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POLYBIUS  
VI

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# POLYBIUS

## THE HISTORIES

BOOKS 28–39

TRANSLATED BY

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REVISED BY

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UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

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## FOREWORD

Included in this final volume of the revised Loeb Polybius is an edition by S. Douglas Olson of fragments that have been attributed by their sources or by modern scholars to Polybius but that cannot be confidently assigned to specific books of the *Histories*. The Buettner-Wobst text has been revised and the fragments renumbered in light of subsequent scholarship, and basic annotation is supplied, but otherwise the fragments are offered as is.

J. J. H.

November 2011



THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

## FRAGMENTA LIBRI XXVIII

### RES ITALIAE

1. Ὅτι τοῦ πολέμου <τοῦ> περὶ Κοίλης Συρίας ἤδη καταρχὴν λαβόντος Ἀντιόχῳ καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ τοῖς βασιλεύσιν, ἦκον πρέσβεις εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην παρὰ μὲν Ἀντιόχου Μελέαγρος καὶ Σωσιφάνης καὶ Ἡρακλείδης,  
 2 παρὰ δὲ Πτολεμαίου Τιμόθεος καὶ Δάμων. συνέβαινε δὲ κρατεῖν τὸν Ἀντίοχον τῶν κατὰ Κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ  
 3 Φοινίκην πραγμάτων. ἔξ οὗ γὰρ Ἀντίοχος ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ νῦν λεγομένου βασιλέως ἐνίκησε τῇ περὶ τὸ Πάνιον μάχῃ τοὺς Πτολεμαίου στρατηγούς, ἀπ' ἐκείνων τῶν χρόνων ἐπέειθοντο πάντες οἱ προειρημένοι τόποι  
 4 τοῖς ἐν Συρίᾳ βασιλεύσιν. διόπερ ὁ μὲν Ἀντίοχος ἡγούμενος τὴν κατὰ πόλεμον ἰσχυροτάτην καὶ καλλίστην εἶναι κτήσιν, ὡς ὑπὲρ ἰδίων ἐποιεῖτο τὴν σπουδὴν· ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ἀδίκως ὑπολαμβάνων τὸν πρότερον Ἀντίοχον συνεπιθέμενον τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς ὀρφανῆα παρηγήσθαι τὰς κατὰ Κοίλην Συρίαν πόλεις αὐτῶν, οὐχ οἷός τ' ἦν ἐκείνῳ παραχωρεῖν τῶν τόπων τούτων.  
 6 διόπερ οἱ περὶ τὸν Μελέαγρον ἦκον, ἐντολὰς ἔχοντες μαρτύρεσθαι τὴν σύγκλητον διότι Πτολεμαῖος αὐτῷ

## FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXVIII

### I. AFFAIRS OF ITALY

#### *Embassies from Antiochus and Ptolemy*

1. After the war concerning Coele-Syria between Antiochus<sup>1</sup> and Ptolemy had already begun, envoys arrived at Rome, Meleager,<sup>2</sup> Sosiphanes, and Heracleides<sup>3</sup> on the part of Antiochus, and Timotheus and Damon on that of Ptolemy. At this time Antiochus was in possession of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia. For ever since the father of this King Antiochus had defeated Ptolemy's generals in the battle at the Panium,<sup>4</sup> all the above districts yielded obedience to the kings of Syria. Therefore Antiochus, regarding acquisition in war as giving the strongest and most honorable possession, defended them as being his own, while Ptolemy, conceiving that the former Antiochus had unjustly profited by the orphanhood of his father to deprive them of the cities of Coele-Syria, was not disposed to abandon these places to Antiochus. Meleager and his colleagues came therefore with instructions to protest to

170-169  
B.C.

<sup>1</sup> King Antiochus IV Epiphanes (26.1a.1).

<sup>2</sup> 27.19.1 P. Herrmann, *Chiron* 17 (1987), 176-178

<sup>3</sup> P. Herrmann (n. 2, above), 171-173.

<sup>4</sup> In 201, see 16.18.2.

παρὰ πάντα τὰ δίκαια τὰς χεῖρας ἐπιβάλλει πρότε-  
 7 ρος, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Τιμόθεον περὶ τε τῆς <τῶν> φιλαν-  
 θρώπων ἀνανεώσεως καὶ τοῦ διαλύειν τὸν πρὸς Περ-  
 8 σέα πόλεμον, μάλιστα δὲ παρατηρεῖν τὰς τῶν περὶ  
 τὸν Μελέαγρον ἐντεύξεις. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς διαλύσεως  
 οὐκ ἐθάρρησαν εἰπεῖν, Μάρκον συμβουλευσάντος αὐ-  
 τοῖς Αἰμιλίον· περὶ δὲ τῶν φιλανθρώπων ἀνανεωσά-  
 9 μενοι καὶ λαβόντες ἀποκρίσεις ἀκολουθοῦσιν τοῖς ἀξι-  
 ομένοις ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. τοῖς δὲ  
 περὶ τὸν Μελέαγρον ἢ σύγκλητος ἀπεκρίθη διότι  
 Κοῖντῳ Μαρκίῳ δώσει τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν γράψαι περὶ  
 τούτων πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον, ὡς αὐτῷ δοκεῖ συμφέρειν ἐκ  
 τῆς ἰδίας πίστεως. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐχειρίσθη  
 κατὰ τὸ παρόν.

2. Ὅτι κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους ἦλθον καὶ παρὰ  
 Ῥοδίων πρέσβεις, ἥδη τῆς θερείας ληγουσῆς, Ἀγη-  
 2 σίλοχος καὶ Νικαγόρας καὶ Νικάνδρος, τὴν τε φιλίαν  
 ἀνανεωσόμενοι καὶ σίτου θέλοντες ἐξαγωγὴν λαβεῖν,  
 ἅμα δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν διαβολῶν ἀπολογησόμενοι τῶν  
 3 λεγομένων κατὰ τῆς πόλεως. ἐκφανέστατα γὰρ ἐδό-  
 κουν στασιάζειν [ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ] οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἀγα-  
 θάγητον καὶ Φιλόφρονα καὶ Ῥοδοφῶντα καὶ Θεαίδη-  
 τον, ἀπερειδόμενοι πάσας τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις,  
 οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Δεῖνωνα καὶ Πολυάρατον ἐπὶ Περσέα  
 4 καὶ Μακεδόνας. ἐξ ὧν πλεονάκις ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνων πρά-

<sup>5</sup> Rome's war against Perseus. <sup>6</sup> Marcus Aemilius Lepidus (16.34.1), at that time *princeps senatus*.

the senate that Ptolemy in defiance of all right was tak-  
 ing up arms first; while Timotheus and Damon were in-  
 structed to renew kindly relations with Rome, and to make  
 an end to the war with Perseus, but chiefly to watch the  
 audiences given to Meleager. About bringing the war<sup>5</sup> to  
 an end they did not venture to speak, acting on the advice  
 of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus,<sup>6</sup> but, after renewing rela-  
 tions of friendship and receiving a favorable answer to  
 their requests, they returned to Alexandria. The senate  
 replied to Meleager and his colleague that they would  
 charge Quintus Marcus<sup>7</sup> to write about the matter to  
 Ptolemy as he thought best on his own authority. This was  
 the way the matter was arranged for the present.

#### *Embassy from Rhodes*

2. At this period toward the end of summer<sup>8</sup> Hagesi-  
 lochus,<sup>9</sup> Nicagoras, and Nicander arrived as envoys from  
 Rhodes to renew friendly relations and obtain permission  
 to import corn and also to defend their town from the false  
 accusations brought against it. For there was at this time  
 acute civil discord in Rhodes, Agathagetus, Philophron,  
 Rhodophon, and Theaedetus resting all their hopes on  
 Rome while Deinon and Polyaratus relied on Perseus and  
 Macedonia. The consequence was that there were fre-

169 B.C.

<sup>7</sup> Quintus Marcus Philippus, cos. 169, engaged in the war against Perseus.

<sup>8</sup> Of 169.

<sup>9</sup> See n. on 27.3.3. Whether Nicagoras is the father of the Stoic philosopher Panaetius (so M. Pohlenz, *RE Panaitios* 420), is uncertain, given the frequency of the name Nicagoras on Rhodes.

- γμασιν ἀντιρρήσεως γινομένης, καὶ διελκομένων τῶν  
 διαβουλίων, ἐλάμβανον ἀφορμὰς οἱ βουλόμενοι λογο-  
 5 ποιεῖν κατὰ πόλεως. οὐ μὴν ἢ γε σύγκλητος τότε  
 προσεποιήθη τούτων οὐδέν, καίπερ σαφῶς εἰδυῖα τὰ  
 γεγόμενα παρ' αὐτοῖς· σίτου <δ' ἔδωκε> δέκα μυριά-  
 6 δας μεδίμνων ἐξάγειν ἐκ Σικελίας. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἢ  
 σύγκλητος ἐχρημάτισεν ἰδίᾳ τοῖς Ῥοδίων πρεσβευ-  
 7 ταῖς, ἀκολουθῶς δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀπήντησε  
 τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος παραγεγονόσι, τηροῦσιν τὴν  
 8 αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐν τού-  
 τοις ἦν.

## II. BELLUM PERSICUM

3. Ὅτι Ἀῦλος κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἀντιστράτηγος  
 ὢν καὶ παραχειμάζων ἐν Θετταλίᾳ μετὰ τῶν δυνά-  
 μεων ἐξέπεμψε πρεσβευτὰς εἰς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα  
 2 τόπους Γάιον Ποπίλιον καὶ Γνάιον Ὀκτάουιον· οἱ  
 πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Θήβας ἐλθόντες ἐπήνεσαν καὶ παρε-  
 κάλεσαν τοὺς Θεβαίους διαφυλάττειν τὴν πρὸς Ῥω-  
 3 μαίους εὐνοίαν. ἐξῆς δὲ τούτοις ἐπιπορευόμενοι τὰς ἐν  
 Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεις ἐπιδεικνύειν ἐπειρῶντο τοῖς ἀν-  
 θρώποις τὴν τῆς συγκλήτου πραότητα καὶ φιλανθρω-

<sup>10</sup> Sent to calm widespread hostility caused by Roman actions.

<sup>11</sup> C. Popillius Laenas, cos. 172, a hardliner, who in 168 presented Antiochus IV in Egypt with the famous ultimatum that

quent debates about their affairs; and, as the discussions were so prolonged, there was plenty of material for those who wished to vamp up accusations against the town. The senate, however, pretended now to be ignorant of all this, although well aware of the condition of affairs in Rhodes; but they gave them leave to export a hundred thousand medimni of corn from Sicily. The senate, after thus dealing separately with the Rhodian embassy, replied in similar terms to all the envoys from the rest of Greece, who confined themselves to the same subject. Such was the state of affairs in Italy.

## II. THE WAR WITH PERSEUS

*Action of the Romans in Achaëa,  
 Aetolia, and Acarnania*

(Cf. Livy 43.17)

3. Aulus Hostilius Mancinus the proconsul, who was at the time wintering in Thessaly, sent as legates<sup>10</sup> to various parts of Greece Gaius Popilius<sup>11</sup> and Gnaeus Octavius.<sup>12</sup> They first came to Thebes, where they thanked the Thebans and urged them to maintain their loyalty to Rome. After this, visiting the Peloponnesian cities, they attempted to convince the inhabitants of the leniency and kindness

forced the king and his victorious army to evacuate the country and Cyprus. RE Popillius 57-58 (H. Volkmann).

<sup>12</sup> Cn. Octavius, cos. 165. RE Octavius 1810-1814 (F. Münzer). During this mission, he was honored by a decree of Argos, ISE 42.

4 *πίαν, προφερόμενοι τὰ δόγματα τὰ μικρῶ πρότερον  
 ῥηθέντα, ἅμα δὲ διὰ τῶν λόγων παρενέφαινον ὡς  
 εἰδότες τοὺς ἐν ἐκάσταις τῶν πόλεων παρὰ τὸ δέον  
 ἀναχωροῦντας, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τοὺς προπίπτοντας.  
 5, 6 καὶ δῆλοι πᾶσιν ἦσαν δυσαρεστούμενοι τοῖς ἀναχω-  
 ροῦσιν οὐχ ἦττον ἢ τοῖς ἐκφανῶς ἀντιπράττουσιν. ἐξ  
 ὧν τοὺς πολλοὺς εἰς ἐπίστασιν καὶ διαπόρησιν ἦγον  
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ τί ποτ' ἂν ἦ λέγοντες ἢ πράττοντες εὐστο-  
 7 χοῖεν τῶν παρεστώτων καιρῶν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Γάιον,  
 συναχθείσης τῆς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐκκλησίας, ἐλέγοντο  
 μὲν βεβουλεύσθαι κατηγορήσειν τῶν περὶ τὸν Λυ-  
 8 κόρταν καὶ τὸν Ἀρχωνα καὶ Πολύβιον, καὶ παραδεί-  
 ξειν ἄλλοτρίους ὑπάρχοντας τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων αἰ-  
 ρέσεως καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγοντας κατὰ τὸ παρόν, οὐ  
 φύσει τοιούτους ὄντας, ἀλλὰ παρατηροῦντας τὰ συμ-  
 9 βαίνοντα καὶ τοῖς καιροῖς ἐφεδρεύοντας. οὐ μὴν  
 ἐθάρρησαν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν εὐλογον  
 10 ἀφορμὴν ἔχειν κατὰ τῶν προειρημένων ἀνδρῶν. διὸ  
 συναχθείσης αὐτοῖς τῆς βουλῆς εἰς Αἴγιον, ἀσπαστι-  
 κήν τε καὶ παρακλητικὴν ποιησάμενοι τὴν πρὸς τοὺς  
 Ἀχαιοὺς ἐντευξίω ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν.*

4. Καὶ πάλιν ἐκεῖ συναχθείσης αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐκκλη-  
 σίας εἰς Θέρμον, παρελθόντες εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς παρα-  
 2 κλητικούς καὶ φιλανθρώπους διετίθεντο λόγους. τὸ δὲ  
 συνέχον αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὁμήρους ἔφασαν δεῖν  
 3 δοθῆναι σφίσι παρὰ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν. τούτων δὲ κατα-  
 βάντων, Πρόανδρος ἐπαναστὰς ἐβούλετό τινας εὐχρη-

of the senate, quoting the recent decrees;<sup>13</sup> and they also indicated in their speeches that they knew who were those in each city who were hanging back more than they ought, as well as who were those who were rushing forward to help. It was evident to all that they were just as much displeased with the former as with their open opponents; and in consequence they created a general state of anxiety and doubt as to how one ought to act or to speak so as to make oneself agreeable under present circumstances. It was said that, upon the Achaean Assembly meeting, Popilius and his colleague had decided to accuse Lycortas, Archon, and Polybius before it and prove that they were the opponents of the Roman party and were keeping quiet at present, not because they were naturally disposed to do so, but because they were watching the progress of events and waiting for a favorable opportunity to act. They did not, however, venture to do so, as they had no plausible pretext for attacking the above statesmen. So that when the Achaean senate met them at Aegium they addressed a few words of cordial greeting to them and took ship for Aetolia.

4. Here again, upon the Aetolian Assembly meeting at Thermum<sup>14</sup> they appeared before it and spoke in an encouraging and kind manner; but, this being the main reason for calling together the assembly, they requested that the Aetolians should give them hostages. When they descended from the tribune, Proandrus<sup>15</sup> rose and expressed

<sup>13</sup> Of the Senate prohibiting Roman officials to exact supplies from Greek cities without authorization of the Senate. This is fully paraphrased in 13.11 and in 16.2. <sup>14</sup> See 5.6.6 n.

<sup>15</sup> Aetolian from Locris, in 178 member of the Amphictionic Council (CID IV 108.16), Aetolian strategus in 171.

4 στίας πρὸς αὐτοῦ γεγενημένας εἰς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους  
 προφέρεσθαι καὶ κατηγορεῖν τῶν διαβαλλόντων αὐ-  
 5 τόν. ἐφ' ὃν Γάιος πάλιν ἐπαναστάς, καὶ καλῶς εἰδὼς  
 ἄλλότριον αὐτὸν ὄντα Ῥωμαίων, ὅμως ἐπήνεσε καὶ  
 6 πᾶσι τοῖς εἰρημένους ἀνθωμολογήσατο. μετὰ δὲ τοῦ-  
 του προελθὼν Λυκίσκος ἐπ' ὀνόματος μὲν οὐδενὸς  
 7 ἐποίησατο κατηγορίαν, καθ' ὑπόνοιαν δὲ πολλῶν, ἔφη  
 γὰρ περὶ μὲν τῶν κορυφαίων καλῶς βεβουλεύσθαι  
 Ῥωμαίους, ἀπαγαγόντας αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, λέ-  
 8 γων τοὺς περὶ τὸν Εὐπόλεμον καὶ Νίκανδρον, τοὺς δὲ  
 συναγωνιστάς καὶ τοὺς παραστάτας τοὺς ἐκείνων ἔτι  
 μένειν κατὰ τὴν Αἰτωλίαν, οὓς δὲν ἅπαντας τῆς αὐ-  
 9 τῆς τυχεῖν ἐκείνοις ἐπιστροφῆς, ἂν μὴ προῶνται τὰ  
 τέκνα Ῥωμαίοις εἰς ὀμηρείαν. μάλιστα δὲ κατ' Ἄρ-  
 10 χεδάμον καὶ Πανταλέοντος ἐποίει τὰς ἐμφάσεις. τού-  
 του δὲ παραχωρήσαντος, Πανταλέον ἀναστὰς τὸν  
 μὲν Λυκίσκον διὰ βραχέων ἐλοιδόρησε, φήσας αὐτὸν  
 ἀναισχύντως καὶ ἀνελευθέρως κολακεύειν τοὺς ὑπερ-  
 11 ἔχοντας, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Θόαντα μετέβη, τοῦτον ὑπολαμ-  
 βάνων εἶναι τὸν ἀξιοπίστως ἐνιέντα τὰς κατ' αὐτῶν  
 12 διαβολὰς τῷ δοκεῖν μηδεμίαν ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς πρὸς  
 τοῦτον διαφορὰν. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπομνήσας τῶν κατ'  
 Ἄντιοχον καιρῶν, τὰ δ' ὀνειδίσας εἰς ἀχαριστίαν  
 αὐτῷ, διότι δοθεὶς ἔκδοτος Ῥωμαίοις, πρεσβεύσαντος  
 13 αὐτοῦ καὶ Νικάνδρου, τύχοι τῆς σωτηρίας ἀνεπίστως,  
 ταχέως ἔξεκαλέσατο τοὺς ὄχλους εἰς τὸ μὴ μόνον  
 θορυβεῖν τὸν Θόανθ', ὅτε βουλευθῆί τι λέγειν, <ἀλλὰ>  
 καὶ βάλλειν ὀμοθυμαδόν. γενομένων δὲ τούτων βρα-

a wish to refer to certain good offices that he had done the  
 Romans and to denounce those who traduced him. Popil-  
 ius now rose again, and, though he well knew that this man  
 was ill-disposed to the Romans, still thanked him and con-  
 curred in all he had said. The next speaker to come for-  
 ward was Lyciscus,<sup>16</sup> who accused no one by name but  
 many by implication. For he said that the Romans had  
 acted well in deporting the ringleaders (meaning Eupol-  
 emus<sup>17</sup> and Nicander<sup>18</sup>) to Rome; but that their supporters  
 and abettors still remained in Aetolia, and should all meet  
 with the same treatment, unless they gave up their chil-  
 dren to the Romans as hostages. He laid particular stress  
 on the cases of Archedamus<sup>19</sup> and Pantaleon,<sup>20</sup> and when  
 he had left the tribune Pantaleon got up and, after a few  
 reproachful words concerning Lyciscus, in which he said  
 that his flattery of the ruling power was shameless and  
 servile, went on to speak of Thoas<sup>21</sup> who he considered  
 was the man who had secured credence for the accusa-  
 tions he brought against Archedamus and himself owing  
 to the fact that there was not supposed to be any quarrel  
 between them. Reminding them of what had occurred  
 during the war with Antiochus, and rebuking Thoas for his  
 ingratitude, in that when he was given up to the Romans,  
 he had been unexpectedly saved by the intervention of  
 himself and Nicander as envoys, he soon incited the peo-  
 ple not only to hoot down Thoas when he wished to speak,  
 but to cast stones at him with one accord. When this hap-

<sup>16</sup> See 27.15.14 n.

<sup>17</sup> See 18.19.11 n.

<sup>18</sup> See 27.15.14 n.

<sup>19</sup> See 18.21.5 n.

<sup>20</sup> Aetolian strategus 174/3.

<sup>21</sup> See 21.17.7 n.

χέα καταμεμφάμενος ὁ Γάιος τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ βάλλειν τὸν Θόανθ', οὗτος μὲν εὐθέως μετὰ τοῦ συμ-  
πρεσβευτοῦ <συν>απήρην εἰς Ἀκαρνανίαν, ἐκσιωπηθεῖς  
περὶ τῶν ὁμήρων· τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Αἰτωλίαν ἐν ὑποψίαις  
ἦν πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ταραχαῖς ὄλοσχερέσειν.

5. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀκαρνανίαν συναχθείσης τῆς ἐκ-  
κλησίας εἰς Θύρρειον, Αἰσχρίων μὲν καὶ Γλαῦκος καὶ  
Χρέμας ὄντες Ῥωμαίων παρεκάλουν τοὺς περὶ τὸν  
2 Γάιον ἔμφρουρον ποιῆσαι τὴν Ἀκαρνανίαν· εἶναι γὰρ  
παρ' αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἀποφέροντας τὰ πράγματα πρὸς  
3 Περσέα καὶ Μακεδόνας. Διογένης δὲ τὴν ἐναντίαν  
ἐποιήσατο τούτοις συμβουλίαν. οὐ γὰρ ἔφη δεῖν  
φρουρὰν εἰσάγειν εἰς οὐδεμίαν πόλιν· ταῦτα γὰρ  
ὑπάρχειν τοῖς πολεμίοις γενομένοις καὶ καταπολεμη-  
4 θεῖσιν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων· οὐδὲν δὲ πεποιηκότας Ἀκαρνά-  
νας οὐκ ἀξίους εἶναι φρουρὰν εἰσδέχεσθαι κατ' οὐδένα  
5 τρόπον. τοὺς δὲ περὶ Χρέμαν καὶ Γλαῦκον ἰδίαν ἐθέ-  
λοντας κατασκευάζεσθαι δυναστείαν διαβάλλειν τοὺς  
ἀντιπολιτευομένους καὶ θέλειν ἐπισπᾶσθαι φρουρὰν  
6 τὴν συνεπισχύουσαν ταῖς αὐτῶν πλεονεξίαις. ῥηθέν-  
των δὲ τούτων οἱ περὶ τὸν Γάιον θεωροῦντες τοὺς  
ὄχλους δυσαρεστομένους ταῖς φρουραῖς καὶ βουλό-  
μενοι στοιχεῖν τῇ τῆς συγκλήτου προθέσει, συγκατα-  
θέμενοι τῇ τοῦ Διογένης γνώμῃ καὶ συνεπαυέσαντες  
ἀπήρην ἐπὶ Λαρίσης πρὸς τὸν ἀνθύπατον.

pened Popilius, after briefly rebuking the people for ston-  
ing Thoas, at once left with his colleague for Acarnania,  
saying nothing further about the hostages, Aetolia remain-  
ing full of mutual suspicion and utter disorder.

5. In Acarnania, when their Assembly met at Thy-  
reum,<sup>22</sup> Aeschrion, Glaucus, and Chremas,<sup>23</sup> who were of  
the Roman party, begged Popilius and his colleague to  
establish garrisons in Acarnania; for there were those  
among them who were falling away toward Perseus and  
Macedonia. Diogenes, however, gave contrary advice. He  
said that no garrison should be introduced into any city;  
for that was the procedure in the case of peoples who had  
been enemies of the Romans, and who had been subdued  
by them; but as the Acarnanians had done no wrong, they  
did not in any way deserve to be forced to accept garrisons.  
Chremas and Glaucus, he said, were desirous of establish-  
ing their own power, and therefore falsely accused their  
political rivals, and wished to introduce a garrison which  
would lend its help to the execution of their ambitious  
projects. After these speeches the legates, seeing that the  
idea of garrisons was not acceptable to the populace, and  
wishing to act in accordance with the purpose of the sen-  
ate, accepted the advice of Diogenes, and, after an expres-  
sion of thanks, left for Larisa to rejoice the proconsul.

<sup>22</sup> See 4.6.2 n.

<sup>23</sup> Pro-Roman Acarnanian, probably grandson of Chremas of  
Medion, attested in 216 (IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 583.21. RE Chremas (Suppl.  
1), 296 (F. Stähelin).



*Policy of the Achaeans*

6. Ὅτι ἔδοξε τοῖς Ἑλλησι περὶ τῆς πρεσβείας  
 2 ἐπιστάσεως χρεῖαν ἔχειν τὸ γινόμενον. παραλαβόντες  
 οὖν τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην πολιτείαν ὁμογνυμονοῦντας·  
 οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν Ἀρκεσίλαος, Ἀρίστων Μεγαλοπολίται,  
 3 Σικυώνιος· ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων. ὁ <μὲν>  
 οὖν Λυκόρτας ἔμεινεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς προθέσεως,  
 κρίνων μήτε Περσεῖ μή<τε> Ῥωμαίοις συνεργεῖν μη-  
 4 δέν, ὁμοίως μὲν δ' ἀντιπράττει μηδετέροις. τὸ μὲν γὰρ  
 συνεργεῖν ἀλυσιτελὲς ἐνόμιζε πᾶσιν εἶναι τοῖς Ἑλλη-  
 5 σιν, προορώμενος τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἐσομένης ἐξουσίας  
 περὶ τοὺς κρατήσαντας, τὸ δ' ἀντιπράττειν <Ῥωμαίοις>  
 ἐπισηφάλης διὰ τὸ πολλοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις  
 6 Ῥωμαίων ἀντωφθαλμηκέναι περὶ τῶν κοινῶν πρα-  
 γμάτων κατὰ τοὺς ἀνώτερον καιροὺς. ὁ δ' Ἀπολλωνίδας  
 καὶ Στρατίος ἀντιπράττειν μὲν ἐπίτηδες Ῥωμαίοις  
 οὐκ ᾔφροντο δεῖν· τοὺς δ' ὑπερκυβιστῶντας καὶ διὰ τῶν  
 κοινῶν πραγμάτων ἰδίαν χάριν ἀποτιθεμένους παρὰ  
 Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τοῦτο πράττοντας παρὰ τοὺς νόμους  
 καὶ παρὰ τὸ κοινῆ συμφέρον, τούτους ἔφασαν δεῖν  
 7 κωλύειν καὶ πρὸς τούτους ἀντωφθαλμεῖν εὐγενῶς. ὁ δ'  
 Ἄρχων ἀκολουθεῖν ἔφη δεῖν τοῖς καιροῖς καὶ μὴ διδόναι  
 τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀφορμὴν εἰς διαβολὴν μηδὲ προ-  
 ἔσθαι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἔλθειν διάθεσιν τοῖς

<sup>24</sup> He is perhaps the victor at the footrace at Olympia in 188: L. Moretti, *Olympionikai* (*Mem. Accad. naz. dei Lincei* 354 [1957], no. 608).

6. Lycortas' party thought that this embassy required careful consideration. Associating therefore with themselves those who were in general sympathy with their policy, these being Arcesilaus<sup>24</sup> and Ariston of Megalopolis, Stratius<sup>25</sup> of Tritaea, Xenon<sup>26</sup> of Patrae, and Apollonidas<sup>27</sup> of Sicyon, they discussed the situation. Lycortas held to his original opinion, judging that they should neither give any active aid either to Perseus or to the Romans nor offer any opposition to either side. To render help to the Romans he considered disadvantageous to all the Greeks, as he foresaw how very strong the victors in the war would be, while he thought it dangerous to act against Rome, since at a previous period they had braved many of the most distinguished Romans about affairs of state. Apollonidas and Stratius did not think they should deliberately act against Rome, but they said that those Achaeans who were ready to make the plunge, trying to ingratiate themselves personally with the Romans by their public action, in defiance of the law and contrary to the public interest, should be prevented and boldly confronted. Archon advised them to act as circumstances enjoined, and neither give their enemies any pretext for accusing them nor allow themselves to be reduced to the same state as Nicander<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> *RE* Stratios (Suppl. 11), 1257-1258 (J. Deininger).

<sup>26</sup> Perhaps the strategus of a year before 167 (Paus. 7.10.9).

<sup>27</sup> He spoke out against Eumenes' offer (22.8.1). His father's name, Etearchus, and the fact that Apollonidas served ca. 180 or soon thereafter as federal strategus, have recently become known.

<sup>28</sup> 27.5.4; 28.4.6.



περὶ Νίκανδρον, οἴτινες, πρὶν ἢ λαβεῖν πείρα τῆς  
 τούτων ἐξουσίας, ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις εἰσὶ συνταλαιπω-  
 8 ρίαις. ταύτης δὲ τῆς γνώμης μετέσχον Πολύβιος,  
 9 Ἀρκεσίλαος, Ἀρίστων, Ξένων. διὸ καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἄρχωνα  
 πρὸς τὴν στρατηγίαν ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς εὐθέως προπορεύ-  
 εσθαι, τὸν δὲ Πολύβιον πρὸς τὴν ἵππαρχίαν.

7. Τούτων δὴ νεωστὶ γεγονότων καὶ προδιειληφό-  
 των τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἄρχωνα διότι δεῖ συμπράττειν Ῥω-  
 μαίοις καὶ τοῖς τούτων φίλοις, τυχικῶς πως συνέβη  
 τὸν Ἄτταλον πρὸς ἐτοιμοὺς ὄντας ποιήσασθαι τοὺς  
 2 λόγους. διὸ καὶ προθύμως αὐτῷ κατανεύσαντες ὑπ-  
 3 ἔσχοντο συμπράξειν ὑπὲρ τῶν παρακαλουμένων. τοῦ  
 δ' Ἄτταλου πέμψαντος πρεσβευτάς, καὶ παραγενομέ-  
 νων τούτων εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἀγορὰν καὶ διαλεγομένων  
 τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς περὶ τοῦ τὰς τιμὰς ἀποκατασταθῆναι τῷ  
 βασιλεῖ καὶ παρακαλούντων ποιῆσαι τοῦτο διὰ τῆς  
 4 Ἄτταλου χάριτος, ὁ μὲν ὄχλος ἄδηλος ἦν ἐπὶ τίνος  
 ὑπάρχει γνώμης, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀντιλογίαν ἀνίσταντο  
 5 πολλοὶ καὶ διὰ πολλὰς αἰτίας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 αἴτιοι γενόμενοι τῆς ἀναιρέσεως τῶν τιμῶν βεβαιοῦν  
 ἐβούλοντο τὴν αὐτῶν γνώμην· οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν κατ' ἰδίαν  
 ἐγκλημάτων ὑπέλαβον καιρὸν ἔχειν ἀμύνεσθαι τὸν  
 βασιλέα· τινὲς δὲ διὰ τὸν πρὸς τοὺς συμπράττοντας  
 φθόνον ἐφιλοτιμοῦντο μὴ κρατῆσαι τὸν Ἄτταλον τῆς  
 6 ἐπιβολῆς. ὁ δ' Ἄρχων ἀνέστη μὲν βοηθήσων τοῖς  
 πρεσβευταῖς· ἐκάλει γὰρ τὰ πράγματα τὴν τοῦ στρα-  
 7 τηγοῦ γνώμην. βραχέα δ' εἰπὼν ἀνεχώρησε, διευλαβη-

and his colleagues, who, even before they experienced the weight of the Roman power, found themselves in the utmost distress. Polybius, Arcesilaus, Ariston, and Xenon shared this opinion. It was therefore decided<sup>29</sup> that Archon should at once stand as strategus and Polybius as hipparch.<sup>30</sup>

7. Just after this decision had been taken, and when it was clear that Archon had determined that they ought to act with the Romans and their friends, it happened by mere chance that Attalus<sup>31</sup> addressed himself to this statesman who was quite ready to listen to him, and gladly promised to help him to obtain what he requested. When the envoys he had sent appeared at the first session<sup>32</sup> of the Assembly, and spoke to the Achaeans about the restitution of the honors conferred on Eumenes, begging them to do this as a favor to Attalus, it was not clear what view the people took; but many speakers got up to oppose the motion on various grounds. First of all the original authors of the revocation of the honors were anxious to get their opinion confirmed, while others who had special grievances against the king thought this a good opportunity of expressing their resentment, and some out of a mere grudge against his supporters did all in their power to defeat the project of Attalus. Archon rose to speak on behalf of the envoys, as the situation was such as to call for an expression of opinion by the strategus; but after quite

<sup>29</sup> This debate highlights the dilemma of Greek patriots caused by the coming of Rome.

<sup>30</sup> Both were elected for 169/8. For Archon see n. on 22.10.8.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. 27.18.1; the report is continued here.

<sup>32</sup> Also possible is "first meeting."

8 θεῖς μὴ δόξῃ κέρδους τινὸς ἔνεκεν συμβουλευεῖν διὰ  
 τὸ πλήθος ἱκανὸν χρημάτων εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν δεδαπα-  
 νηκέναι. πολλῆς δ' οὐσίας ἀπορίας ὁ Πολύβιος ἀνα-  
 στὰς ἐποίησατο μὲν καὶ πλείονας λόγους, μάλιστα δὲ  
 προσέδραμε πρὸς τὴν τῶν πολλῶν γνώμην, ὑποδείξας  
 τὸ γεγονός ἐξ ἀρχῆς ψήφισμα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν  
 τιμῶν ἐν ᾧ γεγραμμένον ἦν ὅτι δεῖ τὰς ἀπρεπεῖς  
 9 ἀρθῆναι τιμὰς καὶ τὰς παρανόμους, οὐ μὰ Δί' ἀπάσας.  
 τοὺς δὲ περὶ Σωσιγένη καὶ Διοπέιθη, δικαστὰς Ῥοδί-  
 ουσ ὑπάρχοντας κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν καὶ διαφερο-  
 μένους ἔκ τινων ἰδίων πρὸς τὸν Εὐμένη, λαβομένους  
 ἔφη τῆς ἀφορμῆς ταύτης πάσας ἀνατετροφέναι τὰς  
 10 τιμὰς τοῦ βασιλέως. καὶ τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι παρὰ τὸ  
 τῶν Ἀχαιῶν δόγμα καὶ παρὰ τὴν δοθείσαν αὐτοῖς  
 ἐξουσίαν, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ  
 11 καλῶν ἔχον. οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἡδικημένους τι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς  
 βουλεύσασθαι τὰς τιμὰς αἶρειν τὰς Εὐμένους, ἀλλὰ  
 μείζους αὐτοῦ ζητούντος τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, τούτῳ προσ-  
 12 κόψαντας ψηφίσασθαι τὸ πολεονάζον παρελεῖν. δι-  
 ὅπερ ἔφη δεῖν, καθάπερ οἱ δικασταὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ἔχθραν  
 ἐπίπροσθεν ποιήσαντες τοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν εὐσχήμονος  
 ἀνέτρεψαν πάσας τὰς τιμὰς, οὕτω τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς κυ-  
 ριώτατον ἡγήσαμένους τὸ σφίσι καθήκον καὶ πρέπον  
 διορθώσασθαι τὴν τῶν δικαστῶν ἀμαρτίαν καὶ καθ-  
 13 ὄλου τὴν πρὸς τὸν Εὐμένη γεγεννημένην ἀλογίαν, ἄλλως

<sup>33</sup> His standing had increased by his recent election.

a short speech he stepped down as he was careful not to be thought to give advice for the sake of some personal gain, having spent a considerable sum of money during his term of office. Much hesitation now prevailed; and Polybius<sup>33</sup> rose and spoke at some length, and particularly fell in with the feelings of the majority; in this speech he quoted the original decree of the Achaeans about the honors, in which it was written that the improper and illegal<sup>34</sup> honors should be revoked, but not by any means all honors. But Sosigenes and Diopieithes<sup>35</sup> he said, who were at that time Rhodian judges, and had some private differences<sup>36</sup> with Eumenes, availed themselves of this pretext to subvert all the honors conferred on the king, and had done this in defiance of the decree of the Achaeans and in excess of the authority given them, and, what was most important, in violation of justice and right. For the Achaeans had not decided to cancel the honors of Eumenes because he had injured them in any way but, taking offense at his having demanded higher honors than his services merited, had voted to deprive him of those which were in excess. He said, therefore, that as the judges, setting their own enmity before the dignity of the Achaeans, had subverted all the honors; so the Achaeans should now, considering their own obligation and propriety of conduct to be the most important thing, correct the error of the judges, and in general the foolish treatment that Eumenes had met with; especially as they would not in doing so be

<sup>34</sup> See C. Habicht, *Studi Ellenistici* 20 (2008), 17-24.

<sup>35</sup> Rhodians, now identified by M. D. Dixon, *ZPE* 137 (2001), 169-173.

<sup>36</sup> Conflicting with their official business as foreign judges.

14 τε καὶ μέλλοντας μὴ μόνον ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα  
τὴν χάριν ἀπερείδασθαι ταύτην, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον εἰς τὸν  
ἀδελφὸν Ἄτταλον. τοῦ δὲ πλήθους εὐδοκῆσαντος τοῖς  
15 λεγομένοις, ἐγράφη δόγμα προστάττον τοῖς ἄρχουσι  
πάσας ἀποκαταστήσαι τὰς Εὐμένους τοῦ βασιλέως  
τιμὰς, πλὴν εἴ τινες ἀπρεπές τι περιέχουσι τῷ κοινῷ  
16 τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἢ παράνομον. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὸν τρόπον  
καὶ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν Ἄτταλος διωρθώσατο τὴν  
γενομένην ἀλογίαν περὶ τὰς ὑπαρχούσας Εὐμένει  
τὰδελφῷ τιμὰς κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον.

8. Ὅτι Περσεὺς πρὸς Γένθιον τὸν βασιλέα ἀπέστειλε  
πρεσβευτὰς Πλευράτον τε τὸν Ἰλλυριόν, ὄντα φυγάδα  
2 παρ' αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸν Βεροιαῖον Ἀδαῖον, δούς ἐντολὰς  
διασαφεῖν τὰ πεπραγμένα κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς τε  
Ῥωμαίους αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς Δαρδανίους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ πρὸς  
Ἡπειρώτας καὶ πρὸς Ἰλλυριοὺς κατὰ τὸ παρόν, καὶ  
3 παρακαλεῖν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν τούτου καὶ Μακεδόνων  
φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν. οἱ καὶ ποιησάμενοι τὴν πο-  
ρείαν ὑπὲρ τὸ Σκάρδον ὄρος διὰ τῆς Ἐρήμου καλου-  
μένης Ἰλλυρίδος, ἣν οὐ πολλοῖς χρόνοις ἀνώτερον  
ἀνάστατον ἐποίησαν Μακεδόνες εἰς τὸ δυσέργους  
ποιῆσαι τοῖς Δαρδανεῦσι τὰς εἰς τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα <καὶ  
4 Μακεδονίαν> εἰσβολάς· πλὴν οἱ γε περὶ τὸν Ἀδαῖον  
διὰ τούτων τῶν τόπων μετὰ πολλῆς κακοπαθείας ἦλ-

<sup>37</sup> Probably a member of the royal house. *RE* Pleuratos 239 (Th. Lenschau). <sup>38</sup> Macedonian from Beroea; A. B. Tatakis, *Macedonians Abroad* (Athens 1998), 74, no. 4.

granting this not only as a special favor to Eumenes, but even more to his brother Attalus. The people approved this speech, and a decree was made enjoining upon the magistrates that they should restore all the honors conferred on King Eumenes, except those which either contained anything that did not become the Achaean League or anything illegal. It was in this manner and at this time that Attalus set right the foolish mistake that had been made regarding the honors conferred on his brother Eumenes in the Peloponnesus.

*Negotiations of Perseus with Genthios*

(Cf. Livy 43.19.12–20.4)

8. Perseus sent Pleuratus<sup>37</sup> the Illyrian, who had taken 170–169  
refuge with him, and Adaeus<sup>38</sup> of Beroea, as envoys to B.C.  
King Genthios,<sup>39</sup> with instructions to announce to him  
what had happened in the war he was engaged in against  
the Romans and Dardanians,<sup>40</sup> and for the present at least  
with the Epirots and Illyrians; and to solicit him to enter  
into an alliance with himself and the Macedonians. The  
envoys, crossing Mount Scardus, journeyed through the  
so-called Desert Illyria, which not many years previously  
had been depopulated by the Macedonians in order to  
make it difficult for the Dardanians to invade Illyria and  
Macedonia. Traversing this district, and enduring great  
hardships on the journey, they reached Scodra;<sup>41</sup> and,

<sup>39</sup> Son of Pleuratus II, king of Illyria 180–168. *RE* Genthios 1198–1201 (F. Stähelin). <sup>40</sup> See 25.6.2.

<sup>41</sup> Modern Scutari, it was Genthios' capital. See map in WC 2.91.

5 θον εἰς Σκόδραν καὶ πυθόμενοι τὸν Γένθιον ἐν Λέσσω  
 διατρίβειν διεπέμψαντο πρὸς αὐτόν. τοῦ δὲ ταχέως  
 αὐτοὺς μεταπεμφαμένου, συμμίζαντες διελέγοντο περὶ  
 6 ὧν εἶχον τὰς ἐντολάς. ὁ δὲ Γένθιος οὐκ ἐδόκει μὲν  
 ἀλλότριος εἶναι τῆς πρὸς τὸν Περσέα φιλίας, ἐσκή-  
 πτετο δὲ τοῦ μὴ παραχρήμα συγκατατίθεσθαι τοῖς  
 ἀξιουμένους τὴν ἀχορηγησίαν καὶ μὴ δύνασθαι χωρὶς  
 χρημάτων ἀναδέξασθαι τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον.  
 7 οἱ μὲν <οὖν> περὶ τὸν Ἄδαϊον ταύτας λαβόντες τὰς  
 8 ἀποκρίσεις ἐπανῆγον. ὁ δὲ Περσεὺς παραγεγόμενος  
 εἰς Στύβερραν τὴν τε λείαν ἐλαφυροπώλησεν καὶ τὴν  
 9 Πλευράτον. παραγεγομένων δ' αὐτῶν, ἀκούσας τὰ  
 παρὰ τοῦ Γενθίου πάλιν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐπέμπε τὸν Ἄδαϊον  
 καὶ σὺν τούτῳ τὸν Γλαυκίαν, ἓνα τῶν σωματοφυλά-  
 κων, καὶ τρίτον τὸν Ἰλλυρίδον διὰ τὸ τὴν διάλεκτον  
 10 εἰδέναι τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα, δούς ἐντολάς τὰς αὐτάς, ὥσπερ  
 οὐ κυρίως τοῦ Γενθίου διασεσαφηκότος τίνος προσ-  
 δεῖται καὶ τίνος γενομένου δύναται συγκαταβαίνειν  
 11 εἰς τὰ παρακαλούμενα. τούτων δ' ἀφορησάντων,  
 ἀναζεύξας αὐτὸς μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πο-  
 ρείαν ἐφ' Ἔσκανα.

9. Ὅτι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τούτου ἦγον οἱ πρὸς τὸν  
 Γένθιον ἀποσταλέντες πρέσβεις οὐτ' ἰκονομηκότες  
 2 πλείον οὐδὲν τῶν πρότερον οὐτ' ἀναγγέλλοντες, διὰ τὸ  
 τὸν Γένθιον μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰρέσεως, ὄντα μὲν  
 ἔτοιμον τῷ Περσεῖ κοινωνεῖν τῶν αὐτῶν πραγμάτων,  
 3 χρημάτων δὲ φάσκοντα χρεῖαν ἔχειν. ὧν ὁ Περσεὺς

learning that Genthius was staying in Lissus,<sup>42</sup> sent a mes-  
 sage to him. Genthius at once sent for them, and they  
 conversed with him on the matters covered by their in-  
 structions. Genthius did not seem to be averse to mak-  
 ing friendship with Perseus; but he excused himself from  
 complying at once with their request on the ground of his  
 want of resources and the impossibility of undertaking a  
 war against Rome without money. Adaeus and his col-  
 league, on receiving this answer, returned. Perseus, on  
 arriving at Styberra,<sup>43</sup> sold the booty, and rested his army  
 waiting for the return of the envoys. Upon their arrival,  
 after hearing the answer of Genthius, he once more dis-  
 patched Adaeus, accompanied by Glaucias, one of his  
 bodyguard, and again by Pleuratus owing to his knowledge  
 of the Illyrian language, with the same instructions as be-  
 fore, just as if Genthius had not expressly indicated what  
 he was in need of, and what must be done before he could  
 consent to the request. Upon their departure the king left  
 with his army and marched toward Hyscana.<sup>44</sup>

(Cf. Livy 43.23.8)

9. At this time the envoys sent to Genthius returned,  
 having achieved nothing more than on their first visit, and  
 having nothing further to report; as Genthius maintained  
 the same attitude, being ready to join Perseus, but saying

<sup>42</sup> See 8.13.1 n.

<sup>43</sup> Town of the Deuriopi at the Erigon river (Crna), north of Bitola, but not yet identified. *RE* Stubera 395 (E. Oberhammer).

<sup>44</sup> The main city of the Penestae, north of lake Lychnidus. *RE* Penestae 495 (F. Miltner).

παρακούσας πάλιν ἔπεμπε τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰππίαν βε-  
 βαιωσομένους ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁμολογιῶν, τὸ συνέχον παρα-  
 λιπῶν, φάσκων ἐξιγμένον . . . εὐνοοῦντα ποιήσειν τὸν  
 4 Γένθιον ὥστε διαπορέειν πότερα δεῖ λέγειν ἐπὶ τῶν  
 τοιούτων ἀλογιστίαν ἢ δαιμονοβλάβειαν. δοκῶ μὲν  
 ὅτι δαιμονοβλάβειαν, οἷτινες ἐφίενται μὲν τοῦ μεγάλα  
 τολμᾶν καὶ παραβάλλονται τῇ ψυχῇ, παριᾶσιν δὲ τὸ  
 5 συνέχον ἐν ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς, βλέποντες αὐτὸ καὶ δυνά-  
 μνοι πράττειν . . . ὅτι γάρ, εἰ Περσεὺς κατ' ἐκείνων  
 τὸν καιρὸν ἠβουλήθη προέσθαι χρήματα καὶ κοινῇ  
 τοῖς πολιτεύμασι καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι καὶ  
 τοῖς πολιτενομένοις, οὐ λέγω μεγαλομερῶς, καθάπερ  
 6 ἐξῆν αὐτῷ χορηγιῶν ἔνεκεν, ἀλλὰ μετρίως μόνον, πάν-  
 τας ἂν συνέβη καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς,  
 εἰ δὲ μὴ γέ, τοὺς πλείστους ἐξελεγχθῆναι, δοκῶ μη-  
 7 τούτων. νῦν δὲ καλῶς ποιῶν οὐκ ἦλθε ταύτην τὴν  
 ὁδόν, δι' ἧς ἢ κρατήσας τῶν ὄλων ἐξουσίαν <ἂν>  
 ὑπερήφανον ἔσχεν ἢ σφαλεῖς πολλοὺς ἂν ἐποίησε  
 8 τῆς αὐτῆς <τύχης> πείραν αὐτῷ λαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὴν  
 ἐναντίαν, δι' ἧς ὀλίγοι τελέως ἠλογήθησαν τῶν Ἑλλή-  
 νων ὑπὸ τὸν τῆς πράξεως καιρόν.

10. Ὅτι ὁ Περσεὺς ἐπταικῶς τοῖς ὄλοις ἐπὶ τῷ εἰσ-  
 (9a) ελθεῖν Ῥωμαίους εἰς Μακεδονίαν τῷ Ἰππίᾳ ἐπέτιμα.  
 ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ τὸ μὲν ἐπιτιμῆσαι τοῖς ἄλλοις εἶναι  
 ῥάδιον καὶ συνιδεῖν τὰς τῶν πέλας ἀμαρτίας, τὸ δ'  
 αὐτὸν πράττειν τὰ δυνατὰ καὶ γνῶναι τὰ καθ' αὐτὸν

that he stood in need of money. Perseus, paying little heed  
 to them, now sent Hippias<sup>45</sup> to establish a definite agree-  
 ment, but omitted the all-important matter, saying that if  
 he . . . he would make Genthius well disposed. One doubts  
 if one should attribute such conduct to mere thoughtless-  
 ness or to bewitchment. I think it is rather bewitchment,  
 when men who aspire to venture much and run the risk of  
 their lives, neglect the all-important matter in their enter-  
 prises, although they clearly see it and have the power to  
 do it. For had Perseus at that period been willing to ad-  
 vance money to whole states and individually to kings and  
 statesmen—I do not say on a lavish scale, as his resources  
 enabled him to do, but only in moderate amounts—no in-  
 telligent man I suppose would dispute that all the Greeks  
 and all the kings, or at least the most of them, would have  
 had their weak points discovered. As it was, happily he  
 did not take that course, by which either, if completely  
 victorious, he would have created a splendid empire, or, if  
 defeated, would have exposed many to the same ruin as  
 himself, but he took the opposite one, thanks to which only  
 a very few of the Greeks went wrong in their calculations  
 when the time for action came.

*Perseus Blames His General*

(Cf. Livy 44.8-9)

10. Perseus, on his total defeat blamed Hippias for the  
 invasion of Macedonia by the Romans. But to me it seems  
 to be an easy thing to blame others and detect the faults  
 of our neighbors, but the most difficult thing in life to do

<sup>45</sup> 27.6.2; see also 10.1.



πάντων δυσχερέστατον. ὃ καὶ περὶ τὸν Περσέα συν-  
έβη γενέσθαι.

11. Τὸ Ἡράκλειον ἤλω ἰδίαν τινὰ ἄλωσιν. ἐχούσης  
(12) τῆς πόλεως ἐφ' ἐνὸς μέρους ἐπ' ὀλίγον τόπον ταπεινὸν  
2 τείχος, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τρεῖς σημείας προεχειρίσαντο. καὶ  
τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ τοὺς θυρεοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς ποιή-  
σαντες συνέφραξαν, ὥστε τῇ τῶν ὄπλων πυκνότητι  
κεραμωτῷ καταρρῦτῳ γίνεσθαι παραπλήσιον. ἐφεξῆς  
δ' ἕτεραι δύο . . .

## III. RES GRAECIAE

12. Ὅτι τοῦ Περσέως βουλομένου ἦξειν μετὰ δυνά-  
(10) μews εἰς τὴν Θετταλίαν καὶ λήψεσθαι τὰ ὅλα κρίσιν  
ἐκ τῶν κατὰ λόγον, ἔδοξε τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἄρχωνα δι'  
αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπολογεῖσθαι πάλιν πρὸς τὰς  
2 ὑπονοίας καὶ διαβολάς. εἰσήνεγκαν οὖν εἰς τοὺς Ἀχαι-  
οὺς δόγμα διότι δεῖ πανδημεῖ ποιησαμένους τὴν  
ἔξοδον εἰς Θετταλίαν κοινωρήσαι τῶν πραγμάτων  
3 ὀλοσχερῶς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. καὶ τούτου κυρωθέντος  
ἔδοξε τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς τὸν Ἄρχωνα γίνεσθαι περὶ τὴν  
συναγωγὴν τοῦ στρατεύματος καὶ περὶ τὰς εἰς τὴν  
ἔξοδον παρασκευάς, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ὑπατον πρεσβευτὰς  
πέμπειν εἰς Θετταλίαν τοὺς τὰ δεδογμένα τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς  
διασαφήσοντας καὶ πευσομένους πότε καὶ ποῦ δεῖ

<sup>46</sup> Modern Platamon, not far from Tempe. For the maneuver called *testudo* see 10.14.12 and Livy 44.9.8-9.

all that is possible oneself and know one's situation; and in  
this Perseus failed.

*The Testudo*

(Suda; cf. Livy 44.9.8-9)

11. Heracleium<sup>46</sup> was taken in a peculiar manner. The town had a low wall of no great extent on one side, and to attack this the Romans employed three picked maniples. The men of the first held their shields over the heads, and closed up, so that, owing to the density of the bucklers, it became like a tiled roof. The other two in succession . . .

## III. AFFAIRS OF GREECE

*Embassy of Polybius to the Consul*

12. When Perseus had made up his mind to enter Thes-  
saly with his army, and every one expected a decisive en-  
gagement, Archon<sup>47</sup> resolved to rebut the suspicions and  
accusations of the Romans by positive action this time. He  
therefore introduced in the Achaean Assembly a decree  
enjoining that they should march to Thessaly in full force  
and unreservedly join the Romans. The decree having  
been passed, they further decreed that Archon should oc-  
cupy himself with the collection of their forces and the  
preparations for the expedition, and they decided to send  
envoys to the consul in Thessaly conveying the purpose of  
their decree and asking when and where their army should

169 B.C.

<sup>47</sup> He was federal general in 170/69 (6.9).

4 συμμειγνύνει αὐτῷ τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ κατέστησαν  
 πρεσβευτὰς παραχρῆμα Πολύβιον καὶ ἄλλους καὶ  
 ἐνετείλαντο τῷ Πολυβίῳ φιλοτίμως, εἰάν ὁ στρατηγὸς  
 εὐδοκῆ τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, τοὺς μὲν  
 5 ἵνα μὴ καθυστερῶσι τῶν καιρῶν; αὐτὸν δὲ φροντίζειν  
 ἵνα τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀγορὰς ἔχη,  
 δι' ὧν ἂν πορεύηται, καὶ μηδὲν ἐλλείπη τῶν ἐπιτηδείων  
 6 τοὺς στρατιώτας. ταύτας μὲν οὖν ἔχοντες οἱ προειρη-  
 7 μένοι τὰς ἐντολὰς ἐξώρμησαν· κατέστησαν δὲ καὶ  
 πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς Ἀτταλον τοὺς περὶ Τηλόκριτον,  
 ἀποκομίζοντας τὸ δόγμα τὸ περὶ τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως  
 8 τῶν Εὐμένους τιμῶν. καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ  
 περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου προσπεσόντος τοῖς  
 Ἀχαιοῖς διότι γέγονεν αὐτῷ τὰ νομιζόμενα γίνεσθαι  
 9 τοῖς βασιλεύσιν, ὅταν εἰς ἡλικίαν ἔλθωσιν, ἀνακλη-  
 τήρια, νομίσαντες σφίσι καθήκειν ἐπισημῆνασθαι τὸ  
 γεγονός, ἐψηφίσαντο πέμπειν πρεσβευτὰς ἀνανεωσο-  
 μένους τὰ προϋπάρχοντα τῷ ἔθνει φιλόνηρωπα πρὸς  
 τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ παραντίκα κατέστησαν Ἀλκίθου  
 καὶ Πασιάδαν.

13. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Πολύβιον καταλαβόντες τοὺς  
 (11) Ῥωμαίους ἐκ μὲν τῆς Θετταλίας κεινηκότας, τῆς δὲ  
 Περραιβίας στρατοπεδεύοντας Ἀζωρίου μεταξὺ καὶ  
 2 Δολίχης, τὴν μὲν ἔντευξιν ὑπερέβητο διὰ τοὺς περι-  
 εστῶτας καιροὺς, τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὴν εἴσοδον τὴν εἰς  
 3 Μακεδονίαν κινδύνων μετείχον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ στρατεύ-  
 ματος κατάραντος ἐπὶ τοὺς καθ' Ἡράκλειον τόπους

join him. As envoys they at once appointed Polybius and others, and strictly enjoined Polybius, if the consul approved of the advent of the army, to send back his colleagues at once to inform them, so that they should not be behindhand; and meanwhile to look to it that the army might find markets in all the towns it passed through and that the men should be in no want of provisions. The envoys hereupon left with those instructions. They also appointed Telocritus as their envoy to Attalus bearing the decree<sup>48</sup> about the restitution of the honors of Eumenes; and when it reached their ears at the same time that the *Anacleteria*,<sup>49</sup> the festival usually celebrated upon kings coming of age, had been celebrated in honor of King Ptolemy, thinking that they ought to notice the event, they voted to send envoys to him to renew the friendly relations which had existed between the League and the kingdom of Egypt, and at once nominated Alcithus<sup>50</sup> and Pasiadas.

13. Polybius and his colleagues, on finding that the Romans had moved out of Thessaly and were encamped in Perrhaebia between Azorium and Doliche,<sup>51</sup> deferred the interview owing to the critical state of affairs, but shared in the danger of the invasion of Macedonia. But when the Roman army had come down to the district of Heracleium, and they deemed it time for the interview, as

<sup>48</sup> 7.14.

<sup>49</sup> Early in 169. For those of his father, Ptolemy V, in 196, see 8.55.3.

<sup>50</sup> Of Aegium. For him and his family see n. on 18.1.4.

<sup>51</sup> They formed, together with Pythium, the so-called Perrhaebian Tripolis. *RE* Tripolis 207-209 (E. Meyer).

ἔδοξε καιρὸς εἶναι πρὸς ἔντευξιν, ἅτε τοῦ στρατηγοῦ  
δοκοῦντος ἠνύσθαι τὸ μέγιστον τῶν προκειμένων,  
4 τότε λαβόντες καιρὸν τὸ ψήφισμα τῷ Μαρκίῳ προσ-  
ἤνεγκαν καὶ διεσάφουν τὴν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν προαίρεσιν  
διότι βουλευθεῖεν αὐτῷ πανδημεὶ τῶν αὐτῶν μετασχέιν  
ἀγώνων καὶ κινδύνων. καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὑπέδειξαν δι-  
ὅτι πᾶν τὸ γραφὲν ἢ παραγγελθὲν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ὑπὸ  
Ῥωμαίων κατὰ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα πόλεμον ἀναντίρρητον  
5 γέγονεν. τοῦ δὲ Μαρκίου τὴν μὲν προαίρεσιν ἀπο-  
δεχομένου τὴν Ἀχαιῶν μεγαλωστί, τῆς δὲ κακοπα-  
θείας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς δαπάνης παραλύοντος διὰ τὸ  
μηκέτι χρεῖαν ἔχειν τοὺς καιροὺς τῆς τῶν συμμάχων  
6 βοθητίας, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πρέσβεις ἐπανήλθον εἰς τὴν  
Ἀχαΐαν, ὁ δὲ Πολύβιος αὐτοῦ μέινας μετέιχε τῶν  
7 ἐνεστῶτων πραγμάτων, ἕως ὃ Μάρκιος ἀκούσας Ἄπ-  
πιον τὸν Κέντωνα πεντακισχιλίους στρατιώτας αἰτεῖ-  
σθαι παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν εἰς Ἡπειρον, ἔξαπέστειλε τὸν  
προειρημένον, παρακαλέσας φροντίζειν ἵνα μὴ δοθῶ-  
σιν οἱ στρατιῶται μηδὲ τηλικούτο δαπάνημα μάταιον  
γένηται τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς· πρὸς οὐδένα γὰρ λόγον αἰτεῖν  
8 τοὺς στρατιώτας τὸν Ἄππιον. πότερα δὲ τοῦτ' ἐποίει  
κηδόμενος τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἢ τὸν Ἄππιον ἀπραγεῖν βου-  
9 λόμενος χαλεπὸν εἰπεῖν. πλὴν ὃ γε Πολύβιος ἀναχω-  
ρήσας εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, ἤδη τῶν γραμμάτων ἐκ  
τῆς Ἡπέρου προσπεπτωκότων καὶ μετ' οὐ πολλὴν συν-  
αχθέντων εἰς Σικυῶνα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, εἰς πρόβλημα  
10 παμμέγεθες ἐνέπεσε. τοῦ γὰρ διαβουλίου προτεθέντος  
ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ Κέντων ἠτείτο στρατιωτῶν, ἃ μὲν ὁ Μάρ-

the general seemed to have accomplished the chief part of his task, they at once, when they had an opportunity, presented the decree to Marcius, and informed him of the determination of the Achaeans to send their total force to share with him in the struggles and dangers of the war. In addition they pointed out to him that all communications and commands which had reached the Achaeans from the Romans during the present war had been unquestioningly complied with. Marcius, while giving a generous reception to the proposal of the Achaeans, relieved them of the suffering and expense, as under present circumstances he was no longer in want of the assistance of the allies. Hereupon the other envoys returned to Achaea; but Polybius remained and assisted in the campaign, until Marcius, on hearing that Appius Cento<sup>52</sup> was asking the Achaeans to send him five thousand men to Epirus, dispatched Polybius, begging him to see that the soldiers were not given and no such useless outlay inflicted on the Achaeans, as Appius had no sound reason for such a demand. It is difficult to say whether he acted thus out of regard for the Achaeans, or from the wish to keep Appius idle. Polybius, in any case, returned to Peloponnesus, and finding that the letter from Epirus had already arrived, and that shortly afterward the Achaean Assembly had met at Sicyon, was faced by a most difficult problem. For when a resolution was moved about Cento's demand for troops, he thought it by no means proper to reveal the private instructions

<sup>52</sup> Appius Claudius Centho (the correct form), Roman commander in Epirus. *RE* Claudius 2694 (F. Münzer)



- κιος αὐτῷ φροντίζειν κατ' ἰδίαν ἐνετείλατο, ταῦτα φω-  
 τίζειν οὐδαμῶς ἔκρινεν· τὸ δὲ μηδεμιᾶς <αἰτίας> ὑπαρ-  
 χούσης φανερώς ἀντιλέγειν τῇ βοηθείᾳ τελείως ἦν  
 11 ἐπισφαλές. δυσχρήστου δὲ καὶ ποικίλης οὔσης τῆς  
 ὑποθέσεως, ἐχρήσατο βοηθήματι πρὸς τὸ παρὸν τῷ  
 τῆς συγκλήτου δόγματι τῷ κελεύοντι μηδένα προσ-  
 12 ἔχειν τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν γραφομένοις, εἰ μὴ  
 13 τοῦτο ποιῶσιν κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῆς συγκλήτου. τοῦτο  
 δ' οὐκ ἦν προσκείμενον τοῖς γράμμασι. διὸ καὶ κατ-  
 14 ἐκράτησε τοῦ τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἐπὶ τὸν ὑπατον γενέσθαι  
 καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνον παραλυθῆναι τῆς δαπάνης τὸ ἔθνος,  
 οὔσης ὑπὲρ ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα τάλαντα μεγάλα. τοῖς γε  
 μὴν βουλομένοις διαβάλλειν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἄππιον  
 ἀφορμὰς ἔδωκεν, ὅτι διακόψαι τὴν ἐπιβολὴν αὐτοῦ  
 τὴν περὶ τῆς βοηθείας.

14. Ὅτι οἱ Κυδωνιάται κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τούτου  
 (xxvii.16) ἐποίησαν πρᾶγμα δεινὸν καὶ παράσπονδον ὁμολογου-  
 2 μένως. καίπερ <γὰρ> πολλῶν τοιούτων γενομένων  
 κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην, ὅμως ἔδοξεν ὑπεραίρειν τὴν συνή-  
 3 θειαν τὸ τότε γενόμενον. ὑπαρχούσης γὰρ αὐτοῖς οὐ  
 μόνον φιλίας, ἀλλὰ συμπολιτείας πρὸς Ἀπολλωνιάτας  
 καὶ καθόλου κοινωνίας πάντων τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις νο-  
 μιζομένων δικαίων, καὶ περὶ τούτων κειμένης ἐνόρκου  
 4 συνθήκης παρὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Ἰδαῖον, παρασπονδήσαν-

<sup>53</sup> See 3.3.      <sup>54</sup> Of Appius Claudius Centhos.

<sup>55</sup> See 22.15.3 n.      <sup>56</sup> The citizens of Apollonia in the north of Crete. *RE* Apollonia (Suppl. 7), 39–43 (E. Kirsten). For the treaty with Cydonia see A. Chaniotis, *Die Verträge zwischen*

that Marcius had given him; while on the other hand to oppose openly the project of sending assistance without any reason was an exceedingly hazardous course to take. In this difficult and complicated situation he called to his help for the present the *senatus-consultum*<sup>53</sup> which enjoined that no one should attend to requests made by commanders, unless they were acting by a decree of the senate, there being no addition to this effect in the letter.<sup>54</sup> He managed therefore to have the matter referred to the consul, and through the intervention of the latter, to relieve the League of this expense, which amounted to more than a hundred and twenty full talents. But he furnished those who wished to accuse him to Appius with a good pretext in having thus put a stop to his plan of procuring assistance.

#### *Affairs in Crete*

14. The people of Cydonia<sup>55</sup> at this time committed a shocking act of treachery universally condemned. For although many such things have happened in Crete, what was done then was thought to surpass all other instances of their habitual ferocity. For while they were not only friends with the Apolloniats,<sup>56</sup> but united with them in one community, and shared with them in general all the rights observed by men, there being a sworn treaty to this effect deposited in the shrine of Idaean Zeus,<sup>57</sup> they treacher-

*kretischen Poleis in der hellenistischen Zeit* (Stuttgart 1996), 285–287.

<sup>57</sup> His famous shrine was in a grotto at Mount Ida, north of Phaestus *IC* 1, p. 96–97 and map at the end of the volume.

τες τοὺς Ἀπολλωνιάτας κατελάβοντο τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας κατέσφαξαν, τὰ δ' ὑπάρχοντα διήρπασαν, τὰς <δὲ> γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν διανεμιάμενοι κατέειχον.

15. Ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην δεδιότες Κυδωνιάται τοὺς  
 (13) Γορτυνίους διὰ τὸ καὶ τῷ πρότερον ἔτει παρ' ὀλίγον  
 κεικιδυνευκέναι τῇ πόλει τῶν περὶ Νοθοκράτην ἐπι-  
 βαλομένων αὐτὴν κατασχεῖν, ἐξέπεμψαν πρέσβεις  
 2 πρὸς Εὐμένην, βοήθειαν αἰτούμενοι κατὰ τὴν συμ-  
 μαχίαν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς προχειρισάμενος Λέοντα καὶ  
 3 στρατιώτας σὺν τούτῳ τριακοσίους ἐξάπέστειλε κατὰ  
 τὴν πόλιν ἐνεχείρισαν.

16. Ὅτι ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ τὰ τῆς ἀντιπολιτείας αἰεὶ  
 (14) 2 μᾶλλον ἐπέτεινεν. προσπεσόντος γὰρ αὐτοῖς τοῦ τῆς  
 συγκλήτου δόγματος, ἐν ᾧ διεσάφει μηκέτι προσέχειν  
 τοῖς τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐπιτάγμασιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς αὐτῆς  
 3 δόγμασι, καὶ τῶν πολλῶν ἀποδεχομένων τὴν τῆς  
 συγκλήτου πρόνοιαν, οἱ περὶ τὸν Φιλόφρονα καὶ Θε-  
 αίδητον ἐπιλαβόμενοι τῆς ἀφορμῆς ταύτης ἐξεργά-  
 ζοντο τὰκόλουθα, φάσκοντες δεῖν ἐκπέμπειν πρεσβευ-  
 τὰς πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον καὶ τὸν Κόιντον Μάρκιον  
 4 τὸν ὑπατον καὶ πρὸς Γάιον τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ. τότε  
 γὰρ ἤδη γνώριμον ἦν ἅπασιν οἴτινες τῶν καθεσταμέ-

ously seized on the city, killing the men, laying violent hands on all property, and dividing among themselves and keeping the women and children, and the city with its territory.

15. In Crete the people of Cydonia, standing in fear of the Gortynians,<sup>58</sup> because in the previous year they had very nearly run the risk of losing their city owing to the attempt on the part of Nothocrates to seize it, now sent envoys to Eumenes, asking for help according to the terms of their alliance.<sup>59</sup> The king, appointing Leon to command a force of three hundred men, dispatched them at once. Upon their arrival the Cydonians gave up the keys of the gates to Leon and placed their city entirely in his hands.

#### *Affairs of Rhodes*

16. In Rhodes the spirit of faction was growing ever more violent. For when they heard of the *senatus-consultum*, in which they were instructed to pay no further attention to the orders of Roman generals, but only to the decrees of the senate itself, and when the majority approved of this wise action of the senate, Philophron<sup>60</sup> and Theaetetus seized on this pretext to pursue their policy, saying that envoys should be sent to the senate, to Quintus Marcius Philippus, the consul, and to Gaius Marcius Figulus<sup>61</sup> the commander of the fleet; for by this time

<sup>58</sup> For Gortyn see *IC* 4, the entire volume.

<sup>59</sup> Probably the one concluded in 183, *SIG* 627; G. Dunst, *Philol.* 100 (1956), 305-311. <sup>60</sup> See 2.3.

