
crushed to-be-dragged-out the-matter preferred of-fresh spirit
alter eoque ferocior nullam dilationem patiebatur.
the-other and-by-that fiercer no delay would-tolerate

Quod inter Trebiam Padumque agri est Galli tum 52.3
what between the-Trebia and-the-Po of-land is the-Gauls then
incolebant, in duorum praepotentium populorum certamine
inhabited in of-two very-powerful peoples a-contest
per ambiguum fauorem haud dubie gratiam uictoris
by doubtful favor not doubtfully the-gratitude of-the-victor
spectantes.
looking-to

52.4 Id Romani, modo ne quid mouerent, aequo satis,
that the-Romans provided that-not anything they-might-stir with-even enough
Poenus periniquo animo ferebat, ab Gallis accitum
the-Carthaginian with-very-uneven mind bore by the-Gauls summoned
se uenisse ad liberandos eos dictitans.
himself to-have-come for freeing them repeatedly-saying

52.5 Ob eam iram, simul ut praeda militem aleret,
on-account-of that anger at-the-same-time that with-booty the-soldiery he-might-feed
duo milia peditum et mille equites, Numidas plerosque,
two thousands of-infantry and a-thousand horsemen Numidians most
mixtos quosdam et Gallos, populari omnem deinceps agrum
mixed some also Gauls to-ravage all in-succession the-land
usque ad Padi ripas iussit.
right to of-the-Po the-banks ordered

52.6 Egentes ope Galli, cum ad id dubios seruassent animos,
needing help the-Gauls when until that doubtful they-had-kept their-minds
coacti ab auctoribus iniuriae ad uindices futuros declinant
forced from the-authors of-the-wrong to the-avengers going-to-be turn
legatisque ad consulem missis auxilium Romanorum terrae
and-envoys to the-consul sent the-help of-the-Romans for-their-land
ob nimiam cultorum fidem in Romanos laboranti orant.
on-account-of the-excessive of-its-tillers loyalty to the-Romans laboring beg

52.7 Cornelio nec causa nec tempus agendae rei placebat
to-Cornelius neither the-cause nor the-time of-doing the-thing pleased
suspectaque ei gens erat cum ob infida multa
and-suspected to-him the-nation was both on-account-of faithless many
facinora, tum, ut alia uetustate obsoleuissent, ob
deeds and though other-things by-age might-have-faded on-account-of
recentem Boiorum perfidiam:
the-recent of-the-Boii perfidy

Sempronius contra continendis in fide sociis maximum 52.8
Sempronius on-the-contrary for-holding in loyalty the-allies the-greatest
uinculum esse primos qui eguissent ope defensos censebat.
bond to-be the-first who had-needed help defended thought
Tum collega cunctante equitatum suum mille peditum, 52.9
then his-colleague hesitating the-cavalry his-own a-thousand of-infantry
iaculatoribus ferme, admixtis ad defendendum Gallicum agrum
javelin-men about mixed-in for defending the-Gallic land
trans Trebiam mittit.
across the-Trebia sends
Sparsos et incompositos, ad hoc graues praeda 52.10
scattered and disordered in-addition to-this heavy with-booty
plerosque cum inopinato inuasissent, ingentem terrorem
most when unexpectedly they-had-attacked huge terror
caedemque ac fugam usque ad castra stationesque hostium
and-slaughter and flight right to the-camp and-posts of-the-enemy
fecere; unde multitudine effusa pulsi, rursus subsidio
they-caused whence by-the-multitude poured-out driven-back again with-the-help
suorum proelium restituere.
of-their-own the-battle they-restored
Varia inde pugna inter recedentes insequentesque, cumque 52.11
varied then the-fight between those-retreating and-those-pursuing and-when
ad extremum aequassent certamen, maior tamen hostium
at the-end they-had-equaled the-contest greater however of-the-enemy
cum caedes esset, penes Romanos fama uictoriae fuit.
since the-slaughter was with the-Romans the-glory of-victory was
Ceterum nemini omnium maior ea iustiorque quam ipsi 53.1
however to-no-one of-all greater that and-more-just than to-the-very
consuli uideri; gaudio efferri, qua parte copiarum
consul it-seemed with-joy he-was-carried-away in-what part of-the-forces
alter consul uictus foret, ea se uicisse:
the-other consul conquered had-been in-that himself to-have-conquered

53.2 restitutos ac refectos militibus animos nec quemquam esse
restored and renewed to-the-soldiers the-spirits nor anyone to-be
praeter collegam qui dilatam dimicationem uellet; eum,
except his-colleague who postponed the-fight should-wish him
animo magis quam corpore aegrum, memoria uolneris
in-mind more than in-body sick by-the-memory of-his-wound
aciem ac tela horrere.
the-battle-line and the-weapons to-shudder-at

53.3 sed non esse cum aegro senescendum. quid enim ultra
but not to-be with a-sick-man to-be-grown-old what for further
differri aut teri tempus? quem tertium consulem, quem
to-be-put-off or to-be-wasted the-time what third consul what
alium exercitum exspectari?
other army to-be-awaited

53.4 castra Carthaginiensium in Italia ac prope in conspectu urbis
the-camp of-the-Carthaginians in Italy and almost in sight of-the-city
esse. non Siciliam ac Sardiniam, uictis ademptas,
to-be not Sicily and Sardinia from-the-conquered taken
nec cis Hiberum Hispaniam peti sed solo patrio
nor this-side the-Ebro Spain to-be-sought but from-the-soil ancestral
terraque in qua geniti forent pelli Romanos.
and-the-land in which born they-were to-be-driven the-Romans

53.5 'Quantum ingemiscant' inquit 'patres nostri, circa moenia
how-much would-groan he-said fathers our around the-walls
Carthaginis bellare soliti, si uideant nos, progeniem
of-Carthage to-wage-war accustomed if they-should-see us offspring
suam, duos consules consularesque exercitus, in media
their two consuls and-consular armies in middle
Italia pauentes intra castra, Poenum quod inter Alpes
Italy cowering within the-camp the-Carthaginian that-which between the-Alps
Appenninumque agri sit suae dicionis fecisse?'
and-the-Apennines of-land is of-his-own sway to-have-made

Haec adsidens aegro collegae, haec in praetorio prope 53.6
these-things sitting-by his-sick colleague these-things in the-headquarters almost
contionabundus agere. Stimulabat et tempus propinquum
haranguing he-kept-saying there-goaded-him both the-time near
comitiorum, ne in nouos consules bellum differretur, et occasio
of-the-elections lest to new consuls the-war should-be-put-off and the-chance
in se unum uertendae gloriae, dum aeger collega erat.
onto himself alone of-turning the-glory while sick his-colleague was
Itaque nequiquam dissentiente Cornelio parari ad 53.7
and-so in-vain disagreeing Cornelius to-be-prepared for
propinquum certamen milites iubet. Hannibal cum quid
the-near contest the-soldiers he-orders Hannibal since what
optimum foret hosti cerneret, uix ullam spem habebat
best would-be for-the-enemy he-saw scarcely any hope had
temere atque improuide quicquam consules acturos;
rashly and improvidently anything the-consuls going-to-do
cum alterius ingenium, fama prius, deinde re cognitum, 53.8
since of-the-one the-nature by-report first then by-fact known
percitum ac ferox sciret esse ferociusque factum prospero
excitable and fierce he-knew to-be and-fiercer made successful
cum praedatoribus suis certamine crederet, adesse gerendae
with the-plunderers his by-the-contest he-believed to-be-present for-doing
rei fortunam haud diffidebat.
the-thing fortune not he-doubted
Cuius ne quod praetermitteret tempus, sollicitus intentusque 53.9
of-which that-not any he-might-let-slip the-time anxious and-intent
erat, dum tiro hostium miles esset, dum meliorem ex
he-was while raw of-the-enemy the-soldiery was while the-better of
ducibus inutilem uolnus faceret,
the-leaders useless the-wound made

53.10 dum Gallorum animi uigerent, quorum ingentem multitudinem
while of-the-Gauls the-spirits were-vigorous whose huge multitude
sciebat segnius secuturam quanto longius ab domo
he-knew more-sluggishly going-to-follow by-how-much farther from home
traherentur.
they-were-dragged

53.11 Cum ob haec taliaque speraret propinquum certamen
when on-account-of these and-such-things he-hoped-for a-near contest
et facere, si cessaretur, cuperet speculatoresque Galli, ad
and to-make-it if it-were-delayed he-desired and-the-spies Gauls for
ea exploranda quae uellet tutiores quia in utrisque
those-things exploring which he-wished safer because in both
castris militabant, paratos pugnae esse Romanos rettulissent,
camps they-served ready for-battle to-be the-Romans had-reported
locum insidiis circumspectare Poenus coepit.
a-place for-ambushes to-look-around-for the-Carthaginian began

XX · THE TREBIA

Hannibal hides his brother Mago with two thousand men in a brush-grown streambed. At dawn the Numidians draw the Romans out, and Sempronius leads his army, unfed, through the icy Trebia. The slingers and elephants rout the Roman cavalry, Mago falls on the rear, and the line is surrounded; ten thousand cut their way through to Placentia. Rain and snow kill men, beasts, and almost all the elephants, and by night Scipio leads the rest across the river.

54.1 Erat in medio riuus praealtis utrimque clausus ripis et
there-was in the-middle a-stream by-very-high on-both-sides enclosed banks and
circa obsitus palustribus herbis et quibus inculta ferme
around overgrown with-marsh grasses and with-which the-uncultivated mostly
uestiuntur, uirgultis uepribusque. Quem ubi equites quoque
are-clothed with-bushes and-brambles which when horsemen even

tegendo satis latebrosum locum circumuectus ipse oculis
for-covering enough concealing the-place having-ridden-round himself with-his-eyes
perlustrauit,
surveyed
'Hic erit locus' Magoni fratri ait 'quem teneas. 54.2
this will-be the-place to-Mago his-brother he-said which you-may-hold
Delige centenos uiros ex omni pedite atque equite cum
choose a-hundred-each men from all the-infantry and cavalry with
quibus ad me uigilia prima uenias; nunc corpora curare
whom to me at-the-watch first you-may-come now bodies to-tend
tempus est.' Ita praetorium missum.
the-time is so the-headquarters dismissed
Mox cum delectis Mago aderat. 'Robora uirorum cerno' 54.3
soon with the-picked Mago was-present the-strength of-men I-see
inquit Hannibal; 'sed uti numero etiam, non animis modo
he-said Hannibal but that in-number also not in-spirits only
ualeatis, singulis uobis nouenos ex turmis manipulisque
you-may-be-strong for-each of-you nine-each from the-troops and-maniples
uestri similes eligite. Mago locum monstrabit quem
yourselves like choose Mago the-place will-show which
insideatis; hostem caecum ad has belli artes habetis.'
you-may-occupy an-enemy blind to these of-war arts you-have
Ita cum mille equitibus Magone, mille peditibus dimisso 54.4
so with a-thousand horsemen Mago a-thousand foot-soldiers dismissed
Hannibal prima luce Numidas equites transgressos Trebiam
Hannibal at-first light the-Numidian horsemen having-crossed the-Trebia
flumen obequitare iubet hostium portis iaculandoque in
river to-ride-up-to orders of-the-enemy to-the-gates and-by-throwing-javelins at
stationes elicere ad pugnam hostem, iniecto deinde certamine
the-posts to-entice to battle the-enemy started then the-contest
cedendo sensim citra flumen pertrahere.
by-yielding gradually this-side the-river to-draw

54.5 Haec mandata Numidis: ceteris ducibus peditum
these-things enjoined on-the-Numidians to-the-other leaders of-infantry
equitumque praeceptum ut prandere omnes iuberent,
and-of-cavalry instructed that to-breakfast all they-should-order
armatos deinde instratisque equis signum exspectare.
armed then and-saddled the-horses the-signal to-await

54.6 Sempronius ad tumultum Numidarum primum omnem
Sempronius at the-uproar of-the-Numidians first all
equitatum, ferox ea parte uirium, deinde sex milia
the-cavalry fierce in-that part of-his-strength then six thousands
peditum, postremo omnes copias ad destinatum iam ante
of-infantry finally all the-forces to the-fixed already before
consilio auidus certaminis eduxit.
by-plan eager for-the-contest led-out

54.7 Erat forte brumae tempus et niualis dies in locis
it-was by-chance of-the-winter-solstice the-time and a-snowy day in places
Alpibus Appenninoque interiectis, propinquitate etiam
between-the-Alps and-the-Apennines lying by-nearness also
fluminum ac paludum praegelidis.
of-rivers and of-marshes very-cold

54.8 Ad hoc raptim eductis hominibus atque equis, non
in-addition to-this hastily led-out the-men and horses not
capto ante cibo, non ope ulla ad arcendum frigus adhibita,
taken before food not help any for warding-off the-cold applied
nihil caloris inerat, et quidquid aurae fluminis
nothing of-warmth was-in-them and whatever to-the-breeze of-the-river
appropinquabant, adflabat acrior frigoris uis.
they-drew-near blew sharper of-the-cold the-force

54.9 Ut uero refugientes Numidas insequentes aquam ingressi
when indeed the-fleeing Numidians pursuing the-water entered
sunt — et erat pectoribus tenus aucta nocturno imbri —
they-have and it-was to-the-breasts as-far swollen by-the-night rain

tum utique egressis rigere omnibus corpora ut uix
then certainly having-come-out were-stiff for-all the-bodies so-that scarcely
armorum tenendorum potentia esset, et simul lassitudine
of-arms of-holding the-power was-there and at-once with-weariness
et procedente iam die fame etiam deficere.
and advancing already the-day with-hunger also they-failed
Hannibalis interim miles ignibus ante tentoria factis oleoque 55.1
of-Hannibal meanwhile the-soldiery fires before the-tents made and-oil
per manipulos, ut mollirent artus, misso et cibo per
through the-maniples that they-might-soften their-limbs sent and food at
otium capto, ubi transgressos flumen hostes nuntiatum est,
leisure taken when crossed the-river the-enemy announced it-was
alacer animis corporibusque arma capit atque in aciem procedit.
eager in-spirits and-bodies arms takes and into the-line advances
Baliares locat ante signa ac leuem armaturam, octo 55.2
the-Baliares he-places before the-standards and the-light armament eight
ferme milia hominum, dein grauiorem armis peditem,
about thousands of-men then the-heavier in-arms infantry
quod uirium, quod roboris erat; in cornibus circumfudit
what of-strength what of-vigor there-was on the-wings he-spread
decem milia equitum et ab cornibus in utramque partem
ten thousands of-horsemen and from the-wings to each side
diuersos elephantos statuit.
divided the-elephants he-stationed
Consul effuse sequentes equites, cum ab resistentibus 55.3
the-consul disorderly pursuing the-horsemen when by the-resisting
subito Numidis incauti exciperentur, signo receptui dato
suddenly Numidians unwary they-were-caught by-the-signal for-retreat given
reuocatos circumdedit peditibus.
recalled he-placed-around the-infantry

55.4 Duodeuiginti milia Romani erant, socium nominis Latini
eighteen thousands Romans there-were of-allies of-the-name Latin
uiginti, auxilia praeterea Cenomanorum; ea sola in fide
twenty auxiliaries besides of-the-Cenomani that alone in loyalty
manserat Gallica gens. Iis copiis concursum est.
had-remained Gallic nation with-these forces clashed it-was
55.5 Proelium a Baliaribus ortum est; quibus cum maiore
the-battle by the-Baliares begun was to-whom when with-greater
robore legiones obsisterent, diducta propere in cornua leuis
strength the-legions resisted drawn-off hastily onto the-wings the-light
armatura est, quae res effecit ut equitatus Romanus
armament was which thing brought-about that the-cavalry Roman
extemplo urgeretur.
at-once was-pressed
55.6 Nam cum uix iam per se resisterent decem milibus
for when scarcely now by themselves they-were-resisting the-ten thousands
equitum quattuor milia et fessi integris plerisque, obruti
of-horsemen four thousands and weary against-fresh-men mostly overwhelmed
sunt insuper uelut nube iaculorum a Baliaribus coniecta.
were besides as-if by-a-cloud of-javelins by the-Baliares thrown
55.7 Ad hoc elephanti eminentes ab extremis cornibus,
in-addition to-this the-elephants towering from the-farthest wings
equis maxime non uisu modo sed odore insolito territis,
the-horses most not by-sight only but by-smell unaccustomed frightened
fugam late faciebant.
flight widely caused
55.8 Pedestris pugna par animis magis quam uiribus erat,
the-infantry fight equal in-spirits more than in-strength was
quas recentes Poenus paulo ante curatis corporibus
which fresh the-Carthaginian a-little before tended bodies
in proelium attulerat; contra ieiuna fessaque corpora
into the-battle had-brought on-the-other-hand fasting and-weary the-bodies

Romanis et rigentia gelu torpebant. Restitissent
for-the-Romans and stiff with-frost were-numb they-would-have-held-out
tamen animis, si cum pedite solum foret pugnatum;
yet in-spirit if with infantry alone it-had-been fought
sed et Baliares pulso equite iaculabantur in latera et 55.9
but both the-Baliares the-cavalry driven-off were-hurling-javelins at the-flanks and
elephanti iam in mediam peditum aciem sese tulerant
the-elephants now into the-middle of-the-infantry line themselves had-carried
et Mago Numidaeque, simul latebras eorum improuida
and Mago and-the-Numidians as-soon-as the-hiding-places their unforeseeing
praeterlata acies est, exorti ab tergo ingentem tumultum
carried-past the-line was having-risen in the-rear huge uproar
ac terrorem fecere.
and terror caused
Tamen in tot circumstantibus malis mansit aliquamdiu 55.10
yet in so-many surrounding ills remained for-some-time
immota acies, maxime praeter spem omnium aduersus
unmoved the-line most beyond the-hope of-all against
elephantos.
the-elephants
Eos uelites ad id ipsum locati uerutis coniectis et 55.11
them the-light-armed for that very-thing placed with-darts thrown both
auertere et insecuti auersos sub caudis, qua maxime
turned-away and having-pursued the-turned under their-tails where most
molli cute uolnera accipiunt, fodiebant.
soft in-skin wounds they-receive they-stabbed
Trepidantesque et prope iam in suos consternatos e 56.1
and-panicking and almost now onto their-own stampeded from
media acie in extremam ad sinistrum cornu aduersus
the-middle line to the-end at the-left wing against
Gallos auxiliares agi iussit Hannibal. Ibi extemplo
the-Gauls auxiliary to-be-driven ordered Hannibal there at-once

haud dubiam fecere fugam; nouus quoque terror additus
not doubtful they-made a-flight new also terror was-added
Romanis ut fusa auxilia sua uiderunt.
for-the-Romans when routed the-auxiliaries their-own they-saw

56.2 Itaque cum iam in orbem pugnarent, decem milia ferme
and-so when now in a-circle they-were-fighting ten thousands about
hominum — cum alia euadere nequissent — media
of-men since otherwise to-escape they-had-been-unable through-the-middle
Afrorum acie quae Gallicis auxiliis firmata erat, cum
of-the-Africans line which with-Gallic auxiliaries strengthened had-been with
ingenti caede hostium perrupere
huge slaughter of-the-enemy broke-through

56.3 et, cum neque in castra reditus esset flumine interclusus
and since neither into the-camp a-return was by-the-river cut-off
neque prae imbri satis decernere possent qua suis opem
nor for the-rain enough to-make-out they-could where to-their-own help
ferrent, Placentiam recto itinere perrexere.
they-might-bring to-Placentia by-a-direct route proceeded

56.4 Plures deinde in omnes partes eruptiones factae; et qui
more then in all directions breakouts were-made and those-who
flumen petiere, aut gurgitibus absumpti sunt aut inter
the-river sought either by-the-eddies consumed were or during
cunctationem ingrediendi ab hostibus oppressi.
hesitation of-entering by the-enemy overwhelmed

56.5 Qui passim per agros fuga sparsi erant uestigia
who here-and-there through the-fields in-flight scattered had-been the-tracks
cedentis sequentes agminis Placentiam contendere;
of-the-retreating following column to-Placentia made-their-way
aliis timor hostium audaciam ingrediendi flumen fecit,
to-others fear of-the-enemy the-boldness of-entering the-river made
transgressique in castra peruenerunt.
and-having-crossed into the-camp they-came

Imber niue mixtus et intoleranda uis frigoris et homines 56.6
rain with-snow mixed and unbearable force of-cold both men
multos et iumenta et elephantos prope omnes absumpsit.
many and beasts-of-burden and the-elephants almost all destroyed
Finis insequendi hostis Poenis flumen Trebia fuit, et 56.7
the-end of-pursuing the-enemy for-the-Carthaginians the-river Trebia was and
ita torpentes gelu in castra rediere ut uix laetitiam
so numb with-frost into the-camp they-returned that scarcely the-joy
uictoriae sentirent.
of-victory they-felt
Itaque nocte insequenti, cum praesidium castrorum et 56.8
and-so on-the-night following when the-garrison of-the-camp and
quod reliquum ex fuga semermium ex magna parte
what was-left from the-flight half-armed for great part
militum erat ratibus Trebiam traicerent,
of-the-soldiers was on-rafts the-Trebia they-were-crossing
aut nihil sensere obstrepente pluuia aut, quia iam 56.9
either nothing they-perceived drowning-the-sound the-rain or because now
moueri nequibant prae lassitudine ac uolneribus, sentire
to-move they-could-not for weariness and wounds to-perceive
sese dissimularunt, quietisque Poenis tacito agmine
themselves they-pretended-not and-quiet the-Carthaginians in-a-silent column
ab Scipione consule exercitus Placentiam est perductus,
by Scipio the-consul the-army to-Placentia was led-through
inde Pado traiectus Cremonam, ne duorum exercituum
thence across-the-Po carried to-Cremona lest of-two armies
hibernis una colonia premeretur.
by-the-winter-quarters one colony be-weighed-down

Rome fears Hannibal at its gates. Sempronius slips through to hold the elections, which choose Servilius and Flaminius. Hannibal is wounded attacking a depot near Placentia, then sacks Victumulae with savage cruelty. Crossing the Apennines in early spring, his army is driven back by a storm of wind, hail, and cold that kills men, beasts, and seven elephants. He fights Sempronius near Placentia to a draw, then turns to the Ligurians, who hand over two quaestors and other Roman captives.

57.1 Romam tantus terror ex hac clade perlatus est ut iam ad
to-Rome so-great terror from this disaster brought was that now to
urbem Romanam crederent infestis signis hostem uenturum
the-city Roman they-believed with-hostile standards the-enemy going-to-come
nec quicquam spei aut auxilii esse quo portis
nor anything of-hope or of-help to-be by-which from-the-gates
moenibusque uim arcerent:
and-walls the-force they-might-keep-off

57.2 uno consule ad Ticinum uicto, altero ex Sicilia reuocato,
one consul at the-Ticinus beaten the-other from Sicily recalled
duobus consulibus, duobus consularibus exercitibus uictis
two consuls two consular armies beaten
quos alios duces, quas alias legiones esse quae arcessantur?
what other leaders what other legions to-be which might-be-summoned

57.3 Ita territis Sempronius consul aduenit, ingenti periculo
so to-the-terrified Sempronius the-consul arrived at-huge risk
per effusos passim ad praedandum hostium equites audacia
through scattered everywhere for plundering of-the-enemy the-horsemen by-boldness
magis quam consilio aut spe fallendi resistendiue, si
more than by-plan or by-hope of-escaping-notice or-of-resisting if
non falleret, transgressus.
not he-should-escape-notice having-crossed

Is, quod unum maxime in praesentia desiderabatur, comitiis 57.4
he that-which one most at present was-wanted the-elections
consularibus habitis in hiberna rediit. Creati consules
consular having-been-held into winter-quarters returned created consuls
Cn. Seruilius et C. Flaminius.
Gnaeus Servilius and Gaius Flaminius
Ceterum ne hiberna quidem Romanis quieta erant 57.5
however not the-winter-quarters even for-the-Romans quiet were
uagantibus passim Numidis equitibus et, ut quaeque
roaming everywhere the-Numidian horsemen and where each-place
his impeditiora erant, Celtiberis Lusitanisque. Omnes
for-these more-impassable was the-Celtiberians and-the-Lusitanians all
igitur undique clausi commeatus erant, nisi quos Pado
therefore on-all-sides cut-off the-supplies were except those-which by-the-Po
naues subueherent.
ships brought-up
Emporium prope Placentiam fuit et opere magno 57.6
a-trading-post near Placentia there-was both with-work great
munitum et ualido firmatum praesidio. Eius castelli
fortified and with-a-strong secured garrison of-that fort
oppugnandi spe cum equitibus ac leui armatura profectus
of-attacking in-hope with the-horsemen and the-light armament having-set-out
Hannibal, cum plurimum in celando incepto ad effectum
Hannibal since the-most in concealing the-undertaking toward the-fulfillment
spei habuisset, nocte adortus non fefellit uigiles.
of-his-hope he-had-placed by-night having-attacked not he-escaped-notice-of the-sentries
Tantus repente clamor est sublatus ut Placentiae quoque 57.7
so-great suddenly a-shout was raised that at-Placentia also
audiretur. Itaque sub lucem cum equitatu consul aderat
it-was-heard and-so toward dawn with the-cavalry the-consul was-present
iussis quadrato agmine legionibus sequi.
ordered with-a-square column the-legions to-follow

57.8 Equestre interim proelium commissum; in quo, quia saucius
a-cavalry meanwhile battle joined in which because wounded
Hannibal pugna excessit, pauore hostibus iniecto defensum
Hannibal from-the-fight withdrew panic on-the-enemy thrown defended
egregie praesidium est.
excellently the-garrison was

57.9 Paucorum inde dierum quiete sumpta et uixdum satis
of-few then days rest taken and scarcely enough
percurato uolnere, ad Victumulas oppugnandas ire pergit.
cured the-wound to Victumulae attacking to-go he-proceeds

57.10 Id emporium Romanis Gallico bello fuerat; munitum inde
that trading-post for-the-Romans in-the-Gallic war had-been fortified thence
locum frequentauerant accolae mixti undique ex finitimis
the-place had-thronged dwellers-by mixed from-all-sides from the-neighboring
populis, et tum terror populationum eo plerosque ex
peoples and then terror of-the-ravagings thither most from
agris compulerat.
the-fields had-driven

57.11 Huius generis multitudo fama impigre defensi ad
of-this kind the-multitude by-the-report energetically of-the-defended at
Placentiam praesidii accensa armis arreptis obuiam
Placentia garrison fired arms having-been-seized to-meet
Hannibali procedit.
Hannibal advances

57.12 Magis agmina quam acies in uia concurrerunt, et cum
more columns than lines on the-road clashed and since
ex altera parte nihil praeter inconditam turbam esset, in
on the-one side nothing except a-disordered crowd was on
altera et dux militi et duci miles fidens, ad
the-other both the-leader in-the-soldiery and in-the-leader the-soldiery trusting about
triginta quinque milia hominum a paucis fusa.
thirty five thousands of-men by a-few were-routed

Postero die deditione facta praesidium intra moenia accepere; 57.13
on-the-next day surrender made a-garrison within the-walls they-received
iussique arma tradere cum dicto paruissent, signum
and-ordered arms to-hand-over when the-command they-had-obeyed the-signal
repente uictoribus datur, ut tamquam ui captam urbem
suddenly to-the-victors is-given that as-if by-force taken the-city
diriperent;
they-should-plunder
neque ulla, quae in tali re memorabilis scribentibus 57.14
nor any which in such a-case memorable to-the-writers
uideri solet, praetermissa clades est; adeo omne libidinis
to-seem is-wont omitted disaster was so every of-lust
crudelitatisque et inhumanae superbiae editum in miseros
and-of-cruelty and of-inhuman arrogance produced upon the-wretched
exemplum est. Hae fuere hibernae expeditiones Hannibalis.
example was these were the-winter campaigns of-Hannibal
Haud longi inde temporis, dum intolerabilia frigora erant, 58.1
not long then for-a-time while unbearable the-colds were
quies militi data est;
rest to-the-soldiery given was
et ad prima ac dubia signa ueris profectus ex hibernis 58.2
and at the-first and doubtful signs of-spring having-set-out from winter-quarters
in Etruriam ducit, eam quoque gentem, sicut Gallos
into Etruria he-leads that also nation like the-Gauls
Liguresque, aut ui aut uoluntate adiuncturus.
and-the-Ligurians either by-force or by-will going-to-join
Transeuntem Appenninum adeo atrox adorta tempestas est, ut 58.3
him-crossing the-Apennines so fierce attacked a-storm has that
Alpium prope foeditatem superauerit. Vento mixtus imber cum
of-the-Alps almost the-horror it-surpassed with-wind mixed rain when

ferretur in ipsa ora, primo, quia aut arma omittenda erant
it-was-borne into the-very faces at-first because either their-arms to-be-dropped were
aut contra enitentes uertice intorti adfligebantur, constitere;
or against-it straining by-a-whirl twisted were-dashed-down they-halted
58.4 dein, cum iam spiritum includeret nec reciprocare animam
then when now their-breath it-shut-in nor to-draw-back the-breath
sineret, auersi a uento parumper consedere.
allowed turned-away from the-wind for-a-while they-sat-down
58.5 Tum uero ingenti sono caelum strepere et inter horrendos
then indeed with-huge noise the-sky roared and amid horrible
fragores micare ignes; capti auribus et oculis metu omnes
crashes flashed fires robbed of-ears and of-eyes with-fear all
torpere;
were-numb
58.6 tandem effuso imbre, cum eo magis accensa uis
at-last poured-out the-rain when by-that more kindled the-force
uenti esset, ipso illo quo deprensi erant loco castra
of-the-wind was in-that very where caught they-had-been place camp
ponere necessarium uisum est.
to-pitch necessary seemed it-was
58.7 Id uero laboris uelut de integro initium fuit; nam nec
that indeed of-toil as-if from afresh the-beginning was for neither
explicare quicquam nec statuere poterant nec quod statutum
to-unfold anything nor to-set-up they-could nor what set-up
esset manebat omnia perscindente uento et rapiente.
had-been stayed all-things tearing-apart the-wind and sweeping-off
58.8 Et mox aqua leuata uento cum super gelida montium
and soon the-water lifted by-the-wind when above the-icy of-the-mountains
iuga concreta esset, tantum niuosae grandinis deiecit
ridges frozen it-had-been so-much of-snowy hail it-threw-down

ut omnibus omissis procumberent homines tegminibus
that all-things abandoned threw-themselves-down the-men by-coverings
suis magis obruti quam tecti;
their-own more buried than covered
tantaque uis frigoris insecuta est ut ex illa miserabili 58.9
and-so-great a-force of-cold followed has that from that wretched
hominum iumentorumque strage cum se quisque attollere
of-men and-of-beasts-of-burden heap when himself each to-raise
ac leuare uellet, diu nequiret, quia torpentibus rigore
and to-lift wished long he-could-not because numb with-stiffness
neruis uix flectere artus poterant.
the-sinews scarcely to-bend their-limbs they-could
Deinde, ut tandem agitando sese mouere ac recipere 58.10
then when at-last by-stirring themselves to-move and to-recover
animos et raris locis ignis fieri est coeptus, ad
their-spirits and in-scattered places fire to-be-made was begun to
alienam opem quisque inops tendere.
another's help each helpless made-his-way
Biduum eo loco uelut obsessi mansere; multi homines, 58.11
two-days in-that place as-if besieged they-remained many men
multa iumenta, elephanti quoque ex iis qui proelio ad
many beasts-of-burden elephants also of those which in-the-battle at
Trebiam facto superfuerant septem absumpti.
the-Trebia fought had-survived seven destroyed
Degressus Appennino retro ad Placentiam castra mouit 59.1
having-come-down from-the-Apennines back to Placentia the-camp he-moved
et ad decem milia progressus consedit. Postero die
and about ten thousands having-advanced encamped on-the-next day
duodecim milia peditum, quinque equitum aduersus hostem
twelve thousands of-infantry five of-horsemen against the-enemy
ducit;
he-leads

59.2 nec Sempronius consul — iam enim redierat ab Roma —
nor Sempronius the-consul already for he-had-returned from Rome
detractauit certamen. Atque eo die tria milia passuum
refused the-contest and on-that day three thousands of-paces
inter bina castra fuere;
between the-two camps were

59.3 postero die ingentibus animis uario euentu pugnatum
on-the-next day with-huge spirits with-varied outcome fought
est. Primo concursu adeo res Romana superior fuit ut
it-was at-the-first clash so the-state Roman superior was that
non acie uincerent solum sed pulsos hostes in castra
not in-line they-conquered only but driven-back the-enemy into the-camp
persequerentur, mox castra quoque oppugnarent.
they-pursued soon the-camp also they-attacked

59.4 Hannibal paucis propugnatoribus in uallo portisque positis,
Hannibal few defenders on the-rampart and-gates placed
ceteros confertos in media castra recepit intentosque signum
the-rest massed into the-middle camp received and-intent the-signal
ad erumpendum exspectare iubet.
for breaking-out to-await orders

59.5 Iam nona ferme diei hora erat, cum Romanus
already the-ninth about of-the-day the-hour was when the-Roman
nequiquam fatigato milite, postquam nulla spes erat
in-vain wearied the-soldiery after no hope was
potiundi castris, signum receptui dedit.
of-getting-possession of-the-camp the-signal for-retreat gave

59.6 Quod ubi Hannibal accepit laxatamque pugnam et recessum a
which when Hannibal learned and-slackened the-fight and withdrawn from
castris uidit, extemplo equitibus dextra laeuaque emissis in
the-camp saw at-once the-horsemen on-the-right and-on-the-left sent-out against
hostem ipse cum peditum robore mediis castris erupit.
the-enemy himself with of-the-infantry the-strength from-the-middle camp broke-out

Pugna raro magis ulla saeua aut utriusque partis pernicie 59.7
a-battle rarely more any fierce or of-each side by-the-destruction
clarior fuisset, si extendi eam dies in longum
more-famous would-have-been if to-be-extended it the-day into a-long
spatium siuisset;
space had-allowed
nox accensum ingentibus animis proelium diremit. Itaque 59.8
the-night kindled with-huge spirits the-battle broke-off and-so
acrior concursus fuit quam caedes et, sicut aequata ferme
fiercer the-clash was than the-slaughter and as equaled about
pugna erat, ita clade pari discessum est. Ab neutra parte
the-fight was so with-loss equal departed it-was from neither side
sescentis plus peditibus et dimidium eius equitum cecidit;
than-six-hundred more foot-soldiers and half of-that of-horsemen fell
sed maior Romanis quam pro numero iactura fuit, quia 59.9
but greater for-the-Romans than for the-number the-loss was because
equestris ordinis aliquot et tribuni militum quinque et
of-the-equestrian order several and tribunes of-the-soldiers five and
praefecti sociorum tres sunt interfecti.
prefects of-the-allies three were killed
Secundum eam pugnam Hannibal in Ligures, Sempronius 59.10
after that battle Hannibal into the-Ligurians Sempronius
Lucam concessit. Venienti in Ligures Hannibali per
to-Luca withdrew to-the-coming into the-Ligurians Hannibal through
insidias intercepti duo quaestores Romani, C. Fuluius et
ambush intercepted two quaestors Roman Gaius Fulvius and
L. Lucretius, cum duobus tribunis militum et quinque
Lucius Lucretius with two tribunes of-the-soldiers and five
equestris ordinis, senatorum ferme liberis, quo magis ratam
of-the-equestrian order of-senators about sons by-which more valid
fore cum iis pacem societatemque crederet, traduntur.
going-to-be with them peace and-alliance he-might-believe are-handed-over

Gnaeus Scipio lands at Emporiae and wins the coast to the Ebro by renewing old alliances and making new ones, and his name for clemency wins inland peoples too. He defeats Hanno near Cissis, capturing him and his camp, rich with the baggage of the army in Italy. Hasdrubal, crossing the Ebro too late, cuts up Roman sailors near Tarraco and withdraws; Scipio punishes the ships' officers. When Hasdrubal returns and rouses the Ilergetes to revolt, Scipio takes their capital Atanagrus and fines them, ambushes the Lacetani, and besieges the Ausetani through deep snow until they surrender.

60.1 Dum haec in Italia geruntur, Cn. Cornelius Scipio in
while these-things in Italy are-done Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio into
Hispaniam cum classe et exercitu missus,
Spain with a-fleet and an-army sent

60.2 cum ab ostio Rhodani profectus Pyrenaeosque montes
when from the-mouth of-the-Rhone having-set-out and-the-Pyrenean mountains
circumuectus Emporias appulisset classem,
having-sailed-round at-Emporiae had-brought-in the-fleet

60.3 exposito ibi exercitu orsus a Laeetanis omnem oram
landed there the-army having-begun from the-Laeetani the-whole coast
usque ad Hiberum flumen partim renouandis societatibus
right to the-Ebro river partly by-renewing alliances
partim nouis instituendis Romanae dicionis fecit.
partly by-new establishing of-Roman sway he-made

60.4 Inde conciliata clementiae fama non ad maritimos
thence won of-clemency the-reputation not with the-maritime
modo populos sed in mediterraneis quoque ac montanis
only peoples but among the-inland also and mountain
ad ferociores iam gentes ualuit; nec pax modo apud eos
to fiercer now nations prevailed nor peace only with them

sed societas etiam armorum parta est, ualidaeque aliquot
but alliance even of-arms gained was and-strong several
auxiliorum cohortes ex iis conscriptae sunt.
of-auxiliaries cohorts from them enrolled were
Hannonis cis Hiberum prouincia erat; eum reliquerat 60.5
of-Hanno this-side the-Ebro the-province was him had-left
Hannibal ad regionis eius praesidium. Itaque priusquam
Hannibal for of-region that the-guarding and-so before
alienarentur omnia obuiam eundum ratus, castris in conspectu
were-estranged all-things to-meet to-be-gone thinking the-camp in sight
hostium positis in aciem eduxit.
of-the-enemy placed into line he-led-out
Nec Romano differendum certamen uisum, quippe qui 60.6
nor to-the-Roman to-be-put-off the-contest seemed since who
sciret cum Hannone et Hasdrubale sibi dimicandum
knew with Hanno and Hasdrubal for-himself to-be-fought
esse malletque aduersus singulos separatim quam aduersus
to-be and-preferred against each separately than against
duos simul rem gerere.
two together the-matter to-conduct
Nec magni certaminis ea dimicatio fuit. Sex milia hostium 60.7
nor of-great contest that fight was six thousands of-the-enemy
caesa, duo capta cum praesidio castrorum; nam et castra
killed two taken with the-garrison of-the-camp for both the-camp
expugnata sunt atque ipse dux cum aliquot principibus
stormed was and himself the-leader with several leading-men
capiuntur; et Cissis, propinquum castris oppidum, expugnatur.
are-captured and Cissis near to-the-camp a-town is-stormed
Ceterum praeda oppidi parui pretii rerum fuit, supellex 60.8
however the-booty of-the-town of-small value of-things was furniture
barbarica ac uilium mancipiorum;
barbarian and of-cheap slaves

60.9 castra militem ditauere, non eius modo exercitus qui
the-camp the-soldiery enriched not of-that only army which
uictus erat sed et eius qui cum Hannibale in Italia
beaten had-been but also of-that which with Hannibal in Italy
militabat, omnibus fere caris rebus, ne grauia impedimenta
was-serving all almost dear things that-not heavy baggage
ferentibus essent, citra Pyrenaeum relictis.
to-them-carrying might-be this-side the-Pyrenees having-been-left

61.1 Priusquam certa huius cladis fama accideret, transgressus
before sure of-this disaster the-report reached having-crossed
Hiberum Hasdrubal cum octo milibus peditum, mille
the-Ebro Hasdrubal with eight thousands of-infantry a-thousand
equitum, tamquam ad primum aduentum Romanorum
of-horsemen as-if at the-first arrival of-the-Romans
occursurus, postquam perditas res ad Cissim amissaque
going-to-meet after lost the-cause at Cissis and-taken
castra accepit, iter ad mare conuertit.
the-camp he-learned his-march to the-sea turned

61.2 Haud procul Tarracone classicos milites naualesque socios
not far from-Tarraco the-naval soldiers and-the-naval allies
uagos palantesque per agros, quod ferme fit ut secundae
straying and-wandering through the-fields as usually happens that favorable
res neglegentiam creent, equite passim dimisso cum
circumstances carelessness create the-cavalry everywhere sent-out with
magna caede, maiore fuga ad naues compellit;
great slaughter with-greater flight to the-ships he-drives

61.3 nec diutius circa ea loca morari ausus, ne ab Scipione
nor longer around those places to-delay daring lest by Scipio
opprimeretur, trans Hiberum sese recepit.
he-be-overwhelmed across the-Ebro himself withdrew

Et Scipio raptim ad famam nouorum hostium agmine acto, 61.4
and Scipio hastily at the-report of-the-new enemy the-column driven
cum in paucos praefectos nauium animaduertisset, praesidio
when on a-few officers of-the-ships he-had-inflicted-punishment the-garrison
Tarracone modico relicto Emporias cum classe rediit.
at-Tarraco moderate left to-Emporiae with the-fleet returned
Vixdum digresso eo Hasdrubal aderat et Ilergetum populo, 61.5
scarcely departed him Hasdrubal was-present and the-Ilergetes people
qui obsides Scipioni dederat, ad defectionem impulso cum
which hostages to-Scipio had-given to revolt driven with
eorum ipsorum iuuentute agros fidelium Romanis sociorum
of-them themselves the-youth the-fields of-the-loyal to-the-Romans allies
uastat;
he-ravages
excito deinde Scipione hibernis toto cis Hiberum 61.6
roused then Scipio from-winter-quarters the-whole this-side the-Ebro
rursus cedit agro. Scipio relictam ab auctore defectionis
again he-leaves land Scipio forsaken by the-author of-the-revolt
Ilergetum gentem cum infesto exercitu inuasisset, compulsis
the-Ilergetes nation when with-a-hostile army he-had-invaded driven
omnibus Atanagrum urbem, quae caput eius populi erat,
all into-Atanagrus the-city which the-capital of-that people was
circumsedit,
he-besieged
intraque dies paucos pluribus quam ante obsidibus imperatis 61.7
and-within days few more than before hostages demanded
Ilergetes pecunia etiam multatos in ius dicionemque
the-Ilergetes with-money also fined into jurisdiction and-sway
recepit.
he-received

61.8 Inde in Ausetanos prope Hiberum, socios et ipsos
thence against the-Ausetani near the-Ebro allies also themselves
Poenorum, procedit atque urbe eorum obsessa Lacetanos
of-the-Carthaginians he-advances and their city besieged the-Lacetani
auxilium finitimis ferentes nocte haud procul iam
help to-their-neighbors bringing by-night not far now
urbe, cum intrare uellent, excepit insidiis.
from-the-city when to-enter they-wished he-caught in-an-ambush

61.9 Caesa ad duodecim milia; exuti prope omnes armis
killed about twelve thousands stripped almost all of-arms
domos passim palantes per agros diffugere; nec obsessos
to-their-homes everywhere wandering through the-fields scattered nor the-besieged
alia ulla res quam iniqua oppugnantibus hiemps tutabatur.
other any thing than unfavorable to-the-attackers winter protected

61.10 Triginta dies obsidio fuit, per quos raro unquam nix
thirty days the-siege lasted during which seldom ever the-snow
minus quattuor pedes alta iacuit adeoque pluteos ac uineas
less-than four feet deep lay and-so-much the-mantlets and the-sheds
Romanorum operuerat ut ea sola ignibus aliquotiens
of-the-Romans had-covered that it alone against-the-fires several-times
coniectis ab hoste etiam tutamentum fuerit.
thrown by the-enemy also a-protection was

61.11 Postremo cum Amusicus princeps eorum ad Hasdrubalem
finally when Amusicus the-leader their to Hasdrubal
profugisset, uiginti argenti talentis pacti deduntur.
had-fled on-twenty of-silver talents having-agreed they-are-surrendered
Tarraconem in hiberna reditum est.
to-Tarraco into winter-quarters returned it-was

XXIII · FLAMINIUS LEAVES FOR ARIMINUM

Portents crowd Rome that winter: an infant crying "triumph," an ox climbing to a third story, stones raining in Picenum, a wolf stealing a sentry's sword. The city is purified and gifts and vows made. Flaminius, hated by the fathers for his old quarrels with them and for supporting Claudius' law against senators owning large ships, fears they will hold him back with false auspices and slips away to Ariminum as a private man, neglecting the vows and the Latin festival. The senate's envoys fail to bring him back. As he sacrifices there, the wounded calf spatters the bystanders with blood, and he leads his four legions into Etruria.