<sup>61</sup> Praetor and in charge of the fleet in 169 (*MRR* 1.424). He was the cousin of the *cos.* *RE* Marcius 1557-1559 (F. Münzer).

νων ἀρχόντων ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ παραγίνεσθαι μέλλουσιν  
 5 εἰς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τόπους. κροτηθείσης δὲ  
 τῆς ὑποθέσεως, καίπερ ἀντιρρήσεως γενομένης, ἀπ-  
 εστάλησαν εἰς μὲν τὴν Ῥώμην ἀρχομένης θερείας  
 6 Ἀγησίλοχος Ἀγησίου, Νικαγόρας, Νικάνδρος, πρὸς  
 δὲ τὸν ὑπατοῦ καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγὸν  
 7 Ἀγέπολις, Ἀρίστων, Παγκράτης, ἐντολὰς ἔχοντες ἀνα-  
 νεοῦσθαι τὰ φιλάνθρωπα πρὸς Ῥωμαίους καὶ πρὸς  
 τὰς διαβολὰς ἀπολογεῖσθαι λεγομένας ὑπὸ τινῶν  
 8 κατὰ τῆς πόλεως, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλοχον ἅμα  
 τοῖς προειρημένοις καὶ περὶ σιτικῆς ἔξαγωγῆς ποιη-  
 9 σόμενοι λόγους, τὰ μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ τούτων ῥηθέντα πρὸς  
 τὴν σύγκλητον καὶ τὰς δοθείσας αὐτοῖς ἀποκρίσεις  
 ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ διότι πάντων τῶν φιλανθρώ-  
 πων τυχόντες ἐπανῆλθον, ἐν τοῖς Ἰταλικοῖς εἶπομεν.  
 10 περὶ δὲ τούτου τοῦ μέρους χρήσιμόν ἐστι πλεονάκις  
 ὑπομιμνήσκειν, ὃ δὴ καὶ πειρώμεθα ποιεῖν, διότι πολ-  
 λάκις ἀναγκαζόμεθα τὰς ἐντεύξεις τῶν πρεσβειῶν καὶ  
 τοὺς χρηματισμοὺς προτέρους ἐξαγγέλλειν τῆς κατα-  
 11 στάσεως καὶ τῆς ἔξαποστολῆς. ἐπεὶ γὰρ καθ' ἕκαστον  
 ἔτος τὰς καταλλήλους πράξεις γράφοντες πειρώμεθ'  
 ἐν ἐνὶ καιρῷ συγκεφαλαιοῦσθαι τὰς παρ' ἑκάστοις  
 πράξεις, δῆλον ὡς ἀναγκασιὸν ἐστὶν τοῦτο συμβαίνειν  
 περὶ τὴν γραφὴν.

17. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀγέπολιν ἀφικόμενοι πρὸς τὸν  
 (15) Κώντον, καταλαβόντες αὐτὸν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πρὸς  
 Ἡράκλειον στρατοπεδεύοντα διελέγοντο περὶ ὧν εἶ-  
 2 χον τὰς ἐντολὰς. ὃ δὲ διακούσας οὐχ οἶον αὐτὸς ἔφη

it was already known which of the designated magistrates in Rome would be coming to Grecian parts. The proposal was applauded, although there was some opposition; and at the beginning of summer there were sent to Rome three envoys, Hagesilochus<sup>62</sup> the son of Hagesias, Nicagoras, and Nicander, and to the consul and the commander of the fleet three others, Hagepolis, Ariston, and Pancrates, with instructions to renew kindly relations with Rome and to defend Rhodes from the charges brought by some against her, Hagesilochus and his colleagues being also charged to obtain permission to export corn from other parts. I have already reported in the section dealing with Italian affairs their speech to the senate, and the answer they received from it; and how after the kindest possible reception they returned. As regards this matter it serves some purpose to remind my readers frequently, as indeed I attempt to do, that I am often compelled to report the interviews and proceedings of embassies before announcing the circumstances of their appointment and dispatch. For as, in narrating in their proper order the events of each year, I attempt to comprise under a separate heading the events that happened in each country in that year, it is evident that this must sometimes occur in my work.

17. Hagepolis and his colleagues, on reaching Quintus Marcius, whom they found encamped in Macedonia near Heracleium, addressed him according to their instructions. After hearing what they said, he replied that not only

<sup>62</sup> Their audience in Rome was already reported in 2.1.

προσέχειν ταῖς διαβολαῖς, ἀλλὰ κακείνους παρεκάλει  
μηδενὸς ἀνέχεσθαι τῶν λέγειν τι τολμώντων κατὰ  
Ῥωμαίων, καὶ πολλὰ καθόλου τῶν εἰς φιλανθρωπίαν  
3 ἠκόντων ἐπεμέτρησεν. ἔγραψε δὲ ταῦτα καὶ πρὸς τὸν  
4 δῆμον τῶν Ῥοδίων. τοῦ δ' Ἀγεπόλιδος ἐψυχαγωγημέ-  
νου κατὰ τὴν ὄλην ἀπάντησιν ἰσχυρῶς, λαβὼν αὐτὸν  
κατ' ἰδίαν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ὁ Κόιντος θαυμάζειν ἔφη  
πῶς οὐ πειρῶνται διαλύειν οἱ Ῥόδιοι τὸν ἐνεστῶτα  
5 πόλεμον, μάλιστα τοῦ πράγματος ἐκείνους καθήκου-  
τος. πότερα δὲ τοῦτ' ἐποίει τὸν Ἀντίοχον ὑποπτεύων  
μὴ ποτε κρατήσας τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας βαρὺς ἔφεδρος  
αὐτοῖς γένηται, τοῦ πρὸς τὸν Περσέα πολέμου χρόνου  
6 λαμβάνοντος· ἤδη γὰρ τότε συνέβαινε συγκεχύσθαι  
7 τὸν περὶ Κοίλης Συρίας πόλεμον· ἢ θεωρῶν ὅσον  
οὐπω κριθησόμενα τὰ κατὰ τὸν Περσέα, τῶν Ῥωμαϊ-  
κῶν στρατοπέδων ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ παραβεβληκότων,  
8 καὶ καλὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχων ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀποβησομένων  
ἐβούλετο τοὺς Ῥοδίους προνύξας μεσίτας ἀποδείξει,  
καὶ τοῦτο πράξαντας δοῦναι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀφορμὰς  
εὐλόγους εἰς τὸ βουλευέσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν ὡς ἂν αὐτοῖς  
9 φαίνηται, τὸ μὲν ἀκριβὲς οὐ ρᾶδιον εἰπεῖν, δοκῶ δὲ  
μᾶλλον τὸ τελευταῖον εἰρημένον, ἐξ ὧν ἐμαρτύρησε τὰ  
10 μετ' ὀλίγον συμβάντα τοῖς Ῥοδίοις. οἱ γε <μῆν> περὶ  
τὸν Ἀγεπόλιν ἐξ αὐτῆς βαδίσαντες πρὸς τὸν Γάιον  
καὶ πάντων τυχόντες τῶν φιλανθρώπων ὑπερβολικώ-  
τερον ἢ παρὰ τῷ Μαρκίῳ ταχέως εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον ἀν-  
11 ἐχώρησαν. γινομένης δὲ τῆς ἀποπρεσβείας, καὶ τῆς

did he not pay any attention to such accusations, but he would beg them also not to listen to anybody who ventured to speak against Rome; and in addition to this he used many kind phrases, writing in the same terms to the people of Rhodes. The whole tenor of his reply charmed and touched Hagepolis profoundly; and afterward Marcus, taking him aside, said he wondered why the Rhodians made no attempt to put an end to the present war,<sup>63</sup> as it was their business to do so if anyone's. Now it is a question whether he did this because he was apprehensive lest Antiochus should conquer Alexandria, and they should find in him a new and formidable adversary—for the war about Coele-Syria was already in progress—supposing that the war with Perseus lasted long; or whether, seeing that this latter war was on the brink of being decided, as the Roman legions were already encamped in Macedonia, and hoping for a favorable issue, he wished to stimulate the Rhodians to try to mediate in the war, and by this action to give the Romans a plausible pretext for treating them in any way they saw fit. It is not easy to say definitely which was his reason, but I am induced to think it was the latter, judging from what soon afterward happened to Rhodes. But Hagepolis and his colleagues at once proceeded to meet Gaius Marcus, and, having met with a reception even more markedly kind than that given them by Quintus Marcus, hastened to return to Rhodes. When they had delivered

<sup>63</sup> Much debated, whether this refers to the Sixth Syrian or the Third Macedonian War. For the former E. Gruen, *CQ* 25 (1975), 72-74, for the latter WC 3.350-351; Habicht once agreed with the latter view (*CAH*, 2nd ed., 8 (1989), 337, n. 44) but now is rather inclined to favor the former.

12 τε διὰ τῶν λόγων φιλανθρωπίας καὶ τῆς διὰ τῶν  
 ἀποκρίσεων εὐνοίας ἐκατέρων τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐφα-  
 μίλλου γενομένης, ὀρθοὶ καὶ μετέωροι ταῖς διανοίαις  
 13 ἐγενήθησαν οἱ Ῥόδιοι πάντες, οὐ μὴν ὡσαύτως. οἱ μὲν  
 γὰρ ὑγαίνοντες περιχαρεῖς ἦσαν ἐπὶ τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ  
 τῶν Ῥωμαίων, οἱ δὲ κινηταὶ καὶ καχέκται συνελογί-  
 ζοντο παρ' αὐτοῖς σημεῖον εἶναι τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς  
 14 φιλανθρωπίας τοῦ δεδιέναι τὴν περίστασιν τοὺς Ῥω-  
 μαίους καὶ μὴ χωρεῖν αὐτοῖς τὰ πράγματα κατὰ λό-  
 γον. ὅτε δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀγέπολιν συνέβη παραφθέγγε-  
 15 σθαι πρὸς τινὰς <τῶν> φίλων, ὅτι παρὰ τοῦ Μαρκίου  
 κατ' ἰδίαν ἐντολὰς εἴληφε μνημονεύειν πρὸς τὴν βου-  
 λὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ διαλύειν τὸν πόλεμον, τότε δὴ τελέως οἱ  
 16 περὶ τὸν Δείνωνα συνέθεσαν ἐν κακοῖς μεγάλοις εἶναι  
 τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. ἀπέστειλαν δὲ καὶ πρεσβευτὰς εἰς  
 τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τοὺς διαλύσοντας τὸν ἐνεστῶτα  
 πόλεμον Ἀντιόχῳ καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ.

#### IV. BELLUM ANTIOCHI IV CUM PTOLEMAEO PHILOMETORE

(xxvii.17) 18. Ὅτι Ἀντιόχος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦν καὶ πρακτικὸς καὶ  
 μεγαλεπίβολος καὶ τοῦ τῆς βασιλείας προσχήματος  
 ἀξίος, πλὴν τῶν κατὰ τὸ Πηλοῦσιον στρατηγημάτων.

64 The Rhodians of sound mind are for P. those in favor of Rome, whereas their opponents are to him "agitators and malignants."

an account of their mission, in which it appeared that both the commanders had vied with each other in the kindness of their language and the favorableness of their replies, the expectations of all the Rhodians were raised to a high pitch; of all, I say, but not in the same manner. For those whose views were sound<sup>64</sup> were highly pleased at the kindness of the Romans; but the agitators and malignants reckoned among themselves that this excessive kindness was a sign that the Romans were afraid of the dangers that encompassed them, and that things were not going with them as well as they had expected. And when Hagepolis happened to mention confidentially to some of his friends that he had received private instructions from Marcius to suggest to the Rhodian senate the wisdom of bringing the war to an end, then Deinon<sup>65</sup> and his party definitely concluded that the Romans were in extreme danger. The Rhodians also sent an embassy to Alexandria for the purpose of putting an end to the war between Antiochus and Ptolemy.

#### IV. THE WAR BETWEEN ANTIOCHUS IV AND PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR

18. King Antiochus<sup>66</sup> was both energetic, daring in design, and worthy of the royal dignity, except as regards his management of the campaign near Pelusium.

65 27.7.4.

66 P. having called the king "madman" (26.1a.1), here calls him "worthy of the royal dignity." For Pelusium 5.62.4.



19. Ὅτι μετὰ τὸ παραλαβεῖν Ἀντίοχον τὰ κατὰ τὴν  
 (16) Αἴγυπτον ἔδοξε τοῖς περὶ τὸν Κομανὸν καὶ Κινεάν  
 συνεδρέυσασιν μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως κοινοβούλιον  
 καταγράφειν ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἡγεμόνων τὸ  
 2 βουλευσόμενον περὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων. πρῶτον οὖν ἔδοξε  
 τῷ συνεδρίῳ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος παρεπιδημήσαν-  
 3 τας πέμπειν πρεσβευτὰς ὡς τὸν Ἀντίοχον κοινολογη-  
 σομένους ὑπὲρ διαλύσεως. ἦσαν δὲ τότε παρὰ μὲν τοῦ  
 κοινού τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πρεσβεῖαι διτταί, μία μὲν ὑπὲρ  
 τῆς τῶν φιλανθρώπων ἀνανεώσεως, ἣν ἐπρέσβευον  
 Ἀλκίθιος Ξενοφάντος Αἰγίεὺς καὶ Πασιάδας, ἄλλη δὲ  
 4 περὶ τοῦ τῶν Ἀντιγονείων ἀγώνος. ἦν δὲ καὶ παρὰ  
 <τῶν> Ἀθηναίων πρεσβεῖα περὶ δωρεάς, ἥς ἡγείτο  
 Δημάρατος, καὶ θεωρίαί διτταί, μία μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν  
 Παναθηναίων, ἥς προειστήκει Καλλίας ὁ παγκρατια-  
 5 τὸς ἐποιεῖτο τὸν χρηματισμὸν καὶ τοὺς λόγους. ἐκ δὲ  
 Μιλήτου παρήσαν Εὐδήμος καὶ Ἰκέσιος, ἐκ δὲ Κλα-  
 6 ζομενῶν Ἀπολλωνίδης καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος. ἐξαπέστειλε  
 δὲ καὶ <Πτολεμαῖος> ὁ βασιλεὺς Τληπόλεμον καὶ

<sup>67</sup> The two principal advisors of King Ptolemy VI; see bibliog-  
 raphy in W. Huss, *Ägypten in hellenistischer Zeit* 332–30 v. Chr.  
 (Munich, 2001), 549, n. 85; for Comanus also L. Mooren, *The  
 Aulic Titulature in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Brussels 1975), 82–84, no.  
 024, and PP 14611.

<sup>68</sup> 12.9.      <sup>69</sup> 2.70.5.

<sup>70</sup> Among the very few Athenians of that name there is only  
 D., son of Theogenes, of Athmonon, who stands out at the time.

19. After Antiochus had occupied Egypt Comanus and  
 Cineas<sup>67</sup> sitting in council with King Ptolemy decided to  
 draw up a list of councilors from the most distinguished  
 captains, who should consider the situation. The first deci-  
 sion of this council was to send the Greek envoys then  
 present at Alexandria to Antiochus to negotiate for peace.  
 There were then present two missions from the Achaeans,  
 one consisting of Alcithus of Aegium, son of Xenophon,  
 and Pasiadas,<sup>68</sup> which had come to renew friendly rela-  
 tions, and another on the subject of the games<sup>69</sup> held in  
 honor of Antigonos Doson. There was also an embassy  
 from Athens headed by Demaratus<sup>70</sup> about a gift, and  
 there were two sacred missions, one headed by Callias the  
 pancratiast on the subject of the Panathenaean games,<sup>71</sup>  
 and another, the manager and spokesman of which was  
 Cleostratus, about the mysteries.<sup>72</sup> Eudemus and Hicesius  
 had come from Miletus, and Apollonides and Apollonius  
 from Clazomenae. King Ptolemy also sent to represent

He contributed to a public subscription in 183/2 (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1332,  
 224) and was one of the earliest *epimeletai* of Delos after 167 (*I  
 Delos* 1716). See C. Habicht, *Cl. Ant.* 11 (1992), 79, n. 70.

<sup>71</sup> Kings, queens, and princes often competed at the Greater,  
 quadrennial, Panathenaea, but only in the prestigious equestrian  
 events; their personal presence was not required. See, e.g., St. V.  
 Tracy and C. Habicht, *Hesp.* 60 (1991), 187–236. Callias may have  
 been sent to invite the king to the games due in 166, or he may  
 have done so for 170 and then stayed on.

<sup>72</sup> The annual festival at Eleusis, held in late summer or early  
 autumn, in honor of Demeter and Dionysus. Athenian *spondo-  
 phoroi* were sent out to invite states and royalty. For such an in-  
 vitation see *I. Gonnoi* 109, with the comments of L. Robert,  
*Hellenica* 11–12 (1960), 110–111.

7 Πτολεμαῖον τὸν ῥήτορα πρεσβευτάς. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν  
ἔπλεον ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμὸν εἰς τὴν ἀπάντησιν.

20. Ὅτι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν, ὅτε Ἀντίοχος τὴν Αἴγυπτον  
(17) παρέλαβε, συνήψαν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πρεσβευτῶν  
οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐπὶ τὰς διαλύσεις. ἀποδεξάμενος δὲ  
τοὺς ἄνδρας φιλανθρώπως τὴν μὲν πρώτην ὑποδοχὴν  
2 αὐτῶν ἐποίησατο μεγαλομερῆ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐξῆς ἔδω-  
κεν ἔντευξιν καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευσεν περὶ ὧν ἔχουσι τὰς  
3 ἐντολάς. πρῶτοι μὲν οὖν οἱ παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐποι-  
ήσαντο λόγους, τούτοις δ' ἐξῆς Δημάρατος ὁ παρὰ  
4 τῶν Ἀθηναίων, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Εὐδήμος ὁ Μιλήσιος. πάν-  
των δὲ πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν  
διαλεγόμενων, παραπλησίους εἶναι συνέβαινε καὶ  
5 τοὺς κατὰ μέρος αὐτῶν λόγους. τὴν μὲν γὰρ αἰτία  
τῶν συμβεβηκότων πάντες ἀνέφερον ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ  
τὸν Εὐλαῖον, τὴν δὲ συγγένειαν καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν τὴν  
τοῦ Πτολεμαίου προφερόμενοι παρητοῦντο τὴν ὄργην  
6 τοῦ βασιλέως. Ἀντίοχος δὲ πᾶσι τούτοις ἀνθολογη-  
σάμενος καὶ προσαυξήσας τὴν ἐκείνων ὑπόθεσιν ἤρ-  
ξατο λέγειν [τὴν] ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δικαίων, δι' ὧν  
ἐπειράτο συνιστάνειν τῶν ἐν Συρίᾳ βασιλέων ὑπάρ-  
χουσιν <τὴν> κτήσιν τῶν κατὰ Κοίλην Συρίαν τόπων,  
7 ἰσχυροποιῶν μὲν τὰς ἐπικρατείας τὰς Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ  
πρώτου κατασχόντος τὴν ἐν Συρίᾳ βασιλείαν, προφε-  
ρόμενος δὲ τὰ συγχωρήματα τὰ γενόμενα Σελεύκῳ  
διὰ τῶν ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας βασιλέων μετὰ τὸν Ἀντιγόνου  
8 θάνατον· ἐξῆς δὲ τούτοις ἀπερειδόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν τελευ-

him Ptolemy and Ptolemaeus the rhetorician. These  
all sailed up the river to meet Antiochus.

20. At the time when Antiochus occupied Egypt, those  
of the envoys from Greece who were sent to make peace  
joined him. Giving them a kind reception he entertained  
them splendidly on the first occasion of his meeting them,  
and on the second granted them an audience, and bade  
them tell him what their instructions were. The first to  
speak were the envoys from Achaea, the next was De-  
maratus from Athens, and after him Eudemus of Miletus.  
As they all spoke in allusion to the same circumstances and  
on the same subject, the particulars of all the speeches  
were very similar. They all ascribed the fault for what had  
happened to Eulaeus,<sup>73</sup> and, pleading Ptolemy's kinship<sup>74</sup>  
with the king and his youth, attempted to appease the  
wrath of Antiochus. The king accepted all these pleas,  
even attaching greater weight to them than they did, but  
began to speak about his original rights, attempting to  
convince them that the district of Coele-Syria was the  
property of the kings of Syria, laying especial stress on the  
conquests of Antigonus, the first occupant of the throne of  
Syria, and mentioning the grant<sup>75</sup> made to Seleucus by the  
kings of Macedonia after the death of Antigonus. Further  
he rested his case on the occupation of the country by his

<sup>73</sup> Macedon (Robert, *OMS* 2, 978-987), and until recently  
guardian and principal minister of the king.

<sup>74</sup> Ptolemy was Antiochus' nephew, his mother Cleopatra be-  
ing Antiochus' sister, deceased in 176.

<sup>75</sup> By Lysimachus and Cassander, his allies, in 301. See 5.67.5-  
10.

9 ταίαν κατὰ πόλεμον Ἀντιόχου τοῦ πατρὸς ἔγκτησιν,  
 ἐπὶ δὲ πᾶσιν ἐξαρνούμενος τὴν ὁμολογίαν, ἣν ἔφασαν  
 οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν γενέσθαι Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ  
 νεωστὶ μετηλλαχότῳ πρὸς Ἀντιόχου τὸν ἐκείνου πα-  
 10 τέρα, <δι>ότι δεῖ λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν φερνῇ Κοίλην Συ-  
 ρίαν, ὅτ' ἐλάμβανε Κλεοπάτραν τὴν τοῦ νῦν βασιλευ-  
 11 οντος μητέρα. πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν διαλεχθεὶς  
 καὶ πείσας οὐ μόνον αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀπηγηκό-  
 τας ὡς δίκαια λέγει, τότε μὲν διέπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Ναύ-  
 12 κρατιν. χρησάμενος δὲ καὶ τούτοις φιλανθρώπως καὶ  
 δοὺς ἐκάστῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν κατοικούντων χρυσοῦν  
 13 προήγευ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας. τοῖς δὲ πρεσβευταῖς  
 τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ὑπέσχετο δώσειν, ὅταν οἱ περὶ τὸν  
 Ἄριστείδην καὶ Θῆριν ἀνακάμψωσιν ὡς αὐτόν. ἐξαπ-  
 εσταλκέναι γὰρ ἐκείνους ἔφη πρὸς τὸν Πτολεμαῖον,  
 βούλεσθαι δὲ πάντων συνίστορας εἶναι καὶ μάρτυρας  
 τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πρεσβευτάς.

21. Ὅτι Εὐλαῖος ὁ εὐνούχος ἔπεισε Πτολεμαῖον  
 (17a) ἀναλαβόντα τὰ χρήματα, τὴν βασιλείαν προιέμενον  
 2 τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ὑποχωρεῖν εἰς Σαμοθράκην ἐφ' ἧς τίς  
 οὐκ ἂν ἐπιστήσας ὁμολογήσειεν ὅτι μέγιστα κακὰ  
 3 ποιούσιν αἱ κακαὶ συντροφίαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους; τὸ  
 γὰρ μηδ', ἐκτὸς γενόμενον τῶν δεινῶν καὶ τοσοῦτον  
 τόπον ἀποστάντα τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ὀρμηῆσαι πρὸς τι τῶν  
 καθηκόντων, ἄλλως τε καὶ τηλικαύτας ἀφορμὰς  
 ἔχοντα καὶ τοιούτων τόπων κυριεύοντα καὶ τοσοῦτων

father Antiochus after a war;<sup>76</sup> and finally denied<sup>77</sup> the existence of the agreement stated by those in Alexandria to have been made between his late father and the Ptolemy recently deceased, by which the latter should receive Coele-Syria as a dowry when he married Cleopatra, the mother of the present king. After speaking in this sense, and convincing not only himself but his auditors that he was right, he crossed to Naucratis.<sup>78</sup> After showing kindness to the people there too, and making a present of a gold stater to each of the Greek residents, he advanced toward Alexandria. He promised to reply to the envoys when Aristeides and Theris had returned to him. He said he had dispatched them to Ptolemy, and he wished the envoys from Greece to be cognizant and witnesses of everything.

21. Eulaeus<sup>79</sup> the eunuch persuaded Ptolemy to take all his money with him, abandon his kingdom to the enemy, and retire to Samothrace.<sup>80</sup> Who, reflecting on this, would not acknowledge that evil company does the greatest possible harm to men? For a prince, standing in no immediate danger and so far removed from his enemies, not to take any steps to fulfill his duty, especially as he commanded such resources, and ruled over so great a

<sup>76</sup> The Fifth Syrian War, ending in 201/0.

<sup>77</sup> For good reason; see Ed. Will, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique* 2<sup>e</sup> (Nancy 1982), 192. <sup>78</sup> 22.17.6.

<sup>79</sup> See 20.5. As 21.1–5 reports earlier events, the excerpt should stand before 18.1 (WC 3.352). <sup>80</sup> The island, Macedonian at that time (29.8.7–8), might have provided shelter at its famous shrine of the Cabiri. It is, however, quite uncertain whether Ptolemy got there.



πληθῶν, ἀλλ' εὐθέως αὐτόθεν ἀκονιτὶ παραχωρήσαι βασιλείας τῆς ἐπιφανεστάτης καὶ μακαριωτάτης, πῶς οὐκ ἂν τις εἶναι φήσειε ψυχῆς ἐκτεθηλυμμένης καὶ διεφθαρμένης ὀλοσχερῶς; ἢν εἰ μὲν συνέβαινε φύσει 4 περὶ Πτολεμαῖον ὑπάρχειν, τὴν φύσιν ἔδει καταμύψασθαι καὶ μηδεὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς αὐτίαν ἐπιφέρειν· ἐπειδὴ 5 δὲ διὰ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα πράξεων ἡ φύσις ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀπελογήθη, δείξασα τὸν Πτολεμαῖον καὶ στάσιμον ἱκανῶς καὶ γενναῖον ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ὑπάρχοντα, δῆλον ὡς εἰκότως ἂν τις τῆς τότε περὶ αὐτὸν γενομένης ἀγεννίας καὶ τῆς ὀρμῆς τῆς εἰς τὴν Σαμοθράκην τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τὸν σπάδωνα καὶ τὴν τούτου συντροφίαν ἀναφέρῃ.

22. Ὅτι Ἀντίοχος μετὰ τὸ καταλιπεῖν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν (18) πολιορκεῖν πρεσβευτὰς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐξέπεμπεν· οὗτοι 2, 3 δ' ἦσαν Μελέαγρος, Σωσιφάνης, Ἡρακλείδης· συνθεῖς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα, πεντήκοντα μὲν στέφανον Ῥωμαίοις, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τῶν χρημάτων εἰς δωρεάν τισιν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πόλεων.

23. Ὅτι κατὰ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας κατέπλευσαν ἐκ (19) Ῥόδου πρέσβεις εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐπὶ τὰς διαλύσεις οἱ περὶ Πράξωνα καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ παρήσαν εἰς 2 τὴν παρεμβολὴν πρὸς Ἀντίοχον. γενομένης δὲ τῆς ἐντεύξεως, πολλοὺς διετίθεντο λόγους, τὴν τε τῆς ἰδίας πατρίδος εὐνοίαν προφερόμενοι πρὸς ἀμφοτέρας τὰς βασιλείας καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν τῶν βασιλέων ἀναγκαιότητα πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ τὸ συμφέρον ἑκατέροις ἐκ τῆς 3 διαλύσεως. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἔτι λέγοντα τὸν πρεσβευτὴν

country and so vast a population, but to yield up at once without a single effort such a splendid and prosperous kingdom, can only be described as the act of one whose mind is effeminate and utterly corrupted. Had Ptolemy been such a man by nature, we should have put the blame on nature and not accused anyone but himself. But since by his subsequent actions, Nature vindicated herself by showing Ptolemy to have been a man who was fairly steadfast<sup>81</sup> and brave when in danger, it is evident that we should attribute to the eunuch and association with him his cowardice on this occasion and his haste to retire to Samothrace.

22. Antiochus, after abandoning the siege of Alexandria, sent envoys to Rome. Their names were Meleager, Sosiphanes, and Heraclides.<sup>82</sup> He had collected a hundred and fifty talents, fifty for a present to the Romans and the rest for gifts to some of the Greek cities.

23. During these days Praxon and others arrived at Alexandria from Rhodes, charged to attempt to make peace,<sup>83</sup> and soon after proceeded to the camp of Antiochus. At his audience he spoke at length, alleging the friendly feeling of his own country to both the kingdoms, the family ties which united both kings and the interest that both had in coming to terms. The king interrupted the envoy in his speech, telling him that there was no need

<sup>81</sup> See for this description K.-W. Welwei, *Könige und Königtum im Urteil des Polybios* (Diss. Cologne 1963), 83-89.

<sup>82</sup> l. 1.

<sup>83</sup> The embassy of 17.15.

- 4 ἐπιτεμῶν οὐκ ἔφη προσδεῖσθαι πολλῶν λόγων. τὴν  
 μὲν γὰρ βασιλείαν εἶναι Πτολεμαίου τοῦ πρεσβυτέ-  
 ρου, πρὸς δὲ τούτου καὶ διαλελῦσθαι πάλαι καὶ φί-  
 λους ὑπάρχειν, καὶ νῦν βουλομένων τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει  
 5 κατάγειν τούτον μὴ κωλύειν Ἀντίοχον. καὶ δὴ πεποί-  
 ηκεν.

of many words; for the kingdom belonged to the elder Ptolemy,<sup>84</sup> with whom he had long ago come to terms, and who was his friend. And, as the Alexandrians now wished to recall<sup>85</sup> him, Antiochus would not prevent it. And in fact he acted so.

<sup>84</sup> Philometor, as opposed to his younger brother, Ptolemy Euergetes II. He is called "King Ptolemy the elder" in a decree of his Cretan forces in his honor, *I Délos* 1517. 5-6.

<sup>85</sup> Not exactly true; Philometor persuaded his siblings Euergetes and Cleopatra to be reconciled in winter 169/8.

## FRAGMENTA LIBRI XXIX

### I. RES ITALIAE

1. Ἐφη γὰρ αὐτοὺς μίαν ἔχειν διατριβὴν καὶ παρὰ  
(1a) τὰς συνουσίας καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς περιπάτοις ὁμι-  
λίας διοικεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ καθημένους τὸν ἐν  
Μακεδονίᾳ πόλεμον, ποτὲ μὲν ἐπιτιμῶντας τοῖς ὑπὸ  
τῶν στρατηγῶν πραττομένοις, ποτὲ δὲ τὰ παραλειπό-  
2 μενα διεξιόντας· ἐξ ὧν ὄνησιν μὲν οὐδέποτε γίνεσθαι  
τοῖς κοινοῖς πράγμασι, βλάβην δὲ πολλάκις καὶ ἐπὶ  
πολλῶν γεγονέναι καὶ ποτὲ δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας μεγάλα  
3 βλάπτεσθαι διὰ τὰς ἀκαίρους εὐρησιλογίας· πάσης  
γὰρ διαβολῆς ἐχούσης ὅξυ τι καὶ κινητικόν, ὅταν  
προκαταληφθῆ τὸ πλήθος ἐκ τῆς συνεχοῦς λαλιᾶς,  
εὐκαταφρονήτους γίνεσθαι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς.

2. Ὅτι ἡ σύγκλητος πυνθανομένη τὸν Ἀντίοχον τῆς  
(1) μὲν Αἰγύπτου κύριον γεγονέναι, τῆς δ' Ἀλεξανδρείας  
2 παρ' ὀλίγον, νομίζουσα πρὸς αὐτὴν τι διατείνειν τὴν  
αὔξησιν τοῦ προειρημένου βασιλέως, κατέστησε πρε-

<sup>1</sup> L. Aemilius Paullus, cos. 168. He took charge of the war in Macedonia. The reference is to a speech that he gave before leaving Rome (Livy 44.22.8).

## FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXIX

### I. AFFAIRS OF ITALY

#### *Speech of Aemilius Paullus*

(Cf. Livy 44.22.8)

1. For Aemilius<sup>1</sup> said that the sole occupation of some  
people, whether at social gatherings or in their conversa- 169-168  
tion when walking, was to sit quietly at Rome while they B.C.  
directed the war in Macedonia, sometimes finding fault  
with what the commanders did and at others expanding  
on all they had left undone, all which was never of any  
benefit to the public interest, but had frequently and in  
many respects been most injurious to it. And the com-  
manders too are at times much injured by inopportune  
prating. For as all slander has something sharp and pro-  
vocative in it, when the minds of the people become prej-  
udiced against them owing to this constant chatter, our  
enemies come to despise them.

#### *Dispatch of Legates to Antiochus by the Senate*

2. The senate, when they heard that Antiochus had  
become master of Egypt and very nearly of Alexandria  
itself, thinking that the aggrandizement of this king con-

- 3 σβευτὰς τοὺς περὶ Γάιον Ποπίλιον, τὸν τε πόλεμον  
λύσοντας καὶ καθόλου θεασομένους τὴν τῶν πραγμά-  
4 των διάθεσιν ποία τις ἐστίν. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν  
Ἰταλίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

## II. BELLUM PERSICUM

3. Ὅτι παραγενομένων πρὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος τῶν περὶ  
(2) τὸν Ἰππίαν, οὓς ἀπεστάλκει πρεσβευτὰς ὁ Περσεὺς  
2 πρὸς Γένθιον ὑπὲρ τῆς συμμαχίας, καὶ διασαφούντων  
ὅτι πρόθυμος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐστὶν ἀναδέχεσθαι τὸν πρὸς  
Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον, ἐὰν αὐτῷ δοθῇ τριακόσια τάλαντα  
3 καὶ πίστει αἱ προσήκουσαι περὶ τῶν ὄλων, πυθόμε-  
νος ταῦτα καὶ κρίνων ἀναγκαίαν εἶναι τὴν Γενθίου  
κοινοπραγίαν προεχειρίσατο Πάνταυχον, ἓνα τῶν  
πρώτων φίλων, καὶ τοῦτον ἐξαπέστειλε, δὸς ἐντολὰς  
4 πρώτον μὲν ὁμολογήσαντα περὶ τῶν χρημάτων ὄρ-  
κους καὶ δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς συμμαχίας, εἶτα  
τοὺς ὁμήρους ἐξ αὐτῆς κάκείνον πέμπειν, οὓς ἂν δοκῇ  
Πανταύχῳ, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ λαμβάνειν οὓς ἂν ἀποφῆνῃ  
Γένθιος διὰ τῶν ἐγγράπτων, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις διατάξα-  
5 σθαι περὶ τῆς κομιδῆς τῶν τριακοσίων τάλαντων. ὁ  
δὲ Πάνταυχος ἐξ αὐτῆς ποιησάμενος τὴν ὁρμὴν καὶ  
παραγενόμενος εἰς Μετέωνα τῆς Λαβεάτιδος κἀνταῦθα  
συμμίξας τῷ Γενθίῳ ταχέως παρεστήσατο τὸν νεανί-  
σκον πρὸς τὸ κοινωνεῖν τῷ Περσεῖ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐλπίδων.  
6 τμηθέντων δὲ τῶν ὀρκίων ὑπὲρ τῆς συμμαχίας καὶ  
καταγραφέντων, εὐθέως ὁ Γένθιος ἅμα τοὺς ὁμήρους

cerned them in a measure, dispatched Gaius Popilius<sup>2</sup> as their legate to bring the war to an end, and to observe what the exact position of affairs was. Such was the situation in Italy.

## II. THE WAR WITH PERSEUS

*Genthius Joins Perseus*

(Cf. Livy 44.23)

3. On the return before winter of Hippias, who had 169/8  
been sent by Perseus to Genthius to treat for an alliance,  
and on his reporting that that prince was ready to enter  
upon war with Rome if he received three hundred talents  
and proper sureties all round, Perseus, on hearing this, in  
the belief that the cooperation of Genthius was an urgent  
necessity, appointed Pantauchus,<sup>3</sup> one of his "first friends,"  
his envoy, and dispatched him with instructions to consent  
in the first place to give the money, and then to exchange  
oaths of alliance. In the next place Genthius was to send  
at once such hostages as Pantauchus chose, while he was  
to receive from Perseus such hostages as he should name  
in writing. Finally Pantauchus was to make arrangements  
for the conveyance of the three hundred talents. The  
envoy started at once, and, on arriving at Meteon<sup>4</sup> in  
Labeatis where he met Genthius, very soon induced the  
young man to throw in his fortunes with Perseus. After the  
oaths of alliance had been taken and the terms put in writ-  
ing, Genthius at once sent off the hostages of whom Pan-

<sup>2</sup> 28.3.1.  
up 28.9.1-8.

<sup>3</sup> Tataki (28.8.1), 81, no. 83. The report picks  
<sup>4</sup> Modern Medun, north of Podgorica in Mon-  
tenegro. *RE* Labeates 245 (W. Kroll).

ἔπεμπε τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ Πανταύχου καταγραφέντας καὶ  
 σὺν τούτοις Ὀλυμπίωνα παραληψόμενον τοὺς ὄρκους  
 καὶ τοὺς ὀμήρους παρὰ τοῦ Περσέως, ἑτέρους δὲ τοὺς  
 7 περὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἕξοντας τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν. σὺν δὲ  
 τοῖς προειρημένοις ἔπεισεν ὁ Πάνταυχος τὸν Γένθιον  
 καὶ πρεσβευτὰς συνεξαποστέλλειν, οἵτινες ἅμα τοῖς  
 8 παρὰ τοῦ Περσέως πεμπομένοις εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον πρε-  
 σβεύσουσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς συμμαχίας. τούτου  
 <γὰρ> γενομένου, καὶ συνεμβάντων τῶν Ῥοδίων εἰς  
 τὸν πόλεμον, τελέως εὐκαταγωνίστους ἔσομένους ἀπ-  
 9 ἔβαινε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς τοῖς παρακαλου-  
 μένοις καὶ προχειρισάμενος Παρμενίωνα καὶ Μόρκον  
 ἐξαπέστειλε, δὸς ἐντολάς, ὅταν λάβωσιν τοὺς ὄρκους  
 παρὰ τοῦ Περσέως καὶ τοὺς ὀμήρους, καὶ περὶ τῶν  
 χρημάτων γένηται σύμφωνον, πρεσβεύειν εἰς τὴν  
 Ῥόδον.

4. Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν πάντες προῆγον εἰς τὴν Μακε-  
 (3) δοῦναι· ὁ δὲ Πάνταυχος μένων παρὰ πλευρὰν ὑπεμί-  
 μνησκειν καὶ παρῴξυνε τὸν νεανίσκον πρὸς τὸ μὴ  
 καθυστερεῖν ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ἀλλ' ἔτοιμον ὄντα  
 προκαταλαμβάνειν καὶ τόπους καὶ πόλεις καὶ συμμα-  
 χους· μάλιστα δ' αὐτὸν ἤξιον παρασκευάζεσθαι πρὸς  
 2 τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν μάχην· τῶν γὰρ Ῥωμαίων εἰς τέ-  
 λος ἀπαρασκευῶν ὄντων πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος κατὰ τε  
 τοὺς περὶ τὴν Ἠπειρον καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα  
 τόπους, ἀκονιτὶ πᾶν τὸ προτεθὲν ἐπιτελεσθήσεσθαι  
 3 δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεμπομένων. ὁ μὲν οὖν  
 Γένθιος τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις ἀναπειθόμενος ἐγένετο

tauchus gave him a list, and in company with them Olym-  
 pion to receive the oath and the hostages from Perseus,  
 sending at the same time others to take charge of the  
 money. In addition to what I have stated, Pantauchus per-  
 suaded Genthius to send back with him envoys of his own  
 who should join the mission that Perseus was sending to  
 Rhodes to secure the alliance of that state with both of  
 them. For if this was done and the Rhodians too embarked  
 on the war, he assured him that it would be quite easy to  
 overcome the Romans. Genthius was persuaded to act as  
 requested, and, naming Parmenion and Morcus his en-  
 voys, dispatched them, instructing them, as soon as Per-  
 seus had taken the oath, and an agreement was come to  
 about the money, to proceed to Rhodes.

4. All these persons now went on their way to Macedo-  
 nia, while Pantauchus, remaining behind beside the young  
 man, kept on reminding him and urging him not to be  
 behindhand in his preparations, but to get all ready, and  
 secure in due time places, towns, and allies. He particu-  
 larly requested him to prepare for war by sea, since, the  
 Romans being quite unprepared in this respect on the  
 coasts of Epirus and Illyria, he would with very little trou-  
 ble in person and through his officers be able to carry  
 out any maritime project he wished. Genthius, then, con-  
 vinced by those arguments, was occupied in preparing

- 4 περί τε τὰς κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν παρασκευάς.  
 ὁ δὲ Περσεύς, παραγενομένων εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν  
 τῶν πρεσβευτῶν παρὰ τοῦ Γενθίου καὶ τῶν ὀμηρευ-  
 ὄντων, ὀρμήσας ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὸν Ἐλπειὸν ποταμὸν  
 παρεμβολῆς μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἰππέων ἀπήντα τοῖς  
 5 προειρημένοις εἰς τὸ Δίον, καὶ συμμίξας πρῶτον μὲν  
 ἀπέδωκε τοὺς ὄρκους ὑπὲρ τῆς συμμαχίας ἐναντίον  
 πάντων <τῶν> ἰππέων πάννυ γὰρ ἐβούλετο σαφῶς εἰ-  
 δέναι τοὺς Μακεδόνας τὴν τοῦ Γενθίου κοινοπραγίαν,  
 ἐλπίζων εὐθαρσεστέρους αὐτοὺς ὑπάρξειν, προσγε-  
 6 νομένης ταύτης τῆς ῥοπῆς. ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς ὀμήρους  
 παρελάμβανε καὶ παρεδίδου τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ τοῖς περὶ  
 Ὀλυμπίωνα. ὧν ἦσαν ἐπιφανέστατοι Λιμναῖος ὁ Πο-  
 7 λεμοκράτους καὶ Βάλακρος ὁ Πανταύχου. μετὰ δὲ  
 ταῦτα τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ χρήματα παρόντας εἰς Πέλλαν  
 ἐξέπεμπε, ὡς ἐκεῖ παραληφόμενος, τοὺς δὲ πρεσβευ-  
 τὰς τοὺς εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον εἰς Θεσσαλονίκην πρὸς Μη-  
 τρόδωρον, συντάξας ἐτοίμους εἶναι πρὸς τὸν πλοῦν.  
 8 ἔπεισε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ῥοδίουσιν συκνευμβάειν εἰς τὸν  
 πόλεμον. ταῦτα δὲ διοικήσας Ἡροφῶντα μὲν ἐξέπεμψε  
 πρεσβυτήν πρὸς τὸν Εὐμένην, καὶ πρότερον ἤδη ἀπ-  
 εσταλμένον, Τηλέμναστον δὲ τὸν Κρήτα πρὸς τὸν  
 9 Ἀντίοχον, μὴ παρορᾶν τὸν καιρὸν μηδ' ὑπολαμβάνειν  
 πρὸς αὐτὸν μόνον ἀνήκειν τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν καὶ τὴν  
 10 βαρύτητα τῶν Ῥωμαίων, σαφῶς δὲ γινώσκειν ὡς εἴαν  
 μὴ καὶ νῦν αὐτὸς συνεπιλαμβάνηται, μάλιστα μὲν  
 διαλύων τὸν πόλεμον, εἰ δὲ μή, βοηθῶν, ταχέως πέ-  
 ραν λήψεται τῆς αὐτῆς ἑαυτῷ τύχης.

himself by land and sea. Perseus, on the arrival in Macedonia of the envoys from Genthius and the hostages, starting from his camp near the river Elpeius with all his cavalry, went to meet them all at Dium<sup>5</sup> and on doing so took the oath of alliance in the presence of all the cavalry; for he particularly wished that the Macedonians should be aware of the cooperation of Genthius, thinking that the addition of this force to the scale would increase their confidence. He next received the hostages, and handed over his own to Olympion. The most distinguished of these latter were Limnaeus<sup>6</sup> the son of Polemocrates and Balacrus<sup>7</sup> the son of Pantauchus. Perseus next sent those who had come to get the money to Pella where they would receive it, and the envoys for Rhodes he sent to Thessalonica to meet Metrodorus,<sup>8</sup> ordering them to be in readiness to embark. He succeeded in inducing the Rhodians to join in the war. After accomplishing this he sent as his envoy to Eumenes Herophon, who had already served in that capacity, and Telemnastus<sup>9</sup> the Cretan to Antiochus, urging him not to neglect this opportunity, nor think that the arrogance and oppression of the Romans were confined to himself, but to recognize clearly that if he did not at present also come to his assistance, either, as was best, by putting an end to the war, or, if not, by helping him in it, he would soon experience the same fate.

<sup>5</sup> 4.62.1.      <sup>6</sup> Tataki (28.8.1), 356, no. 34.

<sup>7</sup> Grandson of the Balacrus of 27.8.5. Tataki (28.8.1), 77, no. 19.

<sup>8</sup> Rhodian, close to Deinon and Polyaratus, the pro-Macedonians (Livy 44.23.10).      <sup>9</sup> Possibly the famous *condottiere* from Gortyn commanding in 192 Cretans in the war against Nabis of Sparta (LGPV I, s. v. Τηλέμναστος, no. 6), and whose son Antiphatus, was in 154 ambassador of the Cretans to the Achaean Confederacy (P. 33.16.1).



5. Ἐπεὶ ὡν ἔγωγε διηπόρηκα τί δεῖ ποιεῖν τό τε  
 (1b) γὰρ γράφειν κατὰ μέρος ὑπὲρ τοιούτων ἀκριβολο-  
 γούμενον ἃ δι' ἀπορρήτων πρὸς αὐτοὺς οἱ βασιλεῖς  
 ἔπραττον εὐεπίληπτον ἐφαίνετο καὶ τελῶς ἐπισφαλές,  
 2 τό τε παρασιωπῆσαι πάλιν ὀλοσχερῶς τὸ δοκοῦν  
 πραγματικώτατον ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τούτῳ γεγονέναι, καὶ  
 δι' οὗ πολλὰ τῶν ὕστερον ἀπορουμένων γνωρίμους  
 3 ἔσχε τὰς αἰτίας, τελῶς τινὸς ἀργίας ἐδόκει μοι ση-  
 μείον εἶναι καὶ τῆς πάσης ἀτολμίας· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ  
 κατηρέχθη ἐπὶ τὸ γράφειν κεφαλαιωδῶς τὸ δοκοῦν,  
 καὶ δι' ὧν εἰκότων καὶ σημείων ἐπὶ ταύτης ἐγενόμην  
 τῆς γνώμης, ὑπάρχων κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς καὶ  
 μᾶλλον ἐτέρων ἐκπληττόμενος ἕκαστα τῶν γενομέ-  
 νων.

6. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν Κύδας ὁ Κρήης στρατευόμενος παρ'  
 (1c) Εὐμένει καὶ τιμώμενος ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα, πρῶτον μὲν  
 πρὸς Ἀμφίπολιν παραγενόμενος Χειμάρῳ, τινὲ τῶν  
 σὺν Περσεί στρατενομένων <Κρητῶν>, καὶ πάλιν  
 πρὸς Δημητριάδην συνεγγίσας τῷ τείχει . . . ἐκοινο-  
 λογεῖτο τὸ μὲν πρῶτον Μενεκράτει, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον  
 2 Ἀντιμάχῳ, . . . εἴρηται καὶ μὴν ὅτι δις Ἡροφῶν . . .  
 ἐπρέσβευσε πρὸς Εὐμένην παρὰ Περσέως, καὶ διὰ  
 τοῦτο Ῥωμαίων οἱ πλείους ὑποψίαν ἔσχον <οὐκ> ἀπί-

10 On the secret negotiations between Eumenes II and Perseus see B. Schleusner, *Hist.* 22 (1973), 119–123.

11 Perhaps the Gortynian magistrate of 184 (22.15.1). *RE Kydas* [Suppl. 4], 1123–1124 (P. Schoch). WC 3.366–367 is skeptical.

*Intrigues of Perseus and Eumenes*

(Cf. Livy 44.24.9)

5. About this I was quite at a loss what to do. For to write in detail and with precision about matters which the kings managed between themselves and secretly, seemed to me to be open to criticism and exceedingly hazardous; but to pass over in complete silence matters which seem to have had more practical effect than any others in the war, matters which enable us to detect the causes of much that was afterward difficult to explain, appeared to me to be decidedly indicative of indolence and entire lack of enterprise. However, I persuaded myself to state in a summary fashion my own opinion<sup>10</sup> and the indications and probabilities which led me to form this opinion, living as I did at the time and having been more impressed by everything that happened than anyone else.

6. I have already stated that Cydas<sup>11</sup> the Cretan, who was serving under Eumenes and held in especial honor by him, first of all came to Amphipolis<sup>12</sup> and communicated with Cheimaros a Cretan soldier in the service of Perseus, and on a second occasion at Demetrias actually came up to the wall, and held converse first with Menecrates and afterward with Antimachus.<sup>13</sup> And again that Herophon was twice sent by Perseus on a mission to Eumenes, and that in consequence of this, most of the Romans had a not

<sup>12</sup> Military base of the Macedonian army. See recently M. Hatzopoulos, *L'organisation de l'armée macédonienne sous les Antigonides* (Athens 2001), 153–156 and 161–164.

<sup>13</sup> Commandant of Perseus at Demetrias (Livy 44.13.9).

3 θανον περι τοῦ βασιλέως Εὐμένους, δῆλον ἐκ τῶν  
 3 περι Ἀτταλον συμβάντων τῷ μὲν γὰρ συνεχώρησαν  
 καὶ παραγενέσθαι πρὸς σφᾶς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκ τοῦ  
 Βρεντεσίου καὶ χρηματίσαι περι ὧν προηρέϊτο, καὶ  
 τέλος ἀποκρίσεις δόντες αὐτῷ φιλανθρώπου ἀπέστει-  
 4 λαν <οὐδὲν οὔτε> πρότερον οὔτε κατὰ τὸν <πρὸς> Περ-  
 σέα πόλεμον ἀξιόλογον αὐτοῖς συνηρηγηκότα· <τὸν>  
 Εὐμένη δὲ τὰς μεγίστας χρείας σφίσι παρεσχημένον  
 καὶ πλείστα συνηρηγηκότ' ἔν τε τοῖς πρὸς Ἀντίοχον  
 καὶ κατὰ τὸν <πρὸς> Περσέα πόλεμον οὐ μόνον τῆς  
 εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀναβάσεως ἐκώλυσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσ-  
 5 ἔταξαν μέσου χειμῶνος ὄντος ἐν ἡμέραις τακταῖς  
 ἐκχωρεῖν ἐξ Ἰταλίας. ἐξ ὧν ὅτι μὲν γέγονε τις ἐπιπλοκὴ  
 τῷ Περσεῖ πρὸς τὸν Εὐμένη, δι' ἣν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον  
 ἠλλοτριώθησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν Ῥωμαῖοι, προφανές ἐκ  
 6 τῶν εἰρημένων· τίς δ' αὐτῆ καὶ μέχρι τίνος προύβη  
 πάρεστι σκοπεῖν.

7. ὅτι μὲν οὖν Εὐμένης οὐκ ἂν ἠβουλήθη Περσέα  
 (1d) κρατῆσαι τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ γενέσθαι κύριον τῶν ὅλων,  
 2 εὐχερὲς καταμαθεῖν· χωρὶς γὰρ τῆς πατρικῆς ἀλλοτρι-  
 ὄτητος καὶ δυσμενείας, ἣν εἶχον πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ  
 τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁμογενὲς ἱκανὸν ἦν ἀπιστίαν καὶ ζηλο-  
 τυπίαν καὶ καθόλου τὴν μεγίστην ἀλλοτριότητα  
 3 παρασκευάζειν ἐν αὐτοῖς· λοιπὸν ἦν ἐξαπατᾶν καὶ  
 4 στρατηγεῖν ἀλλήλους δι' ἀπορρήτων ὅπερ ἐποίουν  
 ἀμφότεροι. θεωρῶν <γὰρ> Εὐμένης δυσπαθοῦντα καὶ  
 συγκλειώμενον τὸν Περσέα πανταχόθεν καὶ πᾶν τὸ  
 <παραγελλόμενον> ἐπιδεχόμενον χάριν τοῦ τὸν πό-

unfounded suspicion of King Eumenes, is clear from their treatment of Attalus.<sup>14</sup> For they allowed the latter to come to Rome from Brundisium and address the senate on any subject he chose, and at last sent him back after replying courteously to him, although he had not given any great assistance either previously or in the war with Perseus; but as for Eumenes, who had been of the greatest service to them and given them the greatest assistance in their wars against Antiochus and Perseus, they not only prevented him<sup>15</sup> from coming up to Rome, but ordered him, though it was the middle of winter, to leave Italy in a given number of days. From all this it is obvious that there had been some approaches made to Eumenes by Perseus, which caused this marked estrangement on the part of the Romans. As to what these were and how far they went it is open for us to inquire.

7. It is quite easy to see that Eumenes would not have wished Perseus to win the war and become absolute master of Greece. For, apart from their inherited dislike and hostility, the fact that they exercised a similar kind of rule was sufficient to create between them distrust and jealousy and in general the strongest antipathy. The only object they could have had, then, was to deceive and trick each other<sup>16</sup> by secret intrigues, and this is what they both were doing. For as he saw that Perseus was in an evil case, hemmed in on all sides, and ready to accept any terms in

<sup>14</sup> Eumenes' younger brother, later his successor (158-138).

<sup>15</sup> In winter 167/6; see 30.19.7.

<sup>16</sup> This is pure speculation.



- λεμον διαλύσασθαι καὶ διαπεμπόμενον ὑπὲρ τούτων  
 5 πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγούς καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος, τοὺς δὲ  
 Ῥωμαίους ὡσαύτως δυσχρηστουμένους τοῖς ὅλοις  
 διὰ τε τὸ μηδὲν προκόπτειν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ μέχρι τῆς  
 6 Παύλου στρατηγίας καὶ διὰ τὸ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Αἰ-  
 τωλίαν μετεώρους ὑπάρχειν, ὑπέλαβεν οὐκ ἀδύνατον  
 εἶναι τὸ συγκαταβῆναι Ῥωμαίους εἰς ἕξαγωγὴν τοῦ  
 7 πολέμου καὶ διάλυσιν· πρὸς δὲ τὸ μεσιτεύσαι ταῦτα  
 καὶ συναγαγεῖν ἐνόμισεν αὐτὸν ἐπιτηδειότατον εἶναι.  
 8 ταῦτα δὲ συλλογισάμενος ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ κατεπεύραζε τοῦ  
 Περσέως διὰ Κύδα τοῦ Κρητὸς τῷ πρότερον ἔτει πό-  
 σου βούλοιτ' ἂν ὠνήσασθαι τὴν ἐλπίδα ταύτην.
- (1e) 8. ἡ μὲν οὖν καταρχὴ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπιπλοκῆς  
 2 δοκεῖ μοι διὰ ταῦτα γεγονέναι· δυεῖν δὲ συγκρινομέ-  
 νων, τοῦ μὲν πανουργοτάτου δοκοῦντος εἶναι, τοῦ δὲ  
 3 φιλαργυρωτάτου, γελοῖαν συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι τὴν  
 διαμάχην αὐτῶν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Εὐμένης πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα  
 4 προύτεινε καὶ πᾶν γένος δολέατος ὑπερρίπτει, πεπει-  
 σμένος θηρεύσειν τὸν Περσέα ταῖς ἐπαγγελίαις· ὁ δὲ  
 Περσεὺς μακρόθεν ὄρμα πρὸς τὰ προτεινόμενα καὶ  
 5 συνετίθετο, καταπιεῖν δὲ τῶν λεγομένων οὐδὲν οἶός τ'  
 ἦν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὥστε καὶ προέσθαι τι τῶν αὐτοῦ. τὸ  
 δὲ γένος τῶν παλαισμάτων ἦν τοιοῦτον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ  
 Εὐμένης ἤτει τοῦ μὲν ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν κατὰ τὸ τέταρτον  
 ἔτος καὶ μὴ συστρατεῦσαι Ῥωμαίους μήτε κατὰ γῆν  
 6 μήτε κατὰ θάλατταν πεντακόσια τάλαντα, τοῦ δὲ δια-  
 λύσαι τὸν πόλεμον χίλια πεντακόσια, καὶ τούτων  
 ὁμήρους δώσειν κατὰ τάχος ὑπισχνεῖτο καὶ πίστει. ὁ

order to get peace, each year sending messages to the Roman commanders for this purpose; as the Romans likewise were in extreme difficulties, having up to the campaign of Aemilius Paullus made no progress in the war; and as the Aetolians were in a state of unrest: Eumenes thought it was by no means impossible that the Romans would consent to bring the war to a conclusion and make peace; and he considered that he himself was the person best fitted to mediate in the matter and reconcile the two adversaries. Making these reflections to himself he had in the previous year sounded Perseus through Cydas the Cretan as to how much he was willing to pay for the hope of his services.

8. This, I think, was the beginning of their overtures to each other; and as it was a match between two princes, one of whom had the reputation of being the cleverest and the most avaricious, the contest proved very ridiculous. For Eumenes on the one hand was holding out all kinds of hopes to Perseus and tempting him with every variety of bait, feeling sure he would catch him by his promises; while Perseus from a distance pretended to rush at these offers and to be coming to an agreement, but could never persuade himself to swallow any of the baits to the extent of making a sacrifice of money. The kind of tussle between the two was as follows. Eumenes asked<sup>17</sup> five hundred talents for keeping quiet in the fourth year of the war and not supporting the Romans either by sea or by land, and fifteen hundred talents for putting an end to the war. For either of the two he promised to give at once hostages and

<sup>17</sup> This precise statement is open to suspicion.

δὲ Περσεὺς ἐδέχετο μὲν περὶ τῶν ὀμήρων καὶ πόσα  
 καὶ πότε πέμπεσθαι καὶ πῶς δεήσει ταῦτα τηρεῖσθαι  
 7 παρὰ τοῖς Κνωσίοις· περὶ δὲ τῶν χρημάτων ὑπὲρ μὲν  
 τῶν πεντακοσίων ταλάντων αἰσχρὸν ἔφησεν εἶναι καὶ  
 τῷ διδόντι καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι τῷ λαμβάνοντι τὸ δοκεῖν  
 μισθοῦ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν, τὰ δὲ χίλια καὶ πεντακό-  
 8 σια πέμφειν φέροντας ἔφη τοὺς περὶ Πολεμοκράτην  
 εἰς Σαμοθράκην κάκει μεσιτεύσειν. τῆς δὲ Σαμοθράκης  
 αὐτὸς ἦν κύριος· ὁ δ' Εὐμένης σπουδάζων, καθάπερ  
 οἱ μοχθηροὶ τῶν ἰατρῶν, περὶ τὸ πρόδομα μᾶλλον ἢ  
 περὶ τὸν μισθὸν τέλος ἀπέστη τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, ἀδυ-  
 νατήσας καταγωνίσασθαι τῇ σφετέρᾳ πανουργίᾳ τὴν  
 9 τοῦ Περσέως μικρολογία. καὶ δὴ τῷ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ  
 ποιήσαντες ἱερὸν τὸν στέφανον τῆς φιλαργυρίας διε-  
 10 λύθησαν ἐπ' ἴσης, καθάπερ ἀγαθοὶ παλαισταί. τούτων  
 δ' ἓνια μὲν <ἐξ>ερρῦν παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν, ἓνια δὲ  
 μετ' ὀλίγον εἰς τοὺς παρακειμένους τῷ Περσεῖ φίλους,  
 παρ' ὧν ἡμῖν ἐξεποίησε πυθέσθαι διότι πάσης κακίας  
 ὡσανεὶ πατταλείον ἐστὶν ἢ φιλαργυρία.

9. Προστίθημι δ' ἔτι παρ' ἑμαντοῦ τοσοῦτον, μὴ καὶ  
 (1f) μωροποιεῖσθαι συμβαίνει τὴν φιλαργυρία. τίς γὰρ  
 2 οὐκ ἂν ἐπισημῆναι τὴν ἄγνοιαν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν  
 βασιλέων, Εὐμένους μὲν, κατὰ τίνα λόγον ἤλπισε  
 τηλικαύτης ἀλλοτριότητος ὑπαρχούσης πιστευθῆσε-  
 σθαι καὶ προσλήψεσθαι τοσοῦτο πλήθος χρημάτων,  
 μηδεμίαν δυνάμενος ἰκανὴν πίστιν παρασχέσθαι τῷ  
 Περσεῖ τῆς κομιδῆς τούτων, εἰ μὴ βεβαιοὶ τὰς ὑπο-  
 3 σχέςεις; πῶς δὲ λαβὼν τοσοῦτο πλήθος χρημάτων

security. Perseus was ready to receive the hostages, and  
 arranged how many they should be, when they should be  
 sent and how they were to be kept in charge by the people  
 of Cnosus. As for the money, he said regarding the five  
 hundred talents that it was disgraceful for the giver and  
 still more so for the receiver to be thought to be hired to  
 keep neutral; but he said he would send Polemocrates<sup>18</sup> to  
 Samothrace with the fifteen hundred talents and then me-  
 diate there, Samothrace being part of his own dominions.  
 But Eumenes who, like bad physicians, was more con-  
 cerned about his retaining fee than about his final fee,  
 renounced his efforts, having found it beyond his power  
 to get the better by his own cunning of the meanness of  
 Perseus; and so, neither of them winning the prize for  
 avarice, they made a drawn match of it like two good wres-  
 tlers. Some of these facts leaked out at the time and others  
 shortly afterward to the intimate friends of Perseus, from  
 whom I learned enough to convince me that avarice is, as  
 it were, the tuning peg of every vice.

9. I ask myself further on my own part: Does not ava-  
 rice make fools of us? For who can help observing the folly  
 of both kings? How could Eumenes expect, in view of the  
 extremely distant terms they were on, to be trusted and to  
 receive such a large sum of money, unable as he was to  
 give Perseus any proper security for its return if he failed  
 to fulfill his promises? And how did he think he could

<sup>18</sup> Closely related to Limnaeus, son of Polemocrates (6.4).

- 4, 5 ὑπέλαβε λήσειν Ῥωμαίους; εἰ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ τὸ παρόν,  
 οὐκ ἂν ἔν γε τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνῳ διέλαθε. λοιπὸν  
 ἔδει πάντως ἀντὶ τῶν διδομένων χρημάτων ἀλλάξασθαι  
 τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους διαφορὰν, δι' ἣν ἔμελλε καὶ τῶν  
 ληφθέντων χρημάτων ἅμα καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, σχεδὸν δὲ  
 καὶ τοῦ βίου στερήσεσθαι, πολέμιος φανεῖς Ῥωμαίους.  
 6 εἰ γὰρ καὶ νῦν μηδὲν πράξας, ἐπινοήσας δὲ μόνου εἰς  
 τοὺς μεγίστους ἦλθε κινδύνους, τί ποτε παθεῖν αὐτῷ  
 προσήκεν ἐπὶ τέλος ἀχθείσης τῆς προειρημένης πρά-  
 7 ξεως; τοῦ δὲ Περσεῶς πάλιν τίς οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσειε  
 πῶς ἄλλο τι συμφορώτερον ἢ προουργιαίτερον ἐνόμισε  
 τοῦ δοῦναι τὰ χρήματα καὶ καταπιεῖν ἑᾶσαι <τὸν>  
 8 Εὐμένη τὸ δέλεαρ; εἰ μὲν γὰρ συνήργησέ τι τῶν κατὰ  
 τὰς ἐπαγγελίας καὶ διέλυσε τὸν πόλεμον, εἰς καλὸν ἢ  
 9 δόσις. εἰ δὲ ταύτης διεψεύσθη τῆς ἐλπίδος, εἰς γε τὴν  
 πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἔχθραν ὁμολογουμένως ἂν αὐτὸν  
 ἐμβεβλήκει. τοῦ γὰρ εἰς τὸ μέσον ἐνεγκεῖν ταῦτα κύ-  
 10 ριος ὑπήρχεν αὐτός. πόσου δὲ τοῦτ' ἄξιον Περσεῖ καὶ  
 κατορθοῦντι τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ πταίουσι, ῥάδιον συλλο-  
 11 γίσασθαι πάντων γὰρ τῶν συμβάντων κακῶν αἴτιον  
 ἐνόμιζεν Εὐμένη γεγονέναι, ὃν οὐκ ἂν ἠδυνήθη κατ'  
 οὐδένα τρόπον ἀμύνασθαι βέλτιον ἢ πολέμιον ποιή-  
 12 σας Ῥωμαίους. τίς οὖν αἰτία τῆς οὕτως ἐκφανοῦς ἀλο-  
 γιστίας; φιλαργυρία. τί γὰρ ἂν ἄλλο τις εἶπειεν; ὁ  
 μὲν γὰρ χάριν τοῦ λαβεῖν τὰ μὴ καθήκοντα πάντα  
 παρεώρα τᾶλλα καὶ πάντ' ἀνεδέχετο ποιήσειν, ὁ δὲ

receive such a sum without the Romans finding it out? For if not at once, they would have done so later. So that, in return for the money given him, he was sure to have to reckon on a quarrel with Rome, which would result in the loss not only of the money he had received but of his kingdom and perhaps his life, once he was the declared enemy of Rome. For if now, when he had not done anything but merely had thought of it, he incurred such extreme danger, what was the treatment he would have deserved had he succeeded in carrying out the foregoing design! As to Perseus again, every one must wonder why he did not think it the most advantageous thing for himself and most in his interest to give the money and let Eumenes swallow the bait. For if Eumenes had helped him as he promised, and put an end to the war, the gift would have been worth his while; but if he had been deceived in this hope, he would certainly at least have involved Eumenes in enmity with Rome, it being in his power to make the transaction public. And it is easy to see, when we think of it, how valuable this would have been to Perseus, whether he were successful in the war or the reverse. For he considered Eumenes to have been the cause of all his misfortunes,<sup>19</sup> and he could not have taken more effectual vengeance on him than by making him the enemy of Rome. What, then, was the reason of this evident folly on both sides? Avarice: what else could we say? For the one prince, to receive a gift which dishonored him, neglected all other considerations, and undertook to do any dirty service; while the other, to save giving it, was

<sup>19</sup> For good reason, as Eumenes had been very effective bringing the war about.

13 τοῦ μὴ δοῦναι πάντα παθεῖν καὶ πᾶν ὑπεριδεῖν ὑπέ-  
 14 μένευ. ἀκολουθῶς δὲ τούτοις Περσεὺς καὶ τὰ πρὸς  
 15 Γαλάτας καὶ τὰ πρὸς Γένθιον . . .

(4) 10. Ὅτι προτεθείσης χειροτονίας τοῖς Ῥοδίοις,  
 2 ἐνίκων οἷς ἤρεσκε πέμπειν τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν  
 3 διαλύσεων. καὶ τὴν μὲν Ῥοδίων ἀντιπολιτείαν τοῦτον  
 4 τὸν τρόπον [ὡς ἐν τῷ περὶ δημηγορίας τέθειται] διέ-  
 5 κρινε τὸ διαβούλιον, ἐν ᾧ πλείον ἐφάνησαν ἰσχύοντες  
 6 οἱ τὰ τοῦ Περσέως αἰρούμενοι τῶν σφῆξι σπουδα-  
 7 ζόντων τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τοὺς νόμους. οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις  
 8 παραχρῆμα πρεσβευτὰς κατέστησαν τοὺς διαλύσον-  
 9 τας τὸν πόλεμον, εἰς μὲν τὴν Ῥώμην Ἀγέπολι,  
 10 Διοκλῆ, Κλινόμβροτον, πρὸς δὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ  
 11 Περσεά Δάμωνα, Νικόστρατον, Ἀγησίλοχον, Τήλε-  
 12 φον. τούτῳ δ' ἐξῆς τὸ συνεχὲς ἐξεργάζοντο καὶ προσ-  
 13 ἐτίθεισαν, ποιῶντες ἀναπολόγητον τὴν ἀμαρτίαν· εὐ-  
 14 θέως γὰρ εἰς τὴν Κρήτην ἔπεμπον πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς  
 15 ἀνανεωσομένους πρὸς πάντας Κρηταιεῖς τὰ ὑπάρχοντα  
 16 φιλάνθρωπα καὶ παρακαλέσοντας βλέπειν τοὺς και-  
 17 ροὺς καὶ τὴν περίστασιν καὶ συμφρονεῖν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ  
 18 τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν αἰρεῖσθαι καὶ φίλον, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ  
 19 κατ' ἰδίαν πρὸς τὰς πόλεις ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν διαλεχθη-  
 20 σομένων.

(5) 11. Ὅτι τῶν περὶ τὸν Παρμενίωνα καὶ Μόρκον, τῶν  
 2 παρὰ τοῦ Γενθίου, καὶ σὺν τούτοις τοῦ Μητροδώρου  
 3 παραγενομένων εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον, καὶ συναχθείσης τῆς  
 4 βουλῆς, παντάπασι θορυβώδης ἦν ἐκκλησία, τῶν

ready to suffer any disaster and shut his eyes to all conse-  
 quences. Perseus behaved in the same way toward the  
 Galatians<sup>20</sup> and toward Genthius. . . .

#### *Conduct of the Rhodians*

10. When the question was put to the vote in Rhodes  
 the majority was in favor of sending the envoys to try to  
 make peace. The debate had decided the relative strength  
 of parties in Rhodes in favor of the one which sided with  
 Perseus and against those who were anxious to preserve  
 their country and their laws. The prytaneis hereupon at  
 once appointed envoys to bring the war to an end, sending  
 to Rome Hagepolis,<sup>21</sup> Diocles, and Clinombrotus and to  
 the Roman commander and to Perseus, Damon, Nicostratus,  
 Hagesilochus, and Telephus. Their subsequent proceed-  
 ings were in accord with this, and even more offensive,  
 making their fault inexcusable. For they at once sent  
 envoys to Crete to renew friendly relations with the Cre-  
 tans in general, and to beg them to consider the circum-  
 stances and the danger they were in, and to ally themselves  
 with the Rhodian people and have the same enemies and  
 friends. They were also charged to speak to the several  
 cities in the same sense.

(Cf. Livy 44.29.6)

11. When Parmenion and Morcus<sup>22</sup> the envoys of Gen-  
 thius, accompanied by Metrodorus, reached Rhodes, and  
 the Rhodian senate met, a very stormy meeting of the as-

<sup>20</sup> As narrated by Livy 44.26.7, 27.3; for Genthius see 44.27.8-  
 12. <sup>21</sup> 28.16.6, 17.1, 17.10, 17.13. <sup>22</sup> 3.9.

μὲν περὶ τὸν Δείνωνα <καὶ Πολυάρατον> φανερώς ἤδη  
 3 τολμώντων λέγειν τὰ τοῦ Περσέως, τῶν δὲ περὶ Θεαί-  
 δητον καταπεπληγμένων τὰ συμβαίνοντα· καὶ γὰρ ἡ  
 τῶν λέμβων παρουσία καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολωλό-  
 των ἰππέων καὶ ἡ τοῦ Γενθίου μετάθεσις συνέτριβεν  
 4 αὐτούς. διὸ καὶ τὸ πέρασ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀκόλουθον  
 5 ἐγενήθη τοῖς προειρημένοις· ἔδοξε γὰρ τοῖς Ῥοδίοις  
 ἀποκριθῆναι φιλανθρώπως ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς βασιλεῦσι  
 καὶ διασαφεῖν ὅτι δέδοκται διαλύειν αὐτοῖς τὸν πόλε-  
 μον καὶ παρακαλεῖν κάκεινους εὐδιαλύτους ὑπάρχειν.  
 6 ἐδέξαντο δὲ καὶ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς ἐπὶ τῇ κοινῇ  
 ἐστίαν τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Γενθίου μετὰ πολλῆς φιλαν-  
 θρωπίας.

12. . . . πάλιν ἕτεροι περὶ τοῦ Συριακοῦ πολέμου  
 (6a) τοῦτου δ' αἰτίον ἐστὶν ὅπερ ἡμῖν εἴρηται διὰ πλειό-  
 2 ων. ὅταν γὰρ ἀπλᾶς καὶ μονοειδεῖς λαβόντες ὑπο-  
 θέσεις βούλωνται μὴ τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ πλή-  
 θει τῶν βύβλων ἱστοριογράφοι νομίζεσθαι καὶ τὴν  
 τοιαύτην ἐφέλκεσθαι φαντασίαν, ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι τὰ  
 μὲν μικρὰ μεγάλα ποιεῖν, τὰ δὲ βραχέως εἰρημένα  
 3 διασκευάζειν καὶ λογοποιεῖν, ἔνια δὲ τῶν ἐν παρέργῳ  
 πεπραγμένων ἔργα καὶ πράγματα κατασκευάζειν,  
 ἀγῶνας διατιθεμένους καὶ παρατάξεις ἐξαγγέλλοντας,

<sup>23</sup> 22.5.2.

<sup>24</sup> Macedonian vessels operating in the Aegaeon (10.1-7).

<sup>25</sup> In fact, Galatians, sent by Eumenes and on their way to join prince Attalus in Macedonia (Livy 44.28.7-16). A force of one

assembly took place, Deinon and Polyaratus now venturing  
 to speak openly in favor of Perseus, and Theaetetus<sup>23</sup> and  
 his friends being dismayed at what was happening. For the  
 presence of the galleys,<sup>24</sup> the large losses of the Roman  
 cavalry,<sup>25</sup> and Genthius' change of attitude weighed on  
 their spirits. So that the sitting ended very much as I have  
 indicated above.<sup>26</sup> For the Rhodians decreed to give a  
 courteous reply to both kings, and inform them that they  
 had resolved to bring about peace and begged them also  
 to be disposed to come to terms. They also entertained the  
 envoys of Genthius very courteously at the public hearth<sup>27</sup>  
 or Prytaneum.

#### *Digression on Method of Writing History*

12. Other writers again have . . . about the war in Syria.  
 The reason of this I have frequently explained.<sup>28</sup> For when  
 dealing with a subject which is simple and uniform they  
 wish to be thought historians not because of what they  
 accomplish, but because of the multitude of their books,  
 and to make such an impression as I have described, they  
 are compelled to magnify small matters, to touch up and  
 elaborate brief statements of fact and to convert quite  
 incidental occurrences of no moment into momentous  
 events and actions, describing engagements and pitched

thousand completely perished at the hands of the Macedonians  
 under Perseus' admiral Antenor (27.4.3).

<sup>26</sup> In a passage not preserved.

<sup>27</sup> It was the common custom of the Greeks to entertain foreign envoys there.

<sup>28</sup> For instance in 1.4.3.



ἐν αἷς ἐνίοτε πεζοὶ μὲν ἔπεισον δέκα, ποτὲ <δὲ> μικρῶ  
 4 πλείους, ἵππεῖς δ' ἔκ(τι) τούτων ἐλάττους. πολιορκίας  
 μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοπογραφίας καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια τούτοις  
 οὐκ ἂν εἴποι τις ἀξίως ἐφ' ὅσον ἐξεργάζονται διὰ τὴν  
 5 ἀπορίαν τῶν πραγμάτων. περὶ δὲ τοὺς τὰ καθόλου  
 6 γράφοντας ἐναντίος ἐστὶν ὁ τρόπος· διόπερ οὐ χρὴ  
 καταγινώσκειν ὡς ἡμῶν ἐπισυρόντων τὰς πράξεις,  
 ὅταν τὰ παρ' ἐνίοις πολλοῦ τετευχότα λόγου καὶ δια-  
 σκευῆς ἡμεῖς ποτὲ μὲν παραλείπωμεν, ποτὲ δὲ βρα-  
 χέως ἐξαγγέλλωμεν, ἀλλὰ πιστεύειν ὅτι τὸν καθήκοντα  
 7 λόγον ἐκάστοις ἀποδίδομεν. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ ὅταν ἐν  
 τῇ συμπάσῃ πραγματείᾳ λόγου χάριν Φανοτείας καὶ  
 Κορωνείας καὶ . . . οὐ πολιορκίαν γράφωσιν, ἀναγ-  
 κάζονται πάσας τὰς τῆς πολιορκίας ἐπινοίας καὶ τόλ-  
 8 μας καὶ διαθέσεις ἐκτίθεσθαι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις περὶ  
 τὴν Τάραντος κατάληψιν, Κορίνθου [πολιορκίαν], Σάρ-  
 δεων, Γάζης, Βάκτρων, ἐπὶ πᾶσι Καρχηδόνος πολιορ-  
 κίαν διατρίβειν καὶ προστιθέναι παρ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐ  
 παντάπασι εὐδοκεῖν ἐὰν ψιλῶς περὶ τῶν τοιούτων  
 9 αὐτὸν τὸν ἀληθῆ καὶ κύριον ἀποδιδῶμεν λόγον. ἢ δ'  
 αὐτὴ καὶ περὶ παρατάξεων ἡμῖν ἔστω καὶ δημηγοριῶν  
 ἀπόφασις, παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μερῶν τῆς  
 10 ἱστορίας· ἐν οἷς ἅπασι πολλῆς ἂν δικαίως τυγχάνου-  
 μεν συγγνώμης, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν λέγεσθαι  
 μελλόντων, . . . οἷον εἰ τ . . . φανείημεν ἢ λήμμασι χρώ-  
 μενοι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἢ χειρισμῶν πραγμάτων ἢ τοῖς τῆς  
 11 λέξεως ῥήμασι πρὸς δὲ τούτοις εἰάν που παραπίπτω-  
 μεν <ἐν> ὀνομασίαις ὄρων ἢ ποταμῶν ἢ τόπων ιδιό-

battles in which the infantry losses were at times ten men  
 or it may be a few more and the cavalry losses still fewer.  
 As for sieges, descriptions of places, and such matters, it  
 would be hard to describe adequately how they work them  
 up for lack of real matter. But writers of universal history  
 act in just the opposite manner. I should not therefore be  
 condemned for slurring over events, when I sometimes  
 omit and sometimes briefly report things to which others  
 have devoted much space and elaborate descriptions; but  
 I should rather be credited with treating each event on a  
 proper scale. For those authors, when in the course of  
 their work they describe, for instance, the sieges of Phan-  
 ote, Coronea,<sup>29</sup> or . . . , find it necessary to place before  
 their readers all the devices, all the daring strokes, and all  
 the other features of the sieges, and in addition to this  
 describe at length the capture of Tarentum, the sieges of  
 Corinth, Sardis, Gaza, Bactra, and above all Carthage,<sup>30</sup>  
 adding inventions of their own; and they by no means ap-  
 prove of me, when I simply give a true and unvarnished  
 account of such matters. The same remarks apply to de-  
 scriptions of battles, the reports of speeches, and the other  
 parts of history. In all these—I include also subsequent  
 portions of my work—I may be justly pardoned if I am  
 found to be using the same arguments, or the same dispo-  
 sition and treatment, or even actually the same words as  
 on a previous occasion; or again should I happen to be  
 mistaken in the names of mountains and rivers or in my

<sup>29</sup> For Coronea in the Third Macedonian war see the *senatus consultum de Coroneia*, *RDGE* no. 3, of 171.

<sup>30</sup> These are the important cases, deserving closer attention. With Corinth and Carthage P. undoubtedly means the events of 146.



12 τῆσι τὸ γὰρ μέγεθος τῆς πραγματείας ἰκανόν ἐστιν ἡμᾶς ἐν ἅπασιν αὐτοῖς παραιεῖσθαι· πλὴν ἂν που κατὰ πρόθεσιν ἢ <κέρδους> τινὸς ἔνεκεν εὐρισκώμεθα ψευδογραφούντες· τοῦτο γὰρ οὐ παραιτούμεθα, καθάπερ ἤδη καὶ πλεονάκις ἐν τῇ πραγματείᾳ περὶ τούτου τοῦ μέρους διεστάλμεθα.

13. Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐνάτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ ὁ αὐτὸς Γένθιον (5) φησι τὸν τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν βασιλέα διὰ τὴν πολυποσίαν 2 πολλὰ ποιεῖν ἀσελγή κατὰ τὸν βίον, νύκτωρ τε αἰεὶ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν μεθύοντα· ἀποκτείναντα δὲ καὶ Πλάτορα τὸν ἀδελφόν, γαμῆν μέλλοντα τὴν Μονουνίου θυγατέρα, αὐτὸν γῆμαι τὴν παῖδα καὶ ὠμῶς χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις.

14. Πρῶτος δὲ τῶν παρόντων ὁ Νασικᾶς ἐπικαλούμενος Σκιπίων, γαμβρὸς Ἀφρικανοῦ Σκιπίωνος, ὅστερον δὲ μέγιστον ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ δυνηθείς, ὑπεδέξατο (6) τῆς κυκλώσεως ἡγεμὼν γενέσθαι. δεύτερος δὲ Φάβιος Μάξιμος ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν Αἰμιλίου παίδων, ἔτι 3 μειράκιον ὢν, ἀνέστη προθυμούμενος. ἦσθεις οὖν ὁ Αἰμίλιος δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς οὐχ ὅσους Πολύβιος εἴρηκεν, ἀλλ' ὅσους αὐτὸς ὁ Νασικᾶς λαβεῖν φησι, γεγραφὼς περὶ τῶν πράξεων τούτων ἐπιστόλιον πρὸς τινὰ τῶν βασιλέων.

<sup>31</sup> Prince of the Dardanians; see 25.6.2.

<sup>32</sup> P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica. *RE* Cornelius 1497–1501 (F. Münzer).

<sup>33</sup> The eldest son of the consul, adopted into the Fabii. He was eighteen years old at the time.

statements about the characteristics of places. For in all such matters the large scale of my work is a sufficient excuse. It is only if I am found guilty of deliberate mendacity or if it be for the sake of some profit, that I do not ask to be excused, as I have already stated several times in the course of this work when speaking on this subject.

### *Genthius of Illyria*

(From Athenaeus 10.440a; cf. Livy 44.30.2)

13. In his 29th book Polybius also states that Genthius, King of Illyria, owing to his intemperate habits, was guilty of many licentious acts, being constantly drunk night and day. Having put to death his brother Plator, who was about to marry the daughter of Monunius,<sup>31</sup> he married the girl himself, and he treated his subjects with great cruelty.

### *The Campaigns Against Perseus*

(From Plutarch's *Life of Aemilius*, 15)

14. The first of the officers present who volunteered to lead the force that went to turn the enemy's flank was Scipio Nasica,<sup>32</sup> the son-in-law of Africanus and afterward very powerful in the senate, and next Fabius Maximus,<sup>33</sup> the eldest son of Aemilius, who was still quite a young man, got up and proffered his services. This pleased Aemilius, who gave them not so many soldiers as Polybius says but as many as Nasica himself says in writing to one of the kings<sup>34</sup> about this exploit.

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<sup>34</sup> Perhaps Masinissa.

4 Τῇ δυνάμει τῆς πάρμης καὶ τῶν Λιγυστικῶν θυρεῶν ἀντείχον ἐρρωμένως οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι.

15. Τῷ δὲ Περσεί τὸν Αἰμίλιον ἀτρεμοῦντα κατὰ

- (6) χώραν ὄρωντι καὶ μὴ λογιζομένῳ τὸ γινόμενον, ἀποδρὰς ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ Κρής αὐτόμολος ἦκε μηνύων τὴν
- 2 περίοδον τῶν Ῥωμαίων. ὁ δὲ συνταραχθεὶς τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον οὐκ ἐκίνησε, μυρίους δὲ μισθοφόρους ξένους καὶ δισχιλίους Μακεδόνας Μίλωνι παραδοὺς ἐξαπέστειλε, παρακελευσάμενος ταχῆναι καὶ κατα-
- 3 λαβεῖν τὰς ὑπερβολάς. τούτοις ὁ μὲν Πολύβιός φησιν ἔτι κοιμωμένοις ἐπιπεσεῖν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ὁ δὲ Νασικᾶς ὄξυν ἀγῶνα περὶ τοῖς ἄκροις γενέσθαι καὶ κίνδυνον.

16. Πολύβιος· ὅτι τῆς σελήνης ἐκλειπούσης ἐπὶ

- (6) Περσέως τοῦ Μακεδόνας ἐκράτησεν ἡ φήμη παρὰ
- 2 τοῖς πολλοῖς ὅτι βασιλέως ἔκλειψιν σημαίνει. καὶ τοῦτο τοὺς μὲν Ῥωμαίους εὐθαρσεστέρους ἐποίησε,
- 3 τοὺς δὲ Μακεδόνας ἐταπείνωσε ταῖς ψυχαῖς. οὕτως ἀληθές ἐστι τὸ περιφερόμενον ὅτι πολλὰ κενὰ τοῦ πολέμου.

17. Δεύκιος δὲ ὁ ὕπατος οὐχ ἑωρακῶς φάλαγγα τὸ

- (6) παράπαν ἀλλὰ τότε πρῶτον ἐπὶ τοῦ Περσέως πρὸς

<sup>35</sup> Scipio Nasica marched in four nights around Mt. Olympus.

<sup>36</sup> Probably Midon (Meidon) of Beroea (27.8.5). Tataki (28.8.1), 80, no. 37. <sup>37</sup> For the pass of Pythium (modern Selos), see map in WC 3.382.

<sup>38</sup> It happened June 22, 168. The battle of Pydna was fought

(Suda; cf. Livy 44.35.19)

The Romans offered a strong resistance by the aid of their targets and Ligurian shields.

(From Plutarch, *Life of Aemilius Paullus*, 16)

15. Perseus saw Aemilius remaining on his ground, and had no suspicion of the truth, when a Cretan deserter, who had abandoned the Romans on the line of march, informed him of their turning movement.<sup>35</sup> The king was much disturbed; but, without moving his army, placed ten thousand foreign mercenaries and two thousand Macedonians under the command of Milo<sup>36</sup> and sent him off with orders to make haste and occupy the heights. Polybius tells us that the Romans surprised this force while still asleep, but Nasica affirms that there was a sharp struggle on the heights.<sup>37</sup>

(Suda; cf. Plutarch, *Aem.* 16)

16. When there was an eclipse of the moon<sup>38</sup> in the time of Perseus of Macedonia, the report gained popular credence that it portended the eclipse of a king. This, while it lent fresh courage to the Romans, discouraged the Macedonians. So true is the saying that "there are many empty things in war."

(Suda; cf. Livy 44.41.1)

17. Aemilius the consul, who had never seen a phalanx until this occasion in the war with Perseus, often confessed

the following day. The date is confirmed by an Athenian decree in honor of Calliphanes of Phyle, who brought the news from the battlefield, *ISE* 35. The decree also attests that the princes Attalus and Athenæus took part in the fighting. See the map in WC 3.385, based on W. K. Pritchett.

τινας πολλάκις ἀνθωμολογείτο τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ μετὰ ταῦτα μηδὲν ἑωρακέαι φοβερώτερον καὶ δεινότερον φάλαγγος Μακεδονικῆς, καίτοι γε πολλοὺς οὐ μόνον θεασάμενος ἀλλὰ καὶ χειρισάμενος ἀγῶνας, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος.

2 Ὅτι πολλὰ τῶν ἐπινοημάτων κατὰ μὲν τὸν λόγον  
(12) φαίνεται πιθανὰ καὶ δυνατὰ, παραγεγόμενα δ' εἰς τὴν χρεῖαν, καθάπερ τὰ κίβδηλα τῶν νομισμάτων εἰς τὸ πῦρ, οὐκέτι ποιεῖ τὰκόλουθον ταῖς πρώταις ἐπινοαῖαις.

3 Πολύβιος· ὁ δὲ Περσεὺς μίαν ἔχων πρόληψιν ἣ  
(6) νικᾶν ἢ θνήσκειν, τότε οὐχ ὑπέμεινε τῇ ψυχῇ ἀλλ' ἀπέδειλία, καθάπερ οἱ προόπται τῶν ἱππέων.

4 Πολύβιος· ὁ δὲ Περσεὺς προσαγόμενος τὸν χρόνον  
(6) καὶ τὸν πόνον ἐξελύετο τῇ ψυχῇ, καθάπερ οἱ καχεκτοῦντες τῶν ἀθλητῶν ὅτε γὰρ τὸ δεινὸν ἐγγίζοι καὶ δέοι κρίνεσθαι περὶ τῶν ὄλων, οὐχ ὑπέμεινε τῇ ψυχῇ.

18. Ὁ δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεύς, ὡς φησι Πο-  
(175) λύβιος, τῆς μάχης ἀρχὴν λαμβανούσης ἀποδειλιάσας  
(6) εἰς πόλιν ἀφιππάσατο, σκηψάμενος Ἡρακλεῖ θύειν, δειλὰ παρὰ δειλῶν ἱερὰ μὴ δεχομένῳ μὴδ' εὐχὰς ἀθεμίτους ἐπιτελοῦντι.

19. Ὅτι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν, ἐν ᾧ Περσεὺς ἠττηθεῖς  
(7) ἀνεδίδρασκεν, ἔδοξε τῇ συγκλήτῳ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν Ῥοδίων πρεσβευτὰς παραγεγονότας ὑπὲρ τοῦ διαλύ-

<sup>39</sup> "The story of an early withdrawal is to be treated with suspicion" (WC 3.390).

afterward to certain persons in Rome that he had never seen anything more terrible and dreadful than a Macedonian phalanx, and this although he had witnessed and directed as many battles as any man.

(Cf. Livy 44.41.4)

Many inventions seem to be plausible and likely to succeed when described; but when put to the test of experience, like false coins exposed to the fire, no longer answer to our first conception of them.

(Suda; cf. Livy 44.42.1)

Perseus' one determination had been to conquer or to die; but his courage now gave way and he turned rein and fled as cavalry vedettes do.

(Suda; cf. Livy, *ibid.*)

The courage of Perseus was exhausted by toil and time like that of athletes in bad condition. For when the danger approached, and it was his duty to fight a decisive battle, his courage broke down.

(From Plutarch, *Aemilius Paullus*, 19)

18. The Macedonian king, as Polybius tells us, at the very beginning of the battle turned rein and rode off<sup>39</sup> to the town, pretending that he was going to sacrifice to Heracles, a god who neither accepts the craven offerings of cowards, nor fulfills unlawful prayers.

(Cf. Livy 45.3.3)

19. At the time when Perseus was beaten and ran away, the senate decided to summon the envoys<sup>40</sup> from Rhodes, who had come with the object of bringing the war with

<sup>40</sup> Named in 10.4.

- 2 εἰν τὸν πρὸς Περσέα πόλεμον προσκαλέσασθαι, τῆς τύχης ὡσπερ ἐπίτηδες ἀναβιβαζούσης ἐπὶ σκηνὴν τὴν τῶν Ῥοδίων ἄγνοϊαν, εἰ χρὴ Ῥοδίων λέγειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τῶν ἐπιπολασάντων ἀνθρώπων τότε κατὰ τὴν
- 3 Ῥόδον. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀγέπολιν εἰσπορευθέντες ἐλθεῖν μὲν ἔφασαν διαλύσοντες τὸν πόλεμον· τὸν γὰρ δῆμον τῶν Ῥοδίων, ἐλκομένου τοῦ πολέμου καὶ πλείω χρόνον, θεωροῦντα διότι πᾶσιν μὲν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀλυσιτελής καὶ αὐτοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίοις διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν
- 4 δαπανημάτων, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν γνώμην· νῦν δὲ λελυμένου τοῦ πολέμου κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ῥοδίων βούλησιν συγχαίρειν αὐτοῖς. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οἱ περὶ τὸν
- 5 Ἀγέπολιν εἰπόντες βραχέως ἐπανήλθον. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος χρωμένη τῷ καιρῷ καὶ βουλομένη παραδειγματίσαι τοὺς Ῥοδίους ἀπόκρισιν ἐξέβαλεν, ἧς ἦν τὰ συν-  
6 ἔχοντα ταῦτα, διότι τὴν πρεσβείαν ταύτην οὔτε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔνεκεν ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἐσταλκέναι τοὺς
- 7 Ῥοδίους οὔτ' ἑαυτῶν, ἀλλὰ Περσέως. εἰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων χάριν ἐπρέσβενον, ἐκείνους οἰκειότερον εἶναι τὸν καιρὸν, ὅτε Περσεὺς τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων χώραν ἐπόρθει καὶ τὰς πόλεις, στρατοπεδεύων μὲν ἐν Θε-  
8 ταλία σχεδὸν ἐπὶ δὺ ἑνιαυτοὺς . . . τὸ δὲ παρέντας ἐκείνους τὸν καιρὸν νῦν παρεῖναι σπουδάζοντας διαλύειν τὸν πόλεμον, ὅτε παρεμβεβληκότων τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατοπέδων εἰς Μακεδονίαν συγκεκλεισμένος ὁ Περσεὺς ὀλίγας παντάπασιν ἐλπίδας εἶχε τῆς σωτηρίας,
- 9 προφανὲς εἶναι τοῖς ὀρθῶς σκοπομένοις διότι τὰς πρεσβείας ἐξέπεμψαν οὐ διαλύειν ἐθέλοντες τὸν πό-

Perseus to an end: Fortune, as if of set purpose, bringing on the stage the folly of the Rhodians—if indeed we should say that of the Rhodians, and not rather that of the men who had then come to the surface at Rhodes. Hagepolis and his colleagues, on entering, said they had come to bring the war to an end; for that the people of Rhodes, when they saw that the war still continued to drag on, and observed that it was unprofitable to all the Greeks and to the Romans themselves owing to its great expense, had decided on this step; but now that the war had terminated in the way that the Rhodians wished, they congratulated the Romans. Having said this very briefly they departed. But the senate, availing itself of this opportunity and wishing to make an example of the Rhodians, issued an answer, the main tenor of which was that they did not believe that the Rhodians had sent the embassy on behalf of the Greeks or of themselves, but on behalf of Perseus. For if the embassy were on behalf of the Greeks, it would have been a more suitable time to send it then when Perseus devastated the Greek land and was encamped for nearly two years in Thessaly; but from their having neglected to come at that time, and coming now when the Roman legions were encamped in Macedonia, when Perseus was surrounded and had scarcely any hope of escape, it was obvious to anyone who judged correctly that they had sent their embassies with no wish to bring the war to a close,

- λεμον, ἀλλ' ἐξελέσθαι τὸν Περσέα καὶ σῶσαι, καθ'  
 10 ὅσον εἰσὶν δυνατοί. δι' ἃς αἰτίας οὐτ' εὐεργετεῖν οὔτε  
 φιλανθρώπως αὐτοῖς ἀποκρίνεσθαι κατὰ τὸ παρὸν  
 11 ὀφείλειεν ἔφασαν. ταῦτα μὲν ἡ σύγκλητος ἐχρημάτισε  
 τοῖς παρὰ τῶν Ῥοδίων πρεσβευταῖς.

20. Ὁ δὲ μεταλαβὼν τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν διάλεκτον παρ-  
 (6b) ἐκάλει τοὺς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ βλέποντας εἰς τὰ παρόντα,  
 δεικνὺς ὑπὸ τὴν ὄψιν τὸν Περσέα, μήτε μεγαλαυχεῖν  
 ἐπὶ τοῖς κατορθώμασι παρὰ τὸ δέον μήτε βουλευέ-  
 σθαι μηδὲν ὑπερήφανον μηδ' ἀνήμεστον περὶ μηδε-  
 νός, μήτε καθόλου πιστεύειν μηδέποτε ταῖς παρούσαις  
 2 εὐτυχίαις· ἀλλ' ὅτε μάλιστά τις κατορθοίῃ κατὰ τὸν  
 ἴδιον βίον καὶ κατὰ τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις, τότε μάλιστα  
 3 παρεκάλει τῆς ἐναντίας τύχης ἔννοιαν λαμβάνειν. καὶ  
 γὰρ οὕτω μόλις ἂν ἐν ταῖς εὐκαιρίαις ἄνθρωπον μέ-  
 4 τριον ὄντα φανῆναι. τοῦτο γὰρ διαφέρειν ἔφη τοὺς  
 ἀνοήτους τῶν νοῦν ἔχόντων, διότι συμβαίνει τοὺς μὲν  
 ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀτυχίαις παιδεύεσθαι, τοὺς δ' ἐν ταῖς  
 τῶν πέλας.

21. Ὅστε πολλάκις καὶ λίαν μνημονεύειν τῆς Δη-  
 (6c) 2 μητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως φωνῆς. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐν τῷ περὶ  
 τῆς τύχης ὑπομνήματι βουλόμενος ἐναργῶς ὑποδεικνύ-

<sup>41</sup> He had been captured on Samothrace.

<sup>42</sup> Pupil of Aristotle and Theophrastus, philosopher and writer, from 317 to 307 autocratic regent of Athens, appointed by Cassander. See F. Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles*, vol. 4 (2nd ed.) (Basel 1968). See also n. on 10.24.7. C. Habicht, *Athens from Alexander to Antony* (Cambridge, MA 1997), 53–66. The quota-

but desiring, as far as lay in their power, to rescue and save Perseus. For this reason, they said, the present was no moment for doing them favors or returning them a courteous answer. Such were the proceedings in the senate regarding the Rhodian envoys.

*Speech of Aemilius Paullus*

(Cf. Livy 45.7.4)

20. Aemilius, now speaking in Latin, exhorted those present at the council to learn from what they now witnessed—showing them Perseus<sup>41</sup> who was present—never to boast unduly of achievements and never be overbearing and merciless in their conduct to anyone, in fact never place any reliance on present prosperity. “It is chiefly,” he said, “at those moments when we ourselves or our country are most successful that we should reflect on the opposite extremity of fortune; for only thus, and then with difficulty, shall we prove moderate in the season of prosperity. The difference,” he said, “between foolish and wise men lies in this, that the former are schooled by their own misfortunes and the latter by those of others.”

*Reflections on the Fall of Perseus*

(Cf. Livy 45.9.2)

21. It is therefore appropriate to call to mind, often and in earnest, the words of Demetrius of Phalerum.<sup>42</sup> For he, in his treatise on Fortune, wishing to give men a striking

tion from Demetrius' treatise *Περὶ Τύχης* in Wehrli, F 81, and *FGrH* 228, F 39.



- ναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ ταύτης εὐμετάβολον, ἐπιστὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς καθ' Ἀλέξανδρον καιροὺς, ὅτε κατέλυσε τὴν
- 3 Περσῶν ἀρχήν, λέγει ταῦτα· "εἰ γὰρ λάβοιτ' ἐν <νῶ> μὴ χρόνον ἄπειρον μηδὲ γενεὰς πολλὰς, ἀλλὰ πεντήκοντα μόνον ἔτη ταυτὶ τὰ πρὸ ἡμῶν, γνοίητ' ἂν ὡς τὸ
- 4 τῆς τύχης χαλεπὸν ἐνταῦθα. πεντηκοστῶ γὰρ ἔτει <πρότερον> οἶεσθ' ἂν ἢ Πέρσας ἢ βασιλέα τῶν Περσῶν ἢ Μακεδόνας ἢ βασιλέα τῶν Μακεδόνων, εἴ τις θεῶν αὐτοῖς προύλεγε τὸ μέλλον, πιστεῦσαί ποτ' ἂν ὡς εἰς τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν Περσῶν <μὲν> οὐδ' ὄνομα λειφθήσεται τὸ παράπαν, οἱ πάσης <σχεδὸν> τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐδέσποζον, Μακεδόνες δὲ <καὶ> πάσης κρατήσουσιν, ὧν οὐδ' ὄνομα πρότερον ἦν <γνώριμον>. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἢ πρὸς τὸν βίον ἡμῶν ἀσύνητος Τύχη καὶ πάντα παρὰ <τὸν> λογισμὸν τὸν ἡμέτερον καινοποιοῦσα καὶ τὴν αὐτῆς δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς παραδόξοις ἐνδεικνυμένη,
- 6 καὶ νῦν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, δείκνυσι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, Μακεδόνας εἰς τὴν Περσῶν εὐδαιμονίαν εἰσοικίσασα, διότι καὶ τούτοις ταῦτα τάγαθὰ κέχρηκεν, ἕως <ἂν>
- 7 ἄλλο τι βουλευσῆται περὶ αὐτῶν." ὁ νῦν γέγονε κατὰ Περσέα. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Δημήτριος ὡσανεὶ θείῳ τινὶ
- 8 στόματι περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀποπεφοίβακεν. ἐγὼ δὲ κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν ἐπιστὰς τοῖς καιροῖς καθ' οὓς συνέβη καταλυθῆναι τὴν Μακεδόνων βασιλείαν, οὐκ ἔκρινον ἀνεπιστάτως παραδραμεῖν, ἅτε γεγονὼς αὐτόπτης τῆς πράξεως, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς τε τὸν πρέποντα λόγον ἐπιφθέγγασθαι καὶ Δημητρίου μνησθῆναι· δοκεῖ γὰρ μοι θειοτέρα ἢ καθ' ἀνθρώπου τὴν ἀπόφασιν

instance of her mutability when he comes to deal with the times when Alexander overthrew the Persian empire, speaks as follows: "For if you consider not countless years or many generations, but merely these last fifty years, you will read in them the cruelty of Fortune. I ask you, do you think that fifty years ago either the Persians and the Persian king or the Macedonians and the king of Macedon, if some god had foretold the future to them, would ever have believed that at the time when we live, the very name of the Persians would have perished utterly—the Persians who were masters of almost the whole world—and that the Macedonians, whose name was formerly almost unknown, would now be the lords of it all? But nevertheless this Fortune, who never compacts with life, who always defeats our reckoning by some novel stroke; she who ever demonstrates her power by foiling our expectations, now also, as it seems to me, makes it clear to all men, by endowing the Macedonians with the whole wealth of Persia, that she has but lent them these blessings until she decides to deal differently with them." And this now happened in the time of Perseus. Surely Demetrius, as if by the mouth of some god, uttered those prophetic words.<sup>43</sup> And I, as I wrote and reflected on the time when the Macedonian monarchy perished, did not think it right to pass over the event without comment, as it was one I witnessed with my own eyes; but I considered it was for me also to say something befitting such an occasion, and recall the words of Demetrius. This utterance of his seems to me to have been

<sup>43</sup> It is not known when Demetrius wrote the treatise, so that no inference can be drawn as to the time P. wrote this chapter; see, however, F. Jacoby, *FGrH* 228, T 7.



ποιήσασθαι· σχεδὸν γὰρ ἑκατὸν καὶ πενήκοντα πρό-  
τερον ἔτεσι τάληθές ἀπεφήνατο περὶ τῶν ἔπειτα συμ-  
βησομένων.

## III. RES PERGAMI

(6d) 22. Ὅτι Εὐμένης ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Περσέως καὶ Ῥω-  
μαίων μάχης συντετελεσμένης εἰς παράλογον ἐπέπεσε  
διάθεσιν, ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ φασιν, ὡς δὲ τὰνθρώπινα  
πράγματα φύσιν ἔχει γίνεσθαι κατὰ τὸ πλείστον, εἰς  
2 τι τῶν εἰωθότων συμβαίνειν· ἱκανὴ γὰρ ἡ τύχη τοῖς  
παρὰ λόγον τὰ κατὰ λόγον ἐπιτρῶσαι, καὶν τιμὴν συν-  
εργήσῃ καὶ προσθήται τὴν αὐτῆς ῥοπήν, αὐθις οἶον  
ἐκ μεταμελείας ἀντισηκοῦν καὶ λυμαίνεσθαι τὰ κατ-  
3 ορθώματα παρὰ πόδας. ὃ καὶ τότε περὶ τὸν Εὐμένην  
4 γενέσθαι συνέπεσε· δόξας γὰρ μάλιστα τότε τὴν  
ἰδίαν ἀρχὴν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ βεβηκέναι καὶ πολλὴν ἐπι-  
φέρειν ῥαστώνην τὸν ἐξῆς χρόνον, ἅτε τοῦ Περσέως  
καὶ καθόλου τῆς ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ βασιλείας ἀρδην ἀνη-  
ρημένης, τότε μεγίστοις ἐνεκύρησε κινδύνους τῶν  
κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Γαλατῶν ἀνυπονοήτως <συν>εξανα-  
στάντων τοῖς καιροῖς.

more divine than that of a mere man. For nearly a hundred  
and fifty years ago he uttered the truth about what was to  
happen afterward.

## III. AFFAIRS OF PERGAMUM

22. Eumenes, King of Pergamum, after the battle be-  
tween Perseus and the Romans was over, found himself,  
as most people say, strangely circumstanced; but, consid-  
ering the nature of human affairs, it was nothing out of the  
way. For Fortune<sup>44</sup> is quite capable of dashing reasonable  
expectations by unexpected blows; and, if she ever helps  
anyone and throws her weight into the balance, she will  
again, as if she repented of it, turn the scale against him,  
and in a moment mar all he has achieved. This is what  
happened to Eumenes on the present occasion. For, just  
when he thought that his kingdom stood on a firm footing,  
and that the future had perfect peace and quiet in store  
for him, as Perseus and the power of Macedonia had been  
utterly destroyed, there lit on him this peril from the  
Gauls<sup>45</sup> of Asia, who unexpectedly seized on the occasion  
to attack him.

<sup>44</sup> The event at Pydna gave P. ample material to reflect on the working of *Tyche*: The end of the Macedonian monarchy, the deep fall of Rome's staunchest allies, Eumenes and Rhodes.

<sup>45</sup> They had a big uprising against Eumenes and a war lasting from 168 to 166 that ended with a victory of the king and a declaration of the Senate that Galatia be free. See E. V. Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamon*, 2nd ed. (Ithaca 1971), 120–126, and *CAH*, 2nd ed., 8 (1989), 333–334 (C. Habicht).

IV. BELLUM ANTIOCHI IV CUM  
PTOLEMAEIS FRATRIBUS

23. Ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἔτι κατὰ χειμῶνα  
 (8) πρεσβείας παραγενομένης παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἀμφο-  
 τέρων [Πτολεμαίου καὶ Πτολεμαίου] περὶ βοήθειας,  
 ἐγενήθη διαβούλια καὶ πλείω, πολλὴν ἔχοντα φιλοτι-  
 2 μίαν. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ περὶ τὸν Καλλικράτην καὶ Διοφά-  
 νην καὶ σὺν τούτοις Ὑπέρβατον οὐκ ἤρεσκε διδόναι  
 3 βοήθειαν, τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἄρχωνα καὶ Λυκόρταν καὶ  
 Πολύβιον ἤρεσκε τὸ διδόναι τοῖς βασιλεῦσι κατὰ τὴν  
 4 ὑπάρχουσαν συμμαχίαν. ἤδη γὰρ συνέβαινε τότε τὸν  
 νεώτερον Πτολεμαῖον ὑπὸ τῶν ὄχλων ἀναδεδεῖχθαι  
 βασιλεία διὰ τὴν περίστασιν, τὸν δὲ πρεσβύτερον ἐκ  
 τῆς Μέμφως καταπεπορευῆσθαι καὶ συμβασιλεύειν  
 5 τὰδελφῶ. καὶ δεόμενοι παντοδαπῆς ἐπικουρίας ἐξἀπέ-  
 στειλαν πρεσβευτὰς Εὐμένην καὶ Διονυσόδωρον πρὸς  
 τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, αἰτοῦντες πεζοὺς μὲν χιλίους ἵππεῖς δὲ  
 διακοσίους, ἡγεμόνα δὲ τῆς ὅλης συμμαχίας Λυκόρ-  
 6 ταν, τῶν δ' ἵππεων Πολύβιον. πρὸς δὲ Θεοδωρίδαν τὸν  
 Σικυώνιον διεπέμψαντο, παρακαλοῦντες αὐτὸν συστή-  
 7 σασθαι ξενολόγιον χιλίων ἀνδρῶν. συνέβαινε δὲ τοὺς  
 μὲν βασιλεῖς τὴν ἐπὶ πλείον σύστασιν ἔχειν πρὸς  
 τοὺς εἰρημένους ἀνδρας ἐκ τῶν πράξεων ὧν εἰρήκαμεν.  
 8 τῶν δὲ πρεσβευτῶν παραγενομένων, τῆς συνόδου τῶν  
 Ἀχαιῶν οὐσης ἐν Κορίνθῳ, καὶ τὰ τε φιλόανθρωπα  
 πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν ἀνανεωσαμένων ὄντα μεγάλα καὶ  
 τὴν περίστασιν τῶν βασιλέων ὑπὸ τὴν ὄψιν ἀγόντων

IV. WAR BETWEEN ANTIOCHUS AND  
THE TWO BROTHERS PTOLEMY

23. In the Peloponnesus, when an embassy arrived 169/8  
 while it was still winter from both kings,<sup>46</sup> asking for help,  
 there were several heated debates. Callicrates, Diophanes,  
 and Hyperbatus did not approve of sending help, but Ar-  
 chon, Lycortas, and Polybius were in favor of giving it  
 according to the terms of the existing alliance. For the  
 people had already proclaimed the younger Ptolemy king  
 owing to the dangerous situation, while the elder one had  
 come down from Memphis<sup>47</sup> and shared the throne with  
 his brother; and as they were in need of assistance from  
 every possible quarter, they sent Eumenes and Dionysodorus  
 on this embassy to the Achaeans begging for a thou-  
 sand foot and two hundred horse, the whole force to be  
 commanded by Lycortas and the cavalry by Polybius. They  
 also sent a message to Theodoridas<sup>48</sup> of Sicyon begging  
 him to raise a mercenary force of a thousand men. The  
 kings were particularly intimate with the men I have men-  
 tioned, owing to the circumstances narrated above. When  
 the envoys arrived, the Achaean Assembly being then in  
 session at Corinth, and when after renewing the friendly  
 relations of the Achaeans and the kings, which were of a  
 very close character, they brought before their eyes the

<sup>46</sup> The brothers Ptolemy, awaiting a new attack from Antiochus IV in winter 169/8.

<sup>47</sup> Where he had been a pawn in Antiochus' hands until the king returned to Syria.

<sup>48</sup> 22.3.6, referring back to 187/6.

9 καὶ δεομένων σφίσι βοηθεῖν, τὸ μὲν πλήθος τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἔτοιμον ἦν οὐ μέρει τινί, πανδημεὶ δὲ συγκινδυνεύειν, εἰ δέοι, τοῖς βασιλεύσιν· ἀμφοτέροι γὰρ εἶχον τό τε διάδημα καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν  
 10 Καλλικράτην ἀντέλεγον, φάσκοντες δεῖν καθόλου μὲν μὴ πραγματοκοπεῖν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς παρούσι καιροῖς μηδ' ὅλως, ἀλλ' ἀπερισπάστους ὑπάρχοντας Ῥωμαίοις  
 11 παρέχεσθαι χρείας· μάλιστα γὰρ ἦν τότε προσδόκιμος ὁ περὶ τῶν ὄλων κίνδυνος, ἅτε τοῦ Κοῖντου τοῦ Φιλίππου τὴν παραχειμασίαν ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ ποιουμένου.

(9) 24. τῶν δὲ πολλῶν εἰς ἀπορίαν ἐμπίπτοντων, μὴ δόξωσι Ῥωμαίων ἀστοχεῖν, μεταλαβόντες τοὺς λόγους οἱ περὶ τὸν Λυκόρταν καὶ Πολύβιον ἐδίδασκον,  
 2 ἄλλα τε καὶ πλείω προφερόμενοι καὶ διότι, τῷ πρότερον ἔτει ψηφισαμένων τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πανδημεὶ συστρατεύειν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ πεμφάντων πρεσβυτην τὸν Πολύβιον, ὁ Κόιντος ἀποδεξάμενος τὴν προθυμίαν ἀπέπατο μὴ χρεῖαν ἔχειν τῆς βοηθείας, ἐπεὶ κεκράτηκε τῆς εἰς Μακεδονίαν εἰσβολῆς. ἐξ ὧν ἀπεδείκνυσαν  
 3 σκῆψιν οὖσαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων χρεῖαν πρὸς τὸ διακωλύσαι βοηθεῖν. διὸ παρεκάλουν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, ὑποδεικνύοντες τὸ μέγεθος τῆς περιστάσεως, ἐν ᾗ συνέβαινε τότε τὴν βασιλείαν ὑπάρχειν, μὴ παριδεῖν τὸν καιρὸν, ἀλλὰ μνημονεύοντας τῶν ὁμολογιῶν καὶ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν ὀρκῶν, ἐμπεδοῦν τὰς συνέθηκας. τῶν δὲ πολλῶν ἐπιφερομένων πάλιν βοηθεῖν,  
 5

danger in which the kings stood, and begged for help, the Achaean people were ready to go, not only with a part of their forces, but if necessary with the whole, to fight for the two kings, both of whom wore the crown and exercised royal authority. Callicrates, however, opposed it, saying that generally speaking they should not meddle with such matters, and at the present time should most strictly avoid it and give undivided attention to serving the cause of Rome. For this was just the time when a decisive end of the war was expected, as Quintus Philippus was in winter quarters<sup>49</sup> in Macedonia.

24. The people were now in doubt, and afraid of failing to please the Romans, when Lycortas and Polybius, resuming the discussion, adduced several arguments, and especially the fact that in the previous year,<sup>50</sup> when the Achaeans had voted to join the Romans in full force, and sent Polybius as their envoy to propose it, Quintus after thanking them for their zeal, had informed them that he had no need of the proffered help, as he was master of the passes leading to Macedonia. This, they said, proved that the possible need of the Romans for them was a mere pretext for preventing the dispatch of help to the kings. They, therefore, pointing out the imminence of the peril that threatened the kingdom of Egypt, entreated the Achaeans not to neglect this opportunity, but, mindful of their agreement, of the benefits they had received, and especially of their sworn word, to uphold the treaty. The Assembly now inclining to send help, Callicrates for the

<sup>49</sup> Several months before the arrival of Aemilius Paullus and the battle at Pydna.

<sup>50</sup> 28.12.3.

τότε μὲν οἱ περὶ τὸν Καλλικράτην ἐξέβαλον τὸ δια-  
 βούλιον, διασείσαντες τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ὡς οὐκ οὔσης  
 ἐξουσίας κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἐν ἀγορᾷ βουλευέσθαι  
 6 περὶ βοθηείας. μετὰ δὲ τινα χρόνον συγκλήτου συν-  
 αχθείσης εἰς τὴν τῶν Σικυωνίων πόλιν, ἐν ἧ συν-  
 ἔβαινε μὴ μόνον συμπορεύεσθαι τὴν βουλὴν ἀλλὰ  
 7 πάντας τοὺς ἀπὸ τριάκοντ' ἐτῶν, καὶ λόγων γινομένων  
 πλειόνων, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ Πολυβίου διοριζομένου  
 πρῶτον μὲν περὶ τοῦ μὴ χρεῖαν ἔχειν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους  
 τῆς βοθηείας καὶ δοκοῦντος οὐκ εἰκῆ ταῦτα λέγειν διὰ  
 8 τὸ γεγονέναι τὴν παρελθούσαν θερείαν ἐν τῇ Μακεδο-  
 νίᾳ παρὰ τῷ Φιλίππῳ, δεύτερον δὲ φάσκοντος, εἴαν καὶ  
 δέωνται Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς συμμαχίας, οὐ διὰ τοὺς διακο-  
 σίους ἱππεῖς καὶ χιλίους πεζοὺς τοὺς ἀποσταλησο-  
 μένους εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀδυνατήσειν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς  
 βοθεῖν Ῥωμαίοις· καλῶς γὰρ ποιῶντας αὐτοὺς καὶ  
 9 τρεῖς ἄγειν καὶ τέτταρας μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν μαχίμων  
 εὐδοκοῦντες τοῖς λεγομένοις ἔρρεπον οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς  
 10 τὸ πέμπειν τὴν συμμαχίαν. τῇ δὲ δευτέρᾳ τῶν ἡμερῶν,  
 ἐν ἧ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἔδει τὰ ψηφίσματα προσφέρειν  
 τοὺς βουλομένους, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Λυκόρταν προσ-  
 ἤνεγκαν διότι δεῖ πέμπειν τὴν βοήθειαν, οἱ δὲ περὶ  
 τὸν Καλλικράτην διότι δεῖ πρεσβευτὰς ἐξαποστέλλειν  
 τοὺς διαλύσοντας τοὺς βασιλεῖς πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον.  
 11 πάλιν δὲ τῶν διαβουλίων προτεθέντων ἀγῶν ἐγένετο  
 νεανικός· πολὺ γὰρ μὴν ὑπερείχον οἱ περὶ τὸν Λυκόρ-  
 12 ταν. αἱ τε γὰρ βασιλείαι συγκρινόμεναι μεγάλην  
 13 εἶχον διαφορὰν ὑπὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς Ἀντιόχου σπάνιον

time threw out<sup>51</sup> the resolution, intimidating the magis-  
 trates by the assertion that the law gave them no authority  
 to discuss the question of the dispatch of armed help in a  
 regular assembly. When shortly afterward a meeting was  
 held at Sicyon, at which not only the Achaean senate was  
 present, but all citizens over thirty years of age, several  
 speeches were made; and Polybius especially maintained  
 in the first place that the Romans stood in no need of their  
 assistance—a statement thought by no means to be made  
 at random, as in the previous summer he had been with  
 Quintus Philippus in Macedonia—and said next, that if  
 the Romans did really require their help, the dispatch of  
 the two hundred horse and a thousand foot to Alexandria  
 would not make it impossible for the Achaeans to come to  
 the aid of the Romans; for they could very well raise a  
 force of even thirty or forty thousand men fit to take the  
 field. His speech met with approval, and the people were  
 now disposed to send the help. On the second day, when  
 the law enjoined that those who wished to propose decrees  
 should bring them forward, Lycortas proposed to send the  
 auxiliaries, and Callicrates to send envoys to make peace  
 between the kings and Antiochus. Upon the resolution  
 being proposed there was again a lively debate; but Lycor-  
 tas and his party had much the best of it. For there was a  
 great difference between the two kingdoms in compari-  
 son, since only rare instances could be found in which

<sup>51</sup> By a procedural maneuver.

ἦν εὐρέϊν οἰκεῖόν τι γεγονὸς καθόλου πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἔν γε τοῖς ἀνώτερον χρόνοις· καὶ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ τότε βασιλεύοντος μεγαλοψυχία <διά>δηλος ἐγένετο τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς Πτολεμαίου τοσαῦτα καὶ τηλικαῦτα τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐγεγόνει φιλόανθρωπα κατὰ τοὺς ἀνώτερον χρόνους ὥστ' ἂν μηδένα πλείον ἀξιοῦν.

14  
15  
16

ἂ διατιθέμενος ὁ Λυκόρτας μεγάλην ἐποιεῖτο φαντασίαν, ἅτε τῆς παραθέσεως ὀλοσχερῆ τὴν διαφορὰν ἐχούσης· καθ' ὅσον γὰρ οὐκ ἐξαριθμησασθαι ῥάδιον ἦν τὰς τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ βασιλέων εὐεργεσίας, κατὰ τοσοῦτον ἀπλῶς οὐδὲν ἦν εὐρέϊν φιλόανθρωπον ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιόχου βασιλείας ἀπηνητημένον εἰς πραγμάτων λόγον τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς.

25. Ὅτι ἕως μὲν τίνος οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀνδρωνίδα καὶ

(10) Καλλικράτην ἐχρῶντο τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς διαλύσεως λόγοις, οὐδενὸς δὲ προσέχοντος αὐτοῖς ἐπεισήγαγον

2 μηχανήν. παρῆν γὰρ ἐκ πορείας εἰς τὸ θέατρον γραμματηφόρος φέρων ἐπιστολὴν παρὰ Κοῦντου Μάρκιου, δι' ἧς παρεκάλει τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἀκολουθοῦντας τῇ Ῥωμαίων προαιρέσει πειρᾶσθαι διαλύειν τοὺς βασι

3 λείς· συνέβαινε γὰρ καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον ἀπεσταλκέναι πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς περὶ Νεμέσιον διαλύοντας τοὺς

4 βασιλεῖς. ἦν δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ τῆς ὑποθέσεως· οἱ γὰρ περὶ τὸν Τίτον ἀδυνατήσαντες τοῦ διαλύειν ἀνακεχω

5 ρήκεισαν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἄπρακτοι τελείως. ἀλλ' οἱ περὶ τὸν Πολύβιον οὐ βουλόμενοι διὰ τὸν Μάρκιον πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀντιλέγειν ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκ τῶν

there had been any close relations between that of Antiochus and Greece, in former times at least—for the present king had acted with conspicuous generosity<sup>52</sup> toward the Greeks—but the favors which the Achaeans had received from the kingdom of Egypt in former times had been so great and frequent, that no one could have expected more. Lycortas, by arguing thus, made a great impression, as the comparison showed the difference to be complete. For while it was not easy to enumerate the benefits conferred by the kings in Alexandria, there was not a single act of kindness of any practical value to be found which the Achaeans had met with from the kingdom of Antiochus.

25. Andronidas<sup>53</sup> and Callicrates spoke for a time in favor of making peace; but as no one paid any attention to them, they had recourse to intervention from a higher quarter. For a courier fresh from his journey appeared in the theater bearing a letter from Quintus Marcius, in which he begged the Achaeans to follow the Roman policy in attempting to make peace between the kings. Now it was true that the senate had sent envoys headed by Titus Numisius<sup>54</sup> for this purpose; but the result had not been such as to favor this course, for Titus had found it impossible to make peace and had returned to Rome without achieving anything at all. Polybius, however, out of respect for Marcius not wishing to oppose the letter, retired from

<sup>52</sup> Mørkholm (28.1.1), 54–55, and K. Bringmann-H. v. Steuben (ed.), *Schenkungen hellenistischer Herrscher an Städte und Heiligtümer* I (Berlin 1995), S. 552; Antiochus IV. Epiphanes.

<sup>53</sup> A follower of Callicrates.

<sup>54</sup> Titus Numisius, *MRR* 1.425.



πραγμάτων. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν βοήθειαν οὕτω  
 6 διέπεσε τοῖς βασιλεῦσι, τοῖς δ' Ἀχαιοῖς ἔδοξε πρε-  
 σβευτὰς ἀποστέλλειν τοὺς διαλύσσοντας· καὶ κατ-  
 εστάθησαν Ἄρχων Αἰγειράτης, Ἄρκεσίλαος Ἀρίστων  
 7 Μεγαλοπολίται. οἱ δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου πρεσβευ-  
 ταὶ διαψευθέντες τῆς συμμαχίας ἀνέδωκαν τοῖς ἄρ-  
 χουσιν, ἐτοίμας ἔχοντες, ἐπιστολὰς παρὰ τῶν βασι-  
 λέων, δι' ὧν ἠξίουσιν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐκπέμπειν Λυκόρταν  
 καὶ Πολύβιον ἐπὶ τὸν ἐνεστώτα πόλεμον.

26. Ἐπιλαθόμενος δὲ τῶν γεγραμμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ  
 (7a) Ἀντίοχος καὶ τῶν εἰρημένων ἐξήρτυε πόλεμον κατὰ  
 Πτολεμαίου, ὥστε καὶ λίαν ἀληθὲς φαίνεσθαι τὸ ῥη-  
 2 θέν ὑπὸ Σιμωνίδου "χαλεπὸν ἐσθλὸν ἔμμεναι." ἔχειν  
 μὲν γὰρ ὄρμὰς ἐπὶ τὰ κατὰ καὶ μέχρι τινὸς ἀντιποιή-  
 σασθαι τούτων εὐμαρές, ὁμαλίσαι δὲ καὶ κατὰ πάσας  
 περιστάσιν ἐπίμονον γενέσθαι τῇ γνώμῃ, μηδὲν τοῦ  
 καλοῦ καὶ τοῦ δικαίου προυργιαίτερον τιθέμενον, δυσ-  
 χερές.

27. Ὅτι τοῦ Ἀντιόχου πρὸς Πτολεμαίου ἔνεκεν τοῦ  
 (11) 2 Πηλούσιον κατασχέιν ἀφικομένον, ὁ Ποπίλιος ὁ τῶν  
 Ῥωμαίων στρατηγός, τοῦ βασιλέως πόρρωθεν ἀσπα-  
 ζομένου διὰ τῆς φωνῆς καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν προτείνοντος,  
 πρόχειρον ἔχων τὸ δελτάριον, ἐν ᾧ τὸ τῆς συγκλήτου  
 3 δόγμα κατκετέτακτο, προύτεινεν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκέ-  
 λευσε πρῶτον ἀναγνῶναι τὸν Ἀντιόχου, ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ  
 δοκεῖ, <μη> πρότερον ἀξιώσας τὸ τῆς φιλίας σύνθημα  
 ποιεῖν πρὶν ἢ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἐπιγνῶναι τοῦ δεξιου-

the discussion; and in this manner the project of the kings to secure help failed, and the Achaeans decided to send envoys to bring about peace, their choice falling on Archon<sup>55</sup> of Aegeira and Arcesilaus and Ariston of Megalopolis.<sup>56</sup> Upon this the envoys from Ptolemy, foiled in their project of getting armed help, handed to the magistrates a letter from the kings which they had ready, begging the Achaeans to send Lycortas and Polybius to help in the war.

26. Forgetful of all he had written and spoken Antiochus was making preparations for war with Ptolemy, so that what Simonides<sup>57</sup> said seems to be very true: "It is hard to be good." It is indeed easy to be disposed to act honorably and to strive to do so up to a certain point, but to be consistent and under every circumstance to be steadfast in our purpose, esteeming nothing to be of higher importance than justice and honor, is difficult.

27. At the time when Antiochus approached Ptolemy and meant to occupy Pelusium, Caius Popilius Laenas, the Roman commander, on Antiochus greeting him from a distance and then holding out his hand, handed to the king, as he had it by him, the copy of the senatus-consultum, and told him to read it first, not thinking it proper, as it seems to me, to make the conventional sign of friendship before he knew if the intentions of him who was greeting

<sup>55</sup> 22.10.8, last mentioned 28.12.1 and 3. <sup>56</sup> 28.6.2, all three were close to Lycortas and opposed to Callicrates.

<sup>57</sup> The author was in fact the tyrant Pittacus of Mytilene in the early sixth century, and is as such quoted by Simonides and Pl. *Prt.* 339 C. See *Greek Lyric* 3, ed. D. A. Campbell (Cambridge, MA 1991), 434, no. 542. *RE* Pittakos 1872 (F. Schachermeyr).



4 μένου, πότερα φίλιος ἢ πολέμιός ἐστιν. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀναγνοὺς ἔφη βούλεσθαι μεταδοῦναι τοῖς φίλοις ὑπὲρ τῶν προσπεπωκότων, ἀκούσας ὁ Ποπίλιος ἐποίησε πρᾶγμα βαρὺ μὲν δοκοῦν εἶναι καὶ τε-  
 5 λέως ὑπερήφανον· ἔχων γὰρ πρόχειρον ἀμπελίην βακτηρίαν περιέγραφε τῷ κλήματι τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἐν τούτῳ τε τῷ γύρω τὴν ἀπόφασιν ἐκέλευσε δοῦναι περὶ  
 6 τῶν γεγραμμένων· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ξενισθεὶς τὸ γινόμενον καὶ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν, βραχὺν χρόνον ἐναπορήσας ἔφη ποιήσειν πᾶν τὸ παρακαλούμενον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ποπίλιον τότε τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ λαμ-  
 7 βάνοντες ἅμα πάντες ἠσπάζοντο φιλοφρόνως. ἦν δὲ τὰ γεγραμμένα λύειν ἐξ αὐτῆς τὸν πρὸς Πτολεμαίου πόλεμον. διὸ καὶ δοθεισῶν αὐτῷ τακτῶν ἡμερῶν, οὗτος μὲν ἀπῆγε τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς τὴν Συρίαν, βαρυνόμενος  
 8 καὶ στένων, εἰκῶν δὲ τοῖς καιροῖς κατὰ τὸ παρόν· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ποπίλιον καταστησάμενοι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ παρακαλέσαντες τοὺς βασιλεῖς ὁμοσοεῖν, ἅμα δὲ προστάξαντες αὐτοῖς Πολυάρατον ἀναπέμπευ εἰς Ῥώμην, ἀνέπλευσαν ἐπὶ τῆς Κύπρου, βουλόμενοι καὶ τὰς ἐκεῖ <καθ>υπαρχούσας δυνάμεις  
 10 ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς νήσου κατὰ σπουδὴν. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ καὶ καταλαβόντες ἡττημένους μάχῃ τοὺς τοῦ Πτολεμαίου στρατηγούς καὶ καθόλου φερόμενα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Κύπρον <ἄνω καὶ κάτω> ταχέως ἀνέστησαν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκ τῆς χώρας καὶ παρήδρευσαν, ἕως ἀπ-

him were friendly or hostile. But when the king, after reading it, said he would like to communicate with his friends about this intelligence, Popilius<sup>58</sup> acted in a manner which was thought to be offensive and exceedingly arrogant. He was carrying a stick cut from a vine, and with this he drew a circle round Antiochus and told him he must remain inside this circle until he gave his decision about the contents of the letter. The king was astonished at this authoritative proceeding, but, after a few moments' hesitation, said he would do all that the Romans demanded. Upon this Popilius and his suite<sup>59</sup> all grasped him by the hand and greeted him warmly. The letter ordered him to put an end at once to the war with Ptolemy. So, as a fixed number of days were allowed to him, he led his army back to Syria, deeply hurt and complaining indeed, but yielding to circumstances for the present. Popilius after arranging matters in Alexandria and exhorting the two kings there to act in common, ordering them also to send Polyaratus<sup>60</sup> to Rome, sailed for Cyprus,<sup>61</sup> wishing to lose no time in expelling the Syrian troops that were in the island. When they arrived, finding that Ptolemy's generals had been defeated and that the affairs of Cyprus were generally in a topsy-turvy state, they soon made the Syrian army retire from the country, and waited until the troops

<sup>58</sup> 28.3.1, sent by the Senate to make peace (29.2.2-3). He had waited for the war against Perseus to be decided before traveling to Egypt. The meeting happened at Eleusis, a suburb of Alexandria.

<sup>59</sup> For Popillius' companions see *MRR* 1.436.

<sup>60</sup> When he and his followers had been condemned to death at Rhodes, he had sought shelter in Egypt.

<sup>61</sup> Antiochus had just occupied the island.

- 11 ἐπλευσαν αἱ δυνάμεις ἐπὶ Συρίας. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν  
 ὅσον οὐπω καταπεπονημένην τὴν Πτολεμαίου βασι-  
 12 λείαν τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ διέσωσαν, τῆς τύχης οὕτω  
 βραβεύουσης τὰ κατὰ τὸν Περσέα πράγματα καὶ  
 τοὺς Μακεδόνας ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἔσχατον καιρὸν  
 ἐλθόντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ τὴν ὅλην Αἴ-  
 13 γυπτον παρὰ τοῦτο πάλιν ὀρθωθῆναι, παρὰ τὸ φθά-  
 σαι κριθέντα τὰ κατὰ τὸν Περσέα πράγματα· μὴ γὰρ  
 γενομένου τούτου καὶ πιστευθέντος, οὐκ ἂν μοι δοκεῖ  
 πιθηρχῆσαι τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις Ἀντίοχος.

took ship for Syria. In this way the Romans saved the kingdom of Ptolemy, which had almost been crushed out of existence: Fortune having so directed the matter of Perseus and Macedonia that when the position of Alexandria and the whole of Egypt was almost desperate, all was again set right simply owing to the fact that the fate of Perseus was decided first. For had this not been so, and had not Antiochus been certain of it, he would never, I think, have obeyed the Roman behests.

## FRAGMENTA LIBRI XXX

### I. RES ITALIAE

1. Ὅτι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τούτου ἦλθε παρὰ τοῦ  
2 βασιλέως Εὐμένους ἀδελφὸς Ἄτταλος, ἔχων μὲν πρό-  
φασιν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὸ κατὰ τοὺς Γαλάτας ἐγεγόνει σύμ-  
πτωμα περὶ τὴν βασιλείαν, ὁμως ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν  
Ῥώμην ἕνεκεν τοῦ συγχαρῆναι τῇ συγκλήτῳ καὶ τυ-  
χεῖν τινος ἐπισημασίας διὰ τὸ συμπεπολημέναι καὶ  
πάντων εὐμενῶς σφίσι μετεσχηκέναι τῶν κινδύνων  
3 τότε δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν Γαλατικὴν περίστασιν ἠναγκασμέ-  
4 νος ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην. πάντων δὲ φιλοφρόνως αὐτὸν  
ἀποδεχομένων διὰ τε τὴν ἐν τῇ στρατείᾳ γεγενημένην  
συνήθειαν καὶ διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν εὖνον αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν,  
καὶ γινομένης τῆς ἀπαντήσεως ὑπὲρ τὴν προσδοκίαν,  
μετέωρος ἐγενήθη ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, οὐκ εἰδὼς τὴν ἀλη-  
5 θινὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἀποδοχῆς. διὸ καὶ παρ' ὀλίγον ἦλθε  
τοῦ λυμήνασθαι τὰ σφέτερα πράγματα καὶ τὴν ὅλην  
6 βασιλείαν. τῶν γὰρ πλείστων Ῥωμαίων ἀπηλλοτριω-  
μένων τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως Εὐμένους εὐνοίας καὶ πεπει-  
σμένων αὐτὸν πλάγιον ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ γεγονέναι, λα-  
λοῦντα τῷ Περσεῖ καὶ τοῖς καιροῖς ἐφεδρεύοντα τοῖς

## FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXX

### I. AFFAIRS OF ITALY

#### *Attalus at Rome; Embassies from Rhodes*

(Cf. Livy 45.19)

1. At this time Attalus arrived in Rome sent by his brother Eumenes, the pretext for his mission being, that even if there had not been the Galatian trouble<sup>1</sup> in the kingdom, still he would have come with the wish to congratulate the senate and with the hope of receiving some marks of attention, as they had fought side by side with the Romans and loyally shared all their dangers. Now, however, the Galatian danger had obliged him to come to Rome. He was very cordially received on all sides since they had become intimate with him in camp, and thought he was very well disposed to Rome, and, as the warmth of his reception even surpassed his expectations, he began to entertain extravagant hopes, not knowing the true reason of their kindness. In consequence he narrowly escaped damaging the interests of himself and his brother and their kingdom in general. For as the regard of most of the Romans for Eumenes had been estranged, and they were convinced that he had not acted straight in the war, but had kept on communicating with Perseus and watching for

168-167  
B.C.

<sup>1</sup> 29.22.4.

7 κατ' αὐτῶν, ἔνιοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν λαμβάνοντες  
 εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τὸν Ἄτταλον παρεκάλουν τὴν μὲν ὑπὲρ  
 τὰδελφοῦ πρεσβείαν ἀποθέσθαι, περὶ δ' ἑαυτοῦ ποιεί-  
 8 σθαι τοὺς λόγους· βούλεσθαι γὰρ αὐτῷ τὴν σύγκλη-  
 τον συγκατασκευάζειν ἰδίαν ἀρχὴν καὶ δυναστείαν  
 9 διὰ τὴν ἀλλοτριότητα τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν, ἐφ' οἷς  
 συνέβαινε τὸν Ἄτταλον ἐπὶ πολὺ μετεωρίζεσθαι καὶ  
 συγκατανεύειν <έν> ταῖς κατ' ἰδίαν ὁμιλίαις τοῖς εἰς  
 10 τοῦτο τὸ μέρος αὐτὸν παρορμῶσι. τέλος δὲ πρὸς ἐνί-  
 ους τῶν ἀξιολόγων ἀνδρῶν συνέθετο καὶ παρελθὼν  
 εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον ποιήσεσθαι τοὺς περὶ τούτων λό-  
 γους.

2. Τοιαύτης δ' οὔσης τῆς διαθέσεως περὶ τὸν Ἄτ-  
 τालον, ὄπτευσάμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ μέλλον ἐπιπέμπει  
 Στρατίον τὸν ἰατρὸν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, ὃς μεγίστην παρ'  
 2 αὐτῷ πίστιν εἶχε, τὰ μὲν ὑποδείξας, τὰ δ' ἐντειλάμενος  
 πᾶσαν εἰσενέγκασθαι μηχανὴν πρὸς τὸ μὴ κατακολου-  
 θῆσαι τὸν Ἄτταλον τοῖς βουλομένοις λυμήνασθαι  
 3 τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν  
 Ῥώμην καὶ λαβὼν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τὸν Ἄτταλον πολ-  
 λούς μὲν καὶ ποικίλους διέθετο λόγους· καὶ <γὰρ> ἦν  
 4 ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἔχων τι νουνεχὲς καὶ πειστικόν· μόγις δὲ  
 καθίκετο τῆς προθέσεως καὶ μετεκάλεσε τὸν Ἄτταλον  
 ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλόγου φορᾶς, θεὶς ὑπὸ τὴν ὄψιν ὅτι κατὰ  
 μὲν τὸ παρὸν συμβασιλεύει τὰδελφῷ, τούτῳ διαφέρων  
 ἐκείνου τῷ μὴ διάδημα περιτίθεσθαι μηδὲ χρηματί-

<sup>2</sup> Similar advances had once been made to prince Demetrius, Perseus' younger brother (23.3.4–9).

a reverse in their fortunes, some of the most distinguished of them in private conversation with Attalus advised him to throw up his mission on behalf of his brother and to speak on his own behalf; for the senate, they said, wished to create a separate kingdom for him, owing to their hostility to his brother. Attalus' ambition was much aroused by this, and in private conversation he was disposed to yield to the advice<sup>2</sup> of those who urged him to act so. Finally he even entered into an agreement with some personages of importance to come before the senate and address that body on the subject.