Romae aut circa urbem multa ea hieme prodigia facta 62.1
at-Rome or around the-city many that winter portents were-made
aut, quod euenire solet motis semel in religionem animis,
or what to-happen is-wont stirred once toward religion the-minds
multa nuntiata et temere credita sunt,
many were-reported and rashly believed were
in quis ingenuum infantem semenstrem in foro holitorio 62.2
among which a-freeborn infant six-months-old in the-forum vegetable
triumphum clamasse,
triumph to-have-cried
et in foro boario bouem in tertiam contignationem 62.3
and in the-forum cattle an-ox to the-third story
sua sponte escendisse atque inde tumultu habitatorum
of-its-own accord to-have-climbed and thence by-the-uproar of-the-occupants
territum sese deiecisse,
frightened itself to-have-thrown-down
et nauium speciem de caelo adfulsisse, et aedem Spei, 62.4
and of-ships an-apparition from the-sky to-have-shone and the-temple of-Hope
quae est in foro holitorio, fulmine ictam, et Lanuui
which is in the-forum vegetable by-lightning struck and at-Lanuvium

hastam se commouisse et coruum in aedem Iunonis
a-spear itself to-have-moved and a-raven into the-temple of-Juno
deuolasse atque in ipso puluinari consedisse,
to-have-flown-down and on the-very couch to-have-settled
62.5 et in agro Amiternino multis locis hominum specie procul
and in the-land Amiternine in-many places of-men in-the-likeness far
candida ueste uisos nec cum ullo congressos, et in Piceno
in-white clothing seen nor with anyone having-met and in Picenum
lapidibus pluuisse, et Caere sortes extenuatas, et in Gallia
with-stones to-have-rained and at-Caere the-lots shrunken and in Gaul
lupum uigili gladium ex uagina raptum abstulisse.
a-wolf from-a-sentry his-sword from the-scabbard snatched to-have-carried-off
62.6 Ob cetera prodigia libros adire decemuiri iussi;
on-account-of the-other portents the-books to-consult the-decemvirs were-ordered
quod autem lapidibus pluuisset in Piceno, nouendiale sacrum
because moreover with-stones it-had-rained in Picenum a-nine-day rite
edictum; et subinde aliis procurandis prope tota
was-proclaimed and repeatedly with-other expiations almost the-whole
ciuitas operata fuit.
state busied was
62.7 Iam primum omnium urbs lustrata est hostiaeque maiores
now first of-all the-city purified was and-victims greater
quibus editum est dis caesae,
to-whom proclaimed it-was to-the-gods slain
62.8 et donum ex auri pondo quadraginta Lanuuium Iunoni
and a-gift of gold of-pounds forty to-Lanuvium to-Juno
portatum est et signum aeneum matronae Iunoni in Auentino
carried was and a-statue bronze the-matrons to-Juno on the-Aventine
dedicauerunt, et lectisternium Caere, ubi sortes attenuatae
dedicated and a-lectisternium at-Caere where the-lots shrunk
erant, imperatum, et supplicatio Fortunae in Algido;
had ordered and a-supplication to-Fortune on Algidus

Romae quoque et lectisternium Iuuentati et supplicatio ad 62.9
at-Rome also both a-lectisternium to-Youth and a-supplication at
aedem Herculis nominatim, deinde uniuerso populo circa
the-temple of-Hercules by-name then for-the-whole people around
omnia puluinaria indicta,
all the-couches proclaimed
et Genio maiores hostiae caesae quinque, et C. Atilius 62.10
and to-the-Genius greater victims slain five and Gaius Atilius
Serranus praetor uota suscipere iussus, si in decem annos
Serranus the-praetor vows to-undertake ordered if into ten years
res publica eodem stetisset statu.
the-thing public in-the-same should-have-stood condition
Haec procurata uotaque ex libris Sibyllinis magna ex 62.11
these-things expiated and-vowed from the-books Sibylline great in
parte leuauerant religione animos.
part had-relieved from-religious-fear the-minds
Consulum designatorum alter Flaminius, cui eae legiones 63.1
of-the-consuls designate the-one Flaminius to-whom those legions
quae Placentiae hibernabant sorte euenerant, edictum et
which at-Placentia were-wintering by-lot had-fallen an-edict and
litteras ad consulem misit ut is exercitus idibus Martiis
a-letter to the-consul sent that that army on-the-Ides of-March
Arimini adesset in castris.
at-Ariminum should-be-present in camp
Hic in prouincia consulatum inire consilium erat memori 63.2
he in the-province the-consulship to-enter the-plan was mindful
ueterum certaminum cum patribus, quae tribunus plebis
of-the-old struggles with the-fathers which as-tribune of-the-plebs
et quae postea consul prius de consulatu qui abrogabatur,
and which afterward as-consul first about the-consulship which was-being-annulled
dein de triumpho habuerat,
then about the-triumph he-had

63.3 inuisus etiam patribus ob nouam legem, quam Q.
hated also by-the-fathers on-account-of a-new law which Quintus
Claudius tribunus plebis aduersus senatum atque uno
Claudius tribune of-the-plebs against the-senate and with-one
patrum adiuuante C. Flaminio tulerat, ne quis senator
of-the-fathers helping Gaius Flaminius had-carried that-not any senator
cuiue senator pater fuisset maritimam nauem, quae plus
or-he-to-whom a-senator father had-been a-seagoing ship which more
quam trecentarum amphorarum esset, haberet.
than of-three-hundred amphorae should-be should-have

63.4 Id satis habitum ad fructus ex agris uectandos; quaestus
that enough was-thought for produce from the-fields transporting gain
omnis patribus indecorus uisus. Res per summam
all for-the-fathers unseemly seemed the-matter through the-utmost
contentionem acta inuidiam apud nobilitatem suasori
struggle carried ill-will with the-nobility for-the-proposer
legis Flaminio, fauorem apud plebem alterumque inde
of-the-law Flaminius favor with the-plebs and-a-second thence
consulatum peperit.
consulship bore

63.5 Ob haec ratus auspiciis ementiendis Latinarumque
on-account-of these-things thinking by-auspices being-falsified and-of-the-Latin
feriarum mora et consularibus aliis impedimentis
festival by-the-delay and by-consular other hindrances
retenturos se in urbe, simulato itinere priuatus clam
going-to-hold-back him in the-city pretended a-journey as-a-private-man secretly
in prouinciam abiit.
into the-province he-went-off

Ea res ubi palam facta est, nouam insuper iram infestis 63.6
that thing when public made was new besides anger hostile
iam ante patribus mouit: non cum senatu modo sed iam
already before in-the-fathers it-stirred not with the-senate only but now
cum dis immortalibus C. Flaminium bellum gerere.
with the-gods immortal Gaius Flaminius war to-be-waging
consulem ante inauspicato factum reuocantibus ex 63.7
consul before without-auspices made recalling-him from
ipsa acie dis atque hominibus non paruisse; nunc
the-very line the-gods and men not to-have-obeyed now
conscientia spretorum et Capitolium et sollemnem uotorum
from-consciousness of-the-spurned both the-Capitol and the-solemn of-vows
nuncupationem fugisse,
pronouncement to-have-fled
ne die initi magistratus Iouis optimi maximi 63.8
that-not on-the-day of-the-entered magistracy of-Jupiter best greatest
templum adiret, ne senatum inuisus ipse et sibi
the-temple he-might-approach that-not the-senate hated himself and by-himself
uni inuisum uideret consuleretque, ne Latinas
alone hated he-might-see and-consult that-not the-Latin-(festival)
indiceret Iouique Latiari sollemne sacrum in monte
he-might-proclaim and-to-Jupiter Latiaris the-solemn rite on the-mount
faceret,
might-perform
ne auspicato profectus in Capitolium ad uota nuncupanda, 63.9
that-not with-auspices having-set-out to the-Capitol for vows pronouncing
paludatus inde cum lictoribus in prouinciam iret.
in-the-general's-cloak thence with the-lictors into the-province he-might-go
lixae modo sine insignibus, sine lictoribus
of-a-camp-follower in-the-manner without insignia without lictors

profectum clam, furtim, haud aliter quam si exsilii causa
to-have-set-out secretly stealthily not otherwise than if of-exile for-the-sake
solum uertisset.
(his)-soil he-had-changed

63.10 magis pro maiestate uidelicet imperii Arimini quam
more befitting the-majesty no-doubt of-the-command at-Ariminum than
Romae magistratum initurum et in deuersorio hospitali
at-Rome the-magistracy going-to-enter and in an-inn of-hospitality
quam apud penates suos praetextam sumpturum.
than among the-household-gods his-own the-bordered-toga going-to-assume

63.11 Reuocandum uniuersi retrahendumque censuerunt et cogendum
to-be-recalled all and-to-be-dragged-back thought and to-be-compelled
omnibus prius praesentem in deos hominesque fungi
all before present toward gods and-men to-discharge
officiis quam ad exercitum et in prouinciam iret.
the-duties than to the-army and into the-province he-should-go

63.12 In eam legationem — legatos enim mitti placuit — Q.
on that embassy envoys for to-be-sent it-pleased Quintus
Terentius et M. Antistius profecti nihilo magis eum
Terentius and Marcus Antistius having-set-out in-nothing more him
mouerunt quam priore consulatu litterae mouerant ab
moved than in-the-former consulship the-letter had-moved by
senatu missae.
the-senate sent

63.13 Paucos post dies magistratum iniit, immolantique ei
few after days the-magistracy he-entered and-sacrificing to-him
uitulus iam ictus e manibus sacrificantium sese cum
a-calf already struck from the-hands of-the-sacrificers itself when
proripuisset, multos circumstantes cruore respersit;
it-had-torn-away many bystanders with-blood spattered

fuga procul etiam maior apud ignaros quid trepidaretur 63.14
the-flight farther-off even greater among those-ignorant what was-the-alarm
et concursatio fuit. Id a plerisque in omen magni terroris
and running-together was that by most for an-omen of-great terror
acceptum.
taken
Legionibus inde duabus a Sempronio prioris anni 63.15
the-legions then two from Sempronius of-the-former year
consule, duabus a C. Atilio praetore acceptis Etruriam
consul two from Gaius Atilius the-praetor received into-Etruria
per Appennini tramites exercitus duci est coeptus.
through of-the-Apennines the-paths the-army to-be-led was begun

XXIV · THROUGH THE MARSHES

As spring comes Hannibal leaves winter quarters, having escaped Gallic plots by changing his dress. At Rome the consul Servilius takes office amid renewed anger at the absent Flaminius; portents crowd in, among them a lot reading "Mars shakes his spear," and expiations, gifts, and the Saturnalia are decreed. Hannibal takes the short route through the flooded marshes of the Arno; the Gauls drop exhausted in the mud, and he loses an eye riding the last elephant. Leaving the consul at Arretium on his left, he ravages Etruria to provoke him; Flaminius storms from his council, falls from his horse, and marches anyway when the standard will not come up.

Iam uer appetebat cum Hannibal ex hibernis mouit, 1.1
already spring was-approaching when Hannibal from winter-quarters moved
et nequiquam ante conatus transcendere Appenninum
and in-vain before having-tried to-cross the-Apennines
intolerandis frigoribus et cum ingenti periculo moratus ac
by-unbearable colds and with huge danger having-waited and
metu.
fear

Galli, quos praedae populationumque conciuerat spes, 1.2
the-Gauls whom of-booty and-of-ravagings had-roused the-hope
postquam pro eo ut ipsi ex alieno agro raperent
after instead-of that that themselves from another's land they-should-carry-off
agerentque, suas terras sedem belli esse premique
and-drive their-own lands the-seat of-the-war to-be and-to-be-pressed
utriusque partis exercituum hibernis uidere, uerterunt
of-each side of-the-armies by-the-winter-quarters they-saw turned
retro in Hannibalem ab Romanis odia;
back against Hannibal from the-Romans their-hatreds

1.3 petitusque saepe principum insidiis, ipsorum inter se
and-attacked often of-the-chieftains by-the-plots of-themselves among themselves
fraude, eadem leuitate qua consenserant consensum
by-treachery by-the-same fickleness by-which they-had-conspired the-conspiracy
indicantium, seruatus erat et mutando nunc uestem nunc
betraying saved he-had-been and by-changing now his-dress now
tegumenta capitis errore etiam sese ab insidiis munierat.
the-coverings of-his-head by-deception also himself from plots had-protected
1.4 Ceterum hic quoque ei timor causa fuit maturius
however this also to-him fear the-cause was sooner
mouendi ex hibernis. Per idem tempus Cn. Seruilius
of-moving from winter-quarters in the-same time Gnaeus Servilius
consul Romae idibus Martiis magistratum iniit.
the-consul at-Rome on-the-Ides of-March the-magistracy entered
1.5 Ibi cum de re publica rettulisset, redintegrata in C.
there when about the-thing public he-had-referred renewed against Gaius
Flaminium inuidia est: duos se consules creasse, unum
Flaminius ill-will was two themselves consuls to-have-created one
habere; quod enim illi iustum imperium, quod auspicium esse?
to-have what for to-him rightful command what auspices to-be
1.6 magistratus id a domo, publicis priuatisque penatibus,
the-magistrates that from home from-the-public and-private household-gods
Latinis feriis actis, sacrificio in monte perfecto, uotis rite
the-Latin festival held the-sacrifice on the-mount completed the-vows duly
in Capitolio nuncupatis, secum ferre;
on the-Capitol pronounced with-them to-carry
1.7 nec priuatum auspicia sequi nec sine auspiciis profectum
nor a-private-man auspices to-follow nor without auspices having-set-out
in externo ea solo noua atque integra concipere posse.
on foreign them soil new and fresh to-take to-be-able

Augebant metum prodigia ex pluribus simul locis nuntiata: 1.8
increased the-fear portents from several at-once places announced
in Sicilia militibus aliquot spicula, in Sardinia autem
in Sicily for-the-soldiers several javelin-points in Sardinia moreover
in muro circumeunti uigilias equiti scipionem quem
on the-wall going-round the-watches for-a-horseman the-staff which
manu tenuerit arsisse et litora crebris ignibus
in-his-hand he-held to-have-burned and the-shores with-frequent fires
fulsisse et scuta duo sanguine sudasse,
to-have-shone and shields two with-blood to-have-sweated
et milites quosdam ictos fulminibus et solis orbem 1.9
and soldiers some struck by-lightnings and of-the-sun the-disk
minui uisum, et Praeneste ardentes lapides caelo
to-be-diminished seen and at-Praeneste burning stones from-the-sky
cecidisse, et Arpis parmas in caelo uisas pugnantemque
to-have-fallen and at-Arpi bucklers in the-sky seen and-fighting
cum luna solem,
with the-moon the-sun
et Capenae duas interdiu lunas ortas, et aquas Caeretes 1.10
and at-Capena two by-day moons risen and the-waters of-Caere
sanguine mixtas fluxisse fontemque ipsum Herculis cruentis
with-blood mixed to-have-flowed and-the-spring itself of-Hercules with-bloody
manasse respersum maculis, et in Antiati metentibus
to-have-trickled sprinkled spots and in the-Antiate-land for-the-reapers
cruentas in corbem spicas cecidisse, et Faleriis caelum
bloody into the-basket ears to-have-fallen and at-Falerii the-sky
findi uelut magno hiatu uisum quaque patuerit ingens
to-be-split as-if by-a-great gap seen and-where it-lay-open a-huge
lumen effulsisse;
light to-have-shone-out

1.11 sortes sua sponte attenuatas unamque excidisse ita
the-lots of-their-own accord shrunken and-one to-have-fallen-out thus
scriptam:
written

1.12 'Mauors telum suum concutit', et per idem tempus
Mavors the-weapon his-own shakes and in the-same time
Romae signum Martis Appia uia ac simulacra luporum
at-Rome the-statue of-Mars on-the-Appian way and the-images of-the-wolves
sudasse, et Capuae speciem caeli ardentis fuisse
to-have-sweated and at-Capua an-appearance of-the-sky burning to-have-been
lunaeque inter imbrem cadentis.
and-of-the-moon amid rain falling

1.13 Inde minoribus etiam dictu prodigiis fides habita: capras
then to-lesser even to-tell portents belief was-given goats
lanatas quibusdam factas, et gallinam in marem, gallum
woolly to-some made and a-hen into a-male a-cock
in feminam sese uertisse.
into a-female itself to-have-turned

1.14 His, sicut erant nuntiata, expositis auctoribusque in
these as they-had-been announced set-forth and-the-authorities into
curiam introductis consul de religione patres consuluit.
the-senate-house brought-in the-consul about religion the-fathers consulted

1.15 Decretum ut ea prodigia partim maioribus hostiis, partim
it-was-decreed that those portents partly with-greater victims partly
lactentibus procurarentur et uti supplicatio per triduum ad
with-sucklings should-be-expiated and that a-supplication for three-days at
omnia puluinaria haberetur;
all the-couches should-be-held

cetera, cum decemuiri libros inspexissent, ut ita fierent 1.16
the-rest when the-decemvirs the-books had-inspected that so they-should-be-done
quemadmodum cordi esse di sibi diuinis carminibus
as pleasing to-be the-gods to-themselves by-divine verses
praefarentur.
they-should-pronounce
Decemuirorum monitu decretum est Ioui primum 1.17
of-the-decemvirs by-the-advice decreed it-was to-Jupiter first
donum fulmen aureum pondo quinquaginta fieret,
a-gift a-thunderbolt golden of-pounds fifty should-be-made
Iunoni Mineruaeque ex argento dona darentur et Iunoni
to-Juno and-to-Minerva of silver gifts should-be-given and to-Juno
reginae in Auentino Iunonique Sospitae Lanuui maioribus
Queen on the-Aventine and-to-Juno Sospita at-Lanuvium with-greater
hostiis sacrificaretur,
victims there-should-be-sacrifice
matronaeque pecunia conlata quantum conferre cuique 1.18
and-the-matrons money collected as-much-as to-contribute for-each
commodum esset donum Iunoni reginae in Auentinum
convenient should-be a-gift to-Juno Queen to the-Aventine
ferrent lectisterniumque fieret, et ut libertinae et
should-carry and-a-lectisternium should-be-made and that the-freedwomen also
ipsae unde Feroniae donum daretur pecuniam pro
themselves whence to-Feronia a-gift might-be-given money according-to
facultatibus suis conferrent.
means their-own should-contribute
Haec ubi facta, decemuiri Ardeae in foro maioribus 1.19
these-things when done the-decemvirs at-Ardea in the-forum with-greater
hostiis sacrificarunt. Postremo Decembri iam mense ad
victims sacrificed finally December already in-the-month at

aedem Saturni Romae immolatum est, lectisterniumque
the-temple of-Saturn at-Rome sacrificed it-was and-a-lectisternium
imperatum — et eum lectum senatores strauerunt —
ordered and that couch the-senators spread
1.20 et conuiuium publicum, ac per urbem Saturnalia diem
and a-banquet public and through the-city the-Saturnalia day
ac noctem clamata, populusque eum diem festum habere
and night was-shouted and-the-people that day festive to-hold
ac seruare in perpetuum iussus.
and to-keep into perpetuity was-ordered
2.1 Dum consul placandis Romae dis habendoque dilectu
while the-consul to-appeasing at-Rome the-gods and-to-holding the-levy
dat operam, Hannibal profectus ex hibernis, quia iam
gives attention Hannibal having-set-out from winter-quarters because already
Flaminium consulem Arretium peruenisse fama erat,
Flaminius the-consul to-Arretium to-have-arrived the-report was
2.2 cum aliud longius, ceterum commodius ostenderetur iter,
when another longer but more-convenient was-shown route
propiorem uiam per paludes petit, qua fluuius Arnus per
the-nearer way through the-marshes he-seeks where the-river Arno during
eos dies solito magis inundauerat.
those days than-usual more had-flooded
2.3 Hispanos et Afros — id omne ueterani erat robur
the-Spaniards and the-Africans that all of-the-veteran was the-strength
exercitus — admixtis ipsorum impedimentis necubi consistere
of-the-army mixed-in their-own baggage lest-anywhere to-halt
coactis necessaria ad usus deessent, primos ire iussit; sequi
forced necessaries for use should-be-lacking first to-go he-ordered to-follow
Gallos, ut id agminis medium esset; nouissimos ire equites;
the-Gauls that that of-the-column the-middle might-be last to-go the-horsemen

Magonem inde cum expeditis Numidis cogere agmen, 2.4
Mago then with the-light-armed Numidians to-bring-up the-column
maxime Gallos, si taedio laboris longaeque uiae — ut
chiefly the-Gauls if from-weariness of-toil and-of-the-long road as
est mollis ad talia gens — dilaberentur aut subsisterent,
is soft for such-things the-nation should-slip-away or halt
cohibentem.
holding-back
Primi, qua modo praeirent duces, per praealtas fluuii 2.5
the-first wherever only the-guides led-the-way through very-deep of-the-river
ac profundas uoragines, hausti paene limo immergentesque
and bottomless pits swallowed almost in-mud and-sinking
se, tamen signa sequebantur.
themselves yet the-standards followed
Galli neque sustinere se prolapsi neque adsurgere ex 2.6
the-Gauls neither to-hold-up themselves having-slipped nor to-rise from
uoraginibus poterant, neque aut corpora animis aut animos
the-pits could nor either their-bodies by-spirits or their-spirits
spe sustinebant, alii fessa aegre trahentes membra,
by-hope sustained some weary with-difficulty dragging limbs
alii, ubi semel uictis taedio animis procubuissent, inter
others when once conquered by-weariness their-spirits they-had-lain-down among
iumenta et ipsa iacentia passim morientes;
the-beasts-of-burden also themselves lying everywhere dying
maximeque omnium uigiliae conficiebant per quadriduum 2.7
and-most of-all the-wakings wore-out through four-days
iam et tres noctes toleratae.
now and three nights endured

2.8 Cum omnia obtinentibus aquis nihil ubi in sicco fessa
when all-things holding the-waters nothing where on dry-ground weary
sternerent corpora inueniri posset, cumulatis in aqua
they-might-stretch bodies to-be-found could heaped-up in the-water
sarcinis insuper incumbebant,
packs on-top they-lay

2.9 aut iumentorum itinere toto prostratorum passim acerui
or of-beasts-of-burden on-the-march whole laid-low everywhere heaps
tantum quod exstaret aqua quaerentibus ad quietem
only what stood-out from-the-water to-those-seeking for rest
parui temporis necessarium cubile dabant.
of-short time a-necessary bed gave

2.10 Ipse Hannibal aeger oculis ex uerna primum intemperie
himself Hannibal sick in-the-eyes from the-spring first unwholesomeness
uariante calores frigoraque, elephanto, qui unus superfuerat,
varying heats and-colds on-the-elephant which alone had-survived
quo altius ab aqua exstaret,
that higher from the-water he-might-stand-out

2.11 uectus, uigiliis tamen et nocturno umore palustrique caelo
carried by-wakings yet and by-the-night damp and-the-marshy air
grauante caput et quia medendi nec locus nec tempus
weighing-down his-head and because of-healing neither place nor time
erat altero oculo capitur.
was in-one eye he-is-disabled

3.1 Multis hominibus iumentisque foede amissis cum tandem
many men and-beasts-of-burden foully lost when at-last
e paludibus emersisset, ubi primum in sicco potuit,
from the-marshes he-had-emerged where first on dry-ground he-could
castra locat, certumque per praemissos exploratores habuit
a-camp places and-certain through the-sent-ahead scouts held
exercitum Romanum circa Arreti moenia esse.
the-army Roman around Arretium's walls to-be

Consulis deinde consilia atque animum et situm regionum 3.2
of-the-consul then the-plans and spirit and the-lie of-the-regions
itineraque et copias ad commeatus expediendos et
and-the-roads and the-resources for supplies obtaining and
cetera quae cognosse in rem erat summa omnia
the-other-things which to-have-known to the-purpose was the-utmost all-things
cum cura inquirendo exsequebatur.
with care by-inquiring he-pursued
Regio erat in primis Italiae fertilis, Etrusci campi, qui 3.3
the-region was among the-first of-Italy fertile the-Etruscan plains which
Faesulas inter Arretiumque iacent, frumenti ac pecoris et
Faesulae between and-Arretium lie in-grain and cattle and
omnium copia rerum opulenti;
of-all plenty things rich
consul ferox ab consulatu priore et non modo legum aut 3.4
the-consul fierce from the-consulship former and not only of-the-laws or
patrum maiestatis sed ne deorum quidem satis metuens;
of-the-fathers of-the-majesty but not of-the-gods even enough fearing
hanc insitam ingenio eius temeritatem fortuna prospero
this inborn in-the-nature his rashness fortune by-prosperous
ciuilibus bellicisque rebus successu aluerat. Itaque satis
in-civil and-military affairs success had-fed and-so enough
apparebat nec deos nec homines consulentem ferociter
it-was-apparent neither the-gods nor men consulting fiercely
omnia ac praepropere acturum;
all-things and over-hastily going-to-do
quoque pronior esset in uitia sua, agitare eum 3.5
and-by-which more-inclined he-might-be toward vices his-own to-stir-up him
atque inritare Poenus parat,
and to-provoke the-Carthaginian prepares

3.6 et laeua relicto hoste Faesulas praeteriens medio
and on-the-left left the-enemy Faesulae passing-by through-the-middle
Etruriae agro praedatum profectus, quantam maximam
of-Etruria land to-plunder having-set-out as-great greatest
uastitatem potest caedibus incendiisque consuli procul
devastation he-can with-slaughters and-burnings to-the-consul far
ostendit.
shows

3.7 Flaminius, qui ne quieto quidem hoste ipse quieturus
Flaminius who not quiet even the-enemy himself going-to-be-quiet
erat, tum uero, postquam res sociorum ante oculos prope
was then indeed after the-property of-the-allies before his-eyes almost
suos ferri agique uidit, suum id dedecus ratus per
his-own to-be-carried and-driven he-saw his-own that disgrace thinking through
mediam iam Italiam uagari Poenum atque obsistente nullo
middle now Italy to-roam the-Carthaginian and opposing no-one
ad ipsa Romana moenia ire oppugnanda, ceteris omnibus
to the-very Roman walls to-go to-be-attacked the-others all
in consilio salutaria magis quam speciosa suadentibus:
in the-council salutary rather than showy-things urging

3.8 collegam exspectandum, ut coniunctis exercitibus communi
his-colleague to-be-awaited that joined the-armies with-common
animo consilioque rem gererent,
spirit and-counsel the-thing they-might-conduct

3.9 interim equitatu auxiliisque leuium armorum ab effusa
meanwhile with-the-cavalry and-auxiliaries of-light arms from the-unrestrained
praedandi licentia hostem cohibendum, — iratus se ex
of-plundering license the-enemy to-be-restrained enraged himself from
consilio proripuit, signumque simul itineris pugnaeque cum
the-council burst and-the-signal at-once of-march and-of-battle when
iussisset pronuntiari
he-had-ordered to-be-proclaimed

‘Immo Arreti ante moenia sedeamus’ inquit, ‘hic enim 3.10
nay of-Arretium before the-walls let-us-sit he-said here for
patria et penates sunt. Hannibal emissus e
the-fatherland and the-household-gods are Hannibal let-slip from
manibus perpopuletur Italiam uastandoque et urendo omnia
(our)-hands let-him-ravage Italy and-by-laying-waste and by-burning all-things
ad Romana moenia peruenīat, nec ante nos hinc mouerimus
to the-Roman walls let-him-arrive nor before we hence shall-have-moved
quam, sicut olim Camillum ab Veiis, C. Flaminium ab
than as once Camillus from Veii Gaius Flaminius from
Arretio patres acciuerint’.
Arretium the-fathers shall-have-summoned
Haec simul increpans cum ocius signa conuelli 3.11
these-things at-once chiding when more-quickly the-standards to-be-pulled-up
iuberet et ipse in equum insiluisset, equus repente corruit
he-ordered and himself onto his-horse had-leapt the-horse suddenly fell
consulemque lapsum super caput effudit.
and-the-consul having-slipped over its-head threw
Territis omnibus qui circa erant uelut foedo omine 3.12
terrified all who around were as-if by-a-foul omen
incipiendae rei, insuper nuntiatur signum omni ui
of-beginning the-matter besides it-is-announced the-standard with-all force
moliente signifero conuelli nequire.
striving the-standard-bearer to-be-pulled-up unable
Conuersus ad nuntium ‘Num litteras quoque’ inquit ‘ab senatu 3.13
turned to the-messenger surely-not a-letter also he-said from the-senate
adfers quae me rem gerere uetant? Abi, nuntia, effodiant
you-bring which me the-matter to-conduct forbid go announce let-them-dig-up
signum, si ad conuellendum manus prae metu obtorpuerit’.
the-standard if for pulling-up the-hand for fear has-grown-numb

3.14 Incedere inde agmen coepit primoribus, superquam quod
to-advance then the-column began the-leading-men beyond that-which
dissenserant ab consilio, territis etiam duplici prodigio,
they-had-dissented from the-plan terrified also by-the-double portent
milite in uolgus laeto ferocia ducis, cum spem
the-soldiery in general glad at-the-fierceness of-the-leader since the-hope
magis ipsam quam causam spei intueretur.
rather itself than the-cause of-hope it-regarded

XXV · TRASIMENE

Between the hills of Cortona and Lake Trasimene, Hannibal sets his Africans and Spaniards at the head of a narrow plain, his light troops behind the hills, and his cavalry at the pass. Flaminius enters unreconnoitered in the morning fog and is attacked on all sides before his line can form. For three hours the Romans fight where they stand, not even feeling an earthquake. The Insubrian Ducarius kills the consul; the rest are driven into the lake or the hills, and six thousand who broke out surrender to Maharbal and are put in chains.

4.1 Hannibal quod agri est inter Cortonam urbem
Hannibal what of-land is between Cortona the-city
Trasumennumque lacum omni clade belli peruastat,
and-Trasimene lake with-every destruction of-war ravages
quo magis iram hosti ad uindicandas sociorum iniurias
by-which more anger in-the-enemy for avenging of-the-allies the-wrongs
acuat;
he-might-sharpen
4.2 et iam peruenerant ad loca nata insidiis, ubi maxime
and already they-had-come to places made for-ambushes where most
montes Cortonenses in Trasumennum sidunt. Via tantum
the-mountains of-Cortona into Trasimene settle a-road only

interest perangusta, uelut ad id ipsum de industria relicto
lies-between very-narrow as-if for that very-thing on purpose left
spatio; deinde paulo latior patescit campus; inde colles
space then a-little wider opens a-plain thence hills
adsurgunt.
rise

Ibi castra in aperto locat, ubi ipse cum Afris modo 4.3
there a-camp in the-open he-places where himself with the-Africans only
Hispanisque consideret; Baliares ceteramque leuem armaturam
and-Spaniards might-encamp the-Baliares and-the-other light armament
post montes circumducit; equites ad ipsas fauces saltus
behind the-mountains he-leads-round the-horsemen at the-very jaws of-the-pass
tumulis apte tegentibus locat, ut, ubi intrassent Romani,
with-hillocks fitly covering he-places that when they-had-entered the-Romans
obiecto equitatu clausa omnia lacu ac montibus essent.
set-in-the-way the-cavalry closed all-things by-the-lake and by-the-mountains might-be

Flaminius cum pridie solis occasu ad lacum 4.4
Flaminius when on-the-day-before of-the-sun at-the-setting at the-lake
peruenisset, inexplorato postero die uixdum satis certa
had-arrived unreconnoitered on-the-next day scarcely enough certain
luce angustiis superatis, postquam in patentiorem campum
light the-defile surmounted after into the-more-open plain
pandi agmen coepit, id tantum hostium quod ex aduerso
to-be-spread the-column began that only of-the-enemy which from the-front
erat conspexit: ab tergo ac super caput deceptae insidiae.
was caught-sight-of from behind and above (his)-head deceived-(him) the-ambushes

Poenus ubi, id quod petierat, clausum lacu ac 4.5
the-Carthaginian when that which he-had-sought shut-in by-the-lake and
montibus et circumfusum suis copiis habuit hostem,
by-the-mountains and surrounded by-his-own forces he-had the-enemy
signum omnibus dat simul inuadendi.
the-signal to-all gives at-the-same-time of-attacking

4.6 Qui ubi, qua cuique proximum fuit, decucurrerunt, eo
who when where for-each nearest it-was ran-down by-that
magis Romanis subita atque improuisa res fuit, quod
more for-the-Romans sudden and unforeseen the-thing was that
orta ex lacu nebula campo quam montibus densior
risen from the-lake a-mist on-the-plain than on-the-mountains thicker
sederat agminaque hostium ex pluribus collibus ipsa inter
had-settled and-the-columns of-the-enemy from several hills themselves among
se satis conspecta eoque magis pariter decucurrerant.
themselves enough visible and-by-that more together had-run-down
4.7 Romanus clamore prius undique orto quam satis cerneret
the-Roman by-the-shout sooner on-all-sides risen than enough he-saw
se circumuentum esse sensit, et ante in frontem lateraque
himself surrounded to-be perceived and before on the-front and-flanks
pugnari coeptum est quam satis instrueretur acies aut
to-be-fought begun it-was than enough might-be-drawn-up the-line or
expediri arma stringique gladii possent.
to-be-readied the-arms and-to-be-drawn the-swords could
5.1 Consul perculsis omnibus ipse satis ut in re trepida
the-consul struck all himself enough as in a-situation alarming
impauidus, turbatos ordines, uertente se quoque ad
fearless the-disordered ranks turning himself also toward
dissonos clamores, instruit ut tempus locusque patitur, et
the-discordant shouts draws-up as time and-place allows and
quacumque adire audirique potest, adhortatur ac stare
wherever to-approach and-be-heard he-can encourages and to-stand
ac pugnare iubet:
and to-fight orders
5.2 nec enim inde uotis aut imploratione deum sed ui ac
nor for thence by-vows or by-imploring of-the-gods but by-force and
uirtute euadendum esse; per medias acies ferro uiam
valor to-be-escaped to-be through the-middle lines by-the-sword a-way

fieri et quo timoris minus sit, eo minus
to-be-made and by-how-much of-fear less there-is by-so-much less
ferme periculi esse.
about of-danger to-be
Ceterum prae strepitu ac tumultu nec consilium nec 5.3
however for the-din and uproar neither counsel nor
imperium accipi poterat, tantumque aberat ut sua
command to-be-received could and-so-far it-was-lacking that their-own
signa atque ordines et locum noscerent, ut uix
standards and ranks and place they-might-recognize that scarcely
ad arma capienda aptandaque pugnae competeret animus,
for arms taking and-fitting for-the-fight sufficed the-spirit
opprimerenturque quidam onerati magis iis quam tecti. Et
and-were-overwhelmed some burdened more by-them than protected and
erat in tanta caligine maior usus aurium quam oculorum.
there-was in so-great darkness greater use of-ears than of-eyes
Ad gemitus uolnerum ictusque corporum aut armorum et 5.4
at the-groans of-wounds and-the-blows of-bodies or of-arms and
mixtos strepentium pauentiumque clamores circumferebant
the-mixed of-the-clamoring and-panicking shouts they-turned-around
ora oculosque.
their-faces and-eyes
Alii fugientes pugnantium globo inlati haerebant; alios 5.5
some fleeing of-fighters into-a-cluster carried stuck others
redeuntes in pugnam auertebat fugientium agmen.
returning into the-fight turned-back of-the-fleeing the-column
Deinde, ubi in omnes partes nequiquam impetus capti 5.6
then when in all directions in-vain attacks were-made
et ab lateribus montes ac lacus, a fronte et ab
and on the-flanks the-mountains and the-lake in front and in
tergo hostium acies claudebat apparuitque nullam nisi in
the-rear of-the-enemy the-line shut-in and-it-appeared no except in

dextera ferroque salutis spem esse, tum sibi quisque
the-right-hand and-the-sword of-safety hope to-be then to-himself each
dux adhortatorque factus ad rem gerendam,
leader and-encourager made for the-matter conducting
5.7 et noua de integro exorta pugna est, non illa ordinata
and a-new from afresh arisen battle was not that ordered
per principes hastatosque ac triarios nec ut pro signis
by principes and-hastati and triarii nor that before the-standards
antesignani, post signa alia pugnaret acies nec ut in
the-front-rankers behind the-standards the-other might-fight line nor that in
sua legione miles aut cohorte aut manipulo esset;
his-own legion the-soldier or cohort or maniple might-be
5.8 fors conglobat et animus suus cuique ante aut post
chance groups-them and spirit his-own to-each before or behind
pugnandi ordinem dabat tantusque fuit ardor animorum,
of-fighting the-place gave and-so-great was the-ardor of-spirits
adeo intentus pugnae animus, ut eum motum terrae qui
so intent on-the-fight the-spirit that that movement of-the-earth which
multarum urbium Italiae magnas partes prostrauit auertitque
of-many cities of-Italy great parts laid-low and-turned-away
cursu rapidos amnes, mare fluminibus inuexit, montes
from-their-course swift rivers the-sea into-rivers carried mountains
lapsu ingenti proruit, nemo pugnantium senserit.
with-a-slide huge threw-down no-one of-those-fighting perceived
6.1 Tres ferme horas pugnatum est et ubique atrociter; circa
three about hours fought it-was and everywhere fiercely around
consulem tamen acrior infestiorque pugna est.
the-consul however fiercer and-more-hostile the-fight was
6.2 Eum et robora uirorum sequebantur et ipse, quacumque
him both the-strength of-men followed and himself wherever
in parte premi ac laborare senserat suos, impigre
in part to-be-pressed and to-labor he-had-perceived his-own energetically

ferebat opem, insignemque armis et hostes summa
brought help and-conspicuous by-his-arms both the-enemy with-the-utmost
ui petebant et tuebantur ciues,
force attacked and defended the-citizens
donec Insuber eques — Ducario nomen erat — facie quoque 6.3
until an-Insubrian horseman Ducarius the-name was by-face also
noscitans consulem, 'En' inquit 'hic est' popularibus suis, 'qui
recognizing the-consul look he-said this is to-the-countrymen his-own who
legiones nostras cecidit agrosque et urbem est depopulatus; iam
legions our cut-down and-the-fields and city has ravaged now
ego hanc uictimam manibus peremptorum foede ciuium dabo'.
I this victim to-the-shades of-the-slaughtered foully citizens shall-give
Subditisque calcaribus equo per confertissimam hostium 6.4
and-applied the-spurs to-(his)-horse through the-thickest of-the-enemy
turbam impetum facit obtruncatoque prius armigero, qui
crowd an-onset makes and-cut-down first the-armor-bearer who
se infesto uenienti obuiam obiecerat, consulem lancea
himself to-him-hostilely coming in-the-way had-thrown the-consul with-a-lance
transfixit; spoliare cupientem triarii obiectis scutis arcuere.
pierced to-strip-him wishing the-triarii with-thrown shields kept-off
Magnae partis fuga inde primum coepit; et iam nec 6.5
of-a-great part the-flight then first began and now neither
lacus nec montes pauori obstabant; per omnia arta
the-lake nor the-mountains to-the-panic stood-in-the-way through all narrow
praeruptaque uelut caeci euadunt, armaque et uiri super
and-steep-places as-if blind they-escape and-arms and men on-top-of
alium alii praecipitantur.
another others are-hurled-headlong
Pars magna, ubi locus fugae deest, per prima uada 6.6
a-part great when room for-flight is-lacking through the-first shallows
paludis in aquam progressi, quoad capitibus exstare
of-the-marsh into the-water having-advanced as-far-as with-their-heads to-stand-out

possunt, sese immergunt; fuere quos inconsultus pauor
they-can themselves plunge there-were whom thoughtless panic
nando etiam capessere fugam impulerit;
by-swimming even to-take-up flight drove
6.7 quae ubi immensa ac sine spe erat, aut deficientibus
which when immense and without hope was either failing
animis hauriebantur gurgitibus aut nequiquam fessi uada
their-spirits they-were-swallowed by-the-eddies or in-vain weary the-shallows
retro aegerrime repetebant atque ibi ab ingressis
back with-the-greatest-difficulty they-sought-again and there by having-entered
aquam hostium equitibus passim trucidabantur.
the-water of-the-enemy horsemen everywhere were-butchered
6.8 Sex milia ferme primi agminis per aduersos hostes
six thousands about of-the-first column through the-opposing enemy
eruptione impigre facta, ignari omnium quae post se
a-breakout energetically made ignorant of-all-things which behind them
agerentur, ex saltu euasere et, cum in tumulo quodam
were-being-done from the-pass escaped and when on a-hillock certain
constitissent, clamorem modo ac sonum armorum audientes,
they-had-halted the-shouting only and the-sound of-arms hearing
quae fortuna pugnae esset neque scire nec perspicere prae
what the-fortune of-the-fight might-be neither to-know nor to-see-through for
caligine poterant.
the-darkness they-could
6.9 Inclinata denique re, cum incalescente sole dispulsa nebula
decided at-last the-affair when with-the-warming sun dispersed the-mist
aperuisset diem, tum liquida iam luce montes campique
had-opened the-day then in-clear now light the-mountains and-plains
perditas res stratamque ostendere foede Romanam aciem.
lost the-cause and-laid-low showed foully the-Roman line

Itaque ne in conspectos procul immitteretur eques, sublatis 6.10
and-so lest on the-sighted from-afar should-be-sent the-cavalry raised
raptim signis quam citatissimo poterant agmine sese
hastily the-standards with-as most-hurried they-could column themselves
abripuerunt.
they-snatched-away

Postero die cum super cetera extrema fames etiam instaret, 6.11
on-the-next day when on-top-of other-things extreme hunger also pressed
fidem dante Maharbale, qui cum omnibus equestribus copiis
good-faith giving Maharbal who with all the-cavalry forces
nocte consecutus erat, si arma tradidissent, abire
by-night pursued had if (their)-arms they-should-hand-over to-depart
cum singulis uestimentis passurum, sese dediderunt;
with single garments going-to-allow themselves they-surrendered

quae Punica religione seruata fides ab Hannibale est atque 6.12
which with-Punic scrupulousness kept the-faith by Hannibal was and
in uincula omnes coniecti.
into chains all thrown

Fifteen thousand Romans fell at Trasimene and ten thousand scattered, by the account of Fabius, who lived in the war's own time; two thousand five hundred of the enemy fell. Hannibal releases the Latin captives and looks in vain for Flaminius' body. At Rome a crowd fills the forum until the praetor Pomponius says only, "We have been beaten in a great battle." For days women wait at the gates for news; one dies in her son's arms at the gate, and another, told falsely that her son was dead, dies of joy at the sight of him. The praetors keep the senate sitting day after day to decide how the victor can be resisted.