2. Such being Attalus' state of mind, the king, who had divined what would happen, sent his physician Stratius, in whom he placed great confidence, to Rome, both furnishing him with suggestions and giving him positive orders to adopt every device to prevent Attalus from following the advice of those who wished to ruin their kingdom.<sup>3</sup> Upon his arrival in Rome, he had a private interview with Attalus and reasoned with him at length, employing various arguments; for he was a man of good sense and persuasive power. With difficulty he attained his purpose and made Attalus renounce his foolish project, by representing to him that for the present he shared the throne with his brother, differing from him only in this that he did not wear a crown and had not the title<sup>4</sup> of king, but otherwise

<sup>3</sup> For physicians at royal courts see G. Marasco, *Rev. Ét. Grec.* 109 (1996), 435–466. The story of Stratius and Attalus is not beyond suspicion.

<sup>4</sup> Attalus gained the title, when Eumenes made him coruler in his last year; see C. Habicht, in: V. A. Troncoso (ed.), *ΔΙΑΔΟΧΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ. La figura del sucesor en la realeza helenística* (Madrid 2005), 122–125.

5 ζειν βασιλεύς, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν ἴσην καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν  
 ἔχων ἐξουσίαν, εἰς δὲ τὸ μέλλον ὁμολογουμένως κατα-  
 λείπεται διάδοχος τῆς ἀρχῆς, οὐ μακρὰν ταύτης <τῆς>  
 ἐλπίδος ὑπαρχούσης, ἅτε τοῦ βασιλέως διὰ μὲν τὴν  
 σωματικὴν ἀσθένειαν αἰεὶ προσδοκῶντος τὴν ἐκ τοῦ  
 βίον μετὰστασιν, διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπαιδίαν οὐδ' εἰ βουλη-  
 6 θείη δυναμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἄλλῳ καταλιπεῖν οὐδέπω  
 γὰρ ἀναδεδειγμένος ἐτύγγχανεν κατὰ φύσιν υἱὸς ὧν  
 7 αὐτῷ ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα διαδεξάμενος τὴν ἀρχήν. τὸ δὲ  
 συνέχον, θαυμάζειν ἔφη πόσα βλάπτει τοὺς ἐνεστῶτας  
 8 καιροῦς. μεγάλην γὰρ δεῖν ἔχειν πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς χά-  
 ριν, εἰ συμπενέυσαντες καὶ μιᾷ γνώμῃ χρώμενοι δύ-  
 ναιντο τὸν ἀπὸ Γαλατῶν φόβον ἀπώσασθαι καὶ τὸν  
 9 ἀπὸ τούτων ἐφεστῶτα κίνδυνον. εἰ δὲ νῦν εἰς στάσιν  
 καὶ διαφορὰν ἤξει πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν, πρόδηλον εἶναι  
 διότι καταστρέψει τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ στερήσει μὲν  
 αὐτὸν καὶ τῆς παρούσης ἐξουσίας καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ μέλ-  
 λον ἐλπίδος, στερήσει δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς τῆς  
 10 ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ δυναστείας. ταῦτα δὴ καὶ  
 τούτοις ἔτερα παραπλήσια διατιθέμενος ὁ Στρατίος  
 ἔπεισε τὸν Ἄτταλον μένειν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποκειμένων.

3. Διόπερ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον ὁ προειρη-  
 μένος συνεχάρη μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσιν καὶ περὶ τῆς  
 καθ' αὐτὸν εὐνοίας καὶ προθυμίας, ἣν παρέσχετο κατὰ  
 2 τὸν πρὸς Περσεῖα πόλεμον, ἀπελογίσαστο· παραπλη-  
 σίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ πέμψαι πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς παρα-  
 καθέξοντας τὴν τῶν Γαλατῶν ἀπόνοιαν καὶ πάλιν εἰς  
 τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτοὺς ἀποκαταστήσοντας διάθεσιν

having equal and in fact identical power; while as to the future he was the undisputed successor to the throne, and his hopes were not likely to be long deferred,<sup>5</sup> as the king, owing to his infirm health, was in constant expectation of death, and, owing to his childlessness, could not, even if he wished, leave his kingdom to anyone else—the one who later succeeded to the realm<sup>6</sup> had not yet been recognized as his natural son. And above all he said it surprised him that Attalus should do a thing so injurious to the present situation. They should surely give great thanks to all the gods if by agreement and unity of action they could ward off the Galatian peril and the danger that threatened them from that quarter. But if now he proceeded to quarrel with his brother, it was evident that he would ruin the kingdom and deprive himself both of his present power and his hope of future power, while at the same time depriving both brothers of the kingdom and the authority they exercised within its boundaries. By these and similar arguments Stratius succeeded in persuading Attalus to leave things alone.

3. Attalus therefore on entering the Curia congratulated the senate on all that had happened and spoke at length about his kind offices and ready assistance in the war with Perseus. He also at some length begged them to send legates to check the desperate revolt of Galatia and restore the former submissive temper of that province. He

<sup>5</sup> Eumenes lived for another nine years before he died in 158.

<sup>6</sup> The future Attalus III, king 138-133. He was the natural son of Eumenes from a concubine, but officially recognized as son of queen Stratonice. The passage was obviously written after 138.

3 παρεκάλεσε διὰ πλειόνων. ἐποιήσατο δὲ λόγους καὶ  
περὶ τῆς Αἰνίων καὶ τῆς Μαρωνειῶν πόλεως, ἀξίων  
4 αὐτῷ δοθῆναι ταύτας ἐν δωρεᾷ. τὸν δὲ κατὰ τοῦ βα-  
σιλέως λόγον καὶ τὸν περὶ τοῦ μερισμοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς  
5 εἰς τέλος παρεσιώπησεν. ἢ δὲ σύγκλητος ὑπολαμ-  
βάνουσα πάλιν αὐτὸν ἰδίᾳ περὶ τούτων εἰσπορεύσεσθαι,  
τούς τε πρεσβευτὰς συμπέμψειν ὑπέσχετο καὶ τοῖς  
εἰθισμένοις δώροις ἐτίμησεν αὐτὸν μεγαλομερῶς.  
ἐπηγγείλατο δὲ καὶ τὰς προειρημένας πόλεις δώσειν.  
6 ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρατὰ τυχῶν τῶν φιλανθρώπων ὄρμησεν  
ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης οὐδὲν ποιήσας τῶν προσδοκωμένων,  
διαψευθεῖσα τῶν ἐλπίδων ἢ σύγκλητος ἄλλο μὲν  
7 οὐδὲν εἶχε ποιεῖν, ἔτι δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὄντος αὐτοῦ  
τὴν μὲν Αἶνον καὶ τὴν Μαρώνειαν ἠλευθέρωσεν, ἀθε-  
τήσασα τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν Πόπλιον  
Λικίννιον ἔπεμψε πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς τοὺς Γαλάτας. οἷς  
8 ποίας μὲν ἔδωκεν ἐντολὰς εἰπεῖν οὐ ῥάδιον, στοχάζε-  
σθαι δ' ἐκ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα συμβάντων οὐ δυσχερές.  
9 τοῦτο δ' ἔσται δῆλον ἐκ τῶν πράξεων αὐτῶν.

4. Ἐκον δὲ καὶ παρὰ Ῥοδίων πρέσβεις, πρῶτον  
μὲν οἱ περὶ Φιλοκράτην, μετὰ δὲ τούτους οἱ περὶ Φι-  
2 λόφρονα καὶ Ἀστυμήδην· οἱ γὰρ Ῥόδιοι κομισάμενοι  
τὴν ἀπόκρισιν, ἣν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀγέπολιν ἔλαβον εὐ-  
θέως μετὰ τὴν παράταξιν, καὶ θεωροῦντες ἐκ ταύτης  
τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὀργὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάτασιν τῆς συγ-  
κλήτου παραντίκα τὰς προειρημένας πρεσβείας ἐξ-  
3 ἐπέμψαν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀστυμήδην καὶ Φιλόφρονα

also spoke about Aenus and Maronea, asking for these towns to be freely granted to him. As to what he had been about to say against Eumenes and about the division of the kingdom he did not utter a word. The senate, supposing that he would appear again and make a special speech about these matters, promised to send legates back with him, and voted on a lavish scale the customary gifts in his honor. They also promised to give him the two towns in question. But when, after receiving all these kindnesses, he left Rome without doing any of the things they expected, the senate, disabused of their hopes, could take no further action; but while he was still in Italy set free<sup>7</sup> Aenus and Maronea, thus breaking their promise, but dispatched Publius Licinius Crassus<sup>8</sup> as their legate to Galatia. It is difficult to state what instructions they gave this legate, but from what happened afterward it is easy to guess what they were, as will be evident<sup>9</sup> when I come to narrate the events.

4. Envoys also came from Rhodes, first Philocrates and next Philophron<sup>10</sup> and Astymedes.<sup>11</sup> For the Rhodians, on receiving the answer<sup>12</sup> given to Hagepolis just after the battle of Pydna and seeing from this the angry and threatening attitude of the senate toward them, at once sent off these two embassies. Astymedes and Philophron, noticing

<sup>7</sup> At that time, in 167, the Romans granted Maronea a treaty which is preserved: L. D. Loukopoulou, *Ἐπιγραφές τῆς Θράκης τοῦ Αἰγαίου* . . . (Athens 2005), E 168.

<sup>8</sup> Publius Licinius Crassus, the consul of 171. *MRR* 1.435.

<sup>9</sup> P. hints that the Romans did not seriously try to end the war. <sup>10</sup> 22.5.2. <sup>11</sup> 27.7.3.  
<sup>12</sup> 29.19.10.



κατανοοῦντες ἐκ τῶν ἐντεύξεων καὶ κοινῇ καὶ κατ'  
 ἰδίαν τὴν ὑφώρασιν καὶ τὴν ἀλλοτριότητα τῶν ἀν-  
 θρώπων τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰς ἀθυμίαν ὀλοσχερῇ καὶ  
 4 δυσχρηστίαν ἐνέπιπτον. ὡς δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν τις  
 ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐμβόλους παρεκάλει τοὺς ὄχλους ἐπὶ  
 5 τὸν κατὰ Ῥοδίων πόλεμον, τότε δὴ παντάπασιν ἔξω τοῦ  
 φρονεῖν γενόμενοι διὰ τὸν περὶ τῆς πατρίδος κίνδυνον  
 εἰς τοιαύτην ἦλθον διάθεσιν ὥστε καὶ φαιὰ λαβεῖν  
 ἱμάτια καὶ κατὰ τὰς παρακλήσεις μηκέτι παρακαλεῖν  
 μηδ' ἀξιοῦν τοὺς φίλους, ἀλλὰ δεῖσθαι μετὰ δακρύων  
 6 μηδὲν ἀνήκεστον βουλευσασθαι περὶ αὐτῶν. μετὰ δέ  
 τινας ἡμέρας εἰσαγαγόντος αὐτοὺς Ἀντωνίου τοῦ δη-  
 μάρχου, <τοῦ> καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν τὸν παρακαλοῦντα  
 πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον κατασπάσαντος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων,  
 ἐποιεῖτο τοὺς λόγους πρῶτον μὲν Φιλόφρων, μετὰ δὲ  
 7 τοῦτον Ἀστυμήδης. ὅτε δὴ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν τὸ  
 κύκνειον ἐξηχῆσαντες ἔλαβον ἀποκρίσεις τοιαύτας,  
 δι' ὧν τοῦ μὲν ὀλοσχεροῦς φόβου τοῦ κατὰ τὸν πόλε-  
 8 μον ἐδόκου παραλελῦσθαι, περὶ δὲ τῶν κατὰ μέρος  
 ἐγκλημάτων αὐτοῖς ἢ σύγκλητος πικρῶς καὶ βαρέως  
 9 ἀνείδισεν. ἦν δ' ὁ νοῦς τῆς ἀποκρίσεως τοιοῦτος, ὅτι  
 εἰ μὴ δι' ὀλίγους ἀνθρώπους τοὺς αὐτῶν φίλους, καὶ  
 μάλιστα δι' αὐτούς, ἤδρισαν καλῶς καὶ δικαίως ὡς  
 10 δέον ἦν αὐτοῖς χρῆσασθαι. ὁ δ' Ἀστυμήδης αὐτῷ μὲν  
 ἐδόκει καλῶς εἰρηκέναι περὶ τῆς πατρίδος, οὐ μὴν τοῖς

<sup>13</sup> The *praetor peregrinus* Manius Iuventius Thalna (Livy 45.21.1). *MRR* 1.433. Marcus Porcius Cato, in a partly preserved

from the reception they met with both in public and in private the suspicion and hostility with which they were regarded, fell into a state of utter despondency and helplessness. And when one of the praetors<sup>13</sup> mounted the rostra and urged the people to declare war on Rhodes, then, entirely losing their senses owing to the danger in which their country stood, they were in such a state of distress that they put on mourning and in seeking the aid of their friends no longer begged for it or asked for it, but implored them in tears not to resort to extreme measures against Rhodes. A few days afterward, when they were introduced to the senate by the tribune Antonius, who had previously dragged down from the rostra the praetor who was inciting the people to make war, Philophron was the first to speak, and was followed by Astymedes. On this occasion after singing the dying swan's song,<sup>14</sup> as the saying is, they received an answer which relieved indeed their extreme apprehension of war but in it the senate reproached them bitterly and severely for the several offenses with which they were charged. The sense of the answer was that, had it not been for a few men who were their friends, and especially had it not been for their own conduct, they would have known well as they richly deserved what was the treatment proper for them. Astymedes,<sup>15</sup> in his own opinion, had spoken well in defense

speech, defended the Rhodians (Malcovati, *ORF* 62–67), and two tribunes of the plebs vetoed the proposal.

<sup>14</sup> P. uses the proverbial expression again in 31.12.1, in both cases of people making a last appeal. See *Paroemiogr.* 1.258. Chrysippus, *SVF* 3.199, fr. 8. Ael. *NA* 2.32.

<sup>15</sup> P.'s harsh criticism suggests that among those whom Astymedes accused of having sinned more than the Rhodians had been the Achaeans.

- γε παρεπιδημοῦσιν οὐδὲ τοῖς οἴκοι μένουσιν τῶν
- 11 Ἑλλήνων οὐδαμῶς ἤρεσκεν. ἐξέβαλε γὰρ ἔγγραπτον  
μετὰ ταῦτα ποιήσας τὴν σύνταξιν τῆς δικαιολογίας,  
ἣ τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν ἀναλαμβάνοντων εἰς τὰς χεῖρας
- 12 ἄτοπος ἐφαίνετο καὶ τελῶς ἀπίθανος. συνεστήσατο  
γὰρ τὴν δικαιολογίαν οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν τῆς πατρίδος  
δικαίων, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων κατηγορίας.
- 13 τὰ μὲν γὰρ εὐεργετήματα καὶ συνεργήματα παρα-  
βάλλων καὶ συγκρίνων τὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπειράτο  
ψευδοποιεῖν καὶ ταπεινοῦν, τὰ δὲ τῶν Ῥοδίων ἠύξανε,  
14 πολλαπλασιάζων καθ' ὅσον οἶός τ' ἦν· τὰ δ' ἁμαρτή-  
ματα κατὰ τοῦναντίον τὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἐξωνείδιζε  
πικρῶς καὶ δυσμενικῶς, τὰ δὲ τῶν Ῥοδίων ἐπειράτο  
περιστέλλειν, ἵνα κατὰ τὴν παράθεσιν τὰ μὲν οἰκεία  
μικρὰ καὶ συγγνώμης ἄξια φανῆ, τὰ δὲ τῶν πέλας  
15 μεγάλα καὶ ἀπαραίτητα τελῶς, ἐφ' οἷς ἔφη συγγνώ-  
μης τετευχέναι τοὺς ἡμαρτηκότας ἅπαντας. τὸ δὲ γέ-  
νος τοῦτο τῆς δικαιολογίας οὐδαμῶς ἂν πρέπειν ἀνδρὶ
- 16 πολιτικῶ δόξειεν, ἐπέειποι καὶ τῶν κοινοπραγησάντων  
περὶ τινῶν ἀπορρήτων οὐ τοὺς διὰ φόβον ἢ πόνον  
μηνυτὰς γενομένους τῶν συνειδόντων ἐπαινοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ  
τοὺς πᾶσαν ἐπιδεξαμένους βάσανον καὶ τιμωρίαν καὶ  
μηδενὶ τῶν συνειδόντων παραιτίους γενομένους τῆς  
αὐτῆς συμφορᾶς, τούτους ἀποδεχόμεθα καὶ τούτους
- 17 ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς νομίζομεν. ὁ δὲ διὰ τὸν ἄδηλον φό-  
βον πάντα τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἁμαρτήματα τιθεῖς ὑπὸ τῆν  
ὄψιν τοῖς κρατοῦσιν καὶ καινοποιήσας, ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ

of his country, but his speech by no means pleased the Greeks resident in Rome nor those at home. For he afterward wrote out and recalled his defense to their attention, and most of those who perused it thought it strange and quite unconvincing, inasmuch as he had drawn it up relying not so much on the rights of his country, as on the accusations he brought against others. In comparing and judging the relative values of kindnesses and assistance rendered to the Romans, he attempted to discredit and belittle the services of other states, while he magnified those of Rhodes, exaggerating them as much as he could. In regard to offenses, on the contrary, he condemned those of others in a bitter and hostile spirit, but tried to cloak those of Rhodes, so that when compared the offenses of Rhodes might seem to be small and deserving of pardon, but those of her neighbors great and quite inexpiable, although, as he said, the offenders had all been pardoned. Such a kind of justification, I think, is by no means becoming in a politician, since surely in the case of men who have taken part in secret designs we do not praise those who either from fear or suffering turn informers and betray confidences, but we applaud and regard as brave men those who endure the extremity of torture and punishment without being the cause of similar suffering to their accomplices. How then could those who heard of it fail to disapprove the conduct of a man who for fear of an uncertain danger revealed to the ruling power and pub-

χρόνος εἰς λήθην ἀγρόχει τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας, πῶς οὐκ ἔμελλε δυσареστήσειν τοῖς ἱστορήσασιν;

5. Τὴν δὲ προειρημένην ἀπόκρισιν οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Φιλοκράτην λαβόντες ἐξ αὐτῆς ὥρμησαν, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν <Φιλόφρονα καὶ> Ἀστυμήδην αὐτόθι μένοντες παρήδρευον χάριν τοῦ μηδὲν αὐτοὺς λανθάνειν τῶν προσπιπτόντων ἢ λεγομένων κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος.
- 2 προσπεσούσης δὲ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως ταύτης εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον, δόξαντες ἀπολελύσθαι τοῦ μεγίστου φόβου τοῦ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον, ἄλλα καίπερ ἀκμὴν ὄντα δυσ-
- 3 χερῆ ῥαδίως ἔφερον. οὕτως αἰεὶ τὰ μείζω τῶν προσδοκωμένων κακῶν λήθην ποιεῖ τῶν ἐλαττόνων συμ-
- 4 πτωμάτων. διὸ καὶ παραχρῆμα ψηφισάμενοι τῇ Ῥώμῃ στέφανον ἀπὸ μυρίων χρυσῶν καὶ καταστήσαντες πρεσβευτὴν ἅμα καὶ ναύαρχον Θεαΐδητον ἐξέπεμπον θερείας ἀρχομένης ἄγοντα τὸν στέφανον καὶ μετὰ τούτου τοὺς περὶ Ῥοδοφῶντα, πειρασομένους κατὰ
- 5 πάντα τρόπον συμμαχίαν συνθέσθαι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους. τοῦτο δ' ἐποίησαν βουλόμενοι διὰ τοῦ ψηφίσματος καὶ πρεσβείας ἀποτυχεῖν, ἐὰν ἄλλως δόξη Ῥωμαίοις, δι' αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς τοῦ ναυάρχου προαιρέσεως τὴν κατά-
- 6 πειραν ποιήσασθαι τὴν γὰρ ἐξουσίαν εἶχε ταύτην ὁ ναύαρχος ἐκ τῶν νόμων. οὕτως γὰρ ἦν πραγματικὸν τὸ πολίτευμα τῶν Ῥοδίων ὡς σχεδὸν ἕτη τετταράκοντα πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν κεκοινωνηκῶς ὁ δῆμος Ῥωμαίοις τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων καὶ καλλίστων ἔργων οὐκ ἐπεποί-

lished all the errors of others, errors which time had already veiled from the eyes of their masters?

5. Philocrates, on receiving the above answer, at once left, but Philophron and Astymedes remained to be on the watch, so that nothing that was reported or said against their country should escape them. When the terms of the answer were announced in Rhodes, the people, thinking that they had been relieved of their greatest fear, that of war, bore the other demands, galling as they were, with equanimity. And so it ever is that the greater the evils we expect, the more easily we forget lesser misfortunes. So they at once voted a crown<sup>16</sup> of ten thousand gold pieces to Rome, and, appointing Theaetetus<sup>17</sup> ambassador and admiral, sent him off in early summer with the crown accompanied by Rhodophon<sup>18</sup> to try by every means to make an alliance with Rome. This they did with the object, in case the Romans did not consent and the decree of the crown and their embassy were a failure, of attempting to gain their end by the personal action of the admiral; for by their laws he was, as admiral, empowered to act in such matters. For the policy of Rhodes had been so little dictated by sentiment, that although that state had for nearly a hundred and forty years taken part in the most glorious and finest achievements of the Romans, they had never

<sup>16</sup> For the meaning and parallels see WC 3.421-422.

<sup>17</sup> See H.-U. Wiemer, *Krieg, Handel und Politik* . . . (Berlin 2002), 308, n. 6, no. 6, and 321-322.

<sup>18</sup> 27.7.3; 28.2.3.

7 ητο πρὸς αὐτοὺς συμμαχίαν. τίνος δὲ χάριν οὕτως  
 8 ἐχείριζον οἱ Ῥόδιοι τὰ καθ' αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἄξιον παρα-  
 λιπεῖν. βουλόμενοι γὰρ μηδένα τῶν ἐν ταῖς ὑπεροχαῖς  
 καὶ δυναστείαις ἀπελπίζειν τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπικουρίαν  
 καὶ συμμαχίαν, οὐκ ἐβούλοντο συνδνάζειν οὐδὲ προ-  
 καταλαμβάνειν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὄρκους καὶ συνθήκαις,  
 9 ἀλλ' ἀκέραιοι διαμένοντες κερδαίνειν τὰς ἐξ ἐκάστων  
 ἐλπίδας. τότε δὲ μεγάλην ἐποιοῦντο φιλοτιμίαν, βου-  
 λόμενοι ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς τυχεῖν παρὰ Ῥωμαίων, οὐ  
 κατεπειγόμενοι συμμαχίας οὐδ' ἀγωνιῶντες ἀπλῶς  
 10 οὐδένα κατὰ τὸ παρὸν πλὴν αὐτῶν τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλὰ  
 βουλόμενοι κατὰ τὴν ὑπέρθεσιν τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ἀφαι-  
 ρεῖσθαι τὰς ὑπονοίας τῶν δυσχερές τι διανοουμένων  
 11 περὶ τῆς πόλεως. ἄρτι δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν Θεαίδητον  
 καταπεπλευκότων, ἀπέστησαν Καύνιοι, κατελάβοντο  
 12 δὲ καὶ Μυλασεῖς τὰς ἐν Εὐρώμῳ πόλεις. κατὰ δὲ τὸν  
 αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἡ σύγκλητος ἐξέβαλε δόγμα διότι δεῖ  
 Κᾶρας καὶ Λυκίους ἐλευθέρους εἶναι πάντας, ὅσους  
 13 προσέειμε Ῥοδίοις μετὰ τὸν Ἀντιοχικὸν πόλεμον. τὰ  
 μὲν οὖν κατὰ τοὺς Καύνιους καὶ τοὺς Εὐρωμείς τα-  
 14 χέως οἱ Ῥόδιοι διωρθώσαντο· τοὺς μὲν <γὰρ> Καύνι-

<sup>19</sup> A highly controversial statement, suggesting common Roman and Rhodian collaboration "in the most glorious and finest achievements" for 140 years, "a blatant untruth" (WC 3.424). The text has been emended by M. Holleaux, *Rome, la Grèce et les monarchies hellénistiques* . . . (Paris 1921), 29–46, who deletes the words πρὸς τοῖς ἐκατόν making P. say "forty" years. The text has been defended and interpreted by H. H. Schmitt, *Rom und*

made an alliance with Rome.<sup>19</sup> The reason of their action in this respect should not be ignored. It was this. As they wished none of the kings and princes to despair of gaining their help and alliance, they did not desire to run in harness with Rome and engage themselves by oaths and treaties, but preferred to remain unembarrassed and able to reap profit from any quarter. But now they were most energetic in their efforts to obtain this distinction from Rome, not standing in urgent need of the alliance or fearing in the very least any other power except Rome alone for the present, but wishing by insistence on this project to free themselves from the suspicions of those who entertained unfriendly ideas about their city. Soon after Theaetetus had put into port,<sup>20</sup> Caunus<sup>21</sup> revolted, and the people of Mylasa<sup>22</sup> took possession of the cities in Euromus.<sup>23</sup> At the same time the senate issued a consultum setting free all the parts of Caria and Lycia<sup>24</sup> which they had assigned to Rhodes at the time of the war with Antiochus. As for Caunus and Euromus the matter was soon set right by the Rhodians. Dispatching Lycon with troops

*Rhodos* (Munich 1957), 1–49, and recently by A. Bresson, in: *Scripta Anatolica. Hommages à Pierre Debord* (Bordeaux 2007), 145–164, esp. 157–160. Polybius, however, speaks of more than just "premiers rapports." See also V. Kontorini, *JRS* 73 (1983), 24–32. <sup>20</sup> In Italy.

<sup>21</sup> Carian city in the Rhodian Peraea (9.13). Ch. Marek, *Die Inschriften von Kaunos* (Munich 2006), with ample collection of testimonies on the city, pp. 7–44.

<sup>22</sup> 16.24.6.

<sup>23</sup> 18.2.3. The city had after 197 regained its old name. What the plural "cities" means is disputed.

<sup>24</sup> 21.24.7–9 and 46.8.

- 15 οὓς Λύκωνα πέμφαντες μετὰ στρατιωτῶν ἠνάγκασαν  
 πάλιν ὑφ' αὐτοὺς τάττεσθαι, καίπερ Κιβυρατῶν αὐτοῖς  
 παραβοθησάντων, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς ἐν Εὐρώμῳ πόλεις  
 στρατεύσαντες ἐνίκησαν μάχῃ Μυλασεῖς καὶ Ἀλαβαν-  
 16 δεῖς, ἀμφοτέρων παραγενομένων μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐπ'  
 Ὀρθωσίαν. τοῦ δὲ περὶ τῶν Λυκίων καὶ Καρῶν δόγμα-  
 τος αὐτοῖς προσπεσόντος, πάλιν ἀπεσοβήθησαν ταῖς  
 διανοίαις, δέισαντες μὴ ποτε μάταιος μὲν αὐτοῖς ἢ  
 τοῦ στεφάνου δόσις γέγονε, μάταιοι δ' αἱ περὶ τῆς  
 συμμαχίας ἐλπίδες.

## II. RES GRAECIAE

6. Ὅτι φησὶ Πολύβιος· πρότερον ἐπιστήσαντες  
 τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας ἐπὶ τὴν περὶ Δείωνος καὶ Πο-  
 2 λυαράτου διάληψιν· μεγάλης γὰρ οὔσης τῆς περιστά-  
 σεως καὶ τῆς μεταβολῆς οὐ μόνον παρὰ τοῖς Ῥοδίοις,  
 ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἀπάσαις ταῖς πολιτείαις, χρήσιμον ἂν  
 3 εἶη τὸ τὰς προαιρέσεις τῶν παρ' ἐκάστοις πολιτεο-  
 μένων ἐπισκέψασθαι καὶ γινῶναι τίνες φανήσονται τὸ  
 κατὰ λόγον πεποιηκότες καὶ τίνες παραπεπαικότες  
 4 τοῦ καθήκοντος, ἵνα οἱ ἐπιγινόμενοι, ὡσανεὶ τύπων  
 ἐκτιθεμένων, δύνωνται κατὰ τὰς ὁμοίας περιστάσεις  
 τὰ μὲν αἰρετὰ διώκειν, τὰ δὲ φευκτὰ φεύγειν ἀληθινῶς,  
 καὶ μὴ περὶ τὸν ἔσχατον καιρὸν τῆς ζωῆς ἀβλεποῦντες  
 τὸ πρέπον καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ προγεγονότῳ βίῳ πράξεις

they compelled the Caunians to submit again to them, although the people of Cibyra<sup>25</sup> came to their help, and making an expedition to the cities in Euromus they defeated the Mylasians and Alabandians,<sup>26</sup> who had both come with an armed force to Orthosia.<sup>27</sup> But when they heard of the senatus-consultum about Lycia and Caria they were again alarmed, fearing that their gift of the crown had been made in vain and that their hopes of an alliance were equally vain.

## II. AFFAIRS OF GREECE

*Three Classes of Anti-Roman Statesmen*

6. In the first place I will ask my readers after reflection to pronounce on the conduct of Deinon and Polyaratus.<sup>28</sup> For, as the dangers were then great and the change of circumstances abrupt, not only at Rhodes but in nearly all other states, it will be, I think, of some service to examine into the principles of the leading politicians in each place and decide which of them prove to have acted in a rational manner and which to have failed in their duty; so that their successors, with these examples before them, may in similar circumstances be enabled to truly pursue the course that is desirable and avoid what ought to be avoided, and should not, at the end of their lives, by disregarding the honorable, also discredit their previous achievements.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>25</sup> 21.34.1.      <sup>26</sup> 16.24.6.      <sup>27</sup> Modern Ortos, south of Nysa in Caria. *RE* Orthosia 1491-1493 (W. Ruge).

<sup>28</sup> See 27.7.4; 29.27.9.      <sup>29</sup> The words following the crux are corrupt and not easily emended. Walbank's remark (3.428) "The general sense is clear" seems too optimistic.



5 ταύτων ποιῶσι. συνέβαινε τοιγαροῦν τρεῖς διαφορὰς  
γενέσθαι τῶν ἐμπεσόντων εἰς τὰς αἰτίας κατὰ τὸν  
6 πρὸς Περσέα πόλεμον. ὧν μία μὲν ἦν τῶν οὐχ ἠδέως  
μὲν ὀρώντων κρινόμενα τὰ ὅλα καὶ τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης  
ἐξουσίαν ὑπὸ μίαν ἀρχὴν πίπτουσαν, οὔτε δὲ συνερ-  
γούντων οὔτ' ἀντιπραττόντων ἀπλῶς Ῥωμαίοις οὐδέν,  
7 μένων ἑτέρα δὲ τῶν ἠδέως ὀρώντων κρινόμενα τὰ  
πράγματα καὶ βουλομένων νικᾶν τὸν Περσέα, μὴ δυ-  
ναμένων δὲ συνεπισπᾶσθαι τοὺς ἰδίους πολίτας καὶ  
8 τοὺς ὁμοεθνεῖς πρὸς τὴν αὐτῶν γνώμην· τρίτη δὲ καὶ  
τῶν συνεπισπασαμένων καὶ μεταρριψάντων τὰ πολι-  
τεύματα πρὸς τὴν Περσέως συμμαχίαν.

7. πῶς οὖν ἕκαστοι τούτων ἐχείρισαν τὰ καθ' αὐτοὺς  
2 σκοπεῖν πάρεστιν. μετέρριψαν πρὸς Περσέα τὸ τῶν  
Μολοττῶν ἔθνος Ἀντίνοῦς καὶ Θεόδοτος καὶ Κέφαλος  
3 μετ' αὐτῶν· κοῖ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀντιπεσόντων ταῖς  
ἐπιβολαῖς αὐτῶν ὀλοσχερῶς, καὶ περιστάντος τοῦ  
κινδύνου, καὶ συνεγγίζοντος τοῦ δεινοῦ, πάντες ὁμοσε  
4 χωρήσαντες τοῖς παρούσι ἀπέθανον γενναίως. διό-  
περ ἄξιον ἐπαινεῖν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ προέσθαι  
μηδὲ περιδεῖν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰς ἀναξίαν διάθεσιν ἐμ-  
5 πεσόντας τοῦ προγεγονότος βίου. καὶ μὴν ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ  
καὶ παρὰ Θετταλοῖς καὶ Περραιβοῖς ἔσχον αἰτίαν καὶ  
πλείους διὰ τὴν ἡσυχίαν, ὡς ἐφεδρεύοντες τοῖς καιροῖς  
6 καὶ φρονούντες τὰ Περσέως. ἀλλ' οὔτε λόγον ἐν τῷ  
μέσῳ τοιοῦτον ἐξέβαλον οὔτε γράφοντες οὔτε διαπεμ-  
πόμενοι πρὸς τὸν Περσέα περὶ τινος ἐφωράθησαν,

Now three classes of men were accused for their conduct in the war with Perseus. The first consisted of those who did not indeed view with pleasure the final decision of the struggle and the subjection of the whole world by one power, yet neither supported the Romans in any way nor opposed them, but as it were committed the result to Fortune. The next class was composed of those who were glad to see matters coming to a decisive issue and wished Perseus success, but were unable to impose their views on their fellow citizens and compatriots. Finally, there were those who did convert their states to their views and involve them in alliance with Perseus.

7. My present object, then, is to inquire how each of these classes handled their respective situations. Antinous, Theodotus<sup>30</sup> and Cephalus<sup>31</sup> involved the Molossian people along with them in alliance with Perseus; and when facts fell out in a manner entirely adverse to their projects, when they stood in imminent danger, and the day of retribution was at hand, they all faced the situation and perished bravely. We should therefore very properly praise these men for not abandoning their principles and permitting themselves to adopt a principle that would give the lie to their previous life. Again in Achaëa, Thessaly, and Perrhaëbia numerous men were accused, owing to their inaction, of awaiting the development of circumstances and being favorably inclined to Perseus; but they never gave expression to such sentiments and they were not convicted of writing to Perseus or communicating with

<sup>30</sup> 27.16.1.

<sup>31</sup> 27.15.1-16.

7 ἀλλὰ διεφύλαξαν ἀνεπιλήπτους ἑαυτοῦς. τοιγαροῦν  
 εἰκότως οὗτοι καὶ δικαιολογίαν καὶ κρίσιν ὑπέμενον  
 8 καὶ πάσας ἐξήλεγχον τὰς ἐλπίδας· οὐ γὰρ ἔλαττόν  
 ἔστιν ἀγεννίας σημεῖον τὸ μηδὲν αὐτῷ συνειδῶτα  
 μοχθηρὸν προεξάγειν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν αὐτόν, ποτὲ μὲν  
 τὰς τῶν ἀντιπολιτευομένων ἀνατάσεις καταπλαγέντα,  
 ποτὲ δὲ τὴν τῶν κρατούντων ἐξουσίαν, τοῦ παρὰ τὸ  
 καθήκον φιλοζωεῖν.

9 Καὶ μὴν ἐν Ῥόδῳ καὶ Κῷ καὶ πλείοσιν ἑτέραις  
 πόλεσιν ἐγένοντό τινες οἱ φρονούντες τὰ Περσέως, οἱ  
 καὶ λέγειν ἐθάρρουν περὶ Μακεδόνων ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις  
 πολιτεύμασι καὶ κατηγορεῖν μὲν Ῥωμαίων καὶ καθ-  
 ὄλου συνίστασθαι πρὸς τὸν Περσέα κοινοπραγίαν, οὐ  
 δυνηθέντες δὲ μεταρρῦμαι τὰ πολιτεύματα πρὸς τὴν  
 10 τοῦ βασιλέως συμμαχίαν. τούτων δ' ἦσαν ἐπιφανέστα-  
 τοι παρὰ μὲν τοῖς Κῳῖς Ἰππόκριτος καὶ Διομέδων  
 ἀδελφοί, παρὰ δὲ Ῥοδίοις Δεῖνων καὶ Πολυάρατος.

8. ὦν τίς οὐκ ἂν καταμémψαιτο τὴν προαίρεσιν; οἱ  
 πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς πολίτας συνίστορας ἔχοντες πάντων  
 τῶν σφίσι πεπραγμένων καὶ τῶν εἰρημένων, ἔπειτα δὲ  
 τῶν γραμμάτων ἐαλωκότων καὶ πεφωτισμένων καὶ  
 τῶν παρὰ τοῦ Περσέως πρὸς ἐκείνους διαπεμπομένων  
 2 καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸν Περσέα παρ' ἐκείνων, ἅμα δὲ καὶ  
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑποχειρίων γεγονότων τῶν διαπεμπο-  
 μένων παρ' ἑκατέρων καὶ πρὸς ἑκατέρους, οὐχ οἷοί τ'  
 ἦσαν εἶκειν οὐδ' ἐκποδῶν ποιεῖν ἑαυτοῦς, ἀλλ' ἀκμῆν  
 3 ἠμφισβήτητον. τοιγαροῦν προσκαρτεροῦντες καὶ φιλο-  
 ζωοῦντες πρὸς ἀπεγνωσμένας ἐλπίδας καὶ τὸ δοκοῦν

him about any matter, and they gave no handle to anyone to accuse them. They were therefore justified in standing on their defense in submitting to trial, and employing every means to save themselves; for to put an end to one's life when one is not conscious of having done anything unworthy simply from fear of the threats of political opponents or the power of the conquerors is no less a sign of cowardice than to cling to life at the sacrifice of honor.

But again in Rhodes, in Cos, and in several other cities some among those who sided with Perseus had the courage to speak about the Macedonians in their cities, to accuse the Romans and to recommend unity of action with Perseus, but proved incapable of persuading their countries to ally themselves with the king. Of these men the most distinguished in Cos were the brothers Hippocritus and Diomedon,<sup>32</sup> and in Rhodes Deinon and Polyaratus.

8. Their course was one that no one can avoid condemning. In the first place their fellow citizens were cognizant of all they had done and said; next both the letters of Perseus to them and theirs to him had been captured and published, and the emissaries employed on both sides had fallen into the hands of the Romans and yet they could not resolve to yield to facts and remove themselves but still continued to dispute. Therefore by thus obstinately clinging to life in face of this desperate position, they so

<sup>32</sup> Two brothers, members of a distinguished family: C. Habicht, *The Hellenistic Monarchies: Selected Papers* (Ann Arbor 2006), 148-152 and 294.

εἶναι περὶ αὐτοὺς τολμηρὸν καὶ παράβολον ἀνέτρεψαν,  
 ὥστε παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιγινόμενοις μὴδ' ἔσχατον ἑλέφ καὶ  
 4 συγγνώμῃ τόπον καταλιπεῖν. ἐλεγχόμενοι γὰρ κατὰ  
 πρόσωπον ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων χειρογράφων καὶ τῶν ὑπ-  
 5 ουργῶν οὐ μόνον ἀτυχεῖν, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἀναισχυντεῖν  
 πολλάκις εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐπεπλεύκει, διαπεσταλ-  
 6 μένος ὑπὸ τῶν προειρημένων. οὗτος ἐν τῇ μεταβολῇ  
 τῆς πραγμάτων συνειδῶς αὐτῷ τὰ πεπραγμένα, δει-  
 σσας ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν Κνίδον. τῶν δὲ Κνιδίων αὐ-  
 τὸν εἰς φυλακὴν ἀποθμεμένων, ἐξαιτηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥο-  
 7 δίων ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον. κακεῖ διὰ τῶν βασάνων  
 ἐλεγχόμενος ἀνθωμολογεῖτο καὶ σύμφωνος ἦν πᾶσι  
 τοῖς ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων γραμμάτων συνθήμασι,  
 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ταῖς παρὰ τε τοῦ Περ-  
 σέως ἀποστελλομέναις πρὸς τὸν Δείνωνα <καὶ Πο-  
 8 λυάρατον> καὶ παρὰ τούτων πρὸς ἑκείνον. ἐξ ὧν  
 θαυμάζειν ἦν τίνι ποτὲ λογισμῷ χρώμενος ὁ Δείνων  
 προσαναίχε τῷ ζῆν καὶ τὸν παραδειγματισμὸν ὑπέμενε  
 τοῦτον.

9. Πολὺ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀβουλίαν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀγεν-  
 2 νίαν ὁ Πολυάρατος ὑπερέθετο τὸν Δείνωνα. τοῦ γὰρ  
 Ποπιλίου προστάξαντος Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸν  
 Πολυάρατον ἀναπέμπειν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, ὁ βασιλεὺς  
 εἰς μὲν τὴν Ῥώμην οὐκ ἔκρινε πέμπειν, ἐντρεπόμενος  
 τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὸν Πολυάρατον, εἰς δὲ τὴν Ῥόδον  
 3 ἀποστέλλειν διέλαβε, κακεῖνου τοῦτο παρακαλοῦντος.

far annihilated their reputation for daring and venture-  
 someness, that they did not leave to posterity the slightest  
 ground for pitying or pardoning them. For, convicted as  
 they were to their faces by their own handwriting and their  
 own emissaries, they were considered not so much to be  
 unfortunate, as to be unabashed. There was in fact a cer-  
 tain ship captain called Thoas, who had made frequent  
 voyages to Macedonia commissioned by these men. This  
 Thoas, at the time when the change in the situation took  
 place, conscious of what he had done, left in fear for Cni-  
 dus. There the Cnidians put him in prison, and upon the  
 Rhodians demanding his extradition he came to Rhodes,  
 and there when put to the torture made full confession in  
 agreement with the interpretation of the whole cipher<sup>33</sup>  
 used in the captured correspondence and with the reading  
 of the letters sent by Perseus to Deinon and Polyaratus  
 and theirs to the king. This makes one wonder on what  
 Deinon calculated in clinging to life and enduring this  
 exposure.

9. But Polyaratus much surpassed Deinon in stupidity  
 and cowardice. For when Popilius ordered King Ptolemy  
 to send Polyaratus to Rome,<sup>34</sup> the king did not think it fit  
 to send him to Rome out of regard for Polyaratus himself  
 and his country,<sup>35</sup> but decided to send him to Rhodes, as  
 Polyaratus had himself requested. He therefore procured  
 a galley, and putting him in charge of Demetrius, one of

<sup>33</sup> Such a code had also been used by the Cretan Bolis in his  
 approach to Achaeus (8.15.9). <sup>34</sup> 29.27.9.

<sup>35</sup> The Ptolemies always had excellent relations with and  
 much regard for Cos; see S. Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos* (Göt-  
 tingen 1978), chapter 3.

τριῶ τινὶ τῶν φίλων ἐξαπέστειλεν. ἔγραφε δὲ καὶ τοῖς  
 4 Ῥοδίοις ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκπομπῆς. ὁ δὲ Πολυάρατος προσ-  
 σχῶν Φασηλίδι κατὰ πλοῦν καὶ διανοηθεὶς ἄττα δὴ  
 ποτ' οὖν, λαβὼν θαλλοὺς κατέφυγεν ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν  
 5 ἐστίαν. ὃν εἴ τις ἤρετο τί βούλεται, πέπεισμαι μῆδ'  
 <ἂν> αὐτὸν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὴν πατρίδα  
 μολεῖν ἐπεθύμει, τί θαλλῶν ἔδει; τοῦτο γὰρ προύκειτό  
 6 πού τοῖς ἄγουσιν αὐτόν. εἰ δ' εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, καὶ μὴ  
 βουλομένου 'κείνου τοῦτ' ἔδει γενέσθαι κατ' ἀνάγκην.  
 τί οὖν κατελείπεθ' ἕτερον; ἄλλος γὰρ τόπος ὁ δεξόμε-  
 7 νος αὐτὸν μετ' ἀσφαλείας οὐκ ἦν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν  
 Φασηλιτῶν πεμψάντων εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον καὶ παρακα-  
 λούντων κομίζεσθαι καὶ παραλαμβάνειν τὸν Πολυ-  
 άρατον, νουνεχῶς οἱ Ῥόδιοι διαλαβόντες ἄφρακτον  
 8 μὲν ἐξαπέστειλαν τὸ παραπέμψον, ἀναλαβεῖν δ' εἰς  
 τὴν ναῦν ἐκώλυσαν τὸν ἄρχοντα διὰ τὸ προστετάχθαι  
 τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας εἰς Ῥώμην ἀποκαταστήσαι  
 9 τὸν ἄνθρωπον. παραγενομένης δὲ τῆς νεῶς εἰς τὴν  
 Φασηλίδα, καὶ τοῦ μὲν Ἐπιχάρους, ὃς ἦν ἄρχων τῆς  
 νεῶς, οὐ βουλομένου δέχεσθαι τῷ πλοίῳ τὸν ἄνθρωπον,  
 10 τοῦ <δὲ> Δημητρίου τοῦ προχειρισθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ βα-  
 σιλέως διὰ τὴν ἀναπομπὴν κελεύοντος ἀνίστασθαι  
 καὶ πλεῖν αὐτόν, καὶ τῶν Φασηλιτῶν συνεπισχυόντων  
 αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ δεδιέναι μή τις ἐκ Ῥωμαίων σφίσι διὰ  
 11 ταῦτα μέμψις ἐπακολουθήσῃ, καταπλαγεῖς τὴν περί-  
 στασιν ἐνέβη πάλιν τὸν λέμβον πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον.

<sup>36</sup> City at the border of Lycia and Pamphylia, founded by

the royal friends, sent him off, having written to inform  
 the Rhodians that he had dispatched him. Polyaratus,  
 when the ship put in to Phaselis<sup>36</sup> on her voyage, with I  
 don't know what notion in his head, took suppliant boughs  
 and sought sanctuary at the common hearth of the town.  
 It seems to me that if anyone had asked him what he  
 wanted, he would not have been able to say himself. For  
 had he wished to go to his country what was the use of the  
 suppliant boughs,<sup>37</sup> as such was the purpose of those who  
 were conveying him? And had he wished to go to Rome,  
 he would perforce have had to do so even had he not  
 wished it. What other alternative then was open to him,  
 there being no other place that could safely receive him?  
 When, however, the Phaselites sent to Rhodes and begged  
 the Rhodians to fetch Polyaratus and take him into their  
 hands, the Rhodians, acting with great prudence, dis-  
 patched an undecked ship to escort him, but forbade the  
 commander to take him on board, as people in Alexandria  
 had been ordered to present the man at Rome. When the  
 ship arrived at Phaselis and the commander Epichares  
 refused to receive Polyaratus on board, while Demetrius,  
 who had been appointed by the king to convey him bade  
 him leave sanctuary and continue his voyage, the people  
 of Phaselis backing up this demand, as they were afraid  
 that in consequence of this matter they might incur some  
 blame from Rome, Polyaratus, alarmed at his dangerous  
 situation, went on board the galley again to Demetrius,

Rhodes. *RE* Phaselis 1874-1883 (W. Ruge). C. Heipp-Tamer, *Die Münzprägung der lykischen Stadt Phaselis in griechischer Zeit* (Saarbrücken 1993).

<sup>37</sup> Polyaratus may have heard that the Rhodians had condemned him to death.

κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἀπόπλου ἀπιλαβόμενος ἀφορμῆς εὐκαί-  
 12 ρου, προσδραμῶν κατέφυγε πάλιν εἰς Καύνου κακεῖ  
 13 παραπλησίως ἐδεῖτο τῶν Καυνίων βοθηεῖν. τούτων δὲ  
 πάλιν ἀποτριβομένων αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ τάττεσθαι μετὰ  
 Ῥοδίων, διεπέμπετο πρὸς Κιβυράτας, δεόμενος αὐτὸν  
 14 δέξασθαι τῇ πόλει καὶ πέμψαι παραπομπήν. ἔσχε γὰρ  
 ἀφορμὴν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸ τεθράφθαι παρ' αὐτῷ  
 15 τοὺς παῖδας Παγκράτους τοῦ τυράννου. τῶν δὲ πει-  
 σθέντων καὶ ποιησάντων τὰ παρακαλούμενα, παραγε-  
 νόμενος εἰς τὴν Κιβύραν εἰς ἀπορίαν ἐνέβαλεν αὐτόν  
 τε καὶ τοὺς Κιβυράτας μείζω τῆς πρότερον, ὅτε παρὰ  
 16 τοῖς Φασηλίταις ἦν. οὔτε γὰρ ἔχειν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐθάρ-  
 ρουν αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ δεδιέναι τὸν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων κίνδυνον,  
 οὔτ' ἀναπέμπειν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐδύναντο διὰ τὴν  
 ἀπειρίαν τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν ἔργων, ἅτε μεσόγαιοι  
 17 τελῶς ὑπάρχοντες. λοιπὸν ἠναγκάζοντο πρεσβεύειν  
 εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον καὶ πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν εἰς Μακεδο-  
 18 νίαν, ἀξιούντες παραλαβεῖν τὸν ἄνθρωπον. τοῦ δὲ  
 Λευκίου γράψαντος τοῖς μὲν Κιβυράταις τηρεῖν ἐπι-  
 μελῶς τὸν Πολυάρατον καὶ κομίζειν εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον,  
 τοῖς δὲ Ῥοδίοις φροντίζειν τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν παρα-  
 πομπῆς, ἵνα μετ' ἀσφαλείας εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀνακο-  
 μισθῆ, πειθαρχησάντων δ' ἀμφοτέρων τοῖς γραφομέ-  
 19 νοις, τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ συνέβη τὸν Πολυάρατον ἐλθεῖν  
 εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἐκθεατρίσαντα μὲν τὴν ἀβουλίαν τὴν  
 αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀγευλίαν ἐφ' ὅσον οἶός τ' ἦν, ἐκδοτον  
 <δὲ> γενόμενον οὐ μόνον παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασι-

but on the voyage out availed himself of some plausible  
 excuse to go ashore, and again took refuge at Caunus,  
 where likewise he implored the citizens to help him. When  
 they again declined, as they formed part of the Rhodian  
 dominion, he sent messengers to the people of Cibyra<sup>38</sup>  
 imploring them to receive him in their city and to send  
 him an escort—the city being under obligations to him as  
 the sons of their tyrant Pancrates had been brought up in  
 his house—and they consented and did as he requested.  
 By his arrival at Cibyra he placed himself and the people  
 of that town in an even more difficult situation than the  
 former one when he was at Phaselis. For they neither  
 ventured to keep him with them, as they feared danger  
 from Rome, nor could they send him to Rome owing to  
 their ignorance of seamanship, as they were a purely in-  
 land people. Consequently they were compelled to send  
 an embassy to Rhodes and another to the proconsul in  
 Macedonia, begging them to take the man off their hands.  
 When Aemilius wrote to the people of Cibyra to place  
 Polyaratus under strict guard and take him to Rhodes, and  
 at the same time to the Rhodians to see that he was prop-  
 erly escorted by sea, so that he might be conveyed safely  
 to Roman territory, and when both requests were com-  
 plied with, Polyaratus reached Rome in this manner, hav-  
 ing made as notable an exhibition as he could of his stupid-  
 ity and cowardice, and having been surrendered not only

<sup>38</sup> 21.34.1.



λέως, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Φασηλιτῶν καὶ παρὰ Κιβυρατῶν  
καὶ παρὰ Ῥοδίων διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἄνοιαν.

- 20 Τίνος οὖν χάριν τὸν πλείω λόγον πεποιήμεαι περὶ  
21 Πολυαράτου καὶ Δείνωνος; οὐχ ἵνα συνεπεμβαίνειν  
δόξω ταῖς ἐκείνων ἀτυχίαις. καὶ γὰρ ἄτοπὸν γε τοῦτο  
τελέως· ἀλλ' ἵνα φανερὰν ποιήσας τὴν ἐκείνων ἀβου-  
λίαν βέλτιον παρασκευάσω καὶ βουλευέσθαι καὶ φρο-  
νεῖν τοὺς κατὰ τὰς περιστάσεις <εἰς> παραπλησίους  
ἐμπίπτοντας καιροῦς.

10. Ἐξ ὧν μάλιστα κατίδοι τις ἂν ἅμα τὴν οὐδύτητα  
(14) καὶ τὴν ἀβεβαιότητα τῆς τύχης, ὅταν <ἂ> μάλιστα ἂν  
τις αὐτοῦ χάριν οἴηται διαπονεῖν, ταῦτα παρὰ πόδας  
2 εὐρίσκηται τοῖς ἐχθροῖς κατασκευάζων· κίονας γὰρ  
κατεσκευάζε Περσεύς, καὶ ταύτας καταλαβὼν ἀτελεῖς  
Δεύκιος Αἰμίλιος ἐτελείωσε καὶ τὰς ἰδίας εἰκόνας  
ἐπέστησεν.

- 3 Ὁ δὲ θαυμάσας τὴν τῆς πόλεως θέσιν καὶ τὴν τῆς  
(15) ἀκροπόλεως εὐκαιρίαν πρὸς τε τοὺς ἐντὸς Ἴσθμοῦ καὶ  
πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτὸς ἀπολαμβανομένους τόπους.

- 4 Ἐπισημηνάμενος δὲ τοῦ Σικυῶνος τὴν ὀχυρότητα  
καὶ τὸ βάρος τῆς τῶν Ἀργείων πόλεως ἦλθεν εἰς Ἐπί-  
δαυρον.

<sup>39</sup> The coldness of P. in describing the misfortunes of this man is somewhat shocking; Polyaratus' crime had been that he favored the losing side.

<sup>40</sup> The most famous example stands at Delphi, *FD* II 3, with the inscription *L. Aemilius L. f. imperator de rege Perse Macedonibusque cepit* (SIG 652a).

<sup>41</sup> Acrocorinth, one of the three "fettlers of Greece."

by King Ptolemy, but by the Phaselites, Cibyratae, and the Rhodians, all owing to his own folly.<sup>39</sup>

If I am asked why I have dealt at length with the case of Polyaratus and Deinon, it was not in order to exult over their misfortunes, which would be indeed outrageous, but that I might by clearly exhibiting their lack of wisdom render such as find themselves placed by circumstance in a similar situation better prepared to act advisedly and wisely.

(Cf. Livy 45.27.7)

10. We can most clearly perceive both the abruptness and the uncertainty of Fortune from those instances where a man who thinks that he is undoubtedly laboring at certain objects for his own benefit suddenly finds out that he is preparing them for his enemies. For Perseus was constructing columns,<sup>40</sup> and Lucius Aemilius, finding them unfinished, completed them and set statues of himself on them.

#### *Aemilius in the Peloponnese*

(Suda; cf. Livy 45.28.2)

He admired the situation of Corinth and the favorable position of its acropolis<sup>41</sup> as regards the command of both districts, that inside the Isthmus and that outside.

(Suda; cf. Livy 45.28.3)

After noting the strength of the fortifications of Sicyon and the power of the city of Argos, he came to Epidaurus.

5 Πάλαι μετέωρος ὦν πρὸς τὴν τῆς Ὀλυμπίας θέαν ὤρμησε.

6 Πολύβιος· Δεύκιος Αἰμίλιος παρῆν εἰς τὸ τέμενος τὸ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα θεασάμενος ἐξεπλάγη καὶ τοσοῦτον εἶπεν ὅτι μόνος αὐτῷ δοκεῖ Φειδίας τὸν παρ' Ὀμήρῳ Δία μεμιῆσθαι, διότι μεγάλην ἔχων προσδοκίαν τῆς Ὀλυμπίας μείζω τῆς προσδοκίας εὐρηκῶς εἶη τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

11. Ὅτι Αἰτωλοὶ τὸν βίον ἀπὸ ληστείας καὶ τῆς  
(14) 2 τοιαύτης παρανομίας εἰώθεισαν ἔχειν. καὶ ἕως μὲν ἐξῆν τοὺς Ἕλληνας φέρειν καὶ λεηλατεῖν, ἐκ τούτων ἐπορίζοντο τοὺς βίους, πᾶσαν γῆν ἠγούμενοι πολεμίαν μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ῥωμαίων ἐπιστάντων τοῖς πράγμασι κωλυθέντες τῆς ἕξωθεν ἐπικουρίας εἰς ἑαυτοὺς  
3 κατήντησαν. καὶ πρότερον μὲν κατὰ τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον οὐκ ἔστιν ὃ τῶν δεινῶν οὐκ ἔπραξαν. βραχεὶ δ' ἀνώτερον χρόνῳ γεγευμένοι τοῦ φόνου τοῦ κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐν ταῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀρσινοΐαν σφαγαῖς ἔτοιμοι πρὸς πᾶν ἦσαν, ἀποτεθριωμένοι τὰς ψυχάς, ὥστε  
4 5 6 μηδὲ βουλὴν διδόναι τοῖς προεστῶσι. διόπερ ἦν ἀκρισίας καὶ παρανομίας καὶ φόνου πλήρη τὰ κατὰ τὴν

<sup>42</sup> Pheidias' masterwork, considered one of the seven wonders of the world. It was made ca. 430, during Pericles' last years. Among ancient descriptions see Paus. 5.11.1–11.

<sup>43</sup> P's usual partiality against the Aetolians, softened only by occasional acknowledgment of their valor in warfare. See, however, J. Scholten, *The Politics of Plunder* (Berkeley 2000).

<sup>44</sup> On Arsinoë in Aetolia, modern Angelokastro see G. Cohen,

(Suda; cf. Livy 45.28.4)

He hastened now to pay the visit to Olympia to which he had long looked forward.

(Suda; cf. Livy 45.28.5)

Lucius Aemilius visited the temple in Olympia, and when he saw the statue of Zeus<sup>42</sup> was awestruck, and said simply that Pheidias seemed to him to have been the only artist who had made a likeness of Homer's Zeus; for he himself had come to Olympia with high expectations but the reality had far surpassed his expectations.

#### *State of Aetolia*

(Cf. Livy 45.28.6)

11. The Aetolians were accustomed to get their living by robbery and similar lawless conduct.<sup>43</sup> And as long as it was in their power to raid and plunder the Greeks they lived upon them, regarding every country as an enemy. But afterward under Roman administration they were prevented from supplying their wants from outside, and had to turn upon each other. Formerly in time of civil war, there was no excess of which they had not been guilty, and having a short time previously tasted each other's blood in the massacres in the territory of Arsinoë,<sup>44</sup> they were prepared to stick at nothing, having become utterly brutalized, so that they did not even allow their leading men to meet in council. Thus the whole of Aetolia was full of turbulence, lawless violence, and bloodshed; not one of

*The Hellenistic Settlements in Europe, the Islands, and Asia Minor* (Berkeley 1995), 109–110.

Αἰτωλίαν, καὶ τῶν πραττομένων παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐκ λογι-  
σμοῦ μὲν καὶ προθέσεως οὐδὲν ἐπετελείτο, πάντα δ'  
εἰκῆ καὶ φύρδην ἐπράττετο, καθαπερὶ λαίλαπός τινος  
ἐμπεπτωκυίας εἰς αὐτούς.

12. Ὅτι οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἑπειρον παραπλήσια τούτοις  
(14) 2 ἔπραττον. ἐφ' ὅσον γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων με-  
τριώτεροι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἰτωλίαν ἦσαν, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον  
ὁ προσεστὼς αὐτῶν ἀσεβέστερος καὶ παρανομώτερος  
3 ὑπῆρχε τῶν ἄλλων. δοκῶ γὰρ μὴ γεγονέναι μηδ'  
ἔσεσθαι θηριωδέστερον ἄνθρωπον μηδ' σκαιότερον  
Χάροπος.

13. Ὅτι μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Περσεύς κατάλυσιν ἅμα τῷ  
(10) κριθῆναι τὰ ὅλα πανταχόθεν ἐξέπεμπον πρέσβεις  
συγχαρησομένους τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονό-  
2 σιν. τῶν δὲ πραγμάτων ὀλοσχερῶς ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους κε-  
κλικότων, ἐπιπολάζοντες διὰ τὸν καιρὸν οἱ δοκοῦντες  
εἶναι φίλοι Ῥωμαίων ἐν πάσι τοῖς πολιτεύμασιν, εἰς  
τε τὰς πρεσβείας οὗτοι καθίσταντο καὶ τὰς ἄλλας  
3 χρείας. διὸ συνέδραμον εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐκ μὲν  
4 Ἀχαιῶν Καλλικράτης, Ἀριστόδαμος, Ἀγησίας, Φίλιπ-  
πος, ἐκ δὲ Βοιωτίας οἱ περὶ Μνάσιππον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς  
Ἀκαρνανίας οἱ περὶ Χρέμαν, παρὰ δὲ τῶν Ἑπειρωτῶν  
οἱ περὶ τὸν Χάροπα καὶ Νικίαν, παρὰ δὲ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν  
5 οἱ περὶ τὸν Λυκίσκον καὶ Τίσιππον. ἀπάντων δὲ τοῦ-

<sup>45</sup> The younger Charops, for whom see 27.15.3. *RE* Charops  
(Suppl. 1), 285 (Th. Büttner-Wobst).

<sup>46</sup> The scene is at Amphipolis.

their actions being the result of deliberation and set pur-  
pose, but all done at haphazard and confusedly, as if a  
whirlwind had descended on them.

### *And of Epirus*

12. The Epirots behaved in very much the same way.  
For while the majority of the people were more orderly  
than the Aetolians, their chief magistrate just so far ex-  
ceeded all other men in contempt for divine and human  
law. For I think there never was and never will be a man  
more brutal and more unprincipled than Charops.<sup>45</sup>

### *Congratulatory Embassies*

(Cf. Livy 45.31.6)

13. After the fall of Perseus, matters being now finally  
decided, embassies from all parts were being sent to con-  
gratulate the generals on the event. Now that things had  
turned out entirely in favor of the Romans, those who  
were considered to be the friends of Rome came to  
the front owing to circumstances in all the states, and  
they were appointed to these embassies or other posts. In  
consequence those who flocked to Macedonia<sup>46</sup> were Cal-  
licrates,<sup>47</sup> Aristodamus, Agesias and Philippus from  
Achaea, Mnasippus from Boeotia, Chremas<sup>48</sup> from Acar-  
nania, Charops and Nicias from Epirus, and Lyciscus<sup>49</sup>  
and Tisippus from Aetolia. As all these men joined to-

<sup>47</sup> 24.8.6.

<sup>48</sup> 28.5.1.

<sup>49</sup> 27.15.14.

των ὁμοῦ γενομένων καὶ πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἀμιλλωμένων προθύμως, καὶ μηδενὸς ὑπάρχοντος ἀνταγωνιστοῦ διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἀντιπολιτευομένους ἅπαντας εἰκοντας τοῖς καιροῖς ἀνακεχωρηκέναι τελέως, ἀκονιτὶ κατεκράτησαν τῆς ὑποθέσεως οἱ προειρημέ-  
 6 νοι. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις καὶ τὰς ἐθνικὰς συστάσεις οἱ δέκα δι' αὐτῶν τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ἐπιταγὴν, οὓς δεήσει πορεύεσθαι τῶν ἀν-  
 7 δρῶν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην. οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν ὡς ἐπίπαν οὓς ἀπέγραψαν οἱ προειρημένοι κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας ἀντιπα-  
 8 ραγωγὰς, πλὴν ὀλίγων τελέως τῶν ἔκδηλόν τι πεποιη-  
 9 κόντων. πρὸς δὲ τὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἔθνος πρεσβευτὰς ἐξ-  
 10 ἐπέμψαν τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἀνδρας τῶν δέκα, Γάϊου Κλαύδιον καὶ Γνάϊον Δομέτιον, διὰ δὲ αἰτίας, πρῶτον μὲν εὐλαβούμενοι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς μή ποτ' οὐ πειθαρχήσωσι τοῖς γραφομένοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ κινδυνεύσωσιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Καλλικράτην, δόξαντες ἐξαιργάσθαι τὰς  
 11 κατὰ πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων διαβολὰς, ὃ κατ' ἀλήθειαν ἦν, δεύτερον δὲ διὰ τὸ μηθὲν ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις γράμμασιν ἀκριβὲς εὐρησθαι κατὰ μηδενὸς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν. περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων μετὰ τινα χρόνον ἐξέπεμπεν ὁ στρατηγὸς τὰς ἐπιστολάς καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις, καίπερ οὐκ εὐδοκούμενος κατὰ γε τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην ταῖς τῶν περὶ τὸν Λυκίσκον καὶ Καλλικράτην διαβολαῖς, ὡς ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων ὕστερον ἐγένετο καταφανές.

gether and vied with each other in working for the same end and met with no opposition, all their political opponents having yielded to circumstances and entirely retired from politics, they attained their end without trouble. The ten legates<sup>50</sup> conveyed through the generals<sup>51</sup> themselves their orders to the other cities and national leagues as to which of the men should proceed to Rome, these being for the most part those nominated by the above mentioned because of their animosities, the exceptions being men who had made their position quite clear. To the Achaean League, however, the legates sent their two most distinguished members, Gaius Claudius Pulcher and Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, for two reasons. In the first place they were apprehensive lest the Achaeans should refuse to comply with their written instructions, and lest Calli- crates and his colleagues should run actual risk, as they were thought to have trumped up the false accusations brought against all the Greeks, as in fact they had; and secondly because in the captured correspondence nothing had been found clearly implicating any Achaean. On this subject the proconsul shortly afterward forwarded the letters and the envoys, although not personally approving of the accusations brought by Lyciscus and Callicrates, as became evident from what actually took place.

<sup>50</sup> They are all known; *MRR* 1.435.

<sup>51</sup> Lucius Aemilius Paullus and Lucius Anicius Gallus; see J.-L. Ferrary, *Philhellénisme et impérialisme . . .* (Rome 1988), 314, n. 161.

## A Saying of Aemilius

(Cf. Livy 45.32.11)

14. A man with a mind capable of making good arrangements for games, and managing properly the preparations for a carousel on a magnificent scale is likewise capable of marshaling his troops to meet the enemy with the skill of a general.

(From Strabo 7.7.3; cf. Livy 45.34.6)

15. Polybius says that Aemilius Paullus after the fall of Perseus and the Macedonians destroyed seventy cities in Epirus, most of them belonging to the Molotti,<sup>52</sup> and that he sold into slavery a hundred and fifty thousand persons.

## III. RES AEGYPTI

## III. AFFAIRS OF EGYPT

16. Ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀπολελυμένοι  
 (17 11) τοῦ πρὸς Ἀντίοχον πολέμου πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Ῥώμην  
 2 πρεσβευτὴν ἐξέπεμψαν Νουμήνιον, ἓνα τῶν φίλων,  
 εὐχαριστήσονται περὶ τῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς γεγονότων ἐνεργημάτων· ἀπέλυσαν δὲ καὶ τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον Μεναλκίδα, ἐνεργῶς κεχρημένον τοῖς κατὰ τῆς βασιλείας καιροῖς πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπανόρθωσιν, Γαῖον Ποπιλίον τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπολύσεως χάριν αἰτησαμένου παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων.

16. In Egypt the kings,<sup>53</sup> when relieved from the war with Antiochus, in the first place dispatched Numenius,<sup>54</sup> one of the royal friends, on an embassy to Rome to return thanks for the benefits conferred on them. They also set free Menalcidas of Lacedaemon who had energetically availed himself of the distressed condition of the kingdom to make a fortune. It was Gaius Popilius who asked them to do this as a personal favor to himself.

<sup>52</sup> For them and their leader Cephalus see 27.15.1 and 30.7.2.

<sup>53</sup> 29.23.1.

<sup>54</sup> Son of Heracleodorus of Alexandria, attested as *proxenos* at Gortyn, IC 4.208, A 4-5.



## I. RES ITALIAE

17. Ὅτι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τούτου Κότυς ὁ τῶν Ὀδρυ-  
 (18 12) σῶν βασιλεὺς ἀπέστειλε πρεσβευτὰς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην,  
 ἀξίων ἀποδοθῆναι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ τῆς γενο-  
 2 μένης πρὸς Περσέα κοινοπραγίας δικαιολογούμενος.  
 οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι νομίσαντες ἠνύσθαι σφίσι τὸ προκεί-  
 μενον, τοῦ πρὸς τὸν Περσέα πολέμου κατὰ νοῦν προ-  
 κεχωρηκότος, τὴν δὲ πρὸς Κότυν διαφορὰν πρὸς  
 3 οὐδὲν ἔτι διατείνειν, συνεχώρησαν αὐτῷ κομίζεσθαι  
 4 τὸν υἱόν, ὃς ὀμηρείας χάριν δοθεὶς εἰς Μακεδονίαν  
 ἐαλόκει μετὰ τῶν Περσέως τέκνων, βουλόμενοι τὴν  
 αὐτῶν πραότητα καὶ μεγαλοψυχίαν ἐμφαίνειν, ἅμα δὲ  
 καὶ τὸν Κότυν ἀναδύμενοι διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης χάρι-  
 τος.