7.1 Haec est nobilis ad Trasumennum pugna atque inter paucas
this is the-famous at Trasimene battle and among the-few
memorata populi Romani clades.
remembered of-the-people Roman disasters

7.2 Quindecim milia Romanorum in acie caesa sunt; decem
fifteen thousands of-Romans in the-line killed were ten
milia sparsa fuga per omnem Etruriam auersis itineribus
thousands scattered by-flight through all Etruria by-diverse routes
urbem petiere;
the-city sought

7.3 duo milia quingenti hostium in acie, multi postea ex
two thousands five-hundred of-the-enemy in the-line many afterward from
uolneribus periere. Multiplex caedes utrimque facta traditur
wounds perished a-manifold slaughter on-both-sides made is-reported
ab aliis;
by others

7.4 ego praeterquam quod nihil auctum ex uano uelim,
I besides that nothing increased from the-groundless would-wish
quo nimis inclinant ferme scribentium animi, Fabium,
toward-which too-much incline usually of-writers the-minds Fabius

aequalem temporibus huiusce belli, potissimum auctorem
a-contemporary of-the-times of-this war chiefly as-authority
habui.
I-have-had
Hannibal captiuorum qui Latini nominis essent sine 7.5
Hannibal of-the-captives who of-the-Latin name were without
pretio dimissis, Romanis in uincula datis, segregata ex
ransom dismissed the-Romans into chains given separated from
hostium coaceruatorum cumulis corpora suorum cum sepeliri
of-the-enemy the-heaped piles the-bodies of-his-own when to-be-buried
iussisset, Flamini quoque corpus funeris causa magna
he-had-ordered of-Flaminius also the-body of-the-funeral for-the-sake great
cum cura inquisitum non inuenit.
with care sought not found
Romae ad primum nuntium cladis eius cum ingenti terrore 7.6
at-Rome at the-first news of-disaster that with huge terror
ac tumultu concursus in forum populi est factus.
and uproar a-concourse into the-forum of-the-people was made
Matronae uagae per uias, quae repens clades allata 7.7
the-matrons roaming through the-streets what sudden disaster brought
quaeue fortuna exercitus esset, obuios percontantur; et
or-what the-fortune of-the-army might-be those-they-meet ask and
cum frequentis contionis modo turba in comitium et
when of-a-crowded assembly in-the-manner the-crowd into the-comitium and
curiam uersa magistratus uocaret,
the-senate-house turned the-magistrates was-calling
tandem haud multo ante solis occasum M. Pomponius 7.8
at-last not much before of-the-sun the-setting Marcus Pomponius
praetor 'Pugna' inquit 'magna uicti sumus'. Et quamquam
the-praetor in-a-battle he-said great conquered we-have-been and although

nihil certius ex eo auditum est, tamen alius ab alio
nothing more-certain from him heard was yet one from another
impleti rumoribus domos referunt:
filled with-rumors to-their-homes carry-back

7.9 consulem cum magna parte copiarum caesum; superesse
the-consul with a-great part of-the-forces killed to-survive
paucos aut fuga passim per Etruriam sparsos aut captos
few or by-flight everywhere through Etruria scattered or captured
ab hoste.
by the-enemy

7.10 Quot casus exercitus uicti fuerant, tot in curas
as-many-as the-mishaps of-the-army beaten had-been so-many into anxieties
distracti animi eorum erant quorum propinqui sub C.
distracted the-minds of-those were whose kinsmen under Gaius
Flaminio consule meruerant, ignorantium quae cuiusque
Flaminius as-consul had-served not-knowing what of-each
suorum fortuna esset; nec quisquam satis certum habet
of-their-own the-fortune might-be nor anyone enough certain holds
quid aut speret aut timeat.
what either he-may-hope or he-may-fear

7.11 Postero ac deinceps aliquot diebus ad portas maior prope
on-the-next and in-succession several days at the-gates greater almost
mulierum quam uirorum multitudo stetit, aut suorum
of-women than of-men a-multitude stood either of-their-own
aliquem aut nuntios de iis opperiens; circumfundebanturque
someone or news about them awaiting and-they-thronged-around
obuiis sciscitantes neque auelli, utique ab notis,
those-they-met questioning nor to-be-torn-away certainly from acquaintances
priusquam ordine omnia inquisissent, poterant.
before in-order all-things they-had-asked could

Inde uarios uoltus digredientium ab nuntiis cerneres, 7.12
then various faces of-those-departing from the-messengers you-could-have-seen
ut cuique laeta aut tristia nuntiabantur, gratulantesque aut
as to-each glad or sad-things were-announced and-congratulating or
consolantes redeuntibus domos circumfusos. Feminarum
consoling those-returning to-their-homes thronged-around of-the-women
praecipue et gaudia insignia erant et luctus.
especially both joys remarkable were and griefs
Unam in ipsa porta sospiti filio repente oblatam in 7.13
one at the-very gate to-(her)-safe son suddenly presented in
complexu eius exspirasse ferunt; alteram, cui mors filii
the-embrace his to-have-expired they-say another to-whom the-death of-her-son
falso nuntiata erat, maestam sedentem domi, ad primum
falsely announced had-been sorrowful sitting at-home at the-first
conspectum redeuntis filii gaudio nimio exanimatam.
sight of-(her)-returning son with-joy excessive killed
Senatum praetores per dies aliquot ab orto usque ad 7.14
the-senate the-praetors for days several from the-rising right to
occidentem solem in curia retinent, consultantes quonam
the-setting sun in the-senate-house keep consulting under-what
duce aut quibus copiis resisti uictoribus Poenis posset.
leader or with-what forces to-be-resisted the-victorious Carthaginians could

A second blow follows: four thousand horsemen sent by the consul Servilius are cut off. Since the consul cannot be reached, the people elect Quintus Fabius Maximus dictator and Marcus Minucius master of the horse. Hannibal, beaten off at Spoletium, turns to Picenum and Apulia. Fabius blames Flaminius' neglect of the gods; the Sibylline books prescribe games, temples to Venus Erycina and Mind, a lectisternium, and a sacred spring, which the people vow. Fabius orders the land in Hannibal's path abandoned and burned and has the consul come to him without lictors. Fabius takes over Servilius' army and, when a Punic fleet seizes transports off Cosa, sends him to Ostia to man ships and guard the coast.

8.1 Priusquam satis certa consilia essent, repens alia nuntiatur
before enough firm the-plans were sudden another is-announced
clades, quattuor milia equitum cum C. Centenio
disaster four thousands of-horsemen with Gaius Centenius
propraetore missa ad collegam ab Seruilio consule in Umbria,
the-propraetor sent to his-colleague by Servilius the-consul in Umbria
quo post pugnam ad Trasumennum auditam auerterant
whither after the-battle at Trasimene heard they-had-turned
iter, ab Hannibale circumuenta.
their-march by Hannibal surrounded

8.2 Eius rei fama uarie homines adfecit. Pars occupatis
of-that event the-report variously men affected part occupied
maiore aegritudine animis leuem ex comparatione priorum
by-greater grief their-minds light from comparison with-the-former
ducere recentem equitum iacturam;
reckoned the-recent of-the-horsemen loss

pars non id quod acciderat per se aestimare sed, ut in 8.3
part not that which had-happened by itself assessed but as in
adfecto corpore quamuis leuis causa magis quam in ualido
an-afflicted body however light a-cause more than in a-healthy
grauior sentiretur,
heavier would-be-felt
ita tum aegrae et adfectae ciuitati quodcumque aduersi 8.4
so then for-the-sick and afflicted state whatever of-adverse
inciderit, non rerum magnitudine sed uiribus
should-have-befallen not of-the-things by-the-size but by-the-strength
extenuatis, quae nihil quod adgrauaret pati possent,
exhausted which nothing that might-aggravate to-bear could
aestimandum esse.
to-be-assessed to-be
Itaque ad remedium iam diu neque desideratum nec 8.5
and-so to the-remedy now long neither wanted nor
adhibitum, dictatorem dicendum, ciuitas confugit; et quia
applied a-dictator to-be-named the-state fled and because
et consul aberat, a quo uno dici posse uidebatur,
both the-consul was-absent by whom alone to-be-named to-be-able he-seemed
nec per occupatam armis Punicis Italiam facile erat aut
nor through occupied by-arms Punic Italy easy it-was either
nuntium aut litteras mitti,
a-messenger or a-letter to-be-sent
quod nunquam ante eam diem factum erat, dictatorem 8.6
what never before that day done had-been a-dictator
populus creauit Q. Fabium Maximum et magistrum
the-people created Quintus Fabius Maximus and as-master
equitum M. Minucium Rufum;
of-the-horse Marcus Minucius Rufus

8.7 iisque negotium ab senatu datum, ut muros turresque urbis
and-to-them the-task by the-senate given that the-walls and-towers of-the-city
firmarent et praesidia disponerent, quibus locis uideretur,
they-should-strengthen and garrisons should-post in-what places it-seemed-good
pontesque rescinderent fluminum: pro urbe dimicandum esse
and-the-bridges should-cut of-the-rivers for the-city to-be-fought to-be
ac penatibus quando Italiam tueri nequissent.
and the-household-gods since Italy to-protect they-had-been-unable

9.1 Hannibal recto itinere per Umbriam usque ad Spoletium
Hannibal by-a-direct route through Umbria right to Spoletium
uenit.
came

9.2 Inde, cum perpopulato agro urbem oppugnare adortus
thence when having-ravaged the-land the-city to-attack undertaken
esset, cum magna caede suorum repulsus, coniectans ex
he-had with great slaughter of-his-own driven-back guessing from
unius coloniae minus prospere temptatae uiribus quanta
of-one colony less successfully tried the-strength how-great
moles Romanae urbis esset,
the-mass of-the-Roman city might-be

9.3 in agrum Picenum auertit iter, non copia solum omnis
into the-land Picene turned his-march not with-plenty only of-every
generis frugum abundantem sed refertum praeda, quam effuse
kind of-produce abounding but crammed with-booty which recklessly
auidi atque egentes rapiebant.
greedy and needy they-seized

9.4 Ibi per dies aliquot statiua habita refectusque miles
there for days several a-standing-camp held and-refreshed the-soldiery
hibernis itineribus ac palustri uia proelioque magis ad
by-the-winter marches and the-marshy road and-by-the-battle more in
euentum secundo quam leui aut facili adfectus.
outcome favorable than light or easy affected

Ubi satis quietis datum praeda ac populationibus magis 9.5
when enough of-rest given in-booty and ravagings more
quam otio aut requie gaudentibus, profectus Praetutianum
than in-leisure or rest to-(men)-rejoicing having-set-out the-Praetutian
Hadrianumque agrum, Marsos inde Marrucinosque et
and-Hadrian land the-Marsi then and-the-Marrucini and
Paelignos deuastat circaque Arpos et Luceriam proximam
the-Paeligni he-ravages and-around Arpi and Luceria the-nearest
Apuliae regionem.
of-Apulia region
Cn. Seruilius consul leuibus proeliis cum Gallis factis 9.6
Gnaeus Servilius the-consul light battles with the-Gauls fought
et uno oppido ignobili expugnato, postquam de collegae
and one town obscure stormed after about his-colleague's
exercitusque caede audiuit, iam moenibus patriae metuens
and-the-army's slaughter he-heard now for-the-walls of-his-fatherland fearing
ne abesset in discrimine extremo, ad urbem iter intendit.
lest he-be-absent in the-crisis extreme toward the-city his-march directs
Q. Fabius Maximus dictator iterum quo die 9.7
Quintus Fabius Maximus dictator for-the-second-time on-what day
magistratum iniit uocato senatu, ab dis orsus,
the-magistracy he-entered the-senate called from the-gods having-begun
cum edocuisset patres plus neglegentia caerimoniarum quam
when he-had-taught the-fathers more by-neglect of-ceremonies than
temeritate atque inscitia peccatum a C. Flaminio consule
by-rashness and ignorance sinned by Gaius Flaminius the-consul
esse quaeque piacula irae deum essent ipsos deos
to-have-been and-what expiations of-the-anger of-the-gods might-be the-very gods
consulendos esse,
to-be-consulted to-be

9.8 peruicit ut, quod non ferme decernitur nisi cum taetra
he-prevailed that what not usually is-decreed except when hideous
prodigia nuntiata sunt, decemuiri libros Sibyllinos adire
portents announced have-been the-decemvirs the-books Sibylline to-consult
iuberentur.
should-be-ordered

9.9 Qui inspectis fatalibus libris rettulerunt patribus, quod
who having-inspected the-fateful books reported to-the-fathers that
eius belli causa uotum Marti foret, id non rite factum
of-that war for-the-sake vowed to-Mars had-been that not duly done
de integro atque amplius faciundum esse,
from afresh and more-amply to-be-done to-be

9.10 et Ioui ludos magnos et aedes Veneri Erycinae ac
and to-Jupiter games great and temples to-Venus Erycina and
Menti uouendas esse, et supplicationem lectisterniumque
to-Mind to-be-vowed to-be and a-supplication and-a-lectisternium
habendum, et uer sacrum uouendum si bellatum prospere
to-be-held and a-spring sacred to-be-vowed if warred successfully
esset resque publica in eodem quo ante bellum
it-should-have-been and-the-thing public in the-same which before the-war
fuisset statu permansisset.
it-had-been condition should-have-remained

9.11 Senatus, quoniam Fabium belli cura occupatura esset,
the-senate since Fabius of-the-war the-care going-to-occupy would
M. Aemilium praetorem, ex collegii pontificum sententia
Marcus Aemilius the-praetor by of-the-college of-pontiffs the-opinion
omnia ea ut mature fiant, curare iubet.
all those-things that promptly they-be-done to-see-to orders

10.1 His senatus consultis perfectis, L. Cornelius Lentulus
these of-the-senate decrees completed Lucius Cornelius Lentulus
pontifex maximus consulente collegium praetore omnium
the-pontiff greatest consulting the-college the-praetor of-all

primum populum consulendum de uere sacro censet:
first the-people to-be-consulted about the-spring sacred thinks
iniussu populi uoueri non posse.
without-the-order of-the-people to-be-vowed not to-be-able
Rogatus in haec uerba populus: 'Velitis iubeatisne haec 10.2
asked in these words the-people do-you-wish do-you-order these-things
sic fieri? Si res publica populi Romani Quiritium ad
thus to-be-done if the-thing public of-the-people Roman of-the-Quirites for
quinquennium proximum, sicut uelim uoueamque, salua
five-years next as I-would-wish and-vow safe
seruata erit hisce duellis, quod duellum populo Romano
preserved shall-be in-these wars which war to-the-people Roman
cum Carthaginiensi est quaeque duella cum Gallis sunt qui
with the-Carthaginian is and-which wars with the-Gauls are who
cis Alpes sunt,
this-side the-Alps are
tum donum duit populus Romanus Quiritium quod uer 10.3
then a-gift let-give the-people Roman of-the-Quirites what the-spring
attulerit ex suillo ouillo caprino bouillo grege quaeque
shall-have-brought from the-swine sheep goat cattle herd and-which
profana erunt Ioui fieri, ex qua die senatus
unconsecrated shall-be to-Jupiter to-be-sacrificed from what day the-senate
populusque iusserit.
and-people shall-have-ordered
Qui faciet, quando uolet quaque lege uolet facito; 10.4
who shall-do-it when he-shall-wish and-by-what rite he-shall-wish let-him-do-it
quo modo faxit probe factum esto.
in-what manner he-shall-have-done-it rightly done let-it-be
Si id moritur quod fieri oportebit, profanum esto, 10.5
if that dies which to-be-sacrificed it-shall-be-proper unconsecrated let-it-be
neque scelus esto. Si quis rumpet occidetue insciens, ne
nor a-crime let-it-be if anyone shall-break or-kill unknowing not

fraus esto. Si quis clepsit, ne populo scelus esto
a-fault let-it-be if anyone shall-have-stolen not for-the-people a-crime let-it-be
neue cui cleptum erit.
nor to-him-from-whom stolen it-shall-have-been

10.6 Si atro die faxit insciens, probe factum esto.
if on-a-black day he-shall-have-done-it unknowing rightly done let-it-be
Si nocte siue luce, si seruus siue liber faxit, probe
if by-night or by-light if slave or free shall-have-done-it rightly
factum esto. Si antidea senatus populusque iusserit
done let-it-be if before the-senate and-people shall-have-ordered
fieri ac faxitur, eo populus solutus liber esto.'
to-be-done and it-shall-be-done from-that the-people released free let-it-be

10.7 Eiusdem rei causa ludi magni uoti aeris trecentis
of-the-same matter for-the-sake games great vowed of-bronze three-hundred
triginta tribus milibus, trecentis triginta tribus triente,
thirty three thousands three-hundred thirty three with-a-third
praeterea bubus Ioui trecentis, multis aliis diuis bubus
besides oxen to-Jupiter three-hundred to-many other deities oxen
albis atque ceteris hostiis.
white and other victims

10.8 Votis rite nuncupatis supplicatio edicta; supplicatumque iere
the-vows duly pronounced a-supplication proclaimed and-to-pray went
cum coniugibus ac liberis non urbana multitudo tantum sed
with wives and children not the-city multitude only but
agrestium etiam, quos in aliqua sua fortuna publica
of-the-country-folk also whom in some their-own fortune the-public
quoque contingebat cura.
also touched care

10.9 Tum lectisternium per triduum habitum decemuiris sacrorum
then a-lectisternium for three-days held the-decemvirs of-the-rites
curantibus: sex puluinaria in conspectu fuerunt, Ioui ac
managing six couches in sight were for-Jupiter and

Iunoni unum, alterum Neptuno ac Mineruae, tertium Marti
Juno one the-second for-Neptune and Minerva the-third for-Mars
ac Veneri, quartum Apollini ac Dianae, quintum Volcano
and Venus the-fourth for-Apollo and Diana the-fifth for-Vulcan
ac Vestae, sextum Mercurio et Cereri.
and Vesta the-sixth for-Mercury and Ceres
Tum aedes uotae. Veneri Erycinae aedem Q. Fabius 10.10
then temples vowed to-Venus Erycina the-temple Quintus Fabius
Maximus dictator uouit, quia ita ex fatalibus libris editum
Maximus the-dictator vowed because so from the-fateful books given-out
erat ut is uoueret cuius maximum imperium in ciuitate
it-had-been that he should-vow whose greatest command in the-state
esset; Menti aedem T. Otacilius praetor uouit.
should-be to-Mind a-temple Titus Otacilius the-praetor vowed
Ita rebus diuinis peractis, tum de bello reque publica 11.1
so the-things divine completed then about the-war and-the-thing public
dictator rettulit quibus quotue legionibus uictori
the-dictator referred with-what or-with-how-many legions the-victorious
hosti obuiam eundum esse patres censerent.
enemy to-meet to-be-gone to-be the-fathers might-think
Decretum ut ab Cn. Seruilio consule exercitum acciperet; 11.2
it-was-decreed that from Gnaeus Servilius the-consul the-army he-should-receive
scriberet praeterea ex ciuibus sociisque quantum equitum
should-enroll besides from the-citizens and-allies as-many of-horsemen
ac peditum uideretur; cetera omnia ageret faceretque ut
and of-infantry as-seemed-good the-other all-things should-do and-perform as
e re publica duceret.
from the-thing public he-should-judge

11.3 Fabius duas legiones se adiecturum ad Seruilianum
Fabius two legions himself going-to-add to the-Servilian
exercitum dixit. Iis per magistrum equitum scriptis Tibur
army said them by the-master of-the-horse enrolled to-Tibur
diem ad conueniendum edixit.
a-day for assembling he-proclaimed

11.4 Edictoque proposito ut, quibus oppida castellaque immunita
and-an-edict posted that those-to-whom towns and-forts unfortified
essent, ut ii commigrarent in loca tuta, ex agris quoque
were that they should-move into places safe from the-fields also
demigrarent omnes regionis eius qua iturus Hannibal
should-move-out all of-the-region that by-which going-to-go Hannibal
esset tectis prius incensis ac frugibus corruptis ne cuius
was the-houses first burned and the-crops spoiled that-not of-any
rei copia esset,
thing a-supply there-might-be

11.5 ipse uia Flaminia profectus obuiam consuli exercituque,
himself by-the-road Flaminian having-set-out to-meet the-consul and-army
cum ad Tiberim circa Ocriculum prospexisset agmen
when at the-Tiber around Ocriculum he-had-sighted the-column
consulemque cum equitibus ad se progredientem, substitit
and-the-consul with the-horsemen toward him advancing halted
uiatore misso qui consuli nuntiaret ut sine lictoribus
an-officer sent who to-the-consul should-announce that without lictors
ad dictatorem ueniret.
to the-dictator he-should-come

11.6 Qui cum dicto paruisset congressusque eorum ingentem
who when the-order he-had-obeyed and-the-meeting their huge
speciem dictaturae apud ciues sociosque uetustate iam
show of-the-dictatorship among the-citizens and-allies by-time already
prope oblitos eius imperii fecisset, litterae ab urbe allatae
almost forgetful of-that command had-made a-letter from the-city brought

sunt naues onerarias commeatum ab Ostia in Hispaniam ad
was ships cargo supplies from Ostia to Spain to
exercitum portantes a classe Punica circa portum Cosanum
the-army carrying by the-fleet Punic around the-harbor of-Cosa
captas esse.
captured to-have-been

Itaque extemplo consul Ostiam proficisci iussus nauibusque 11.7
and-so at-once the-consul to-Ostia to-set-out ordered and-the-ships
quae ad urbem Romanam aut Ostiae essent completis
which at the-city Roman or at-Ostia were manned
milite ac naualibus sociis persequi hostium classem ac
with-soldiers and naval allies to-pursue of-the-enemy fleet and
litora Italiae tutari.
the-shores of-Italy to-protect

Magna uis hominum conscripta Romae erat; libertini 11.8
a-great number of-men enrolled at-Rome had-been freedmen
etiam, quibus liberi essent et aetas militaris, in uerba
even to-whom children were and age military into the-words
iurauerant.
had-sworn

Ex hoc urbano exercitu, qui minores quinque et triginta 11.9
from this city army those-who younger than-five and thirty
annis erant, in naues impositi, alii ut urbi praesiderent
years were onto ships put the-others that the-city they-might-guard
relicti.
left

Fabius follows Hannibal by the heights, never fighting except where necessity compels and protecting his foragers; near Arpi he refuses the battle Hannibal offers. Hannibal, who feared his prudence and had not yet tried his steadfastness, is troubled. Minucius calls the dictator a coward. Hannibal ravages Samnium, and on the word of three Campanians makes for Casinum, but his guide, mishearing the name, leads him toward Casilinum and down into the Stellatian plain; he has the guide flogged and crucified, and Maharbal plunders the Falernian land, yet the allies stay loyal.

12.1 Dictator exercitu consulis accepto a Fuluio Flacco legato
the-dictator the-army of-the-consul received from Fulvius Flaccus the-legate
per agrum Sabinum Tibur, quo diem ad conueniendum
through the-land Sabine to-Tibur whither a-day for assembling
edixerat nouis militibus, uenit.
he-had-proclaimed to-the-new soldiers came

12.2 Inde Praeneste ac transuersis limitibus in uiam Latinam
thence to-Praeneste and by-cross paths into the-road Latin
est egressus, unde itineribus summa cum cura exploratis
he-has come-out whence the-routes the-utmost with care reconnoitered
ad hostem ducit, nullo loco, nisi quantum necessitas
toward the-enemy he-leads in-no place except as-much-as necessity
cogeret, fortunae se commissurus.
might-compel to-fortune himself going-to-commit

12.3 Quo primum die haud procul Arpis in conspectu hostium
on-which first day not far from-Arpi in sight of-the-enemy
posuit castra, nulla mora facta quin Poenus educeret
he-placed the-camp no delay made but-that the-Carthaginian should-lead-out
in aciem copiamque pugnandi faceret.
into line and-the-opportunity of-fighting should-offer

Sed ubi quieta omnia apud hostes nec castra ullo tumultu 12.4
but when quiet all-things with the-enemy nor the-camp by-any commotion
mota uidet, increpans quidem uictos tandem illos Martios
moved he-sees mocking indeed conquered at-last those martial
animos Romanis, debellatumque et concessum propalam
spirits of-the-Romans and-the-war-finished and conceded openly
de uirtute ac gloria esse, in castra rediit;
about valor and glory to-be into the-camp he-returned
ceterum tacita cura animum incessit quod cum duce 12.5
however a-silent care his-mind entered that with a-leader
haudquaquam Flamini Sempronique simili futura sibi
by-no-means to-Flaminius and-Sempronius like going-to-be for-him
res esset ac tum demum edocti malis Romani parem
the-matter was and then at-last taught by-ills the-Romans equal
Hannibali ducem quaesissent.
to-Hannibal a-leader had-sought
Et prudentiam quidem dictatoris extemplo timuit; constantiam 12.6
and the-prudence indeed of-the-dictator at-once he-feared his-steadfastness
hauddum expertus, agitare ac temptare animum mouendo
not-yet having-tried to-stir and to-test his-mind by-moving
crebro castra populandoque in oculis eius agros sociorum
frequently the-camp and-by-ravaging in eyes his the-fields of-the-allies
coepit,
he-began
et modo citato agmine ex conspectu abibat, modo 12.7
and now with-a-quickened column from sight he-went-off now
repente in aliquo flexu uiae, si excipere degressum in
suddenly in some bend of-the-road if to-catch-him come-down onto
aequum posset, occultus subsistebat.
the-level he-might-be-able hidden he-halted

12.8 Fabius per loca alta agmen ducebat, modico ab hoste
Fabius through places high the-column led at-a-moderate from the-enemy
interuallo ut neque omitteret eum neque congrederetur.
distance that neither he-should-let-go him nor engage
Castris, nisi quantum usus necessarii cogerent, tenebatur
in-the-camp except as-much-as needs necessary compelled was-kept
miles; pabulum et ligna nec pauci petebant nec passim;
the-soldiery fodder and wood neither few were-seeking nor here-and-there
12.9 equitum leuisque armaturae statio, composita instructaque in
of-horsemen and-of-light armament a-post arranged and-drawn-up for
subitos tumultus, et suo militi tuta omnia et infesta
sudden alarms both for-his-own soldiery safe all-things and dangerous
effusis hostium populatoribus praebebat;
for-the-scattered of-the-enemy ravagers made
12.10 neque uniuerso periculo summa rerum committebatur et parua
neither to-a-general danger the-sum of-things was-committed and small
momenta leuium certaminum ex tuto coeptorum, finitimo
weights of-light contests from safety begun with-a-near
receptu, adsuefaciebant territum pristinis cladibus militem
retreat accustomed the-frightened by-former disasters soldiery
minus iam tandem aut uirtutis aut fortunae paenitere suae.
less now at-last either of-valor or of-fortune to-be-dissatisfied their-own
12.11 Sed non Hannibalem magis infestum tam sanis consiliis
but not Hannibal more hostile to-such sound counsels
habebat quam magistrum equitum, qui nihil aliud quam quod
he-had than the-master of-the-horse who nothing else than that
impar erat imperio morae ad rem publicam praecipitandam
unequal he-was in-command of-delay for the-thing public plunging-headlong
habebat. Ferox rapidusque consiliis ac lingua immodicus,
had fierce and-hasty in-counsels and in-tongue immoderate

primo inter paucos, dein propalam in uolgus, pro cunctatore 12.12
at-first among few then openly to the-public instead-of a-delayer
segnem, pro cauto timidum, adfingens uicina uirtutibus
sluggish instead-of cautious timid attributing neighboring to-virtues
uitia, compellabat, premendoque superiorem, quae pessima ars
vices he-called-him and-by-crushing his-superior which worst art
nimis prosperis multorum successibus creuit, sese extollebat.
too from-prosperous of-many successes has-grown himself he-exalted
Hannibal ex Hirpinis in Samnium transit, Beneuentanum 13.1
Hannibal from the-Hirpini into Samnium crosses the-Beneventan
depopulatur agrum, Telesiam urbem capit, inritat etiam de
ravages land Telesia the-city takes provokes also on
industria Romanum ducem, si forte accensum tot
purpose the-Roman leader if by-chance fired by-so-many
indignitatibus sociorum detrahere ad aequum certamen
indignities of-the-allies to-draw-down to an-equal contest
possit.
he-might-be-able
Inter multitudinem sociorum Italici generis, qui ad 13.2
among the-multitude of-the-allies of-Italian race who at
Trasumennum capti ab Hannibale dimissique fuerant, tres
Trasimene captured by Hannibal and-released had-been three
Campani equites erant, multis iam tum inlecti donis
Campanian horsemen were by-many already then enticed gifts
promissisque Hannibalis ad conciliandos popularium animos.
and-promises of-Hannibal for winning of-their-countrymen the-minds
Hi nuntiantes si in Campaniam exercitum admouisset 13.3
these announcing if into Campania the-army he-should-have-moved
Capuae potiendae copiam fore, cum res maior
of-Capua of-getting-possession the-opportunity going-to-be although the-thing greater
quam auctores esset, dubium Hannibalem alternisque fidentem
than the-authors was doubtful Hannibal and-by-turns trusting

ac diffidentem tamen ut Campaniam ex Samnio peteret
and distrusting yet that Campania from Samnium he-should-seek
mouerunt.
moved

13.4 Monitos etiam atque etiam promissa rebus adfirmarent
warned again and again their-promises with-deeds they-should-confirm
iussosque cum pluribus et aliquibus principum redire ad
and-ordered with more and some of-the-leading-men to-return to
se dimisit.
him he-dismissed

13.5 Ipse imperat duci ut se in agrum Casinatem ducat,
himself he-orders the-guide that him into the-land Casinate he-should-lead
edoctus a peritis regionum, si eum saltum
having-learned from those-acquainted with-the-regions if that pass
occupasset, exitum Romano ad opem ferendam sociis
he-should-have-seized the-exit to-the-Roman for help bringing to-the-allies
interclusurum;
going-to-shut-off

13.6 sed Punicum abhorrens ab Latinorum nominum locutione
but Punic shrinking from of-Latin names the-pronunciation
os, Casilinum pro Casino dux ut acciperet, fecit,
the-mouth Casilinum for Casinum the-guide that he-should-understand caused
auersusque ab suo itinere per Allifanum Caiatinumque
and-turned-aside from his-own route through the-Allifan and-Caiatine
et Calenum agrum in campum Stellatem descendit.
and the-Calene land into the-plain Stellate he-descends

13.7 Ubi cum montibus fluminibusque clausam regionem
when with mountains and-rivers shut-in the-region
circumspexisset, uocatum ducem percontatur ubi terrarum
he-had-surveyed called the-guide he-asks where of-the-lands
esset.
he-was

Cum is Casilini eo die mansurum eum dixisset, tum 13.8
when he at-Casilinum that day going-to-stay him had-said then
demum cognitus est error et Casinum longe inde alia
at-last recognized was the-error and Casinum far thence in-another
regione esse;
region to-be
uirgisque caeso duce et ad reliquorum terrorem in crucem 13.9
and-with-rods beaten the-guide and for of-the-rest the-terror onto the-cross
sublato, castris communitis Maharbalem cum equitibus in
raised the-camp fortified Maharbal with the-horsemen into
agrum Falernum praedatum dimisit.
the-land Falernian to-plunder he-dispatched
Usque ad aquas Sinuessanas populatio ea peruenit. Ingentem 13.10
right to the-waters of-Sinuessa ravaging that reached huge
cladem, fugam terroremque latius Numidae fecerunt;
destruction flight and-terror more-widely the-Numidians caused
nec tamen is terror, cum omnia bello flagrarent, fide 13.11
nor yet that terror when all-things with-war were-blazing from-loyalty
socios dimouit, uidelicet quia iusto et moderato regebantur
the-allies shook clearly because by-just and moderate they-were-ruled
imperio nec abnuebant, quod unum uinculum fidei est,
command nor did-they-refuse what alone the-bond of-loyalty is
melioribus parere.
to-the-better to-obey

Watching the Falernian land burn from Mount Massicus, Minucius rails at the dictator: Rome's fathers settled Sinuessa to keep this coast safe from the Samnites, and Camillus, Papirius, and Lutatius won by fighting, not by waiting on the heights. The soldiers would prefer Minucius as leader. Fabius holds to his plan, seizes the pass of Callicula and Casilinum, and waits for Hannibal to leave the plain by the way he came. Mancinus, sent to scout, attacks Numidian plunderers against orders and is killed with his best horsemen. Minucius, back from guarding the pass above Tarracina, rejoins Fabius, and they camp across Hannibal's road two miles from him.

14.1 Ut uero, postquam ad Volturnum flumen castra sunt
when indeed after at the-Volturnus river the-camp was
posita, exurebatur amoenissimus Italiae ager uillaeque
placed was-being-burned the-most-pleasant of-Italy land and-the-farmhouses
passim incendiis fumabant, per iuga Massici montis
everywhere with-fires smoked over the-ridges of-the-Massic mountain
Fabio ducente, tum prope de integro seditio accensa;
Fabius leading then almost from afresh mutiny was-kindled
14.2 †quidam fuerant† enim per paucos dies, quia, cum celerius
some had-been for for few days because since faster
solito ductum agmen esset, festinari ad prohibendam
than-usual led the-column had-been to-be-hastened for keeping-off
populationibus Campaniam crediderant.
from-ravagings Campania they-had-believed
14.3 Ut uero in extrema iuga Massici montis uentum est
when indeed onto the-farthest ridges of-the-Massic mountain come it-was
et hostes sub oculis erant Falerni agri colonorumque
and the-enemy under their-eyes were of-the-Falernian land and-of-the-colonists
Sinuessae tecta urentes, nec ulla erat mentio pugnae,
of-Sinuessa the-houses burning nor any was mention of-battle

‘Spectatum huc’ inquit Minucius, ‘ad rem fruendam 14.4
to-watch hither he-said Minucius for the-thing enjoying
oculis, sociorum caedes et incendia uenimus? nec, si
with-our-eyes of-the-allies slaughters and burnings we-have-come nor if
nullius alterius nos ne ciuium quidem horum pudet,
of-no other us not of-the-citizens even these is-it-shameful
quos Sinuessam colonos patres nostri miserunt, ut ab
whom to-Sinuessa as-colonists fathers our sent that from
Samnite hoste tuta haec ora esset,
the-Samnite enemy safe this coast might-be
quam nunc non uicinus Samnis urit sed Poenus 14.5
which now not the-neighboring Samnite burns but the-Carthaginian
aduena, ab extremis orbis terrarum terminis nostra
a-stranger from the-farthest of-the-circle of-the-lands bounds by-our
cunctatione et socordia iam huc progressus?
delay and sloth already hither advanced
Tantum pro! degeneramus a patribus nostris ut, praeter 14.6
so-much alas we-degenerate from fathers our that along
quam oram illi Punicas uagari classes dedecus esse imperii
which coast they Punic to-roam fleets a-disgrace to-be of-empire
sui duxerint, eam nunc plenam hostium Numidarumque
their-own considered that now full of-enemies and-of-Numidians
ac Maurorum iam factam uideamus?
and Moors already made we-see
Qui modo Saguntum oppugnari indignando non homines 14.7
we-who lately Saguntum to-be-attacked in-indignation not men
tantum sed foedera et deos ciebamus, scandentem moenia
only but treaties and gods were-invoking climbing the-walls
Romanae coloniae Hannibalem laeti spectamus.
of-a-Roman colony Hannibal glad we-watch

14.8 Fumus ex incendiis uillarum agrorumque in oculos atque
the-smoke from the-burnings of-farmhouses and-fields into our-eyes and
ora uenit; strepunt aures clamoribus plorantium sociorum,
faces comes ring our-ears with-the-cries of-weeping allies
saepius nostram quam deorum inuocantium opem; nos hic
more-often our than of-the-gods invoking help we here
pecorum modo per aestiuos saltus deuiasque calles
of-cattle in-the-manner through summer pastures and-out-of-the-way paths
exercitum ducimus, conditi nubibus siluisque.
the-army lead hidden in-clouds and-woods
14.9 Si hoc modo peragrando cacumina saltusque M. Furius
if in-this manner by-traversing peaks and-passes Marcus Furius
recipere a Gallis urbem uoluisset, quo hic nouus
to-recover from the-Gauls the-city had-wished in-which this new
Camillus, nobis dictator unicus in rebus adfectis quaesitus,
Camillus by-us as-dictator unique in affairs afflicted sought
Italiam ab Hannibale reciperare parat, Gallorum Roma esset,
Italy from Hannibal to-recover prepares of-the-Gauls Rome would-be
14.10 quam uereor ne sic cunctantibus nobis Hannibali ac
which I-fear lest so delaying us for-Hannibal and
Poenis totiens seruauerint maiores nostri.
the-Carthaginians so-often have-preserved ancestors our
14.11 Sed uir ac uere Romanus, quo die dictatorem eum
but a-man and truly a-Roman on-what day dictator him
ex auctoritate patrum iussuque populi dictum Veios
by the-authority of-the-fathers and-the-order of-the-people named to-Veii
allatum est, cum esset satis altum Ianiculum ubi sedens
brought it-was though there-was enough high the-Janiculum where sitting
prospectaret hostem, descendit in aequum atque illo
he-might-watch the-enemy he-came-down onto the-level and on-that

ipso die media in urbe, qua nunc busta Gallica sunt, et
very day mid in the-city where now the-pyres Gallic are and
postero die citra Gabios cecidit Gallorum legiones.
on-the-next day this-side Gabii he-cut-down of-the-Gauls the-legions
Quid? post multos annos cum ad Furculas Caudinas ab Samnite 14.12
what after many years when at the-Forks Caudine by the-Samnite
hoste sub iugum missi sumus, utrum tandem L. Papirius
enemy under the-yoke sent we-were whether pray Lucius Papirius
Cursor iuga Samni perlustrando an Luceriam premendo
Cursor the-ridges of-Samnium by-traversing or Luceria by-pressing
obsidendoque et lacessendo uictorem hostem depulsum ab
and-besieging and by-provoking the-victorious enemy driven-off from
Romanis ceruicibus iugum superbo Samniti imposuit?
the-Roman necks the-yoke on-the-arrogant Samnite imposed
Modo C. Lutatio quae alia res quam celeritas uictoriam 14.13
lately to-Gaius Lutatius what other thing than speed victory
dedit, quod postero die quam hostem uidit classem grauem
gave that on-the-next day than the-enemy he-saw the-fleet heavy
commeatibus, impeditam suomet ipsam instrumento atque
with-supplies encumbered by-its-own very gear and
apparatu, oppressit?
equipment he-overwhelmed
Stultitia est sedendo aut uotis debellari credere posse. 14.14
folly it-is by-sitting or by-vows to-be-fought-to-the-end to-believe to-be-able
Arma capias oportet et descendas in aequum et uir
arms you-should-take it-is-proper and come-down onto the-level and man
cum uiro congrediaris. Audendo atque agendo res Romana
with man you-should-engage by-daring and by-doing the-state Roman
creuit, non his segnibus consiliis quae timidi cauta uocant.'
grew not by-these sluggish counsels which the-timid cautious call

14.15 Haec uelut contionanti Minucio circumfundebatur
these-things as-if haranguing around-Minucius thronged
tribunorum equitumque Romanorum multitudo, et ad aures
of-the-tribunes and-of-the-knights Roman the-multitude and to the-ears
quoque militum dicta ferocia euoluebantur; ac si militaris
also of-the-soldiers the-words fierce rolled-out and if of-military
suffragii res esset, haud dubie ferebant Minucium
vote the-matter were not doubtfully they-declared Minucius
Fabio duci praelaturos.
to-Fabius as-leader going-to-prefer

15.1 Fabius pariter in suos haud minus quam in hostes intentus,
Fabius equally on his-own not less than on the-enemy intent
prius ab illis inuictum animum praestat. Quamquam probe
first from them unconquered his-spirit shows although well
scit non in castris modo suis sed iam etiam Romae
he-knows not in the-camp only his-own but now also at-Rome
infamem suam cunctationem esse, obstinatus tamen tenore
notorious his delay to-be obstinate nevertheless by-the-tenor
eodem consiliorum aestatis reliquum extraxit,
same of-his-counsels of-the-summer the-rest he-dragged-out

15.2 ut Hannibal destitutus ab spe summa ope petiti
so-that Hannibal deprived of the-hope with-utmost effort of-the-sought
certaminis iam hibernis locum circumspectaret, quia ea
contest now for-winter-quarters a-place looked-around because that
regio praesentis erat copiae, non perpetuae, arbusta uineaeque
region of-a-present was supply not of-a-lasting orchards and-vineyards
et consita omnia magis amoenis quam necessariis fructibus.
and planted all-things more with-pleasant than necessary fruits

15.3 Haec per exploratores relata Fabio. Cum satis sciret
these-things by scouts reported to-Fabius when enough he-knew
per easdem angustias quibus intrauerat Falernum agrum
through the-same defile by-which he-had-entered the-Falernian land

rediturum, Calliculam montem et Casilinum occupat
going-to-return Callicula the-mountain and Casilinum he-seizes
modicis praesidiis, quae urbs Volturno flumine dirempta
with-moderate garrisons which city by-the-Volturnus river divided
Falernum a Campano agro diuidit;
the-Falernian from the-Campanian land divides
ipse iugis iisdem exercitum reducit, misso exploratum 15.4
himself by-the-ridges same the-army leads-back sent to-reconnoiter
cum quadringentis equitibus sociorum L. Hostilio Mancino.
with four-hundred horsemen of-the-allies Lucius Hostilius Mancinus
Qui ex turba iuuenum audientium saepe ferociter 15.5
who from the-crowd of-young-men hearing often fiercely
contionantem magistrum equitum, progressus primo
haranguing the-master of-the-horse having-advanced at-first
exploratoris modo ut ex tuto specularetur hostem, ubi
in-the-manner of-a-scout that from safety he-might-observe the-enemy when
uagos passim per uicos Numidas peruastantes uidit,
roaming everywhere through the-villages the-Numidians ravaging he-saw
per occasionem etiam paucos occidit,
by opportunity also a-few he-killed
extemplo occupatus certamine est animus excideruntque 15.6
at-once seized by-the-contest was his-mind and-there-fell-out
praecepta dictatoris, qui quantum tuto posset progressum
the-instructions of-the-dictator who as-far-as safely he-could having-advanced
prius recipere sese iusserat quam in conspectum hostium
first to-withdraw himself had-ordered than into sight of-the-enemy
ueniret.
he-should-come

15.7 Numidae alii atque alii, occursantes refugientesque, ad
the-Numidians some and others running-up and-fleeing-back to
castra prope eum cum fatigatione equorum atque hominum
the-camp almost him with weariness of-horses and of-men
pertraxere.
drew

15.8 Inde Carthalo, penes quem summa equestris imperii erat,
then Carthalo with whom the-chief of-the-cavalry command was
concitatis equis inuectus, cum priusquam ad coniectum
roused his-horses having-charged when before to the-throw
teli ueniret auertisset hostes, quinque ferme milia
of-a-weapon he-came he-had-turned-back the-enemy five about thousands
continenti cursu secutus est fugientes.
in-continuous running pursued has the-fleeing

15.9 Mancinus postquam nec hostem desistere sequi nec spem
Mancinus after neither the-enemy to-cease to-pursue nor hope
uidit effugiendi esse, cohortatus suos in proelium rediit,
he-saw of-escaping to-be having-encouraged his-own into battle returned
omni parte uirium impar.
in-every part of-strength unequal

15.10 Itaque ipse et delecti equitum circumuenti occiduntur;
and-so himself and the-picked of-the-horsemen surrounded are-killed
ceteri effuso rursus cursu Cales primum, inde prope inuiis
the-rest in-headlong again running to-Cales first thence by-almost trackless
callibus ad dictatorem perfugerunt.
paths to the-dictator fled

15.11 Eo forte die Minucius se coniunxerat Fabio missus ad
on-that by-chance day Minucius himself had-joined to-Fabius sent for
firmandum praesidio saltum, qui super Tarracinam in artas
securing with-a-garrison the-pass which above Tarracina into narrow

coactus fauces imminet mari, ne ab Sinuessa Poenus
compressed jaws overhangs the-sea lest from Sinuessa the-Carthaginian
Appiae limite peruenire in agrum Romanum posset.
of-the-Appian by-the-track to-arrive into the-land Roman might-be-able
Coniunctis exercitibus dictator ac magister equitum castra 15.12
joined the-armies the-dictator and the-master of-the-horse the-camp
in uiam deferunt qua Hannibal ducturus erat; duo inde
onto the-road carry-down by-which Hannibal going-to-lead was two thence
milia hostes aberant.
thousands the-enemy were-away

XXX · THE OXEN WITH TORCHES

Trapped between Casilinum and Callicula after a skirmish, Hannibal ties torches to the horns of two thousand oxen and drives them up the hills by night. The Roman guards, thinking themselves surrounded, leave the pass, and his army slips through to Allifae while Fabius keeps his men in camp. Next day a Spanish cohort rescues the light troops on the ridge. Fabius follows him through Samnium as Hannibal feints toward Rome and turns back to Gereonium in Apulia, and is recalled to Rome for rites, warning Minucius in vain to trust counsel rather than fortune.