18. Ὅτι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἦλθε καὶ Προυσίας  
 (19 16) ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, συγχαρησόμενος τῇ συγ-  
 2 κλήτῳ καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσιν. ὁ δὲ  
 Προυσίας οὗτος οὐδαμῶς γέγονεν ἄξιος τοῦ τῆς βα-  
 σιλείας προσχήματος. τεκμήριαιτο δ' ἂν τις ἐκ τού-  
 3 των. ὅς γε πρῶτον μὲν, πρεσβευτῶν παραγεγονότων  
 Ῥωμαϊκῶν πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐξυρημένος τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ  
 πιλίον ἔχων <λευκὸν> καὶ τήβενναν καὶ καλικίους  
 ἀπήντα τούτους, καὶ καθόλου τοιαύτη διασκευῇ κε-  
 χρημένος οἷαν ἔχουσιν οἱ προσφάτως ἠλευθερωμένοι

## I. AFFAIRS OF ITALY

*Embassy from Cotys*

(Cf. Livy 45.42.6)

17. At this time Cotys,<sup>55</sup> the king of the Odrysae, sent 167/6  
 envoys to Rome to beg that his son might be given back to  
 him and also to defend his action in having joined Perseus.  
 The Romans, thinking that they had attained their main  
 object now that the war against Perseus had ended in their  
 favor, and that it served no purpose to prolong their dif-  
 ference with Cotys, allowed him to take back his son, who  
 had been sent as a hostage to Macedonia and captured  
 together with the children of Perseus, wishing to show  
 their leniency and magnanimity, and at the same time  
 attaching Cotys to them by this favor.

*Prusias at Rome; Eumenes Not Received*

(Cf. Livy 45.44.19)

18. At the same time King Prusias<sup>56</sup> also came to Rome 167/6  
 to congratulate the senate and the generals on what had  
 happened. This Prusias was a man by no means worthy of  
 the royal dignity, as may easily be understood from the  
 following facts. In the first place when some Roman leg-  
 ates had come to his court, he went to meet them with his  
 head shorn, and wearing a white hat and a toga and shoes,  
 exactly the costume worn at Rome by slaves recently man-

<sup>55</sup> 27.12.1. His son (17.2) had marched in Aemilius Paullus' triumph. For Cotys and the city of Abdera in Thrace see SIG 656 (SEG 32.1206). <sup>56</sup> King Prusias II, 182-149. RE Prusias 1111-1113 (C. Habicht) for this episode.

- 4 παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις, οὓς καλοῦσι λιβέρτους· καὶ δεξιωσά-  
 μένος τοὺς πρεσβευτάς "ὄρᾶτ" ἔφη "τὸν ὑμέτερον λι-  
 βερτον ἐμέ, πάντα βουλόμενον χαρίζεσθαι καὶ μι-  
 μείσθαι τὰ παρ' ὑμῖν." ἧς ἀγεννεστέραν φωνὴν οὐ  
 5 ῥᾶδιον εὐρεῖν. τότε δὲ κατὰ τὴν εἴσοδον τὴν εἰς τὴν  
 σύγκλητον, στὰς κατὰ τὸ θύρετρον ἀντίος τοῦ συν-  
 εδρίου καὶ καθεὶς τὰς χεῖρας ἀμφοτέρας προσεκύνησε  
 τὸν οὐδὸν καὶ τοὺς καθημένους, ἐπιφθεγξάμενος "χαί-  
 ρετε, θεοὶ σωτῆρες," ὑπερβολὴν οὐ καταλιπὼν ἀναν-  
 δρίας, ἅμα δὲ καὶ γυναικισμοῦ καὶ κολακείας οὐδεὶ  
 6 τῶν ἐπιγινωμένων. ἀκόλουθα δὲ τούτοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν  
 κοινολογίαν εἰσελθὼν ἐπετελέσατο, περὶ ὧν καὶ τὸ  
 7 γράφειν ἀπρεπὲς ἦν. φανεῖς δὲ τελῶς εὐκαταφρόνητος  
 ἀπόκρισιν ἔλαβε δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο φιλόανθρωπον.

19. Ἦδη δὲ τούτου τὰς ἀποκρίσεις εἰληφότος,  
 (20) (17) προσέπεσε παραγίνεσθαι τὸν Εὐμένη. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ  
 2 πρᾶγμα πολλὴν ἀπορίαν παρέσχε τοῖς ἐν τῷ συν-  
 εδρίῳ διαβεβλημένοι γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ διαλήψεις  
 ἀμεταθέτους ἔχοντες οὐκ ἐβούλοντο κατ' οὐδένα τρό-  
 3 πον ἐμφανίζειν αὐτούς. πᾶσι γὰρ ἀναδεδειχότες πρῶ-  
 τον καὶ μέγιστον φίλον τὸν βασιλέα τούτον ἔμελλον  
 εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθόντες καὶ προσδεξάμενοι δικαιολογίαν, εἰ  
 μὲν τὸ δοκοῦν ἀποκριθεῖεν ἀκολουθοῦντες ταῖς ἰδίαις  
 διαλήψεσιν, ἐκθεατριεῖν αὐτούς, εἰ τοιούτου ἀνθρώπου  
 4 ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξετίμησαν ἐν τοῖς ἀνώτερον χρόνοις, εἰ  
 δὲ δουλεύοντες τῇ τῶν ἐκτὸς φαντασίᾳ φιλανθρώπως  
 ἀποκριθεῖεν, παρόψεσθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὸ τῇ πα-  
 5 τριδί συμβέρον. διόπερ ἕξ ἑκατέρας τῆς ἀποφάσεως

mitted or "liberti" as the Romans call them. "In me," he said, "you see your libertus who wishes to endear himself and imitate everything Roman"; a phrase as humiliating as one can conceive. And now, on entering the senate house he stood in the doorway facing the members and putting both his hands on the ground bowed his head to the ground in adoration of the threshold and the seated senators, with the words, "Hail, ye savior gods," making it impossible for anyone after him to surpass him in unmanliness, womanishness, and servility. And on entering he conducted himself during his interview in a similar manner, doing things that it were unbecoming even to mention. As he showed himself to be utterly contemptible, he received a kind answer for this very reason.

19. After Prusias had received his answer news came that Eumenes<sup>57</sup> was on his way. This matter very much embarrassed the senate. For as they had now quarreled with him, and their opinion of him remained unshaken, they did not wish to make any pronouncement at all. For they had proclaimed to the whole world that this king was their first and greatest friend, and now, if they allowed him to meet them and to defend himself, should they tell him in reply what they were really led to think of him by their own judgment, they would expose themselves to ridicule for having in former times paid this high honor to a man of such a character: if on the other hand they made themselves the slaves of appearances and gave him a kind answer, they would be ignoring truth and the interest of their country. Since therefore, whichever course they decided

<sup>57</sup> See on this chapter the study of Holleaux, *Ét.* 2. 153-178, esp. 161-169.

μέλλοντος ἀπιθάνου τινὸς αὐτοῖς ἐξακολουθήσειν, εὖ-  
 6 ρουτο λύσειν τοῦ προβλήματος τοιαύτην. ὡς γὰρ καθ-  
 ὅλου δυσαρασετούμενοι ταῖς τῶν βασιλέων ἐπιδημίαις  
 δόγμα τι τοιοῦτον ἐξέβαλον, μηδένα βασιλέα παρα-  
 7 γίνεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πυθόμενοι τὸν  
 Εὐμένη καταπεπλευκέναι τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰς Βρεντέσιον  
 ἐπαπέστειλαν τὸν ταμίαν φέροντα τὸ δόγμα καὶ  
 8 κελεύοντα λέγειν πρὸς αὐτόν, εἴ τι τυγχάνει τῆς  
 συγκλήτου χρεῖαν ἔχων· εἰ δὲ μηδενὸς δέεται, παραγ-  
 γελοῦντα τὴν ταχίστην αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπαλ-  
 9 λάττεσθαι. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς, συμμίζαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ τα-  
 μίου, γνοὺς τὴν τῆς συγκλήτου προαίρεσιν εἰς τέλος  
 10 ἀπεσιώπησεν, οὐδενὸς φήσας προσδεῖσθαι. καὶ δὴ  
 τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ συνέβη τὸν Εὐμένη κωλυθῆναι τῆς  
 11 εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀναβάσεως. συνηκολουθήκει δὲ καὶ  
 12 ἕτερόν τι πραγματικὸν τούτῳ τῷ διαβουλίῳ. μεγάλου  
 γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν Γαλατῶν ἐπικρεμαμένου κινδύνου τῆ  
 βασιλείᾳ, προφανὲς ἦν ὅτι διὰ τὸν σκυβαλισμὸν  
 τούτου οἱ μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως σύμμαχοι ταπεινωθήσου-  
 13 ται πάντες, οἱ δὲ Γαλάται διπλασίως ἐπιρρωσθήσονται  
 πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. διὸ πάντῃ πάντως βουλόμενοι τα-  
 14 πεινοῦν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ταύτην κατηρέχθησαν τὴν γνώμην.  
 τούτων δὲ γινομένων ἔτι κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦ χειμῶνος,  
 15 λοιπὸν ἢ σύγκλητος <ἐχρημάτιζε> ἅπασιν τοῖς παρα-  
 γεγονόσι κατὰ πρεσβείαν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν οὔτε πόλις οὔτε  
 16 δυνάστης οὔτε βασιλεὺς ὃς οὐκ ἀπεστάλκει πρε-  
 σβείαν κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν τὴν συγχαρησομένην  
 ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσιν· οἷς ἅπασιν οἰκείως ἀπήντησε καὶ

to adopt would put them in a position not easy to justify, they hit on the following solution of the problem. Affecting to be displeased by the visits of kings in general, they issued a decree that no king should present himself to them; and in the next place, when they heard that Eumenes had arrived in Italy at Brundisium, they dispatched the quaestor bearing this decree, and with orders to tell Eumenes to inform him if he stood in need of any service from the senate: in case there was nothing the king wanted he was to order him to leave Italy as soon as possible. Eumenes, when he met the quaestor, understood the intention of the senate and remained perfectly silent after saying that he was in want of nothing. This, then, was the way in which the king was prevented from going up to Rome. But another more practical purpose had contributed to this decision. For, as the kingdom of Pergamum was menaced with a great danger from the Gauls,<sup>58</sup> it was evident that by this repulse all the allies of the king would be humiliated, and the Gauls would undertake the war with redoubled vigor. So that it was with the view of thoroughly humiliating Eumenes that the senate arrived at this decision. This took place at the beginning of winter,<sup>59</sup> and afterward the senate dealt with all the embassies that had arrived. For there was no city or prince or king who had not at this time sent a mission to congratulate them. To all these they replied in suitable and kind terms with the

<sup>58</sup> For their uprising and the war lasting from 168 to 166 see 29.22.4 and 30.1.2.

<sup>59</sup> Of 167/6.

17 φιλανθρώπως πλὴν τῶν Ῥοδίων. τούτους δὲ παρεπέμπε ποικίλας ἐμφάσεις ποιούσα περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος. ἐπέειχτο δὲ καὶ <τὰ> κατὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

20. Ὅτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι παρεγένοντο πρεσβεύοντες τὸ  
(21) (18) μὲν πρῶτον ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀλιαρτίων σωτηρίας, παρακου-  
2 ὄμενοι δὲ περὶ τούτου τοῦ μέρους ἐκ μεταθέσεως δι-  
ελέγοντο περὶ Δήλου καὶ Λήμνου καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀλι-  
αρτίων χώρας, εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἐξαιτούμενοι τὴν κτήσιν  
3 εἶχον γὰρ διττὰς ἐντολάς. οἷς περὶ μὲν τῶν κατὰ  
Δήλον καὶ Λήμνον οὐκ ἂν τις ἐπιτιμήσειε διὰ τὸ καὶ  
πρότερον ἀντιπεποιῆσθαι τῶν νήσων τούτων, περὶ δὲ  
τῆς τῶν Ἀλιαρτίων χώρας εἰκότως ἂν τις καταμέμ-  
4 ψαιτο. τὸ γὰρ πόλιν σχεδὸν ἀρχαιοτάτην τῶν κατὰ  
τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἐπτακυῖαν μὴ συνεπανορθοῦν κατὰ  
πάντα τρόπον, τὸ δ' ἐναντίον ἐξαλείφειν, ἀφαιρουμένους  
καὶ τὰς εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἐλπίδας τῶν ἠκκληρηκότων,  
5 δῆλον ὡς οὐδενὶ μὲν ἂν δόξαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων καθ-  
6 ἦκειν, ἦκιστα δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίους. τὸ γὰρ τὴν  
μὲν ἰδίαν πατρίδα κοινῆν ποιεῖν ἅπασιν, τὰς δὲ τῶν  
ἄλλων ἀναρρεῖν, οὐδαμῶς οἰκείον ἂν φανείη τοῦ τῆς  
7 πόλεως ἤθους. πλὴν ἢ γε σύγκλητος καὶ τὴν Δήλον  
αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε καὶ τὴν Λήμνον <καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀλιαρτίων  
χώραν> καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τοιαύτην  
ἔσχε διάθεσιν.  
8 Καὶ τὴν μὲν Λήμνον καὶ τὴν Δήλον κατὰ τὴν παρ-

<sup>60</sup> See 20.1.

<sup>61</sup> The embassy requested the ransom of the 2,500 citizens of

exception of the Rhodians whom they treated with contempt and with ambiguous declarations about their future. They also deferred giving an answer to the Athenians.<sup>60</sup>

### *The Embassy from Athens*

20. The embassy from Athens<sup>61</sup> had come in the first 167/6  
place to beg that the people of Haliartus might be spared; but when this request was ignored, they changed the subject and spoke about Delos, Lemnos, and the territory of Haliartus, begging to be placed in possession of those places, for they had received a double set of instructions. We cannot blame them for asking for Delos and Lemnos, as they had previously laid claim to these islands; but as for the territory of Haliartus we are justified in finding fault with them. For not to strive by every means to retrieve the fallen fortunes of a city almost the most ancient in Boeotia, but on the contrary to erase it from the map, by depriving its unhappy inhabitants of all hope for the future, was evidently conduct unworthy of any Greek state and especially unworthy of Athens. For now, to make their own country the common fatherland of all who wished to be citizens of it, but to destroy thus the countries of others was by no means consonant with the traditions of the city. The senate, however, gave them both Delos and Lemnos as well as this territory of Haliartus. Such was the decision about Athens.

In taking Lemnos and Delos they were, as the proverb

Haliartus, who had survived the capture and destruction of the city in 171 and had been sold into slavery by the praetor Gaius Lucretius. See for this chapter Habicht (7.10), 217-218.

9 οἰμίαν τὸν λύκον τῶν ὄτων ἔλαβον· πολλὰ γὰρ ὑπέμειναν δυσκληρήματα συμπλεκόμενοι τοῖς Δηλίοις· ἐκ δὲ τῆς τῶν Ἀλιαρτίων χώρας ὄνειδος αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ καρπὸς τις συνεξηκολούθησεν.

21. Ὅτι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτου Θεαίδητος εἰσελθὼν  
(22) (19) εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον λόγους μὲν ἐποίησατο περὶ τῆς  
2 συμμαχίας· ὑπερθεμένης δὲ τῆς συγκλήτου τὸ διαβούλιον, οὗτος μὲν μετέλλαξε τὸν βίον κατὰ φύσιν·  
3 ἔτη γὰρ εἶχε πλείω τῶν ὀγδοήκοντα· παραγενομένων δὲ φυγᾶδων ἔκ τε Καύνου καὶ Στρατονικείας εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ παρελθόντων εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον, ἐγένετο δόγμα Ῥοδίου ἐξάγειν τὰς φρουρὰς ἔκ τε Καύνου  
4 καὶ Στρατονικείας. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Φιλόφρονα καὶ Ἀστυμῆδην λαβόντες ταύτην τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἀπέπλευσαν κατὰ σπουδὴν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, δεδιότες μὴ παρακούσαντες οἱ Ῥόδιοι περὶ τοῦ τὰς φρουρὰς ἐξαγαγεῖν αὐθις ἄλλην ἀρχὴν ἐγκλημάτων ποιήσωσιν.

22. Λεύκιος δὲ Ἀνίκιος, καὶ αὐτὸς Ῥωμαίων στρατηγῆσας, Ἰλλυριοῦς καταπολεμήσας καὶ αἰχμάλωτον ἀγαγὼν Γένθιον τὸν τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν βασιλέα σὺν τοῖς τέκνοις, ἀγῶνας ἐπιτελῶν τοὺς ἐπινικίους ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ

<sup>62</sup> *Paroemiogr.* 2.220 with collection of the testimonies.

<sup>63</sup> 22.5.2; for his request of an alliance in 167 see 30.5.4.

<sup>64</sup> 5.11 and 13.

<sup>65</sup> Modern Eskihisar at the upper Marsyas river, south of Alabanda. G. Cohen (11.5), 268–273. The city was presented to Rhodes by Antiochus III. A. Meadows, "Stratonikeia in Caria: The Hellenistic City and Its Coinage," *Num. Chron.* 2002, 79–134.

has it, taking the wolf by the ears.<sup>62</sup> For their connection with the Delians had many unpleasant consequences, and from their possession of the territory of Haliartus they reaped more reproach than profit.

#### *Rhodian Matters*

21. At this time Theaetetus<sup>63</sup> appeared before the senate, and spoke on the subject of the alliance; but the senate deferred their decision, and Theaetetus in the meantime died a natural death, being over eighty years of age. Exiles then arrived in Rome from Caunus<sup>64</sup> and Stratonicea,<sup>65</sup> and came before the senate, which passed a decree ordering the Rhodians to withdraw their garrisons from these cities. Philophon and Astymedes,<sup>66</sup> on receiving this answer, took ship at once for home, as they were afraid of the Rhodians refusing compliance with the order to withdraw the garrisons, and thus giving rise to fresh complaints.

#### *Lucius Anicius' Triumph over Genthius*

(From Athenaeus 14.615; cf. Livy 45.43.1)

22. Lucius Anicius,<sup>67</sup> who had been Roman praetor, upon conquering the Illyrians and bringing back as his prisoners Genthius, the king of Illyria, and his children, in celebrating games in honor of his victory, behaved in the

<sup>66</sup> 4.1.

<sup>67</sup> Lucius Anicius Gallus (13.6), praetor 168, victor over Genthius. *MRR* 1. 428 and 434 (for his continued command). At the end of 167 he celebrated his triumph "de rege Gentio et Illurieis" at the festival of Quirinalia.



παντὸς γέλωτος ἄξια πράγματα ἐποίησεν, ὡς Πολύ-  
 2 βιος ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῇ τριακοστῇ. μεταπεμφόμενος γὰρ  
 τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπιφανεστάτους τεχνίτας καὶ  
 σκηνὴν κατασκευάσας μεγίστην ἐν τῷ κίρκῳ πρῶ-  
 3 τους εἰσήγεν αὐλητὰς ἅμα πάντας. οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν Θεό-  
 δωρος ὁ Βοιωτίος, Θεόπομπος, Ἑρμιππος, [ὁ] Ἀνσίμα-  
 χος, οἵτινες ἐπιφανέστατοι ἦσαν. τούτους οὖν στήσας  
 4 ἐπὶ τὸ προσκήμιον μετὰ τοῦ χοροῦ αὐλεῖν ἐκέλευσεν  
 5 ἅμα πάντας. τῶν δὲ διαπορευομένων τὰς κρούσεις  
 μετὰ τῆς ἀρμοζούσης κινήσεως προσπέμψας οὐκ ἔφη  
 καλῶς αὐτοὺς αὐλεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀγωνίζεσθαι μᾶλλον  
 6 ἐκέλευσεν. τῶν δὲ διαπορούντων ὑπέδειξεν τις τῶν  
 ῥαβδούχων ἐπιστρέψαντας ἐπαγαγεῖν ἐφ' αὐτοὺς καὶ  
 7 ποιεῖν ὡσανεὶ μάχην. ταχὺ δὲ συννοήσαντες οἱ αὐλη-  
 τὰ καὶ λαβόντες . . . οἰκείαν ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ἀσελγείαις  
 8 μεγάλην ἐποίησαν σύγχυσιν. συνεπιστρέψαντες δὲ  
 τοὺς μέσους χοροὺς πρὸς τοὺς ἄκρους οἱ μὲν αὐλητὰι  
 φυσῶντες ἀδιανόητα καὶ διαφέροντες τοὺς αὐλοὺς  
 9 ἐπήγον ἀνὰ μέρος ἐπ' ἀλλήλους. ἅμα δὲ τούτοις  
 ἐπικτυποῦντες οἱ χοροὶ καὶ συνεπεισιόντες τὴν σκηνὴν  
 ἐπεφέροντο τοῖς ἐναντίοις καὶ πάλιν ἀνεχώρουν ἐκ  
 10 μεταβολῆς. ὡς δὲ καὶ περιζωσάμενός τις τῶν χορευτῶν  
 ἐκ τοῦ καιροῦ στραφεῖς ἤρε τὰς χεῖρας ἀπὸ πυγμῆς  
 πρὸς τὸν ἐπιφερόμενον αὐλητὴν, τότε ἦδη κρότος  
 11 ἐξάισιός ἐγένετο καὶ κραυγὴ τῶν θεωμένων. ἐτι δὲ  
 τούτων ἐκ παρατάξεως ἀγωνιζομένων ὄρχησται δύο

<sup>68</sup> For their guilds see S. Aneziri, *Die Vereine der diony-*

most absurd manner, as Polybius tells us in his Thirtieth Book. For having sent for the most celebrated scenic artists<sup>68</sup> from Greece and constructed an enormous stage in the circus, he first brought on all the pipers at once. These were Theodorus of Boeotia, Theopompus, Hermippus and Lysimachus, who were then at the height of their fame. Stationing them on the proscenium, he ordered them to accompany the chorus in unison with their piping. When they went through their performance with the proper rhythmic movements, he sent to them to say they were not playing well and ordered them to show more competitive spirit. They were at a loss to know what he meant, when one of the lictors explained that they should turn and go for each other and make a sort of fight of it. The players soon understood, and having got an order that suited their own appetite for license, made a mighty confusion. Making the central groups of dancers face those on the outside, the pipers blowing loud in unintelligible discord and sounding their pipes discordantly, advanced toward each other in turn, and the dancers, clapping their hands and mounting the stage all together, attacked the adverse party and then faced about and retreated in their turn. And when one of the dancers girt up his robes on the spur of the moment, and turning round lifted up his hands in boxing attitude against the piper who was advancing toward him, there was tremendous applause and cheering on the part of the spectators. And while they were thus engaged in a pitched battle, two dancers with musicians

*sichen Techniten im Kontext der hellenistischen Gesellschaft . . .* (Stuttgart 2003) and B. le Guen, *L'association des Technites d'Athènes . . .* (Tours 2005).

- εἰσήγοντο μετὰ συμφωνίας εἰς τὴν ὀρχήστραν, καὶ πύκται τέτταρες ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν μετὰ σαλπυκτῶν καὶ βυκανιστῶν. ὁμοῦ δὲ τούτων πάντων ἀγωνιζομένων ἄλεκτον ἦν τὸ συμβαῖνον. περὶ δὲ τῶν τραγωδῶν, φησὶν ὁ Πολύβιος, ὅ, τι ἂν ἐπιβάλλωμαι λέγειν, δόξω τισὶ διαχλευάζειν.
- 12

## II. RES GRAECIAE

23. Ὅτι ἐξεπολέμησαν κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τούτου
- (31 1) Κνώσιοι μετὰ Γορτυνίων πρὸς τοὺς Ῥαυκίους καὶ συνθήκας ἐποίησαντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐνόρκους μὴ πρότερον λύσειν τὸν πόλεμον πρὶν ἢ κατὰ κράτος
- 2 ἐλεῖν τὴν Ῥαῦκον. οἱ δὲ Ῥόδιοι κομισάμενοι τὰ περὶ τῶν Καννίων καὶ θεωροῦντες οὐ καταλήγουσαν τὴν ὀργὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἐπειδὴ περὶ πάντων ἀκολούθως ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν ἐπειθάρχησαν, εὐθέως τοὺς περὶ Ἄριστοτέλην πρεσβευτὰς καταστήσαντες ἐξέπεμπον εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, δόντες ἐντολὰς πειράζειν πάλιν περὶ
- 3 τῆς συμμαχίας. οἱ καὶ παραγενηθέντες εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, θερείας ἀκμαζούσης εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον καὶ παραντίκα περὶ τοῦ πεπειθαρχηκέναι τὸν δῆμον τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις διεσάφουν καὶ παρεκάλουν ὑπὲρ τῆς συμμαχίας, πολλοὺς καὶ ποικίλους διακτιϋθέμενοι λό-
- 4 γους. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἔδωκεν ἀπόκρισιν, ἐν ᾗ τὴν μὲν φιλίαν παρεσιώπησε, περὶ δὲ τῆς συμμαχίας οὐκ ἔφη

were introduced into the orchestra and four prizefighters mounted the stage accompanied by buglers and clarion players and with all these men struggling together the scene was indescribable. As for the tragic actors Polybius says, "If I tried to describe them some people would think I was making fun of my readers."

## II. AFFAIRS OF GREECE

*Cretan and Rhodian Matters*

23. At this time the Cnosians<sup>69</sup> and Gortynians finished their war with Rhaucus, having previously come to an agreement<sup>70</sup> with each other not to desist from the war before they took Rhaucus by storm. The Rhodians on receiving the message<sup>71</sup> about Caunus and seeing that the displeasure of the Romans did not diminish, when they had yielded complete obedience to the terms of their reply, at once appointed and sent Aristoteles and other envoys to Rome with instructions to try again to obtain an alliance. They reached Rome in the middle of summer,<sup>72</sup> and, entering the senate house, at once informed that body that their people had obeyed all orders, and begged for an alliance, using many various arguments. The senate returned an answer in which, making no mention of friendship, they said that as regards an alliance the time

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<sup>69</sup> For the three cities in this chapter see 22.15.1.

<sup>70</sup> This is preserved as IC 4.182, recording the proposed division of the territory of Rhaucus, once that city was taken (as in fact happened). A. Chaniotis (28.14.3), 296-300.

<sup>71</sup> 21.3-5.

<sup>72</sup> Of 166.

καθήκειν αὐτῇ τοῦτο συγχωρεῖν Ῥοδίους κατὰ τὸ παρόν.

- (31 28) 24. Ὅμοιοι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ τὴν Περαίαν κατοικοῦντες τοῖς οἰκέταις τοῖς ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν ἀνελπίστως λελυμένοις, οὔτινες ἀπιστοῦντες τοῖς παροῦσι μείζω μὲν διαβαίνουσι τῆς κατὰ φύσιν κινήσεως, οὐ δοκοῦσι δὲ γινώσκεισθαι παρὰ τοῖς ἀπαντῶσιν οὐδὲ συνοράσθαι διότι λέλυνται σαφῶς, ἐὰν μὴ τι παράλογον ποιῶσι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξηλλαγμένον.

## III. RES ASIAE

- (31 3) 25. Ὁ δ' αὐτὸς οὗτος βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ συντετελεσμένους ἀγῶνας ὑπὸ Αἰμιλίου Παύλου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῦ, βουλόμενος τῇ μεγαλοδωρίᾳ ὑπερᾶραι τὸν Παῦλον ἐξέπεμψε πρέσβεις καὶ θεωροὺς εἰς τὰς πόλεις καταγγελοῦντας τοὺς ἐσομένους ἀγῶνας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Δάφνης, ὡς πολλὴν γενέσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων σπουδὴν εἰς τὴν ὡς αὐτὸν ἄφιξιν. ἀρχὴν δ' ἐποιήσατο τῆς πανηγύρεως τὴν πομπείαν οὕτως ἐπιτελεσθεῖσαν. καθηγοῦντό τινες Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἔχοντες καθοπλισμὸν ἐν θώραξιν ἀλυσιδωτοῖς, ἄνδρες ἀκμάζοντες ταῖς ἡλικίαις πεντα-

<sup>73</sup> The mainland territory of Rhodes. See P. M. Fraser - G. E. Bean, *The Rhodian Peraea and Islands* (Oxford 1954), with the distinction between the incorporated (54-70) and the subject (70-78) Peraea. V. Gabrielsen, *ClM* 51 (2000), 129-183. The Roman order that Rhodian control be removed did neither affect

had not come when it was proper for them to grant this to Rhodes.

24. The inhabitants of Peraea<sup>73</sup> were like slaves unexpectedly released from their fetters, who, unable to believe the truth, take longer steps than their natural ones and fancy that those they meet will not know and see for certain that they are free unless they behave in some strange way and differently from other men.

## III. AFFAIRS OF ASIA

*Games Celebrated by Antiochus IV*

(From Athenaeus 5.194 and 10.439)

25. This same king when he heard of the games celebrated in Macedonia<sup>74</sup> by Aemilius Paullus the Roman general, ambitious of surpassing Paullus in magnificence sent out embassies and sacred missions to the towns to announce the games he was about to give at Daphne,<sup>75</sup> so that people in Greece were very eager to visit Antioch then. The festival opened with a procession<sup>76</sup> composed as follows: It was headed by five thousand men in the prime of life armed after the Roman fashion and wearing breastplates of chain armor. Next came five thousand

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the incorporated parts nor the territories that Rhodes already possessed before 188.

<sup>74</sup> They took place in Amphipolis.

<sup>75</sup> Suburb of the Seleucid capital Antioch. It had a temple for Apollo and Artemis. King Antiochus III appointed a high priest for the cult in 189 (*RC* 44).

<sup>76</sup> The military character is striking and seems to be modeled after the Roman triumphal procession.

- 4 κισχίλιον μεθ' οὓς Μυσοὶ πεντακισχίλιοι. συνεχεῖς δ' ἦσαν Κίλικες εἰς τὸν τῶν εὐζώνων τρόπον καθωπλι-
- 5 σμένον τρισχίλιοι, χρυσοῦς ἔχοντες στεφάνους. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Θράκες τρισχίλιοι καὶ Γαλάται πεντακισχίλιοι. τούτοις ἐπέβαλλον Μακεδόνες δισμύριοι, χρυσόσπιδες μὲν μύριοι καὶ χαλκασπιδες πεντακισχίλιοι, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀργυράσπιδες οἷς ἐπηκολούθει μονομάχων.
- 6 ζεύγη διακόσια τετταράκοντα. τούτων κατόπιν ἦσαν ἵππεῖς Νισαῖοι μὲν χίλιοι, πολιτικοὶ δὲ τρισχίλιοι, ὧν οἱ μὲν πλείους ἦσαν χρυσοφάλαροι καὶ χρυσοστέφα-
- 7 νοι, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἀργυροφάλαροι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἦσαν οἱ λεγόμενοι Ἐταῖροι ἵππεῖς· οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν εἰς χιλίους, πάντες χρυσοφάλαροι. τούτοις συνεχὲς ἦν τὸ τῶν φίλων σύνταγμα, ἴσον καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ κατὰ τὸν κόσμον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἐπίλεκτοι χίλιοι, οἷς ἐπηκολούθει τὸ καλούμενον ἄγγμα, κράτιστον εἶναι δοκοῦν σύστημα τῶν ἵππέων, περὶ χιλίους. τελευταία δ' ἦν ἡ κατάφρακτος ἵππος, οἰκείως τῇ προσηγορίᾳ τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐσκευασμένων τοῖς ὅπλοις.
- 10 ἦσαν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ χίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι. πάντες δ' οἱ προειρημένοι εἶχον πορφυρὰς ἐφαπτίδας, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ διαχρύσους καὶ ζωφάτας. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἔξιππα μὲν ἦν ἑκατόν, τέθριππα δὲ τετταράκοντα, ἔπειτα ἐλεφάντων.

<sup>77</sup> Kaibel's addition, contested by WC 450, who, however, in the handwritten notes for this edition, corrected himself and quoted as additional evidence for χρυσόσπιδες Plu. *Eum.* 14.5; LXX 1 Ma 6. 34, and Onos. 1.20.

<sup>78</sup> A plain in Media, where very fast horses were bred.

Mysians, and immediately behind them three thousand Cilicians armed in the manner of light infantry, wearing gold crowns. Next came three thousand Thracians and five thousand Gauls. They were followed by twenty thousand Macedonians of whom ten thousand bore golden shields,<sup>77</sup> five thousand brazen shields and the rest silver shields. Next marched two hundred and forty pairs of gladiators, and behind them a thousand horsemen from Nisa<sup>78</sup> and three thousand from Antioch itself, most of whom had crowns and trappings of gold and the rest trappings of silver. Next to these came the so-called "companion cavalry,"<sup>79</sup> numbering about a thousand, all with gold trappings, and next the regiment of "royal friends" of equal number and similarly accoutred; next a thousand picked horse followed by the so-called "agema,"<sup>80</sup> supposed to be the crack cavalry corps, numbering about a thousand. Last of all marched the "cataphract"<sup>81</sup> or mailed horse, the horses and men being armed in complete mail, as the name indicated. Of these too there were about fifteen hundred. All the above wore purple surcoats in many cases embroidered with gold and figured designs. Next came a hundred chariots drawn by six horses and forty drawn by four horses, and then a chariot drawn by four elephants<sup>82</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Named after the elite unit in the army of Alexander the Great (Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1.104–112). For their role in the Seleucid army B. Bar-Kochva, *The Seleucid Army* (Cambridge 1976), 67–75, also for the *agema* (next note). <sup>80</sup> Likewise a unit in Alexander's army (Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1.126).

<sup>81</sup> Mailed cavalry, introduced by the Persians from the nomads of central Asia. <sup>82</sup> The kings had kept them in violation of the treaty of 188. Bar-Kochva (25.7), 75–83.

ἄρμα καὶ συνωρίς. καθ' ἓνα δὲ εἶποντο ἐλέφαντες διεσκευασμένοι τριάκοντα καὶ ἕξ.

- 12 Τὴν δ' ἄλλην πομπὴν λέγειν ἐστὶ δυσέφικτον, ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ δὲ λεκτέον. ἔφηβοι μὲν γὰρ ἐπόμπευσαν εἰς ὀκτακοσίους, χρυσοῦς ἔχοντες στεφάνους, βόες δ' εὐτραφεῖς περὶ χιλίους, θεωρίαὶ δὲ βραχὺ λείπουσαι
- 13 τριακοσίων, ἐλεφάντων δὲ ὀδόντες ὀκτακόσιοι. τὸ δὲ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων πλῆθος οὐ δυνατὸν ἐξηγήσασθαι πάντων γὰρ τῶν παρ' ἀνθρώποις λεγομένων ἢ νομιζομένων θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων, προσέτι δὲ ἡρώων εἰδῶλα διήγετο, τὰ μὲν κεχρυσωμένα, τὰ δ' ἡμφιεσμένα στο-
- 14 λαῖς διαχρύσοις. καὶ πᾶσι τούτοις οἱ προσήκοντες μῦθοι κατὰ τὰς παραδεδομένας ἱστορίας ἐν διασκευαῖς
- 15 πολυτελεσί παρέκειντο. εἶπετο δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Νυκτὸς εἰδῶλον καὶ Ἡμέρας, Γῆς τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ, καὶ Ἡοῦς
- 16 καὶ Μεσημβρίας. τὸ δὲ τῶν χρυσωμάτων καὶ ἀργυρωμάτων πλῆθος οὕτως ἄν τις ὑπονοήσειεν ὅσον ἦν ἐνὸς γὰρ τῶν φίλων, Διονυσίου τοῦ ἐπιστολιαγράφου, χίλιοι παῖδες ἐπόμπευσαν ἀργυρώματα ἔχοντες, ὧν
- 17 οὐδὲν ἐλάττων ὀλκὴν εἶχεν δραχμῶν χιλίων. βασιλικοὶ δὲ παῖδες παρήλθον ἑξακόσιοι χρυσώματα ἔχοντες. ἔπειτα γυναῖκες ἐκ χρυσῶν καλπίδων μύροις ἔρραινον,
- 18 εἰς διακοσίας. ταύταις δ' ἐξῆς ἐπόμπευον ἐν χρυσοπόσι μὲν φορεῖοις ὀγδοήκοντα γυναῖκες, <ἐν> ἀργυρόποσι δὲ πεντακόσια καθήμεναι, πολυτελεῶς διεσκευασμένοι. καὶ τῆς μὲν πομπῆς τὰ ἐπιφανέστατα ταῦτα ἦν.

and another drawn by a pair, and finally thirty-six elephants in single file with their housings.

It is a difficult task to describe the rest of the procession but I must attempt to give its main features. About eight hundred young men wearing gold crowns made part of it as well as about a thousand fat cattle and nearly three hundred delegations and eight hundred ivory tusks. The vast quantity of images it is impossible to enumerate. For representations of all the gods and spirits mentioned or worshipped by men and of all the heroes were carried along, some gilded and others draped in garments embroidered with gold, and they were all accompanied by representations executed in precious materials of the myths relating to them as traditionally narrated. Behind them came images of Night and Day, of Earth and Heaven, and of Dawn and Midday. The quantity of gold and silver plate may be estimated from what follows. A thousand slaves of one of the royal "friends," Dionysius, the head of the royal chancellery,<sup>83</sup> marched along carrying articles of silver plate none of them weighing less than a thousand drachmae, and six hundred of the king's own slaves went by bearing articles of gold plate. Next there were about two hundred women sprinkling the crowd with perfumes from golden urns, and these were followed by eighty women seated in litters with golden feet and five hundred in litters with silver feet, all richly dressed. Such were the more remarkable features of the procession.

<sup>83</sup> E. Bickerman, *Institutions des Séleucides* (Paris 1938), 197.



26. Ἐπιτελεσθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀγῶνων καὶ μονομαχιῶν  
 (31 4) καὶ κυνηγεσίῳ κατὰ τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας, ἐν αἷς τὰς  
 2 θέας συνετέλει, πέντε μὲν τὰς πρώτας ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ  
 πάντες ἐκ χρυσῶν ὀλκείων ἠλείφοντο κροκίνῳ μύρῳ.  
 ἦν δὲ ταῦτα πεντεκαίδεκα, καὶ κινναμωμίνου τὰ ἴσα  
 καὶ ναρδίνου. παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἐξῆς εἰσ-  
 3 εφέρετο τήλινον, ἀμαράκινον, ἕρινον, πάντα διαφέ-  
 ροντο ταῖς εὐωδίαις. ἔστρωτο δὲ εἰς εὐωχίαν ποτὲ μὲν  
 χίλια τρίκλινα, ποτὲ δὲ χίλια πεντακόσια μετὰ τῆς  
 πολυτελεστάτης διασκευῆς.  
 4 Athen. l. c. Ὁ δὲ χειρισμὸς ἐγένετο τῶν πραγμάτων  
 δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως· ἵππον γὰρ ἔχων εὐτελῆ παρ-  
 5 ἔτρεχε παρὰ τὴν πομπήν, τοὺς μὲν προάγειν κελεύων  
 τοὺς δὲ ἐπέχειν. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς πότους αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὰς  
 εἰσόδους ἐφιστάμενος οὓς μὲν εἰσήγεν οὓς δ' ἀνέκλινε,  
 καὶ τοὺς διακόνους δὲ τοὺς τὰς παραθέσεις φέροντας  
 6 αὐτὸς εἰσήγε. καὶ περιπορευόμενος οὗ μὲν προσεκά-  
 θιζεν, οὗ δὲ προσανέπιπτε· καὶ ποτὲ μὲν ἀποθήμενος  
 μεταξὺ τὸν ψωμόν, ποτὲ δὲ τὸ ποτήριον ἀνεπήδα καὶ  
 μετανίστατο καὶ περιήει τὸν πότον, προπόσεις λαμ-  
 βάνων ὀρθὸς ἄλλοτε παρ' ἄλλοις, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοῖς  
 7 ἀκροάμασι προσπαίζων. προϊούσης δ' ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς  
 συνουσίας καὶ πολλῶν ἤδη κεχωρισμένων, ὑπὸ τῶν  
 μίμων ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰσεφέρετο ὅλος κεκαλυμμένος καὶ  
 8 εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐτίθετο ὡς εἰς ὦν δῆτα τῶν μίμων. καὶ  
 τῆς συμφωνίας προκαλουμένης, ἀναπηδήσας ὠρχεῖτο  
 καὶ ὑπεκρίνετο μετὰ τῶν γελωτοποιῶν, ὥστε πάντας  
 9 αἰσχυνομένους φεύγειν. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα συνετελέσθη

26. When the games, gladiatorial shows, and beast fights, which lasted for the thirty days devoted to spectacles, were over, for the first five succeeding days every one who chose anointed himself in the gymnasium with saffron ointment out of gold jars, of those there were fifteen, and there were the same number of jars with ointment of cinnamon and spikenard. On the succeeding days ointments of fenugreek, marjoram, and orris were brought in, all of exquisite perfume. For banqueting there were sometimes a thousand tables laid and sometimes fifteen hundred, all furnished with the most costly tableware.

All the arrangements were made by the king in person. He rode on a sorry pony along the procession, ordering it to advance or halt as the case might be. At banquets, again, he stood himself at the entrance and led in some of the guests, and ushered others to their seats, himself leading in also the attendants who carried the dishes. Then he would walk round the room, occasionally sitting down and occasionally reclining, and then, putting down as the case might be the cup or the morsel he was holding, he would jump up and change his place, going all round the banquet, accepting toasts standing from this man or that and joking with the band. Finally when the carouse had been going on for long and many of the guests had already left, the king, entirely wrapped up, was carried in by the mimes and deposited on the ground as if he were one of themselves. The band was now summoned, and he, jumping up, would dance and act with the burlesque players, so that all the guests were abashed and left the feast. All the above display and outlay was provided for by the robberies he

ἐξ ὧν τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐνοσφίσατο, παρα-  
σπονδήσας τὸν Φιλομήτορα βασιλέα παιδίσκον ὄντα,  
<τὰ> δὲ καὶ τῶν φίλων συμβαλλομένων. ἱεροσυλήκει  
δὲ καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῶν ἱερῶν.

- (31 5) 27. Ὅτι μετὰ τὴν συντέλειαν τῶν ἀγώνων, ἄρτι  
2 τούτων γεγονότων, ἦκου οἱ περὶ τὸν Τεβέριον πρε-  
σβευταί, κατασκόπων ἔχοντες τάξιν. οἷς οὕτως ἐπι-  
δεξίως ἀπήντησεν Ἀντίοχος καὶ φιλοφρόνως ὥστε μὴ  
οἶον τοὺς περὶ τὸν Τεβέριον ὑποπτεῦσάι τι περὶ αὐτοῦ  
πραγματικὸν ἢ παρατριβῆς ἔμφασιν ἔχον ἐκ τῶν  
κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λεγόντων τι  
3 τοιοῦτον καταγινώσκειν διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς κατὰ  
τὴν ἀπάντησιν φιλανθρωπίας· ὅς γε πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις  
καὶ τῆς αὐλῆς παρεχώρησε τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς, μικροῦ  
4 δὲ καὶ τοῦ διαδήματος κατὰ τὴν ἐπίφασιν, καίπερ οὐκ  
ὦν τῇ προαιρέσει τοιοῦτος, ἀλλὰ τούναντίον.

## I. RES ITALIAE

- (31 2) 28. Ὅτι τοῖς παρὰ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας Γαλατῶν  
πρεσβευταῖς συνεχώρησαν τὴν αὐτονομίαν μένουσιν

<sup>84</sup> His attack had, in fact, preempted an attack from the Ptolemaic army.

<sup>85</sup> In Egypt, during his two campaigns. P. may also have in mind the events at the temple of Jerusalem: LXX I Ma 1.20–24; LXX 2 Ma 5.15–21. E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B. C. – A. D. 135)* 1, revised and edited by G. Vermes and F. Millar (Edinburgh 1973), 128–129 and 152–153.

had committed in Egypt when he treacherously attacked<sup>84</sup> King Philometor while yet a child, and partly by contributions from his friends. He had also sacrilegiously despoiled most of the temples.<sup>85</sup>

27. Shortly after the end of the games Tiberius Gracchus<sup>86</sup> and the other legates arrived in the quality of inspectors. Antiochus, however, was so adroit and courteous when he met them that Tiberius and his colleagues, far from acquiring any real suspicion about him or detecting anything indicative of disaffection due to what had happened at Alexandria,<sup>87</sup> even discredited those who said anything of the kind, owing to their exceedingly kind reception: for in addition to other favors he even gave up his palace to them, and very nearly gave up his crown to them as well, so far his demeanor went, although his real feelings were not so, but quite the reverse.

166 B.C.

## I. AFFAIRS OF ITALY

*Treatment of Galatia*

28. The autonomy<sup>88</sup> of their country was granted by the senate to the Galatian envoys on condition that they re-

166–165 B.C.

<sup>86</sup> Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus. *MRR* 1.438.

<sup>87</sup> 29.27.1–9.

<sup>88</sup> This grant was another blow to Eumenes, soon after he had defeated the Galatians. A Pergamene inscription refers to his victory: *IvP* 165 + *MDAI* (A) 27 (1902) 90, no. 74. Another Pergamene inscription which *WC* 3. 454 still refers to the year 165 (*OGI* 299), dates in fact from 149 (C. P. Jones, *Chiron* 4 [1974], 183–205).

ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις κατοικίαις καὶ μὴ στρατευομένοις ἐκτὸς τῶν ἰδίων ὄρων.

## II. RES GRAECIAE

- (23) (20) 29. Ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον, παραγενομένων τῶν πρεσβευτῶν καὶ διασαφούντων τὰ κατὰ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, οὐκέτι θόρυβος ἦν, ἀλλ' ὀργὴ καὶ μῖσος ἐκφανὲς πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Καλλικράτην.
- 2 Ὅτι τοῦ περὶ Καλλικράτην μίσους καὶ Ἀνδρωνίδαν καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς <τοὺς> ὁμογνώμονας τούτων οὕτως
- 3 ἄν τις τεκμήραιτο. τῆς γὰρ τῶν Ἀντιγονείων πανηγύρεως ἐν τῷ Σικυῶνι συντελουμένης, καὶ τῶν βαλανείων ἀπάντων ἐχόντων τὰς τε κοινὰς μάκτρας καὶ
- 4 πύελους ταύταις παρακειμένας, εἰς ἃς οἱ κομψότεροι τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰώθασιν κατ' ἰδίαν ἐμβαίνειν, εἰς ταύτας ὅτε τις καθείη τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀνδρωνίδαν καὶ Καλλικράτην, οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα τῶν ἐφεστώτων ἔτι καθιέναι, πρὶν ἢ τὸν βαλανεῖτην τὸ μὲν ὑπάρχον ὕδωρ ἀφείναι
- 5 πᾶν, ἕτερον δὲ καθαρὸν ἐγχεῖν. τοῦτο δ' ἐποίουν, ὑπολαμβάνοντες ὡσανεὶ μιαίνεσθαι καθιέντες εἰς ταὐτὸ
- 6 τοῖς προειρημένοις ὕδωρ. τοὺς δὲ συριγμοὺς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς πανηγύρεσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τοὺς χλευασμούς, ὅτε τις ἐπιβάλοιτο κηρύττειν τιτὰ τῶν προειρημένων, οὐδ' ἂν ἐξηγήσασιν ῥαδίως οὐδεὶς. ἐθάρρει δὲ καὶ τὰ παιδάρια κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐκ τῶν διδασκαλείων ἐπανάγοντα κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοὺς προδότας

remained in their own settlements and did not cross their frontier in arms.

## II. AFFAIRS OF GREECE

*Feeling Against Callicrates*

29. In the Peloponnesus, when the envoys<sup>89</sup> returned and reported the answer they had received, there was no longer any disturbance but unconcealed indignation and hatred against Callicrates and his party. 166/5 B.C.

One can guess from the following circumstance how cordially Callicrates, Andronidas,<sup>90</sup> and the rest of their party were detested. When the festival of the Antigoneia<sup>91</sup> was being celebrated in Sicyon, and all the baths had their large public bathing tubs open, and smaller ones next to them, which the more genteel people used to enter privately, whenever any of the party of Callicrates and Andronidas went in to them, none of those who were waiting their turn ventured to enter the water after them, before the bath keeper had let it all run off and poured in fresh. They did this because they considered that they would be, as it were, polluted by entering the same water as those people. And as for the hissing and hooting at public festivals when anyone attempted to proclaim one of these men as victor, it would not be easy to describe it. Even the children in the streets on their way back from school ven-

<sup>89</sup> This embassy is nowhere recorded.

<sup>90</sup> Both appeared together in 29.25.1.

<sup>91</sup> For King Antigonos Doson, more than fifty years after his death; see 2.70.5.

ἀποκαλείν. τοιαύτη τις ὑπέδραμε προσκοπή καὶ μῖσος κατὰ τῶν προειρημένων.

## RES ITALIAE

30. Ὅτι εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην παραγεγονότων πρεσβευτῶν  
 (31 6) πλειόνων καὶ ἐτέρων, ἐπιφανεστάτων δὲ παρὰ μὲν Ῥοδίων τῶν περὶ Ἀστυμήδην, παρὰ δὲ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν τῶν περὶ Εὐρέαν καὶ Ἀναξίδαμον καὶ Σάτυρον, παρὰ δὲ Προυσίου τῶν περὶ Πύθωνα, τούτοις ἐχρημάτισεν  
 2 ἡ σύγκλητος. οἱ μὲν οὖν παρὰ τοῦ Προυσίου κατηγορίαν ἐποιούντ' Εὐμένους τοῦ βασιλέως, φάσκοντες αὐτῶν τέ τινα χωρία παραιρεῖσθαι τὸν Εὐμένη καὶ τῆς Γαλατίας οὐκ ἀφίστασθαι τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲ πειθαρχεῖν τοῖς τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμασιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τὰ σφέτερα μὲν φρονούντας σωματοποιεῖν, τοὺς δὲ τὰ Ῥωμαίων αἰρουμένους καὶ βουλομένους πολιτεύεσθαι τοῖς τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμασιν ἀκολουθῶν κατὰ πάντα  
 4 τρόπον ἐλαττοῦν. ἦσαν δὲ τινες πρεσβευταὶ καὶ παρὰ τῶν τῆς Ἀσίας πόλεων, οἱ κατηγοροῦν τοῦ βασιλέως, ἔμφασιν ποιούντες τῆς πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον κοινοπραγίας. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος διακούσασα τῶν κατηγορούντων οὐτ' ἀπέρριπτε τὰς διαβολὰς οὐτ' ἐξέφαινε τὴν ἑαυτῆς γνώμην, ἀλλὰ συνετήρει παρ' ἑαυτῆ, διαπιστοῦσα καθόλου τοῖς περὶ τὸν Εὐμένη καὶ τὸν  
 6 Ἀντίοχον τοῖς γε μὴν Γαλάταις αἰεὶ τι προσετίθει καὶ  
 7 συνεπίσχυε περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Τεβέ-

tured to call them traitors to their faces. So deep was the prevailing aversion and hatred of them.

## AFFAIRS OF ITALY

*Embassies from Prusias, Rhodes, and Achaea*

30. Many other embassies also reached Rome this year, the principal ones being that under Astymedes<sup>92</sup> from Rhodes, that from the Achaeans consisting of Eureas, Anaxidamus and Satyrus, and that from Prusias<sup>93</sup> headed by Python. The senate gave audiences to all these. The envoys from Prusias complained of King Eumenes, asserting that he had annexed some Bithynian places, and did not by any means cease from meddling with Galatia, but disobeyed the decrees of the senate, continuing to strengthen his own partisans there and to weaken by every means in his power those who were favorable to Rome, and who desired to act in accordance with the decrees of the senate. There were also some envoys from Asiatic cities who accused Eumenes, laying stress on his understanding<sup>94</sup> with Antiochus. The senate, after listening to the accusations, neither repelled them nor pronounced any opinion, but took note of them, generally distrusting Eumenes and Antiochus. As for the Galatians they continued to add to and further secure their liberties. Tiberius

165–164  
B.C.

<sup>92</sup> 27.7.3.

<sup>93</sup> King Prusias II. For these events *RE* Prusias 1113–1115 (C. Habicht).

<sup>94</sup> It existed after Eumenes and his brothers had assisted Antiochus to win the throne, as attested by App. *Syr.* 233–235, and the Athenian decree, Holleaux, *Ét.* 2.127–147.

ριον ἤκοντες ἀπὸ τῆς πρεσβείας οὐδὲν περιττότερον ἠδυνήθησαν οὔτ' αὐτοὶ διαλαβεῖν οὔτε τῇ συγκλήτῳ διασαφῆσαι περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Εὐμένη καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον, ἤπερ ἂ καὶ πρότερον ὄντες ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διελάμβανον. οὕτως αὐτοὺς οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐξετέμοντο τῇ κατὰ τὴν ἀπάντησιν φιλανθρωπία.

31. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα προσκαλεσαμένη τοὺς Ῥοδίουσιν διήκουε τούτων. ὁ δ' Ἀστυμέδης εἰσελθὼν μετρίως ἔστη καὶ βέλτιον ἢ κατὰ τὴν πρὸ ταύτης πρεσβείαν ἀφέμενος γὰρ τοῦ κατηγορεῖν τῶν ἄλλων ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸ παραιτεῖσθαι, καθάπερ οἱ μαστιγούμενοι τὰς πληγὰς, φάσκων ἱκανοῖς προστίμοις περιπεπωκέναι τὴν πατρίδα καὶ μείζοσι τῆς ἁμαρτίας. καὶ προσθέμενος ἐξηγεῖτο τὰς ἐλαττώσεις, κεφαλαιωδῶς διεξιὼν, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι Λυκίαν καὶ Καρίαν ἀπολωλέκασιν, εἰς ἣν ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν ἐδαπάνησαν χρημάτων ἱκανὸν πλῆθος, τριτοῦς πολέμους ἀναγκασθέντες πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς, νυνὶ δὲ προσόδων ἔστέρηνται πολλῶν ὧν ἐλάμβανον παρὰ τῶν προειρημένων. "ἀλλ' ἴσως" ἔφη "ταῦτα μὲν ἔχει λόγον· καὶ γὰρ ἐδώκαθ' ὑμεῖς αὐτὰ τῷ δήμῳ, μετὰ χάριτος <διὰ> τὴν εὐνοίαν, καὶ ἀφανίζοντες αὐτὰ κατὰ λόγον ἐδοκέετε τοῦτο πράττειν, ἐμπεσοῦσης τινὸς ὑποψίας καὶ διαφορᾶς ὑμῖν. ἀλλὰ Καῦνον δῆπου διακοσίων ταλάντων ἐξηγοράσαμεν παρὰ τῶν Πτολεμαίου στρατηγῶν καὶ Στρατονίκειαν ἐλάβομεν ἐν μεγάλῃ χάριτι παρ' Ἀντιόχου καὶ Σελεύκου· καὶ παρὰ τούτων τῶν πόλεων ἀμφοτέρων

and his colleagues, on returning from their mission, were incapable of forming themselves or stating to the senate any opinion about Eumenes and Antiochus further than that which they had formerly entertained when in Rome. So had the kings, by the warmth of their reception, emasculated them.

31. After this the senate summoned the Rhodians and gave them a hearing. Astymedes<sup>95</sup> on entering took up a more moderate and better position than on his last embassy. For, desisting from bringing accusations, he began to make excuses, as slaves when scourged beg to be let off a certain number of lashes, saying that his country had been sufficiently mulcted and beyond what her offenses deserved. He then proceeded to sum up the losses which Rhodes had suffered, mentioning first of all that of Lycia and Caria, on which provinces they had spent from the outset a considerable sum, having been compelled to undertake three wars against them, and now they were deprived of the large revenue derived from them. "But perhaps," he said, "in this you are justified; for it is true that you gave these districts to our people as a favor and token of goodwill, and in revoking your gift now that we incur your suspicion and hostility you may seem to have acted reasonably. But as for Caunus,<sup>96</sup> you will confess that we bought it from Ptolemy's generals for two hundred talents, and that Stratoniceia<sup>97</sup> was given us as a great favor by Antiochus and Seleucus.<sup>98</sup> From these two towns our state

<sup>95</sup> Last mentions at 21.4 and 30.1.

<sup>96</sup> 5.11; 9.12; 21.3; 23.2. The city was purchased between 197 and 188.

<sup>97</sup> 21.3.

<sup>98</sup> The identity of the kings and the date of acquisition are much disputed; WC 3.457–458.



8 ἑκατὸν καὶ εὐκοσι τάλαντα τῷ δήμῳ πρόσσόδος ἔπιπτε  
 9 καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος. τούτων ἀπασῶν ἔστερήμεθα τῶν  
 10 προσόδων, θέλοντες πειθαρχεῖν τοῖς ὑμετέροις προ-  
 11 τάγμασιν. ἐξ ὧν μείζονα φόρον ἐπιτεθείκατε τοῖς  
 12 Ῥοδίοις τῆς ἀγνοίας ἢ Μακεδόσι τοῖς διὰ παντὸς πο-  
 13 λεμίοις ὑμῖν ὑπάρξασιν. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον σύμπτωμα  
 14 τῆς πόλεως· καταλέλνται γὰρ ἡ τοῦ λιμένος πρόσσο-  
 15 δος, ὑμῶν Δῆλον μὲν ἀτελῆ πεποιηκότων, ἀφηρημένων  
 16 δὲ τὴν τοῦ δήμου παρρησίαν, δι' ἧς καὶ τὰ κατὰ  
 τὸν λιμένα καὶ τὰλλα πάντα τῆς πόλεως ἐτύγχανε τῆς  
 ἀρμοζούσης προστασίας. ὅτι δὲ τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἀληθές  
 οὐ δυσχερὲς καταμαθεῖν· τοῦ γὰρ ἐλλιμενίου κατὰ  
 τοὺς ἀνώτερον χρόνους εὐρίσκοντος ἑκατὸν μυριάδας  
 δραχμῶν, νῦν εὐρίσκει πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδας, ὥστε  
 καὶ λίαν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, τὴν ὑμετέραν ὀργὴν  
 ἠφθαι τῶν κυρίων πόρων τῆς πόλεως. εἰ μὲν <οὖν>  
 συμβεβήκει πάνδημον γεγενῆσθαι τὴν ἀμαρτίαν καὶ  
 τὴν ἀλλοτριότητα τοῦ δήμου, τάχ' ἴσως ἔδοκεῖτε καὶ  
 ὑμεῖς εὐλόγως ἐπίμονον καὶ δυσπαραίτητον ἔχειν τὴν  
 ὀργήν· εἰ δὲ σαφῶς ἴστε παντάπασιν ὀλίγους γεγο-  
 νότας αἰτίους τῆς τοιαύτης ἀλογίας, καὶ τούτους  
 ἅπαντας ἀπολωλότας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ δήμου, τί πρὸς  
 τοὺς μηδὲν αἰτίους ἀκαταλλάκτως ἔχετε, καὶ ταῦτα  
 πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας εἶναι δοκοῦντες πράτταται  
 καὶ μεγαλοψυχότατοι; διόπερ, ὧ ἄνδρες, ἀπολωλεκῶς  
 ὁ δῆμος τὰς προσόδους, τὴν παρρησίαν, τὴν  
 ἰσολογίαν, ὑπὲρ ὧν τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου πᾶν

derived an annual revenue of a hundred and twenty tal-  
 ents. We have lost the whole of this revenue through our  
 ready compliance with your orders. From this you see that  
 you have imposed a heavier tribute on the Rhodians for a  
 single mistake than on the Macedonians who had always  
 been your foes. But the greatest calamity inflicted on our  
 town is this. The revenue we drew from our harbor has  
 ceased owing to your having made Delos<sup>99</sup> a free port, and  
 deprived our people of that liberty by which our rights as  
 regards our harbor and all the other rights of our city were  
 properly guarded. It is not difficult to convince you of the  
 truth of this. For while the harbor dues<sup>100</sup> in former times  
 were farmed for a million drachmae, they now fetch only  
 a hundred and fifty thousand, so that your displeasure,  
 men of Rome, has only too heavily visited the vital re-  
 sources of the state. Now, had the whole people been re-  
 sponsible for our error and estrangement from you, you  
 might possibly with some show of justice maintain that  
 displeasure and deny forgiveness, but if, as you know well,  
 the authors of this folly were quite few in number and have  
 all been put to death by the state itself, why do you refuse  
 to be reconciled to men who were in no way to blame, you  
 who are considered to be most lenient and magnanimous  
 toward all other peoples? Therefore, gentlemen, the peo-  
 ple of Rhodes who have lost their revenue, their liberty,  
 and their equality, things for which in past times they were

<sup>99</sup> The island was assigned to Athens. P. Roussel, *Délos, colo-  
 nie athénienne* (Paris 1916, enlarged reprint 1987), passim.  
 Habicht (7.10), 246–263.

<sup>100</sup> In fact rather custom duties, usually 2% of the value of merchandise (*pentekoste*). The revenue  
 had fallen from one million to 150,000 drachmas.

17 ἀναδεχόμενος διατετέλεκεν, ἀξιοὶ καὶ δεῖται πάντων  
 ὑμῶν, ἱκανὰς ἔχων πληγὰς, λήξαντας τῆς ὀργῆς  
 διαλυθῆναι καὶ συνθέσθαι τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἵνα γένη-  
 ται τοῦτο συμφανὲς ἅπασιν ὅτι τὴν μὲν ὀργὴν  
 18 ἀποθέσεισθε τὴν πρὸς Ῥοδίουσ, ἀνακεχωρήκατε δ' ἐπὶ  
 τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς αἴρσειν καὶ φιλίαν. τούτου γὰρ χρείαν  
 ἔχει νῦν ὁ δῆμος, οὐ τῆς διὰ τῶν ὄπλων καὶ  
 στρατιωτῶν συμμαχίας." ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ τούτοις  
 παραπλήσια διαλεχθεὶς Ἀστυμήδης ἐδόκει πρεπό-  
 19 ντως τοῖς καιροῖς πεποιῆσθαι τοὺς λόγους· πλείστα  
 γε μὴν συνήργησαν τοῖς Ῥοδίοις πρὸς τὸ τυχεῖν τῆς  
 συμμαχίας οἱ περὶ τὸν Τεβέριον ἄρτι παραγεγονότες.  
 20 οἷτοι γὰρ ἀπομαρτυρήσαντες πρῶτον μὲν πᾶσιν τοῖς  
 τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμασι πεπειθαρχηκέναι τοὺς  
 Ῥοδίουσ, ἔπειτα πάντας τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς ἀλλοτριότητος  
 κατακεκρίσθαι θανάτου παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἤττησαν τοὺς  
 ἀντιλέγοντας καὶ ἐποίησαντο τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους  
 συμμαχίαν.

32. Ὅτι μετὰ τινα χρόνον εἰσῆλθον οἱ παρὰ τῶν  
 (31 8) Ἀχαιῶν πρέσβεις, ἔχοντες ἐντολὰς ἀκολούθως ταῖς  
 2 ἀποκρίσειν, αἷς πρότερον ἔλαβον· αὐταὶ δ' ἦσαν δι-  
 ὅτι θανμάζουσιν πῶς, ὑπὲρ ὧν αὐτοὶ κεκρίκασι, περὶ  
 3 τούτων αὐτοὺς παρακαλοῦσιν κρίνειν. διὸ τότε παρ-  
 ἦσαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Εὐρέαν, πάλιν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐμφανίζοντες  
 διότι τὸ μὲν ἔθνος οὔτε δικαιολογουμένων ἀκήκοε τῶν  
 κατηγιαμένων οὔτε κρίσιν οὐδεμίαν πεποίηται περὶ

101 The Rhodian had long requested such an alliance (5.4).

ready to endure any suffering, beg and entreat you all, now  
 that they have been sufficiently chastised, to abate your  
 anger, to be reconciled to us and to make the alliance<sup>101</sup> in  
 order that it may be evident to all men that you have now  
 laid aside your anger against the Rhodians and have re-  
 sumed your original friendly attitude; for it is of this that  
 our people stands in need now and not of an ally to support  
 them by arms and soldiers." In these and similar terms  
 Astymedes addressed the senate, and he was thought to  
 have spoken in a manner befitting the situation. The thing,  
 however, which helped the Rhodians most to get their  
 alliance was the recent arrival of Tiberius Gracchus<sup>102</sup> and  
 the other legates. For by testifying in the first place that  
 the Rhodians had obeyed all the decrees of the senate and  
 next that all those guilty of disaffection had been con-  
 demned to death at Rhodes, he overcame all opposition,  
 and so the alliance with Rome was made.

#### *Embassy from Achaëa*

32. Shortly afterward the Achaean envoys<sup>103</sup> entered,  
 with instructions consequent on the answer they had pre-  
 viously received. This was that the senate were surprised  
 that they should be asked to pronounce judgment on a  
 matter already judged by the Achaeans. Owing to this Eu-  
 reas and his colleagues appeared on the present occasion  
 to point out without delay that the league had neither  
 heard the defense of the accused nor pronounced any  
 judgment<sup>104</sup> on them, and they now begged the senate to

102 27.1.

103 Those of 30.1.

104 Confirmed by Paus. 7.10. 9-10 (Xenon of Patrae).

4 αὐτῶν, τὴν δὲ σύγκλητον ἀξιοῖ πρόνοιαν ποιήσασθαι  
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἵνα κρίσεως τύχωσι καὶ μὴ καταφθαρῶ-  
 5 σιν ἄκριτοι, καὶ μάλιστα μὲν αὐτὴν ἐξετάσασαν  
 διασαφῆσαι τοὺς ἐνόχους ὄντας τοῖς ἐγκλήμασιν· εἰ  
 δὲ διὰ τοὺς περισπασμοὺς αὐτῇ μὴ δύναται τοῦτο  
 ποιῆσαι, τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐπιτρέψαι περὶ τοῦ πράγματος,  
 6 οἱ πειράσονται μισοπονήρως χρῆσασθαι τοῖς αἰτίοις.  
 ἢ δὲ σύγκλητος διακούσασα τῶν πρεσβεντῶν, ἀκο-  
 λούθως ταῖς ἐντολαῖς διαλεγομένων, καὶ δυσχρηστοῦσα  
 7 διὰ τὸ πανταχόθεν ἐξελέγχεσθαι τὸ τε γὰρ κρίνειν  
 οὐκ ἐνόμιζεν αὐτῇ καθήκειν, τὸ τε χωρὶς κρίσεως ἀπο-  
 λύειν τοὺς ἄνδρας πρόδηλον ἔχειν ἐδόκει τὸν ὄλεθρον  
 8 τοῖς φίλοις αὐτῶν· διόπερ ἀναγκαζομένη καὶ βουλο-  
 μένη παρελέσθαι καθόλου τὴν ἐλπίδα τῶν πολλῶν  
 ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν κατεχομένων σωτηρίας, ἵνα συμμύσαν-  
 τες πειθαρχῶσιν ἐν μὲν Ἀχαΐα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Καλλι-  
 κράτην, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολιτεύμασι τοῖς δοκοῦσιν  
 9 εἶναι Ῥωμαίων, ἔγραψαν ἀποκρίσιν τοιαύτην, ὅτι  
 ἡμεῖς οὐχ ὑπολαμβάνομεν συμφέρειν <οὔτε τοῖς Ῥω-  
 μαίοις> οὔτε τοῖς ὑμετέροις δῆμοις τούτους τοὺς  
 10 ἄνδρας ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς οἶκον. ταύτης δὲ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως  
 ἐκπεσούσης, οὐ μόνον περὶ τοὺς ἀνακεκλημένους ἐγένε-  
 νετό τις ὄλοσχερῆς ἀθυμία καὶ παράλυσις τῆς ψυχῆς,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὡσανεὶ κοινόν τι πέν-  
 θος, ἅτε δοκούσης τῆς ἀποκρίσεως ὄλοσχερῶς ἀφαι-  
 11 ρεῖσθαι τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν ἀκληρούτων.  
 κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαγγελθείσης <τῆς> ἀποκρίσεως  
 τῆς τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς δεδομένης ὑπὲρ τῶν καταιτιαθέντων,

consider the case of these men, and see that they were put on trial, and not allowed to rot in exile unjudged. They begged the senate if possible to undertake the inquiry itself and to pronounce who were guilty of the charges; but if other calls on their time prevented this, to refer the matter to the Achaeans who would attempt to deal rigorously with those found guilty as their crimes merited. The senate, after listening to what the envoys said according to their instructions, found themselves in a quandary, as they were under pressure from all sides. They did not think it lay with them to pronounce judgment, while to set the men free without trial meant, they thought, the certain destruction of their own friends. Therefore, forced by circumstances, and wishing to cut short once for all the hope of the populace that those in detention might be saved, with the object of shutting people's mouths and making them obedient to the party of Callicrates in Achaea, and to those in other states who were thought to be the friends of Rome, they gave a written answer in these words: "We do not think it the interest either of Rome or of your peoples that these men should return home." Upon this answer being issued not only did those who had been summoned to Italy fall into a state of utter despondency and helplessness, but the Greeks<sup>105</sup> went as it were into general mourning, since the answer seemed to deprive the exiles of all hope of restoration. And when the answer given to the Achaeans on the subject of the accused was announced in Greece, the spirits of the peo-

<sup>105</sup> Those in Rome.

12 τὰ μὲν πλήθη συνετρίβη ταῖς διανοίαις, καὶ τις οἶον  
 ἀπελπισμὸς ὑπέδραμεν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, οἱ δὲ περὶ  
 τὸν Χάροπα καὶ Καλλικράτην καὶ πάντες οἱ τῆς  
 αὐτῆς ὑποθέσεως προεστῶτες μετέωροι πάλιν ἐγενή-  
 θησαν.

ple were crushed and something like despair everywhere prevailed. But Charops<sup>106</sup> and Callicrates and the defenders of their policy were again in high spirits.

<sup>106</sup> In Epirus, Callicrates in Achaea.

## FRAGMENTA LIBRI XXXI

- (9) 1. Ὅτι Τεβέριος τοὺς Καμμανοὺς τὰ μὲν βιασάμενος, τὰ δὲ παραλογισάμενος ὑπηκόους ἐποίησε Ῥωμαίοις.
- 2 Εἰς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ πλείονων παραγεγονότων <πρεσβευτῶν> ἐχρημάτισεν ἢ σύγκλητος τοῖς περὶ
- 3 Ἄτταλον καὶ τὸν Ἀθήναιον. συνέβαινε γὰρ τὸν Προυσίαν οὐ μόνον αὐτὸν ἐνεργῶς κεκρῆσθαι ταῖς διαβολαῖς ταῖς κατὰ τὸν Εὐμένη καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς Γαλάτας, παρωξυκέναι καὶ τοὺς Σελγεῖς καὶ πλείους ἑτέροισι κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπό-
- 4 θεσιν. ὦν χάριν ὁ βασιλεὺς Εὐμένης ἐξαπεστάλκει τοὺς ἀδελφούς, ἀπολογησομένους πρὸς τὰς ἐπιφερομένας διαβολάς. οἱ καὶ παρελθόντες εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον ἐνδεχομένως ἔδοξαν πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀπολογίαν, καὶ τέλος οὐ μόνον ἀποτριψάμενοι τὰς ἐπιφερομένας αἰτίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμη-
- 6 θέντες ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. οὐ μὴν τῆς γε κατὰ

<sup>1</sup> After much confusion the Cammani have now been securely located, thanks to Steph. Byz., s.v. Καμμανία, and a new inscription (*SEG* 36.566 = *I. Illyr. merid.* 2, 123, no. 60), as inhabitants of Cestrine, a part of Thesprotia in Epirus. See P. Cabanes, *ZPE*

## FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXXI

1. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus subjected to the Romans the Cammani<sup>1</sup> partly by force and partly by fraud. 164-163 B.C.

### *Embassy from Eumenes*

Several embassies arrived at Rome this year, and the senate dealt with that headed by Attalus and Athenaeus. For Prusias had not only pushed the accusations he brought himself against Eumenes and Antiochus, but had instigated the Galatians, the people of Selge and other Asiatic peoples to bring similar complaints. In consequence of this Eumenes had sent his brothers to defend him against all these charges. When they appeared before the senate it was thought that they made a satisfactory defense against all the accusers, and finally having not only freed Eumenes from the charges but having received special marks of honor they returned to Asia. The senate,

63 (1986), 145-150, and *Rev. Phil.* 61 (1987), 49-56. The necessity to connect this fragment with the embassy of Gracchus in 165/4 and to locate it within Book 30 (at the end of 30.32.12: WC 3.463) disappears. As consul in 163 Gracchus seems to have suppressed a revolt caused by the politics of Charops, just mentioned in 30. 32.



τὸν Εὐμένη καὶ κατὰ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ὑποψίας ἔληγεν ἢ  
 σύγκλητος, ἀλλὰ Γάιον Σολπίκιον καὶ Μάνιον Σέρ-  
 7 γιον καταστήσασα πρεσβευτὰς ἑξαπέστελλεν, ἅμα  
 μὲν ἐποπτεύουσας τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἅμα δὲ  
 8 τοῖς Μεγαλοπολίταις καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις διευ-  
 κρινήσοντας περὶ τῆς ἀντιλεγομένης χώρας, μάλιστα  
 δὲ πολυπραγμονήσοντας τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἀντίοχον καὶ  
 τὰ κατὰ τὸν Εὐμένη, μὴ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν παρασκευῆ γι-  
 νεται καὶ κοινοπραγία κατὰ Ῥωμαίων.

2. Ὅτι Δημήτριος ὁ τοῦ Σελεύκου πολὺν ἤδη χρό-  
 (12) νον κατεχόμενος ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ κατὰ τὴν ὀμηρεΐαν πά-  
 2 λαι μὲν ἐδόκει παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον κατέχεσθαι δοθῆναι  
 γὰρ ὑπὸ Σελεύκου τοῦ πατρὸς τῆς ἐκείνου πίστεως  
 3 ἐνεκεν, Ἀντίοχου δὲ μετεκληφότες τὴν βασιλείαν οὐκ  
 ὀφείλειεν ὑπὲρ <τῶν> ἐκείνου τέκνων ὀμηρεΐειν. οὐ μὴν  
 ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον ἦγε τὴν ἡσυχίαν, καὶ  
 4 μάλιστα διὰ τὴν ἀδυναμίαν ἦν γὰρ ἔτι παῖς· τότε δὲ  
 τὴν ἀκμαιοτάτην ἔχων ἡλικίαν ἐποιήσατο λόγους,  
 εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον, ἀξιῶν καὶ παρακαλῶν  
 5 κατάγειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν· καθήκει γὰρ  
 αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς Ἀντίοχου τέκνοις τὴν ἀρχήν. δια-

2 The dispute was, once again, about Sciritis and Aigyitis in the upper Eurotas valley. See the study of K. Harter-Uibopuu, *Das zwischenstaatliche Rechtsverfahren im Achäischen Koinon* (Köln 1998), 80–97, no. 11, with additional observations of F. Camia, *ASAA* 82 (2004), 477–483, and H. Taeuber, *Festschrift für L. Aigner-Foresti* (Vienna 2006), 341–344. See also n. on 2.48 2.

however, did not cease to entertain suspicions of Eumenes and Antiochus, but appointed and dispatched Gaius Sulpicius and Manius Sergius as legates to observe the state of affairs in Greece, to decide the question of the territory in dispute<sup>2</sup> between Megalopolis and Lacedaemon, but chiefly to inquire diligently into the proceedings of Antiochus<sup>3</sup> and Eumenes in case they were making any preparations to attack Rome and acting in concert against her.

*Measures Taken Regarding Syria,  
Macedonia, and Egypt*

2. Demetrius,<sup>4</sup> the son of Seleucus, had now been held in hostage at Rome for many years, and it had long been thought that his detention was unjust, since he had been given by his father Seleucus as a hostage for his own good faith, and once Antiochus had succeeded to the crown he should not be required to serve as hostage for the children of Seleucus. He had, however, taken no steps previously, chiefly owing to want of capacity, as he was still a boy. But now, having fully come to years of discretion, he appeared before the senate and addressing that house begged and entreated to be sent home to assume the crown, to which he said he had a better claim than the children of Anti-

<sup>3</sup> He was already dead (he died November/December 164), the fact not yet known at Rome.

<sup>4</sup> Now in his early twenties, Demetrius in 178 had succeeded his uncle Antiochus (IV) as hostage. He was deprived of succeeding his father when Antiochus seized the throne. Antiochus was succeeded by his son Antiochus (V), still a minor, for whom the chancellor Lysias acted as guardian.

θεμένου δὲ καὶ πλείονας λόγους αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν προ-  
 ειρημένην ὑπόθεσιν καὶ μάλιστα προσδραμόντος ἐν  
 τῷ λέγειν, διότι συμβαίνει καὶ πατρίδα καὶ τροφὸν  
 τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν υἱοὺς τῶν ἐκ  
 τοῦ συνεδρίου σύμπαντας ἀδελφῶν ἔχειν διάθεσιν,  
 τοὺς δὲ βουλευτὰς πατέρων διὰ τὸ παραγενέσθαι μὲν  
 6 ἔτι νήπιος, τότε δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ὑπάρχειν ἑτῶν  
 ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, κοινῇ γε μὴν ἔδοξε τῇ συγκλήτῳ τὸν μὲν  
 Δημήτριον κατασχεῖν, τῷ δὲ καταλελειμμένῳ παιδι  
 7 συγκατασκευάζειν τὴν ἀρχήν. τοῦτο δ' ἐποίησεν, ὡς  
 ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ὑπιδομένη τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ Δημητρίου,  
 μᾶλλον δὲ κρίνασα συμφέρειν τοῖς σφετέροις πρά-  
 γμασι τὴν νεότητα καὶ τὴν ἀδυναμίαν τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ  
 8 διαδεδεγμένου τὴν βασιλείαν. ἐγένετο δὲ τοῦτο δῆλον  
 9 ἐκ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα συμβάντων. εὐθέως γὰρ καταστή-  
 σαντες πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς περὶ Γνάιον Ὀκτάουιον καὶ  
 Σπόριον Δοκρήτιον καὶ Λεύκιον Αὐρήλιον ἐξέπεμφαν,  
 10 τοὺς διοικήσοντας τὰ κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν ὡς αὐτῇ  
 προηρεῖτο διὰ τὸ μηδένα τὸν ἐμποδῶν στησόμενον  
 εἶναι τοῖς ἐπιτατομένοις, τοῦ μὲν βασιλέως παιδὸς  
 ὄντος, τῶν δὲ προεστῶτων ἀσμενιζόντων ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ  
 παραδεδῶσθαι τὰ πράγματα τῷ Δημητρίῳ. μάλιστα  
 11 γὰρ τοῦτο προσεδόκων. οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν Γνάιον  
 ἐξώρμησαν, ἔχοντες ἐντολὰς πρῶτον μὲν τὰς ναῦς τὰς  
 καταφράκτους διαπρήσαι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς ἐλέφαν-  
 12 σίλειον δύναμιν. προσενετείλαντο δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὰ

ochus. When he had spoken at considerable length in this  
 sense and especially appealed to his hearers by saying that  
 Rome was his fatherland and his nurse, that the sons of  
 the senators were all like brothers to him and the senators  
 themselves like fathers, since he had come to Rome when  
 quite an infant and was now twenty-three years of age,  
 they were all personally affected, but their public decision  
 was to keep Demetrius in Rome and help to establish on  
 the throne the surviving child of Antiochus IV. The senate  
 acted thus, in my opinion, because they were suspicious  
 of a king in the prime of life like Demetrius and thought  
 that the youth and incapacity of the boy who had suc-  
 ceeded to the throne would serve their purpose better.  
 This was made evident by what happened afterward. For  
 they at once named as legates<sup>5</sup> Gnaeus Octavius, Spurius  
 Lucretius, and Lucius Aurelius and dispatched them to  
 Syria to manage the affairs of that kingdom as the senate  
 determined, there being no one likely to oppose their or-  
 ders, since the king was a child and the principal people  
 were only too glad that the government had not been put  
 in the hands of Demetrius, as they had been almost certain  
 it would be. Octavius and his colleagues thereupon left,  
 with orders<sup>6</sup> in the first place to burn the decked warships,  
 next to hamstring the elephants, and by every means to  
 cripple the royal power. They were also ordered to look

<sup>5</sup> MRR 1.441.

<sup>6</sup> Those concerning the ships and the elephants (30.25.11)  
 were intended to enforce clauses in the treaty of 188.

κατὰ τὴν Μακεδοῦσαν ἐπισκέψασθαι συνέβαινε γὰρ  
 τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἀήθεις ὄντας δημοκρατικῆς καὶ συν-  
 13 εδριακῆς πολιτείας στασιάζειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς. ἔδει δὲ  
 14 τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀριαράθου βασιλείαν ἐποπτεῦσαι. μετὰ  
 δὲ τινα χρόνον αὐτοῖς ἐπαπεστάλη γράμματα παρὰ  
 τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ βασιλεῖς  
 διαλύσαι κατὰ δύναμιν.

3. Ὅτι παρεγένοντο κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν παρ'  
 (14) Ἀριαράθου τοῦ νεωστὶ διαδεδεγμένου τὴν Καππαδοκῶν  
 βασιλείαν πρέσβεις, ἀνανεωσόμενοι τὴν τε φιλίαν  
 καὶ συμμαχίαν τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν, καὶ καθόλου  
 2 παρακαλέσοντες τὴν σύγκλητον ἀποδέξασθαι τὴν  
 τοῦ βασιλέως εὖνοιαν καὶ προθυμίαν, ἣν ἔχει καὶ  
 3 κοινῇ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν πρὸς ἅπαντας Ῥωμαίους. ἡ δὲ  
 σύγκλητος διακούσασα τῶν λόγων τὴν τε φιλίαν  
 ἀνευώσατο καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν καὶ καθόλου τὴν  
 ὅλην αἴρεσιν ἀποδεξαμένη τοῦ βασιλέως φιλανθρώ-  
 4 πως ἐγενήθη. τοῦτο δ' ἐγένετο μάλιστα διὰ τὸ τοὺς  
 περὶ τὸν Τεβέριον, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ἐξαπεστάλησαν  
 ἐπισκεψόμενοι τὰ κατὰ τοὺς βασιλεῖς, ἐπανελθόντας  
 5 καθόλου τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῶν. οἷς πιστεύσαντες οἱ  
 τοῦ συνεδρίου τοὺς τε πρεσβευτὰς φιλανθρώπως ἀ-  
 ἐδέξαντο καὶ τὴν ὅλην αἴρεσιν τοῦ βασιλέως.

<sup>7</sup> This means "republican" as opposed to "royal."

<sup>8</sup> King Ariarathes IV (21.41.4 and 45.1) died ca. 163 and was

into the affairs of Macedonia; for the Macedonians, being unaccustomed to democratic<sup>7</sup> government based on a Council, were quarrelling among themselves. The legates also had to report on the condition of Galatia and the kingdom of Ariarathes,<sup>8</sup> and shortly afterward they received a dispatch from the senate ordering them to do all in their power to reconcile the kings<sup>9</sup> in Alexandria.

#### *Embassy from Ariarathes*

3. At the same time envoys arrived from Ariarathes, who had recently succeeded to the throne of Cappadocia, to renew the previously existing friendship and alliance, and to beg the senate in general to avail themselves of the friendship and goodwill borne by that king toward the Roman state and all its citizens. The senate, after listening to their speech, renewed the alliance and replied in courteous terms, approving in general the king's attitude. This was chiefly owing to the fact that Tiberius<sup>10</sup> and the other legates, when they were sent to inquire into the conduct of the kings, had on their return reported favorably concerning this king's father and the general state of the kingdom. Relying on this report the senate received the embassy courteously and approved the king's attitude.

succeeded by Ariarathes V, ca. 163-130. For his dispute with the Galatians see 8.1-8.

<sup>9</sup> The brothers Ptolemy. In the fall of 164 the elder Ptolemy was expelled by his younger brother. For these events see Huss (28.19.1), 567-571.

<sup>10</sup> The reference is to Gracchus' mission in 165/4 (30.30.7-8).

## II. RES GRAECIAE

4. Ὅτι Ῥόδιοι διαπεπνευκότες ἐκ τῆς περὶ αὐτοὺς  
 (15) (16) γενομένης δυσχερείας ἔπεμπον εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην πρε-  
 2 σβευτὰς τοὺς περὶ Κλεαγόραν, Κάλυνδα μὲν ἀξιώσου-  
 3 τας σφίσι παραχωρηθῆναι, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐχόντων ἐν τῇ  
 Λυκία καὶ Καρία κτήσεις αἰτησομένους τὴν σύγκλη-  
 4 τον, ἢν αὐτοῖς ἔχειν ἐξῆ, καθὰ καὶ πρότερον. ἐψηφί-  
 σαντο δὲ καὶ κολοσσὸν στήσαι τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ῥω-  
 μαίων ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερῷ τριακοντάπηχυν.

5. Ὅτι τῶν Καλυνδέων ἀποστάντων Καυνίων, καὶ  
 (16) (17) μετὰ ταῦτα πολιορκεῖν ἐπιβαλομένων αὐτοὺς τῶν  
 Καυνίων, τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ἐπεκαλέσαντο Κνιδίους οἱ  
 2, 3 Καλυνδεῖς· ὧν καὶ παραπεσόντων κατὰ βοήθειαν, ἐπὶ  
 ποσὸν ἀντεῖχον τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις, ἀγωνιῶντες δὲ τὸ  
 μέλλον πρεσβεύειν μὲν . . ., ἐγχειρίζοντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς  
 4 καὶ τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ Ῥόδιοι πέμψαντες βοήθειαν καὶ  
 κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν τὴν τε πολιορκίαν ἔλυ-  
 5 σαν καὶ παρέλαβον τὴν πόλιν. συνέβη δὲ καὶ τὴν  
 σύγκλητον αὐτοῖς βεβαιῶσαι τὴν τῶν Καλυνδέων  
 κτήσιν.

## II. AFFAIRS OF GREECE

*Rhodes and Caria*

4. The Rhodians, delivered from their difficult position, now breathed freely and sent Cleagoras on an embassy to Rome to beg that Calynda<sup>11</sup> might be ceded to them and to ask the senate to allow those of their citizens who owned property in Lycia and Caria to hold possession of it as before. They also voted to erect in the temple of Athena a colossal statue<sup>12</sup> of the Roman People thirty cubits high.

164/3  
B.C.

5. Upon Calynda revolting<sup>13</sup> from Caunus and the Caunians undertaking the siege of the city, the Calyndians at first appealed to Cnidus for help. With the aid of the Cnidians they held out for a time against the enemy, but fearing for the future decided to send an embassy to Rhodes, to put their city in the hands of the Rhodians. The Rhodians, sending succor by sea and land, raised the siege and occupied the city, the possession of which was secured to them by the senate.

<sup>11</sup> City at the border of Caria and Lycia, south of Caunus. It has not been securely located.

<sup>12</sup> The statue represented the People of Rome and had nothing to do with the cult of the goddess Rome (as WC 3.470 seems to think). Samos dedicated such a colossal statue of the Roman People about the same time: M. Tiede, *MDAI* (A) 105 (1990), 213-258, for the monument, C. Habicht, *ibid.*, 259-268, who now thinks that his date (soon after 188) may be too early by some twenty years.

<sup>13</sup> Apparently in 164/3.

## III. RES ASIAE

## III. AFFAIRS OF ASIA

6. Ὅτι Γάιος ὁ Γάλλος, χωρὶς τῶν ἄρτι ρηθέντων  
 (10) ἀλογημάτων, παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐκθέματα  
 2 κατὰ τὰς πόλεις ἐξέθηκε τὰς ἐπιφανεστάτας, κελεύων,  
 εἴ τις βούλεται κατηγορεῖν Εὐμένους τοῦ βασιλέως,  
 3 ἀπαντᾶν εἰς Σάρδεϊς ἐπὶ τινα χρόνον ὠρισμένον. μετὰ  
 δὲ ταῦτα παραγενηθεὶς αὐτὸς εἰς τὰς Σάρδεϊς, ἀπο-  
 καθίσας ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ περὶ δέχ' ἡμέρας διήκουε  
 4 τῶν κατηγορούντων, πᾶσαν ἐπιδεχόμενος αἰσχρολο-  
 γίαν καὶ λοιδορίαν κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ καθόλου  
 5 πᾶν ἔλκων πρᾶγμα καὶ κατηγορίαν, ἅτε παρεστηκὸς  
 ἄνθρωπος τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ φιλοδοξῶν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Εὐ-  
 μένην διαφορᾷ.

6 Ὅτι καθ' ὅσον ἐδόκουν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι βαρύτερον τῷ  
 Εὐμένει προσφέρεσθαι, κατὰ τοσοῦτο συνέβαινε τοὺς  
 Ἑλληνας προσοικειοῦσθαι, φύσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων αἰεὶ  
 τῷ θλιβομένῳ τὴν εὐνοίαν προσνεμόντων.

7. Ὁ δὲ Ἀριαράθης ὁ βασιλεὺς Καππαδοκίας  
 (17) (15) προσδεδεγμένος τοὺς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀποσταλέντας  
 πρεσβευτάς, νομίσας ἐκ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων ἐν ὀρθῷ κεί-  
 σθαι τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῷ <νῦν>, ἐπειδὴ καθικταὶ τῆς  
 Ῥωμαίων εὐνοίας, ἔθνε τοῖς θεοῖς χαριστήρια τῶν γε-  
 2 γονότων καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας εἰστία. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα  
 πρεσβευτάς ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Λυσίαν εἰς

6. Gaius Sulpicius Galus,<sup>14</sup> besides the indiscretions I have just mentioned, upon reaching Asia posted up notices in the principal towns, ordering all who wished to bring accusations against King Eumenes to present themselves at Sardis<sup>15</sup> by a given date. Afterward, when he himself arrived at Sardis, he sat for about ten days in the gymnasium listening to the accusers, admitting any kind of foul and abusive language against the king, and in general attaching weight to every fact and every accusation, being a man whose mind was deranged and who gloried in his quarrel with Eumenes.

The harsher the conduct of the Romans to Eumenes the more attached<sup>16</sup> to him did the Greeks become, since men naturally bestow their affections on any one who is in distress.

*Ariarathes of Cappadocia*

7. Ariarathes, the king of Cappadocia, on the return of the envoys he had sent to Rome, thinking from the answers he received that his kingdom was now on a safe footing, since he had succeeded in gaining the goodwill of the Romans, paid a thank offering to the gods for his success and gave a banquet to his chief officers. After this he sent envoys to Lysias<sup>17</sup> at Antioch, being anxious to recover

<sup>14</sup> RE Sulpicius 808-811 (F. Münzer). <sup>15</sup> Within Eumenes' kingdom! For the gymnasium at Sardis J. Delorme, *Gymnasion* (Paris 1960), 195-197. <sup>16</sup> M. Holleaux has commented on the wave of sympathy toward Eumenes in the Greek

World after 167 (*Ét.* 2.153-178). <sup>17</sup> Minister and guardian of Antiochus V Eupator. He led two campaigns against Judas Maccabaeus, then made peace with him. He fell, together with the king, victim to Demetrius I in 162. For his relations with the Jews see Habicht (30.7.10), 106-123 and 293.



τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν, σπουδάζων ἀνακομίσασθαι τὰ τῆς  
 3 ἀδελφῆς καὶ μητρὸς ὄσῳ. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐγκαλεῖν ὑπὲρ  
 τοῦ γεγονότος ἀσεβήματος ἀπεδοκίμαζεν, οὐ βουλό-  
 μενος ἐρεθίζειν τοὺς περὶ τὸν Λυσίαν, ἵνα μὴ δια-  
 ψευσθῆ τῆς προθέσεως, καίπερ βαρέως φέρων τὸ γε-  
 γονός· ἀξιωματικὰς δὲ δούς ἐντολὰς ἐξαπέστειλε τοὺς  
 4 πρέσβεις. τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Λυσίαν συγχωρησάντων,  
 καὶ τῶν ὄσῳ ἀνακομισθέντων ὡς αὐτόν, ἀποδεξάμενος  
 μεγαλομερῶς τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτῶν ἔθαψε παρὰ τὸν  
 τοῦ πατρὸς τάφον κηδεμονικῶς.

8. Ὅτι κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους παρεγένοντο  
 (13) πρέσβεις ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης πρῶτον μὲν οἱ περὶ τὸν Μάρ-  
 κον Ἰούνιον, διευκρινήσαντες τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Γαλάτας  
 2 διαφέροντα τῷ βασιλεῖ. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν  
 οἱ Τρόκμοι δι' αὐτῶν ἀποτεμεῖσθαι τῆς Καππαδοκίας  
 οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἐκ χειρὸς . . . ᾠκοδομήσαντο τὴν δίκην  
 ἐπιβαλόμενοι τολμᾶν, καταφυγόντες ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους  
 3 διαβάλλειν ἐπειρῶντο τὸν Ἀριαράθην. ὧν χάριν ἀπ-  
 εστάλησαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰούνιον, πρὸς οὓς ὁ βασιλεὺς  
 ποιησάμενος τοὺς ἀρμόζοντας λόγους καὶ τᾶλλα φι-  
 λανθρώπως ὁμιλήσας ἐκείνους μὲν εὐλογοῦντας ἀπ-  
 4 ἔστειλε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, παραγενομένων πρεσβευτῶν  
 τῶν περὶ Γνάιον Ὀκτάουιον καὶ Σπόριον Λοκρήτιον  
 καὶ διαλεγομένων τῷ βασιλεῖ πάλιν <περὶ> τῶν πρὸς  
 5 τοὺς Γαλάτας αὐτῷ διαφερόντων, βραχέα περὶ τούτων  
 κοινολογησάμενος καὶ φήσας εὐεπάγωγος εἶναι πρὸς

the bones of his sister and mother.<sup>18</sup> He thought it better not to accuse Lysias of the crime, as he did not wish to irritate him for fear of being disappointed in his object, although he was deeply aggrieved, but dispatched the envoys with instructions simply to proffer the request. Lysias granted it, and upon the bones being brought back to him, he gave them a splendid reception on their arrival and buried them reverently beside his father's tomb.

8. About this time legates arrived from Rome, in the first place Marcus Junius,<sup>19</sup> to settle the difference between the Galatians and King Ariarathes. For since the Trocmi<sup>20</sup> could not succeed by their own efforts in obtaining a slice of Cappadocia, but<sup>21</sup> when they ventured on the attempt at once met with the punishment they deserved, they appealed to Rome and attempted to traduce Ariarathes. It was for this reason that Junius was sent. The king having addressed him in a suitable manner and behaved to him in other respects with every courtesy, was thanked by this legate before his departure; and when in the next place Gnaeus Octavius and Spurius Lucretius<sup>22</sup> arrived and again spoke to Ariarathes about his difference with the Galatians, the king, after briefly touching on this matter and saying that he would be ready to bow to their deci-

<sup>18</sup> The mother of Ariarathes was Antiochis, a daughter of Antiochus III. The women had been murdered by Lysias, who may have feared they would support his rival Philippos.

<sup>19</sup> MRR 1.441. <sup>20</sup> One of the three Galatian tribes; they inhabited eastern Galatia.

<sup>21</sup> The beginning of a major defect in the MS. It withstands all efforts of emendation. The text must have stated why the Trocmi appealed to Rome. <sup>22</sup> 2.9.

τὸ κριθὲν, λοιπὸν ἤδη τὸν πλείω λόγον ὑπὲρ τῶν κατὰ  
 Συρίαν ἐποιεῖτο πραγμάτων, εἰδὼς ἐκεῖσε προάγοντας  
 6 τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ὀκτάουιον, ὑποδεικνύων αὐτοῖς τὴν  
 ἀκαταστασίαν τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τὴν εἰκαιότητα τῶν  
 προσεστώτων αὐτῆς καὶ προσεπαγγελόμενος ἀκολου-  
 θήσειν μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ συνεφεδρέειν τοῖς καιροῖς,  
 7 ἕως ἂν ἐπανέλθωσι πάλιν ἐκ τῆς Συρίας ἀσφαλῶς. οἱ  
 δὲ περὶ τὸν Γνάιου ἐν πᾶσιν ἀποδεχόμενοι τὴν τοῦ  
 βασιλέως εὐνοίαν καὶ προθυμίαν κατὰ μὲν τὸ παρὸν  
 8 οὐκ ἔφασαν προσδεῖσθαι τῆς παραπομπῆς, εἰς δὲ τὸ  
 μέλλον, ἕαν τις ὑποπίπτῃ χρεία, διασαφήσειν ἀόκνως·  
 κρίνειν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἕνα τῶν ἀληθινῶν Ῥωμαίους φί-  
 λων.

9. Ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν Ἀντίοχος ὁ βασιλεὺς βου-  
 (11) λόμενος εὐπορήσαι χρημάτων προέθετο στρατεύειν  
 2 ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν εἰς τὴν Ἐλυμαῖδα. παρα-  
 γενόμενος δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους καὶ διαψευσθεὶς τῆς  
 ἐλπίδος διὰ τὸ μὴ συγχωρεῖν τῇ παρανομίᾳ τοὺς  
 3 βαρβάρους <τοὺς> οἰκοῦντας περὶ τὸν τόπον, ἀνα-  
 χωρῶν ἐν Τάβαις τῆς Περσίδος ἐξέλιπε τὸν βίον,  
 4 δαιμονήσας, ὡς ἐνιοὶ φασι, διὰ τὸ γενέσθαι τινας ἐπι-  
 σημασίας τοῦ δαιμονίου κατὰ τὴν περὶ τὸ προειρημέ-  
 νον ἱερόν παρανομίαν.

<sup>23</sup> The king was just a boy, his guardian Lysias had murdered Ariarathes' mother and sister and was facing a challenge from Philippus, a rival general.

<sup>24</sup> The biblical Elam, another name of Susiane. The sanctuary

sion, went on to talk about the affairs of Syria, as he knew that Octavius and his colleague were going on there. He called their attention to the unsettled state<sup>23</sup> of the kingdom and the unprincipled character of its rulers, and in addition he offered to accompany them with an armed force and wait to see what turn matters took until they returned safely from Syria. The legates, while gratefully acknowledging the king's kindness and zeal in every respect, said that they did not require the escort for the present, but as regards the future, if they had need of any such service they would have no hesitation in informing him, regarding him as they did, as one of the true friends of Rome.

#### *Death of Antiochus Epiphanes*

9. In Syria King Antiochus, wishing to provide himself with money, decided to make an expedition against the sanctuary of Artemis in Elymaïs.<sup>24</sup> On reaching the spot he was foiled in his hopes, as the barbarian tribes who dwelt in the neighborhood would not permit the outrage, and on his retreat he died at Tabae<sup>25</sup> in Persia, smitten with madness, as some people say, owing to certain manifestations of divine displeasure when he was attempting this outrage on the above sanctuary.

of "Artemis" could be either that of Anaitis (Ael., *NA* 12.23), or of Nanaea (*LXX I Ma.* 1.13). *RE* Elymaïs 2458-2467 (F. H. Weissbach).

<sup>25</sup> In the neighborhood of Ispahan, but not located. The Jewish tradition preserves bizarre accounts of how Antiochus, punished by God, died (*LXX I Ma.* 6.1-17; *2 Ma.* 1.13-17, and 9.1-28).

## IV. RES ITALIAE

10. Ὅτι μετὰ τὸ μερίσαι τοὺς Πτολεμαίους τὴν  
 (18) βασιλείαν παρεγένετο Πτολεμαῖος ὁ νεώτερος εἰς τὴν  
 Ῥώμην, ἀθετεῖν βουλόμενος τὸν γεγονότα μερισμὸν  
 2 αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν, φάσκων οὐχ ἑκῶν, ἀλλὰ κατ'  
 ἀνάγκην τῷ καιρῷ περιληφθεὶς πεπονηκέναι τὸ προσ-  
 3 ταπτόμενον. καὶ παρεκάλει τὴν σύγκλητον μερίσαι  
 τὴν Κύπρον αὐτῷ· καὶ γὰρ τούτου γενομένου καταδε-  
 4 εστέραν ἔξειν μερίδα τᾶδελφοῦ παρὰ πολὺ. τῶν δὲ  
 περὶ τὸν Κανολήιον καὶ Κόιντον ἀπομαρτυροῦντων  
 τοῖς περὶ τὸν Μένυλλον, τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου  
 παραγεγονόσι πρεσβευταῖς, διότι καὶ τὴν Κυρήνην ὁ  
 νεώτερος καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα δι' αὐτοὺς ἔχει τοιαύτην  
 <γὰρ> γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν ὄχλων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄλλο-  
 5 τριότητα καὶ προσκοπήν· διὸ καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδα καὶ  
 παραδόξως δεδομένων αὐτῷ τῶν κατὰ Κυρήνην πρα-  
 γμάτων ἀσμένως δέξαιτο, καὶ σφαγίων τμηθέντων  
 καὶ λάβοι τοὺς ὄρκους παρὰ τᾶδελφοῦ καὶ δοίη περὶ  
 6 τούτου τοῦ δὲ Πτολεμαίου πᾶσι τούτοις ἀντιλέγοντος,  
 ἢ σύγκλητος, ἅμα μὲν ὀρώσα τὸν μερισμὸν . . . γεγο-  
 νότα τελέως, ἅμα δὲ βουλομένη διελεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν  
 πραγματικῶς, αὐτῶν αἰτίων γενομένων τῆς διαιρέ-  
 σεως, συγκατέθετο τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ νεωτέρου παρακαλου-  
 7 μένοις ἐπὶ τῷ σφετέρῳ συμφέροντι. πολλὴ γὰρ ἤδη  
 τοῦτο τὸ γένος ἐστὶ τῶν διαβουλίῶν παρὰ Ῥωμαίους,  
 ἐν οἷς διὰ τῆς τῶν πέλας ἀγνοίας αὐξοῦσι καὶ κατα-  
 σκευάζονται τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρχὴν πραγματικῶς, ἅμα

## IV. AFFAIRS OF ITALY

*The Rival Ptolemies*

10. After the two Ptolemies had partitioned the kingdom the younger brother<sup>26</sup> arrived in Rome, wishing to annul the terms of the partition between himself and his brother, saying that he had done what he was ordered not of his own free will, but forced to consent by the pressure of circumstances. He begged the senate to assign Cyprus to him, for even with this addition his share would be much inferior to his brother's. Canuleius and Quintus<sup>27</sup> testified in favor of Menyllus the envoy of the elder brother, saying that the younger brother owed both Cyrene and his life to their own action, so great was the hostility and aversion with which the populace regarded him. When, therefore, contrary to his expectations and hopes the sovereignty of Cyrene had been given to him, he had been only too glad to accept it and had exchanged oaths with his brother as to this over victims solemnly immolated. All this was denied by the younger Ptolemy, and the senate, seeing that the division had been quite unfair and wishing to make an effective partition of the kingdom due to themselves, acceded to the request of the younger brother, which coincided with their own interests. For very many decisions of the Romans are of this kind: availing themselves of the mistakes of others they effectively increase and build up their own power, at the same time

163-162  
B.C.

<sup>26</sup> Ptolemy VII (also numbered VIII) Euergetes. He arrived in Rome in the fall of 163. Huss (28.19.1), 571-574. P. Nadig, *Ptolemaios VIII. Euergetes* (Munich 2007). <sup>27</sup> MRR 1.441.

8 χαριζόμενοι καὶ δοκοῦντες εὐεργετεῖν τοὺς ἀμαρτάνου-  
 9 τας. διὸ καὶ καθορῶντες τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ  
 10 δυναστείας καὶ δεδιότες, ἂν ποτε τύχη προστάτου, μὴ  
 μείζον φρονήσῃ τοῦ καθήκοντος, κατέστησαν πρε-  
 σβευτὰς Τίτον Τορκουάτου καὶ Γνάϊον Μερόλαν τοὺς  
 καταξόντας ἐπὶ τὴν Κύπρον τὸν Πτολεμαῖον καὶ τε-  
 λειώσοντας ἅμα τὴν ἐκείνου καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν πρόθεσιν.  
 10 καὶ παραχρήμα τοὺς ἐξαπέστειλαν, δόντες ἐντολὰς  
 διαλύσαι τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ κατασκευάσαι τῷ νεω-  
 τέρῳ τὴν Κύπρον χωρὶς πολέμου.

11. Ὅτι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον προσπεσούσης τῆς  
 (19) 2 περὶ τὸν Γνάϊον περιπετείας, ὡς ἀνηρέθη, καὶ τῶν  
 παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου πρεσβευόντων, ὧν ὁ  
 Λυσίας ἔπεμψε, παραγεγονότων καὶ πολλοὺς διαθεμέ-  
 3 νων λόγους ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ κεκοινωνηκέναι τῆς πράξεως  
 τοὺς τοῦ βασιλέως φίλους, ἧ μὲν σύγκλητος παρ-  
 έπεμπε τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς, οὐ βουλομένη διδόναι περὶ  
 4 τούτων ἀπόφασιν οὐδεμίαν οὐδ' ἐκτίθεσθαι καθόλου  
 τὴν αὐτῆς γνώμην, ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος πτοηθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῖς  
 ἠγγελμένοις ἐξ αὐτῆς προσεκάλει τὸν Πολύβιον καὶ  
 5 προσανέφερεν διαπορῶν εἰ δεῖ πάλιν ἐντυχεῖν τῇ  
 συγκλήτῳ περὶ τῶν καθ' αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ παρεκάλει μὴ δις  
 6 πρὸς <τὸν> αὐτὸν λίθον πταίειν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὰς  
 ἐλπίδας ἔχειν καὶ τολμᾶν τι βασιλείας ἄξιον πολλὰς  
 γὰρ ὑποδεικνύει ἀφορμὰς τοὺς ἐνεστῶτας καιροὺς. ὁ

<sup>28</sup> Titus Manlius Torquatus, Gnaeus Cornelius Merula; *MRR* 1.442.

doing a favor and appearing to confer a benefit on the offenders. So, seeing as they did the size of the Egyptian kingdom, and fearing lest if it once fell into the hands of a ruler capable of protecting it, he might have too high an idea of himself, they appointed Titus Torquatus and Gnaeus Merula<sup>28</sup> as legates to accompany Ptolemy to Cyprus and carry out the purpose of that king and their own. They dispatched them at once with orders to reconcile the brothers and establish the younger brother in Cyprus without war.

#### *Escape of Demetrius from Rome*

11. At this time when the news arrived of the calamity that had happened to Gnaeus Octavius,<sup>29</sup> how he had been assassinated, and when the envoys sent by Lysias on behalf of King Antiochus appeared and were profuse in their assurances that the friends of the king had had no part in the deed, the senate paid scant attention to the embassy, not wishing to pronounce any decision on the matter or to express in any manner their opinion. But Demetrius,<sup>30</sup> excited by the news, at once sent for Polybius and submitted to him his doubt as to whether or not he should address the senate again on the question of his own situation. Polybius begged him not to stumble twice<sup>31</sup> on the same stone, but to trust in himself and take some bold course worthy of a throne; for, he said, there were many opportunities for action suggested by the present situation. De-

<sup>29</sup> 2.9-11 and 8.4-5. He had been murdered at Laodicea (modern Lattakieh) in Syria.

<sup>30</sup> See 2.1-10.

<sup>31</sup> *Paroemiogr.* 1.65; 2.22.

δὲ Δημήτριος συννοήσας τὸ λεγόμενον τότε μὲν ἀπ-  
 εσιώπησεν, μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ τιμὴ τῶν συνήθων Ἀπολ-  
 7 λωνίῳ μετέδωκε περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ προειρημένος,  
 ἄκακος ὢν καὶ κομιδῇ νέος, συνεβούλευε πείραν ἔπι  
 λαβεῖν τῆς συγκλήτου πεπεῖσθαι γάρ, ἐπεὶ τῆς βα-  
 σιλείας ἀλόγως αὐτὸν ἐστέρησεν, τῆς γ' ὀμηρείας αὐ-  
 8 τὸν ἀπολύσειν ἄτοπον γὰρ εἶναι τελέως, Ἀντιόχου  
 τοῦ παιδὸς διαδεδεγμένου τὴν ἐν Συρίᾳ βασιλείαν,  
 9 Δημήτριον ὀμηρεῦεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. τοῦτοις μὲν οὖν τοῖς  
 λόγοις πεισθεὶς πάλιν εἰσηλθεὶν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον ὁ  
 προειρημένος καὶ παρεκάλει τῆς γε κατὰ τὴν ὀμηρείαν  
 ἀνάγκης αὐτὸν ἀπολύειν, ἐπεὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔκριναν  
 10 Ἀντιόχῳ συγκατασκευάζειν. καὶ πλείω δὲ πρὸς ταύ-  
 τὴν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν αὐτοῦ διαλεχθέντος, ἔμεινεν ἡ σύγ-  
 11 κλητος ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰρέσεως· ὅπερ εἰκὸς ἦν. καὶ  
 γὰρ πρότερον οὐ διὰ τὸ μὴ λέγειν τὰ δίκαια τὸν Δη-  
 μῆτριον ἔκρινεν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῷ παιδὶ συνδιαφυλάτ-  
 τειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ συμφέρειν τοῖς σφετέροις πράγμα-  
 12 σιν, μενόντων δὲ τῶν ὄλων ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς διαθέσεως  
 μένειν εἰκὸς ἦν καὶ τὴν τῆς συγκλήτου διάληψιν ἐπὶ  
 τῆς αὐτῆς προαιρέσεως.

12. Πλὴν ὁ γε Δημήτριος μάτην ἐξῆσας τὸ κύκνειον  
 (20) καὶ γνοὺς ὅτι καλῶς αὐτῷ συνεβούλευεν ὁ Πολύβιος  
 2 μὴ δις πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν λίθος πταίειν, μεταμεληθεὶς  
 ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσιν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ φύσει μεγαλόφρων  
 ὑπάρχων καὶ τόλμαν ἱκανὴν ἔχων πρὸς τὸ κριθῆν,  
 εὐθέως ἐκάλεε Διόδωρον προσφάτως ἐκ τῆς Συρίας

metrius understood this advice and held his peace for the  
 present, but shortly afterward communicated with one of  
 his intimate friends, Apollonius,<sup>32</sup> about the same matter.  
 This man, being of an unsuspecting character and quite  
 young, advised him to try the senate once more, for he felt  
 sure, that as they had unjustly deprived him of his king-  
 dom, they would at least release him from his position as  
 hostage, since it was quite unreasonable that now, when  
 the young Antiochus had succeeded to the throne of Syria,  
 Demetrius should serve as hostage for him. Persuaded by  
 this reasoning Demetrius again appeared before the sen-  
 ate and begged the house to release him at least from his  
 obligation as hostage, as they had decided to secure the  
 throne to Antiochus. After he had spoken at some length  
 in this sense, the senate adhered to its original resolve, as  
 was only to be expected. For on the former occasion it was  
 not because Demetrius was not right in what he said that  
 they had decided to keep the young king on the throne,  
 but because it suited their own interest. And as the con-  
 ditions remained the same, it was to be expected that  
 the decision of the senate should be based on the same  
 policy.

12. But Demetrius, having sung his swan's song<sup>33</sup> in  
 vain and recognizing the soundness of Polybius' advice not  
 to stumble twice on the same stone, repented of what he  
 had done, but, being naturally high-spirited and having  
 courage adequate to carry out his designs, at once called  
 Diodorus<sup>34</sup> who had recently arrived from Syria and in-

<sup>32</sup> Son of Apollonius from Miletus. P. Herrmann, *Chiron* 17  
 (1987), 175-179. <sup>33</sup> See 30.4.7. <sup>34</sup> ("Foster father"):

The position of *τροφεύς* for a Hellenistic prince is attested for the  
 Seleucids (*OGI* 256) and the Ptolemies (*OGI* 148).



- 3 παραγεγονότα καὶ μετεδίδου περι τῶν καθ' αὐτόν· οὗ  
 δὲ Διόδωρος τροφεὺς μὲν ἐγεγόνει τοῦ Δημητρίου  
 πανούργου δ' ὦν καὶ καταπτευκῶς ἐπιμελῶς τὰ κατα  
 4 τὴν Συρίαν ὑπεδείκνυεν αὐτῷ, διότι τῶν μὲν ἐκεῖ τετα-  
 ραγμένων διὰ τὸν Γναίου φόνον, καὶ διαπιστούντων  
 τῶν μὲν πολλῶν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Λυσίαν, τῶν δὲ περὶ τοῦ  
 Λυσίαν τοῖς πολλοῖς, τῆς δὲ συγκλήτου πεπεισμένης  
 ἐκ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως φίλων γεγονέναι τὴν εἰς τοὺς  
 σφετέρους πρεσβυτέρους παρανομίαν, κάλλιστον εἶναι  
 5 καιρὸν ἐπιφανῆσαι τοῖς πράγμασιν· ταχέως γὰρ τοὺς  
 μὲν ἐκεῖ μεταρρίψει τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς αὐτόν, κἂν  
 ὅλως μετὰ παιδὸς ἐνὸς ποιήσῃται τὴν παρουσίαν, τὴν  
 δὲ σύγκλητον οὐ τολμήσειεν ἔτι βοηθεῖν οὐδὲ συνεπι-  
 σχύειν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Λυσίαν τοιαῦτα διεργασαμένοις,  
 6 λοιπὸν εἶναι τὸ λαθεῖν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπελθόντας, καὶ  
 7 μηδένα λαβεῖν ἔννοιαν τῆς ἐπιβολῆς αὐτοῦ· δοξάντων  
 δὲ τούτων μετεπέμπετο τὸν Πολύβιον καὶ δηλώσας τὰ  
 δεδογμένα παρεκάλει συνεπιλαβεῖσθαι τῆς ἐπιβολῆς  
 καὶ συνδιανοηθῆναι πῶς ἂν χειρισθῆι τὰ κατὰ τὸν  
 8 δρασμόν· συνέβαινε δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τούτου Μέ-  
 νυλλον μὲν τὸν Ἀλαβανδέα παρεῖναι πρεσβεύοντα  
 παρὰ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου χάριν  
 τοῦ συγκαταστῆναι καὶ δικαιολογηθῆναι πρὸς τὸν  
 νεώτερον Πτολεμαῖον· ἐτύγχανε δὲ προὔπαρχουσα τῷ  
 Πολυβίῳ πρὸς τὸν Μένυλλον ἰσχυρὰ συνήθεια καὶ  
 9 πίστις· διὸ καὶ νομίσας αὐτὸν ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι πρὸς

formed him of his position. Diodorus had been the foster father of Demetrius; he was an able man and had carefully studied the situation in Syria, and he now pointed out to Demetrius that since great disturbance prevailed there owing to the murder of Octavius, since Lysias and the populace mutually distrusted each other, and since the senate was convinced that the outrage on their envoys had been due to the king's friends, the time was very favorable for his appearing suddenly on the scene. For the Syrians would at once transfer the crown to him, even if he appeared accompanied only by a single slave, while the senate would not go so far as to help and support Lysias after his conduct. All that remained then was to escape from Rome secretly without anyone having any notion of his plan. Having come to this decision, Demetrius sent for Polybius and communicated the project to him, begging him to assist him in it and join him in planning<sup>35</sup> the best means of escape. At that time it happened that there was a certain Menyllus<sup>36</sup> of Alabanda present, on an embassy from the elder Ptolemy, with the object of confronting and answering the younger Ptolemy. Polybius enjoyed a firm friendship with this Menyllus, and had great confidence in him. So that, thinking him to be the proper person to

<sup>35</sup> P's role in the affair is one of the events, of which he said (3.4.13) that he would report on them not just as a witness, but as a participant, and occasionally as a leader. It is widely assumed that he acted with the connivance of prominent Romans, especially members of the Scipionic family.

<sup>36</sup> P. had already reported on his role as ambassador of Ptolemy VI in 10.4, but introduces him here as if it were for the first time. For Alabanda see 16.24.6.

10 τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν χρεῖαν συνέστησε τῷ Δημητρίῳ μετὰ  
 11 μεγάλης σπουδῆς καὶ φιλοτιμίας. ὁ δὲ κοινωνήσας  
 12 τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ἀνεδέξατο τὴν τε ναῦν ἐτοιμάσαι καὶ  
 13 τὰλλα πρὸς τὸν πλοῦν ἀπαρτιεῖν. οὗτος μὲν οὖν εὐρῶν  
 ἐν τῷ στόματι τοῦ Τιβέριος ὁρμοῦσαν Καρχηδοῦναιαν  
 ναῦν ἱεραγωγόν, ταύτην ἐναυλώσατο· συμβαίνει δὲ τὰ  
 πλοῖα ταῦτα λαμβάνεσθαι κατ' ἐκλογὴν ἐκ τῆς Καρ-  
 χηδόνας, ἐφ' οἷς εἰς τὴν Τύρον ἐκπέμπουσιν οἱ Καρ-  
 χηδόνιοι τὰς πατρίους ἀπαρχὰς τοῖς θεοῖς· ἐναυλοῦτο  
 δὲ φανερώς εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν ἀνακομιδὴν. διὸ καὶ τὴν τε  
 τῶν ἐπιμηνίων παρασκευὴν ἀνυπόπτως ἐποιεῖτο καὶ  
 φανερώς ἐλάλει καὶ συνέταττε τοῖς ναυτικοῖς.

13. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάντ' ἦν ἔτοιμα τῷ ναυκλήρῳ λοιπόν.  
 (21) <τ' > ἔδει τὸν Δημήτριον ἀπαρτίζειν τὰ καθ' αὐτόν,  
 <τὸν > τροφέα προαπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν Συρίαν ὠτακου-  
 στήσονται καὶ κατοπτεύσονται τὰκεῖ συμβαίνοντα  
 2 περὶ τοὺς ὄχλους. ὁ δὲ σύντροφος Ἀπολλώνιος ἐξ  
 ἀρχῆς αὐτῷ μετείχε τῆς ἐπιβολῆς· δνεῖν δ' ὑπαρχόντων  
 ἀδελφῶν, Μελεάγρου καὶ Μενεσθέως, τούτους ἐκονώ-  
 σατο τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἄλλω δ' οὐδεὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ  
 3 τοι πλείονων ὄντων. οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν Ἀπολλωνίου κατὰ  
 φύσιν υἱοί, τοῦ μεγάλην μὲν εὐκαιρίαν ἔχοντος παρὰ  
 Σελεύκῳ, μεταστάντος δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχου μετᾶλη-  
 4 ψιν τῆς ἀρχῆς εἰς Μίλητον. τῆς δὲ συνταχθείσης

<sup>37</sup> Ostia.

<sup>38</sup> The mother city of Carthage. P. speaks in the present tense, which suggests that this was written before 146.

engage in the present service, he introduced him to Demetrius, recommending him very cordially and warmly. Menyllus consented to take part in the project, and engaged to have a ship ready and to provide all else that was required for the voyage. Finding a Carthaginian ship that had carried sacred offerings anchored at the mouth of the Tiber,<sup>37</sup> he hired it. Such ships were specially selected at Carthage for the conveyance of the traditional offering of firstfruits to their gods that the Carthaginians send to Tyre.<sup>38</sup> Menyllus chartered her openly to convey himself home; so that he could without any suspicion send on board a month's stock of provisions and could speak openly to the sailors and give them their instructions.

13. When the skipper had made all his preparations and it only remained for Demetrius to make his own arrangements, he first of all sent his foster father off to Syria, to find out by listening to conversations and by what he observed what was the state of popular feeling there. His foster brother Apollonius<sup>39</sup> had taken part in the project from the outset, and he also took the two brothers of Apollonius, Meleager, and Menestheus, into his confidence, but no other member of his suite, though it was fairly numerous. These brothers were really the sons of that Apollonius who had stood in high favor with Seleucus,<sup>40</sup> but had removed to Miletus upon Antiochus succeeding

<sup>39</sup> For him and his brothers see P. Herrmann (11.6), 175-179. <sup>40</sup> Seleucus IV, 187-175. Contrary to what P. says, Apollonius served Antiochus IV for some time, e.g., as ambassador to the court of Alexandria (LXX 2 Ma 4.21) and to Rome in 173 (Livy 42.6.6). For a plausible cause of his resignation from the court see Mørkholm (28.1.1), 1966, 47-48.

- 5 ἡμέρας πρὸς τοὺς ναυτικούς συνεγγιζούσης, ἔδει γε-  
 νέσθαι παρά τινι τῶν φίλων ὑποδοχὴν πρὸς τὴν  
 6 ἔξοδον. παρὰ γὰρ αὐτῷ ποιεῖν τὸ δεῖπνον οὐχ οἶόν ἦν·  
 εἴθιστο γὰρ ἐπιμελῶς καλεῖν ἅπαντας τοὺς περι-  
 7 αὐτὸν ὄντας. οἱ δὲ συνειδότες τὴν πράξιν ἔμελλον ἐξ  
 οἴκου δειπνήσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ πλοῖον ἦξαι, ἔχοντες ἕνα  
 παῖδα μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστος· τοὺς γὰρ λοιποὺς ἀπε-  
 8 εστάλκεισαν εἰς Ἀναγνείας, κατὰ τὴν ἐπιούσαν αὐτοὶ  
 παρεψόμενοι. τὸν δὲ Πολύβιον συνέβαινε κατὰ τὸν  
 καιρὸν τοῦτον ἡσθηνηκότα μένειν κατὰ κλίνην, εἰδέναι  
 9 δὲ πάντα τὰ πραττόμενα, τοῦ Μενύλλου συνεχῶς  
 αὐτῷ μεταδιδόντος αἰεὶ περὶ τῶν ὑποπιπτόντων. δι-  
 10 ὅπερ ἀγωνιάσας ὁ προειρημένος μὴ τῆς συνηθείας  
 ἔλκυσθείσης, ἅτε τοῦ Δημητρίου συμποτικοῦ φυσικῶς  
 καὶ νεωτέρου τελῶς ὑπάρχοντος, ἀπόρημά τι γένηται  
 11 περὶ τὴν ἔξοδον διὰ τὴν μέθην, γράψας βραχὺ πιττά-  
 κιον καὶ σφραγισάμενος πέμπει παρ' αὐτοῦ παῖδα  
 συσκοτάζοντος ἄρτι τοῦ θεοῦ, συντάξας ἐκκαλεσάμενον  
 τὸν οἰνοχόον τοῦ Δημητρίου δοῦναι τὸ πιττάκιον,  
 μηδὲν εἰπόντα τίς ἢ παρὰ τίνας, καὶ κελεύειν ἀποδιδόν-  
 12 ναι τῷ Δημητρίῳ παραχρῆμα διαναγνῶναι. γενομέ-  
 νων δὲ πάντων κατὰ τὸ συνταχθέν, λαβῶν ὁ Δημή-  
 13 τριος ἐπανέγνω· τὸ δὲ πιττάκιον περιεῖχε τὰς γνώμας  
 ταύτας.
- 12 ὁ δρῶν τὰ τοῦ μέλλοντος οἴχεται φέρων.  
 ἴσον φέρει νύξ, τοῖς δὲ τολμῶσιν πλέον.
- 13 τόλμα τι, κινδύνευε, πρᾶπτ', ἀποτύγχανε,

to the crown. The day agreed upon with the ship's officers was now approaching, and it became necessary to arrange for a party at the house of one of his friends in order to enable Demetrius to go out; for it was impossible to dine at his own house, since he had been in the habit of scrupulously inviting all members of his suite. Those who had been initiated into the plot were to dine at home and come on board the ship, each attended by one slave, having sent their other slaves on to Anagneia,<sup>41</sup> saying they would follow them on the following day. Polybius happened at the time to be ill in bed, but he knew of all that was going on, as Menyllus kept him constantly informed. So being very much afraid that if the banquet were unduly prolonged, as Demetrius was by nature fond of his cups and extremely young, he might find some difficulty in going out owing to the effects of drink, he wrote and sealed a short note, and sent off a slave of his own with it shortly after dusk with orders to call out Demetrius' cupbearer and deliver the note to him, not mentioning who he was, or from whom it was, but begging him to give it to Demetrius to read at once. All was done as had been ordered, and Demetrius took it and read it. The note contained the following saws:<sup>42</sup>

The doer is away with all the tarrier's gear.  
 Night favors all alike but most the brave.<sup>43</sup>  
 Be brave and risk it, act to lose or win,

<sup>41</sup> Probably not Anagni.

<sup>42</sup> These verses are put together from various, mostly unidentified, sources.

<sup>43</sup> This is Euripides, *Phoen.* 726.

14 ἐπίτυχε, πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ σαντὸν προοῦ.  
 14 νᾶφε καὶ μέμνασ' ἀπιστεῖν ἄρθρα ταῦτα τῶν  
 φρενῶν.

14. Ταῦτα διαναγνοὺς ὁ Δημήτριος καὶ συννοήσας  
 (22) τὰς ὑποθέσεις, καὶ τίνες καὶ παρὰ τίνος εἰσίν, παρα-  
 τικά προσποιηθεὶς ὡς ἐπιναύσιος γεγωνὸς ἀπηλλάτ-  
 2 τετο, συμπροπεμπόντων αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν φίλων. παρα-  
 γενόμενος δ' ἐπὶ σκηνὴν τοὺς μὲν ἀνεπιτηδεῖους τῶν  
 οἰκετῶν ἐξέπεμψεν εἰς τὰς Ἀναγνείας, συντάξας λα-  
 3 βόντας τὰ λῖνα καὶ τοὺς κύνας ἀπαντᾶν ἐπὶ τὸ Κίρ-  
 καιον· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐπιμελῶς εἰώθει κυνηγετεῖν τὸν ὄν· ἐξ  
 4 οὗ καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν Πολύβιον αὐτῷ συνθηθείας τῆν  
 καταρχὴν γενέσθαι συνέπεσεν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς  
 5 περὶ τὸν Νικάνορα διεσάφει τὴν ἐπιβολὴν καὶ κοινω-  
 νεὺν παρεκάλει τῶν αὐτῶν ἐλπίδων. πάντων δὲ προθύ-  
 μως δεξαμένων τὸν λόγον, παρήγγειλε κατὰ σπουδὴν  
 ἐπανελθόντας ἐπὶ τὰς ἰδίας καταλύσεις τοῖς μὲν παι-  
 σὶν συντάξαι προάγειν ὑπὸ τὴν ἑωθινὴν εἰς τὰς  
 Ἀναγνείας καὶ μετὰ τῶν κυνηγῶν ἀπαντᾶν εἰς τὸ Κίρ-  
 6 καιον, αὐτοὺς δὲ λαβόντας ἐσθήτας τὰς ὁδοιπορικὰς  
 ἀνακάμπτειν ὡς αὐτόν, εἰπόντας τοῖς οἰκέταις ὅτι μετὰ  
 Δημητρίου συμμίσθουσιν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἐπιούσαν  
 7 ἐπὶ τὸν προειρημένον τόπον. γενομένων δὲ πάντων  
 καθὼς προείρηται, προῆγον εἰς τὴν Ὀστίαν νυκτὸς  
 8 ἐπὶ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Τιβέριος. ὁ δὲ Μένυλλος προπορευ-  
 ὄμενος ἐκοινολογεῖτο τοῖς ναυτικοῖς, φάσκων αὐτῷ  
 προσπεπτωκέναι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως δι' ὃ δέον ἐστὶν

Anything but to give thyself away.  
 Be sober and remember to distrust;  
 These are the sinews of the mind.<sup>44</sup>

14. Demetrius, having read this and understanding the purport of the lines and from whom they came, at once left the house pretending that he felt sick, escorted by his friends. On arriving at his lodging he sent off to Anagneia those of his slaves whom it did not suit him to keep, ordering them to bring the nets and dogs and meet him at Circeii,<sup>45</sup> for that was where he used constantly to go and hunt the wild boar, which was in fact the beginning of his intimacy with Polybius. In the next place he informed Nicanor and his friends of his plan, and begged them to throw in their lot with him. Upon their all readily consenting, he asked them to return at once to their residences and order their slaves to proceed in the early morning to Anagneia, and joining the huntsmen meet them at Circeii. They themselves were to put on traveling dress and return to him, after telling their slaves that they would fetch Demetrius and join them next day at the above place. All was managed as I have stated, and they went on by night to Ostia at the mouth of Tiber. Menyllus had preceded them and communicated with the officers of the ship, saying that he had had a message from the king to the effect that

<sup>44</sup> This is Epicharmus, fr. 218 (PCG I 129) and has been quoted in 18.40.4.

<sup>45</sup> Monte Circeo, west of Terracina. RE "Circeius mons" 2566-2567 (Ch. Hülsen).

αὐτὸν μὲν μένειν κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, τῶν δὲ  
 νεανίσκων τοὺς πιστοτάτους ἐκπέμψαι πρὸς αὐτόν,  
 παρ' ὧν ἐπιγνώσεται πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἀδελφόν.  
 9 διόπερ αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἔφησεν ἐμβαίνειν, τοὺς δὲ νεα-  
 νίσκους ἤξειν περὶ μέσας νύκτας τοὺς μέλλοντας  
 10 πλεῖν. τῶν δὲ ναυκλήρων ἀδιαφορούντων διὰ τὸ μέ-  
 νειν αὐτοῖς τὸ ταχθῆν ναῦλον ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ πάντα  
 11 κατηρηκίτων ἐκ πολλοῦ τὰ πρὸς τὸν πλοῦν, παρήσαν  
 οἱ περὶ τὸν Δημήτριον κατὰ τρίτην φυλακὴν λήγου-  
 σαν, ὄντες ὀκτὼ καὶ παῖδες πέντε καὶ παιδάρια τρία.  
 12 τοῦ δὲ Μενύλλου κοινολογηθέντος αὐτοῖς καὶ παρα-  
 δείξαντος τὴν τῶν ἐπιμηνίων παρασκευήν, ἔτι δὲ συ-  
 στησαντος τῷ ναυκλήρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιβάταις ἐκτενῶς,  
 13 οὔτοι μὲν ἐπέβησαν, ὁ δὲ κυβερνήτης ἄρτι διαφαι-  
 σκοντος ἄρας τὰς ἀγκύρας ἐτέλει τὸν πλοῦν, ἀπλῶς  
 οὐδεμίαν ἔννοιαν ἔχων τοῦ πράγματος, ἀλλ' ὡς στρα-  
 τιώτας τινὰς ἄγων παρὰ τοῦ Μενύλλου πρὸς τὸν Πτο-  
 λεμαῖον.

15. Ἐν δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιούσαν οὐδεὶς  
 (23) ἐπιζητήσκειν ἔμελλε τὸν Δημήτριον οὐδὲ τοὺς μετ'  
 2 ἐκείνου προάγοντας· οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ μένοντες ὡς ἐπὶ  
 τὸ Κίρκαιον ὠρμηκῶτα διελάμβανον, οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς  
 Ἀναγνείαις ἀπήντων ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον, ὡς ἐκεῖ  
 3 παρεσόμενον. διὸ συνέβαινε τελῶς ἄσημον εἶναι τὸν  
 δρασμὸν, ἕως οὗ τῶν παίδων τις μεμαστιγωμένος ἐν  
 ταῖς Ἀναγνείαις ἔδραμεν ἐπὶ τὸ Κίρκαιον, ὡς ἐκεῖ τῷ  
 4 Δημητρίῳ συμμίξων· οὐχ εὐρὰν δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ῥώ-  
 5 μην ἔτρεχε, ὡς κατὰ πορείαν ἀπαντήσων. οὐδαμῆ δὲ

he must himself remain in Rome for the present, but must send on to him in advance the most trustworthy of his young soldiers, who would give him all the news about his brother. So he said he himself would not embark, but that the soldiers who were to make the voyage would arrive about midnight. The ship's officers were not concerned at this, since the fare agreed upon had been prepaid, and they had made all their preparations for the voyage long ago. Demetrius and those with him arrived at the end of the third watch of the night, being eight in number with five grown-up slaves and three slave boys. After Menyllus had conversed with them, pointing out the provisions for the voyage, and recommending them very cordially to the skipper and his crew, they went on board and the pilot heaved anchor just as it was getting light and set sail, having no idea at all of the truth, but fancying he was conveying some soldiers from Menyllus to Ptolemy.

15. In Rome no one was likely to look next day for Demetrius or those who left with him. For those who remained on the spot supposed he had started for Circeii, and those in Anagneia were going to meet him at the same spot, supposing he would come there. The consequence was that his escape was entirely unnoticed, until one of the slaves who had been scourged in Anagneia ran off to Circeii, supposing he would meet Demetrius there, and when he failed to do so ran on again to Rome,<sup>46</sup> thinking he would meet him on the road. But not finding him any-

<sup>46</sup> The distance is about 100 kilometers.



6 συντυχὸν αὐτῷ τοῦτο διεσάφησεν τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ φί-  
 λοις καὶ τοῖς καταλειμμένοις ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας. ἐπι-  
 7 ζητούμενον δὲ τοῦ Δημητρίου κατὰ τὴν τετάρτην  
 ἡμέραν ἀφ' ἧς ὤρμησεν, ὑπενοήθη τὸ γεγονός. τῇ δὲ  
 πέμπτῃ σύγκλητος εὐθέως συνήγετο περὶ τούτων, ἐν  
 ἧ συνέβαινε τὸν Δημήτριον ἐκτὸς ἤδη τοῦ πορθμοῦ  
 8 τοῦ κατὰ Σικελίαν ὑπάρχειν. τὸ μὲν οὖν διώκειν  
 ἀπέγνωσαν, ἅμα μὲν ὑπολαμβάνοντες αὐτὸν πολὺ  
 προειληφέναι κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν, καὶ γὰρ ἔσχε φορὸν  
 ἄνεμον, ἅμα δὲ προορώμενοι τὸ βουλευθέντες κωλύειν  
 9 ἀδυνατῆσαι πρεσβευτὰς δὲ κατέστησαν μετὰ τινὰς  
 ἡμέρας τοὺς περὶ Τεβέριον Γράκχον καὶ Λεύκιον  
 10 Λέντλον καὶ Σερουίλιον Γλαυκίαν, οὔτινες ἔμελλον  
 πρῶτον μὲν ἐποπτεύσειν τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, εἶτ'  
 ἐπιβαλόντες ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν τὰ τε κατὰ τὸν Δημήτριον  
 παραδοκῆσειν καὶ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων προαιρέ-  
 σεις ἐξετάσειν καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Γαλάτας ἀντιλεγόμενα  
 11 τοῖς προειρημένοις διευκρινήσειν. διὸ τὸν Τεβέριον  
 12 κατεστήσαντο . . . πάντων αὐτόπτην γεγονέναι. καὶ τὰ  
 μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.  
 13 Ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος προσανέχων τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ  
 διαποσταλησομένου πρὸς αὐτόν.

where he informed the friends of Demetrius in Rome and the members of the household who were left behind. When four days after his departure people began to look for Demetrius, a suspicion of the truth arose, and on the fifth day, when Demetrius had already passed the Straits of Messina, a special meeting of the senate was held on the subject. Any idea of pursuit was abandoned because on the one hand they supposed that he was well advanced on his voyage, as the wind was favorable, and on the other hand they saw that they could not prevent him even if they wished. After a few days they appointed three commissioners,<sup>47</sup> Tiberius Gracchus, Lucius Lentulus, and Servilius Glaucia to examine first of all into the state of Greece, and then, crossing to Asia, to await the result of Demetrius' action, and to inquire into the sentiments of the other kings,<sup>48</sup> and decide the differences between the latter and the Galatians. The reason why they appointed Tiberius Gracchus was that he had personal knowledge of all these subjects. Such was the state of affairs in Italy.

(Suda)

Demetrius<sup>49</sup> was anxiously expecting the arrival of the messenger who was to be sent to him.

<sup>47</sup> MRR 1.443.

<sup>48</sup> Those who had differences with the Galatians were Eumenes and Ariarathes.

<sup>49</sup> A fragment, in all likelihood from Demetrius' travel to Syria; the details cannot be recovered.

## V. RES ASIAE

16. Ὅτι Ἀρταξίας ἐβούλετο ἐπανελέσθαι . . . παραι-  
 (175) νέσει δὲ Ἀριαράθου τοῦτ' οὐκ ἔπραξεν ἀλλ' ἐντιμότε-  
 (15) ρον εἶχεν αὐτὸν ἢ πρότερον. οὕτως ἢ τε τοῦ δικαίου  
 2 φύσις ἔχει μεγάλην δύναμιν, αἶ τε τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀν-  
 δρῶν γινώμει καὶ παραινέσεις, ὥστε μὴ μόνον τοὺς  
 φίλους ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς πολλάκις σφάζειν καὶ  
 μετατιθέναι τὰς φύσεις αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον.  
 3 Ὅτι παντὸς ἐπιστολίου τὸ κάλλος ἐστὶ συστατι-  
 κώτερον.