Postero die Poeni quod uiae inter bina castra 16.1
on-the-next day the-Carthaginians what of-the-road between the-two camps
erat agmine compleuere.
was with-the-column filled
Cum Romani sub ipso constitissent uallo haud dubie 16.2
when the-Romans under the-very had-halted rampart not doubtfully
aequiore loco, successit tamen Poenus cum
on-more-favorable ground came-up nevertheless the-Carthaginian with
expeditis equitibusque ad lacessendum hostem. Carptim
the-light-armed and-horsemen for provoking the-enemy piecemeal

Poeni et procursando recipiendoque sese pugnauere;
the-Carthaginians both by-running-forward and-withdrawing themselves fought
restitit suo loco Romana acies;
held-firm in-its-own place the-Roman line
16.3 lenta pugna et ex dictatoris magis quam Hannibalis
slow the-fight and by of-the-dictator more than of-Hannibal
uoluntate fuit. Ducenti ab Romanis, octingenti hostium
the-will was two-hundred of the-Romans eight-hundred of-the-enemy
cecidere.
fell
16.4 Inclusus inde uideri Hannibal uia ad Casilinum obsessa,
shut-in then seemed Hannibal the-road to Casilinum blockaded
cum Capua et Samnium et tantum ab tergo diuitum
since Capua and Samnium and so-many in the-rear of-wealthy
sociorum Romanis commeatus subueheret, Poenus inter
allies for-the-Romans supplies brought-up the-Carthaginian among
Formiana saxa ac Literni harenas stagnaque et per
the-Formian rocks and of-Liternum the-sands and-pools and through
horridas siluas hibernaturus esset;
bristling woods going-to-winter was
16.5 nec Hannibalem fefellit suis se artibus peti.
nor Hannibal it-escaped by-his-own himself arts to-be-assailed
Itaque cum per Casilinum euadere non posset petendique
and-so since through Casilinum to-escape not he-could and-to-be-sought
montes et iugum Calliculae superandum esset, necubi
the-mountains and the-ridge of-Callicula to-be-surmounted was lest-anywhere
Romanus inclusum uallibus agmen adgrederetur,
the-Roman shut-in in-the-valleys the-column should-attack

ludibrium oculorum specie terribile ad frustrandum 16.6
a-mockery of-the-eyes in-appearance terrible for frustrating
hostem commentus, principio noctis furtim succedere ad
the-enemy having-devised at-the-beginning of-the-night stealthily to-move-up to
montes statuit.
the-mountains he-decided
Fallacis consilii talis apparatus fuit. Faces undique 16.7
of-the-deceitful plan such the-preparation was torches from-everywhere
ex agris collectae fascesque uirgarum atque aridi sarmenti
from the-fields gathered and-bundles of-rods and dry brushwood
praeligantur cornibus boum, quos domitos indomitosque
are-tied-on to-the-horns of-oxen which broken and-unbroken
multos inter ceteram agrestem praedam agebat.
many among the-other rustic booty he-was-driving
Ad duo milia ferme boum effecta, Hasdrubalique negotium 16.8
about two thousands about of-oxen were-made-up and-to-Hasdrubal the-task
datum ut nocte id armentum accensis cornibus ad montes
given that by-night that herd with-kindled horns to the-mountains
ageret, maxime, si posset, super saltus ab hoste insessos.
he-should-drive chiefly if he-could above the-passes by the-enemy occupied
Primis tenebris silentio mota castra; boues aliquanto ante 17.1
at-first darkness in-silence moved the-camp the-oxen some-way before
signa acti.
the-standards driven
Ubi ad radices montium uiasque angustas uentum 17.2
when to the-roots of-the-mountains and-the-roads narrow come
est, signum extemplo datur, ut accensis cornibus armenta
it-was the-signal at-once is-given that with-kindled horns the-herds
in aduersos concitentur montes; et metus ipse relucentis
against the-opposite be-driven mountains and fear itself of-the-glaring

flammae a capite calorque iam ad uiuum ad imaque
flame from the-head and-the-heat now to the-quick to and-the-lowest-(part)-of
cornua ueniens uelut stimulatos furore agebat boues.
the-horns coming as-if goaded with-madness drove the-oxen

17.3 Quo repente discursu, haud secus quam siluis montibusque
by-which sudden scattering not otherwise than with-woods and-mountains
accensis, omnia circum uirgulta ardere; capitumque inrita
set-alight all around the-bushes burned and-of-heads the-vain
quassatio excitans flammam hominum passim discurrentium
shaking rousing the-flame of-men everywhere running-about
speciem praebebat.
the-appearance presented

17.4 Qui ad transitum saltus insidendum locati erant, ubi in
those-who for the-crossing of-the-pass occupying posted had-been when on
summis montibus ac super se quosdam ignes conspexere,
the-highest mountains and above themselves some fires they-saw
circumuentos se esse rati praesidio excessere. Qua
surrounded themselves to-be thinking from-(their)-post they-left where
minime densae micabant flammae, uelut tutissimum iter
least thick flashed the-flames as-if the-safest way
petentes summa montium iuga, tamen in quosdam boues
seeking the-highest of-the-mountains ridges yet on some oxen
palatos a suis gregibus inciderunt.
strayed from their-own herds they-fell

17.5 Et primo cum procul cernerent, ueluti flammas spirantium
and at-first when from-afar they-saw as-it-were flames of-(creatures)-breathing
miraculo attoniti constiterunt;
by-the-wonder astonished they-halted

17.6 deinde ut humana apparuit fraus, tum uero insidias rati
then when human appeared the-fraud then indeed an-ambush thinking
esse, cum maiore tumultu concitant se in fugam.
to-be with greater uproar they-rouse themselves into flight

Leui quoque armaturae hostium incurrere; ceterum nox
on-the-light also armament of-the-enemy they-ran-into however the-night
aequato timore neutros pugnam incipientes ad lucem tenuit.
equaled the-fear neither battle beginning till dawn held
Interea toto agmine Hannibal transducto per saltum 17.7
meanwhile the-whole column Hannibal having-led-across through the-pass
et quibusdam in ipso saltu hostium oppressis in agro
and some on the-very pass of-the-enemy overwhelmed in the-land
Allifano posuit castra.
Allifan placed the-camp
Hunc tumultum sensit Fabius; ceterum et insidias esse 18.1
this uproar perceived Fabius however both an-ambush to-be
ratus et ab nocturno utique abhorrens certamine, suos
thinking and from a-night certainly shrinking contest his-own
munimentis tenuit.
within-the-fortifications held
Luce prima sub iugo montis proelium fuit, quo 18.2
at-light first under the-ridge of-the-mountain a-battle there-was in-which
interclusam ab suis leuem armaturam facile (etenim
cut-off from their-own the-light armament easily for
numero aliquantum praestabant) Romani superassent,
in-number a-good-deal were-superior the-Romans they-would-have-overcome
nisi Hispanorum cohors ad id ipsum remissa ab
had-not of-Spaniards a-cohort for that very-purpose sent-back by
Hannibale superuenisset.
Hannibal come-up
Ea adsuetior montibus et ad concursandum inter saxa 18.3
it more-accustomed to-mountains and for running-about among stones
rupesque aptior ac leuior cum uelocitate corporum, tum
and-rocks more-fit and lighter both by-the-speed of-bodies and

armorum habitu, campestrem hostem, grauem armis
of-arms by-the-character the-plain-trained enemy heavy in-arms
statariumque, pugnae genere facile elusit.
and-stationary of-fighting by-the-kind easily eluded

18.4 Ita haudquaquam pari certamine digressi, Hispani fere
so by-no-means in-equal contest having-parted the-Spaniards almost
omnes incolumes, Romani aliquot suis amissis in castra
all unharmed the-Romans several of-their-own lost to the-camp
contenderunt.
hastened

18.5 Fabius quoque mouit castra transgressusque saltum super
Fabius also moved the-camp and-having-crossed the-pass above
Allifas loco alto ac munito consedit.
Allifae in-a-place high and fortified encamped

18.6 Tum per Samnium Romam se petere simulans
then through Samnium Rome himself to-be-seeking pretending
Hannibal usque in Paelignos populabundus rediit; Fabius
Hannibal as-far-as into the-Paeligni ravaging returned Fabius
medius inter hostium agmen urbemque Romam iugis
in-the-middle between of-the-enemy the-column and-the-city Rome along-the-ridges
ducebat nec absistens nec congrediens.
led neither leaving nor engaging

18.7 Ex Paelignis Poenus flexit iter retroque Apuliam
from the-Paeligni the-Carthaginian turned his-march and-back Apulia
repetens Gereonium peruenit, urbem metu, quia conlapsa
seeking-again to-Gereonium came a-city from-fear because collapsed
ruinis pars moenium erat, ab suis desertam:
in-ruins part of-the-walls was by its-own deserted

dictator in Larinate agro castra communiit. Inde sacrorum 18.8
the-dictator in the-Larinate land a-camp fortified thence of-rites
causa Romam reuocatus, non imperio modo sed consilio
for-the-sake to-Rome recalled not with-command only but with-counsel
etiam ac prope precibus agens cum magistro equitum,
also and almost with-entreaties dealing with the-master of-the-horse
ut plus consilio quam fortunae confidat et se potius 18.9
that more in-counsel than in-fortune he-should-trust and him rather
ducem quam Sempronium Flaminiumque imitetur: ne
as-leader than Sempronius and-Flaminius should-imitate that-not
nihil actum censeret extracta prope aestate per
nothing done he-should-think spun-out almost the-summer by
ludificationem hostis; medicos quoque plus interdum quiete
the-baffling of-the-enemy physicians also more sometimes by-rest
quam mouendo atque agendo proficere;
than by-moving and acting to-achieve
haud paruam rem esse ab totiens uictore hoste uinci 18.10
not small thing to-be by so-often victorious an-enemy to-be-beaten
desisse ac respirasse ab continuis cladibus, —
to-have-ceased and to-have-breathed-again from continual disasters
haec nequiquam praemonito magistro equitum Romam est
these-things in-vain forewarned the-master of-the-horse to-Rome has
profectus.
set-out

Hasdrubal sets out with forty ships under Himilco near the shore while he leads the army along it. Gnaeus Scipio surprises the fleet at the mouth of the Ebro, captures twenty-five ships, ravages the coast to New Carthage and Ebusus, and receives the submission of a hundred and twenty peoples, while the Celtiberians defeat Hasdrubal. Publius Scipio arrives with reinforcements. At Saguntum the Spaniard Abelux tricks the commander Bostar into releasing the Spanish hostages to the Romans, who return them and win Spain's goodwill.

19.1 Principio aestatis qua haec gerebantur in Hispania
at-the-beginning of-the-summer in-which these-things were-being-done in Spain
quoque terra marique coeptum bellum est.
also by-land and-by-sea begun war was

19.2 Hasdrubal ad eum nauium numerum, quem a fratre
Hasdrubal to that of-ships number which from his-brother
instructum paratumque acceperat, decem adiecit;
fitted-out and-ready he-had-received ten added

19.3 quadraginta nauium classem Himilconi tradit atque ita
of-forty ships the-fleet to-Himilco he-hands-over and so
Carthagine profectus nauibus prope terram, exercitum in
from-Carthage having-set-out with-the-ships near the-land the-army on
litore ducebat, paratus confligere quacumque parte copiarum
the-shore he-led ready to-engage in-whatever part of-his-forces
hostis occurrisset.
the-enemy should-have-met-him

19.4 Cn. Scipio postquam mouisse ex hibernis hostem
Gnaeus Scipio after to-have-moved from winter-quarters the-enemy
audiuit, primo idem consilii fuit; deinde minus terra
he-heard at-first the-same of-plan was then less by-land
propter ingentem famam nouorum auxiliorum concurrere
on-account-of the-huge report of-new auxiliaries to-clash

ausus, delecto milite ad naues imposito quinque et triginta
daring picked soldiers onto the-ships put with-five and thirty
nauium classe ire obuiam hosti pergit.
of-ships a-fleet to-go to-meet the-enemy proceeds
Altero ab Tarracone die ad stationem decem milia 19.5
the-second from Tarraco on-the-day to an-anchorage ten thousands
passuum distantem ab ostio Hiberi amnis peruenit. Inde
of-paces distant from the-mouth of-the-Ebro river he-arrived thence
duae Massiliensium speculatoriae praemissae rettulere, classem
two of-the-Massilians scout-boats sent-ahead reported the-fleet
Punicam stare in ostio fluminis castraque in ripa posita.
Punic to-be-lying in the-mouth of-the-river and-the-camp on the-bank placed
Itaque ut improuidos incautosque uniuerso simul offuso 19.6
and-so that the-unforeseeing and-unwary by-a-general at-once poured-over
terrore opprimeret, sublatis ancoris ad hostem uadit.
terror he-might-overwhelm raised the-anchors toward the-enemy he-goes
Multas et locis altis positas turres Hispania habet, quibus
many also in-places high placed towers Spain has which
et speculis et propugnaculis aduersus latrones utuntur.
both as-watchtowers and as-bulwarks against robbers they-use
Inde primo conspectis hostium nauibus datum signum 19.7
thence first sighted of-the-enemy ships given the-signal
Hasdrubali est, tumultusque prius in terra et castris
to-Hasdrubal was and-uproar sooner on land and in-the-camp
quam ad mare et ad naues est ortus, nondum aut pulsu
than at the-sea and at the-ships has arisen not-yet either the-beat
remorum strepituque alio nautico exaudito aut aperientibus
of-oars and-noise other nautical heard or uncovering
classem promunturiis,
the-fleet the-headlands

19.8 cum repente eques alius super alium ab Hasdrubale missus
when suddenly a-horseman one after another by Hasdrubal sent
uagos in litore quietosque in tentoriis suis, nihil
those-roaming on the-shore and-those-resting in tents their-own nothing
minus quam hostem aut proelium eo die exspectantes,
less than the-enemy or battle on-that day expecting
conscendere naues propere atque arma capere iubet: classem
to-board the-ships hastily and arms to-take orders the-fleet
Romanam iam haud procul portu esse.
Roman already not far from-the-harbor to-be

19.9 Haec equites dimissi passim imperabant; mox Hasdrubal
these-things the-horsemen sent-out everywhere commanded soon Hasdrubal
ipse cum omni exercitu aderat, uarioque omnia tumultu
himself with all the-army was-present and-with-various all-things uproar
strepunt ruentibus in naues simul remigibus militibusque,
resound rushing onto the-ships at-once oarsmen and-soldiers
fugientium magis e terra quam in pugnam euntium
of-men-fleeing more from the-land than into battle going
modo.
in-the-manner

19.10 Vixdum omnes conscenderant cum alii resolutis oris in
scarcely all had-embarked when some loosened the-cables onto
ancoras euehuntur, alii, ne quid teneat, ancoralia
the-anchors are-carried others that-not anything may-hold the-anchor-ropes
incidunt; raptimque omnia ac praepropere agendo militum
cut and-hastily all-things and over-hastily by-doing of-the-soldiers
apparatu nautica ministeria impediuntur, trepidatione
by-the-gear the-nautical duties are-hindered by-the-panic
nautarum capere et aptare arma miles prohibetur.
of-the-sailors to-take and to-fit arms the-soldier is-prevented

Et iam Romanus non appropinquabat modo sed direxerat 19.11
and already the-Roman not was-approaching only but had-directed
etiam in pugnam naues. Itaque non ab hoste et proelio magis
also into battle his-ships and-so not by the-enemy and by-battle more
Poeni quam suomet ipsi tumultu turbati, temptata
the-Carthaginians than by-their-own themselves uproar disturbed tried
uerius pugna quam inita in fugam auerterunt classem;
more-truly a-battle than entered into flight turned the-fleet
et, cum aduersi amnis os lato agmini et tam 19.12
and since of-the-opposing river the-mouth to-a-broad column and to-so
multis simul uenientibus haud sane intrabile esset, in
many at-once coming not indeed enterable was onto
litus passim naues egerunt, atque alii uadis, alii sicco
the-shore everywhere the-ships they-drove and some by-shallows others on-the-dry
litore excepti, partim armati, partim inermes ad instructam
shore received partly armed partly unarmed to the-drawn-up
per litus aciem suorum perfugere; duae tamen primo
along the-shore line of-their-own fled two however at-the-first
concursu captae erant Punicae naues, quattuor suppressae.
clash captured had-been Punic ships four sunk
Romani, quamquam terra hostium erat armatamque aciem 20.1
the-Romans although the-land of-the-enemy was and-an-armed line
toto praetentam in litore cernebant,
along-the-whole stretched on the-shore they-saw
haud cunctanter insecuti trepidam hostium classem naues 20.2
not hesitantly having-pursued the-panicking of-the-enemy fleet the-ships
omnes, quae non aut perfregerant proras litori inlisas
all which not either had-shattered their-prows on-the-shore dashed
aut carinas fixerant uadis, religatas puppibus in altum
or keels had-fixed in-the-shallows tied by-the-sterns into the-deep
extraxere; ad quinque et uiginti naues e quadraginta cepere.
dragged-out about five and twenty ships out-of forty they-took

20.3 Neque id pulcherrimum eius uictoriae fuit sed quod una
nor that the-finest of-that victory was but that by-one
leui pugna toto eius orae mari potiti erant.
light fight the-whole of-that of-coast sea masters-of they-had-become

20.4 Itaque ad Onusam classe prouecti; escensio ab nauibus
and-so to Onusa with-the-fleet having-sailed-on a-landing from the-ships
in terram facta. Cum urbem ui cepissent captamque
onto land made when the-city by-force they-had-taken and-taken
diripuissent, Carthaginem inde petunt,
had-plundered toward-Carthage thence they-make

20.5 atque omnem agrum circa depopulati postremo tecta
and all the-land around having-ravaged finally the-houses
quoque coniuncta muro portisque incenderunt.
also joined to-the-wall and-to-the-gates they-burned

20.6 Inde iam praeda grauis ad Longunticam peruenit classis,
thence now with-booty heavy to Longuntica arrived the-fleet
ubi uis magna sparti erat ad rem nauticam congesta
where a-quantity great of-esparto was for the-business nautical heaped
ab Hasdrubale. Quod satis in usum fuit sublato ceterum
by Hasdrubal what enough for use was taken-away the-rest
omne incensum est.
all burned was

20.7 Nec continentis modo praelecta est ora, sed in Ebusum
nor of-the-mainland only coasted was the-shore but to Ebusus
insulam transmissum. Ibi urbe, quae caput insulae est,
the-island it-was-crossed there the-city which the-capital of-the-island is
biduum nequiquam summo labore oppugnata,
two-days in-vain with-the-utmost toil having-been-attacked

20.8 ubi in spem inritam frustra teri tempus animaduersum
when on hope fruitless in-vain to-be-wasted the-time noticed
est,
it-was

ad populationem agri uersi, direptis aliquot incensisque 20.9
to the-ravaging of-the-land turned having-plundered several and-burned
uicis maiore quam ex continenti praeda parta cum in
villages greater than from the-mainland booty got when onto
naues se recepissent, ex Baliaribus insulis legati
the-ships themselves they-had-withdrawn from the-Balearic islands envoys
pacem petentes ad Scipionem uenerunt.
peace seeking to Scipio came
Inde flexa retro classis reditumque in citeriora prouinciae, 20.10
thence turned back the-fleet and-returned into the-nearer-parts of-the-province
quo omnium populorum, qui cis Hiberum incolunt,
whither of-all the-peoples who this-side the-Ebro dwell
multorum et ultimae Hispaniae legati concurrerunt;
of-many and of-farthest Spain the-envoys ran-together
sed qui uere dicionis imperiique Romani facti sunt obsidibus 20.11
but who truly of-the-sway and-command Roman were made hostages
datis, populi amplius fuere centum uiginti.
given the-peoples more were than-a-hundred twenty
Igitur terrestribus quoque copiis satis fidens Romanus usque 20.12
therefore land also in-forces enough trusting the-Roman right
ad saltum Castulonensem est progressus; Hasdrubal in
to the-pass of-Castulo has advanced Hasdrubal into
Lusitaniam ac propius Oceanum concessit.
Lusitania and nearer the-Ocean withdrew
Quietum inde fore uidebatur reliquum aestatis tempus 21.1
quiet thence going-to-be it-seemed the-rest of-the-summer time
fuissetque per Poenum hostem;
and-would-have-been as-far-as-concerned the-Carthaginian enemy

21.2 sed praeterquam quod ipsorum Hispanorum inquieta auidaque
but besides that of-the-very Spaniards restless and-greedy
in nouas res sunt ingenia, Mandonius Indibilisque, qui
for new things are the-natures Mandonius and-Indibilis who
antea Ilergetum regulus fuerat,
formerly of-the-Ilergetes the-chieftain had-been

21.3 postquam Romani ab saltu recessere ad maritimam oram,
after the-Romans from the-pass withdrew to the-maritime coast
concitis popularibus in agrum pacatum sociorum Romanorum
roused their-countrymen into the-land pacified of-the-allies Roman
ad populandum uenerunt.
for ravaging came

21.4 Aduersus eos tribuni militum cum expeditis auxiliis a
against them tribunes of-the-soldiers with light-armed auxiliaries by
Scipione missi, leui certamine ut tumultuariam manum
Scipio sent with-light contest as a-disorderly band
fudere mille hominibus occisis, quibusdam captis, magnaque
routed a-thousand men killed some captured and-a-great
parte armis exuta.
part of-arms stripped

21.5 Hic tamen tumultus cedentem ad Oceanum Hasdrubalem
this however uproar the-withdrawing toward the-Ocean Hasdrubal
cis Hiberum ad socios tutandos retraxit.
this-side the-Ebro for the-allies protecting drew-back

21.6 Castra Punica in agro Ilergauonensium, castra Romana
the-camp Punic in the-land of-the-Ilergavonenses the-camp Roman
ad Nouam Classem erant cum fama repens alio auertit
at New Fleet were when a-report sudden elsewhere turned
bellum.
the-war

Celtiberi, qui principes regionis suae legatos obuiam 21.7
the-Celtiberians who as-leading-men of-the-region their-own envoys to-meet
antea miserant obsidesque dederant Romanis, nuntio misso a
earlier had-sent and-hostages had-given to-the-Romans a-message sent by
Scipione exciti arma capiunt prouinciamque Carthaginiensium
Scipio roused arms take and-the-province of-the-Carthaginians
ualido exercitu inuadunt. Tria oppida ui expugnant;
with-a-strong army invade three towns by-force they-storm
inde cum ipso Hasdrubale duobus proeliis egregie pugnantes, 21.8
then with the-very Hasdrubal in-two battles excellently fighting
quindecim milia hostium occiderunt, quattuor milia cum
fifteen thousands of-the-enemy they-killed four thousands with
multis militaribus signis capiunt.
many military standards they-capture
Hoc statu rerum in Hispania P. Scipio in prouinciam 22.1
in-this state of-things in Spain Publius Scipio into the-province
uenit, prorogato post consulatum imperio ab senatu missus,
came prolonged after the-consulship his-command by the-senate sent
cum triginta longis nauibus et octo milibus militum
with thirty long ships and eight thousands of-soldiers
magnoque commeatu aduecto.
and-great supplies brought
Ea classis ingens agmine onerariarum procul uisa cum 22.2
that fleet huge by-its-column of-transports far seen with
magna laetitia ciuium sociorumque portum Tarraconis ex
great joy of-the-citizens and-allies the-harbor of-Tarraco from
alto tenuit.
the-deep reached
Ibi milite exposito profectus Scipio fratri se coniungit, 22.3
there the-soldiery landed having-set-out Scipio to-his-brother himself joins
ac deinde communi animo consilioque gerebant bellum.
and then with-common spirit and-counsel they-waged the-war

22.4 Occupatis igitur Carthaginiensibus Celtiberico bello haud
occupied therefore the-Carthaginians by-the-Celtiberian war not
cunctanter Hiberum transgrediuntur nec ullo uiso hoste
hesitantly the-Ebro they-cross nor any seen enemy
Saguntum pergunt ire, quod ibi obsides totius Hispaniae
to-Saguntum they-proceed to-go because there the-hostages of-all Spain
traditos ab Hannibale fama erat modico in arce
handed-over by Hannibal the-report was moderate in the-citadel
custodiri praesidio.
to-be-guarded by-a-garrison

22.5 Id unum pignus inclinatos ad Romanam societatem
that alone pledge inclined toward the-Roman alliance
omnium Hispaniae populorum animos morabatur, ne sanguine
of-all of-Spain the-peoples the-minds delayed lest by-the-blood
liberum suorum culpa defectionis lueretur.
of-the-children their-own the-guilt of-revolt should-be-atoned

22.6 Eo uinculo Hispaniam uir unus sollerti magis
from-that bond Spain a-man one by-a-shrewd more
quam fideli consilio exsoluit. Abelux erat Sagunti nobilis
than loyal plan freed Abelux was at-Saguntum a-noble
Hispanus, fidus ante Poenis; tum, qualia plerumque
Spaniard loyal before to-the-Carthaginians then such-as mostly
sunt barbarorum ingenia, cum fortuna mutauerat fidem.
are of-barbarians the-natures with fortune he-had-changed his-loyalty

22.7 Ceterum transfugam sine magnae rei proditione uenientem
however a-deserter without of-a-great thing betrayal coming
ad hostes nihil aliud quam unum uile atque infame corpus
to the-enemy nothing other than one cheap and infamous body
esse ratus, id agebat ut quam maximum emolumentum
to-be thinking this he-was-working that as greatest profit
nouis sociis esset.
to-his-new allies he-might-be

Circumspectis igitur omnibus quae fortuna potestatis eius 22.8
looked-over therefore all-things which fortune of-power his
poterat facere, obsidibus potissimum tradendis animum
could make to-the-hostages above-all being-handed-over his-mind
adiecit, eam unam rem maxime ratus conciliaturam Romanis
he-turned that one thing most thinking going-to-win for-the-Romans
principum Hispaniae amicitiam.
of-the-leading-men of-Spain the-friendship
Sed cum iniussu Bostaris praefecti satis sciret nihil 22.9
but since without-the-order of-Bostar the-commander well he-knew nothing
obsidum custodes facturos esse, Bostarem ipsum arte
of-the-hostages the-guards going-to-do to-be Bostar himself with-art
adgreditur.
he-approaches
Castra extra urbem in ipso litore habebat Bostar ut aditum 22.10
the-camp outside the-city on the-very shore had Bostar that the-approach
ea parte intercluderet Romanis. Ibi eum in secretum
on-that side he-might-shut-off to-the-Romans there him into privacy
abductum, uelut ignorantem, monet quo statu sit res:
drawn-aside as-if unaware he-warns in-what state is the-matter
metum continuisse ad eam diem Hispanorum animos, quia 22.11
fear to-have-held-back till that day of-the-Spaniards the-minds because
procul Romani abessent; nunc cis Hiberum castra Romana
far the-Romans were-away now this-side the-Ebro the-camp Roman
esse, arcem tutam perfugiumque nouas uolentibus res; itaque
to-be a-citadel safe and-a-refuge new for-those-wishing things and-so
quos metus non teneat beneficio et gratia deuinciendos esse.
those-whom fear not may-hold by-kindness and favor to-be-bound to-be
Miranti Bostari percontantique quodnam id subitum 22.12
to-the-wondering Bostar and-asking what-indeed that sudden
tantae rei donum posset esse,
of-so-great a-thing gift could be

22.13 ‘Obsides’ inquit, ‘in ciuitates remitte. Id et priuatim
the-hostages he-said to the-states send-back that both privately
parentibus, quorum maximum nomen in ciuitatibus est
to-the-parents whose greatest name in states is
suis, et publice populis gratum erit.
their-own and publicly to-the-peoples welcome will-be

22.14 Volt sibi quisque credi et habita fides ipsam plerumque
wishes himself each to-be-trusted and held faith itself mostly
obligat fidem. Ministerium restituendorum domos obsidum
binds faith the-service of-restoring to-their-homes the-hostages
mihimet deposco ipse, ut opera quoque impensa consilium
for-myself I-demand myself that by-effort also spent the-plan
adiuuem meum et rei suapte natura gratae quantam
I-may-help my and to-a-thing by-its-own nature welcome as-much
insuper gratiam possim adiciam.’
besides favor as-I-can I-may-add

22.15 Homini non ad cetera Punica ingenia callido ut persuasit,
the-man not for the-other Punic natures shrewd when he-had-persuaded
nocte clam progressus ad hostium stationes, conuentis
by-night secretly having-advanced to of-the-enemy posts met
quibusdam auxiliaribus Hispanis et ab his ad Scipionem
certain auxiliary Spaniards and by these to Scipio
perductus,
led

22.16 quid adferret expromit et fide accepta dataque ac loco et
what he-brought sets-forth and faith received and-given and place and
tempore constituto ad obsides tradendos Saguntum redit.
time fixed for the-hostages handing-over to-Saguntum he-returns
Diem insequentem absumpsit cum Bostare mandatis ad
the-day following he-spent with Bostar instructions for
rem agendam accipiendis.
the-thing doing receiving

Dimissus, cum se nocte iturum ut custodias hostium 22.17
dismissed when himself by-night going-to-go that the-guards of-the-enemy
falleret constituisset, ad compositam cum iis horam
he-might-elude he-had-arranged at the-agreed with them hour
excitatis custodibus puerorum profectus, ueluti ignarus in
having-roused the-guards of-the-boys having-set-out as-if unaware into
praeparatas sua fraude insidias ducit.
the-prepared by-his-own fraud ambush he-leads
In castra Romana perducti; cetera omnia de reddendis 22.18
into the-camp Roman led-through the-rest all-things about returning
obsidibus, sicut cum Bostare constitutum erat, acta per
the-hostages as with Bostar arranged it-had-been done through
eundem ordinem quo si Carthaginiensium nomine sic
the-same order in-which if of-the-Carthaginians in-the-name thus
ageretur.
it-were-done
Maior aliquanto Romanorum gratia fuit in re pari quam 22.19
greater somewhat of-the-Romans the-gratitude was in a-thing equal than
quanta futura Carthaginiensium fuerat. Illos enim graues
as-much-as going-to-be of-the-Carthaginians it-had-been them for harsh
in rebus secundis expertos fortuna et timor mitigasse
in things prosperous found fortune and fear to-have-softened
uideri poterat:
to-seem could
Romanus primo aduentu, incognitus ante, ab re clementi 22.20
the-Roman at-first arrival unknown before from a-thing merciful
liberalique initium fecerat et Abelux, uir prudens, haud
and-liberal the-beginning had-made and Abelux a-man prudent not
frustra uidebatur socios mutasse.
in-vain seemed his-allies to-have-changed

22.21 Itaque ingenti consensu defectionem omnes spectare; armaque
and-so with-huge consensus revolt all looked-toward and-arms
extemplo mota forent, ni hiemps, quae Romanos
at-once moved would-have-been had-not the-winter which the-Romans
quoque et Carthaginienses concedere in tecta coegit,
also and the-Carthaginians to-withdraw into shelters forced
interuenisset.
intervened

XXXII · FABIUS' LAND

Hannibal, finding Rome had a general who fought by reason, spares Fabius' estate to make him suspect. Fabius ransoms the captives with his own money when the senate delays payment, sending his son Quintus to sell the spared land. With Fabius in Rome, Minucius moves his camp down, seizes a hillock from the Numidians, and attacks Hannibal's foragers near Gereonium, killing many; some say a pitched battle followed and Numerius Decimius' Samnites turned a near defeat, with six thousand of the enemy and five thousand Romans killed. Minucius' letters to Rome claim a great victory.

23.1 Haec in Hispania secunda aestate Punici belli gesta,
these-things in Spain in-the-second summer of-the-Punic war were-done
cum in Italia paulum interualli cladibus Romanis sollers
while in Italy a-little of-respite from-disasters Roman the-skillful
cunctatio Fabi fecisset;
delay of-Fabius had-made
23.2 quae ut Hannibalem non mediocri sollicitum cura habebat,
which as Hannibal not with-ordinary anxious care kept
tandem eum militiae magistrum delegisse Romanos
at-last him of-soldiering a-master to-have-chosen the-Romans
cernentem, qui bellum ratione, non fortuna gereret,
seeing who the-war by-reason not by-fortune would-wage

ita contempta erat inter ciues armatos pariter togatosque, 23.3
so despised it-was among the-citizens armed equally and-togaed
utique postquam absente eo temeritate magistri equitum
especially after in-the-absence his by-the-rashness of-the-master of-the-horse
laeto uerius dixerim quam prospero euentu pugnatum
with-a-glad more-truly I-should-say than prosperous outcome fought
fuerat.
it-had-been

Accesserant duae res ad augendam inuidiam dictatoris, 23.4
there-had-been-added two things for increasing the-ill-will against-the-dictator
una fraude ac dolo Hannibalis quod, cum a perfugis ei
one by-the-fraud and guile of-Hannibal that when by deserters to-him
monstratus ager dictatoris esset, omnibus circa solo
pointed-out the-land of-the-dictator had-been all around to-the-ground
aequatis ab uno eo ferrum ignemque et uim omnem abstineri
leveled from one that sword and-fire and violence all to-be-kept-off
iussit ut occulti alicuius pacti ea merces uideri posset,
he-ordered that of-a-secret some bargain that the-price to-seem might
altera ipsius facto, primo forsitan dubio quia non exspectata 23.5
the-other by-his-own deed at-first perhaps doubtful because not awaited
in eo senatus auctoritas est, ad extremum haud ambigue
in it of-the-senate the-authority was at the-end not ambiguously
in maximam laudem uerso.
into the-greatest praise turned

In permutandis captiuis, quod sic primo Punico bello factum 23.6
in exchanging captives because so in-the-first Punic war done
erat, conuenerat inter duces Romanum Poenumque
it-had-been it-had-been-agreed between the-leaders Roman and-Carthaginian
ut, quae pars plus reciperet quam daret, argenti pondo
that which side more should-receive than it-gave of-silver pounds
bina et selibras in militem praestaret.
two-each and half-pounds per soldier should-pay

23.7 Ducentis quadraginta septem cum plures Romanus quam
two-hundred forty seven when more the-Roman than
Poenus recepisset argentumque pro eis debitum, saepe
the-Carthaginian had-received and-the-silver for them owed often
iactata in senatu re, quoniam non consuluisset patres,
tossed-about in the-senate the-matter since not he-had-consulted the-fathers
tardius erogaretur,
rather-slowly was-paid-out

23.8 inuiolatum ab hoste agrum misso Romam Quinto filio
the-unviolated by the-enemy land sent to-Rome Quintus (his)-son
uendidit, fidemque publicam impendio priuato exsoluit.
he-sold and-the-faith public at-expense private discharged

23.9 Hannibal pro Gereoni moenibus, cuius urbis captae atque
Hannibal before of-Gereonium walls of-which city taken and
incensae ab se in usum horreorum pauca reliquerat tecta,
burned by himself for the-use of-granaries a-few he-had-left houses
in statiuis erat.
in a-standing-camp was

23.10 Inde frumentatum duas exercitus partes mittebat; cum tertia
thence to-forage two of-the-army parts he-sent with the-third
ipse expedita in statione erat, simul castris praesidio
himself light-armed at a-post was at-once for-the-camp as-protection
et circumspectans necunde impetus in frumentatores
and looking-about lest-from-anywhere an-attack on the-foragers
fieret.
should-be-made

24.1 Romanus tunc exercitus in agro Larinati erat; praeerat
the-Roman then army in the-land Larinate was was-in-command
Minucius magister equitum profecto, sicut ante dictum est,
Minucius the-master of-the-horse set-out as before said it-was
ad urbem dictatore.
to the-city the-dictator

Ceterum castra, quae in monte alto ac tuto loco posita 24.2
however the-camp which on a-mountain high and safe place placed
fuerant, iam in planum deferuntur; agitabanturque pro
had-been now onto the-level are-carried-down and-were-discussed according-to
ingenio ducis consilia calidiora, ut impetus aut in
the-temper of-the-leader counsels hotter that an-attack either on
frumentatores palatos aut in castra relicta cum leui praesidio
the-foragers straggling or on the-camp left with a-light garrison
fieret.
should-be-made

Nec Hannibalem fefellit cum duce mutatam esse belli 24.3
nor Hannibal it-escaped with the-leader changed to-be of-the-war
rationem et ferocius quam consultius rem hostes
the-method and more-fiercely than more-prudently the-matter the-enemy
gesturos;
going-to-conduct

ipse autem, quod minime quis crederet cum hostis 24.4
himself moreover what least anyone would-believe though the-enemy
propius esset, tertiam partem militum frumentatum duabus
nearer was the-third part of-the-soldiers to-forage two
in castris retentis dimisit;
in the-camp kept dismissed

dein castra ipsa propius hostem mouit, duo ferme a 24.5
then the-camp itself nearer the-enemy he-moved two about from
Gereonio milia, in tumulum hosti conspectum, ut
Gereonium thousands onto a-billock to-the-enemy visible that
intentum se sciret esse ad frumentatores, si qua uis
intent himself he-might-know to-be for the-foragers if any violence
fieret, tutandos.
should-be-made protecting

24.6 Propior inde ei atque ipsis imminens Romanorum
nearer then to-him and to-the-very overhanging of-the-Romans
castris tumulus apparuit; ad quem capiendum si luce palam
camp a-hillock appeared for which taking if by-light openly
iretur quia haud dubie hostis breuiore uia praeuenturus
it-were-gone because not doubtfully the-enemy by-a-shorter way going-to-forestall
erat, nocte clam missi Numidae ceperunt.
was by-night secretly sent the-Numidians took-it

24.7 Quos tenentes locum contempta paucitate Romani postero
whom holding the-place despised their-fewness the-Romans on-the-next
die cum deiecissent, ipsi eo transferunt castra.
day when they-had-dislodged themselves thither transfer the-camp

24.8 Itaque exiguum spatii uallum a uallo aberat et id ipsum
and-so a-scanty of-space rampart from rampart was-distant and that very
totum ut prope compleuerat Romana acies, simul et per
whole as almost had-filled the-Roman line at-the-same-time also through
auersa castra equitatus cum leui armatura emissus in
the-rear-of the-camp the-cavalry with the-light armament sent-out against
frumentatores late caedem fugamque hostium palatorum fecit.
the-foragers widely slaughter and-flight of-the-enemy straggling made

24.9 Nec acie certare Hannibal ausus, quia tanta paucitate —
nor in-line to-contend Hannibal dared because with-such fewness
pars exercitus aberat iam fame grauante — uix castra, si
part of-the-army was-away now hunger pressing scarcely the-camp if
oppugnarentur, tutari poterat;
it-were-attacked to-protect could

24.10 iamque artibus Fabi sedendo et cunctando bellum gerebat
and-now by-the-arts of-Fabius by-sitting and by-delaying the-war he-waged
receperatque suos in priora castra, quae pro Gereoni
and-had-withdrawn his-own into the-former camp which before of-Gereonium
moenibus erant.
walls were

Iusta quoque acie et conlatis signis dimicatum quidam 24.11
in-a-regular also line and with-joined standards it-was-fought some
auctores sunt; primo concursu Poenum usque ad
authorities are at-the-first clash the-Carthaginian right to
castra fusum; inde eruptione facta repente uersum terrorem
the-camp routed then a-sally made suddenly turned the-terror
in Romanos; Numeri Decimi Samnitis deinde aduentu
upon the-Romans of-Numerius Decimius the-Samnite then by-the-arrival
proelium restitutum.
the-battle restored
hunc, principem genere ac diuitiis, non Bouiani modo — 24.12
this-man foremost in-birth and wealth not of-Bovianum only
unde erat — sed toto Samnio, iussu dictatoris octo
whence he-was but of-the-whole Samnium by-order of-the-dictator eight
milia peditum et equites ad quingentos ducentem in
thousands of-infantry and horsemen about five-hundred leading into
castra, ab tergo cum apparuisset Hannibali, speciem parti
the-camp from the-rear when he-had-appeared to-Hannibal the-appearance to-side
utrique praebuisse noui praesidii cum Q. Fabio ab
each to-have-presented of-a-new garrison with Quintus Fabius from
Roma uenientis.
Rome coming
Hannibalem, insidiarum quoque aliquid timentem, recepisse 24.13
Hannibal of-an-ambush also something fearing to-have-withdrawn
suos; Romanum insecutum adiuuante Samnite duo castella
his-own the-Roman having-pursued helping the-Samnite two forts
eo die expugnasse.
on-that day to-have-stormed
sex milia hostium caesa, quinque admodum Romanorum; 24.14
six thousands of-the-enemy killed five quite of-the-Romans
tamen in tam pari prope clade famam uanam egregiae
yet in so equal almost a-disaster a-report empty of-an-outstanding

uictoriae cum uanioribus litteris magistri equitum Romam
victory with emptier letters of-the-master of-the-horse to-Rome
perlatam.
to-have-been-brought

XXXIII · THE COMMAND DIVIDED

At Rome the tribune Metilius accuses Fabius of prolonging the war and proposes a bill making the master of the horse equal to the dictator; Fabius says he fears success more than defeat and that Minucius must answer for fighting against orders, and leaves for the army before the vote. Terentius Varro, a butcher's son who rose by pleading for low men against the nobles, is the bill's one speaker and takes the credit for it. Fabius returns unmoved. Minucius proposes alternating days; Fabius refuses to give up what he can save and divides the army instead, and Minucius camps apart.

25.1 De iis rebus persaepe et in senatu et in contione actum
about these things very-often both in the-senate and in the-assembly debated
est.
it-was

25.2 Cum laeta ciuitate dictator unus nihil nec famae nec
when glad the-state the-dictator alone in-nothing neither in-report nor
litteris crederet, ut uera omnia essent, secunda se
in-letters believed that-even-if true all-things were favorable he
magis quam aduersa timere diceret,
more than adverse to-fear he-said

25.3 tum M. Metilius tribunus plebis id unum enimuero
then Marcus Metilius tribune of-the-plebs that one-thing truly
ferendum esse negat,
to-be-borne to-be denies

non praesentem solum dictatorem obstitisse rei bene 25.4
not present only the-dictator to-have-opposed the-thing well
gerendae sed absentem etiam gestae obstare ac sedulo
being-done but absent also when-done to-oppose and diligently
tempus terere quo diutius in magistratu sit solusque
the-time to-waste that longer in office he-may-be and-alone
et Romae et in exercitu imperium habeat.
both at-Rome and in the-army the-command may-have
quippe consulum alterum in acie cecidisse, alterum specie 25.5
for of-the-consuls the-one in the-line to-have-fallen the-other on-pretext
classis Punicae persequendae procul ab Italia ablegatum;
of-the-fleet Punic being-pursued far from Italy sent-away
duos praetores Sicilia atque Sardinia occupatos, quarum 25.6
two praetors with-Sicily and Sardinia occupied of-which
neutra hoc tempore prouincia praetore egeat; M. Minucium
neither at-this time province a-praetor needs Marcus Minucius
magistrum equitum, ne hostem uideret, ne quid
the-master of-the-horse that-not the-enemy he-might-see that-not anything
rei bellicae gereret, prope in custodia habitum.
of-a-thing warlike he-might-conduct almost in custody kept
itaque hercule non Samnium modo, quo iam tamquam 25.7
and-so by-Hercules not Samnium only to-which now as-if
trans Hiberum agro Poenis concessum sit, sed
across the-Ebro land to-the-Carthaginians conceded it-has-been but
et Campanum Calenumque et Falernum agrum peruastatos
also the-Campanian and-Calene and the-Falernian land ravaged
esse sedente Casilini dictatore et legionibus populi
to-have-been sitting at-Casilinum the-dictator and with-the-legions of-the-people
Romani agrum suum tutante.
Roman land his-own protecting

25.8 Exercitum cupientem pugnare et magistrum equitum clausos
the-army eager to-fight and the-master of-the-horse shut-up
prope intra uallum retentos;
almost within the-rampart kept

25.9 tamquam hostibus captiuis arma adempta. tandem, ut
as-if from-enemies captive the-arms taken-away at-last when
abscesserit inde dictator, ut obsidione liberatos, extra
he-had-departed thence the-dictator as-if from-siege freed outside
uallum egressos fudisse ac fugasse hostes.
the-rampart having-gone-out to-have-routed and put-to-flight the-enemy

25.10 quas ob res, si antiquus animus plebei Romanae esset,
which on-account-of things if the-ancient spirit of-the-plebs Roman were
audaciter se laturum fuisse de abrogando Q.
boldly himself going-to-propose to-have-been about annulling of-Quintus
Fabi imperio; nunc modicam rogationem promulgaturum
Fabius the-command now a-moderate bill going-to-publish
de aequando magistri equitum et dictatoris iure.
about equalizing of-the-master of-the-horse and of-the-dictator the-right

25.11 nec tamen ne ita quidem prius mittendum ad exercitum
nor yet not so even before to-be-sent to the-army
Q. Fabium quam consulem in locum C. Flamini
Quintus Fabius than a-consul into the-place of-Gaius Flaminius
suffecisset.
he-had-substituted

25.12 Dictator contionibus se abstinuit in actione minime populari.
the-dictator from-the-assemblies himself kept-away in an-action least popular
Ne in senatu quidem satis aequis auribus audiebatur
not in the-senate even fairly with-impartial ears was-be-heard
tunc, cum hostem uerbis extolleret bienniique clades per
then when the-enemy in-words he-extolled and-of-two-years the-disasters through
temeritatem atque inscientiam ducum acceptas referret,
the-rashness and ignorance of-the-leaders suffered he-recounted

magistro equitum, quod contra dictum suum pugnasset, 25.13
to-the-master of-the-horse because against order his he-had-fought
rationem diceret reddendam esse.
an-account he-said to-be-rendered to-be
si penes se summa imperii consiliique sit, propediem 25.14
if with himself the-chief of-command and-of-counsel should-be shortly
effecturum ut sciant homines bono imperatore haud
going-to-bring-it-about that men may-know with-a-good general not
magni fortunam momenti esse,
of-great fortune weight to-be
mentem rationemque dominari, et in tempore et sine 25.15
mind and-reason to-rule and in time and without
ignominia seruasse exercitum quam multa milia hostium
disgrace to-have-saved the-army than many thousands of-enemies
occidisse maiorem gloriam esse.
to-have-killed greater glory to-be
Huius generis orationibus frustra habitis et consule creato 25.16
of-this kind speeches in-vain held and a-consul created
M. Atilio Regulo ne praesens de iure imperii
Marcus Atilius Regulus that-not present about the-right of-command
dimicaret, pridie quam rogationis ferendae dies adesset,
he-might-contend on-the-day before the-bill's being-carried the-day was-present
nocte ad exercitum abiit.
by-night to the-army he-went-off
Luce orta cum plebis concilium esset, magis tacita inuidia 25.17
light risen when of-the-plebs the-assembly was more the-silent ill-will
dictatoris fauorque magistri equitum animos uersabat
against-the-dictator and-the-favor for-the-master of-the-horse the-minds turned
quam satis audebant homines ad suadendum quod uolgo
than enough dared men for urging what commonly

placebat prodire, et fauore superante auctoritas tamen
pleased to-come-forward and favor prevailing authority yet
rogationi deerat.
for-the-bill was-lacking

25.18 Unus inuentus est suasor legis C. Terentius Varro, qui
one found was as-advocate of-the-law Gaius Terentius Varro who
priore anno praetor fuerat, loco non humili solum
in-the-former year praetor had-been from-a-station not low only
sed etiam sordido ortus.
but also sordid sprung

25.19 Patrem lanium fuisse ferunt, ipsum institorem mercis,
his-father a-butcher to-have-been they-say himself a-peddler of-wares
filioque hoc ipso in seruilia eius artis ministeria usum.
and-his-son this very in the-servile of-that trade duties to-have-used

26.1 Is iuuenis, ut primum ex eo genere quaestus pecunia a
this young-man as first from that kind of-gain the-money by
patre relicta animos ad spem liberalioris fortunae fecit,
his-father left courage for hope of-a-more-liberal fortune made

26.2 togaque et forum placuere, proclamando pro sordidis
and-the-toga and the-forum pleased by-shouting for low
hominibus causisque aduersus rem et famam bonorum
men and-causes against the-property and reputation of-the-good
primum in notitiam populi,
first into the-notice of-the-people

26.3 deinde ad honores peruenit, quaesturaque et duabus
then to offices he-arrived and-the-quaestorship and two
aedilitatibus, plebeia et curuli, postremo et praetura,
aedileships plebeian and curule finally also the-praetorship
perfunctus, iam ad consulatus spem cum attolleret animos,
having-held now to the-consulship's hope when he-was-raising (his)-spirits

haud parum callide auram fauoris popularis ex dictatoria 26.4
not little cleverly the-breeze of-favor popular from the-dictatorial
inuidia petit scitique plebis unus gratiam tulit.
ill-will he-seeks and-of-the-decree of-the-plebs alone the-credit carried-off
Omnes eam rogationem, quique Romae quique in exercitu 26.5
all that bill both-who at-Rome and-who in the-army
erant, aequi atque iniqui, praeter ipsum dictatorem in
were fair and unfair except the-very dictator as
contumeliam eius latam acceperunt.
an-insult his proposed took
Ipse, qua grauitate animi criminantes se ad multitudinem 26.6
himself with-what gravity of-mind those-accusing him before the-multitude
inimicos tulerat, eadem et populi in se saeuientis
enemies he-had-borne with-the-same also of-the-people against himself raging
iniuriam tulit;
the-wrong bore
acceptisque in ipso itinere litteris de aequato imperio, 26.7
and-received on the-very journey a-letter about the-equalized command
satis fidens haudquaquam cum imperii iure artem
fairly trusting by-no-means with of-command the-right the-art
imperandi aequatam, cum inuicto a ciuibus hostibusque
of-commanding equalized with unconquered by citizens and-enemies
animo ad exercitum rediit.
spirit to the-army he-returned
Minucius uero cum iam ante uix tolerabilis fuisset 27.1
Minucius indeed since already before scarcely tolerable he-had-been
rebus secundis ac fauore uolgi,
by-things favorable and the-favor of-the-crowd
tum utique immodice immodesteque non Hannibale magis 27.2
then certainly immoderately and-immodestly not over-Hannibal more
uicto ab se quam Q. Fabio gloriari:
conquered by himself than over-Quintus Fabius he-boasted

27.3 illum in rebus asperis unicum ducem ac parem quaesitum
him in circumstances harsh the-unique leader and equal sought
Hannibali, maiorem minori, dictatorem magistro equitum,
for-Hannibal the-greater to-the-lesser the-dictator to-the-master of-the-horse
quod nulla memoria habeat annalium, iussu populi
which no memory holds of-the-annals by-order of-the-people
aequatum in eadem ciuitate, in qua magistri equitum uirgas
equalized in the-same state in which the-masters of-the-horse the-rods
ac secures dictatoris tremere atque horrere soliti sint;
and axes of-the-dictator to-tremble-at and to-shudder-at accustomed have-been
27.4 tantum suam felicitatem uirtutemque enituisse. ergo
so-much his-own good-fortune and-valor to-have-shone-out therefore
secuturum se fortunam suam, si dictator in cunctatione ac
going-to-follow himself fortune his-own if the-dictator in delay and
segnitie deorum hominumque iudicio damnata perstaret.
sloth of-gods and-of-men by-the-judgment condemned should-persist
27.5 Itaque quo die primum congressus est cum Q. Fabio,
and-so on-what day first met he-has with Quintus Fabius
statuendum omnium primum ait esse quemadmodum
to-be-settled of-all first he-says to-be how
imperio aequato utantur:
the-command equalized they-should-use
27.6 se optimum ducere aut diebus alternis aut, si maiora
himself best to-consider either on-days alternate or if greater
interualla placerent, partitis temporibus alterius summum ius
intervals should-please divided the-times of-the-one the-supreme right
imperiumque esse,
and-command to-be
27.7 ut par hosti non solum consilio sed uiribus etiam
that equal to-the-enemy not only in-counsel but in-strength also
esset, si quam occasionem rei gerendae habuisset.
he-might-be if any opportunity of-a-thing being-done he-should-have-had

Q. Fabio haudquaquam id placere: omnia fortunam eam 27.8
to-Quintus Fabius by-no-means that to-please all-things fortune that
habitura quamcumque temeritas collegae habuisset; sibi
going-to-have whatever the-rashness of-his-colleague should-have-had to-himself
communicatum cum alio, non ademptum imperium esse;
shared with another not taken-away the-command to-be
itaque se nunquam uolentem parte, qua posset, rerum 27.9
and-so himself never willingly from-the-part in-which he-could of-things
consilio gerendarum cessurum, nec se tempora aut dies
by-counsel to-be-conducted going-to-yield nor himself the-times or days
imperii cum eo, exercitum diuisurum suisque consiliis,
of-command with him (but)-the-army going-to-divide and-by-his-own counsels
quoniam omnia non liceret, quae posset seruaturum.
since all-things not it-was-allowed what he-could going-to-save
Ita obtinuit ut legiones, sicut consulibus mos esset, inter 27.10
so he-obtained that the-legions as for-the-consuls the-custom was among
se diuiderent. Prima et quarta Minucio, secunda et
themselves they-should-divide the-first and the-fourth to-Minucius the-second and
tertia Fabio euenerunt.
the-third to-Fabius fell
Item equites pari numero sociumque et Latini nominis 27.11
likewise the-horsemen in-equal number and-of-the-allies and of-the-Latin name
auxilia diuiserunt. Castris quoque separari magister
the-auxiliaries they-divided in-camp also to-be-separated the-master
equitum uoluit.
of-the-horse wished

Hannibal, delighted, hides five thousand men in hollows of a bare valley and draws Minucius into a fight for a hillock between the camps. Minucius' line is surrounded; Fabius leads his army out to save him, and Hannibal sounds the retreat, saying he beat Minucius but was beaten by Fabius. Minucius tells his soldiers it is second-best to obey one wiser, leads them to Fabius' camp, calls him father, renounces the plebiscite, and puts himself and his legions under Fabius' command again. Rome praises Fabius, and Hannibal says the cloud on the mountains has at last brought rain.

28.1 Duplex inde Hannibali gaudium fuit; neque enim quicquam
double then to-Hannibal the-joy was nor for anything
eorum quae apud hostes agerentur eum fallebat et
of-those-things which among the-enemy were-done him escaped both
perfugis multa indicantibus et per suos explorantem:
with-deserters many-things revealing and through his-own exploring
28.2 nam et liberam Minuci temeritatem se suo modo
for both the-free of-Minucius rashness himself in-his-own way
captaturum et sollertiae Fabi dimidium uirium decessisse.
going-to-catch and from-the-skill of-Fabius half of-the-strength to-have-departed
28.3 Tumulus erat inter castra Minuci et Poenorum, quem
a-hillock there-was between the-camp of-Minucius and of-the-Carthaginians which
qui occupasset haud dubie iniquiorem erat hosti
whoever had-seized not doubtfully more-unfavorable was for-the-enemy
locum facturus.
the-place going-to-make
28.4 Eum non tam capere sine certamine uolebat Hannibal,
it not so-much to-take without contest wished Hannibal
quamquam id operae pretium erat, quam causam certaminis
although that of-the-effort the-price was as a-cause of-contest

cum Minucio, quem semper occursurum ad obsistendum
with Minucius whom always going-to-run-to-meet for opposing
satis sciebat, contrahere.
well he-knew to-bring-about
Ager omnis medius erat prima specie inutilis insidiatori, 28.5
the-land all between was at-first sight useless for-a-lurker
quia non modo siluestre quicquam sed ne uepribus quidem
because not only wooded anything but not with-brambles even
uestitum habebat,
clothed it-had
re ipsa natus tegendis insidiis, eo magis quod in 28.6
in-fact itself made for-concealing ambushes by-that more that in
nuda ualle nulla talis fraus timeri poterat; et erant in
a-bare valley no such fraud to-be-feared could and there-were in
anfractibus cauae rupes, ut quaedam earum ducenos
the-bends hollow rocks so-that some of-them two-hundred-each
armatos possent capere.
armed-men could hold
In has latebras, quot quemque locum apte insidere 28.7
into these hiding-places as-many-as each place fitly to-occupy
poterant, quinque milia conduntur peditum equitumque.
could five thousands are-hidden of-infantry and-of-horsemen
Necubi tamen aut motus alicuius temere egressi aut 28.8
lest-anywhere however either the-movement of-someone rashly having-gone-out or
fulgor armorum fraudem in ualle tam aperta detegeret, missis
the-gleam of-arms the-fraud in a-valley so open should-reveal sent
paucis prima luce ad capiendum quem ante diximus
a-few at-first light for taking which before we-have-mentioned
tumulum auertit oculos hostium.
the-hillock he-diverts the-eyes of-the-enemy

28.9 Primo statim conspectu contempta paucitas ac sibi
at-the-first at-once sight despised (their)-fewness and for-himself
quisque deposcere pellendos inde hostes ac locum capiendum;
each demanded to-be-driven thence the-enemy and the-place to-be-taken
dux ipse inter stolidissimos ferocissimosque ad arma
the-leader himself among the-most-stupid and-fiercest to arms
uocat et uanis minis increpat hostem.
calls and with-empty threats rebukes the-enemy

28.10 Principio leuem armaturam emittit, deinde conferto agmine
at-the-beginning the-light armament he-sends-out then in-close column
equites; postremo, cum hostibus quoque subsidia mitti
the-horsemen finally when to-the-enemy also reinforcements to-be-sent
uideret, instructis legionibus procedit.
he-saw with-drawn-up legions he-advances

28.11 Et Hannibal laborantibus suis alia atque alia accrescente
and Hannibal to-his-struggling men other and other growing
certamine mittens auxilia peditum equitumque iam iustam
the-contest sending auxiliaries of-infantry and-of-horsemen already a-regular
expleuerat aciem, ac totis utrimque uiribus certatur.
had-filled-up line and with-whole on-both-sides strength it-is-fought

28.12 Prima leuis armatura Romanorum, praeoccupatum ex
first the-light armament of-the-Romans the-pre-occupied from
inferiore loco succedens tumulum, pulsa detrusaque terrorem
lower ground approaching hillock driven and-thrust-down terror
in succedentem intulit equitem et ad signa legionum
upon the-approaching brought cavalry and to the-standards of-the-legions
refugit.
fled-back

Peditum acies inter perculsos impauida sola erat uidebaturque, 28.13
of-the-infantry the-line among the-struck fearless alone was and-it-seemed
si iusta ac directa pugna esset, haudquaquam impar futura;
if regular and straight the-fight were by-no-means unequal going-to-be
tantum animorum fecerat prospere ante paucos dies res gesta;
so-much of-spirits had-made successfully before few days the-thing done
sed exorti repente insidiatores eum tumultum terroremque in 28.14
but risen suddenly the-lurkers such confusion and-terror on
latera utrimque ab tergoque incursantes fecerunt ut neque
the-flanks on-both-sides from and-the-rear charging caused that neither
animus ad pugnam neque ad fugam spes cuiquam superesset.
spirit for fighting nor for flight hope to-anyone remained
Tum Fabius, primo clamore pauentium audito, dein conspecta 29.1
then Fabius first the-shout of-the-panicking heard then sighted
procul turbata acie, 'Ita est' inquit; 'non celerius quam
far the-disordered line so it-is he-said not faster than
timui deprendit fortuna temeritatem.
I-feared has-caught fortune rashness
Fabio aequatus imperio Hannibalem et uirtute et fortuna 29.2
with-Fabius equaled in-command Hannibal both in-valor and in-fortune
superiorem uidet. Sed aliud iurgandi suscensendique tempus
superior he-sees but another of-reproaching and-of-being-angry time
erit: nunc signa extra uallum proferte; uictoriam
there-will-be now the-standards outside the-rampart bring-forward the-victory
hosti extorqueamus, confessionem erroris ciuibus.'
from-the-enemy let-us-wrest the-confession of-(their)-error from-the-citizens
Iam magna ex parte caesis aliis, aliis circumspectantibus 29.3
already great in part killed some others looking-about-for
fugam, Fabiana se acies repente uelut caelo demissa ad
flight the-Fabian itself line suddenly as-if from-heaven sent-down for
auxilium ostendit.
help shows

29.4 Itaque priusquam ad coniectum teli ueniret aut manum
and-so before to the-throw of-a-weapon it-came or hand
consereret, et suos a fuga effusa et ab nimis feroci
joined both his-own from flight headlong and from too fierce
pugna hostes continuit.
fighting the-enemy it-held-back

29.5 Qui solutis ordinibus uage dissipati erant undique
those-who loosened their-ranks at-random scattered had-been from-all-sides
confugerunt ad integram aciem; qui plures simul terga
fled to the-fresh line those-who more at-once their-backs
dederant conuersi in hostem uoluentesque orbem nunc
had-given turned against the-enemy and-rolling-round a-circle now
sensim referre pedem, nunc conglobati restare.
gradually they-drew-back (their)-foot now massed they-stood-firm

29.6 Ac iam prope una acies facta erat uicti atque
and already almost one line made had-been of-the-conquered and
integri exercitus inferebantque signa in hostem,
of-the-fresh army and-they-were-bearing their-standards against the-enemy
cum Poenus receptui cecinit, palam ferente Hannibale
when the-Carthaginian for-retreat sounded openly declaring Hannibal
ab se Minucium, se ab Fabio uictum.
by himself Minucius himself by Fabius conquered

29.7 Ita per uariam fortunam diei maiore parte exacta cum
so through varied fortune of-the-day the-greater part spent when
in castra reditum esset,
into the-camp returned it-had-been

29.8 Minucius conuocatis militibus ‘Saepe ego’ inquit, ‘audiui,
Minucius having-called-together the-soldiers often I he-said have-heard
milites, eum primum esse uirum qui ipse consulat quid in
soldiers him first to-be man who himself may-advise what to
rem sit, secundum eum qui bene monenti oboediat;
the-purpose may-be next him who well to-one-advising may-obey

qui nec ipse consulere nec alteri parere sciat, eum extremi
who neither himself to-advise nor another to-obey knows him of-the-lowest
ingenii esse.
intelligence to-be
Nobis quoniam prima animi ingeniique negata sors est, 29.9
to-us since the-first of-mind and-intellect denied lot is
secundam ac mediam teneamus et, dum imperare discimus,
the-second and middle let-us-hold and while to-command we-learn
parere prudenti in animum inducamus. Castra cum Fabio
to-obey the-prudent to mind let-us-bring the-camp with Fabius
iungamus.
let-us-join
Ad praetorium eius signa cum tulerimus, ubi ego 29.10
to the-headquarters his the-standards when we-shall-have-carried where I
eum parentem appellauero, quod beneficio eius erga nos
him father shall-have-called which of-the-kindness his toward us
ac maiestate eius dignum est,
and of-the-majesty his worthy is
uos, milites, eos quorum uos modo arma dexterae texerunt 29.11
you soldiers those whose you lately arms right-hands covered
patronos salutabitis, et, si nihil aliud, gratorum certe nobis
as-patrons will-salute and if nothing else of-grateful at-least to-us
animorum gloriam dies hic dederit.'
of-spirits the-glory day this shall-have-given
Signo dato conclamatur inde ut colligantur uasa. Profecti 30.1
the-signal given it-is-shouted then that be-collected the-baggage having-set-out
et agmine incedentes in dictatoris castra in admirationem
and in-column advancing into the-dictator's camp into wonder
et ipsum et omnes qui circa erant conuerterunt.
both himself and all who around were they-turned

30.2 Ut constituta sunt ante tribunal signa, progressus ante
when set-up were before the-tribunal the-standards having-advanced before
alios magister equitum, cum patrem Fabium appellasset
the-others the-master of-the-horse when father Fabius he-had-called
circumfusosque militum eius totum agmen patronos
and-thronging-round of-the-soldiers his the-whole column as-patrons
consalutasset,
had-saluted

30.3 'Parentibus' inquit, 'meis, dictator, quibus te modo nomine
to-parents he-said my dictator to-whom you lately in-name
quod fando possum aequaui, uitam tantum debeo, tibi
which by-speaking I-can I-have-equaled life only I-owe to-you
cum meam salutem, tum omnium horum.
both my safety and of-all these

30.4 Itaque plebei scitum, quo oneratus sum magis quam
and-so the-plebs' decree by-which burdened I-have-been more than
honoratus, primus antiquo abrogoque et, quod exercitibus
honored first I-reject and-annul and what for-the-armies
his tuis quod tibi mihique seruato ac conseruatori sit
these yours what for-you and-me for-the-saved and the-savior may-be
felix, sub imperium auspiciumque tuum redeo et signa
fortunate under the-command and-auspices your I-return and the-standards
haec legionesque restituo.
these and-the-legions I-restore

30.5 Tu, quaeso, placatus me magisterium equitum, hos ordines
you I-pray appeased me the-mastership of-the-horse these the-ranks
suos quemque tenere iubeas.'
their-own each to-hold may-order

Tum dextrae interiunctae militesque contione dimissa ab 30.6
then right-hands joined and-the-soldiers the-assembly dismissed by
notis ignotisque benigne atque hospitaliter inuitati laetusque
acquaintances and-strangers kindly and hospitably invited and-glad
dies ex admodum tristi paulo ante ac prope exsecrabili factus.
the-day from quite sad a-little before and almost accursed made
Romae, ut est perlata fama rei gestae, dein litteris 30.7
at-Rome when was brought the-report of-the-thing done then by-letters
non magis ipsorum imperatorum quam uolgo militum
not more of-the-generals themselves than of-the-common soldiers
ex utroque exercitu adfirmata, pro se quisque Maximum
from each army confirmed for himself each Maximus
laudibus ad caelum ferre.
with-praises to heaven bore
Par gloria apud Hannibalem hostesque Poenos erat; ac 30.8
equal the-glory with Hannibal and-the-enemy Carthaginians was and
tum demum sentire cum Romanis atque in Italia bellum
then at-last they-perceived with Romans and in Italy the-war
esse;
to-be
nam biennio ante adeo et duces Romanos et milites 30.9
for for-two-years before so both the-leaders Roman and the-soldiers
spreuerant, ut uix cum eadem gente bellum esse crederent
they-had-despised that scarcely with the-same nation war to-be they-believed
cuius terribilem famam a patribus accepissent.
whose terrible reputation from their-fathers they-had-received
Hannibalem quoque ex acie redeuntem dixisse ferunt 30.10
Hannibal also from the-line returning to-have-said they-report
tandem eam nubem, quae sedere in iugis montium
at-last that cloud which to-sit on the-ridges of-the-mountains
solita sit, cum procella imbrem dedisse.
accustomed has with a-storm rain to-have-given

Servilius' fleet raids Africa and loses a thousand men in an ambush. Livy notes Fabius was elected by the people, not named. The consuls Atilius and Servilius take over the dictator's armies and keep to his methods. Naples offers forty golden bowls and Rome accepts the lightest. A Carthaginian spy and twenty-five conspiring slaves are punished; embassies go to Philip of Macedon, the Ligurians, and Pinnes of Illyria. A dictator named to hold the elections is found faulty, and the state returns to an interregnum.

31.1 Dum haec geruntur in Italia, Cn. Seruilius Geminus
while these-things are-done in Italy Gnaeus Servilius Geminus
consul cum classe centum uiginti nauium circumuectus
the-consul with a-fleet of-a-hundred twenty ships having-sailed-round
Sardiniae et Corsicae oram, et obsidibus utrimque acceptis
of-Sardinia and of-Corsica the-coast and hostages from-both received
in Africam transmisit et,
to Africa crossed and
31.2 priusquam in continentem escensiones faceret, Menige insula
before onto the-mainland landings he-made Menix the-island
uastata et ab incolentibus Cercinam, ne et ipsorum
ravaged and from those-inhabiting Cercina that-not also their-own
ureretur diripereturque ager, decem talentis argenti acceptis
should-be-burned and-plundered land ten talents of-silver received
ad litora Africae accessit copiasque exposuit.
to the-shores of-Africa he-approached and-his-forces landed
31.3 Inde ad populandum agrum ducti milites naualesque
thence for ravaging the-land led the-soldiers and-the-naval
socii iuxta effusi ac si in insulis cultorum egentibus
allies just poured-out as if on islands of-tillers lacking
praedarentur.
they-were-plundering

Itaque in insidias temere inlati, cum a frequentibus palantes 31.4
and-so into an-ambush rashly carried when by crowded straggling
et locorum ignari ab gnaris circumuenirentur, cum
and of-the-places ignorant by those-who-knew they-were-surrounded with
multa caede ac foeda fuga retro ad naues compulsi sunt.
much slaughter and foul flight back to the-ships driven were
Ad mille hominum cum Ti. Sempronio Blaeso quaestore 31.5
about a-thousand of-men with Tiberius Sempronius Blaesus the-quaestor
amissum, classis ab litoribus hostium plenis trepide soluta
lost the-fleet from the-shores of-the-enemy crowded in-alarm loosed
in Siciliam cursum tenuit,
for Sicily its-course held
traditaque Lilybaei T. Otacilio praetori, ut ab legato 31.6
and-handed-over at-Lilybaeum to-Titus Otacilius the-praetor that by the-legate
eius P. Cincio Romam reduceretur.
his Publius Cincius to-Rome it-might-be-brought-back
Ipse per Siciliam pedibus profectus freto in Italiam 31.7
himself through Sicily on-foot having-set-out by-the-strait into Italy
traiecit, litteris Q. Fabi accitus et ipse et collega
crossed by-a-letter of-Quintus Fabius summoned both himself and the-colleague
eius M. Atilius, ut exercitus ab se exacto iam prope
his Marcus Atilius that the-armies from him spent already almost
semenstri imperio acciperent.
the-six-month command they-should-receive
Omnium prope annales Fabium dictatorem aduersus 31.8
of-all almost the-annals Fabius as-dictator against
Hannibalem rem gessisse tradunt; Caelius etiam eum
Hannibal the-matter to-have-conducted relate Caelius even him
primum a populo creatum dictatorem scribit.
the-first by the-people created dictator writes

31.9 Sed et Caelium et ceteros fugit uni consuli Cn.
but both Caelius and the-others escapes-it to-the-one consul Gnaeus
Seruilio, qui tum procul in Gallia prouincia aberat, ius
Servilius who then far in Gaul the-province was-away the-right
fuisse dicendi dictatoris;
to-have-been of-naming a-dictator

31.10 quam moram quia exspectare territa iam clade ciuitas
which delay because to-await terrified already by-the-disaster the-state
non poterat, eo decursum esse ut a populo crearetur
not could to-that resorted to-have-been that by the-people should-be-created
qui pro dictatore esset;
one-who in-place-of a-dictator should-be

31.11 res inde gestas gloriamque insignem ducis et augentes
the-things then done and-the-glory outstanding of-the-leader and increasing
titulum imaginis posteros, ut qui pro dictatore
the-inscription of-the-portrait the-descendants so-that he-who in-place-of a-dictator
creatus erat, dictator crederetur, facile obtinuisse.
created had-been dictator should-be-believed easily to-have-prevailed

32.1 Consules Atilius Fabiano, Geminus Seruilius Minuciano
the-consuls Atilius the-Fabian Geminus Servilius the-Minucian
exercitu accepto, hibernaculis mature communitis, quod
army received winter-quarters early fortified what
reliquum autumni erat Fabi artibus cum summa inter
remainder of-autumn was of-Fabius by-the-arts with the-utmost among
se concordia bellum gesserunt.
themselves harmony the-war waged

32.2 Frumentatum exeunti Hannibali diuersis locis opportuni
foraging going-out to-Hannibal in-different places opportunely
aderant, carpentes agmen palatosque excipientes; in
they-were-present harassing the-column and-the-stragglers catching into

casum uniuersae dimicationis, quam omnibus artibus petebat
the-chance of-a-general fight which by-all arts sought
hostis, non ueniebant,
the-enemy not they-came
adeoque inopia est coactus Hannibal ut, nisi cum 32.3
and-so-much by-want was forced Hannibal that unless with
fugae specie abeundum timuisset, Galliam repetiturus
of-flight the-appearance to-be-gone-away he-had-feared Gaul going-to-seek-again
fuerit, nulla spe relicta alendi exercitus in eis locis
he-would-have-been no hope left of-feeding the-army in those places
si insequentes consules eisdem artibus bellum gererent.
if the-pursuing consuls with-the-same arts the-war should-wage
Cum ad Gereonium iam hieme impediente constitisset 32.4
when at Gereonium now with-winter hindering had-halted
bellum, Neapolitani legati Romam uenere. Ab iis quadraginta
the-war Neapolitan envoys to-Rome came by them forty
paterae aureae magni ponderis in curiam inlatae atque
bowls golden of-great weight into the-senate-house brought and
ita uerba facta ut dicerent:
so words made that they-said
scire sese populi Romani aerarium bello exhauriri et, 32.5
to-know themselves of-the-people Roman the-treasury by-war to-be-drained and
cum iuxta pro urbibus agrisque sociorum ac pro capite
since alike for the-cities and-lands of-the-allies and for the-head
atque arce Italiae urbe Romana atque imperio geratur,
and citadel of-Italy the-city Roman and the-empire it-is-waged
aequum censuisse Neapolitanos, quod auri sibi cum ad 32.6
fair to-have-thought the-Neapolitans that-which of-gold to-them both for
templorum ornatum tum ad subsidium fortunae a maioribus
of-temples adornment and for the-support of-fortune by their-ancestors
relictum foret, eo iuuare populum Romanum.
left had-been with-it to-help the-people Roman

32.7 si quam opem in sese crederent, eodem studio fuisse
if any help in themselves they-believed with-the-same zeal to-have-been
oblaturos. gratum sibi patres Romanos populumque facturum
going-to-offer pleasing to-them the-fathers Roman and-the-people going-to-do
si omnes res Neapolitanorum suas duxissent,
if all the-things of-the-Neapolitans their-own they-should-have-considered
32.8 dignosque iudicauerint ab quibus donum animo ac
and-worthy should-have-judged from whom a-gift in-the-spirit and
uoluntate eorum qui libentes darent quam re maius
will of-those who gladly gave than in-substance greater
ampliusque acciperent.
and-ampler they-should-receive
32.9 Legatis gratiae actae pro munificentia curaque; patera, quae
to-the-envoys thanks given for their-munificence and-care the-bowl which
ponderis minimi fuit, accepta.
of-weight least was accepted
33.1 Per eosdem dies speculator Carthaginiensis, qui per biennium
during the-same days a-spy Carthaginian who for two-years
fefellerat, Romae deprensus praecisisque manibus dimissus,
had-escaped-notice at-Rome caught and-cut-off his-hands sent-away
33.2 et serui quinque et uiginti in crucem acti, quod in campo
and slaves five and twenty onto the-cross driven because in the-field
Martio coniurassent; indici data libertas et aeris grauis
of-Mars they-had-conspired to-the-informer given freedom and of-bronze heavy
uiginti milia.
twenty thousands
33.3 Legati et ad Philippum Macedonum regem missi ad
envoys also to Philip of-the-Macedonians king sent for
deposcendum Demetrium Pharium, qui bello uictus ad eum
demanding Demetrius of-Pharos who in-war conquered to him
fugisset,
had-fled

et alii in Ligures ad expostulandum quod Poenum 33.4
and others to the-Ligurians for remonstrating that the-Carthaginian
opibus auxiliisque suis iuuissent, simul ad
with-resources and-auxiliaries their-own they-had-helped at-the-same-time for
uisendum ex propinquo quae in Boiis atque Insubribus
viewing from near what among the-Boii and the-Insubres
gererentur.
was-being-done

Ad Pinnem quoque regem in Illyrios legati missi ad 33.5
to Pinnes also the-king among the-Illyrians envoys sent for
stipendium, cuius dies exierat, poscendum aut, si diem
the-tribute whose day had-expired demanding or if the-day
proferri uellet, obsides accipiendos.
to-be-extended he-wished hostages receiving

Adeo, etsi bellum ingens in ceruicibus erat, nullius 33.6
so although a-war huge on their-necks was of-no
usquam terrarum rei cura Romanos, ne longinquae quidem,
anywhere on-earth thing the-care the-Romans not distant even
effugiebat.
escaped

In religionem etiam uenit aedem Concordiae, quam per 33.7
into a-scruple also it-came the-temple of-Concord which during
seditionem militarem biennio ante L. Manlius praetor in
a-mutiny military two-years before Lucius Manlius the-praetor in
Gallia uouisset, locatam ad id tempus non esse.
Gaul had-vowed contracted till that time not to-be

Itaque duumuiri ad eam rem creati a M. Aemilio praetore 33.8
and-so duumvirs for that matter created by Marcus Aemilius the-praetor
urbano, C. Pupius et Caeso Quinctius Flamininus, aedem
urban Gaius Pupius and Kaeso Quinctius Flamininus the-temple
in arce faciendam locauerunt.
on the-citadel to-be-built contracted

33.9 Ab eodem praetore ex senatus consulto litterae ad
by the-same praetor by of-the-senate decree a-letter to
consules missae ut, si iis uideretur, alter eorum ad
the-consuls sent that if to-them it-seemed-good one of-them for
consules creandos Romam ueniret; se in eam diem quam
consuls creating to-Rome should-come himself for that day which
iussissent comitia edicturum.
they-should-order the-elections going-to-proclaim

33.10 Ad haec a consulibus rescriptum sine detrimento
to these-things by the-consuls was-written-back without harm
rei publicae abscedi non posse ab hoste; itaque
of-the-thing public to-be-withdrawn not to-be-able from the-enemy and-so
per interregem comitia habenda esse potius quam consul
through an-interrex the-elections to-be-held to-be rather than consul
alter a bello auocaretur.
one from the-war should-be-called-away

33.11 Patribus rectius uisum est dictatorem a consule dici
to-the-fathers more-rightly seemed it-was a-dictator by a-consul to-be-named
comitiorum habendorum causa. Dictus L. Veturius Philo
of-the-elections holding for-the-sake named Lucius Veturius Philo
M. Pomponium Mathonem magistrum equitum dixit.
Marcus Pomponius Matho master of-the-horse named

33.12 Iis uitio creatis iussisque die quarto decimo se
they by-a-flaw created and-ordered on-the-day fourth tenth themselves
magistratu abdicare, ad interregnum res rediit.
from-office to-resign to interregnum the-matter returned

At the elections, Varro, backed by his kinsman the tribune Baebius, who charges that the nobles prolong the war, is elected consul alone; the nobility puts forward Lucius Aemilius Paulus, more opponent than colleague. The armies are enlarged, by some accounts to eight legions, and portents expiated. Paestum's golden bowls are declined. Hiero sends a golden Victory, grain, and archers and slingers, and urges an attack on Africa; the senate accepts the Victory and places it on the Capitol, adds twenty-five quinqueremes to Otacilius' fleet in Sicily, and lets him cross to Africa.