## VI. RES AEGYPTI

17. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Πτολεμαῖος ὁ νεώτερος παρα-  
 (26) (25) γεγονὸς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα μετὰ τῶν πρεσβευτῶν συν-  
 2 ἠθροῖζε ξενολόγιον ἐμβριθές. ἐν οἷς προσελάβετο καὶ  
 τὸν Μακεδόνα Δαμάσιππον, ὃς κατασφάξας ἐν  
 τῷ Φάκῳ τοὺς συνέδρους ἔφυγεν μετὰ γυναικὸς καὶ  
 3 τέκνων ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας. ἀφικόμενος δ' εἰς τὴν τῶν  
 Ῥοδίων Περαιάν καὶ ξενισθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου προ-  
 4 ετίθετο πλεῖν εἰς τὴν Κύπρον. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Τορκου-  
 ἄτον θεωροῦντες αὐτὸν σννεσταμένον ξενικὴν χεῖρα  
 5 πολέμου ποιείσθαι τὴν ἀθροδὸν καὶ τέλος ἔπεισαν

<sup>50</sup> The king of Armenia. His proposal to Ariarathes V was that each should kill the pretender to the throne of Sophene who hap-

## V. AFFAIRS OF ASIA

16. Artaxias<sup>50</sup> wished to kill . . . but by the advice of Ariarathes instead of doing so held him in greater honor than formerly. Such is the power of justice, and of the opinion and advice of good men that thereby not only our friends but our enemies are often saved and their natures changed for the better.

Good looks are a better recommendation than any letter.

## VI. AFFAIRS OF EGYPT

*The Rival Ptolemies*

17. After this the younger Ptolemy arriving in Greece<sup>51</sup> 162 with the legates, collected a powerful force of mercenaries, among whom was the Macedonian Damasippus, who, after murdering the members of the council at Phacus<sup>52</sup> fled from Macedonia with his wife and family. Arriving in the Rhodian Peraea, the king was hospitably received there by the state, and proposed to sail for Cyprus. Torquatus and his colleagues, seeing that he had got together this formidable force of mercenaries, reminded him of their instructions, which were that his return to Cyprus must be effected without war, and finally persuaded him after pro-

pened to be at his court, and that the kings then should divide the area between them (D. S. 31.22). <sup>51</sup> On his return from Rome, accompanied by the legates named in 10.9.

<sup>52</sup> A fortified hill, a little south of Pella. It was apparently the place where the council of the republic Macedonia III, established after 168, met.

αὐτὸν ἕως Σίδης προαγαγόντα τὸ ξενολόγιον διαλύ-  
 σασθαι καὶ τῆς εἰς Κύπρον ἐπιβολῆς ἀποστήναι καὶ  
 6 συμμίσγειν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς τῶν Κυρηναίων ὄρους. αὐτοὶ  
 δὲ πλεύσαντες εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἔφασαν παρα-  
 στησεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα πρὸς τὰ παρακαλούμενα καὶ  
 συναντήσειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρους, ἔχοντες κάκεινον μεθ'  
 7 αὐτῶν. τούτους μὲν οὖν τοῖς λόγοις πεισθεὶς ὁ νεώτε-  
 ρος Πτολεμαῖος, ἀπογνοὺς τὰ κατὰ τὴν Κύπρον τὸ  
 8 μὲν ξενολόγιον διέλυσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εἰς  
 Κρήτην ἀπέπλευσεν, τὸν τε Δαμάσιππον ἔχων μεθ'  
 ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ἓνα Γνάιον Μερόλαν  
 ξενολογήσας δ' ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης περὶ χιλίους στρατι-  
 ώτας ἀνήχθη καὶ διάρας εἰς τὴν Λιβύην κατέσχευ ἐπὶ  
 τὸν Ἄπιν.

18. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Τορκουᾶτον διακομισθέντες εἰς  
 (27) (26) τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐπειρῶντο μὲν παρακαλεῖν τὸν πρε-  
 σβύτερον Πτολεμαῖον διαλύεσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν  
 2 καὶ συγχωρεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν Κύπρον. τοῦ <δὲ> Πτολε-  
 μαίου τὰ μὲν ἐπαγγελλομένου, τὰ δὲ παρακούοντος,  
 καὶ τῷ τοιοῦτῳ τρόπῳ κατατρίβοντος τὸν χρόνον,  
 3 στρατοπεδεύων ὁ νεώτερος μετὰ τῶν Κρητῶν ἐν τῇ  
 Λιβύῃ περὶ τὸν Ἄπιν κατὰ τὸ συντεταγμένον καὶ τε-  
 λέως ἀσχάλλων ἐπὶ τῷ μηδὲν διασαφῆσασθαι, τὸ μὲν  
 πρῶτον ἐξαπέστειλε τὸν Γνάιον εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν,  
 ὡς διὰ τούτου κἂν τοὺς περὶ τὸν Τορκουᾶτον ἐπι-  
 4 γενομένους συνεξομοιωθέντος δὲ τούτου τοῖς πρότε-  
 ρον, καὶ τοῦ χρόνου διελκομένου, καὶ τετταράκοντα  
 διελθουσῶν ἡμερῶν, καὶ μηδενὸς προσπίπτοντος, εἰς

ceeding as far as Side<sup>53</sup> to dismiss the troops, and abandon-  
 ing his attempt on Cyprus to meet them on the bor-  
 ders of Cyrene. They themselves, they said, would sail to  
 Alexandria, and after inducing the king to submit to the  
 senate's request, would come to meet him on the frontier  
 accompanied by his brother. The younger Ptolemy, per-  
 suaded by these arguments, gave up his Cyprian project,  
 disbanded his mercenary force, and took ship first of all  
 for Crete accompanied by Damasippus and one of the  
 legates, Gnaeus Merula. After collecting in Crete a force  
 of about a thousand soldiers he set sail and crossing to  
 Africa landed at Apis.<sup>54</sup>

18. Meanwhile Torquatus and the other legates on ar-  
 riving at Alexandria attempted to induce the elder Ptolemy  
 to be reconciled to his brother and cede Cyprus to him.  
 When the king kept on alternately promising and refusing  
 and thus wasted time, his younger brother, who, as had  
 been agreed, remained encamped with his Cretans near  
 Apis in Africa, and was exceedingly put out at receiving no  
 information, at first sent Gnaeus to Alexandria, supposing  
 that he would bring Torquatus and the others. But when  
 Gnaeus proved equally inactive, and time dragged on,  
 forty days having passed without any news, he did not

<sup>53</sup> One of the main cities of Pamphylia; see 5.73.3. J. Nollé, *Side im Altertum*, 2 vols. (Bonn 1993, 2001).

<sup>54</sup> For the two towns of that name see *RE* Apis 2807, nos. 2 and 4 (R. Pietschmann). The one in question is probably the town ca. 20 kilometers west of Paraetonium.

- 5 ἀπορίαν ἐνέπιπτε περὶ τῶν ὄλων. ὁ γὰρ πρεσβύτερος βασιλεὺς πᾶν γένος ἀρεσκείας προσφερόμενος πάντας ἐξιδιάσατο τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς καὶ παρακατέσχε τὸ
- 6 πλείον οὐχ ἐκόντας, ἀλλ' ἄκοντας. κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον προσέπεσε τῷ νεωτέρῳ Πτολεμαίῳ τοὺς τε Κυρηναίους ἀφεστάναι καὶ τὰς πόλεις συμφρονεῖν τοῦτοις, κεκοινωνηκέναι δὲ περὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως καὶ
- 7 Πτολεμαίων τὸν Συμπετήσιον, ὃς ἦν τὸ γένος Αἰγύπτιος, ἐπιστεύθη δὲ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν ὄλων ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ἐποιεῖτο τὸν πλοῦν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην.
- 8 τούτων δὲ προσπιπτόντων τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον διότι στρατοπεδεύουσιν ἐν τοῖς ὑπαίθροις οἱ Κυρηναῖοι, δέισας μὴ βουλόμενος προσλαβεῖν τὴν Κύπρον καὶ τὴν Κυρήνην ἀπολέσῃ, πάντα τὰλλα
- 9 πάρεργα θέμενος ἀνέζευξεν ἐπὶ Κυρήνης. παραγενόμενος δ' εἰς τὸν μέγαν καλούμενον Καταβαθμὸν κατέλαβε τοὺς Λίβνας μετὰ τῶν Κυρηναίων κατέχοντας
- 10 τὰς δυσχωρίας. ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ἀπορούμενος ἐπὶ τῷ συμβαίνοντι τοὺς μὲν ἡμίσεις τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐμβιβάσας εἰς τὰ πλοῖα περιπλεῖν τὰς δυσχωρίας ἐπέταξε καὶ κατὰ νότον τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπιφαίνεσθαι, τοὺς δ' ἡμίσεις ἔχων αὐτὸς ἐβιάζετο κατὰ στόμα πρὸς τὴν
- 11 ἀνάβασιν. τῶν δὲ Λιβύων καταπλαγέντων τὴν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἔφοδον καὶ λειπόντων τοὺς τόπους, ἅμα τῆς ἀναβάσεως ἐγένετο κύριος καὶ τῆς ὑποκειμένης Τετραπυργίας, ἐν ᾗ συνέβαινε πλῆθος ἀφθονοῦ ὕδατος
- 12 ὑπάρχειν. ὅθεν ἀφορμήσας ἐβδομαίως ἦκε διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου.
- 13 παραπλεόντων δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Μοχυρί-

know what to make of the whole matter. For the elder king by every kind of complaisance won over the legates and detained them with him rather against their will than otherwise. At the same time news reached the younger Ptolemy that the Cyreneans had revolted, that the towns<sup>55</sup> were in sympathy with them, and that Ptolemy Sympetesis, an Egyptian, whom he had placed in charge of the country when he left for Rome, had taken the part of the insurgents. When he received this news, and when soon afterward he heard that the Cyreneans had taken the field, fearing lest by trying to add Cyprus to his dominions he should lose Cyrene also, he treated all other matters as of lesser moment and at once marched on Cyrene. Upon reaching the place known as the Great Slope<sup>56</sup> he found the Libyans and Cyreneans occupying the pass. Ptolemy, taken aback by this, embarked half of his force on the ships with orders to sail round the pass and take the enemy in the rear, while he himself with the other half advanced directly to force the ascent. Upon the Libyans taking fright at this double attack and abandoning their position, he made himself master of the ascent and the place called the Four Towers beneath it, where there was plenty of water. Setting out thence he arrived after six days' march through the desert. The force under Mochyrinus<sup>57</sup> coasted along

<sup>55</sup> Those making up the Pentapolis together with Cyrene: Apollonia, Ptolemais, Arsinoe (Taucheira), Berenice. For these events see A. Laronde, *Cyrène et la Libye* . . . (Paris 1987), 439–440.

<sup>56</sup> Today As-Sallum, fortress and harbor at the border of Egypt and Libya, east of Tobruk. See map in WC 3.487.

<sup>57</sup> A native, probably mentioned earlier in a lost passage.

νου, συνέβαινε τοὺς Κυρηναίους στρατοπεδεύειν  
 <πεζοὺς μὲν> ὄντας εἰς ὀκτακισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ περὶ  
 14 πεντακοσίους. οἱ γὰρ Κυρηναῖοι πείραν εἰληφότες τῆς  
 τοῦ Πτολεμαίου προαιρέσεως ἐκ τῶν <κατὰ> τὴν  
 Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πεπραγμένων καὶ θεωροῦντες οὐ βασι-  
 15 λικὴν, ἀλλὰ τυραννικὴν οὖσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ  
 τὴν ὄλην αἴρεσιν, οὐχ οἰοί τ' ἦσαν ἐθελοντὴν σφᾶς  
 αὐτοὺς ὑποτάττειν, ἀλλὰ πᾶν ὑπομένειν ἐτόλμων,  
 16 ἀντεχόμενοι τῆς πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐλπίδος. διὸ καὶ  
 τότε συνεγγίσαντος αὐτοῦ ἐξ αὐτῆς παρετάξαντο καὶ  
 τέλος ἠττήθη.

19. Ὅτι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τούτου ἦλθε καὶ Γναῖος ὁ  
 (28) (27) Μερόλας ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, διασαφῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ  
 διότι πρὸς οὐθέν τῶν ἀξιουμένων προσελήλυθεν ὁ  
 ἀδελφός, ἀλλὰ φησι δεῖν μένειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 2 διομολογουμένοις. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ταῦτα διακούσας,  
 εὐθὺς προχειρισάμενος Κομανὸν καὶ Πτολεμαῖον  
 τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἐξαπέστειλλε πρεσβευτὰς εἰς τὴν  
 Ῥώμην μετὰ τοῦ Γναίου, διασαφῆσοντας τῇ συγκλήτῳ  
 περὶ τῆς τὰδελφοῦ πλεονεξίας καὶ καταφρονήσεως.  
 3 ἀπέλυσε δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ τοὺς περὶ Τί-  
 4 τον ἀπράκτους ὁ πρεσβύτερος Πτολεμαῖος. καὶ τὰ μὲν  
 κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ Κυρήνην ἐπὶ τούτων ἦν.

## VII. RES ITALIAE

20. Ὅτι κατὰ τοὺς ὑποκειμένους καιροὺς ἦκον παρὰ  
 (xxxii.1) τοῦ νεωτέρου Πτολεμαίου πρέσβεις οἱ περὶ τὸν Κομα-

parallel to him until they found the Cyreneans encamped  
 eight thousand strong in foot and five hundred in cavalry.  
 For the Cyreneans had gained experience of Ptolemy's  
 character from his behavior at Alexandria, and, seeing that  
 his government and his whole disposition were those of a  
 tyrant rather than a king, they were by no means disposed  
 to submit willingly to his rule, but were resolved to suffer  
 anything for the prospect of liberty. They, therefore, on his  
 approach, at once offered battle and in the end he was  
 worsted.

19. At this time Gnaeus Merula also came from Alex-  
 andria and informed Ptolemy that his brother had not met  
 any of the demands, but maintained that their original  
 agreement must be adhered to. The king, on learning this,  
 at once appointed the brothers Comanus<sup>58</sup> and Ptolemy  
 his envoys, and dispatched them to Rome together with  
 Gnaeus to inform the senate of his brother's selfish greed  
 and contempt for their orders. At the same time the elder  
 Ptolemy dismissed Torquatus without his having achieved  
 anything. Such was the state of affairs at Alexandria and in  
 Cyrene.

## VII. AFFAIRS OF ITALY

*Embassies from the Ptolemies*

20. At the time I am dealing with, Comanus and his 162-161  
 brother arrived on an embassy from the younger Ptolemy B.C.

<sup>58</sup> He was with Ptolemy VI in 170, but was now, with his  
 brother Ptolemy, serving Ptolemy Euergetes II. Their arrival in  
 Rome: 20.1.



νὸν καὶ παρὰ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου παραπλησίως οἱ περὶ  
 τὸν Μένυλλον τὸν Ἀλαβανδέα. ὧν εἰσελθόντων εἰς  
 τὴν σύγκλητον καὶ πολλῶν λόγων γινομένων καὶ  
 2 φιλαπεχθῶν κατὰ πρόσωπον εἰς ἀλλήλους, καὶ τῶν  
 περὶ Τίτον καὶ Γνάιον ἀπομαρτυρούντων καὶ συνεπι-  
 3 σχόντων τῷ νεωτέρῳ μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς, ἔδοξε τῇ  
 συγκλήτῳ τοὺς περὶ Μένυλλον ἐν πένθ' ἡμέραις ἀπο-  
 τρέχειν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης, καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν ἀναιρεῖν  
 τὴν πρὸς τὸν πρεσβύτερον, πρὸς δὲ τὸν νεώτερον πέμ-  
 ψαι πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς διασαφήσοντας τὰ δεδογμένα  
 4 τῇ συγκλήτῳ, καὶ κατεστάθησαν Πόπλιος Ἀπούστιος  
 καὶ Γάιος Δέντλος, οἱ καὶ πλεύσαντες ἐξ αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν  
 Κυρήνην ἀνήγγειλαν τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ τὰ δεδογμένα  
 5 μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς. ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ἐπαρθεὶς  
 εὐθὺς ἐξενολόγει καὶ ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς ὅλος καὶ πᾶς ἦν  
 6 περὶ τὴν Κύπρον. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐν  
 τούτοις ἦν.

## VIII. RES AFRICAE

21. Ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην Μασσανάσας θεωρῶν τὸ  
 (32 2) πλήθος τῶν πόλεων τῶν περὶ τὴν μικρὰν Σύρτιν  
 ἐκτισμένων καὶ τὸ κάλλος τῆς χώρας, ἣν καλοῦσιν  
 Ἐμπορία, καὶ πάσαι τὸ πλήθος τῶν προσόδων τῶν  
 2 γινομένων ἐν τούτοις τοῖς τόποις ὀφθαλμῶν, ἐπ-  
 εβάλετο καταπειράζειν τῶν Καρχηδονίων οὐ πολλοῖς  
 3 ἀνώτερον χρόνους τῶν νῦν λεγομένων καιρῶν. τῆς μὲν  
 οὖν χώρας ταχέως ἐγενήθη κύριος, ἅτε τῶν ὑπαίθρων

and Menyllus of Alabanda from the elder one. They all  
 entered the house together, where they had a long and  
 acrimonious dispute with each other; but when both  
 Torquatus and Merula<sup>59</sup> confirmed the statements of the  
 younger brother and warmly supported him, the senate  
 decreed that Menyllus must leave Rome in five days, that  
 their alliance with the elder Ptolemy was at an end, and  
 that legates<sup>60</sup> should be sent to the younger brother to  
 inform him of their decision. Publius Apustius and Caius  
 Lentulus were appointed and at once took ship for  
 Cyrene<sup>61</sup> where they announced this important decision  
 to Ptolemy. The king, much elated by it, at once began to  
 collect troops and was entirely occupied with his projected  
 attempt on Cyprus. Such was the state of affairs in Italy.

## VIII. AFFAIRS OF AFRICA

*Massanissa and Carthage*

21. In Africa Massanissa,<sup>62</sup> seeing the numbers of the  
 cities founded on the coast of the Lesser Syrtis and the  
 fertility of the country which they call Emporia, and cast-  
 ing envious eyes on the abundant revenue derived from  
 this district, had tried, not many years before the time I  
 am dealing with, to wrest it from Carthage. He easily made  
 himself master of the open country as he could command

<sup>59</sup> 10.9; 17.1-19.4.<sup>60</sup> *MRR* 1.444; Lentulus' praenomen should be emended to Gnaeus: *RE* Cornelius 1358 and 1361 (F. Münzer).<sup>61</sup> Ptolemy Euergetes II was again in power there.  
<sup>62</sup> He was last mentioned in 21.21.2, his last recorded activity was at the battle of Zama in 202: 15.12.6.

κρατῶν διὰ τὸ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους αἰεὶ μὲν ἀλλοτρίους  
 ὑπάρχειν τῆς ἐν τῇ γῆ χρείας, τότε δὲ καὶ τελέως  
 4 ἐκτεθηλύνθαι διὰ τὴν πολυχρόνιον εἰρήνην· τῶν δὲ  
 πόλεων οὐκ ἠδυνήθη γενέσθαι κύριος διὰ τὸ τοὺς  
 5 Καρχηδονίους ἐπιμελῶς τηρεῖν αὐτάς. ἀμφοτέρων δὲ  
 ποιουμένων τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἐπὶ τὴν σύγκλητον ὑπὲρ  
 τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων, καὶ πρεσβευτῶν πολλάκις  
 6 ἐληλυθότων διὰ ταῦτα παρ' ἑκατέρων, αἰεὶ συνέβαινε  
 τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐλαττοῦσθαι παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις,  
 οὐ τοῖς δικαίοις, ἀλλὰ τῷ πεπεῖσθαι τοὺς κρίνοντας  
 7 συμφέρειν σφίσι τὴν τοιαύτην γνώμην, ἐπεὶ τοὶ χρό-  
 νοὶς οὐ πολλοῖς ἀνώτερον αὐτὸς ὁ Μασσανάσας διώ-  
 κων τὸν Ἀφθῆρα τὸν ἀποστάτην μετὰ στρατοπέδου  
 δίοδου ἠτήσατο τοὺς Καρχηδονίους διὰ ταύτης τῆς  
 χώρας [οἱ δ' οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν],<sup>1</sup> ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προση-  
 8 κούσης. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τέλος εἰς τοῦτο συνεκλείσθησαν  
 οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι διὰ τῶν ἀποφάσεων κατὰ τοὺς νῦν  
 λεγομένους καιροὺς ὥστε μὴ μόνον τὰς πόλεις καὶ  
 τὴν χώραν ἀποβαλεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πεντακόσια τάλαντα  
 προσθῆναι τῆς καρπείας τῶν χρόνων, ἐξ οὗ συνέβη  
 γενέσθαι τὴν ἀμφισβήτησιν.

## IX. RES ITALIAE

22. Ὅτι τὸ μέγιστον καὶ κάλλιστον σημεῖον τῆς  
 (xxxii.8) Λευκίου Αἰμιλίου προαιρέσεως μεταλλάξαντος τὸν

<sup>1</sup> I exclude οἱ δ' οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν (Paton).

it, owing to the Carthaginians, who had always been poor soldiers, having latterly become completely enervated in consequence of the long peace. He could not, however, get hold of the towns as they were carefully guarded by the Carthaginians. Both parties appealed to the senate about their differences, and numerous embassies had come from both on the subject, but the Carthaginians always came off second best at Rome, not because they had not right on their side, but because the judges were convinced that it was in their own interest to decide against them.<sup>63</sup> Their claim to the country was evidently just; for Massanissa himself not many years previously, while pursuing with an army Aphther who had rebelled against him, had begged permission from them to pass through this district, thus acknowledging that he had no claim to it. But nevertheless at the end the Carthaginians were in such straits owing to the decisions of the senate at the time I am speaking of, that they not only lost the country and the towns in it, but had to pay in addition five hundred talents for the mesne revenue of it since the dispute originated.

## IX. AFFAIRS OF ITALY

*Aemilius Paullus and Scipio*

22. The most striking and splendid proof of the integ- 161-160  
 rity of Lucius Aemilius became manifest to all after his B.C.

<sup>63</sup> P. states here as clearly as he has done in the case of Ptolemy Philometor (10.1-9) that the Senate opted for political advantage over just cause.

2 βίον ἐγένετο πᾶσιν ἔκδηλον· οἷος γὰρ ὁ τρόπος ζώου-  
 3 τος [αὐτοῦ] ἐδοξάζετο, τοιοῦτος εὐρέθη τὸν βίον  
 μεταλλάξαντος, ὃ μέγιστον εἶποι τις ἂν ὑπάρχειν  
 4 τεκμήριον ἀρετῆς. ὁ γὰρ πλείστον μὲν τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν  
 ἐξ Ἰβηρίας χρυσὸν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην μετενηνοχῶς, με-  
 γίστων δὲ θησαυρῶν κύριος γενόμενος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ,  
 5 πλείστης δὲ περὶ τὰ προειρημένα τετευχῶς ἐξουσίας  
 τοσοῦτον ἀπέλειπε τὸν ἴδιον βίον ὥστε . . . μὴ δύνα-  
 6 σθαι τὴν φερνὴν τῇ γυναικὶ διαλύσαι πᾶσαν ἐκ τῶν  
 ἐπίπλων, εἰ μὴ τῶν ἐγγείων τινας προσαπέδοντο κτή-  
 7 σεων. ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡμεῖς τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τοῦ-  
 8 των εἰρήκαμεν. ἐξ ὧν εἶποι τις ἂν καταλελύσθαι τὴν  
 δόξαν τῶν θαυματομένων παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι περὶ  
 9 τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἀνδρῶν· εἰ γὰρ τὸ διδομένων χρημά-  
 των ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ διδόντος συμφέροντι, τούτων ἀπέχεσθαι  
 10 θαυμαστόν ἐστιν, ὃ λέγεται γεγονέναι περὶ τε τὸν  
 Ἀθηναῖον Ἀριστείδην καὶ περὶ τὸν Θηβαῖον Ἐπαμι-  
 νῶνδαν, τὸ κύριον γενόμενον αὐτὸν ἀπάσης τῆς βα-  
 σιλείας καὶ λαβόντα τὴν ἐξουσίαν ὡς βούλεται χρή-  
 σασθαι, μηδενὸς ἐπιθυμῆσαι πόσῳ θαυμαστότερόν  
 ἐστίν· εἰ δ' ἀπίστῳ τὸ λεγόμενον εὐκέναι δοῦναι τισὶν,  
 ἐκεῖνο δεῖ λαμβάνειν ἐν νῷ, διότι σαφῶς ὁ γράφων  
 ἤδει μάλιστα Ῥωμαίους ἀναληφθένους εἰς τὰς χεί-  
 ρας τὰ βυβλία ταῦτα διὰ τὸ τὰς ἐπιφανεστάτας καὶ  
 τὰς πλείστας αὐτῶν πράξεις ἐν τούτοις περιέχεσθαι  
 παρ' οἷς οὐτ' ἀγνοεῖσθαι ταῦτα δυνατὸν οὔτε συγγνώ-  
 μης τεύξεσθαι τὸν ψευδολόγον εἰκός, διόπερ οὐδεὶς ἂν  
 ἐκῶν εἰς πρόδηλον ἀπιστίαν καὶ καταφρόνησιν ἔδωκεν

death; for the same high reputation which he had possessed during his life continued when he had departed from it; and this we may say is the best proof there can be of virtue. The man, I say, who had brought to Rome from Spain<sup>64</sup> more gold than any of his contemporaries, who had had at his disposal the vast treasure of Macedonia, and had been at perfect liberty to use all this money as he chose, died so poor that his sons could not pay his wife the whole of her jointure out of the personalty, and without selling some of the real property. Of this I have spoken in detail above.<sup>65</sup> We may say that the reputation of those most admired in this respect by the ancient Greeks has been put into shadow. For if it is an admirable thing to refuse to touch money offered in the interest of the giver, as Aristeides<sup>66</sup> of Athens and Epaminondas<sup>67</sup> of Thebes are said to have done, how much more admirable is it for one who had a whole kingdom at his sole disposal, and had liberty to do what he wished with it, to covet none of it? If this appears incredible to anyone, I beg him to consider that the present writer is perfectly aware that this work will be perused by Romans above all people, containing as it does an account of their most splendid achievements, and that it is impossible either that they should be ignorant of the facts or disposed to pardon any departure from truth. So that no one would willingly expose himself thus to certain disbelief and contempt. And this should be

<sup>64</sup> In 191, when he governed Farther Spain as Praetor with the imperium of Proconsul, *MRR* 1.353.

<sup>65</sup> 18.35.6. <sup>66</sup> 9.23.6.

<sup>67</sup> *RE* Epameinondas 2674-2707 (H. Swoboda). M. Fortina, *Epaminonda* (Turin 1958).

11 αὐτόν. καὶ τοῦτο μνημονεύεσθω παρ' ὄλην τὴν πραγματείαν ἡμῖν, ὅταν τι παράδοξον δοκῶμεν λέγειν περὶ Ῥωμαίων.

(xxxi.9) 23. Τῆς δὲ κατὰ τὴν διήγησιν ἐφόδου καὶ τῶν καιρῶν ἐφεστακότων ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ταύτην, βούλομαι τὸ κατὰ τὴν προτέραν βύβλον ἐν ἐπαγγελίᾳ καταλειφθὲν συνεκπληρῶσαι τῶν φιληκόων ἕνεκα.

2 προὔπεσχόμην γὰρ διηγήσασθαι διὰ τί καὶ πῶς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο προέκοψε καὶ θάττον ἢ καθήκεν ἐξέλαμβεν ἢ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ δόξα, σὺν δὲ τούτῳ πῶς

3 ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον αὐξηθῆναι συνέβη τῷ Πολυβίῳ τὴν πρὸς τὸν προειρημένον φιλίαν καὶ συνήθειαν ὥστε μὴ μόνον ἕως τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπιδιατεῖναι τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν φήμην, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πορωτέρω γινώριμον γενέσθαι τὴν αἴρεσιν καὶ συμπεριφορὰν αὐτῶν. διότι μὲν οὖν ἡ καταρχὴ τῆς συστάσεως ἐγενήθη τοῖς προειρημένοις ἕκ τινος χρήσεως βυβλίων καὶ τῆς περὶ τούτων λαλιᾶς δεδηλώκαμεν προβαίνουσας δὲ τῆς συνηθείας καὶ τῶν ἀνακεκλημένων ἐκπεμπομένων ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις, διέσπευσαν ὁ τε Φάβιος καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων οἱ τοῦ Λευκίου νεανίσκοι πρὸς τὸν

6 στρατηγὸν μέναι τὸν Πολύβιον ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ. γενομένου δὲ τούτου, καὶ τῆς συμπεριφορᾶς ἐπὶ πολὺ προκοπούσης, ἐγένετο συγκύρημά τι τοιοῦτον. ἐκπορευομένων γὰρ ποτε κατ' αὐτὸ πάντων ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας τῆς τοῦ Φαβίου, συνέβη τὸν μὲν Φάβιον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀπονεύσαι, τὸν δὲ Πολύβιον ἐπὶ θάτερα μετὰ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος. προαγόντων δ' αὐτῶν ὁ Πόπλιος ἡσυχῇ καὶ

borne in mind through this whole work, whenever I seem to make any startling statements about Romans.<sup>68</sup>

23. Now that the progress of my narrative and the date call our special attention to this family, I wish in order to satisfy the reader's curiosity to execute a promise I made in the previous book<sup>69</sup> and left unfulfilled, and this was that I would tell how and why the fame of Scipio in Rome advanced so far and became so brilliant more quickly than it should, and to tell also how his friendship and intimacy with the author grew so great that this report about them not only spread to Italy and Greece, but that even further afield their liking and intercourse were a matter of common knowledge. Now I have already explained that their acquaintance took its origin in the use of some books and conversation about them. But as their intimacy grew, and when those summoned to Italy in detention were sent off to provincial towns, Fabius<sup>70</sup> and Scipio, the sons of Lucius Aemilius, urgently begged the praetor to allow Polybius to remain in Rome. This was done, and their intercourse now becoming much closer, the following incident took place. On one occasion when they were all coming out together from the house of Fabius, the latter happened to take a turning leading to the forum, while Polybius and Scipio turned off in the opposite direction. As they

<sup>68</sup> P. expects Romans to be particularly interested in reading his work.

<sup>69</sup> In a lost passage of book 30.

<sup>70</sup> Quintus Fabius Maximus; see 18.35.6 and 29.14.2.

9 πρῶτος τῇ φωνῇ φθεγζάμενος καὶ τῷ χρώματι γενό-  
 μενος ἐνερευθής, "τί δαί" φησὶν "ὦ Πολύβιε, δύο τρώ-  
 γομεν ἀδελφοί,<sup>2</sup> καὶ διαλέγει συνεχῶς καὶ πάσας τὰς  
 10 ἐρωτήσεις καὶ τὰς ἀποφάσεις ποιεῖ πρὸς ἐκείνον, ἐμὲ  
 δὲ παραπέμπτεις; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι καὶ σὺ περὶ ἐμοῦ τὴν  
 αὐτὴν ἔχεις διάληψιν, ἣν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας  
 11 ἔχειν πυνθάνομαι; δοκῶ γὰρ εἶναι πᾶσιν ἡσύχιός τις  
 καὶ νοθρός, ὡς ἀκούω, καὶ πολὺ κεχωρισμένος τῆς  
 12 Ῥωμαϊκῆς αἰρέσεως καὶ πράξεως, ὅτι κρίσεις οὐχ  
 αἰρούμαι λέγειν. τὴν δ' οἰκίαν οὐ φασι τοιοῦτον ζητεῖν  
 προστάτην ἐξ ἧς ὀρμῶμαι, τὸ δ' ἐναντίον ὃ καὶ μά-  
 λιστα με λυπεῖ."

24. Ὁ δὲ Πολύβιος ξεισθεὶς τῇ τοῦ μειρακίου  
 (xxxii.10) καταρχῇ τῶν λόγων· οὐ γὰρ εἶχε πλέον ἐτῶν ὀκτω-  
 2 καίδεκα τότε· "μὴ πρὸς θεῶν, Σκιπίων," ἔφη, "μηδὲ  
 λέγε ταῦτα μηδ' ἐν νῶ λάμβανε ταῦτα τὸ παράπαν.  
 3 οὐδὲ γὰρ καταγινώσκων οὔτε παραπέμπτων ἐγὼ σε  
 ποιῶ τοῦτο, πολλοῦ γε δεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῷ πρεσβύτερον  
 εἶναι τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔν τε ταῖς ὀμιλίαις ἄρχομαι <τ>  
 ἀπ' ἐκείνου καὶ λήγω πάλιν εἰς ἐκείνον ἔν <τε> ταῖς  
 ἀποφάσεσι καὶ συμβουλίαις πρὸς ἐκείνον ἀπερείδομαι,  
 4 δοκῶν καὶ σὲ τῆς αὐτῆς μετέχειν γνώμης ἐκείνω. σοῦ  
 γε μὴν ἄγαμαι νῦν ἀκούων, ὅτι δοκεῖ σοι <λυπηρὸν>  
 τὸ πρᾶντερον εἶναι τοῦ καθήκοντος τοῖς ἐκ ταύτης τῆς  
 5 οἰκίας ὀρμωμένοις· δηλὸς γὰρ εἶ διὰ τούτων μέγα  
 φρονῶν. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἠδέως σοι συνεπιδοίην  
 ἐμαυτὸν καὶ συνεργὸς γενοίμην εἰς τὸ καὶ λέγειν τι  
 6 καὶ πράττειν ἄξιον τῶν προγόνων. περὶ μὲν γὰρ τὰ

advanced Scipio, addressing Polybius in a quiet and gentle voice, and blushing slightly said: "Why, Polybius, since there are two of us, do you constantly converse with my brother and address to him all your questions and explanations, but ignore me? Evidently you also have the same opinions of me that I hear the rest of my countrymen have. For, as I am told, I am believed by everybody to be a quiet and indolent man, with none of the energetic character of a Roman, because I don't choose to speak in the law courts. And they say that the family I spring from does not require such a protector as I am, but just the opposite; and this is what I feel most."

24. Polybius was surprised at the way in which the young man opened the conversation; for he was then not more than eighteen years old.<sup>71</sup> "For goodness' sake, Scipio," he said, "don't talk in that way, or get any such notion into your head. I don't, I assure you, do this because I have a low opinion of you or ignore you, but because your brother is your senior. I both begin conversation with him and finish with him, and as for any replies and advice, I address myself especially to him in the belief that your opinions are the same as his. However, now I admire you when you say that you are pained to think that you are of a milder character than becomes members of this family; for that shows that you have a high spirit. I myself would be delighted to do all in my power to help you to speak and act in a way worthy of your ancestors. For as for those

<sup>71</sup> He was born in 185, the scene took place in 167, shortly after P.'s arrival in Rome.

<sup>2</sup> I suggest δύο γὰρ ἔσμεν, τῷ μὲν ἀδελφῷ (Paton).



μαθήματα, περὶ ἃ νῦν ὁρῶ σπουδάζοντας ὑμᾶς καὶ  
 φιλοτιμουμένους, οὐκ ἀπορήσετε τῶν συνεργησόντων  
 7 ὑμῖν ἐτοιμῶς, καὶ σοὶ κάκεινῳ· πολὺ γὰρ δὴ τι φῦλον  
 ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπιρρέον ὁρῶ κατὰ τὸ παρὸν τῶν  
 8 τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων. εἰς δὲ τὰ λυποῦντά σε νῦν καθὼς  
 φῆς, δοκῶ μηδένα συναγωνιστὴν καὶ συνεργὸν ἄλλον  
 9 εὔρεῖν ἢ ἡμῶν ἐπιτηδειότερον.” ἔτι δὲ ταῦτα λέγοντος  
 τοῦ Πολυβίου, λαβόμενος ἀμφοτέραις χερσὶ τῆς  
 δεξιᾶς αὐτοῦ καὶ πιέσας ἐμπαθῶς “εἰ γὰρ ἐγὼ ταύ-  
 την,” φησὶν, “ἴδοιμι τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐν ἧ ἰσὺ πάντα τᾶλλα  
 δεύτερα θέμενος ἐμοὶ προσέξεις τὸν νοῦν καὶ μετ’  
 10 ἐμοῦ συμβιώσεις· δόξω γὰρ αὐτόθεν εὐθέως ἐμαντῶ  
 11 καὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἄξιός εἶναι καὶ τῶν προγόνων.” ὁ δὲ  
 Πολύβιος τὰ μὲν ἔχαιρε, θεωρῶν τὴν ὁρμὴν καὶ τὴν  
 ἀποδοχὴν τοῦ μεираκίου, τὰ δὲ διηπορεῖτο, λαμβάνων  
 ἐν νῶ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τῆς οἰκίας καὶ τὴν εὐκαιρίαν τῶν  
 12 ἀνδρῶν. πλὴν ἀπὸ γε ταύτης τῆς ἀνθομολογήσεως  
 οὐκέτι τὸ μεираκίον ἐχωρίσθη τοῦ Πολυβίου, πάντα δ’  
 ἦν αὐτῷ δεύτερα τῆς ἐκείνου συμπεριφορᾶς.

25. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν καιρῶν λοιπὸν ἤδη κατὰ τὸ  
 (xxxii.11) συνεχὲς ἐπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων πείραν αὐτῶν δι-  
 δόντες ἀλλήλοις εἰς πατρικὴν καὶ συγγενικὴν ἦλθον  
 αἴρεσιν καὶ φιλοστοργίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

2 Πρώτη δὲ τις ἐνέπεσεν ὁρμὴ καὶ ζῆλος τῶν καλῶν  
 τὸ τὴν ἐπὶ σωφροσύνη δόξαν ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ παρα-  
 δραμεῖν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει τοὺς κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλι-  
 3 κίαν ὑπάρχοντας. ὧν δὲ μέγας οὖτος καὶ δυσέφικτος  
 ὁ στέφανος εὐθήρατος ἦν κατ’ ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν ἐν

studies which I see now occupy and interest you, you will  
 be in no want of those ready to help both of you; so great  
 is the crowd of such men that I see flocking here from  
 Greece at present. But as regards what you say now trou-  
 bles you I don’t think you could find anyone more efficient  
 than myself to forward your effort and help you.” Before  
 Polybius ceased speaking, Scipio, grasping his right hand  
 in both his own and pressing it warmly, said: “Would I  
 could see the day on which you, regarding nothing else as  
 of higher importance, would devote your attention to me  
 and join your life with mine; for then I shall at once feel  
 myself to be worthy of my house and my forefathers.” Poly-  
 bius was on the one hand very happy to see the enthusi-  
 asm and affection of the young man, yet was embarrassed  
 when he reflected on the high position of the family and  
 the wealth of its members. However, after this mutual  
 explanation the young man never left his side, and pre-  
 ferred his society to anything else.

25. From that time onward continuing in the actual  
 conduct of life to give proof to each other of their worth,  
 they came to regard each other with an affection like that  
 of father and son or near relations.

The first direction taken by Scipio’s ambition to lead a  
 virtuous life, was to attain a reputation for temperance and  
 excel in this respect all the other young men of the same  
 age. This is a high prize indeed and difficult to gain, but it  
 was at this time easy to pursue at Rome owing to the vi-

- τῆ Ῥώμῃ διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ὀρμὴν τῶν πλείστων.
- 4 οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰς ἐρωμένους τῶν νέων, οἱ δ' εἰς εἰταίρας ἐξεκέχυντο, πολλοὶ δ' εἰς ἀκροάματα καὶ πότους καὶ τὴν ἐν τούτοις πολυτέλειαν, ταχέως ἠρπακότες ἐν τῷ Περσικῷ πολέμῳ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς τοῦτο τὸ μέ-
- 5 ρος εὐχέρειαν. καὶ τηλικαύτη τις ἐνεπεπτώκει περὶ τὰ  
(xxx1.24 3) τοιαῦτα τῶν ἔργων ἀκρασία τοῖς νέοις ὥστε πολλοὺς μὲν ἐρώμενον ἡγορακεναὶ ταλάντου, πολλοὺς δὲ ταρί-  
5α χου Ποντικῷ κεράμιον τριακοσίων δραχμῶν. ἐφ' οἷς  
(xxx1.24 4) καὶ Μάρκος εἶπέ ποτε πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι μάλιστ' ἀν κατίδοιεν τὴν ἐπὶ <τὸ> χεῖρου προκοπὴν τῆς πολιτείας ἐκ τούτων, ὅταν πωλούμενοι πλείον εὐρίσκωσιν οἱ μὲν εὐπρεπεῖς παῖδες τῶν ἀγρῶν, τὰ δὲ κεράμια τοῦ ταρίχου τῶν ζευγηλατῶν. συνέβη δὲ τὴν παροῦσαν
- 6 αἴρεσιν οἷον ἐκλάμψαι κατὰ τοὺς νῦν λεγομένους καιροὺς πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τὸ καταλυθείσης τῆς ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ βασιλείας δοκεῖν ἀδήριτον αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν τὴν  
(xxxii.11 6) περὶ τῶν ὄλων ἐξουσίαν, ἔπειτα διὰ τὸ πολλὴν ἐπίφασιν γενέσθαι τῆς εὐδαιμονίας περὶ τε τοὺς κατ' ἰδίαν βίους καὶ περὶ τὰ κοινά, τῶν ἐκ Μακεδονίας
- 8 μετακομισθέντων εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην χορηγίων. πλὴν ὁ γε Σκιπίων ὀρμήσας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἀγωγὴν τοῦ βίου καὶ πάσαις ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ἀντιταξάμενος καὶ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ὁμολογούμενον καὶ σύμφωνον ἑαυτὸν κατασκευάσας κατὰ τὸν βίον ἐν ἴσῳ πέντε τοῖς πρώτοις ἔτεσι πάνδημον ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἐπ' εὐταξία καὶ σωφροσύνη δόξαν.
- 9 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς ὤρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸ

cious tendencies of most of the youths. For some of them had abandoned themselves to amours with boys and others to the society of courtesans, and many to musical entertainments and banquets, and the extravagance they involve, having in the course of the war with Perseus been speedily infected by the Greek laxity in these respects. So great in fact was the incontinence that had broken out among the young men in such matters, that many paid a talent for a male favorite and many three hundred drachmas for a jar of caviar. Regarding this, Cato once said in a public speech that it was the surest sign of deterioration in the republic when pretty boys fetch more than fields, and jars of caviar more than plowmen. It was just at the period we are treating of that this present tendency to extravagance declared itself, first of all because they thought that now after the fall of the Macedonian kingdom their universal dominion was undisputed,<sup>72</sup> and next because after the riches of Macedonia had been transported to Rome there was a great display of wealth both in public and in private. Scipio, however, setting himself to pursue the opposite course of conduct, combating all his appetites and molding his life to be in every way coherent and uniform, in about the first five years<sup>73</sup> established his universal reputation for strictness and temperance.

In the next place he sedulously studied to distinguish

<sup>72</sup> 1.1.5.

<sup>73</sup> Counting from their association.

10 περὶ τὰ χρήματα μεγαλοψυχία καὶ καθαρότητι δι-  
 ενεγκεῖν τῶν ἄλλων. πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος καλῆν  
 μὲν ὑποδοχὴν εἶχε τὴν μετὰ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν πατρὸς  
 συμβίωσιν, καλὰς δ' ἐκ φύσεως ὁρμὰς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ  
 δέον· πολλὰ δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ταυτόματον συνήργησε πρὸς  
 τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ταύτην.

(xxxii.12) 26. Πρώτη μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ μετήλλαξε τὸν βίον ἢ τοῦ  
 κατὰ θέσιν πατρὸς μήτηρ, ἣτις ἦν ἀδελφὴ μὲν τοῦ  
 κατὰ φύσιν πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Λευκίου, γυνὴ δὲ τοῦ κατὰ  
 θέσιν πάππου Σκιπίωνος τοῦ μεγάλου προσαγορευ-  
 2 θέντος. ταύτης ἀπολιπούσης οὐσίαν μεγάλην κληρο-  
 νόμος ὢν πρῶτον ἐν τούτοις ἔμελλε πείραν δώσειν τῆς  
 3 ἑαυτοῦ προαιρέσεως. συνέβαινε δὲ τὴν Αἰμιλίαν, τοῦτο  
 γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα τῇ προειρημένῃ γυναικί, μεγαλομερῆ  
 τὴν περιστάσιν ἔχειν ἐν ταῖς γυναικείαις ἐξόδοις, ἅτε  
 συνηκμακυῖαν τῷ βίῳ καὶ τῇ τύχῃ τῇ Σκιπίωνος·  
 4 χωρὶς γὰρ τοῦ περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ἀπήνην κόσμον  
 καὶ τὰ κανᾶ καὶ τὰ ποτήρια καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ πρὸς τὴν  
 θυσίαν, ποτὲ μὲν ἀργυρᾶ, ποτὲ δὲ χρυσᾶ, πάντα συν-  
 5 εξηκολούθει κατὰ τὰς ἐπιφανεῖς ἐξόδους αὐτῆς, τό τε  
 τῶν παιδισκῶν καὶ τὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν τῶν παρεπομένων  
 6 πλήθος ἀκόλουθον ἦν τούτοις. ταύτην δὲ τὴν περι-  
 κοπὴν ἅπασαν εὐθέως μετὰ τὸν τῆς Αἰμιλίας τάφον  
 ἔδωρήσατο τῇ μητρὶ, . . . ἣ συνέβαινε κεχωρίσθαι μὲν  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ Λευκίου πρότερον ἤδη χρόνοις πολλοῖς, τὴν  
 δὲ τοῦ βίου χορηγίαν ἔλλιπεστέραν ἔχειν τῆς κατὰ  
 7 τὴν εὐγένειαν φαντασίας. διὸ τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου  
 ἀνακεχωρηκυίας αὐτῆς ἐκ τῶν ἐπισήμων ἐξόδων, τότε

himself from others in magnanimity and cleanhandedness in money matters. In this respect the part of his life he spent with his real father was excellent support for him, and he had good natural impulses toward the right; but chance too helped him much in carrying out this resolve.

26. The first occasion was the death of the mother of his adoptive father.<sup>74</sup> She was the sister of his own father, Lucius Aemilius, and wife of his grandfather by adoption, the great Scipio. He inherited from her a large fortune and in his treatment of it was to give the first proof of his high principle. This lady whose name was Aemilia, used to display great magnificence whenever she left her house to take part in the ceremonies that women attend, having participated in the fortune of Scipio when he was at the height of his prosperity. For apart from the richness of her own dress and of the decorations of her carriage, all the baskets, cups, and other utensils for the sacrifice were either of gold or silver, and were borne in her train on all such solemn occasions, while the number of maids and men-servants in attendance was correspondingly large. Immediately after Aemilia's funeral all these splendid appointments were given by Scipio to his mother, who had been for many years separated from her husband, and whose means were not sufficient to maintain a state suitable to her rank. Formerly she had kept to her house on the occasion of such functions, and now when a solemn

<sup>74</sup> Aemilia, wife of the great Scipio and mother of Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, who adopted his cousin the son of L. Aemilius Paulus.

κατὰ τύχην οὐσης ἐπιφανοῦς καὶ πανδήμου θυσίας,  
 ἐκπορευομένης αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ τῆς Αἰμιλίας περικοπῇ  
 καὶ χορηγία, καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τῶν ὄρεοκόμων  
 καὶ τοῦ ζεύγους καὶ τῆς ἀπήνης τῆς αὐτῆς ὑπαρχούσης,  
 8 συνέβη τὰς γυναῖκας θεωμένας τὸ γεγονός ἐκπλήττε-  
 σθαι τὴν τοῦ Σκιπίωνος χρηστότητα καὶ μεγαλοψυ-  
 χίαν καὶ πάσας προτεινούσας τὰς χεῖρας εὐχεσθαι  
 9 τῷ προειρημένῳ πολλὰ κάγαθά. τούτα δὲ πανταχῇ  
 μὲν ἂν εἰκότως φαίνοιο καλόν, ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ καὶ θαυ-  
 μαστόν· ἀπλῶς γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὐδενὶ δίδωσι τῶν ἰδίων  
 10 ὑπαρχόντων ἐκὼν οὐδέν. πρώτη μὲν οὖν αὕτη καταρχῇ  
 τῆς ἐπὶ καλοκάγαθια φήμης αὐτῷ συνεκέρησε καὶ  
 μεγάλην ἐποίησε προκοπὴν, ἅτε τοῦ τῶν γυναικῶν  
 γένους καὶ λάλου καὶ κατακοροῦς ὄντος, ἐφ' ὃ τι ἂν  
 ὀρμήσῃ.

27. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ταῖς Σκιπίωνος μὲν τοῦ μεγάλου  
 (xxvii.13) θυγατράσιν, ἀδελφαῖς δὲ τοῦ κατὰ <θέσιν> πατρός,  
 . . . λαβόντος, αὐτὸν ἔδει τὴν ἡμίσειαν ἀποδοῦναι τῆς  
 2 φερνῆς. ὁ γὰρ πατὴρ συνέθετο μὲν ἑκατέρᾳ τῶν θυ-  
 3 γατέρων πεντήκοντα τάλαντα δώσειν, τούτων δὲ τὸ  
 μὲν ἡμισυ παραχρῆμα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἔδωκεν ἢ μή-  
 4 τηρ, τὸ δ' ἡμισυ κατέλειπεν ἀποθνήσκουσα προσ-  
 4 οφειλόμενον, ὅθεν ἔδει τὸν Σκιπίωνα διαλύειν τοῦτο  
 5 τὸ χρέος ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀδελφαῖς. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς  
 Ῥωμαίων νόμους δεόν ἐν τρισὶν ἔτεσιν ἀποδοῦναι τὰ  
 προσοφειλόμενα χρήματα τῆς φερνῆς ταῖς γυναῖξί,  
 6 κατὰ τὸ παρ' ἐκείνοις ἔθος, εὐθὺς ὁ Σκιπίων συν-

public sacrifice happened to take place, and she drove out  
 in all Aemilia's state and splendor, and when in addition  
 the carriage and pair and the muleteers were seen to be  
 the same, all the women who witnessed it were lost in  
 admiration of Scipio's goodness and generosity and, lifting  
 up their hands, prayed that every blessing might be his.  
 Such conduct would naturally be admired anywhere, but  
 in Rome it was a marvel; for absolutely no one there ever  
 gives away anything to anyone if he can help it. This then  
 was the first origin of his reputation for nobility of char-  
 acter, and it advanced rapidly, for women are fond of talk-  
 ing and once they have started a thing never have too  
 much of it.

27. In the next place he had to pay the daughters of the  
 great Scipio, the sisters<sup>75</sup> of his adoptive father, the half of  
 their portion. Their father had agreed to give each of his  
 daughters fifty talents, and their mother had paid the half  
 of this to their husbands at once on their marriage, but left  
 the other half owing on her death.<sup>76</sup> Thus Scipio had to  
 pay this debt to his father's sisters. According to Roman  
 law<sup>77</sup> the part of the dowry still due had to be paid to the  
 ladies in three years, the first installment, of the liquid  
 assets, to be made within ten months according to Ro-  
 man usage. But Scipio at once ordered his banker to pay

<sup>75</sup> The two Corneliae were his aunts by adoption and his  
 natural cousins; see the stemmata in WC 3.504. The younger,  
 married to Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, was the mother of the  
 Gracchi, the famous tribunes of the plebs.

<sup>76</sup> In 163/2.

<sup>77</sup> See M. Kaser, *Das römische Privatrecht* 1, 2nd. ed. (Mu-  
 nich 1971), 335, n. 28.

7 ἔταξε τῷ τραπεζίτῃ τῶν εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ταλάντων  
 ἑκατέρᾳ ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀνταπόδοσιν ἐν τοῖς δέκα  
 μηνσί. τοῦ δὲ Τεβερίου <καὶ> τοῦ Νασικᾶ Σκιπίωνος,  
 οὗτοι γὰρ ἦσαν ἄνδρες τῶν προειρημένων γυναικῶν,  
 ἅμα τῷ διελθεῖν τοὺς δέκα μῆνας προσπορευομένων  
 πρὸς τὸν τραπεζίτην καὶ πυνθανομένων, εἴ τι συνετέ-  
 8 τακτο Σκιπίων αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων, κάκείνον  
 κελεύοντος αὐτοὺς κομίζεσθαι καὶ ποιούντος τὴν δια-  
 γραφὴν ἑκατέρῳ τῶν εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ταλάντων,  
 9 ἀγνοεῖν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν· δεῖν γὰρ αὐτοὺς οὐ πᾶν κατὰ  
 τὸ παρόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τρίτον μέρος κομίζεσθαι κατὰ τοὺς  
 νόμους. τοῦ δὲ φάσκοντος οὕτως αὐτῷ συντεταχέναι  
 10 τὸν Σκιπίωνα, διαπιστήσαντες προήγον ἐπὶ τὸν νεα-  
 νίσκον, διεληφότες ἐκείνον ἀγνοεῖν. καὶ τοῦτ' ἔπασχον  
 οὐκ ἀλόγως· οὐ γὰρ οἶον πεντήκοντα τάλαντα δοῖη τις  
 ἂν ἐν Ῥώμῃ πρὸ τριῶν ἐτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τάλαντον ἐν  
 11 πρὸ τῆς τεταγμένης ἡμέρας· τοιαύτη τις ἐστὶ καὶ τη-  
 λικαυτῆ παρὰ πάντας ἅμα μὲν ἀκρίβεια περὶ τὸ διά-  
 12 φορον, ἅμα δὲ λυσιτέλεια περὶ τὸν χρόνον. οὐ μὴν  
 ἀλλὰ προσπορευθέντων αὐτῶν καὶ πυνθανομένων πῶς  
 τῷ τραπεζίτῃ συντέταχε, τοῦ δ' εἰπόντος ἀποδοῦναι  
 13 πᾶν τὸ χρήμα ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς, ἀγνοεῖν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν,  
 ἅμα τὸ κηδεμονικὸν ἐμφανίζοντες· ἐξεῖναι γὰρ αὐτὸν  
 κατὰ τοὺς νόμους χρῆσθαι τοῖς διαφόροις ἰκανὸν ἐπι-  
 14 χρόνον. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἔφησεν ἀγνοεῖν τούτων οὐδέν,  
 ἀλλὰ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους τὴν ἐκ τῶν νόμων  
 ἀκρίβειαν τηρεῖν, τοῖς δὲ συγγενέσι καὶ φίλοις ἀπλῶς  
 15 χρῆσθαι <καὶ> γενναίως κατὰ δύναμιν. διὸ παραλαμ-

each of them in ten months the whole twenty-five talents. When the ten months had elapsed, and Tiberius Gracchus and Scipio Nasica, who were the husbands of the ladies, applied to the banker and asked him if he had received any orders from Scipio about the money, and when the banker asked them to receive the sum and made out for each of them a transfer of twenty-five talents, they said he was mistaken; for according to law they should not at once receive the whole sum, but only a third of it. But when he told them that these were Scipio's orders, they could not believe it, but went on to call on the young man, under the impression that he was in error. And this was quite natural on their part; for not only would no one in Rome pay fifty talents three years before it was due, but no one would pay one talent before the appointed day; so universal and so extreme is their exactitude about money as well as their desire to profit by every moment of time. However, when they called on Scipio and asked him what orders he had given the banker, and he told them he had ordered him to pay the whole sum to his two sisters, they said he was mistaken, at the same time insisting on their care for his interests, since he had the legal right to use the sum for a considerable time yet. Scipio answered that he was quite aware of that, but that while as regards strangers he insisted on the letter of the law, he behaved as far as he could in an informal and liberal way to his relatives and friends.



16 βάνειν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευε πᾶν τὸ χρῆμα παρὰ τοῦ τρα-  
πέζιτου. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Τεβέριον ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες  
ἐπανῆγον σιωπῶντες, καταπεπληγμένοι μὲν τὴν τοῦ  
Σκιπίωνος μεγαλοψυχίαν, κατεγνώκότες δὲ τῆς αὐτῶν  
μικρολογίας, καίπερ ὄντες οὐδενὸς δεῦτεροι Ῥω-  
μαίων.

(xxxii.14) 28. Μετὰ δ' ἔτη δύο μεταλλάξαντος τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν  
πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Λευκίου καὶ καταλιπόντος κληρονόμους  
τῆς οὐσίας αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Φάβιον, καλόν  
τι καὶ μνήμης ἄξιον ἐποίησεν. ὁ γὰρ Λεύκιος ὑπάρχων  
2 ἄτεκνος διὰ τὸ τοὺς <μὲν> εἰς ἑτέρας οἰκίας ἐκδεδόσθαι,  
τοὺς δ' ἄλλους υἱούς, οὓς ἔτρεφε διαδόχους [καὶ] τοῦ  
γένους, πάντας μετηλλαχέναι, τούτοις ἀπέλιπε τὴν  
3 οὐσίαν. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων θεωρῶν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀδελφὸν  
καταδέεστέρον ὄντα τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἐξεχώρησε πάν-  
των τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, οὔσης τῆς ὅλης τιμῆσεως ὑπὲρ  
ἐξήκοντα τάλαντα, διὰ τὸ μέλλειν οὕτως ἴσον ὑπάρχειν  
αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν τὸν Φάβιον. γενομένου δὲ τού-  
4 του περιβοήτου, προσέθηκεν ἕτερον τούτῳ δεῖγμα τῆς  
5 αὐτοῦ προαιρέσεως ἐμφανέστερον· βουλομένου γὰρ  
τάδελφου μονομαχίας ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ ποιεῖν, οὐ δυναμέ-  
νου δὲ δέξασθαι τὴν δαπάνην διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν  
ἀναλίσκομένων χρημάτων, καὶ ταύτης τὴν ἡμίσειαν  
6 εἰσήνεγκεν ὁ Σκιπίων ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας. ἔστι δ' οὐκ  
ἐλάττων ἢ σύμπασα τριάκοντα τάλαντων, ἂν τις  
7 μεγαλομερῶς ποιῇ. . . . φήμης περὶ αὐτοῦ <δια>δι-  
8 δομένης, μετήλλαξεν ἢ μήτηρ. ὁ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχε  
τοῦ κομίσασθαί <τι> ὧν πρότερον ἐδωρήσατο, περὶ ὧν

He therefore begged them to accept the whole sum from the banker. Gracchus and Nasica on hearing this went away without replying, astounded at Scipio's magnanimity and abashed at their own meanness,<sup>78</sup> although they were second to none in Rome.

28. Two years later, when his own father Aemilius died,<sup>79</sup> and left him and his brother Fabius heirs to his estate, he again acted in a noble manner deserving of mention. Aemilius was childless, as he had given some of his sons to be adopted by other families and those whom he had kept to succeed him were dead, and he therefore left his property to Scipio and Fabius. Scipio, knowing that his brother was by no means well off, gave up<sup>80</sup> the whole inheritance, which was estimated at more than sixty talents, to him in order that Fabius might thus possess a fortune equal to his own. This became widely known, and he now gave an even more conspicuous proof of his generosity. His brother wished to give a gladiatorial show<sup>81</sup> on the occasion of his father's funeral, but was unable to meet the expense, which was very considerable, and Scipio contributed the half of it out of his own fortune. The total expense of such a show amounts to not less than thirty talents if it is done on a generous scale. While the report of this was still fresh, his mother died,<sup>82</sup> and Scipio, far

<sup>78</sup> Not easy to understand despite the explanation of WC 3.509. <sup>79</sup> In 160. <sup>80</sup> This was the first such case recorded: Kaser (27.5), 722, n. 27.

<sup>81</sup> Such funeral games are first recorded for 264; *RE* Gladiatores (Suppl. 3), 760–764, on p.760 (K. Schneider). They probably originated in Etruria.

<sup>82</sup> Papiria died in 160 or 159.

ἀρτίως εἶπον, ὥστε καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν οὐσίαν  
τὴν τῆς μητρὸς ἅπασαν ἀπέδωκε ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς, ἧς  
9 οὐδὲν αὐταῖς προσήκε κατὰ τοὺς νόμους. διὸ πάλιν  
τῶν ἀδελφῶν παραλαβουσῶν τὸν ἐν ταῖς ἐξόδοις  
κόσμον καὶ τὴν περίστασιν τὴν τῆς Αἰμιλίας, πάλιν  
ἐκαινοποιήθη τὸ μεγαλόψυχον καὶ φιλοίκειον τῆς τοῦ  
Σκιπίωνος προαιρέσεως.

10 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν προκατεσκευασμένοις ἐκ τῆς πρώτης  
ἡλικίας Πόπλιος Σκιπίων προήλθε πρὸς τὸ φιλοδοξεῖν  
11 σωφροσύνη καὶ καλοκάγαθία. εἰς ἣν ἴσως ἐξήκοντα  
τάλαντα δαπανήσας, τοσαῦτα γὰρ ἦν προειμένος τῶν  
ιδίων, ὁμολογουμένην ἔσχε τὴν ἐπὶ καλοκάγαθία φή-  
μην, οὐχ οὕτω τῷ πλήθει τῶν χρημάτων τὸ προκείμε-  
νον κατεργασάμενος ὡς τῷ καιρῷ τῆς δόσεως καὶ τῷ  
12 χειρισμῷ τῆς χάριτος. τὴν δὲ σωφροσύνην περιποι-  
ήσατο δαπανήσας μὲν οὐδέν, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ποικίλων  
ἡδονῶν ἀποσχόμενος προσεκέρδανε τὴν σωματικὴν  
13 ὑγίειαν καὶ τὴν εὐεξίαν, ἣτις αὐτῷ παρ' ὅλον τὸν βίον  
παρεπομένη πολλὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ καλὰς ἀμοιβὰς ἀπ-  
έδωκεν ἀνθ' ὧν πρότερον ἀπέσχετο τῶν προχείρων  
ἡδονῶν.

29. Λοιποῦ δ' ὄντος τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν (μέρους)  
(xxxii.15) καὶ κυριωτάτου σχεδὸν ἐν πάσῃ μὲν πολιτείᾳ μάλι-  
στα δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, μεγίστην ἔδει καὶ τὴν ἀσκησιν  
2 περὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ποιήσασθαι. καλὸν μὲν οὖν τι  
πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ἐπιβολὴν αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ τῆς τύχης  
3 ἐγένετο συνέργημα. τῶν γὰρ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ βασιλικῶν  
μεγίστην ποιουμένων σπουδὴν περὶ τὰς κυνηγεσίας

from taking back any of the gifts I mentioned above, gave both them and the remainder of his mother's property to his sisters, who had no legal claim to it. So that again when his sisters had thus come into the processional furniture and all the establishment of Aemilia, the fame of Scipio for magnanimity and family affection was again revived.

Having thus from his earliest years laid the foundations of it, Publius Scipio advanced in his pursuit of this reputation for temperance and nobility of character. By the expenditure of perhaps sixty talents—for that was what he had bestowed from his own property—his reputation for the second of these virtues was firmly established, and he did not attain his purpose so much by the largeness of the sums he gave as by the seasonableness of the gift and the gracious manner in which he conferred it. His reputation for temperance cost him nothing, but by abstaining from many and varied pleasures he gained in addition that bodily health and vigor which he enjoyed for the whole of his life, and which by the many pleasures of which it was the cause amply rewarded him for his former abstention from immediate pleasures.

29. It remained for him to gain a reputation for courage, nearly the most essential virtue in all states and especially so in Rome; and for this the training required of him was correspondingly severe. Chance, however, assisted him also in this determination. For the members of the royal house of Macedon had always been devoted to hunting,<sup>83</sup> and the Macedonians had reserved the most suitable

<sup>83</sup> For hunting in Macedonia see Hatzopoulos (29.6.1), 87-111: "La guerre et la chasse." For Alexander the Great as a hunter Berve, *Alexanderreich* 1.12-13.

καὶ Μακεδόνων ἀνεικότων τοὺς ἐπιτηδαιοτάτους τό-  
 4 πους πρὸς τὴν τῶν θηρίων συναγωγὴν, ταῦτα συνέβη  
 τὰ χωρία τετηρήσθαι μὲν ἐπιμελῶς, καθάπερ καὶ πρό-  
 τερον, πάντα τὸν τοῦ πολέμου χρόνον, κεκνηγῆσθαι  
 <δὲ> μηδέποτε τῶν τεττάρων ἐτῶν διὰ τοὺς περισπα-  
 5 σμούς· ἢ καὶ θηρίων ὑπῆρχε πλήρη παντοδαπῶν. τοῦ  
 δὲ πολέμου λαβόντος κρίσιν, ὁ Δεύκιος καλλίστην  
 ὑπολαμβάνων καὶ τὴν ἄσκησιν καὶ τὴν ψυχαγωγίαν  
 ὑπάρχειν τοῖς νέοις τὴν περὶ τὰ κυνηγέσια, τοὺς τε  
 κυνηγοὺς συνέστησε τοὺς βασιλικοὺς τῷ Σκιπίωνι  
 καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν περὶ τὰ κυνηγέσια παρέδωκε  
 6 τούτῳ πᾶσαν ἧς ἐπιλαβόμενος ὁ προειρημένος καὶ  
 νομίσας οἰοῦναι βασιλεύειν, ἐν τούτῳ κατεγίνετο πάντα  
 τὸν χρόνον, ὅσον ἐπέμεινε τὸ στρατόπεδον μετὰ τὴν  
 7 μάχην ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ. γενομένης δὲ μεγάλης ἐν-  
 θουσιασέως περὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος, ὡς κατὰ τε τὴν  
 ἡλικίαν ἀκμαίως ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ κατὰ φύσιν οἰ-  
 κείως διακειμένου, καθάπερ εὐγενοῦς σκύλακος, ἐπίμο-  
 νον αὐτοῦ συνέβη γενέσθαι τὴν περὶ τὰς κυνηγεσίας  
 8 ὄρμην. διὸ καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἰώμην καὶ  
 προσλαβὼν τὸν τοῦ Πολυβίου πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος  
 ἐνθουσιασμόν, ἐφ' ὅσον οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν νέων περὶ τὰς  
 κρίσεις καὶ τοὺς χαιρετισμοὺς ἐσπούδαζον, κατὰ τὴν  
 ἀγορὰν ποιούμενοι τὴν διατριβήν, καὶ διὰ τούτων  
 9 συνιστάνειν ἑαυτοὺς ἐπειρῶντο τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἐπὶ τοσ-  
 οῦτον ὁ Σκιπίων ἐν ταῖς κυνηγεσίαις ἀναστρεφόμενος  
 καὶ λαμπρὸν αἰεὶ τι ποίων καὶ μνήμης ἄξιον καλλίω  
 10 δόξαν ἐξεφέρετο τῶν ἄλλων. οἷς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἦν

areas for breeding game. These districts during the war had been as carefully preserved as formerly, but had never been hunted for four years owing to the exigencies of the times, so that there was an abundance of big game of every kind. When the war had been brought to a conclusion, Aemilius, thinking that hunting was the best training and amusement for the young men, placed the royal huntsmen at Scipio's disposal, and gave him complete control over the preserves. Scipio, availing himself of this and regarding himself as being nearly in the position of king, spent the whole time that the army remained in Macedonia after the battle of Pydna in this pursuit, and, as he became a very enthusiastic sportsman, being of the right age and physique for such an exercise, like a well-bred dog, this taste of his for hunting became permanent. So that when he arrived in Rome and when he found in Polybius<sup>84</sup> one equally devoted to the chase, all the time that other young men gave up to law affairs and greetings, spending the whole day in the forum and thus trying to court the favor of the populace, Scipio was occupied by the chase, and by his brilliant and memorable exploits, acquired a higher reputation than anyone. For the others could not win

<sup>84</sup> See 14.3.

- 11 ἐπαίνου τυχεῖν, εἰ μὴ βλάψαιέν τινα τῶν πολιτῶν. ὁ γὰρ τῶν κρίσεων τρόπος τοῦτ' ἐπιφέρειν εἴωθεν ὁ δ' ἀπλῶς οὐδένα λυπῶν ἐξεφέρετο τὴν ἐπ' ἀνδρεία δόξαν.
- 12 πάνδημον, ἔργῳ πρὸς λόγον ἀμιλλώμενος. τοιγαροῦν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ τοσοῦτον παρέδραμε τοὺς καθ' αὐτὸν ὅσον οὐδεὶς πω μνημονεύεται Ῥωμαίων, καίπερ τὴν ἐναντίαν ὁδὸν πορευθεὶς ἐν φιλοδοξίᾳ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι πρὸς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθη καὶ νόμιμα.