Consulibus prorogatum in annum imperium. Interreges 34.1
for-the-consuls was-prolonged for a-year the-command interreges
proditi sunt a patribus C. Claudius Appi filius Cento,
named were by the-fathers Gaius Claudius of-Appius the-son Cento
inde P. Cornelius Asina. In eius interregno comitia
then Publius Cornelius Asina in his interregnum the-elections
habita magno certamine patrum ac plebis.
were-held with-great struggle of-the-fathers and of-the-plebs
C. Terentio Varroni, quem sui generis hominem, 34.2
to-Gaius Terentius Varro whom of-their-own kind a-man
plebi insectatione principum popularibusque artibus
for-the-plebs by-the-hounding of-the-leading-men and-by-popular arts
conciliatum, ab Q. Fabi opibus et dictatorio imperio
won-over from Quintus Fabius' power and the-dictatorial command
concusso aliena inuidia splendentem uolgus extrahere ad
shaken by-another's ill-will shining the-crowd to-drag to
consulatum nitebatur, patres summa ope obstabant ne
the-consulship strove the-fathers with-utmost effort opposed lest
se insectando sibi aequari adsuescerent homines.
themselves by-hounding with-themselves to-be-equaled grow-used men

34.3 Q. Baebius Herennius tribunus plebis, cognatus C.
Quintus Baebius Herennius tribune of-the-plebs a-kinsman of-Gaius
Terenti, criminando non senatum modo sed etiam augures,
Terentius by-accusing not the-senate only but also the-augurs
quod dictatorem prohibuissent comitia perficere, per
because the-dictator they-had-prevented the-elections to-complete through
inuidiam eorum fauorem candidato suo conciliabat:
ill-will toward-them favor for-the-candidate his-own won
34.4 ab hominibus nobilibus, per multos annos bellum quaerentibus,
by men noble for many years war seeking
Hannibalem in Italiam adductum; ab iisdem, cum debellari
Hannibal into Italy brought by the-same when to-be-finished-off
possit, fraude bellum trahi.
it-could by-fraud the-war to-be-dragged-out
34.5 cum quattuor legionibus uniuersis pugnari posse apparuisset
when with-four legions all-together to-be-fought to-be-able it-had-appeared
eo quod M. Minucius absente Fabio prospere
by-that that Marcus Minucius in-the-absence-of Fabius successfully
pugnasset,
had-fought
34.6 duas legiones hosti ad caedem obiectas, deinde ex ipsa
two legions to-the-enemy for slaughter exposed then from the-very
caede ereptas ut pater patronusque appellaretur qui prius
slaughter snatched that father and-patron he-might-be-called who before
uincere prohibuisset Romanos quam uinci.
to-conquer had-prevented the-Romans than to-be-conquered
34.7 consules deinde Fabianis artibus, cum debellare possent,
the-consuls then by-Fabian arts when to-finish they-could
bellum traxisse. id foedus inter omnes nobiles ictum
the-war to-have-dragged-out that pact among all the-nobles struck

nec finem ante belli habituros quam consulem uere
nor an-end before of-the-war going-to-have than a-consul truly
plebeium, id est, hominem nouum fecissent;
plebeian that is a-man new they-should-have-made
nam plebeios nobiles iam eisdem initiatos esse sacris et 34.8
for the-plebeian nobles now into-the-same initiated to-be rites and
contemnere plebem, ex quo contemni patribus desierint,
to-despise the-plebs from when to-be-despised by-the-fathers they-ceased
coepisse.
to-have-begun
cui non apparere id actum et quaesitum esse ut 34.9
to-whom not to-be-apparent that done and sought to-have-been that
interregnum iniretur, ut in patrum potestate comitia essent?
an-interregnum be-entered that in the-fathers' power the-elections might-be
id consules ambos ad exercitum morando quaesisse; id 34.10
that the-consuls both at the-army by-delaying to-have-sought that
postea, quia inuitis iis dictator esset dictus comitiorum
afterward because unwilling them a-dictator had-been named of-the-elections
causa, expugnatum esse ut uitiosus dictator per
for-the-sake extorted to-have-been that faulty the-dictator through
augures fieret.
the-augurs should-be-made
habere igitur interregnum eos; consulatum unum certe 34.11
to-have therefore the-interregnum them the-consulship one surely
plebis Romanae esse; populum liberum habiturum ac
of-the-plebs Roman to-be the-people free going-to-hold and
daturum ei qui uere uincere quam diu imperare malit.
going-to-give to-him who truly to-conquer than long to-command prefers
Cum his orationibus accensa plebs esset, tribus patriciis 35.1
when by-these speeches fired the-plebs had-been three patricians
petentibus, P. Cornelio Merenda L. Manlio Volsone
standing Publius Cornelius Merenda Lucius Manlius Vulso

M. Aemilio Lepido, duobus nobilium iam familiarum
Marcus Aemilius Lepidus two of-noble now families
plebeiis, C. Atilio Serrano et Q. Aelio Paeto,
plebeians Gaius Atilius Serranus and Quintus Aelius Paetus
35.2 quorum alter pontifex, alter augur erat, C. Terentius
of-whom one pontiff the-other augur was Gaius Terentius
consul unus creatur, ut in manu eius essent comitia
consul alone is-created that in the-hand his might-be the-elections
rogando collegae.
in-asking-for a-colleague
35.3 Tum experta nobilitas parum fuisse uirium in
then having-tested the-nobility too-little to-have-been of-strength in
competitoribus eius, L. Aemilium Paulum, qui cum M.
the-competitors his Lucius Aemilius Paulus who with Marcus
Liuio consul fuerat et damnatione collegae sui
Livius consul had-been and by-the-condemnation of-the-colleague his-own
prope ambustus euaserat, infestum plebei, diu ac multum
almost scorched had-escaped hostile to-the-plebs long and much
recusantem ad petitionem compellit.
refusing to the-candidacy forces
35.4 Is proximo comitiali die concedentibus omnibus, qui cum
he on-the-next election day yielding all who with
Varrone certauerant, par magis in aduersandum quam
Varro had-competed as-an-equal more in opposing than
collega datur consuli. Inde praetorum comitia habita.
as-colleague is-given to-the-consul then of-the-praetors the-elections were-held
35.5 Creati M. Pomponius Matho et P. Furius Philus;
created Marcus Pomponius Matho and Publius Furius Philus
Philo Romae iuri dicundo urbana sors, Pomponio inter
to-Philus at-Rome for-justice declaring the-city lot to-Pomponius between
ciues Romanos et peregrinos euenit;
citizens Roman and foreigners fell

additi duo praetores, M. Claudius Marcellus in Siciliam, 35.6
added two praetors Marcus Claudius Marcellus to Sicily
L. Postumius Albinus in Galliam.
Lucius Postumius Albinus to Gaul
Omnes absentes creati sunt nec cuiquam eorum praeter 35.7
all absent created were nor to-any of-them except
Terentium consulem mandatus honos quem non iam antea
Terentius the-consul entrusted an-office which not already before
gessisset, praeteritis aliquot fortibus ac strenuis uiris, quia in
he-had-held passed-over several brave and vigorous men because in
tali tempore nulli nouus magistratus uidebatur mandandus.
such time to-no-one a-new magistracy seemed to-be-entrusted
Exercitus quoque multiplicati sunt; quantae autem copiae 36.1
the-armies also multiplied were how-great moreover the-forces
peditum equitumque additae sint adeo et numero et genere
of-infantry and-of-horsemen added were so both in-number and in-kind
copiarum uariant auctores, ut uix quicquam satis certum
of-forces vary the-authorities that scarcely anything enough certain
adfirmare ausus sim.
to-affirm dared I-have
Decem milia nouorum militum alii scripta in supplementum, 36.2
ten thousands of-new soldiers some enrolled as supplement
alii nouas quattuor legiones ut octo legionibus rem
others new four legions that with-eight legions the-matter
gererent;
they-might-conduct
numero quoque peditum equitumque legiones auctas milibus 36.3
in-number also of-infantry and-of-horsemen the-legions increased a-thousand
peditum et centenis equitibus in singulas adiectis, ut
of-infantry and a-hundred-each horsemen to each added so-that

quina milia peditum, treceni equites essent, socii
five-each thousands of-infantry three-hundred-each horsemen were the-allies
duplicem numerum equitum darent, peditis aequarent,
a-double number of-horsemen should-give of-infantry should-equal
36.4 septem et octoginta milia armatorum et ducentos in
seven and eighty thousands of-armed-men and two-hundred in
castris Romanis fuisse cum pugnatum ad Cannas est
the-camp Roman to-have-been when fought at Cannae it-was
quidam auctores sunt.
some authorities are
36.5 Illud haudquaquam discrepat maiore conatu atque impetu
that by-no-means disagrees with-greater effort and impetus
rem actam quam prioribus annis, quia spem posse
the-matter conducted than in-the-former years because hope to-be-able
uinci hostem dictator praebuerat.
to-be-conquered the-enemy the-dictator had-offered
36.6 Ceterum priusquam signa ab urbe nouae legiones
however before the-standards from the-city the-new legions
mouerent, decemuiri libros adire atque inspicere iussi
moved the-decemvirs the-books to-consult and to-inspect ordered
propter territos uolgo homines nouis prodigiis.
on-account-of frightened commonly the-men by-new portents
36.7 Nam et Romae in Auentino et Ariciae nuntiatum erat
for both at-Rome on the-Aventine and at-Aricia announced it-had-been
sub idem tempus lapidibus pluuisse, et multo cruore
about the-same time with-stones to-have-rained and with-much blood
signa in Sabinis, Caeretes aquas manasse;
the-statues among the-Sabines the-Caerite waters to-have-flowed
36.8 id quidem etiam, quod saepius acciderat, magis terrebat;
that indeed even because more-often it-had-happened more frightened
et in uia fornicata, quae ad Campum erat, aliquot
and on the-road vaulted which to the-Campus was several

homines de caelo tacti exanimatique fuerant. Ea prodigia
men from the-sky struck and-killed had-been those portents
ex libris procurata.
from the-books expiated
Legati a Paesto pateras aureas Romam attulerunt. Iis, 36.9
envoys from Paestum bowls golden to-Rome brought to-them
sicut Neapolitanis, gratiae actae, aurum non acceptum.
as to-the-Neapolitans thanks given the-gold not accepted
Per eosdem dies ab Hierone classis Ostia cum magno 37.1
through the-same days from Hiero a-fleet at-Ostia with great
commeatu accessit.
supplies arrived
Legati in senatum introducti nuntiarunt caedem C. 37.2
the-envoys into the-senate brought-in announced the-slaughter of-Gaius
Flamini consulis exercitusque allatam adeo aegre tulisse
Flaminius the-consul and-of-the-army reported so grievously to-have-borne
regem Hieronem ut nulla sua propria regnique sui
the-king Hiero that by-no his-own own and-of-the-kingdom his
clade moueri magis potuerit.
disaster to-be-moved more he-could
itaque, quamquam probe sciat magnitudinem populi 37.3
and-so although well he-knows the-greatness of-the-people
Romani admirabiliorem prope aduersis rebus quam secundis
Roman more-admirable almost in-adverse things than in-favorable
esse,
to-be
tamen se omnia quibus a bonis fidelibusque sociis bella 37.4
yet himself all-things with-which by good and-faithful allies wars
iuuari soleant misisse; quae ne accipere abnuant magno
to-be-helped are-wont to-have-sent which that-not to-accept they-refuse by-great
opere se patres conscriptos orare.
effort him the-fathers conscript to-beg

37.5 iam omnium primum ominis causa Victoriam auream
now of-all first of-the-omen for-the-sake a-Victory golden
pondo ducentum ac uiginti adferre sese. acciperent eam
of-pounds two-hundred and twenty to-bring themselves they-should-accept it
tenerentque et haberent propriam et perpetuam.
and-hold and have as-own and lasting

37.6 aduexisse etiam trecenta milia modium tritici, ducenta
to-have-brought also three-hundred thousands of-pecks of-wheat two-hundred
hordei, ne commeatus deessent, et quantum praeterea
of-barley that-not supplies should-be-lacking and as-much-as besides
opus esset quo iussissent subuecturos.
need should-be whither they-should-order going-to-bring-up

37.7 milite atque equite scire nisi Romano Latinique nominis
soldiers and horsemen to-know except Roman and-of-the-Latin name
non uti populum Romanum: leuium armorum auxilia etiam
not to-use the-people Roman of-light arms auxiliaries even
externa uidisse in castris Romanis.
foreign to-have-seen in the-camp Roman

37.8 itaque misisse mille sagittariorum ac funditorum, aptam
and-so to-have-sent a-thousand of-archers and of-slingers a-fit
manum aduersus Baliares ac Mauros pugnacesque alias
band against the-Baliares and Moors and-warlike other
missili telo gentes.
with-missile weapon nations

37.9 Ad ea dona consilium quoque addebant ut praetor, cui
to these gifts advice also they-added that the-praetor to-whom
prouincia Sicilia euenisset, classem in Africam traiceret,
the-province Sicily had-fallen the-fleet into Africa should-carry-over
ut et hostes in terra sua bellum haberent minusque
that also the-enemy in land their-own war might-have and-less
laxamenti daretur iis ad auxilia Hannibali summittenda.
of-respite be-given to-them for auxiliaries to-Hannibal sending

Ab senatu ita responsum regi est: uirum bonum 37.10
by the-senate thus answered to-the-king it-was a-man good
egregiumque socium Hieronem esse atque uno tenore, ex
and-an-excellent ally Hiero to-be and in-one tenor from
quo in amicitiam populi Romani uenerit, fidem coluisse
when into the-friendship of-the-people Roman he-came faith to-have-cherished
ac rem Romanam omni tempore ac loco munifice adiuuisse.
and the-state Roman at-every time and place munificently to-have-helped
id perinde ac deberet gratum populo Romano esse.
that just as it-ought pleasing to-the-people Roman to-be
aurum et a ciuitatibus quibusdam allatum, gratia 37.11
gold also from states some brought with-gratitude
rei accepta, non accepisse populum Romanum;
for-the-thing accepted not to-have-accepted the-people Roman
Victoriam omenque accipere sedemque ei se diuae 37.12
the-Victory and-the-omen to-accept and-a-seat to-her themselves to-the-goddess
dare dicare Capitolium, templum Iouis optimi maximi, in
to-give to-dedicate the-Capitol the-temple of-Jupiter best greatest in
ea arce urbis Romanae sacratam uolentem propitiamque,
that citadel of-the-city Roman consecrated willing and-propitious
firmam ac stabilem fore populo Romano.
firm and stable going-to-be to-the-people Roman
Funditores sagittariique et frumentum traditum consulibus. 37.13
the-slingers and-archers and the-grain handed-over to-the-consuls
Quinqueremes ad quinquaginta nauium classem quae cum
quinqueremes to of-fifty ships the-fleet which with
T. Otacilio propraetore in Sicilia erat quinque et uiginti
Titus Otacilius the-propraetor in Sicily was five and twenty
additae, permissumque est ut, si e re publica
were-added and-permitted it-was that if from the-thing public
censeret esse, in Africam traiceret.
he-should-think to-be into Africa he-should-cross

The soldiers swear, for the first time by the tribunes' oath, not to leave the ranks except to fight. Varro boasts he will end the war the day he sees the enemy; Paulus wonders how a commander can know his plans before seeing the ground, and says rashness has been unlucky as well as foolish. Fabius warns Paulus that Varro is a worse adversary than Hannibal, that Hannibal grows weaker in a foreign land while Rome grows stronger, and that he must hold out against rumor and his colleague's glory.

38.1 Dilectu perfecto consules paucos morati dies dum ab
the-levy completed the-consuls a-few having-waited days while from
sociis ac nomine Latino uenirent milites.
the-allies and the-name Latin should-come the-soldiers

38.2 Tum, quod nunquam antea factum erat, iure iurando
then what never before done had-been by-an-oath sworn
ab tribunis militum adacti milites;
by the-tribunes of-the-soldiers bound the-soldiers

38.3 nam ad eam diem nihil praeter sacramentum fuerat
for to that day nothing except the-military-oath there-had-been
iussu consulum conuenturos neque iniussu abituros;
by-the-order of-the-consuls going-to-assemble nor without-orders going-to-depart
et ubi ad decuriandum aut centuriandum conuenissent,
and when for forming-decuries or forming-centuries they-had-assembled

38.4 sua uoluntate ipsi inter sese decuriati equites,
by-their-own will themselves among themselves formed-in-decuries the-horsemen
centuriati pedites coniurabant sese fugae atque
formed-in-centuries the-infantry swore-together themselves of-flight and
formidinis ergo non abituros neque ex ordine
of-fear for-the-sake not going-to-depart nor from the-rank

recessuros nisi teli sumendi aut petendi et aut
going-to-withdraw except of-a-weapon taking or seeking and either
hostis feriendi aut ciuis seruandi causa.
an-enemy striking or a-citizen saving for-the-sake
Id ex uoluntario inter ipsos foedere ad tribunos ac 38.5
that from a-voluntary among themselves pact to the-tribunes and
legitimam iuris iurandi adactionem translatum.
a-lawful of-the-oath sworn binding transferred
Contiones, priusquam ab urbe signa mouerentur, 38.6
the-assemblies before from the-city the-standards were-moved
consulis Varronis multae ac feroces fuere denuntiantis
of-the-consul Varro many and fierce were declaring
bellum arcessitum in Italiam ab nobilibus mansurumque in
the-war summoned into Italy by the-nobles and-going-to-remain in
uisceribus rei publicae,
the-vitals of-the-thing public
si plures Fabios imperatores haberet, se quo die hostem 38.7
if more Fabiuses as-generals it-should-have himself on-what day the-enemy
uidisset perfecturum.
he-should-have-seen going-to-finish-it
Collegae eius Pauli una, pridie quam ex urbe 38.8
of-the-colleague his Paulus one on-the-day-before than from the-city
proficisceretur, contio fuit, uerior quam gratior populo,
he-set-out assembly was truer than more-pleasing to-the-people
qua nihil inclementer in Varronem dictum nisi id modo
in-which nothing harshly against Varro was-said except that only
mirari se quidni qui dux priusquam aut suum aut
to-wonder himself why-not who as-leader before either his-own or
hostium exercitum locorum situm naturam regionis nosset,
of-the-enemy the-army of-the-places the-lie the-nature of-the-region he-knew

38.9 iam nunc togatus in urbe sciret quae sibi agenda
already now togaed in the-city should-know what to-himself to-be-done
armato forent,
armed would-be

38.10 diem quoque praedicere posset qua cum hoste signis
the-day also to-foretell could on-which with the-enemy standards
conlatis esset dimicaturus:
joined he-was going-to-fight

38.11 se, quae consilia magis res dent hominibus quam
himself which plans more circumstances give to-men than
homines rebus, ea ante tempus immatura non
men to-circumstances those before the-time unripe not
praecepturum; optare ut quae caute ac consulte gesta
going-to-anticipate to-pray that what cautiously and deliberately done
essent satis prospere euenirent;
should-have-been enough prosperously might-turn-out

38.12 temeritatem, praeterquam quod stulta sit, infelicem etiam ad
rashness besides that foolish it-is unlucky also to
id locorum fuisse.
that of-places to-have-been

38.13 Et sua sponte apparebat tuta celeribus consiliis
and of-his-own accord it-was-apparent safe-things to-hasty counsels
praepositurum, et, quo id constantius perseueraret, Q.
going-to-prefer and that that more-steadfastly he-might-persevere Quintus
Fabius Maximus sic eum proficiscentem adlocutus fertur.
Fabius Maximus thus him setting-out to-have-addressed is-reported

39.1 ‘Si aut collegam, id quod mallem, tui similem, L.
if either a-colleague that which I-would-prefer you like Lucius
Aemili, haberes aut tu collegae tui esses similis, superuacanea
Aemilius you-had or you of-colleague your were like superfluous
esset oratio mea;
would-be speech my

nam et duo boni consules, etiam me indicente, omnia 39.2
for both two good consuls even me pointing-out-nothing all-things
e re publica fide uestra faceretis, et mali nec
for the-thing public by-the-faith your you-would-do and bad neither
mea uerba auribus uestris nec consilia animis acciperetis.
my words in-the-ears your nor counsels in-the-minds would-you-receive
Nunc et collegam tuum et te talem uirum intuenti mihi 39.3
now both at-the-colleague your and at-you such a-man looking for-me
tecum omnis oratio est, quem uideo nequiquam et uirum
with-you all the-speech is whom I-see in-vain both a-man
bonum et ciuem fore, si altera parte claudente re
good and a-citizen going-to-be if the-other side limping the-thing
publica malis consiliis idem ac bonis iuris et potestatis erit.
public with-bad counsels the-same as with-good of-right and of-power will-be
Erras enim, L. Paule, si tibi minus certaminis cum 39.4
you-err for Lucius Paulus if for-you less of-contest with
C. Terentio quam cum Hannibale futurum censes; nescio
Gaius Terentius than with Hannibal going-to-be you-think I-know-not
an infestior hic aduersarius quam ille hostis maneat;
whether more-hostile this adversary than that enemy may-remain
cum illo in acie tantum, cum hoc omnibus locis ac 39.5
with that-one in the-line only with this-one in-all places and
temporibus certaturus es; aduersus Hannibalem legionesque
times going-to-contend you-are against Hannibal and-the-legions
eius tuis equitibus ac peditibus pugnandum tibi est,
his with-your horsemen and infantry to-be-fought by-you it-is
Varro dux tuis militibus te est oppugnaturus.
Varro as-leader with-your soldiers you is going-to-attack
Ominis etiam tibi causa absit C. Flamini memoria. 39.6
of-the-omen even for-you for-the-sake let-be-absent of-Gaius Flaminius the-memory
Tamen ille consul demum et in prouincia et ad exercitum
yet he as-consul at-last both in the-province and at the-army

coepit furere: hic, priusquam peteret consulatum, deinde
began to-rage this-one before he-sought the-consulship then
in petendo consulatu, nunc quoque consul, priusquam castra
in seeking the-consulship now also as-consul before the-camp
uideat aut hostem, insanit.
he-sees or the-enemy is-mad

39.7 Et qui tantas iam nunc procellas proelia atque acies
and he-who so-great already now storms battles and lines
iactando inter togatos ciet, quid inter armatam iuuentutem
by-tossing-about among the-togaed rouses what among the-armed youth
censes facturum et ubi extemplo res uerba sequitur?
do-you-think going-to-do and where at-once deeds words follow

39.8 Atqui si hic, quod facturum se denuntiat, extemplo
but if this-one what going-to-do himself he-declares at-once
pugnauerit, aut ego rem militarem, belli hoc genus,
shall-have-fought either I the-thing military of-war this kind
hostem hunc ignoro, aut nobilior alius Trasumenno locus
enemy this do-not-know or more-famous another than-Trasimene place
nostris cladibus erit.
for-our disasters will-be

39.9 Nec gloriandi tempus aduersus unum est, et ego contemnendo
nor of-boasting the-time before one-man is and I by-despising
potius quam appetendo gloriam modum excesserim; sed
rather than by-seeking glory the-measure may-have-exceeded but
ita res se habet: una ratio belli gerendi aduersus
so the-thing itself has one method of-war waging against
Hannibalem est qua ego gessi.
Hannibal there-is by-which I waged-it

Nec euentus modo hoc docet — stultorum iste magister 39.10
nor the-outcome only this teaches of-fools that teacher
est — sed eadem ratio, quae fuit futuraque donec res
is but the-same reason which was and-going-to-be as-long-as circumstances
eaedem manebunt, immutabilis est.
the-same shall-remain unchangeable is
In Italia bellum gerimus, in sede ac solo nostro; omnia 39.11
in Italy the-war we-wage in seat and soil our all-things
circa plena ciuium ac sociorum sunt;
around full of-citizens and of-allies are
armis, uiris, equis, commeatibus iuuant iuuabuntque, — 39.12
with-arms men horses supplies they-help and-will-help
id iam fidei documentum in aduersis rebus nostris
that already of-loyalty proof in adverse circumstances our
dederunt; meliores, prudentiores, constantiores nos tempus
they-have-given better more-prudent more-steadfast us time
diesque facit.
and-day makes
Hannibal contra in aliena, in hostili est terra inter omnia 39.13
Hannibal on-the-other-hand in a-foreign in a-hostile is land among all-things
inimica infestaque, procul ab domo, ab patria; neque illi
unfriendly and-dangerous far from home from his-fatherland neither to-him
terra neque mari est pax; nullae eum urbes accipiunt, nulla
by-land nor by-sea is peace no him cities receive no
moenia; nihil usquam sui uidet, in diem rapto uiuit;
walls nothing anywhere of-his-own he-sees for the-day by-plunder he-lives
partem uix tertiam exercitus eius habet quem Hiberum 39.14
a-part scarcely the-third of-the-army his he-has which the-Ebro
amnem traiecit; plures fame quam ferro absumpti; nec
river crossed more by-hunger than by-the-sword destroyed nor
his paucis iam uictus suppeditat.
for-these few now food suffices

39.15 Dubitas ergo quin sedendo superaturi simus eum qui
do-you-doubt then that by-sitting going-to-overcome we-are him who
senescat in dies, non commeatus, non supplementum, non
grows-old day-by day not supplies not reinforcement not
pecuniam habeat?
money has

39.16 Quamdiu pro Gereoni, castelli Apuliae inopis, tamquam
how-long before of-Gereonium of-a-fort of-Apulia needy as-if
pro Carthaginis moenibus sedet?
before Carthage's walls he-sits

39.17 Ne aduersus te quidem de me gloriabor: Seruilius atque
not before you even about myself will-I-boast Servilius and
Atilius, proximi consules, uide quemadmodum eum ludificati
Atilius the-latest consuls see how him mocked
sint. Haec una salutis est uia, L. Paule, quam difficilem
they-have this one of-safety is the-way Lucius Paulus which difficult
infestamque ciues tibi magis quam hostes facient.
and-dangerous the-citizens for-you more than the-enemy will-make

39.18 Idem enim tui quod hostium milites uolent; idem
the-same-thing for your as of-the-enemy the-soldiers will-wish the-same-thing
Varro consul Romanus quod Hannibal Poenus imperator
Varro consul Roman as Hannibal Carthaginian general
cupiet. Duobus ducibus unus resistas oportet. Resistes
will-desire to-two leaders alone you-should-resist it-is-needful you-will-resist
autem, aduersus famam rumoresque hominum si satis firmus
moreover against report and-rumors of-men if enough firm
steteris, si te neque collegae uana gloria neque
you-shall-have-stood if you neither of-your-colleague the-vain glory nor
tua falsa infamia mouerit.
your-own false infamy shall-have-moved

Veritatem laborare nimis saepe aiunt, exstingui 39.19
truth to-be-hard-pressed too often they-say to-be-extinguished
nunquam.
never
Gloriam qui spreuerit, ueram habebit. Sine timidum pro 39.20
glory who has-spurned true will-have let timid instead-of
cauto, tardum pro considerato, imbellem pro perito
cautious slow instead-of deliberate unwarlike instead-of skilled
belli uocent. Malo te sapiens hostis metuat quam stulti
in-war call I-prefer you a-wise enemy should-fear than foolish
ciues laudent. Omnia audentem contemnet Hannibal, nihil
citizens should-praise all-things the-one-daring will-despise Hannibal nothing
temere agentem metuet.
rashly the-one-doing will-fear
Nec ego ut nihil agatur hortor sed ut agentem te ratio 39.21
nor I that nothing be-done urge but that acting you reason
ducat, non fortuna; tuae potestatis semper tu tuaque
may-lead not fortune of-your-own power always you and-your
omnia sint; armatus intentusque sis; neque occasioni
all-things may-be armed and-intent you-may-be and-not the-opportunity
tuae desis neque suam occasionem hosti des.
your may-you-fail nor his opportunity to-the-enemy may-you-give
Omnia non properanti clara certaque erunt; festinatio 39.22
all-things not to-one-hurrying clear and-certain will-be haste
improuida est et caeca.'
improvident is and blind

Paulus answers Fabius that he would rather face the enemy's weapons than angry citizens' votes. The consuls join the old army, and Atilius goes home. Hannibal's supplies are nearly gone and his Spaniards ready to desert. A skirmish gives Varro a taste of success, and Hannibal leaves his camp apparently deserted to lure him; Paulus' Lucanian scout Statilius reports a trap, Varro gives the signal anyway, the sacred chickens refuse the auspice, and two escaped slaves confirm the ambush. Hannibal, short of food, moves to warmer parts of Apulia, near Cannae, his back to the Volturnus wind, and the consuls follow.

40.1 Aduersus ea consulis oratio haud sane laeta fuit, magis
against these-things the-consul's speech not indeed glad was more
fatentis ea quae diceret uera quam facilia factu esse;
of-one-admitting those-things which he-said true than easy to-do to-be
40.2 dictatori magistrum equitum intolerabilem fuisse; quid
to-the-dictator a-master of-the-horse intolerable to-have-been what
consuli aduersus collegam seditiosum ac temerarium uirium
to-a-consul against a-colleague seditious and rash of-strength
atque auctoritatis fore?
and of-authority going-to-be
40.3 se populare incendium priore consulatu semustum
himself the-popular conflagration in-the-former consulship half-burned
effugisse; optare ut omnia prospere euenirent; sed si
to-have-escaped to-pray that all-things prosperously might-turn-out but if
quid aduersi caderet, hostium se telis potius quam
anything adverse should-fall of-the-enemy himself to-the-weapons rather than
suffragiis iratorum ciuium caput obiecturum.
to-the-votes of-angry citizens (his)-head going-to-expose

Ab hoc sermone profectum Paulum tradunt prosequentibus 40.4
from this talk having-set-out Paulus they-relate escorting
primoribus patrum: plebeium consulem sua plebes prosecuta,
the-leading-men of-the-fathers the-plebeian consul his-own plebs escorted
turba conspectior cum dignitates deessent.
a-crowd more-conspicuous though dignities were-lacking
Ut in castra uenerunt, permixto nouo exercitu ac uetere, 40.5
when into the-camp they-came mixed the-new army and old
castris bifariam factis, ut noua minora essent propius
the-camp in-two made that the-new smaller might-be nearer
Hannibalem, in ueteribus maior pars et omne robur
Hannibal in the-old the-greater part and all the-strength
uirium esset,
of-the-forces might-be
consulum anni prioris M. Atilium, aetatem excusantem, 40.6
of-the-consuls of-the-year former Marcus Atilius his-age pleading
Romam miserunt, Geminum Seruilium in minoribus castris
to-Rome they-sent Geminus Servilius in the-smaller camp
legioni Romanae et socium peditum equitumque duobus
to-a-legion Roman and of-allies of-infantry and-of-horsemen to-two
milibus praeficiunt.
thousands they-set
Hannibal quamquam parte dimidia auctas hostium copias 40.7
Hannibal although by-part half increased of-the-enemy the-forces
cernebat, tamen aduentu consulum mire gaudere.
he-saw nevertheless at-the-arrival of-the-consuls wonderfully rejoiced
Non solum enim nihil ex raptis in diem commeatibus 40.8
not only for nothing from the-seized for the-day supplies
superabat sed ne unde raperet quidem quicquam reliqui
remained but not whence he-might-seize even anything left

erat, omni undique frumento, postquam ager parum
there-was all from-all-sides the-grain after the-land too-little
tutus erat, in urbes munitas conuecto,
safe was into the-cities fortified carried
40.9 ut uix decem dierum, quod compertum postea est,
so-that scarcely of-ten days as discovered afterward was
frumentum superesset Hispanorumque ob inopiam
grain remained and-of-the-Spaniards on-account-of the-want
transitio parata fuerit, si maturitas temporum exspectata
a-desertion prepared would-have-been if the-ripeness of-the-times awaited
foret.
had-been
41.1 Ceterum temeritati consulis ac praepropero ingenio materiam
however for-the-rashness of-the-consul and over-hasty temper material
etiam fortuna dedit, quod in prohibendis praedatoribus
also fortune gave because in keeping-off plunderers
tumultuario proelio ac procursu magis militum quam ex
in-a-disorderly battle and from-a-rush more of-the-soldiers than from
praeparato aut iussu imperatorum orto haudquaquam par
preparation or by-order of-the-generals arisen by-no-means equal
Poenis dimicatio fuit.
to-the-Carthaginians the-fight was
41.2 Ad mille et septingenti caesi, non plus centum
about a-thousand and seven-hundred killed not more than-a-hundred
Romanorum sociorumque occisis. Ceterum uictoribus effuse
of-the-Romans and-of-the-allies killed however the-victors headlong
sequentibus metu insidiarum obstitit Paulus consul,
pursuing from-fear of-ambush blocked Paulus the-consul

cuius eo die — nam alternis imperitabant — imperium 41.3
whose that day for on-alternate-days they-commanded the-command
erat, Varrone indignante ac uociferante emissum hostem e
was Varro being-indignant and shouting let-slip the-enemy from
manibus debellarique ni cessatum foret potuisse.
their-hands and-to-be-finished-off had-not stopped it-had-been to-have-been-able
Hannibal id damnum haud aegerrime pati; quin potius 41.4
Hannibal that loss not most-grievously he-bore nay rather
credere uelut inescatam temeritatem ferocioris consulis ac
he-believed as-if baited the-rashness of-the-fiercer consul and
nouorum maxime militum esse.
of-the-new especially soldiers to-be
Et omnia ei hostium haud secus quam sua nota 41.5
and all-things to-him of-the-enemy not otherwise than his-own known
erant: dissimiles discordesque imperitare, duas prope partes
were unlike and-discordant to-command two almost parts
tironum militum in exercitu esse.
recruit soldiers in the-army to-be
Itaque locum et tempus insidiis aptum se habere ratus, 41.6
and-so a-place and time for-an-ambush fit himself to-have thinking
nocte proxima nihil praeter arma ferente secum milite
on-the-night next nothing except arms carrying with-him the-soldiery
castra plena omnis fortunae publicae priuataeque relinquit,
the-camp full of-all fortune public and-private leaves
transque proximos montes laeua pedites instructos condit, 41.7
and-across the-nearest mountains on-the-left the-infantry drawn-up he-hides
dextra equites, impedimenta per conuallem mediam
on-the-right the-horsemen the-baggage through the-valley middle
traducit,
he-leads-across

41.8 ut diripiendis uelut desertis fuga dominorum castris
that by-plundering as-if deserted by-the-flight of-the-owners camp
occupatum impeditumque hostem opprimeret.
occupied and-hampered the-enemy he-might-overwhelm

41.9 Crebri relicti in castris ignes, ut fides fieret dum ipse
frequent left in the-camp fires that belief might-be-made while himself
longius spatium fuga praeciperet falsa imagine castrorum,
a-longer distance in-flight might-gain-ahead by-a-false image of-the-camp
sicut Fabium priore anno frustratus esset, tenere in
as Fabius in-the-former year deceived he-had to-hold in
locis consules uoluisse.
the-places the-consuls to-have-wished

42.1 Ubi inluxit, subductae primo stationes, deinde propius
when it-grew-light withdrawn first the-outposts then nearer
adeuntibus insolitum silentium admirationem fecit.
to-those-approaching the-unaccustomed silence wonder caused

42.2 Tum satis comperta solitudine in castris concursus fit
then enough discovered the-emptiness in the-camp a-concourse is-made
ad praetoria consulum nuntiantium fugam hostium adeo
to the-headquarters of-the-consuls of-men-announcing the-flight of-the-enemy so
trepidam ut tabernaculis stantibus castra reliquerint, quoque
panicky that with-the-tents standing the-camp they-had-left and-that
fuga obscurior esset, crebros etiam relictos ignes.
the-flight more-hidden might-be frequent also left fires

42.3 Clamor inde ortus ut signa proferri iuberent
a-shout then arose that the-standards to-be-brought-out they-should-order
ducerentque ad persequendos hostes ac protinus castra
and-lead for pursuing the-enemy and at-once the-camp
diripienda.
plundering

Et consul alter uelut unus turbae militaris erat: Paulus 42.4
and the-consul one as-if one of-the-crowd military was Paulus
etiam atque etiam dicere prouidendum praecauendumque
again and again said to-be-foreseen and-guarded-against
esse; postremo, cum aliter neque seditionem neque ducem
to-be finally when otherwise neither the-mutiny nor the-leader
seditionis sustinere posset, Marium Statilium praefectum
of-the-mutiny to-withstand he-could Marius Statilius the-prefect
cum turma Lucana exploratum mittit.
with a-troop Lucanian to-reconnoiter sends
Qui ubi adequitauit portis, subsistere extra munimenta 42.5
who when he-had-ridden-up to-the-gates to-halt outside the-fortifications
ceteris iussis ipse cum duobus equitibus uallum intrauit
the-rest ordered himself with two horsemen the-rampart entered
speculatusque omnia cum cura renuntiat insidias profecto
and-having-observed all-things with care reports an-ambush surely
esse:
to-be
ignes in parte castrorum quae uergat in hostem relictos; 42.6
the-fires in the-part of-the-camp which faces toward the-enemy left
tabernacula aperta et omnia cara in promptu relicta;
the-tents open and all valuables in readiness left
argentum quibusdam locis temere per uias uelut obiectum
silver in-certain places at-random along the-paths as-if thrown-down
ad praedam uidisse.
for plunder to-have-seen
Quae ad deterrendos a cupiditate animos nuntiata erant, 42.7
what for deterring from greed the-minds announced had-been
ea accenderunt, et clamore orto a militibus, ni
those-things kindled-them and a-shout arisen from the-soldiers unless

signum detur, sine ducibus ituros, haudquaquam dux
the-signal be-given without leaders going-to-go by-no-means a-leader
defuit; nam extemplo Varro signum dedit proficiscendi.
was-lacking for at-once Varro the-signal gave of-setting-out
42.8 Paulus, cum ei sua sponte cunctanti pulli quoque
Paulus when to-him of-his-own accord hesitating the-chickens also
auspicio non addixissent, nuntiari iam efferenti
by-the-auspices not had-assented to-be-announced already carrying-out
porta signa collegae iussit.
through-the-gate the-standards to-(his)-colleague ordered
42.9 Quod quamquam Varro aegre est passus, Flamini tamen
which although Varro grudgingly has borne of-Flaminius nevertheless
recens casus Claudique consulis primo Punico bello
the-recent fall and-of-Claudius the-consul in-the-first Punic war
memorata naualis clades religionem animo incussit.
remembered naval disaster religious-fear on-his-mind struck
42.10 Di prope ipsi eo die magis distulere quam prohibuere
the-gods almost themselves that day rather put-off than prevented
imminentem pestem Romanis; nam forte ita euenit ut,
the-impending ruin to-the-Romans for by-chance so it-happened that
cum referri signa in castra iubenti consuli milites
when to-be-carried-back the-standards into the-camp ordering the-consul the-soldiers
non parerent, serui duo, Formiani unus, alter Sidicini
not obeyed slaves two of-a-Formian one the-other of-a-Sidicine
equitis, qui Seruilio atque Atilio consulibus inter pabulatores
horseman who when-Servilius and Atilius were-consuls among the-foragers
excepti a Numidis fuerant, profugerent eo die ad dominos;
caught by the-Numidians had-been fled on-that day to their-masters
42.11 deductique ad consules nuntiant omnem exercitum Hannibalis
and-brought to the-consuls they-announce all the-army of-Hannibal
trans proximos montes sedere in insidiis.
across the-nearest mountains to-sit in ambush

Horum opportunus aduentus consules imperii potentes fecit, 42.12
of-these the-opportune arrival the-consuls of-command masters made
cum ambitio alterius suam primum apud eos praua
since the-self-seeking of-the-one his-own first among them by-depraved
indulgentia maiestatem soluisset.
indulgence majesty had-loosened

Hannibal postquam motos magis inconsulte Romanos quam 43.1
Hannibal after moved more thoughtlessly the-Romans than
ad ultimum temere euectos uidit, nequiquam detecta fraude
to the-extreme rashly carried-out he-saw in-vain revealed the-fraud
in castra rediit.
into the-camp returned

Ibi plures dies propter inopiam frumenti manere nequit, 43.2
there more days on-account-of the-want of-grain to-remain he-cannot
nouaque consilia in dies non apud milites solum mixtos
and-new plans day-by day not among the-soldiers only mixed
ex conluuione omnium gentium sed etiam apud ducem
from the-cesspool of-all nations but also with the-leader
ipsum oriebantur.
himself arose

Nam cum initio fremitus, deinde aperta uociferatio fuisset 43.3
for when at-first murmuring then open shouting there-had-been
exposcentium stipendium debitum querentiumque annonam
of-men-demanding the-pay owed and-complaining-of the-price-of-grain
primo, postremo famem, et mercennarios milites, maxime
first finally hunger and the-mercenary soldiers chiefly
Hispani generis, de transitione cepisse consilium fama
of-the-Spanish race about desertion to-have-taken a-plan the-report
esset,
was

43.4 ipse etiam interdum Hannibal de fuga in Galliam dicitur
himself even sometimes Hannibal about flight into Gaul is-said
agitasse ita ut relicto peditatu omni cum equitibus
to-have-considered so that left the-infantry all with the-horsemen
se proriperet.
himself he-should-rush-off

43.5 Cum haec consilia atque hic habitus animorum esset in
when these plans and this state of-minds was in
castris, mouere inde statuit in calidiora atque eo maturiora
the-camp to-move thence he-decided into hotter and by-that riper
messibus Apuliae loca, simul ut, quo longius ab
in-harvests of-Apulia places at-the-same-time that by-how-much farther from
hoste recessisset, eo transfugia impeditiora leuibus
the-enemy he-had-withdrawn by-so-much desertions more-difficult for-fickle
ingeniis essent.
natures might-be

43.6 Profectus est nocte ignibus similiter factis tabernaculisque
set-out has by-night fires likewise made and-tents
paucis in speciem relictis, ut insidiarum par priori metus
few for show left that of-an-ambush equal to-the-former fear
contineret Romanos.
might-hold-back the-Romans

43.7 Sed per eundem Lucanum Statilium omnibus ultra castra
but through the-same Lucanian Statilius all-things beyond the-camp
transque montes exploratis, cum relatum esset uisum
and-across the-mountains explored when reported it-had-been seen
procul hostium agmen, tum de insequendo eo consilia
far of-the-enemy the-column then about pursuing it plans
agitari coepta.
to-be-discussed began

Cum utriusque consulis eadem quae ante semper fuisset 43.8
though of-each consul the-same as before always had-been
sententia, ceterum Varroni fere omnes, Paulo nemo praeter
the-opinion however with-Varro almost all with-Paulus no-one except
Seruilium, prioris anni consulem, adsentiretur,
Servilius of-the-former year the-consul agreed
ex maioris partis sententia ad nobilitandas clade 43.9
by of-the-greater part the-opinion for making-famous by-the-disaster
Romana Cannas urgente fato profecti sunt.
Roman Cannae pressing with-fate set-out they-have
Prope eum uicum Hannibal castra posuerat auersa a 43.10
near that village Hannibal the-camp had-placed turned-away from
Volturno uento, qui campis torridis siccitate nubes pulueris
the-Volturnus wind which over-plains parched by-drought clouds of-dust
uehit.
carries
Id cum ipsis castris percommodum fuit, tum salutare 43.11
that both for-the-very camp very-convenient was and salutary
praecipue futurum erat cum aciem dirigerent, ipsi
especially going-to-be was when the-line they-should-draw-up themselves
auersi terga tantum adflante uento in occaecatum
turned-away their-backs only blowing the-wind against the-blinded
puluere offuso hostem pugnaturi.
with-dust poured-over enemy going-to-fight

The consuls build two camps by the Aufidus. Hannibal provokes them with his Numidians, who chase the water-carriers of the smaller camp to its gates; Paulus and Varro quarrel, Paulus citing Sempronius and Flaminius, Varro citing Fabius. On his day of command Varro leads the army across the river, Paulus following. The Romans place their cavalry on the right by the river and the allied horse on the left, Paulus commanding the right, Varro the left, and Servilius the center. Hannibal sets his Gallic and Spanish cavalry against them, his Numidians on the right, and his Africans flanking Gauls and Spaniards in the center; the wind blows dust into Roman faces.

44.1 Consules satis exploratis itineribus sequentes Poenum,
the-consuls well explored the-routes following the-Carthaginian
ut uentum ad Cannas est et in conspectu Poenum
when come to Cannae it-was and in sight the-Carthaginian
habebant, bina castra communiunt, eodem ferme interuallo
they-had two camps they-fortify at-the-same about interval
quo ad Gereonium sicut ante copiis diuisis.
as at Gereonium as before the-forces divided

44.2 Aufidus amnis, utrisque castris adfluens, aditum aquatoribus
the-Aufidus river to-both camps flowing-by access to-the-water-carriers
ex sua cuiusque opportunitate haud sine certamine dabat;
by the-own of-each convenience not without contest gave

44.3 ex minoribus tamen castris, quae posita trans Aufidum
from the-smaller however camp which placed across the-Aufidus
erant, liberius aquabantur Romani, quia ripa ulterior
was more-freely watered the-Romans because the-bank farther
nullum habebat hostium praesidium.
no had of-the-enemy guard

Hannibal spem nanctus locis natis ad equestrem pugnam, 44.4
Hannibal hope having-gained in-places made for a-cavalry fight
qua parte uirium inuictus erat, facturos copiam
in-which part of-his-forces unconquered he-was going-to-make the-opportunity
pugnandi consules, dirigit aciem lacessitque Numidarum
of-fighting the-consuls draws-up his-line and-provokes of-the-Numidians
procursatione hostes.
with-the-skirmishing the-enemy
Inde rursus sollicitari seditione militari ac discordia consulum 44.5
thence again was-unsettled by-mutiny military and by-discord of-the-consuls
Romana castra, cum Paulus Sempronique et Flamini
the-Roman camp when Paulus of-Sempronius and of-Flaminius
temeritatem Varroni, Varro speciosum timidis ac segnibus
the-rashness to-Varro Varro a-specious to-timid and sluggish
ducibus exemplum Fabium obiceret
leaders example Fabius threw-in-his-face
testareturque deos hominesque hic nullam penes se 44.6
and-called-to-witness gods and-men here no with himself
culpam esse, quod Hannibal iam uelut usu cepisset Italiam;
fault to-be that Hannibal now as-if by-usage had-taken Italy
se constrictum a collega teneri; ferrum atque arma
himself constrained by his-colleague to-be-held the-sword and arms
iratis et pugnare cupientibus adimi militibus;
from-the-angry and to-fight desiring to-be-taken-away soldiers
ille, si quid proiectis ac proditis ad inconsultam 44.7
that-one if anything to-the-thrown-away and betrayed to a-thoughtless
atque improuidam pugnam legionibus accideret, se omnis
and improvident fight legions should-happen himself of-all
culpae exsortem, omnis euentus participem fore diceret;
blame free of-every outcome a-sharer going-to-be said

uideret ut, quibus lingua prompta ac temeraria, aeque
he-should-see that in-whom the-tongue ready and rash equally
in pugna uigerent manus.
in the-fight might-be-vigorous the-hands

45.1 Dum altercationibus magis quam consiliis tempus teritur,
while in-wrangles more than in-counsels the-time is-wasted
Hannibal ex acie, quam ad multum diei tenuerat
Hannibal from the-line which till much of-the-day he-had-held
instructam,
drawn-up

45.2 cum in castra ceteras reciperet copias, Numidas ad
when into the-camp the-rest he-was-receiving forces the-Numidians for
inuadendos ex minoribus castris Romanorum aquatores
attacking from the-smaller camp of-the-Romans the-water-carriers
trans flumen mittit.
across the-river sends

45.3 Quam inconditam turbam cum uixdum in ripam egressi
which disordered crowd when scarcely onto the-bank having-come-out
clamore ac tumultu fugassent, in stationem quoque
with-shouting and uproar they-had-put-to-flight onto the-outpost also
pro uallo locatam atque ipsas prope portas euecti sunt.
before the-rampart placed and the-very almost gates carried they-were

45.4 Id uero indignum uisum ab tumultuario auxilio iam
that indeed unworthy seemed by a-disorderly auxiliary-band now
etiam castra Romana terreri, ut ea modo una causa
even the-camp Roman to-be-frightened so-that that only one cause
ne extemplo transirent flumen dirigerentque aciem tenuerit
lest at-once they-should-cross the-river and-draw-up the-line held-back
Romanos quod summa imperii eo die penes Paulum fuerit.
the-Romans that the-chief of-command that day with Paulus was

Itaque postero die Varro, cui sors eius diei imperii erat, 45.5
and-so on-the-next day Varro to-whom the-lot of-that day of-command was
nihil consulto collega signum proposuit instructasque
in-nothing consulted his-colleague the-signal displayed and-drawn-up
copias flumen traduxit, sequente Paulo quia magis non
the-forces across-the-river led following Paulus because more not
probare quam non adiuuare consilium poterat.
to-approve than not to-help the-plan he-could
Transgressi flumen eas quoque quas in castris minoribus 45.6
having-crossed the-river those also which in the-camp smaller
habuerant copias suis adiungunt atque ita instructa acie
they-had-had forces to-their-own join and so drawn-up the-line
in dextro cornu — id erat flumini propius — Romanos
on the-right wing it was to-the-river nearer the-Roman
equites locant, deinde pedites:
horsemen they-place then the-infantry
laeuum cornu extremi equites sociorum, intra pedites, ad 45.7
the-left wing outermost the-horsemen of-the-allies within the-infantry toward
medium iuncti legionibus Romanis, tenuerunt: iaculatores ex
the-middle joined to-the-legions Roman held the-javelin-men from
ceteris leuium armorum auxiliis prima acies facta.
the-other of-light arms auxiliaries the-first line made
Consules cornua tenuerunt, Terentius laeuum, Aemilius 45.8
the-consuls the-wings held Terentius the-left Aemilius
dextrum: Gemino Seruilio media pugna tuenda data.
the-right to-Geminus Servilius the-middle fight to-be-held was-given
Hannibal luce prima Baliaribus leuique alia armatura 46.1
Hannibal at-light first with-the-Baliares and-the-light other armament
praemissa transgressus flumen, ut quosque traduxerat, ita in
sent-ahead having-crossed the-river as each he-had-led-across so in
acie locabat,
the-line placed

46.2 Gallos Hispanosque equites prope ripam laeuo in cornu
the-Gallic and-Spanish horsemen near the-bank left on the-wing
aduersus Romanum equitatum;
against the-Roman cavalry

46.3 dextrum cornu Numidis equitibus datum media acie
the-right wing to-the-Numidian horsemen given the-middle line
peditibus firmata ita ut Afrorum utraque cornua essent,
by-infantry strengthened so that of-the-Africans both wings were
interponerentur his medii Galli atque Hispani.
were-placed-between these in-the-middle the-Gauls and Spaniards

46.4 Afros Romanam crederes aciem; ita armati erant
the-Africans Roman you-would-have-believed a-line so armed they-were
armis et ad Trebiam ceterum magna ex parte ad
with-arms both at the-Trebia but great in part at
Trasumennum captis.
Trasimene captured

46.5 Gallis Hispanisque scuta eiusdem formae fere erant,
to-the-Gauls and-Spaniards shields of-the-same shape almost were
dispares ac dissimiles gladii, Gallis praelongi ac sine
unequal and unlike swords for-the-Gauls very-long and without
mucronibus, Hispano, punctim magis quam caesim adsueto
points for-the-Spaniard by-thrusting more than by-cutting accustomed
petere hostem, breuitate habiles et cum mucronibus. Ante
to-attack the-enemy by-shortness handy and with points beyond
alios habitus gentium harum cum magnitudine corporum,
the-others the-aspect of-the-nations these both in-size of-bodies
tum specie terribilis erat:
and in-appearance terrible was

46.6 Galli super umbilicum erant nudi: Hispani linteis praetextis
the-Gauls above the-navel were naked the-Spaniards in-linen bordered
purpura tunicis, candore miro fulgentibus, constiterant.
with-purple tunics with-whiteness wonderful shining had-taken-their-stand

Numerus omnium peditum qui tum stetere in acie milium
the-number of-all of-infantry who then stood in the-line of-thousands
fuit quadraginta, decem equitum.
was forty ten of-horsemen
Duces cornibus praeerant sinistro Hasdrubal, dextro Maharbal; 46.7
leaders the-wings commanded the-left Hasdrubal the-right Maharbal
mediam aciem Hannibal ipse cum fratre Magone tenuit.
the-middle line Hannibal himself with his-brother Mago held
Sol seu de industria ita locatis seu quod forte ita 46.8
the-sun whether on purpose so placed or because by-chance so
stetere peropportune utrique parti obliquus erat Romanis
they-stood very-opportunely to-each side slanting was the-Romans
in meridiem, Poenis in septentrionem uersis;
toward the-south the-Carthaginians toward the-north faced
uentus — Volturnum regionis incolae uocant — aduersus 46.9
a-wind Volturnus of-the-region the-inhabitants call contrary
Romanis coortus multo puluere in ipsa ora uoluendo
to-the-Romans arising with-much dust into the-very faces by-rolling
prospectum ademit.
the-view took-away

The Gallic and Spanish horse rout the Roman cavalry at close quarters. The Roman infantry drive in the Carthaginian center, but the Africans on both flanks close on them, and they are surrounded. Five hundred Numidians, feigning desertion, attack from behind with hidden swords. Hasdrubal sends the Numidians in pursuit and throws the Gallic and Spanish infantry against the encircled Romans.

47.1 Clamore sublato procursum ab auxiliis et pugna
a-shout raised it-was-run-forward by the-auxiliaries and the-fight
leuibus primum armis commissa; deinde equitum Gallorum
with-light first arms begun then of-the-horsemen Gallic
Hispanorumque laeuum cornu cum dextro Romano concurrit,
and-Spanish the-left wing with the-right Roman clashed
minime equestris more pugnae;
least of-cavalry in-the-manner of-fighting

47.2 frontibus enim aduersis concurrendum erat, quia nullo circa
with-fronts for facing to-be-clashed it-was because no around
ad euagandum relicto spatio hinc amnis, hinc peditum
for ranging left space here the-river there of-the-infantry
acies claudebant.
the-line shut-in

47.3 In derectum utrimque nitentes, stantibus ac confertis
into straight on-both-sides pressing with-standing and crowded
postremo turba equis uir uirum amplexus detrahebat
at-last in-the-throng horses man man grappling dragged
equo. Pedestre magna iam ex parte certamen factum
from-his-horse on-foot great already in part the-contest made
erat; acrius tamen quam diutius pugnatum est
had-been more-fiercely yet than longer fought it-was
pulsique Romani equites terga uertunt.
and-driven-back the-Roman horsemen their-backs turn

Sub equestris finem certaminis coorta est peditum pugna, 47.4
near of-the-cavalry the-end of-the-contest arisen has of-the-infantry the-fight
primo et uiribus et animis par dum constabant ordines
at-first both in-strength and in-spirit equal while stood-firm the-ranks
Gallis Hispanisque;
for-the-Gauls and-Spaniards
tandem Romani, diu ac saepe conisi, aequa fronte 47.5
at-last the-Romans long and often having-strained with-even front
acieque densa impulere hostium cuneum nimis tenuem
and-with-line dense drove-back of-the-enemy the-wedge too thin
eoque parum ualidum, a cetera prominentem acie.
and-by-that too-little strong from the-rest projecting line
Impulsis deinde ac trepide referentibus pedem institere ac 47.6
driven-back then and in-alarm drawing-back their-foot they-pressed and
tenore uno per praeceps pauore fugientium agmen in
in-tenor one through the-headlong in-panic of-the-fleeing column into
mediam primum aciem inlati, postremo nullo resistente
the-middle first line carried finally with-no-one resisting
ad subsidia Afrorum peruenerunt,
to the-reserves of-the-Africans they-came
qui utrimque reductis alis constiterant †media, qua Galli 47.7
who on-both-sides drawn-back wings had-taken-their-stand the-middle where the-Gauls
Hispanique steterant, aliquantum prominente acie†.
and-Spaniards had-stood somewhat projecting line
Qui cuneus ut pulsus aequauit frontem primum, dein cedendo 47.8
which wedge when driven-back made-even the-front first then by-yielding
etiam sinum in medio dedit, Afri circa iam cornua fecerant
also a-hollow in the-middle made the-Africans around now wings had-made
inruentibusque incaute in medium Romanis circumdedere
and-on-the-rushing heedlessly into the-middle Romans they-threw-round
alas; mox cornua extendendo clausere et ab tergo hostes.
their-wings soon the-wings by-extending they-closed and from behind the-enemy

47.9 Hinc Romani, defuncti nequiquam proelio uno, omissis
hence the-Romans done in-vain with-battle one abandoned
Gallis Hispanisque, quorum terga ceciderant,
the-Gauls and-Spaniards whose backs they-had-cut-down
47.10 aduersus Afros integram pugnam ineunt, non tantum eo
against the-Africans a-fresh fight they-enter not only by-that
iniquam quod inclusi aduersus circumfusos sed etiam quod
unfair that shut-in against those-surrounding but also that
fessi cum recentibus ac uegetis pugnabant.
weary with fresh and vigorous they-were-fighting
48.1 Iam et sinistro cornu Romanis, ubi sociorum equites
already also on-the-left wing to-the-Romans where of-the-allies the-horsemen
aduersus Numidas steterant, consertum proelium erat, segne
against the-Numidians had-stood joined the-battle was slack
primo et a Punica coeptum fraude.
at-first and by Punic begun fraud
48.2 Quingenti ferme Numidae, praeter solita arma telaque
five-hundred about Numidians besides their-usual arms and-weapons
gladios occultos sub loricis habentes, specie
swords hidden under their-breastplates having in-the-guise
transfugarum cum ab suis parmas post terga habentes
of-deserters when from their-own bucklers behind their-backs having
adequitassent,
they-had-ridden-up
48.3 repente ex equis desiliunt parmisque et iaculis ante
suddenly from their-horses leap-down and-bucklers and javelins before
pedes hostium proiectis in mediam aciem accepti ductique
the-feet of-the-enemy thrown into the-middle line received and-led
ad ultimos considere ab tergo iubentur. Ac dum proelium
to the-rear to-sit-down in the-rear are-ordered and while the-battle
ab omni parte conseritur, quieti manserunt;
on every side is-joined quiet they-remained

postquam omnium animos oculosque occupauerat certamen, 48.4
after of-all the-minds and-eyes had-occupied the-contest
tum arreptis scutis, quae passim inter aceruos caesorum
then having-snatched shields which everywhere among the-heaps of-slain
corporum strata erant, auersam adoriuntur Romanam aciem,
bodies strewn were the-turned-away they-attack Roman line
tergaque ferientes ac poplites caedentes stragem ingentem
and-backs striking and hamstrings cutting havoc huge
ac maiorem aliquanto pauorem ac tumultum fecerunt.
and greater considerably panic and confusion made
Cum alibi terror ac fuga, alibi pertinax in mala iam 48.5
when elsewhere terror and flight elsewhere stubborn in bad already
spe proelium esset, †Hasdrubal† qui ea parte praeerat,
hope the-battle was Hasdrubal who in-that part commanded
subductos ex media acie Numidas, quia segnis eorum cum
withdrawn from the-middle line the-Numidians because slack their with
aduersis pugna erat, ad persequendos passim fugientes mittit,
the-facing-foe fight was for pursuing everywhere the-fleeing sends
Hispanos et Gallos pedites Afris prope iam fessis 48.6
the-Spanish and Gallic infantry to-the-Africans almost now weary
caede magis quam pugna adiungit.
with-slaughter more than with-fighting he-joins

Paulus, wounded early by a sling stone, fights on until his horsemen dismount to guard him. The tribune Lentulus offers him his horse; Paulus sends him to tell the senate to fortify Rome and Fabius that he lived and died by his advice, and is killed. Varro escapes to Venusia with fifty horsemen. Forty-five thousand five hundred infantry and two thousand seven hundred horsemen are said to have fallen, Servilius and Minucius among them, and Livy ranks the defeat with the Allia. The tribune Sempronius Tuditanus cuts his way out of the smaller camp with six hundred men, who reach Canusium.

49.1 Parte altera pugnae Paulus, quamquam primo statim
on-the-side other of-the-battle Paulus although at-the-first at-once
proelio funda grauiter ictus fuerat,
battle by-a-sling-stone seriously struck had-been
49.2 tamen et occurrit saepe cum confertis Hannibali et aliquot
yet both met often with massed-men Hannibal and in-several
locis proelium restituit, protegentibus eum equitibus Romanis,
places the-battle restored protecting him the-horsemen Roman
49.3 omissis postremo equis, quia consulem et ad regendum
abandoned at-last their-horses because the-consul even for managing
equum uires deficiebant. Tum denuntianti cuidam iussisse
his-horse strength failed then announcing to-someone to-have-ordered
consulem ad pedes descendere equites dixisse Hannibalem
the-consul on foot to-dismount the-horsemen to-have-said Hannibal
ferunt: 'quam mallem, uinctos mihi traderet.'
they-say how-much I-would-prefer bound to-me he-should-hand-them-over
49.4 Equitum pedestre proelium, quale iam haud dubia hostium
of-the-horsemen the-infantry battle such-as now not doubtful of-the-enemy
uictoria, fuit, cum uicti mori in uestigio mallent
the-victory was since the-vanquished to-die in their-tracks preferred

quam fugere, uictores morantibus uictoriam irati trucidarent
than to-flee the-victors at-those-delaying the-victory enraged butchered
quos pellere non poterant.
those-whom to-drive-back not they-could
Pepulerunt tamen iam paucos superantes et labore ac 49.5
they-drove-back however now few surviving and with-toil and
uolneribus fessos. Inde dissipati omnes sunt, equosque ad
wounds weary then scattered all were and-their-horses for
fugam qui poterant repetebant.
flight who could sought-again
Cn. Lentulus tribunus militum cum praeteruehens equo 49.6
Gnaeus Lentulus tribune of-the-soldiers when riding-past on-his-horse
sedentem in saxo cruore oppletum consulem uidisset,
sitting on a-rock with-blood covered the-consul he-had-seen
'L. Aemili' inquit, 'quem unum insontem culpae cladis 49.7
Lucius Aemilius he-said whom alone guiltless of-the-blame of-the-disaster
hodiernae dei respicere debent,
of-today the-gods to-regard ought
cape hunc equum, dum et tibi uirium aliquid superest 49.8
take this horse while both to-you of-strength something remains
et comes ego te tollere possum ac protegere. Ne
and as-companion I you to-lift-up can and to-protect do-not
funestam hanc pugnam morte consulis feceris; etiam sine
deadly this battle by-the-death of-a-consul make even without
hoc lacrimarum satis luctusque est.'
this of-tears enough and-of-grief there-is
Ad ea consul: 'Tu quidem, Cn. Corneli, macte uirtute 49.9
to these-things the-consul you indeed Gnaeus Cornelius blessed in-valor
esto; sed caue, frustra miserando exiguum tempus e
be but beware in-vain by-pitying the-scanty time from
manibus hostium euadendi absumas.
the-hands of-the-enemy of-escaping you-use-up

49.10 Abi, nuntia publice patribus urbem Romanam muniant ac
go announce publicly to-the-fathers the-city Roman they-should-fortify and
priusquam uictor hostis aduenIat praesidiis firment;
before the-victorious enemy arrives with-garrisons they-should-strengthen
priuatim Q. Fabio L. Aemilium praeceptorum eius
privately to-Quintus Fabius Lucius Aemilius of-the-precepts his
memorem et uixisse adhuc et mori.
mindful both to-have-lived still and to-die

49.11 Me in hac strage militum meorum patere exspirare, ne aut
me in this slaughter of-soldiers my allow to-expire that-not either
reus iterum e consulatu sim aut accusator collegae
a-defendant again after the-consulship I-be or the-accuser of-my-colleague
exsistam ut alieno crimine innocentiam meam protegam.'
I-stand-forth that by-another's guilt innocence my I-may-protect

49.12 Haec eos agentes prius turba fugientium ciuium, deinde
these-things them doing first a-crowd of-fleeing citizens then
hostes oppressere; consulem ignorantes quis esset obruere
the-enemy overwhelmed the-consul not-knowing who he-was they-covered
telis, Lentulum in tumultu abripuit equus.
with-weapons Lentulus in the-uproar carried-off his-horse

49.13 Tum undique effuse fugiunt. Septem milia hominum in
then from-all-sides headlong they-flee seven thousands of-men into
minora castra, decem in maiora, duo ferme in uicum
the-smaller camp ten into the-greater two about into the-village
ipsum Cannas perfugerunt, qui extemplo a Carthalone atque
itself Cannae fled who at-once by Carthalo and
equitibus nullo munimento tegente uicum circumuenti sunt.
the-horsemen with-no fortification covering the-village surrounded were

Consul alter, seu forte seu consilio nulli fugientium 49.14
the-consul other whether by-chance or by-plan to-no of-the-fleeing
insertus agmini, cum quinquaginta fere equitibus Venusiam
joined column with fifty about horsemen to-Venusia
perfugit.
fled
Quadraginta quinque milia quingenti pedites, duo milia 49.15
forty five thousands five-hundred foot-soldiers two thousands
septingenti equites, et tantadem prope ciuium sociorumque
seven-hundred horsemen and the-same-amount almost of-citizens and-of-allies
pars, caesi dicuntur; in his ambo consulum quaestores,
part slain are-said among these both of-the-consuls quaestors
L. Atilius et L. Furius Bibaculus, et undetriginta 49.16
Lucius Atilius and Lucius Furius Bibaculus and twenty-nine
tribuni militum, consulares quidam praetoriique et aedilicii —
tribunes of-the-soldiers consulars some and-praetorians and aedilicians
inter eos Cn. Seruilium Geminum et M. Minucium
among them Gnaeus Servilius Geminus and Marcus Minucius
numerant, qui magister equitum priore anno, consul
they-count who master of-the-horse in-the-former year consul
aliquot annis ante fuerat —
several years before had-been
octoginta praeterea aut senatores aut qui eos magistratus 49.17
eighty besides either senators or who those magistracies
gessissent unde in senatum legi deberent cum sua
had-held whence into the-senate to-be-chosen they-ought when of-their-own
uoluntate milites in legionibus facti essent.
will soldiers in the-legions made they-had-become
Capta eo proelio tria milia peditum et equites mille 49.18
taken in-that battle three thousands of-infantry and horsemen a-thousand
et quingenti dicuntur.
and five-hundred are-said

50.1 Haec est pugna Cannensis, Alliensi cladi nobilitate par,
this is the-battle of-Cannae to-the-Allian disaster in-fame equal

50.2 ceterum ut illis quae post pugnam accidere leuior,
however as in-those-things which after the-battle happened lighter
quia ab hoste est cessatum, sic strage exercitus
because by the-enemy it-was ceased so in-the-slaughter of-the-army
grauior foediorque.
heavier and-fouler

50.3 Fuga namque ad Alliam sicut urbem prodidit, ita exercitum
the-flight for at the-Allia as the-city it-betrayed so the-army
seruauit: ad Cannas fugientem consulem uix quinquaginta
it-saved at Cannae the-fleeing consul scarcely fifty
secuti sunt, alterius morientis prope totus exercitus fuit.
followed have of-the-other dying almost the-whole army was

50.4 Binis in castris cum multitudo semiermis sine ducibus esset,
two in camps since the-multitude half-armed without leaders was
nuntium qui in maioribus erant mittunt, dum proelio, deinde
a-message those-who in the-greater were send while with-battle then
ex laetitia epulis fatigatos quies nocturna hostes premeret
after rejoicing with-feasts wearied rest nocturnal the-enemy weighed-down
ut ad se transirent: uno agmine Canusium abituros esse.
that to them they-should-cross in-one column to-Canusium going-to-go-off to-be

50.5 Eam sententiam alii totam aspernari; cur enim illos, qui se
that opinion some entirely spurned why for those who them
arcessant, ipsos non uenire, cum aeque coniungi possent? quia
summoned themselves not to-come since equally to-be-joined they-could because
uidelicet plena hostium omnia in medio essent, et aliorum
no-doubt full of-enemies all-things in the-middle were and others'
quam sua corpora tanto periculo mallent obicere.
rather-than their-own bodies to-so-great danger they-preferred to-expose

Aliis non tam sententia displicere quam animus deesse: 50.6
to-others not so-much the-opinion displeased as courage was-lacking
P. Sempronius Tuditanus tribunus militum 'Capi
Publius Sempronius Tuditanus tribune of-the-soldiers to-be-taken
ergo mauoltis' inquit, 'ab auarissimo et crudelissimo
then do-you-prefer he-said by a-most-greedy and most-cruel
hoste aestimarique capita uestra et exquiri pretia ab
enemy and-to-be-valued the-heads your and to-be-sought-out prices by
interrogantibus Romanus ciuis sis an Latinus socius, ut
those-asking a-Roman citizen you-be or a-Latin ally that
ex tua contumelia et miseria alteri honos quaeratur?
from your humiliation and misery for-another honor may-be-sought
Non tu, si quidem L. Aemili consulis, qui se bene 50.7
not you if indeed of-Lucius Aemilius the-consul who himself well
mori quam turpiter uiuere maluit, et tot fortissimorum
to-die than shamefully to-live preferred and of-so-many bravest
uirorum qui circa eum cumulati iacent ciues estis.
men who around him heaped lie citizens are
Sed antequam opprimit lux maioraque hostium agmina 50.8
but before overwhelms the-light and-greater of-the-enemy columns
obsaepiunt iter, per hos, qui inordinati atque incompositi
block the-road through these who disordered and disarrayed
obstrepunt portis, erumpamus.
clamor at-the-gates let-us-break-out
Ferro atque audacia uia fit quamuis per confertos 50.9
by-sword and boldness a-way is-made however through massed
hostes. Cuneo quidem hoc laxum atque solutum agmen,
enemies with-a-wedge indeed this loose and broken column
ut si nihil obstet, disicias. Itaque ite mecum qui et
as if nothing blocks you-may-scatter and-so come with-me who both
uosmet ipsos et rem publicam saluam uoltis'.
yourselves yourselves and the-thing public safe wish

50.10 Haec ubi dicta dedit, stringit gladium cuneoque facto
these-things when spoken he-gave he-draws his-sword and-a-wedge made
per medios uadit hostes et,
through the-middle goes enemy and
50.11 cum in latus dextrum quod patebat Numidae iacularentur,
when on the-flank right which lay-open the-Numidians hurled-javelins
translatis in dextrum scutis in maiora castra ad sescenti
shifted onto the-right their-shields into the-greater camp about six-hundred
euaserunt atque inde protinus alio magno agmine adiuncto
escaped and thence straightway another great column joined
Canusium incolumes peruenium.
to-Canusium unharmed they-arrive
50.12 Haec apud uictos magis impetu animorum, quos
these-things among the-vanquished more by-impulse of-spirits which
ingenium suum cuique aut fors dabat, quam ex consilio
nature his-own to-each or chance gave than by counsel
ipsorum aut imperio cuiusquam agebantur.
of-their-own or by-command of-anyone were-done

Maharbal urges Hannibal to follow at once and dine on the Capitol in five days; when he hesitates, Maharbal tells him he knows how to win but not how to use a victory. The next day the field is gruesome, with Romans who had dug their heads into the earth and a Numidian with his nose and ears bitten off. Both Roman camps surrender on terms of ransom, and Hannibal buries some eight thousand of his own dead. An Apulian woman, Busa, feeds, clothes, and provisions the survivors who reach Canusium, for which the senate later honors her.

Hannibali uictori cum ceteri circumfusi gratularentur 51.1
to-Hannibal the-victor when the-others thronging-round congratulated
suaderentque ut, tanto perfunctus bello, diei quod
and-urged that so-great having-finished war of-the-day what
reliquum esset noctisque insequentis quietem et ipse
remained should-be and-of-the-night following rest both himself
sibi sumeret et fessis daret militibus,
for-himself he-should-take and to-the-weary should-give soldiers
Maharbal praefectus equitum, minime cessandum ratus, 'Immo 51.2
Maharbal the-prefect of-the-cavalry least to-be-delayed thinking nay
ut quid hac pugna sit actum scias, die quinto'
that what by-this battle has-been done you-may-know on-the-day fifth
inquit, 'uictor in Capitolio epulaberis. Sequere; cum equite,
he-said as-victor on the-Capitol you-will-feast follow with the-cavalry
ut prius uenisse quam uenturum sciant, praecedam.'
that sooner to-have-come than going-to-come they-may-know I-shall-go-ahead
Hannibali nimis laeta res est uisa maiorque quam ut eam 51.3
to-Hannibal too joyful the-thing has seemed and-greater than that it
statim capere animo posset. Itaque uoluntatem se laudare
at-once to-grasp in-mind he-could and-so the-good-will himself to-praise
Maharbalis ait; ad consilium pensandum temporis opus esse.
of-Maharbal he-says for the-plan weighing of-time need to-be

51.4 Tum Maharbal: 'Non omnia nimirum eidem di
then Maharbal not all-things doubtless to-the-same-man the-gods
dedere. Vincere scis, Hannibal; uictoria uti nescis.' Mora
have-given to-conquer you-know Hannibal victory to-use you-know-not the-delay
eius diei satis creditur saluti fuisse urbi atque imperio.
of-that day enough is-believed for-safety to-have-been to-the-city and to-the-empire
51.5 Postero die ubi primum inluxit, ad spolia legenda foedamque
on-the-next day when first it-grew-light for spoils gathering and-hideous
etiam hostibus spectandam stragem insistunt.
even to-the-enemy viewing the-slaughter they-press-on
51.6 Iacebant tot Romanorum milia, pedites passim equitesque,
there-lay so-many of-the-Romans thousands infantry everywhere and-horsemen
ut quem cuique fors aut pugna iunxerat aut fuga;
as whom to-each chance either the-battle had-joined or the-flight
adsurgentes quidam ex strage media cruenti, quos stricta
rising some from the-slaughter middle bloody whom the-stiffened
matutino frigore excitauerant uolnera, ab hoste oppressi sunt;
by-the-morning cold had-roused wounds by the-enemy cut-down were
51.7 quosdam et iacentes uiuos succisis feminibus poplitibusque
some also lying alive with-cut thighs and-hamstrings
inuenerunt, nudantes ceruicem iugulumque et reliquum
they-found baring their-neck and-throat and the-remaining
sanguinem iubentes haurire;
blood bidding to-drain
51.8 inuenti quidam sunt mersis in effossam terram capitibus,
found some were with-plunged into the-dug-out earth heads
quos sibi ipsos fecisse foueas obruentesque ora
whom for-themselves themselves to-have-made pits and-covering their-faces
superiecta humo interclusisse spiritum apparebat.
with-thrown-on earth to-have-shut-off the-breath it-was-apparent

Praecipue conuertit omnes subtractus Numida mortuo 51.9
especially turned all dragged-out a-Numidian from-a-dead
superincubanti Romano uiuus naso auribusque laceratis,
lying-on-top Roman alive with-nose and-ears mangled
cum manibus ad capiendum telum inutilibus, in rabiem
since with-hands for taking a-weapon useless into madness
ira uersa laniando dentibus hostem exspirasset.
anger turned by-tearing with-his-teeth the-enemy had-expired
Spoliis ad multum diei lectis, Hannibal ad minora ducit 52.1
the-spoils till much of-the-day gathered Hannibal to the-smaller leads
castra oppugnanda et omnium primum brachio obiecto
camp to-be-attacked and of-all first with-an-arm thrown-across
a flumine eos excludit;
from the-river them he-shuts-off
ceterum omnibus labore, uigiliis, uolneribus etiam fessis 52.2
however to-all with-toil with-wakings with-wounds also weary
maturior ipsius spe deditio est facta. Pacti ut arma
sooner than-his-own hope the-surrender was made they-agreed that their-arms
atque equos traderent, in capita Romana trecenis
and horses they-should-hand-over for heads Roman three-hundred-each
nummis quadrigatis, in socios ducenis, in seruos centenis
coins quadrigati for the-allies two-hundred-each for the-slaves a-hundred-each
et ut eo pretio persoluto cum singulis abirent uestimentis,
and that that price paid with single they-might-depart garments
in castra hostes acceperunt traditique in custodiam omnes 52.3
into the-camp the-enemy they-received and-handed-over into custody all
sunt, seorsum ciues sociique.
were separately citizens and-allies
Dum ibi tempus teritur, interea cum ex maioribus castris, 52.4
while there the-time is-wasted meanwhile since from the-greater camp
quibus satis uirium aut animi fuit, ad quattuor milia
those-to-whom enough of-strength or of-spirit was about four thousands

hominum et ducenti equites, alii agmine, alii palati
of-men and two-hundred horsemen some in-column others scattered
passim per agros, quod haud minus tutum erat, Canusium
everywhere through the-fields which not less safe was to-Canusium
perfugissent, castra ipsa ab sauciis timidisque eadem
had-fled the-camp itself by the-wounded and-timid on-the-same
condicione qua altera tradita hosti.
terms as the-other handed-over to-the-enemy

52.5 Praeda ingens parta est, et praeter equos uirosque et
booty huge got was and besides horses and-men and
si quid argenti (quod plurimum in phaleris equorum
if anything of-silver which mostly on the-trappings of-the-horses
erat; nam ad uescendum facto perexiguo, utique militantes,
was for for eating made very-little at-least campaigning
utebantur) omnis cetera praeda diripienda data est.
they-used all the-other booty to-be-plundered given was

52.6 Tum sepeliendi causa conferri in unum corpora
then of-burying for-the-sake to-be-brought into one the-bodies
suorum iussit; ad octo milia fuisse dicuntur
of-his-own he-ordered about eight thousands to-have-been they-are-said
fortissimorum uirorum. Consulem quoque Romanum
of-bravest men the-consul also Roman
conquisitum sepultumque quidam auctores sunt.
sought-out and-buried some authorities are

52.7 Eos qui Canusium perfugerant mulier Apula nomine Busa,
those who to-Canusium had-fled a-woman Apulian by-name Busa
genere clara ac diuitiis, moenibus tantum tectisque a
in-birth famous and in-wealth by-walls only and-roofs by
Canusinis acceptos, frumento, ueste, uiatico etiam iuuit,
the-Canusians received with-grain clothing travel-money also helped

pro qua ei munificentia postea bello perfecto ab senatu
for which to-her generosity afterward the-war finished by the-senate
honores habiti sunt.
honors held were

XLIII · SCIPIO AT CANUSIUM

At Canusium the four military tribunes give the chief command to the young Publius Scipio and Appius Claudius. When Furius Philus reports that Lucius Metellus and other young nobles plan to leave Italy, Scipio bursts in with a drawn sword and makes them swear never to desert Rome. Venusia receives some forty-five hundred scattered fugitives hospitably. The survivors at Canusium, about ten thousand, learn that Varro lives, and he brings his forces there, while Rome hears that both armies are destroyed. Livy says no other people could have survived such a blow.

Ceterum cum ibi tribuni militum quattuor essent, Fabius 53.1
however when there tribunes of-the-soldiers four were Fabius
Maximus de legione prima, cuius pater priore anno
Maximus of the-legion first whose father in-the-former year
dictator fuerat,
dictator had-been
et de legione secunda L. Publicius Bibulus et P. 53.2
and of the-legion second Lucius Publicius Bibulus and Publius
Cornelius Scipio et de legione tertia Ap. Claudius Pulcher,
Cornelius Scipio and of the-legion third Appius Claudius Pulcher
qui proxime aedilis fuerat,
who most-recently aedile had-been
omnium consensu ad P. Scipionem admodum adulescentem 53.3
by-all consensus to Publius Scipio quite a-youth
et ad Ap. Claudium summa imperii delata est.
and to Appius Claudius the-chief of-command conferred was

53.4 Quibus consultantibus inter paucos de summa rerum
to-whom consulting among few about the-sum of-things
nuntiat P. Furius Philus, consularis uiri filius, nequiquam
announces Publius Furius Philus of-a-consular man the-son in-vain
eos perditam spem fouere; desperatam comploratamque rem
them lost a-hope to-cherish despaired-of and-lamented the-thing
esse publicam;
to-be public

53.5 nobiles iuuenes quosdam, quorum principem L. Caecilium
noble young-men certain whose leader Lucius Caecilius
Metellum, mare ac naues spectare, ut deserta Italia ad
Metellus the-sea and ships to-look-to that deserted Italy to
regum aliquem transfugiant.
of-kings someone they-may-flee

53.6 Quod malum, praeterquam atrox, super tot clades etiam
which evil besides dreadful upon so-many disasters also
nouum, cum stupore ac miraculo torpidos defixisset qui
new when with-stupor and wonder numbed had-fixed those-who
aderant et consilium aduocandum de eo censerent, negat
were-present and a-council to-be-summoned about it they-thought says-no
consilii rem esse iuuenis, fatalis dux huiusce belli:
of-council the-matter to-be the-young-man fated leader of-this war

53.7 audendum atque agendum, non consultandum ait in tanto
to-be-dared and to-be-done not to-be-deliberated he-says in so-great
malo esse. irent secum extemplo armati qui rem
evil to-be let-them-go with-him at-once armed who the-thing
publicam saluam uellent;
public safe wished

53.8 nulla uerius quam ubi ea cogitentur hostium castra
no more-truly than where such-things are-thought of-the-enemy the-camp
esse.
to-be

Pergit ire sequentibus paucis in hospitium Metelli et, 53.9
he-proceeds to-go following few to the-lodging of-Metellus and
cum concilium ibi iuuenum de quibus allatum erat
when a-gathering there of-young-men about whom reported it-had-been
inuenisset, stricto super capita consultantium gladio,
he-had-found drawn over the-heads of-those-consulting the-sword
'Ex mei animi sententia' inquit, 'ut ego rem publicam 53.10
from my mind's judgment he-said as I the-thing public
populi Romani non deseram neque alium ciuem Romanum
of-the-people Roman not shall-desert nor another citizen Roman
deserere patiar;
to-desert shall-allow
si sciens fallo, tum me, Iuppiter optime maxime, domum, 53.11
if knowingly I-deceive then me Jupiter best greatest home
familiam remque meam pessimo leto adficias.
household and-property my with-worst death may-you-afflict
In haec uerba, L. Caecili, iures postulo, ceterique qui 53.12
in these words Lucius Caecilius you-swear I-demand and-the-rest who
adestis. Qui non iurauerit in se hunc gladium
are-present who not shall-have-sworn against himself this sword
strictum esse sciat.'
drawn to-be let-him-know
Haud secus pauidi quam si uictorem Hannibalem cernerent, 53.13
not otherwise fearful than if the-victorious Hannibal they-were-seeing
iurant omnes custodiendosque semet ipsos Scipioni
swear all and-to-be-guarded themselves themselves to-Scipio
tradunt.
they-hand-over

54.1 Eo tempore quo haec Canusi agebantur Venusiam
at-that time at-which these-things at-Canusium were-done to-Venusia
ad consulem ad quattuor milia et quingenti pedites
to the-consul about four thousands and five-hundred infantry
equitesque, qui sparsi fuga per agros fuerant, peruenere.
and-horsemen who scattered in-flight through the-fields had-been arrived
54.2 Eos omnes Venusini per familias benigne accipiendos
them all the-Venusians among families kindly to-be-received
curandosque cum diuisissent, in singulos equites togas
and-cared-for when they-had-distributed to each horseman togas
et tunicas et quadrigatos nummos quinos uicenos, et
and tunics and quadrigatus coins five-and twenty-each and
pediti denos et arma quibus deerant dederunt,
to-the-infantryman ten-each and arms to-whom were-lacking gave
54.3 ceteraque publice ac priuatim hospitaliter facta
and-the-other-things publicly and privately hospitably done
certatumque ne a muliere Canusina populus Venusinus
and-it-was-striven that-not by a-woman of-Canusium the-people Venusian
officiis uinceretur.
in-services should-be-outdone
54.4 Sed grauius onus Busae multitudo faciebat;
but heavier the-burden for-Busa the-multitude made
54.5 et iam ad decem milia hominum erant, Appiusque
and already about ten thousands of-men there-were and-Appius
et Scipio, postquam incolumem esse alterum consulem
and Scipio after safe to-be the-other consul
acceperunt, nuntium extemplo mittunt quantae secum peditum
they-learned a-messenger at-once send how-great with-him of-infantry
equitumque copiae essent sciscitatumque simul utrum
and-of-cavalry forces might-be and-to-inquire at-the-same-time whether
Venusiam adduci exercitum an manere iuberet Canusi.
to-Venusia to-be-brought the-army or to-remain he-ordered at-Canusium

Varro ipse Canusium copias traduxit; et iam aliqua species 54.6
Varro himself to-Canusium the-forces led-across and now some appearance
consularis exercitus erat moenibusque se certe, si non
of-a-consular army there-was and-by-walls themselves at-least if not
armis, ab hoste uidebantur defensuri.
by-arms from the-enemy they-seemed going-to-defend
Romam ne has quidem reliquias superesse ciuium 54.7
to-Rome that-not these even remnants to-survive of-citizens
sociorumque sed occidione occisum cum duobus consularibus
and-allies but by-massacre killed with two consular
ducibus exercitum deletasque omnes copias allatum fuerat.
leaders the-army and-destroyed all the-forces reported it-had-been
Nunquam salua urbe tantum pauoris tumultusque intra 54.8
never with-safe the-city so-much of-panic and-of-uproar within
moenia Romana fuit. Itaque succumbam oneri neque
the-walls Roman was and-so I-shall-sink-under the-burden nor
adgrediar narrare quae edissertando minora uero
shall-I-attempt to-tell what by-describing-in-detail lesser than-the-truth
faciam.
I-should-make
Consule exercituque ad Trasumennum priore anno amisso 54.9
a-consul and-army at Trasimene in-the-former year lost
non uolnus super uolnus sed multiplex clades, cum duobus
not a-wound upon a-wound but a-manifold disaster when two
consulibus duo consulares exercitus amissi nuntiabantur nec
consuls two consular armies lost were-announced nor
ulla iam castra Romana nec ducem nec militem esse;
any now camp Roman nor leader nor soldier to-be

54.10 Hannibalis Apuliam, Samnium ac iam prope totam Italiam
Hannibal's Apulia Samnium and now almost all Italy
factam. Nulla profecto alia gens tanta mole cladis non
become no surely other nation by-so-great a-mass of-disaster not
obruta esset.
overwhelmed would-have-been

54.11 Compares cladem ad Aegates insulas Carthaginiensium
you-may-compare the-disaster at the-Aegates islands of-the-Carthaginians
proelio nauali acceptam, qua fracti Sicilia ac Sardinia
in-the-battle naval suffered by-which broken from-Sicily and Sardinia
cessere, inde uectigales ac stipendiarios fieri se
they-withdrew thence tax-paying and tributary to-become themselves
passi sunt, aut pugnam aduersam in Africa, cui postea
allowed they-have or the-battle adverse in Africa to-which afterward
hic ipse Hannibal succubuit; nulla ex parte comparandae
this very Hannibal succumbed no in respect to-be-compared
sunt nisi quod minore animo latae sunt.
are except that with-less spirit borne they-were

The praetors call the senate. Fabius proposes sending horsemen down the Appian and Latin roads for news, keeping the women indoors, silencing lamentation, and guarding the gates. Varro's letter reports Paulus' death and ten thousand men gathered at Canusium, while Hannibal haggles over ransoms. Grief is so general that the rites of Ceres are suspended, and mourning is limited to thirty days. A letter from Sicily asks for a fleet to protect Hiero's kingdom.

P. Furius Philus et M. Pomponius praetores senatum 55.1
Publius Furius Philus and Marcus Pomponius the-praetors the-senate
in curiam Hostiliam uocauerunt, ut de urbis custodia
into the-senate-house Hostilian called that about the-city's guarding
consulerent;
they-might-consult
neque enim dubitabant deletis exercitibus hostem ad 55.2
nor for did-they-doubt destroyed the-armies the-enemy for
oppugnandam Romam, quod unum opus belli restaret,
attacking Rome which alone task of-the-war remained
uenturum.
going-to-come
Cum in malis sicuti ingentibus ita ignotis ne consilium quidem 55.3
when in ills as huge so unknown not a-plan even
satis expedirent obstreperetque clamor lamentantium
enough they-could-work-out and-was-drowning-them the-clamor of-lamenting
mulierum et nondum palam facto uiui mortuique et
women and not-yet openly made the-living and-the-dead alike
per omnes paene domos promiscue complorarentur,
through all almost homes indiscriminately were-bewailed
tum Q. Fabius Maximus censuit equites expeditos et 55.4
then Quintus Fabius Maximus proposed horsemen light-armed both
Appia et Latina uia mittendos, qui obuios percontando —
by-the-Appian and the-Latin road to-be-sent who those-met by-questioning

aliquos profecto ex fuga passim dissipatos fore — referant
some surely from the-flight everywhere scattered going-to-be may-report
quae fortuna consulum atque exercituum sit et, si quid
what the-fortune of-the-consuls and of-the-armies may-be and if anything
di immortales miseriti imperii reliquum Romani
the-gods immortal having-pitied of-the-empire remaining of-the-Roman
nominis fecerint, ubi eae copiae sint;
name have-made where those forces may-be
55.5 quo se Hannibal post proelium contulerit, quid paret,
whither himself Hannibal after the-battle has-betaken what he-prepares
quid agat acturusque sit.
what he-does and-going-to-do is
55.6 haec exploranda noscendaque per impigros iuuenes esse;
these-things to-be-explored and-to-be-learned through energetic young-men to-be
illud per patres ipsos agendum, quoniam magistratuum
that through the-fathers themselves to-be-done since of-magistrates
parum sit, ut tumultum ac trepidationem in urbe
too-little there-is that the-uproar and alarm in the-city
tollant, matronas publico arceant continerique
they-should-remove the-matrons from-the-public they-should-keep and-to-be-confined
intra suum quamque limen cogant,
within her-own each threshold they-should-compel
55.7 comploratus familiarum coerceant, silentium per urbem
the-wailings of-the-households they-should-restrain silence through the-city
faciant, nuntios rerum omnium ad praetores deducendos
they-should-make the-messengers of-things all to the-praetors to-be-brought
curent, suae quisque fortunae domi auctorem exspectent,
they-should-see-to his-own each of-fortune at-home the-informant should-await
55.8 custodesque praeterea ad portas ponant qui prohibeant
and-guards besides at the-gates they-should-place who may-prevent
quemquam egredi urbe cogantque homines nullam
anyone to-go-out from-the-city and-may-compel men no

nisi urbe ac moenibus saluis salutem sperare. ubi
except with-the-city and walls safe safety to-hope when
conticuerit tumultus, tum in curiam patres
shall-have-fallen-silent the-uproar then into the-senate-house the-fathers
reuocandos consulendumque de urbis custodia esse.
to-be-recalled and-to-be-consulted about the-city's guarding to-be
Cum in hanc sententiam pedibus omnes issent summotaque 56.1
when to this opinion on-foot all had-gone and-removed
foro a magistratibus turba patres diuersi ad
from-the-forum by the-magistrates the-crowd the-fathers in-different-directions for
sedandos tumultus discessissent, tum demum litterae a
calming uproars had-departed then at-last a-letter from
C. Terentio consule allatae sunt:
Gaius Terentius the-consul brought was
L. Aemilium consulem exercitumque caesum; sese Canusi 56.2
Lucius Aemilius the-consul and-the-army slain himself at-Canusium
esse, reliquias tantae cladis uelut ex naufragio colligentem;
to-be the-remnants of-so-great a-disaster as-if from a-shipwreck gathering
ad decem milia militum ferme esse incompositorum
about ten thousands of-soldiers about to-be disordered
inordinatorumque;
and-unranked
Poenum sedere ad Cannas, in captiuorum pretiis 56.3
the-Carthaginian to-sit at Cannae over of-the-captives the-prices
praedaque alia nec uictoris animo nec magni ducis
and-booty other neither of-a-victor with-the-spirit nor of-a-great leader
more nundinantem.
in-the-manner bargaining
Tum priuatae quoque per domos clades uolgatae sunt 56.4
then the-private also through homes disasters spread-abroad were
adeoque totam urbem oppleuit luctus ut sacrum anniuersarium
and-so the-whole city filled grief that the-rite anniversary

Cereris intermissum sit, quia nec lugentibus id facere est
of-Ceres interrupted was because neither for-mourners it to-do is
fas nec ulla in illa tempestate matrona expers luctus fuerat.
lawful nor any in that time matron free-of grief had-been
56.5 Itaque ne ob eandem causam alia quoque sacra publica
and-so lest on-account-of the-same cause other also rites public
aut priuata desererentur, senatus consulto diebus triginta
or private should-be-abandoned of-the-senate by-decree in-days thirty
luctus est finitus.
the-mourning was ended
56.6 Ceterum cum sedato urbis tumultu reuocati in curiam
however when calmed the-city's uproar recalled into the-senate-house
patres essent, aliae insuper ex Sicilia litterae allatae sunt
the-fathers had-been another besides from Sicily letter brought was
ab T. Otacilio propraetore, regnum Hieronis classe Punica
from Titus Otacilius the-propraetor the-kingdom of-Hiero by-a-fleet Punic
uastari;
to-be-ravaged
56.7 cui cum opem imploranti ferre uellent praefecti ab se
to-whom when help imploring to-bring they-wished the-prefects by him
missi, nuntiatum his esse aliam classem ad Aegates insulas
sent announced to-them to-be another fleet at the-Aegates islands
stare paratam instructamque,
to-stand ready and-equipped
56.8 ut, ubi se uersum ad tuendam Syracusanam oram
that when himself turned for protecting the-Syracusan coast
Poeni sensissent, Lilybaeum extemplo prouinciamque
the-Carthaginians should-have-perceived Lilybaeum at-once and-the-province
aliam Romanam adgrederentur; itaque classe opus esse, si
other Roman they-might-attack and-so of-a-fleet need to-be if
regem socium Siciliamque tueri uellent.
the-king (their)-ally and-Sicily to-protect they-wished

Marcellus is sent to command at Canusium and Varro recalled. Two Vestals are convicted of unchastity, one buried alive and one dead by her own hand. The decemvirs consult the books, Fabius Pictor goes to Delphi, and a Gallic and a Greek pair are buried alive in the cattle market. A dictator, Marcus Junius, raises four legions from men of seventeen and up and some boys, takes old spoils from the temples, and arms eight thousand slaves bought by the state.

Litteris consulis praetorisque lectis censuere patres M. 57.1
the-letters of-the-consul and-of-the-praetor read decided the-fathers Marcus
Claudium, qui classi ad Ostiam stanti praeesset, Canusium ad
Claudius who the-fleet at Ostia stationed commanded to-Canusium to
exercitum mittendum scribendumque consuli ut, cum praetori
the-army to-be-sent and-to-be-written to-the-consul that when to-the-praetor
exercitum tradidisset, primo quoque tempore, quantum per
the-army he-had-handed-over at-the-first every time as-far-as for
commodum rei publicae fieri posset, Romam ueniret.
the-convenience of-the-thing public to-be-done it-could to-Rome he-should-come
Territi etiam super tantas clades cum ceteris prodigiis, 57.2
they-were-frightened also besides so-great disasters both by-the-other portents
tum quod duae Vestales eo anno, Opimia atque Floronia,
and because two Vestals in-that year Opimia and Floronia
stupri compertae et altera sub terra, uti mos est, ad portam
of-unchastity convicted and the-one under the-earth as custom is at the-gate
Collinam necata fuerat, altera sibimet ipsa mortem consciuerat;
Colline killed had-been the-other for-herself herself death had-inflicted
L. Cantilius scriba pontificius, quos nunc minores pontifices 57.3
Lucius Cantilius a-clerk pontifical whom now lesser pontiffs
appellant, qui cum Floronia stuprum fecerat, a pontifice
they-call who with Floronia the-outrage had-committed by the-pontiff

maximo eo usque uirgis in comitio caesus erat ut
greatest to-that point with-rods in the-comitium beaten had-been that
inter uerbera exspiraret.
amid the-blows he-expired

57.4 Hoc nefas cum inter tot, ut fit, clades in prodigium
this impiety when among so-many as happens disasters into a-portent
uersum esset,
turned had-been

57.5 decemuiri libros adire iussi sunt et Q. Fabius Pictor
the-decemvirs the-books to-consult ordered were and Quintus Fabius Pictor
Delphos ad oraculum missus est sciscitatum quibus precibus
to-Delphi to the-oracle sent was to-inquire with-what prayers
suppliciisque deos possent placare et quaenam futura
and-supplications the-gods they-could to-appease and what going-to-be
finis tantis cladibus foret.
the-end for-so-great disasters should-be

57.6 Interim ex fatalibus libris sacrificia aliquot extraordinaria
meanwhile from the-fateful books sacrifices several extraordinary
facta, inter quae Gallus et Galla, Graecus et
were-made among which a-Gallic-man and a-Gallic-woman a-Greek and
Graeca in foro bouario sub terram uiui demissi sunt
a-Greek-woman in the-forum cattle under the-earth alive let-down were
in locum saxo consaeptum, iam ante hostiis humanis,
into a-place with-stone walled-in already before with-victims human
minime Romano sacro, imbutum.
least Roman a-rite imbued

57.7 Placatis satis, ut rebantur, deis M. Claudius Marcellus ab
appeased enough as they-thought the-gods Marcus Claudius Marcellus from
Ostia mille et quingentos milites quos in classem scriptos
Ostia a-thousand and five-hundred soldiers whom for the-fleet enrolled
habebat Romam, ut urbi praesidio essent, mittit;
he-had to-Rome that for-the-city a-garrison they-might-be sends

ipse legione classica — ea legio tertia erat — cum tribunis 57.8
himself the-legion naval that legion the-third was with the-tribunes
militum Teanum Sidicinum praemissa, classe tradita P.
of-the-soldiers to-Teanum Sidicinum sent-ahead the-fleet handed-over to-Publius
Furio Philo collegae paucos post dies Canusium magnis
Furius Philus his-colleague few after days to-Canusium by-great
itineribus contendit.
marches hastens

Inde dictator ex auctoritate patrum dictus M. Iunius et 57.9
then a-dictator by the-authority of-the-fathers named Marcus Junius and
Ti. Sempronius magister equitum dilectu edicto iuniores
Tiberius Sempronius master of-the-horse a-levy proclaimed the-juniors
ab annis septemdecim et quosdam praetextatos scribunt;
from years seventeen and some wearing-the-bordered-toga enroll
quattuor ex his legiones et mille equites effecti.
four from these legions and a-thousand horsemen were-made-up

Item ad socios Latinumque nomen ad milites ex 57.10
likewise to the-allies and-the-Latin name for soldiers according-to
formula accipiendos mittunt. Arma, tela, alia parari
the-roll receiving they-send arms weapons other to-be-prepared
iubent et uetera spolia hostium detrahunt templis
they-order and old spoils of-the-enemy they-take-down from-temples
porticibusque.
and-porticoes

Et aliam formam noui dilectus inopia liberorum capitum 57.11
and another form of-a-new levy the-shortage of-free persons
ac necessitas dedit: octo milia iuuenum ualidorum ex
and necessity gave eight thousands of-young-men strong from
seruitiis, prius sciscitantes singulos uellentne militare,
the-slaves first asking each whether-they-wished to-serve
empta publice armauerunt.
bought publicly they-armed

57.12 Hic miles magis placuit, cum pretio minore redimendi
this soldiery more pleased though at-a-price lower of-ransoming
captiuos copia fieret.
the-captives the-opportunity was-made

XLVI · THE CAPTIVES' ENVOYS

Hannibal releases the allied captives and offers the Romans ransom. Ten envoys go to Rome; one, returning to the camp on a pretext, thinks himself freed from his oath. Their leader, addressing the dictator Marcus Junius and the senate, pleads that they surrendered only after fighting until night, and that Rome ransomed captives from Pyrrhus and the Gauls. Torquatus answers that they had a night to break out, as Tuditanus did with six hundred men, and chose surrender instead, and he urges the senate not to ransom them.

58.1 Namque Hannibal secundum tam prosperam ad Cannas
for Hannibal after so prosperous at Cannae
pugnam uictoris magis quam bellum gerentis intentus
a-battle of-a-victor more than war of-one-waging intent
curis,
on-the-cares
58.2 cum captiuis productis segregatisque socios, sicut ante ad
when the-captives brought-out and-separated the-allies as before at
Trebiam Trasumennumque lacum, benigne adlocutus sine
the-Trebia and-Trasimene lake kindly having-addressed without
pretio dimisisset, Romanos quoque uocatos, quod nunquam
ransom had-dismissed the-Romans also called which never
alias antea, satis miti sermone adloquitur:
otherwise before enough in-gentle speech he-addresses

non interneciuum sibi esse cum Romanis bellum; de 58.3
not of-extermination for-himself to-be with the-Romans the-war about
dignitate atque imperio certare. et patres uirtuti Romanae
dignity and empire to-contend both (his)-fathers to-the-valor Roman
cessisse et se id adniti ut suae in uicem simul
to-have-yielded and himself that to-strive that his in turn at-once
felicitati et uirtuti cedatur.
to-good-fortune and valor it-be-yielded
Itaque redimendi se captiuis copiam facere; pretium 58.4
and-so of-ransoming themselves to-the-captives the-opportunity to-make the-price
fore in capita equiti quingenos quadrigatos nummos,
going-to-be per head for-a-horseman five-hundred-each quadrigatus coins
trecenos pediti, seruo centenos.
three-hundred-each for-a-foot-soldier for-a-slave a-hundred-each
Quamquam aliquantum adiciebatur equitibus ad id pretium 58.5
although somewhat was-added for-the-horsemen to that price
quo pepigerant dedentes se, laeti tamen quamcumque
at-which they-had-bargained surrendering themselves glad nevertheless whatever
condicionem paciscendi acceperunt.
condition of-bargaining they-accepted
Placuit suffragio ipsorum decem deligi qui Romam ad 58.6
it-was-resolved by-the-vote of-themselves ten to-be-chosen who to-Rome to
senatum irent, nec pignus aliud fidei quam ut iurarent
the-senate should-go nor a-pledge other of-faith than that they-should-swear
se redituros acceptum.
themselves going-to-return accepted
Missus cum his Carthalo, nobilis Carthaginiensis, qui, si 58.7
sent with these Carthalo a-noble Carthaginian who if
forte ad pacem inclinaret animus, condiciones ferret.
by-chance toward peace should-incline the-mind terms should-bring

58.8 Cum egressi castris essent, unus ex iis, minime Romani
when gone-out from-the-camp they-had one of them least of-Roman
ingenii homo, uelut aliquid oblitus, iuris iurandi soluendi
temper a-man as-if something forgotten of-the-oath sworn of-releasing
causa cum in castra redisset, ante noctem comites
for-the-sake when into the-camp he-had-returned before nightfall his-companions
adsequitur.
overtakes

58.9 Ubi Romam uenire eos nuntiatum est, Carthaloni obuiam
when to-Rome to-be-coming they announced it-was to-Carthalo to-meet-him
lictor missus, qui dictatoris uerbis nuntiaret ut ante
a-lictor sent who of-the-dictator in-the-words should-announce that before
noctem excederet finibus Romanis.
nightfall he-should-depart from-the-territory Roman

59.1 Legatis captiuorum senatus ab dictatore datus est, quorum
to-the-envoys of-the-captives the-senate by the-dictator given was of-whom
princeps: 'M. Iuni uosque, patres conscripti' inquit, 'nemo
the-leader Marcus Junius and-you fathers conscript he-said no-one
nostrum ignorat nulli unquam ciuitati uiliores fuisse
of-us is-unaware no ever to-state cheaper to-have-been
captiuos quam nostrae;
captives than to-ours

59.2 ceterum, nisi nobis plus iusto nostra placet causa, non
however unless to-us more than-just our pleases cause not
alii unquam minus neglegendi uobis quam nos in hostium
others ever less to-be-neglected by-you than we into of-the-enemy
potestatem uenerunt.
power have-come

Non enim in acie per timorem arma tradidimus 59.3
not for in the-line through fear (our)-arms we-handed-over
sed cum prope ad noctem superstantes cumulis caesorum
but when almost till night standing-on heaps of-slain
corporum proelium extraxissemus, in castra recepimus nos;
bodies the-battle we-had-prolonged into the-camp withdrew ourselves
diei reliquum ac noctem insequentem, fessi labore ac 59.4
of-the-day the-remainder and the-night following weary with-toil and
uolneribus, uallum sumus tutati;
with-wounds the-rampart we-have defended
postero die, cum circumsessi ab exercitu uictore aqua 59.5
on-the-next day when surrounded by the-army victorious from-water
arceremur nec ulla iam per confertos hostes erumpendi
we-were-kept nor any now through massed enemies of-breaking-out
spes esset nec esse nefas duceremus quinquaginta milibus
hope was nor to-be impious we-thought fifty thousands
hominum ex acie nostra trucidatis aliquem ex Cannensi
of-men from line our butchered some-one from the-Cannae
pugna Romanum militem restare,
battle a-Roman soldier to-survive
tunc demum pacti sumus pretium quo redempti 59.6
then at-last agreed we-have a-price by-which ransomed
dimitteremur, arma in quibus nihil iam auxilii erat hosti
we-might-be-released the-arms in which nothing now of-help was to-the-enemy
tradidimus.
we-handed-over
Maiores quoque acceperamus se a Gallis auro 59.7
our-ancestors also we-had-learned themselves from the-Gauls with-gold
redemisse et patres uestros, asperrimos illos ad
to-have-ransomed and fathers your most-harsh those toward

condiciones pacis, legatos tamen captiuorum redimendorum
terms of-peace envoys nevertheless of-captives ransoming
gratia Tarentum misisse.
for-the-sake to-Tarentum to-have-sent

59.8 Atqui et ad Alliam cum Gallis et ad Heracleam cum
and-yet both at the-Allia with the-Gauls and at Heraclea with
Pyrrho utraque non tam clade infamis quam pauore
Pyrrhus each not so-much by-disaster infamous as by-panic
et fuga pugna fuit: Cannenses campos acerui Romanorum
and flight the-battle was the-Cannae plains heaps of-Roman
corporum tegunt, nec supersumus pugnae nisi in quibus
bodies cover nor do-we-survive the-battle except in whose
trucidandis et ferrum et uires hostem defecerunt.
butchering both the-sword and the-strength the-enemy failed

59.9 Sunt etiam de nostris quidam qui ne in acie quidem
there-are also of ours some who not in the-line even
fuerunt sed praesidio castris relicti, cum castra traderentur,
were but as-a-guard for-the-camp left when the-camp was-handed-over
in potestatem hostium uenerunt.
into the-power of-the-enemy came

59.10 Haud equidem ullius ciuis et commilitonis fortunae aut
not indeed of-any citizen and fellow-soldier the-fortune or
condicioni inuideo, nec premendo alium me extulisse
the-condition do-I-envy nor by-pressing-down another myself to-have-raised
uelim: ne illi quidem, nisi pernicitatis pedum et cursus
would-I-wish not they even unless of-swiftness of-feet and of-running
aliquod praemium est, qui plerique inermes ex acie
some reward is who mostly unarmed from the-line
fugientes non prius quam Venusiae aut Canusii constiterunt,
fleeing not before than at-Venusia or at-Canusium they-halted

se nobis merito praetulerint gloriatique sint in
themselves to-us deservedly should-have-preferred and-boasted should-have in
se plus quam in nobis praesidii rei publicae esse.
themselves more than in us of-protection for-the-thing public to-be
Sed illis et bonis ac fortibus militibus utemini et nobis 59.11
but them both good and brave soldiers you-will-use and us
etiam promptioribus pro patria, quod beneficio uestro
also more-ready for the-fatherland because by-the-kindness your
redempti atque in patriam restituti fuerimus.
ransomed and into the-fatherland restored we-shall-have-been
Dilectum ex omni aetate et fortuna habetis; octo milia 59.12
a-levy from every age and fortune you-hold eight thousands
seruorum audio armari. Non minor numerus noster est nec
of-slaves I-hear to-be-armed not smaller the-number our is nor
maiore pretio redimi possumus quam ii emuntur; nam si
at-greater price to-be-ransomed we-can than they are-bought for if
conferam nos cum illis, iniuriam nomini Romano faciam.
I-should-compare us with them a-wrong to-the-name Roman I-should-do
Illud etiam in tali consilio animaduertendum uobis censeam, 59.13
that also in such a-counsel to-be-noted by-you I-would-think
patres conscripti, si iam duriores esse uelitis, quod nullo
fathers conscript if now harsher to-be you-should-wish which by-no
nostro merito faciatis, cui nos hosti relicturi sitis.
our desert you-would-do to-what us enemy going-to-leave you-are
Pyrrho uidelicet, qui hospitum numero captiuos habuit? 59.14
to-Pyrrhus no-doubt who of-guests in-the-number the-captives held
An barbaro ac Poeno, qui utrum auarior an crudelior
or to-a-barbarian and Carthaginian who whether more-greedy or more-cruel
sit uix existimari potest?
he-is scarcely to-be-judged can

59.15 Si uideatis catenas, squalorem, deformitatem ciuium uestrorum,
if you-should-see the-chains the-squalor the-disfigurement of-citizens your
non minus profecto uos ea species moueat quam si ex altera
not less surely you that sight would-move than if on the-other
parte cernatis stratas Cannensibus campis legiones uestras.
side you-should-see laid-low on-the-Cannae plains legions your
59.16 Intueri potestis sollicitudinem et lacrimas in uestibulo
to-look-upon you-can the-anxiety and tears in the-vestibule
curiae stantium cognatorum nostrorum exspectantiumque
of-the-senate-house standing of-kinsmen our and-awaiting
responsum uestrum. Cum ii pro nobis proque iis qui
answer your since they for us and-for those who
absunt ita suspensi ac solliciti sint, quem censetis animum
are-absent so in-suspense and anxious are what do-you-think the-spirit
ipsorum esse quorum in discrimine uita libertasque est?
of-themselves to-be of-whom in jeopardy life and-liberty is
59.17 Si, mediusfidius, ipse in nos mitis Hannibal contra
if so-help-me-god himself toward us gentle Hannibal against
naturam suam esse uelit, nihil tamen nobis uita opus esse
nature his-own to-be should-wish nothing yet for-us of-life need to-be
censeamus cum indigni ut redimeremur a uobis uisi simus.
we-should-think since unworthy that we-should-be-ransomed by you seemed we-have
59.18 Rediere Romam quondam remissi a Pyrrho sine pretio captiui;
returned to-Rome once sent-back by Pyrrhus without ransom captives
sed rediere cum legatis, primoribus ciuitatis, ad redimendos
but they-returned with envoys the-leading-men of-the-state for ransoming
sese missis. Redeam ego in patriam trecentis nummis
themselves sent shall-I-return I into (my)-fatherland at-three-hundred coins
non aestimatus ciuis? Suum quisque animum, patres conscripti.
not valued a-citizen his-own each mind fathers conscript

Scio in discrimine esse uitam corpusque meum; magis me 59.19
I-know in jeopardy to-be the-life and-body my more me
famae periculum mouet, ne a uobis damnati ac repulsi
of-reputation the-danger moves lest by you condemned and rejected
abeamus; neque enim uos pretio pepercisse homines credent.'
we-depart nor for you the-money to-have-spared men will-believe
Ubi is finem fecit, extemplo ab ea turba, quae in comitio erat, 60.1
when he an-end made at-once from that crowd which in the-comitium was
clamor flebilis est sublatus manusque ad curiam tendebant
a-cry tearful was raised and-hands toward the-senate-house they-stretched
orantes ut sibi liberos, fratres, cognatos redderent.
begging that to-them their-children brothers kinsmen they-should-restore
Feminas quoque metus ac necessitas in foro turbae 60.2
the-women also fear and necessity in the-forum into-the-crowd
uirorum immiscuerat. Senatus summotis arbitris consuli
of-men had-mingled the-senate removed the-witnesses to-be-consulted
coeptus.
began
Ibi cum sententiis uariaretur et alii redimendos de publico, 60.3
there when in-opinions it-was-varied and some to-be-ransomed from public-funds
alii nullam publice impensam faciendam nec prohibendos
others no publicly expense to-be-made nor to-be-prevented
ex priuato redimi;
from private-means to-be-ransomed
si quibus argentum in praesentia deesset, dandam ex aerario 60.4
if to-any silver at present was-lacking to-be-given from the-treasury
pecuniam mutuam praedibusque ac praediis cauendum
money on-loan and-by-sureties and estates to-be-secured
populo censerent,
for-the-people proposed

60.5 tum T. Manlius Torquatus, priscae ac nimis durae, ut
then Titus Manlius Torquatus of-ancient and too harsh as
plerisque uidebatur, seueritatis, interrogatus sententiam ita
to-most it-seemed severity asked his-opinion thus
locutus fertur:
to-have-spoken is-reported

60.6 'Si tantummodo postulassent legati pro iis qui in hostium
if only had-demanded the-envoys for those who in of-the-enemy
potestate sunt ut redimerentur, sine ullius insectatione
the-power are that they-be-ransomed without anyone's attack
eorum breui sententiam peregissem;
on-them briefly my-opinion I-would-have-completed

60.7 quid enim aliud quam admonendi essetis ut morem
what for else than to-be-reminded would-you-be that the-custom
traditum a patribus necessario ad rem militarem exemplo
handed-down by the-fathers necessary for the-thing military by-an-example
seruaretis? Nunc autem, cum prope gloriati sint quod
you-should-preserve now moreover since almost boasted they-have that
se hostibus dediderint, praeferrique non captis
themselves to-the-enemy they-surrendered and-to-be-preferred not to-those-captured
modo in acie ab hostibus sed etiam iis qui Venusiam
only in the-line by the-enemy but also to-those who to-Venusia
Canusiumque peruenerunt atque ipsi C. Terentio consuli
and-to-Canusium arrived and to-the-very Gaius Terentius the-consul
aequum censuerint, nihil uos eorum, patres conscripti,
fair have-thought not-at-all you of-those-things fathers conscript
quae illic acta sunt ignorare patiar.
which there done were to-be-ignorant I-shall-allow

60.8 Atque utinam haec, quae apud uos acturus sum, Canusii
and would-that these-things which before you going-to-do I-am at-Canusium
apud ipsum exercitum agerem, optimum testem ignauiae
before the-very army I-were-doing the-best witness of-cowardice

cuiusque et uirtutis, aut unus hic saltem adesset P.
of-each and of-valor or one here at-least were-present Publius
Sempronius, quem si isti ducem secuti essent, milites hodie
Sempronius whom if they as-leader followed had soldiers today
in castris Romanis non captiui in hostium potestate essent.
in the-camp Roman not captives in of-the-enemy power would-be
Sed cum fessis pugnando hostibus, tum uictoria laetis et ipsis 60.9
but when weary from-fighting the-enemy then in-victory glad and themselves
plerisque regressis in castra sua, noctem ad erumpendum
with-most having-returned into camp their-own the-night for breaking-out
liberam habuissent et septem milia armatorum hominum
free they-had-had and seven thousands of-armed men
erumpere etiam per confertos hostes possent, neque per se
to-break-out even through massed enemies could neither by themselves
ipsi id facere conati sunt neque alium sequi uoluerunt.
themselves it to-do tried have nor another to-follow wished
Nocte prope tota P. Sempronius Tuditanus non destitit 60.10
by-night almost whole Publius Sempronius Tuditanus not ceased
monere, adhortari eos, dum paucitas hostium circa castra,
to-warn to-exhort them while the-fewness of-the-enemy around the-camp
dum quies ac silentium esset, dum nox inceptum
while the-quiet and silence was while the-night the-undertaking
tegere posset, se ducem sequerentur: ante lucem peruenire
to-cover could him as-leader they-should-follow before light to-arrive
in tuta loca, in sociorum urbes posse.
into safe places into of-the-allies cities to-be-able
Si ut auorum memoria P. Decius tribunus 60.11
if as of-(our)-grandfathers in-the-memory Publius Decius tribune
militum in Samnio, si ut nobis adulescentibus priore
of-the-soldiers in Samnium if as for-us as-young-men in-the-former
Punico bello Calpurnius Flamma trecentis uoluntariis, cum
Punic war Calpurnius Flamma to-three-hundred volunteers when

ad tumulum eos capiendum situm inter medios duceret
to a-billock them for-seizing situated between the-middle he-was-leading
hostes, dixit "moriamur, milites, et morte nostra eripiamus
the-enemy said let-us-die soldiers and by-death our let-us-rescue
ex obsidione circumuentas legiones",
from the-siege the-surrounded legions
60.12 si hoc P. Sempronius diceret, nec uiros quidem nec
if this Publius Sempronius were-saying nor men even nor
Romanos uos duceret, si nemo tantae uirtutis exstitisset
Romans you would-be-consider if no-one of-such-great valor had-stood-forth
comes.
as-companion
60.13 Viam non ad gloriam magis quam ad salutem ferentem
a-way not to glory more than to safety leading
demonstrat; reduces in patriam ad parentes, ad coniuges
he-points-out returned into the-fatherland to parents to wives
ac liberos facit.
and children he-makes-you
60.14 Ut seruemini, deest uobis animus: quid, si moriendum
that you-may-be-saved is-lacking to-you the-spirit what if to-be-died
pro patria esset, faceretis? Quinquaginta milia ciuium
for the-fatherland it-were would-you-do fifty thousands of-citizens
sociorumque circa uos eo ipso die caesa iacent. Si tot
and-of-allies around you on-that very day slain lie if so-many
exempla uirtutis non mouent, nihil unquam mouebit; si
examples of-valor not move nothing ever will-move if
tanta clades uilem uitam non fecit, nulla faciet.
so-great a-disaster cheap life not has-made none will-make

Liberi atque incolumes desiderate patriam; immo desiderate, 60.15
free and unharmed long-for the-fatherland rather long-for
dum patria est, dum ciues eius estis! sero nunc
while the-fatherland is while citizens of-it you-are too-late now
desideratis, deminuti capite, serui Carthaginiensium facti.
you-long-for diminished in-status slaves of-the-Carthaginians made
Pretio redituri estis eo unde ignauia ac nequitia 60.16
for-a-price going-to-return you-are thither whence by-cowardice and worthlessness
abistis? P. Sempronium ciuem uestrum non audistis
you-went-away Publius Sempronius citizen your not you-heard
arma capere ac sequi se iubentem; Hannibalem post paulo
arms to-take and to-follow him ordering Hannibal after a-little
audistis castra prodi et arma tradi iubentem.
you-heard the-camp to-be-betrayed and the-arms to-be-handed-over ordering
Quamquam quid ego ignauiam istorum accuso, cum scelus 60.17
although why I the-cowardice of-these accuse when a-crime
possim accusare? Non modo enim sequi recusarunt bene
I-could accuse not only for to-follow they-refused well
monentem sed obsistere ac retinere conati sunt, ni
(him)-advising but to-oppose and to-hold-back tried have had-not
strictis gladiis uiri fortissimi inertes summouissent. Prius,
with-drawn swords the-men bravest the-inert pushed-aside sooner
inquam, P. Sempronio per ciuium agmen quam per
I-say by-Publius Sempronius through of-citizens a-column than through
hostium fuit erumpendum.
of-enemies it-was to-be-broken-out
Hos ciues patria desideret, quorum si ceteri similes 60.18
these citizens the-fatherland should-long-for whom if the-rest like
fuissent, neminem hodie ex iis qui ad Cannas pugnauerunt
had-been no-one today of those who at Cannae fought
ciuem haberet?
as-citizen it-would-have

60.19 Ex milibus septem armatorum sescenti exstiterunt qui
from thousands seven of-armed-men six-hundred stood-forth who
erumpere auderent, qui in patriam liberi atque armati
to-break-out dared who into the-fatherland free and armed
redirent, neque his sescentis hostes obstitere;
returned nor these six-hundred the-enemy opposed
60.20 quam tutum iter duarum prope legionum agmini
how safe a-route of-two almost legions for-the-column
futurum censetis fuisse? Haberetis hodie uiginti milia
going-to-be do-you-think to-have-been you-would-have today twenty thousands
armatorum Canusii fortia, fidelia, patres conscripti. Nunc
of-armed-men at-Canusium brave loyal fathers conscript now
autem quemadmodum hi boni fidelesque — nam "fortes"
moreover how these good and-loyal for brave
ne ipsi quidem dixerint — ciues esse possunt?
not they-themselves even would-say citizens to-be they-can
60.21 Nisi quis credere potest aut adfuisse erumpentibus qui,
unless anyone to-believe can either to-have-helped those-breaking-out who
ne erumperent, obsistere conati sunt, aut non inuidere
that-not they-should-break-out to-oppose tried have or not to-envy
eos cum incolumitati, tum gloriae illorum per uirtutem
them both for-the-safety and for-the-glory of-them through valor
partae, cum sibi timorem ignauiamque seruitutis
won when for-themselves fear and-cowardice of-slavery
ignominiosae causam esse sciant.
ignominious the-cause to-be they-know
60.22 Maluerunt in tentoriis latentes simul lucem atque hostem
they-preferred in the-tents lurking at-once the-light and the-enemy
exspectare, cum silentio noctis erumpendi occasio
to-await when in-the-silence of-the-night of-breaking-out the-opportunity

esset. At ad erumpendum e castris defuit animus, ad
was but for breaking-out from the-camp was-lacking spirit for
tutanda fortiter castra animum habuerunt;
defending bravely the-camp spirit they-had
dies noctesque aliquot obsessi uallum armis, se ipsi 60.23
days and-nights several besieged the-rampart with-arms themselves themselves
tutati uallo sunt; tandem ultima ausi passique,
defended by-the-rampart they-have at-last the-extremes having-dared and-suffered
cum omnia subsidia uitae deessent adfectisque fame
when all supports of-life were-lacking and-afflicted by-hunger
uiribus arma iam sustinere nequirent, necessitatibus magis
their-strength arms now to-bear they-could-not by-necessities more
humanis quam armis uicti sunt.
human than by-arms conquered they-were
Orto sole ab hostibus ad uallum accessum; ante secundam 60.24
risen the-sun by the-enemy to the-rampart it-was-approached before the-second
horam, nullam fortunam certaminis experti, tradiderunt arma
hour no fortune of-contest having-tried they-handed-over their-arms
ac se ipsos. Haec uobis istorum per biduum militia fuit.
and themselves themselves this for-you of-these-men for two-days the-soldiering was
Cum in acie stare ac pugnare decuerat, in castra 60.25
when in the-line to-stand and to-fight it-had-befitted into the-camp
refugerunt; cum pro uallo pugnandum erat, castra
they-fled-back when before the-rampart to-be-fought it-was the-camp
tradiderunt, neque in acie neque in castris utiles.
they-handed-over neither in the-line nor in the-camp useful
Et uos redimam? Cum erumpere e castris oportet, cunctamini 60.26
and you shall-I-ransom when to-break-out from the-camp it-is-proper you-delay
ac manetis; cum manere et castra tutari armis necesse
and remain when to-remain and the-camp to-defend with-arms necessary
est, et castra et arma et uos ipsos traditis hosti.
it-is both the-camp and the-arms and yourselves yourselves you-hand-over to-the-enemy

60.27 Ego non magis istos redimendos, patres conscripti, censeo
I not more these to-be-ransomed fathers conscript think
quam illos dedendos Hannibali qui per medios hostes
than those to-be-surrendered to-Hannibal who through the-middle-of the-enemy
e castris eruperunt ac per summam uirtutem se
from the-camp broke-out and through the-utmost valor themselves
patriae restituerunt.'
to-the-fatherland restored

XLVII · THE ALLIES WAVER

The senate refuses the ransom, and the envoy who broke his oath is sent back to Hannibal under guard; Livy gives another version of the story. Many allies now revolt: the Atellani, Calatini, Hirpini, part of Apulia, the Samnites, Bruttii, Lucanians, most of the Greek coast, and the Gauls. Yet no one at Rome speaks of peace, and the people go out to thank Varro for not despairing of the state.

61.1 Postquam Manlius dixit, quamquam patrum quoque
after Manlius spoke although of-the-fathers also
plerosque captiui cognatione attingebant, praeter exemplum
most the-captives by-kinship touched besides the-example
ciuitatis minime in captiuos iam inde antiquitus
of-the-state least toward captives now from-then of-old
indulgentis,
indulgent
61.2 pecuniae quoque summa homines mouit, quia nec
of-money also the-sum men moved because neither
aerarium exhauriri, magna iam summa erogata in seruos
the-treasury to-be-drained a-great already sum paid-out for slaves
ad militiam emendos armandosque, nec Hannibalem,
for soldiering buying and-arming nor Hannibal

maxime huiusce rei, ut fama erat, egentem, locupletari
most of-this thing as the-report was needing to-be-enriched
uolebant.
they-wished

Cum triste responsum non redimi captiuos 61.3
when the-sad answer not to-be-ransomed the-captives
redditum esset nouusque super ueterem luctus
given had-been and-new upon the-old grief
tot iactura ciuium adiectus esset, cum magnis
so-many by-the-loss of-citizens added had-been with great
fletibus questibus legatos ad portam prosecuti
weepings laments the-envoys to the-gate escorted
sunt.
they-have

Unus ex iis domum abiit, quod fallaci reditu in 61.4
one of them home went-off because by-a-deceitful return into
castra iure iurando se exsoluisset. Quod ubi
the-camp from-the-oath sworn himself he-had-released which when
innotuit relatumque ad senatum est, omnes censuerunt
became-known and-referred to the-senate it-was all decided
comprehendendum et custodibus publice datis deducendum
to-be-arrested and with-guards publicly given to-be-taken
ad Hannibalem esse.
to Hannibal to-be

Est et alia de captiuis fama: decem primos 61.5
there-is also another about the-captives account ten first
uenisse; de eis cum dubitatum in senatu
to-have-come about them when doubted in the-senate
esset admitterentur in urbem necne, ita
it-was whether-they-should-be-admitted into the-city or-not so

admissos esse ne tamen iis senatus
admitted to-have-been that-not however to-them the-senate
daretur;
should-be-given

61.6 morantibus deinde longius omnium spe alios tres
delaying then longer of-all than-the-hope others three
insuper legatos uenisse, L. Scribonium et C. Calpurnium
besides envoys to-have-come Lucius Scribonius and Gaius Calpurnius
et L. Manlium;
and Lucius Manlius

61.7 tum demum ab cognato Scriboni tribuno plebis de
then at-last by a-kinsman of-Scribonius a-tribune of-the-plebs about
redimendis captiuis relatum esse nec censuisse
ransoming the-captives referred to-have-been nor to-have-decided
redimendos senatum; et nouos legatos tres ad Hannibalem
to-be-ransomed the-senate and the-new envoys three to Hannibal
reuertisse,
to-have-returned

61.8 decem ueteres remansisse, quod per causam recognoscendi
the-ten old to-have-remained because by the-pretext of-checking
nomina captiuorum ad Hannibalem ex itinere
the-names of-the-captives to Hannibal from the-road
regressi religione sese exsoluissent; de
having-returned from-religious-obligation themselves they-had-released about
iis dedendis magna contentione actum in senatu
them being-surrendered with-great struggle debated in the-senate
esse uictosque paucis sententiis qui dedendos
to-have-been and-defeated by-a-few votes those-who to-be-surrendered
censuerint;
had-proposed

ceterum proximis censoribus adeo omnibus notis ignominiisque 61.9
however by-the-next censors so with-all marks and-disgraces
confectos esse ut quidam eorum mortem sibi
overwhelmed to-have-been that some of-them death on-themselves
ipsi extemplo consciuerint, ceteri non foro solum
themselves at-once inflicted the-rest not from-the-forum only
omni deinde uita sed prope luce ac publico
all then their-life but almost from-the-light and the-public
caruerint.
were-kept
Mirari magis adeo discrepare inter auctores quam 61.10
to-wonder more so-much to-disagree among the-authorities than
quid ueri sit discernere queas. Quanto autem
what of-truth there-is to-discern you-could by-how-much moreover
maior ea clades superioribus cladibus fuerit uel ea
greater that disaster than-the-former disasters was even that
res indicio est quod fides sociorum, quae ad
thing as-evidence is that the-loyalty of-the-allies which to
eam diem firma steterat, tum labare coepit nulla
that day firm had-stood then to-waver began by-no
profecto alia de re quam quod desperauerant de
surely other for reason than that they-had-despaired about
imperio.
the-empire
Defecere autem ad Poenos hi populi: Atellani, Calatini, 61.11
revolted moreover to the-Carthaginians these peoples the-Atellani the-Calatini
Hirpini,
the-Hirpini
Apulorum pars, Samnites praeter Pentros, Bruttii omnes, 61.12
of-the-Apulians part the-Samnites except the-Pentri the-Bruttii all
Lucani, praeter hos Uzentini, et Graecorum omnis ferme
the-Lucanians besides these the-Uzentini and of-the-Greeks all almost

ora, Tarentini, Metapontini, Crotonienses Locrique, et
the-coast the-Tarentines the-Metapontines the-Crotoniates and-the-Locrians and
Cisalpini omnes Galli.
the-Cisalpine all Gauls

61.13 Nec tamen eae clades defectionesque sociorum
nor yet these disasters and-revolts of-the-allies
mouerunt ut pacis usquam mentio apud Romanos
moved that of-peace anywhere mention among the-Romans
fieret neque ante consulis Romam aduentum nec
was-made neither before of-the-consul to-Rome the-arrival nor
postquam is rediit renouauitque memoriam acceptae
after he returned and-renewed the-memory of-the-suffered
cladis;
disaster

61.14 quo in tempore ipso adeo magno animo ciuitas fuit ut
which at time very so great of-spirit the-state was that
consuli ex tanta clade, cuius ipse causa maxima
to-the-consul from so-great a-disaster of-which he-himself the-cause greatest
fuisset, redeunti et obuiam itum frequenter ab omnibus
had-been returning both to-meet-him it-was-gone in-crowds by all
ordinibus sit et gratiae actae quod de re publica non
orders was and thanks given that of the-thing public not
desperasset;
he-had-despaired

61.15 qui si Carthaginiensium ductor fuisset, nihil recusandum
who if of-the-Carthaginians the-leader he-had-been nothing to-be-refused
supplicii foret.
of-punishment would-have-been