- (xxxii.16) 30. Ἐγὼ δὲ πλείω πεποίημαι λόγον ὑπὲρ τῆς Σκιπίωνος αἰρέσεως ἐκ τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας, ἠδέϊαν μὲν ὑπολαμβάνων εἶναι τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, ὠφέλιμον δὲ τοῖς νέοις τὴν τοιαύτην ἱστορίαν, μάλιστα δὲ βουλόμενος πίστιν παρασκευάζειν τοῖς λέγεσθαι μέλλουσιν ἐν ταῖς ἐξῆς βύβλοις περὶ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ μήτε διαπορεῖν τοὺς ἀκούοντας διὰ τὸ παράδοξά τινα φανήσεσθαι τῶν συμβαινόντων μετὰ ταῦτα περὶ αὐτόν,
- 3 μὴτ' ἀφαιρουμένους τὰνδρὸς <τὰ> κατὰ λόγον γεγονότα κατορθώματα τῇ τύχῃ προσάπτειν, ἀγνοοῦντας τὰς αἰτίας, ἐξ ὧν ἕκαστα συνέβη γενέσθαι, πλὴν τελῶς ὀλίγων, ἃ δεῖ μόνα προσάπτειν τῇ τύχῃ καὶ ταῦτομάτῳ.
- 4 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἡμεῖς διεληλυθότες κατὰ τὴν παρέκβασιν αὐθις ἐπάνυμεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔκτροπὴν τῆς ὑποκειμένης διηγήσεως.

praise except by injuring some of their fellow citizens, this being the usual consequence of prosecutions<sup>85</sup> in the law courts; but Scipio, without ever vexing a soul, gained this universal reputation for courage, matching his deeds against their words. So that in a short space of time he had outstripped his contemporaries more than is recorded of any other Roman, although the path he pursued to gain glory was quite the opposite of that followed by all others in accordance with Roman usage and custom.

30. I have spoken at such length of the development of Scipio's character from his earliest years partly because I thought the story would be agreeable to those advanced in years and salutary for the young, but chiefly in order to secure credence for all I shall have to tell of him in the books which follow, so that readers may neither hesitate to accept as true anything in his subsequent life that seems astonishing nor depriving the man himself of the credit of his meritorious achievements put them down to chance from ignorance of the true cause of each. There were some few exceptions which we may assign to good luck and chance.

After this long digression I will now resume my regular narrative.

<sup>85</sup> It is well known that young members of the *ordo senatorius* could make a name for themselves by successfully prosecuting distinguished members of their class. See E. Gruen, *Roman Politics and the Criminal Courts*, 149-78 B.C. (Cambridge, MA 1968).

## X. RES GRAECIAE

- (25) (17a) 31. Ὅτι Ῥόδιοι ἄλλα σφίζοντες τὴν τοῦ πολιτεύ-  
ματος προστασίαν βραχὺ παρώλισθον ἐν τούτοις  
τοῖς καιροῖς, ὡς ἐμὴ δόξα· ἐπεδέξαντο γὰρ σίτου μυ-  
ριάδας ὀκτῶ καὶ εἴκοσι παρ' Εὐμένους χάριν τοῦ τὸ  
λογευθὲν ἐκ τούτων δανείζεσθαι, τὸν δὲ τόκου εἰς τοὺς  
μισθοὺς ὑπάρχειν τοῖς παιδευταῖς καὶ διδασκάλοις  
2 τῶν υἱῶν. τούτο δέ, στενοχωρίας μὲν ὑπαρχούσης  
καθάπαξ ἐπὶ τῶν κατ' ἰδίαν βίων, ἴσως ἂν ἐπιδέξαιτό  
τις παρὰ τῶν φίλων ἕνεκα τοῦ μὴ περιδεῖν ἀπαιδευτα  
γενόμενα τὰ τέκνα διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν· εὐκαιρῶν δὲ τῶ  
βίῳ πᾶν ἂν τις ὑπομῆναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν διδόμενον  
τοῖς διδασκάλοις μισθὸν ἐρανίζεσθαι παρὰ τῶν φί-  
3 λων· ὅσῳ δὲ μείζον δεῖ πολιτείαν ἰδιώτου φρονεῖν,  
τοσῶδε καὶ τὸ πρέπον ἐπὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν μᾶλλον ἢ  
τῶν ἰδίων τηρητέον, Ῥοδίοις δὲ καὶ τελέως διὰ τε τὴν  
εὐκαιρίαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ τὴν ἐπίφασιν τῆς  
σεμνότητος.

## XI. RES ASIAE

- (xxxii.3) 32. Ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Προυσίας μὲν ἐξέπεμψεν  
εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην πρεσβευτὰς μετὰ Γαλατῶν τοὺς κατ-  
2 ηγορήσοντας Εὐμένους, οὗτος δὲ πάλιν τὸν ἀδελφὸν

<sup>86</sup> Their relations with Eumenes were for some time strained or even hostile, but the parties were reconciled when Eumenes made this offer in 161/0; see *CAH*, 2nd ed., 8 (1989), 336 (C.

## X. AFFAIRS OF GREECE

*The Rhodians and Eumenes*

31. The Rhodians,<sup>86</sup> while in other respects maintain- 161/0  
ing the dignity of their state, slightly deviated from it at  
this time, in my opinion, by accepting from Eumenes  
280,000 medimni of grain for the purpose of lending out  
the proceeds and applying the interest to the payment of  
the salaries of the tutors and teachers of their sons. Such  
a gift might perhaps be accepted from his friends by a  
private person who found himself in temporary straits in  
order not to allow his children to remain untaught through  
poverty, but the last thing that anyone in affluent circum-  
stances would submit to would be to go a-begging among  
his friends for money to pay teachers. And, as a state  
should have more pride than a private person, more strict  
propriety of conduct should be observed in public transac-  
tions than in private, and especially by the Rhodians owing  
to the wealth of the community and their noted sense of  
dignity.

## XI. AFFAIRS OF ASIA

32. In Asia,<sup>87</sup> Prusias and the Galatians dispatched en-  
voys to Rome to accuse Eumenes, and that prince sent his  
brother Attalus to defend him against the charges. Ariara-

Habicht). Eumenes and Attalus, both styled "king," made a simi-  
lar gift to Delphi in 159/8 (*SIG* 672.89, and 671 B 1).

<sup>87</sup> For Eumenes and Galatia see *RE* Prusias 1114-1115 (C. Habicht) and *RC* 55-61.



Ἄτταλον ἐξαπέστειλεν ἀπολογησόμενον πρὸς τὰς  
 3 διαβολάς. Ἀριαράθης δὲ τῇ τε Ῥώμῃ στέφανον ἀπὸ  
 χρυσῶν μυρίων ἔπεμψε καὶ πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς διασα-  
 φήσουτας τῇ συγκλήτῃ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Τεβέριον ἀπάν-  
 τησιν αὐτοῦ καὶ καθόλου παρακαλέσουσας διασαφεῖν  
 ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν δέωνται, διότι πᾶν ποιήσῃν ἔτοιμός ἐστι  
 Ῥωμαίοις τὸ παραγγελόμενον.

33. Ὅτι τοῦ Μηνοχάρους παραγενηθέντος εἰς τὴν  
 (xxxii.4) Ἀντιόχειαν πρὸς Δημήτριον καὶ διασαφήσαντος τῷ  
 βασιλεῖ τὴν γεγενημένην ἔντευξιν αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς  
 2 περὶ Τεβέριον ἐν τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ, νομίσας ὁ βασιλεὺς  
 ἀναγκαιότατον εἶναι τῶν παρόντων τὸ τοὺς προειρη-  
 3 μένους ἄνδρας ἐξομιλῆσαι καθ' ὅσον οἶός τ' ἦν, πάντα  
 τᾶλλα πάρεργα ποιησάμενος διεπέμπετο πρὸς τού-  
 τους, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εἰς Παμφυλίαν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα  
 4 πάλιν εἰς Ῥόδον, πάντα ποιήσῃν Ῥωμαίοις ἀναδεχό-  
 μενος, ἕως ἐξειργάσατο βασιλεὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν προσαγο-  
 5 ρευθῆναι. καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὁ Τεβέριος εὖνους αὐτῷ δια-  
 φερόντως· διὸ καὶ μεγάλη συνεβάλετο πρὸς τὸ  
 καθικέσθαι καὶ κτήσασθαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτόν.  
 ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος τυχὼν τῆς προειρημένης ἀφορμῆς  
 εὐθέως εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔπεμπε πρεσβευτὰς στέφανόν  
 τε κομίζοντας καὶ τὸν αὐτόχειρα τοῦ Γναίου γεγονότα  
 καὶ σὺν τούτοις τὸν κριτικὸν Ἴσοκράτην.

<sup>88</sup> For the meeting between the king and Gracchus and the abortive marriage project see *CAH*, 2nd ed., 8 (1989), 357 (C. Habicht).

thes<sup>88</sup> sent a "crown" of ten thousand gold pieces to Rome and envoys to inform the senate of his meeting with Tiberius, begging them to point out to him what they required of him, as he was ready to comply with all the commands of the Romans.

#### *Submission of Demetrius*

33. When Menochares<sup>89</sup> reached Demetrius at Antioch and informed him of his interview with Tiberius Gracchus in Cappadocia, the king, thinking that the most urgent thing for the present was to talk over Tiberius as far as he could, treated other matters as of secondary importance and sent messages to Tiberius first to Pamphylia and next to Rhodes, engaging to submit entirely to the Romans, and finally succeeded in getting himself recognized as king by them. Tiberius indeed was very kindly disposed to Demetrius, and therefore contributed much to the success of his efforts and his establishment on the throne. Demetrius having thus gained this advantage, at once sent envoys to Rome conveying a present of a "crown," as well as the murderer<sup>90</sup> of Gnaeus Octavius and the critic Isocrates.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>89</sup> Honored at Delos (*I Delos* 1543). For his mention in *P Herc* 1044, fr. 10, see C. Habicht, *ZPE* 74 (1988), 214: he saved from destruction the city of Laodiceia, where the Roman envoy Cn. Octavius had been murdered (11.1; 12.4).

<sup>90</sup> A certain Leptines (32.2.4).

<sup>91</sup> 32.2.4.

## FRAGMENTA LIBRI XXXII

### I. RES ITALIAE

1. Ὅτι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τούτου ἦκον παρ' Ἀριαράθου  
 (5) πρέσβεις στέφανόν τε κομίζοντας ἀπὸ μυρίων χρυσῶν  
 καὶ διασαφούντες τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως προαίρεσιν, ἣν  
 2 ἔχει πρὸς τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα, . . . καὶ τούτων μάρ-  
 3 τυρας ἐπήγοντο τοὺς περὶ τὸν Τεβέριον. ὧν ἀνθομολο-  
 γησαμένων ἢ σύγκλητος τὸν τε στέφανον ἀπεδέξατο  
 μετὰ μεγάλης χάριτος καὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν παρ' αὐτῆ  
 νομιζομένων δῶρων ἀνταπέστειλε, τὸν τε σκίπωνα καὶ  
 4 τὸν ἐλεφάντινον δίφρον. τούτους μὲν οὖν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔτι  
 5 πρὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἀπέλυσε ἢ σύγκλητος. μετὰ δὲ  
 τούτους Ἀττάλου παραγενθέντος, ἤδη τῶν ὑπάτων  
 τὰς ἀρχὰς εἰληφόταν, καὶ τῶν Γαλατῶν αὐτοῦ κατ-  
 6 ηγορησάντων, οὓς ἀπεστάλκει Προυσίας, <καὶ> πλει-  
 ὄνων ἐτέρων ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας, διακούσασα πάντων ἢ  
 σύγκλητος οὐ μόνον ἀπέλυσε τῶν διαβολῶν τὸν Ἀτ-  
 7 ταλον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσαυξήσασα τοῖς φιλανθρώποις  
 ἐξαπέστειλε καθ' ὅσον γὰρ ἀπηλλοτριώτο τοῦ βασι-  
 λέως καὶ διεφέρετο πρὸς τὸν Εὐμένη, κατὰ τοσοῦτου  
 ἐφιλοποιεῖτο καὶ συνηύξε τὸν Ἀτταλον.

## FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXXII

### I. AFFAIRS OF ITALY

#### *Embassies of Ariarathes and Attalus*

1. At this time arrived the envoys from Ariarathes 160-159  
 bringing the "crown"<sup>1</sup> of ten thousand gold pieces, and B.C.  
 informing the senate of the king's friendly mind toward  
 Rome. They appealed for this to the testimony of Tiberius,  
 and when the latter confirmed what they said, the senate  
 accepted the crown with many thanks and sent in return  
 the most honorable gifts that they are used to bestow, the  
 scepter and the ivory chair. These envoys were let go by  
 the senate at once, before the beginning of winter,<sup>2</sup> and  
 afterward when the consuls had already entered on of-  
 fice, Attalus<sup>3</sup> presented himself. When the Galatians sent  
 by Prusias and several other envoys from Asia accused  
 Attalus, the senate, after giving them all a hearing, not  
 only dismissed the charges, but sent Attalus back loaded  
 with kindnesses. For the greater their estrangement from  
 Eumenes and their hostility to him, the more did they  
 court the friendship of Attalus and strengthen his power.

<sup>1</sup> 31.32.3.

<sup>2</sup> 160/59.

<sup>3</sup> 31.32.2.

*Embassies from Demetrius*

2. Ὅτι ἦκον καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Δημητρίου τοῦ βασιλέως  
 (6) πρέσβεις οἱ περὶ τὸν Μηνοχάρην, στέφανον ἀπὸ μυ-  
 2 ρίων χρυσῶν τῇ Ῥώμῃ κομίζοντες, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸν  
 3 προσενέγκαντα τῷ Γναίῳ τὰς χεῖρας ἄγοντες. ἡ δὲ  
 σύγκλητος ἐπὶ πολὺν μὲν χρόνον διηπόρησε περὶ  
 4 τούτων πῶς δεῖ χρῆσασθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὅμως δὲ  
 προσεδέξατο καὶ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς καὶ τὸν στέφανον  
 5 τοὺς γε μὴν ἀγομένους ἀνθρώπους οὐ προσεδέξατο. καί-  
 6 τοι γε Δημήτριος οὐ μόνον τὸν Λεπτίνην ἀπέστειλε  
 τὸν αὐτόχειρα τοῦ Γναίου γενόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν  
 7 Ἴσοκράτην. οὗτος δ' ἦν μὲν γραμματικὸς τῶν τὰς  
 ἀκροάσεις ποιουμένων, φύσει δ' ὦν λάλος καὶ πέρπε-  
 8 ρος καὶ κατακορῆς προσέκοπτε μὲν καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν,  
 ἅτε καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀλκαῖον ἐν ταῖς Συγκρίσεσιν  
 ἐπιδεξίως σκωπτόντων αὐτὸν καὶ διαχλευαζόντων,  
 9 παραγεινόμενος δ' εἰς τὴν Συρίαν καὶ καταφρονήσας  
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἤρκετο περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιτηδευμά-  
 10 των ποιούμενος τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλὰ καὶ πραγματικὰς  
 ἀποφάσεις ἐξέβαλε, φάσκων δίκαια πεπονθέναι τὸν  
 Γναίου, δεῖν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πρεσβευτὰς ἀπολωλέ-  
 11 ναι πρὸς τὸ μηδὲ τὸν ἀγγελοῦντα καταλειφθῆναι τοῖς  
 Ῥωμαίοις τὸ γεγονός, ἵνα παύσωνται τῶν ὑπερηφάνων  
 12 ἐπιταγμάτων καὶ τῆς ἀνέδην ἐξουσίας. τοιαῦτα μὲν  
 οὖν ῥητολογῶν ἐπέπεσεν εἰς τὴν προειρημένην ἀτυ-  
 χίαν.

3. Ἐγένετο δέ τι περὶ τοὺς προειρημένους ἄξιον  
 (7) 2 μνήμης. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Λεπτίνης μετὰ τὸ προσενεγκέναι  
 Γναίῳ τὰς χεῖρας εὐθέως ἐν τῇ Λαοδικεῖα περιήει

2. Envoys headed by Menochares<sup>4</sup> also came from King Demetrius bringing the "crown" of ten thousand gold pieces dedicated to Rome, and with the assassin of Gnaeus Octavius in their custody. The senate remained long in doubt as to how to deal with the matter, but nevertheless they received the crown and the envoys. They did not, however, take over the men who were in custody. And yet Demetrius had not only sent Leptines, the murderer of Gnaeus, but also Isocrates.<sup>5</sup> This man was one of those grammarians who declaim in public, and being by nature a chatterbox, a braggart, and a bore, had given offense in Greece also, where Alcaeus<sup>6</sup> had very cleverly taken him off and made fun of him in his *Comparisons*, and when he came to Syria and conceived a contempt for the inhabitants, he was not satisfied with holding forth on his own subjects, but gave vent to pronouncements on public affairs, saying that Gnaeus<sup>7</sup> had met with his deserts, and that the other legates should have been killed also, so that not one should be left to report the matter to the Romans, and this would put a stop to their haughty orders and their unrestrained exercise of power. It was by these incautious utterances that he got himself into trouble as I have stated.

3. What happened in regard to these two men is worth mentioning. Leptines, after he had murdered Gnaeus, at once began to go about in Laodicea quite openly, saying

<sup>4</sup> 31.33.1.<sup>5</sup> 31.33.5.<sup>6</sup> Of Messene, the poet; see 18.34.2.<sup>7</sup> Gnaeus Octavius, the murdered envoy.

3 φανερώς, φάσκων δίκαια πεποιηκέναι καὶ μετὰ τῆς  
 τῶν θεῶν γνώμης ταῦτα πεπραχέναι. τοῦ δὲ Δημη-  
 τρίου παραλαβόντος τὰ πράγματα, προσεπορεύετο  
 τῷ βασιλεῖ, παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν μὴ δεδιέναι <διὰ> τὸν  
 Γναῖον φόνον μηδὲ βουλευέσθαι μηδὲν δυσχερὲς  
 4 κατὰ τῶν Λαοδικέων· αὐτὸς γὰρ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην πο-  
 ρεύσεσθαι καὶ διδάξειν τὴν σύγκλητον ὅτι μετὰ τῆς  
 5 τῶν θεῶν γνώμης ταῦτα πεποίηκεν. καὶ πέρασ διὰ τὴν  
 ἔτοιμότητα καὶ προθυμίαν οὗτος μὲν ἄνευ δεσμῶν  
 6 ἤχθη καὶ φυλακῆς, ὁ δ' Ἴσοκράτης ἐμπεισὼν εἰς τὴν  
 αἰτίαν ὀλοσχερῶς παρεξέστη τῇ διανοίᾳ. τοῦ κλοιοῦ  
 δ' αὐτῷ περὶ τὸν τράχηλον περιτεθέντος καὶ τῆς ἀλύ-  
 σεως, σπανίως μὲν καὶ τὴν τροφήν προσίετο, τῆς δὲ  
 7 τοῦ σώματος θεραπείας εἰς τέλος ἀπέστη. διὸ καὶ  
 παρεγένετ' εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην θέαμα θαυμάσιον, εἰς ὃν  
 ἀποβλέψας ἂν τις ὁμολογήσειεν διότι καὶ κατὰ σῶμα  
 καὶ κατὰ ψυχὴν οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἀνθρώπου φοβερώτερον,  
 8 ὅταν ἄπαξ ἀποθηρωθῇ. ἢ τε γὰρ ὄψις ἐκτόπως ἦν  
 αὐτοῦ φοβερὰ καὶ θηριώδης, ὡς ἂν πλείον ἐνιαυτοῦ  
 9 μὴ τὸν ῥύπον, μὴ τοὺς ὄνυχας, μὴ τὰς τρίχας ἀφη-  
 ρημένον, τὰ τε κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐκ <τῆς> τῶν ὁμ-  
 μάτων ἐμφάσεως καὶ κινήσεως τοιαύτην ἐποιεῖτο τὴν  
 φαντασίαν ὥστε τὸν θεασάμενον πρὸς πᾶν ζῶον ἐτοι-  
 10 μότερον ἂν προσελθεῖν ἢ πρὸς ἐκείνον. ὁ δὲ Λεπτίνης  
 μένων ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς προαιρέσεως εἰς τε τὴν σύγ-  
 κλητον ἔτοιμος ἦν εἰσπορεύεσθαι πρὸς τε τοὺς ἐντυγ-  
 χάνοντας ἀπλῶς ἀνθωμολογεῖτο περὶ τῆς πράξεως,  
 καὶ προσδιωρίζετο μηδὲν αὐτῷ δυσχερὲς ἀπαντήσιν

that he had done rightly and with the favor of Heaven. Upon the accession of Demetrius he approached the king and begged him to have no fear owing to the murder of Gnaeus, and to take no vigorous steps against the Laodiceans. "For I, myself," he said, "will go to Rome and convince the senate that I did the deed by the will of the gods." And finally, owing to his readiness and eagerness to go, he was brought to Rome unfettered and without a guard. But Isocrates, as soon as he found himself accused, completely lost his wits, and after the collar with its chain had been put on his neck, seldom took any food and entirely left off taking any care of his person. So that when he arrived in Rome he was a wonderful spectacle, and when one looked at him one could not but confess that there is nothing more terrible in body and soul than a man once he has become absolutely like a beast. For both his aspect was strangely terrifying and beastlike, as for more than a year he had neither washed nor cut his nails and hair; and the disorder of his mind, as was evident from the expression and rolling of his eyes, impressed one with such terror, that anyone who looked at him would have been readier to approach any beast than this man. Leptines, however, maintaining his original attitude, was ready to appear before the senate, and confessed his crime quite simply to those who conversed with him, maintaining at the same time that the Romans would not deal severely

- 11 ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων. καὶ τέλος εὐστόχησε τῆς ἐλπίδος· ἡ γὰρ σύγκλητος, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ὑπολαβούσα διότι δόξει τοῖς πολλοῖς ἔχειν τοῦ φόνου δίκην, ἂν τοὺς αἰτίους παραλαβούσα τιμωρήσῃται, τούτους μὲν οὐ προσεδέξατο μικροῦ δεῖν, ἐτήρει δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν ἀκέραιον, ὥστ' ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν, ὅτε βουλευθείη, χρήσασθαι τοῖς ἐγκλήμασι. διὸ καὶ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἔδωκε τοιαύτην τῷ Δημητρίῳ, διότι τεύξεται τῶν φιλανθρωπῶν, ἂν τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιῇ τῇ συγκλήτῳ κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξουσίαν.
- 14 Ἐκον δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πρέσβεις οἱ περὶ Ξένωνα καὶ Τηλεκλήν ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηγιαμένων, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ Πολυβίου καὶ τοῦ Στρατίου χάριν τοὺς μὲν γὰρ λοιποὺς σχεδὸν ἅπαντας ὁ χρόνος ἤδη καταλάσκει, τοὺς γε δὴ καὶ μνήμης ἀξίους. παρήσαν δ' οἱ πρέσβεις ἐντολὰς ἔχοντες ἀπλῶς ἀξιοματικὰς χάριν τοῦ πρὸς μηδὲν ἀντιφιλονικεῖν τῇ συγκλήτῳ. εἰσπορευθέντων δὲ καὶ ποιησαμένων τοὺς ἀρμόζοντας λόγους, οὐδ' ὡς οὐδὲν ἠνύσθη, τὸ δ' ἐναντίον ἔδοξε τῇ συγκλήτῳ μένειν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποκειμένων.

## II. RES GRAECIAE

- (19) (20) 4. Ὅτι Λυκίσκου τοῦ Αἰτωλοῦ ταραχῶδους ὄντος καὶ θορυβῶδους, ἀναιρεθέντος δὲ τούτου, τὸ ἐξῆς οἱ

<sup>8</sup> This interpretation of the Senate's policy is in line with other similar statements, e.g., that in 31.21.6.

<sup>9</sup> Xenon of Aegium and Telecles of Aegeira came again in 155

with him. And he proved to be quite right. For the senate, taking into consideration, as it seems to me, that the people would think that the murder was avenged, if those guilty of it were given up and punished, scarcely gave a reception to these envoys, but kept the grievance open<sup>8</sup> so as to have the power to make use of the accusations when they wished. The reply, therefore, that they gave to Demetrius was simply this, that he would meet with kindness from them, if his conduct during his reign was satisfactory to the senate.

There also came from Achaea an embassy consisting of Xenon and Telecles<sup>9</sup> to plead in favor of the accused Achaeans<sup>10</sup> and chiefly on behalf of Polybius and Stratius.<sup>11</sup> For most of the rest, at least those of any note, had already paid their debt to time. The envoys came with orders simply to present a request to avoid anything like a dispute with the senate. They appeared before the house and addressed it in suitable language, but even this had no result, the senate deciding on the contrary to leave matters as they were.

## II. AFFAIRS OF GREECE

*Aetolia after the Death of Lyciscus*

4. Lyciscus<sup>12</sup> the Aetolian was a turbulent and noisy man, and after he was slain, the Aetolians from this time

with the same request (33.1.3), Telecles alone once more in 153 (33.3.2). His son Hiero was honored by a decree of Oropus (SIG 675); see n. on 11.5. <sup>10</sup> For an earlier attempt to have them released see 30.32.1-12. <sup>11</sup> 28.6.2.

<sup>12</sup> 28.4.5-9; 30.13.4 and 11.



Αἰτωλοὶ ὁμοφρόνησαν καὶ ὁμονόησαν ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου  
 2 παραχωρήσαντος· τηλικαύτη τίς ἐστίν, ὡς ἔοικε, δύ-  
 ναμις ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσεσιν, ὥστε μὴ μόνον  
 στρατόπεδα καὶ πόλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐθνικὰς συστά-  
 σεις καὶ τὰς ὄλοσχερεῖς διαφορὰς τῆς οἰκουμένης δι-  
 ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ κακίαν ποτὲ μὲν τῶν μεγί-  
 στων κακῶν ποτὲ δὲ τῶν μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν πείραν  
 λαμβάνειν.

3 Ὅτι Λυκίσκος κάκιστος ὢν καλῶς κατέστρεψε τὸν  
 βίον, ὥστε τοὺς πλείστους εἰκότως ὀνειδίζειν τῇ τύχῃ  
 διότι <τὸ> τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄθλον τὴν εὐθανασίαν  
 τοῖς χειρίστοις ἐνίστε περιτίθησιν.

5. Ὅτι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Αἰτωλίαν καλῶς διετέθη, κατ-  
 (20) (21) εσβεσμένης ἐν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐμφυλίου στάσεως μετὰ  
 2 τὸν Λυκίσκου θάνατον, καὶ Μνασίππου τοῦ Κορω-  
 ναίου μεταλλάξαντος τὸν βίον βελτίων ἦν ἢ διάθεσις  
 κατὰ τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀκαρνανίαν  
 3 Χρέμα γεγονότος ἐκποδῶν. σχεδὸν γὰρ ὡσανεὶ καθ-  
 αρμόν τινα συνέβη γενέσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, τῶν ἀλι-  
 4 τηρίων αὐτῆς ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν μεθισταμένων. καὶ γὰρ καὶ  
 τὸν Ἡπειρώτην Χάροπα συνεκύρησε κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυ-  
 5 τὸν τοῦτον ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ μεταλλάξαι τὸν βίον. τὰ δὲ  
 κατὰ τὴν Ἡπειρον ἔτ' ἐν ἀκαταστασίαις ἦν καὶ ταρα-  
 χαῖς, <ὡς κατὰ> τοὺς ἐπάνω χρόνους, διὰ τὴν Χάρο-  
 6 πος ἀμώτητα καὶ παρανομίαν, ἐξ οὗ συνέβη τελεσθῆναι  
 τὸν πρὸς Περσεά πόλεμον. μετὰ <γὰρ> τὸ κατακρῖναι  
 Λεύκιον Ἀνίκιον [καὶ] τοὺς μὲν τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν

forward lived in unison and concord, simply owing to the  
 removal of this one man. So great it seems is the power  
 exercised by men's natures that not only armies and cities,  
 but national groups and in fact all the different peoples  
 which compose the whole world, experience the extremi-  
 ties sometimes of misfortune and sometimes of prosperity,  
 owing to the good or bad character of a single man.

Lyciscus was a thoroughly bad man but he ended his  
 life nobly, so that most people reasonably upbraid For-  
 tune, in that she sometimes grants to the worst men that  
 fine death which is the guerdon due to the good and  
 brave.

#### *Career of Charops in Epirus*

5. The condition of Aetolia at once improved when  
 their civil broils were extinguished after the death of Ly-  
 ciscus, and the state of affairs became much better also in  
 Boeotia, when Mnasippus<sup>13</sup> of Coronea had departed this  
 life, and in Acarnania again the same took place when  
 Chremas<sup>14</sup> was removed. We may almost say, in fact that  
 Greece underwent a sort of purgation by the deaths of  
 these men who had been her curse. For it happened that  
 Charops<sup>15</sup> of Epirus also ended his days at Brundisium  
 during this year. Epirus remained still as in the preceding  
 years in a very unsettled and disturbed state, all due to the  
 cruelty and lawless violence exercised by Charops ever  
 since the end of the war with Perseus. For after Lucius  
 Anicius had condemned some of the notables to death and

157 B.C.

<sup>13</sup> 30.13.4.<sup>14</sup> 28.5.1 and 6; 30.13.4.<sup>15</sup> 27.15.2-3; 30.12.3; 13.4; 32.12.

τοὺς δ' ἀπαγαγεῖν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, ὅσοι καὶ βραχεῖαν  
 7 ὑποψίαν εἶχον, τότε λαβὼν ὁ Χάροψ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ὁ  
 βούλοιοτο πράττειν, οὐκ ἔστι τῶν δεινῶν ὁποῖον οὐκ  
 8 ἐποίει, τὰ μὲν δι' αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ διὰ τῶν φίλων, ἅτε νέος  
 μὲν ἂν αὐτὸς κομιδῇ, συνδεδραμηκότων δὲ πρὸς αὐτῶν  
 τῶν χειρίστων καὶ τῶν εἰκαιοτάτων ἀνθρώπων διὰ τὸν  
 9 ἕκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων νοσφισμὸν. εἶχε δ' οἶον ἐφεδρείαν  
 καὶ ῥοπήν πρὸς τὸ πιστεῦσθαι διότι πράττει κατὰ  
 τινα λόγον ἃ ποιεῖ καὶ μετὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων γνώμης  
 τὴν τε προϋπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ σύστασιν πρὸς τοὺς  
 προειρημένους καὶ πρὸς ταύτη Μύρτωνα πρεσβύτην  
 10 ἄνθρωπον καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Νικάνορα, τᾶλλα τε με-  
 τρίουσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ δοκοῦντας εἶναι Ῥωμαίων φί-  
 λους, οἳ πολὺ τι κεχωρισμένοι τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον  
 ἀπάσης ἀδικίας οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τότε συνεπέδωκαν αὐ-  
 τοὺς εἰς τὸ συνεπισχύειν καὶ κοινωνεῖν ταῖς τοῦ Χά-  
 11 ροπος ἀνομίαις. ἐπειδὴ δ' ὁ προειρημένος τοὺς μὲν  
 κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀναφανδὸν ἐφόνευσε, τοὺς δ' ἐν ταῖς  
 ἰδίαις οἰκίαις, ἐνίοις δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν καὶ κατὰ τὰς  
 ὁδοὺς ἐπαποστέλλων ἐδολοφόνησε καὶ πάντων τῶν  
 τεθνεώτων ἐξηνδραποδίσαστο τοὺς βίους, ἄλλην ἐπεισ-  
 12 ἤγε μηχανήν. προέγραφε γὰρ τοὺς εὐκαιροῦντας τοῖς  
 βίοις φυγάδας, οὐ μόνον ἄνδρας ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκας·  
 13 ἀναταθεὶς δὲ τὸν φόβον τοῦτον ἐχρηματίζειτ' αἰεὶ τοὺς  
 μὲν ἄνδρας δι' ἑαυτοῦ, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας διὰ τῆς μητρὸς  
 14 Φιλώτιδος· πάνυ γὰρ εὐφυῆς ἐγένετο καὶ τοῦτο τὸ  
 πρόσωπον, πρὸς δὲ βίαν καὶ πλείον τι δυνάμενον  
 συνεργεῖν ἢ κατὰ γυναῖκα.

transported to Rome all those who had incurred the least  
 suspicion; Charops, being now at liberty to do what he  
 wished, committed every kind of crime either personally  
 or through his friends, being himself very young, and all  
 the worst and most unprincipled characters having gath-  
 ered about him in the hope of stealing other people's prop-  
 erty. A sort of support and color for the belief that he did  
 all he did for valid reason, and with the approval of Rome,  
 lay in his previous close relations with the Romans and in  
 his association with Myrton, an elderly man and his son  
 Nicanor, both of them men of good character and sup-  
 posed to be friends of the Romans. They had been previ-  
 ously very far from being guilty of any wrong, but for some  
 reason or other they now devoted themselves to the sup-  
 port of Charops and participation in his crimes. After Cha-  
 rops had murdered some citizens openly in the market-  
 place and others in their own houses, after he had sent  
 emissaries to assassinate others at their country seats and  
 on the roads, and had confiscated the property of all who  
 perished, he introduced a new device, which was to pro-  
 scribe and sentence to exile all those who were well off,  
 not only men, but women too. Under the terror of this  
 menace he went on extorting money himself from the men  
 and from the women through his mother Philotis: for she  
 too was a great expert at this, and as regards the applica-  
 tion of force more capable of helping him than one could  
 expect from a woman.

6. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάντας καὶ πάσας ἐξηργυρίσαντο  
 (21) (22) κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, εἰσήγον εἰς τὸν δῆμον οὐδὲν ἦττον  
 2 ἅπαντας τοὺς προγεγραμμένους. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐν  
 τῇ Φοινίκῃ τὰ μὲν διὰ τὸν φόβον, τὰ δὲ καὶ δελεαζό-  
 3 μενοι διὰ τῶν περὶ τὸν Χάροπα κατέκριναν οὐ φυγῆς  
 ἀλλὰ θανάτου πάντας τοὺς προσαγγελλθέντας ὡς ἀλ-  
 4 λότρια φρονούντας Ῥωμαίων. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν πάντες  
 ἔφυγον, ὁ δὲ Χάροψ ὤρμησεν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἔχων  
 5 χρήματα καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Μύρτωνα μεθ' αὐτοῦ, βου-  
 λόμενος ἐπισφραγίσασθαι διὰ τῆς συγκλήτου τὴν  
 6 αὐτοῦ παρανομίαν. ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ κάλλιστον μὲν ἐγένετο  
 δεῖγμα τῆς Ῥωμαίων αἰρέσεως, κάλλιστον δὲ θέαμα  
 7 πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησι τοῖς παρεπιδήμοις, μάλιστα δὲ  
 8 τοῖς ἀνακεκλημένοις· ὁ τε γὰρ Μάρκος, ἀρχιερεὺς ὢν  
 καὶ πρῶτος τῆς συγκλήτου γραφόμενος, ὁ τε Λεύκιος  
 9 ὁ τὸν Περσέα νικήσας, μεγίστην ἔχων πίστιν καὶ δύ-  
 ναμιν, πυνθανόμενοι τὰ πεπραγμένα τῷ Χάροπι κατὰ  
 τὴν Ἠπειρον ἐκώλυσαν εἰς τὰς οἰκίας αὐτῶν εἰσιέναι  
 τὸν Χάροπα. οὗ γενομένου περιβοήτου πάντες ἐγενή-  
 θησαν οἱ παρεπιδημούντες περιχαρεῖς, ἀποδεχόμενοι  
 τὸ μισοπόνηρον τῶν Ῥωμαίων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Χά-  
 ροπος εἰσελθόντος εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον, οὐ συγκα-  
 τέθετο τοῖς ἀξιουμένοις οὐδ' ἐβουλήθη δοῦναι ῥητὴν  
 ἀπόκρισιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀποστελλομένοις πρεσβευταῖς  
 ἔφη δώσειν ἐντολὰς ἐπισκέψασθαι περὶ τῶν γεγονό-  
 των. ὁ δὲ Χάροψ ἀναχωρήσας ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἀπόκρι-

6. After they had stripped them all, both men and women, to the utmost of their power, they nevertheless brought all the proscribed before the popular assembly. The people of Phoenice<sup>16</sup> by a majority, either terrorized or seduced by Charops, condemned all the accused not to exile, but to death as enemies of Rome. So all these people went into exile; but Charops now left at once for Rome,<sup>17</sup> taking plenty of money and Myrton into the bargain with him, wishing to obtain from the senate a sanction for his lawless violence. This was an occasion on which the Romans gave a very fine example of their high principle and a splendid exhibition of it to all the Greeks resident in Rome, and especially to those in detention there. For both Marcus Aemilius Lepidus,<sup>18</sup> who was pontifex maximus and princeps senatus, and Lucius Aemilius Paullus, who had conquered Perseus and possessed the highest credit and influence, when they learned of what Charops had done in Epirus, forbade him to enter their houses; and when this was noised abroad all the Greek residents were filled with joy, recognizing the Roman hatred of iniquity. After this, when Charops appeared before the senate, that body neither accorded his requests nor consented to give him a definite answer, but said that they would give the legates they were sending instructions to inquire into what had taken place. Charops, however, after his departure,

<sup>16</sup> See 3.5.3. At this time the "Epirots of Phoenice" were a regional group (SIG 653, A 4 and B 22), when the Epirote Confederacy was temporarily dissolved; it was restored within a few years (SIG 654, A 4). <sup>17</sup> In spring of 160, when Lucius Aemilius Paullus was still alive.

<sup>18</sup> See 16.34.1-7; 22.3.1-3; 28.1.8.

σιν ἀπεσιώπησε, γράψας δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ὑπόθεσιν ἀρμόζουσαν ἀπήγγειλεν ὡς συννευδοκούντων Ῥωμαίων τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πραττομένοις.

## III. RES ITALIAE

- (17) 7. Ὅτι παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἦκον πρέσβεις . . . καὶ  
 παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν οἱ περὶ Θεαρίδαν καὶ Στέφανον  
 2 ὑπὲρ τῶν Δηλίων. τοῖς γὰρ Δηλίοις δοθείσης ἀποκρί-  
 σεως παρὰ Ῥωμαίων, μετὰ τὸ συγχαρηθῆναι τὴν  
 Δῆλον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, αὐτοῖς μὲν ἐκχωρεῖν ἐκ τῆς  
 3 νήσου, τὰ δ' ὑπάρχοντα κομίζεσθαι, μεταστάντες εἰς  
 Ἀχαιᾶν οἱ Δήλιοι καὶ πολιτογραφηθέντες ἐβούλοντο  
 τὸ δίκαιον ἐκλαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων κατὰ τὸ  
 4 πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς σύμβολον. τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων φα-  
 σκόντων μηδὲν εἶναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τῆς δικαιοδοσίας  
 ταύτης, ἤτοῦντο ῥύσια τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς οἱ Δήλιοι κατὰ  
 5 τῶν Ἀθηναίων. ὑπὲρ ὧν τότε πρεσβεύσαντες ἔλαβον  
 ἀπόκρισιν κυρίας εἶναι τὰς κατὰ τοὺς νόμους γεγενη-  
 μένας παρὰ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς οἰκονομίας περὶ τῶν Δη-  
 λίων.

suppressed this answer, but composed one that suited his own case and published it to make out that the Romans approved of his actions.

## III. AFFAIRS OF ITALY

7. Envoys arrived from Athens and Thearidas<sup>19</sup> and Stephanus from Achaea on behalf of the Delians. For after the cession<sup>20</sup> of Delos to Athens, the Delians, having in response to an embassy been ordered by the Romans to evacuate the island, taking their personal property with them, migrated to Achaea, and becoming Achaean citizens claimed that the procedure in suits brought by them against Athenians should be in accordance with the convention<sup>21</sup> between Athens and the Achaeans. When the Athenians denied that this convention applied in any way to them, the Delians demanded the right to make reprisals on the Athenians. This was the reason of their embassy, and the answer received was that all arrangements about the Delians made by the Achaeans according to their laws should stand.

159-158  
B.C.

<sup>19</sup> P's elder brother, who had not been deported to Rome. He was politically active as early as 182 (*IvO* 46. 6) and as late as 147 (38.10.1; Paus. 7.14.3). He was honored at Epidaurus (*IG* IV 1<sup>2</sup>, 623) and made a dedication at Lycosura in Arcadia (*SIG* 626, n. 2).

<sup>20</sup> 30.20.2-9.

<sup>21</sup> A treaty prescribing the procedure to be followed in settling disputes between citizens of both states (*σύμβολον*, *Rechtshilfevertrag* in German). For the event in question see Habicht (29.21.1), 248-249.

## IV. RES PERGAMI

- (22) 8. Ὅτι Εὐμένης ὁ βασιλεὺς τῇ μὲν σωματικῇ δυνά-  
 (23) μει παραλελυμένος ἦν, τῇ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς λαμπρότητι  
 2 προσανείχεν, ἀνὴρ ἐν μὲν τοῖς πλείστοις οὐδενὸς δεύ-  
 τερος τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν βασιλέων γενόμενος, περὶ δὲ τὰ  
 σπουδαιότατα καὶ κάλλιστα μείζων καὶ λαμπρότερος·  
 3 ὅς γε πρῶτον μὲν παραλαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὴν  
 βασιλείαν συνεσταλμένην τελῶς εἰς ὀλίγα καὶ λιτὰ  
 πολισμάτια ταῖς μεγίσταις τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν δυναστεῶν  
 4 ἐφάμιλλον ἐποίησε τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρχήν, οὐ τύχη τὸ  
 πλεῖον συνεργῶ χρώμενος, οὐδ' ἐκ περιπετείας, ἀλλὰ  
 διὰ τῆς ἀγχινοίας καὶ φιλοπονίας, ἔτι δὲ πράξεως τῆς  
 5 αὐτοῦ. δεύτερον φιλοδοξότατος ἐγενήθη καὶ πλείστας  
 μὲν τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν βασιλέων πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας εὐ-  
 εργέτησε, πλείστους δὲ κατ' ἰδίαν ἀνθρώπους ἐσωμα-  
 6 τοποίησε. τρίτον ἀδελφούς ἔχων τρεῖς καὶ κατὰ τὴν  
 ἡλικίαν καὶ πρᾶξιν ὁμοιοτάτους αὐτῷ,<sup>1</sup> πάντας τού-  
 7 τους συνέσχε πειθαρχοῦντας αὐτῷ καὶ δορυφοροῦντας  
 καὶ σφύζοντας τὸ τῆς βασιλείας ἀξίωμα. τοῦτο δὲ  
 σπανίως εὔροι τις ἂν γεγονός.

<sup>1</sup> Suppl. Buettner-Wobst.

## IV. AFFAIRS OF PERGAMUM

8. King Eumenes<sup>22</sup> had lost all his bodily vigor, but his brilliant mental qualities were unimpaired. He was a man in most matters second to none of the princes his contemporaries, but he was greater and more brilliant than any of them in all that was most important and honorable. In the first place while the kingdom, as he inherited it from his father, was confined to a few wretched little towns, he made his own dominions such as to rival the greatest contemporary powers, not for the most part helped by Fortune or by any revolution of circumstance, but by his own acuteness, industry, and practical ability. Next he was most eager to win reputation, and not only conferred more benefits<sup>23</sup> than any king of his time on Greek cities, but established the fortunes of more individual men. Thirdly, having three brothers not far behind him in age and activity <very similar to him>, he kept them all in the position of his obedient satellites and guardians of the dignity of his throne, a thing for which one can find few parallels.

<sup>22</sup> Obviously from an obituary of the king who died in 158 (WC 3.39 and 526), which is now confirmed by an inscription dated to his 40th year (*TAM* V 486 b). For other obituary notes in P. see 11.2.4-11 (Hasdrubal); 23.12.3-9 (Philopoemen); 23.13.1-2 (Hannibal); 23.14.1-12 (Scipio Africanus maior); 26.1.10-11 (Antiochus IV); 27.17 (Pharmaces I, see n. on 23.9.1).

<sup>23</sup> See the long list of Attalid donations to cities, leagues, and sanctuaries in L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes*, Paris, 1937, 84-87; more recently, e.g., P. Herrmann, *MdAI* (I) 15 (1965), 71-117 (Eumenes and Miletus).



## V. RES ITALIAE

- (18) 9. Ὅτι τῶν Ἰσσιῶν πλεονάκις πεπρεσβευκότων εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ διασαφούντων ὅτι Δελματεῖς τὴν χώραν ἀδικοῦσι καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς μετ' αὐτῶν ταττομένας αὐταὶ δ' εἰσὶν Ἐπέτιον καὶ Τραγύριον ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν Δαορσῶν ἐγκαλοῦντων, ἕξαπέστειλεν ἡ σύγκλητος πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς περὶ Γάιον Φάννιον ἐποπεύσοντας τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα, καὶ μάλιστα τούτων τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Δελματεῖς. οὗτοι δέ, μέχρι μὲν ἕξῃ Πλευράτος, ὑπήκουον ἐκείνῳ μεταλλάξαντος δὲ τούτου τὸν βίον, καὶ διαδεξαμένου Γενθίου τὴν βασιλείαν, ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ τούτου τοῖς ὁμόροις προσεπολέμου καὶ καπεστρέφοντο τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας, ὧν ἔνιοι καὶ φόρους αὐτοῖς ἔφερον· ὁ δὲ φόρος ἦν θρέμματα καὶ σῖτος. καὶ οἱ μὲν περὶ Φάννιον ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐξώρμησαν.
- (24) 10. Ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀριαράθης παρεγένετο εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔτι θερείας οὕσης· τότε δέ, παρειληφότεν ὑπάτων τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν περὶ τὸν Σέξτον Ἰούλιον <καὶ Δεύκιον Ἀνρήλιον>, ἐγένετο περὶ τὰς κατ' ἰδίαν ἐντεύξεις, οἰκείαν ποιούμενος περικοπὴν καὶ φαντασίαν τῆς ὑποκειμένης περιστάσεως. παρήσαν δὲ καὶ παρὰ Δημητρίου πρέσβεις οἱ περὶ τὸν Μιλτιάδην πρὸς

<sup>24</sup> See 2.11.12. Island off the Dalmatian coast, west of Pharos, modern Lissa. *RE* Issa (Suppl. 5), 346–350 (M. Fluss).

<sup>25</sup> The earliest mention of this Illyrian people. *RE* Delmatae 2448–2455 (C. Patsch). J. J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia* (Cambridge, MA

## V. AFFAIRS OF ITALY

*Mission of Fannius to Dalmatia*

9. As the people of Issa<sup>24</sup> had often sent embassies to Rome to complain that the Dalmatians<sup>25</sup> continued to raid their territory and the cities in league with them, Epetium and Tragurium,<sup>26</sup> and as similar accusations had been brought by the Daorsi, the senate dispatched a commission under Gaius Fannius<sup>27</sup> to inquire into the state of Illyria and especially into the conduct of the Dalmatians. The latter, as long as Pleuratus lived, submitted to him, but when he died and Genthius succeeded to the throne,<sup>28</sup> revolting from him they took to making war on the tribes on their borders and reduced the neighboring peoples, some of whom even paid them tribute in the shape of cattle and corn. This was the object of the mission of Fannius.

158–157  
B.C.

10. King Ariarathes<sup>29</sup> arrived in Rome while it was yet summer; and then after the consuls<sup>30</sup> Sextus Julius Caesar and Lucius Aurelius Orestes had entered on office, he occupied himself with private interviews, adapting his dress and retinue to his present distressed circumstances. Miltiades also arrived on a mission from Demetrius, tuned

1969), 30. <sup>26</sup> Modern Trau or Trogir, west of Salona. *RE* Tragurium 2076 (E. Braun); Wilkes (9.1), 30. Envoys from this city went to see Caesar in 56 at Aquileia, as mentioned in the *senatus consultum* from that year, *RDGE* 24, A 6–12.

<sup>27</sup> Gaius Fannius Strabo, cos. 161. *MRR* 1.446.

<sup>28</sup> 28.8.1. <sup>29</sup> He had been driven out of his kingdom by the Seleucid king Demetrius I, who installed Orophernes as king. For the events in Cappadocia, see P. 3.5.2 and *CAH*, 2nd ed., 8 (1989), 350–361 (C. Habicht). <sup>30</sup> Of 157.

4 ἑκατέραν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἤρμοσμένοι καὶ γὰρ πρὸς Ἀριαράθην ἀπολογεῖσθαι καὶ κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ παρ-  
 εσκευάζοντο φιλαπεχθῶς. ἀπεστάλκει δὲ καὶ Ὀροφέρνης πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς περὶ Τιμόθεον καὶ Διογένην,  
 στέφανόν τε κομίζοντας τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ τὴν φιλίαν καὶ  
 5 τὴν συμμαχίαν ἀνανεωσομένους, τὸ δὲ πλείον συγκ-  
 καταστησομένους <πρὸς> τὸν Ἀριαράθην καὶ τὰ μὲν  
 ἀπολογησομένους, τὰ δὲ κατηγορήσοντας. ἐν μὲν οὖν  
 ταῖς κατ' ἰδίαν ἐντεύξεσιν μείζω φαντασίαν εἶλκον οἱ  
 περὶ τὸν Διογένην καὶ Μιλτιάδην, ἅτε καὶ κατὰ τὸ  
 6 πλήθος πρὸς ἓνα συγκρινόμενοι καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην  
 περικοπήν εὐτυχούντες πρὸς ἐπταικότα θεωρούμενοι  
 παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξήγη-  
 7 σιν πολὺ περιῆσαν πᾶν μὲν γὰρ καὶ πρὸς παντοῖα  
 λέγειν ἐθάρρουν, οὐδένα λόγον ποιούμενοι τῆς ἀλη-  
 8 θείας, τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον ἀνυπεύθυνον ἦν, οὐκ ἔχον τὸν  
 ἀπολογησόμενον. λοιπὸν ἀκουεῖ τὸ ψεύδους ἐπικρα-  
 τοῦντος, ἐδόκει σφίσι τὰ πράγματα κατὰ γνώμην χω-  
 ρεῖν.

## VI. RES ASIAE

(25 2) 11. Ὅτι οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ  
 (xxxiii.12a) πλείον ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα προσέθηκάν τοῖς  
 χρήμασιν, οἷς Ὀροφέρνης ὁ τῆς Καππαδοκίας βασι-  
 λεὺς κατάληπτος γενόμενος ἀπώλετο καὶ τῆς βασι-  
 2 (3) λείας ἐξέπεσεν. ἡμεῖς δὲ συγκεφαλαιωσάμενοι τὴν  
 τούτου κάθοδον ἐπανάξομεν τὴν διήγησιν ἐπὶ τὴν εἰ-

to speak in either sense; for he was ready to defend De-  
 metrius against Ariarathes, and to accuse the latter with  
 the utmost bitterness. Orophernes too had sent Timotheus  
 and Diogenes as envoys bringing a crown dedicated to  
 Rome and charged to renew the alliance, but chiefly to  
 confront Ariarathes and both to defend themselves and  
 accuse him. In the private interviews Diogenes and Milti-  
 ades and their colleagues made a greater impression, be-  
 ing many against one, and having also all the outward  
 appearance of a prosperity that contrasted with the king's  
 distress. They also possessed over him a decided advan-  
 tage in the statement of their case; for they had the cour-  
 age to assert anything and to meet every kind of argu-  
 ment, with an utter disregard for truth, and they took no  
 responsibility for what they said, as there was no one to  
 confute them. So that as falsehood had no trouble in gain-  
 ing the day, their business seemed to be going on as they  
 wished.

## VI. AFFAIRS OF ASIA

11. Not a few men from lust for gain have sacrificed  
 even their lives for money, among them Orophernes,<sup>31</sup> the  
 king of Cappadocia, who falling a victim to this passion  
 perished himself and lost his kingdom. Now having given  
 a brief account of the restoration of Ariarathes, I shall  
 resume that regular course of my narrative which I follow

<sup>31</sup> RE Orophernes 1168-1171 (Th. Lenschau). See also  
 33.6.1-9.

- 3 (4) θισμένην τάξιν, ἣν χρώμεθα παρ' ὄλην τὴν πραγμα-  
 4 (5) τείαν· καὶ γὰρ νῦν ὑπερβάντες τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα  
 5 (6) προελάβομεν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τὰ κατὰ τὴν Καπ-  
 6 (7) παδοκίαν διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν εὐλογον ἔχειν διαίρεσιν  
 7 (8) τὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπόπλουν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ πρά-  
 8 (9) γματα κάθοδον [τοῦ] Ἀριαράθου, διόπερ ἐπάνειμι δη-  
 9 (10) λώσων τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα γενόμενα περὶ τοὺς αἰ-  
 10 (11) τοὺς καιροὺς. ἐν οἷς ἴδιον καὶ παράλογον πρᾶγμα  
 11 (12) συνέβη γενέσθαι περὶ τὴν τῶν Ὠρωπίων πόλιν· ὑπὲρ  
 12 (13) οὗ τὰ μὲν ἀναδραμόντες, τὰ δὲ προλαβόντες τοῖς χρό-  
 13 (14) νοῖς συγκεφαλαιωσόμεθα τὴν ὄλην πράξιν, ἵνα μὴ  
 14 (15) κατὰ μέρος αὐτῆς οὕσης οὐδ' ὅλως ἐπιφανοὺς ἐν δι-  
 15 (16) ηρημένους χρόνοις ἀπαγγέλλοντες εὐτελεῖ καὶ ἀσαφῆ  
 16 (17) ποιῶμεν τὴν διήγησιν. ὅταν γὰρ μόλις τὸ ὄλον ἄξιον  
 17 (18) ἐπιστάσεως φαίνεται τοῖς ἀκούουσιν, ἣ πού γε τοῖς  
 18 (19) κατὰ μέρος ἐκ διαστήματος λεγομένοις τὸν νοῦν  
 19 (20) προσέξει τις τῶν φιλομαθούντων;
- 8 (9) Ὅτι κατὰ τὸ πλείστον <έν> ταῖς ἐπιτυχίαις ὡς ἐπί-  
 9 (10) παν ἄνθρωποι συμφρονοῦσι, κατὰ δὲ τὰς ἀποτυχίας  
 10 (11) ἀσχάλλοντες τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐλκώδεις καὶ δύσκολοι  
 11 (12) γίνονται πρὸς τοὺς φίλους· ὃ καὶ περὶ τὸν Ὀροφέρνην  
 12 (13) συνέβη γενέσθαι, τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῷ ἀντυπιπτότων  
 13 (14) καὶ τῷ Θεοτίμῳ καὶ μεμφομένων ἀλλήλοις. . . .
- (1) Ὀροφέρνην . . . ὀλίγον χρόνον Καππαδοκίας βασι-  
 (xxxii.20) λέυσαντα καὶ παριδόντα τὰς πατρίους ἀγωγὰς φησιν  
 ἐν τῇ τριακοστῇ δευτέρῃ εἰσαγαγεῖν τὴν Ἰακὴν καὶ  
 τεχνικὴν ἀσωτίαν.

throughout the whole of this work. For in the present instance, passing over the affairs of Greece, I appended those Asiatic affairs which relate to Cappadocia, as I found no justifiable means of separating the departure of Ariarathes from Italy from his return to power. I will, therefore, go back to the events that happened in Greece at the same date. Among these that which befell the city of Oropus<sup>32</sup> was especially singular and strange. I will give a succinct account of the whole of this matter, partly recurring to the past and partly anticipating the future, so that, since it was a scattered episode and by no means clear, I may not by relating them under different dates produce a narrative both obscure and insignificant. For when the whole seems scarcely worth close attention what chance is there of any student really making it an object of study when it is told disjointedly under different dates?

For the most part when men are successful they get on well together, but when unsuccessful they get vexed with things and become irritable and fretful with their friends. This was the case with Orophernes when things went against him and Theotimus, and each blamed the other.

(From Athen. 10.440B)

Polybius says that Orophernes reigned for a short time in Cappadocia, and despising their traditional customs introduced the refined debauchery of Ionia.

<sup>32</sup> Coastal town at the border of Attica and Boeotia, opposite Eretria. The town was famous for the cult of the hero Amphiar-  
 aus. B. Ch. Petrakos, *Ὁ δῆμος τοῦ Ῥαμνοῦντος* (Athens 1999),  
 vol. 1 Topography, 2 The inscriptions, four hundred in number.  
 For the Oropian affair see C. Habicht (29.21.1), 264-269; Athens  
 and Oropus.

12. Ὅτι Ἄτταλος ὁ ἀδελφὸς Εὐμένους παραλαβὼν  
 (22 8) τὴν ἔξουσίαν πρῶτον ἐξήνεγκε δείγμα τῆς αὐτοῦ προ-  
 (23) αἰρέσεως καὶ πράξεως τὴν Ἀριαράθου καταγωγὴν ἐπὶ  
 τὴν βασιλείαν.

## VII. RES ITALIAE

- (23) 13. Ὅτι τῶν περὶ τὸν Γάιον Φάννιον παραγεγονό-  
 (19) των ἐκ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος καὶ διασαφούντων ὅτι τοσοῦτον  
 ἀπέχουεν οἱ Δελματεῖς τοῦ διορθοῦσθαι τι τῶν ἐγκα-  
 λουμένων πρὸς τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν φάσκοντας ἀδικεῖσθαι  
 συνεχῶς, <ὡς> οὐδὲ λόγον ἐπιδέχοντο καθόλου παρ'  
 αὐτῶν, λέγοντες οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς εἶναι καὶ Ῥωμαίοις κοι-  
 2 νόν· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις διεσάφουν μή<τε> κατάλυμα  
 δοθῆναι σφίσι μήτε παροχὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἵππους,  
 οὓς εἶχον παρ' ἑτέρας πόλεως, ἀφελέσθαι τοὺς Δελ-  
 3 ματεῖς μετὰ βίας αὐτῶν· ἐτοίμους δ' εἶναι καὶ τὰς  
 χεῖρας προσάγειν, εἰ μὴ συνείξαντες τῷ καιρῷ μετὰ  
 4 πολλῆς ἡσυχίας ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ἀπόλυσιν. ὧν ἡ σύγ-  
 κλητος ἀκούσασα μετ' ἐπιστάσεως ἠγανάκτει μὲν καὶ  
 ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Δελματέων ἀπειθείᾳ καὶ σκαιότητι, τὸ δὲ  
 πλείστον ὑπέλαβε τὸν καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι πρὸς  
 τὸ πολεμῆσαι τοῖς προειρημένους διὰ πλείους αἰτίας.  
 5 τὰ τε γὰρ μέρη ταῦτα τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος τὰ νεύοντα πρὸς  
 6 τὸν Ἀδρίαν ἀνεπίσκεπτα τελῶς ἦν αὐτοῖς, ἐξ οὗ Δη-  
 μήτριον τὸν Φάριον ἐξέβαλον, τοὺς τε κατὰ τὴν Ἰτα-  
 λίαν ἀνθρώπους οὐκ ἐβούλοντο κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον  
 7 ἀποθελύνεσθαι διὰ τὴν πολυχρόνιον εἰρήμην· ἔτος

12. The first example given by Attalus<sup>33</sup> of his princi-  
 ples and policy after he succeeded his brother Eumenes  
 was to restore Ariarathes to his kingdom.

## VII. AFFAIRS OF ITALY

*War with Dalmatia Resolved On*

13. On the return of Gaius Fannius<sup>34</sup> and the other 157-156  
 legates from Illyria, they reported that the Dalmatians B.C.  
 were so far from consenting to set right any of the constant  
 abuses complained of by their accusers, that they would  
 not even listen to them, saying they had nothing in com-  
 mon with the Romans. They also reported that they had  
 neither been given a residence nor supplied with food, and  
 that the Dalmatians had even taken away from them by  
 force the horses they had brought from another town, and  
 were ready to lay violent hands on the legates themselves,  
 had they not yielded to circumstances and left quite qui-  
 etly. The senate heard them with much attention and were  
 highly indignant at the stubbornness and rudeness of the  
 Dalmatians; but their chief motive for action was that for  
 several reasons they thought the time a suitable<sup>35</sup> one for  
 making war on the Dalmatians. For to begin with they had  
 never once set foot in those parts of Illyria which face the  
 Adriatic since they expelled Demetrius of Pharos,<sup>36</sup> and  
 next they did not at all wish the Italians to become ef-  
 feminate owing to the long peace, it being now twelve

<sup>33</sup> See n. on 10.1. Attalus was the brother-in-law of Ariara-  
 thes. <sup>34</sup> 9.3. <sup>35</sup> The Romans had no other cause for  
 going to war than expediency. <sup>36</sup> in 219; see 3.19.7-8.

γὰρ ἦν τότε δωδέκατον ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς Περσέα πολέ-  
 8 μου καὶ τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πράξεων. διόπερ ἐβουλεύ-  
 οντο, πόλεμον ἐνστήσάμενοι πρὸς τοὺς προειρημένους  
 ἅμα μὲν ὡσανεὶ καινοποιῆσαι τὰς ὀρμὰς καὶ προθυ-  
 μίας τῶν ἰδίων ὄχλων, ἅμα δὲ καταπληξάμενοι τοὺς  
 9 Ἰλλυριοὺς ἀναγκάσαι πειθαρχεῖν τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν  
 παραγγελλομένοις. αὐταὶ μὲν οὖν ἦσαν αἰτίαι δι' ἃς  
 ἐπολέμησαν Ῥωμαῖοι Δελματεῦσι· τοῖς γε μὴν ἐκτὸς  
 τὸν πόλεμον ἀνεδείκνυον, ὡς διὰ τὴν εἰς τοὺς πρεσβευ-  
 τὰς ὕβριν κεκρικότες πολεμεῖν.

- (26) 14. Κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τούτου παραγεγονότων πρε-  
 (24) σβευτῶν ἐξ Ἠπείρου παρά τε τῶν τὴν Φοινίκην κατε-  
 χόντων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐκπεπτωκότων καὶ ποιησαμέ-  
 2 νων λόγους κατὰ πρόσωπον, ἔδωκεν ἀπόκρισιν αὐτοῖς  
 ἢ σύγκλητος ὅτι δώσει περὶ τούτων ἐντολὰς τοῖς ἀπο-  
 στελλομένοις πρεσβευταῖς εἰς τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα μετὰ  
 Γαίτου Μαρκίου.

## VIII. PRUSIAE BELLUM CUM ATTALO

- (27) 15. Ὅτι Προουσίας μετὰ τὸ νικῆσαι τὸν Ἄτταλον  
 (25) μετὰ τὸ παραλθεῖν πρὸς τὸ Πέργαμον παρασκευασάμε-  
 νος θυσίαν πολυτελεῖ προσήγαγε πρὸς τὸ τέμενος  
 2 τὰσκληπιοῦ, καὶ βουθυτήσας καὶ καλλιερήσας τότε μὲν

<sup>37</sup> The year is now 157/6.

<sup>38</sup> As they had done in 229, before the First Illyrian War (2.8.12-14).

years<sup>37</sup> since the war with Perseus and their campaigns in Macedonia. They, therefore, resolved by undertaking a war against these people both to recreate, as it were, the spirit and zeal of their own troops, and by striking terror into the Illyrians to compel them to obey their behests. These, then, were the reasons why the Romans went to war with the Dalmatians, but to the world at large they gave out that they had decided on war owing to the insult to their ambassadors.<sup>38</sup>

14. At this time envoys came from Epirus both on behalf of those in possession of the city of Phoenice and of the exiled party.<sup>39</sup> After they had spoken in the presence of each other the senate answered that they would give instructions on the subject to the commissioners they were sending to Illyria under Gaius Marcius.<sup>40</sup>

## VIII. THE WAR OF PRUSIAS WITH ATTALUS

15. Prusias<sup>41</sup> on approaching Pergamum after his victory over Attalus prepared a magnificent sacrifice which he brought to the temple of Asclepius, and having offered the oxen and obtained favorable omens, returned on that

<sup>39</sup> The opponents of Charops. Epirus was still divided; see n. on 6.2.

<sup>40</sup> Gaius Marcius Figulus, one of the consuls of 156. MRR 1.467.

<sup>41</sup> For the war of Prusias with Attalus see Habicht's paper of 1956, now in Habicht (30.7.10), 12-21 and 289. He has shown that the order of excerpts for this war ought to be 32.16/33.1/32.15/33.7.12.13, and that there was but one siege, not two, of Pergamum, in 155. His conclusions have universally been accepted.



ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν  
 3 καταστήσας τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τὸ Νικηφόριον τοὺς τε  
 νεῶς ἅπαντας διέφθειρε καὶ τὰ τεμένη τῶν θεῶν, ἐσύλησε  
 δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας καὶ τὰ λίθινα τῶν ἀγαλμάτων.  
 4 τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον καὶ τὸ τὰ σκληπιοῦ βαστάσας ἄγαλμα,  
 περιπτῶς ὑπὸ Φυρομάχου κατεσκευασμένον, ἀπήνεγκεν  
 5 ὡς αὐτόν, ᾧ τῇ πρότερον ἡμέρᾳ κατασπένδων ἐβουθύτει  
 καὶ κατηύχετο, δέόμενος, ὅπερ εἰκός, ἕλεων αὐτῷ γενέ-  
 6 σθαι καὶ εὐμενῆ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον. ἐγὼ δὲ τὰς τοιαύ-  
 τας διαθέσεις καὶ πρότερον εἴρηκά που, περὶ Φιλίπ-  
 7 που ποιούμενος τὸν λόγον, μανικός. τὸ γὰρ ἅμα μὲν  
 θύειν καὶ διὰ τούτων ἐξιλάσκεσθαι τὸ θεῖον, προσ-  
 κυνούντα καὶ λιπαροῦντα τὰς τραπέζας καὶ τοὺς  
 βωμοὺς ἐξάλλως, ὅπερ ὁ Προυσίας εἴθιστο ποιεῖν  
 8 γοιυπετῶν καὶ γυναικιζόμενος, ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα καὶ λυ-  
 μαίνεσθαι καὶ διὰ τῆς τούτων καταφθορᾶς τὴν εἰς τὸ  
 θεῖον ὕβριν διατίθεσθαι, πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἴποι τις εἶναι  
 9 θυμοῦ λυττῶντος ἔργα καὶ ψυχῆς ἐξεστηκίας τῶν  
 λογισμῶν; ὁ καὶ τότε συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι περὶ τὸν  
 Προυσίαν. ἀνδρὸς μὲν γὰρ <ἔργον> οὐδὲν ἐπιτελεσά-  
 10 μενος κατὰ τὰς προσβολάς, ἀγεννῶς δὲ καὶ γυναικο-  
 θύμως χειρίσας καὶ τὰ πρὸς θεοὺς καὶ τὰ πρὸς  
 ἀνθρώπους μετήγαγε τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς Ἐλαίαν  
 καὶ καταπεύρασας τῆς Ἐλαίας καὶ τινὰς προσβολάς

day to his camp; but on the next day directing his army to  
 the Nicephorium,<sup>42</sup> he destroyed all the temples and sac-  
 cred precincts of the gods, and carried off the bronze and  
 marble statues; finally removing and carrying off for him-  
 self the statue of Asclepius, an admirable work of art by  
 Phyromachus,<sup>43</sup> that very Asclepius to whom on the previ-  
 ous day he had offered libations, sacrifices and prayers,  
 supplicating him of course to be in every way merciful and  
 gracious to him. On a previous occasion, in speaking of  
 Philip,<sup>44</sup> I have described such conduct as that of a mad-  
 man. For at one and the same time to sacrifice and thus to  
 sue for the favor of the god, worshipping and adoring most  
 devoutly his tables and altars, as Prusias used to do with  
 genuflections and womanish mummery, and then to spoil  
 these very objects and by their destruction to inflict an  
 outrage on the divinity, cannot be otherwise described  
 than as the act of a man frenzied by passion and with  
 his mind unhinged—as was actually the case with Prusias  
 then. For after doing nothing worthy of a man in his at-  
 tacks, but behaving in a cowardly and womanish man-  
 ner both to gods and men, he marched his army back to  
 Elaea.<sup>45</sup> After making an attempt on Elaea and delivering

<sup>42</sup> 16.1.6 and 18.2.2.

<sup>43</sup> On the famous sculptor and his statue of Asclepius see the collection of essays in B. Andreae (ed.), *Phyromachos-Probleme* (Mainz 1990).

<sup>44</sup> 16.1.1-9.

<sup>45</sup> The decree SIG 694, concerning a treaty with Rome from 129 and long believed to be a decree of Pergamum, is in fact, a decree of Elaea, as L. Robert, *BCH* 198 (1984), 489-496 has shown.

ποιησάμενος, οὐδὲν δὲ πράττειν δυνάμενος διὰ τὸ  
 Σώσανδρον τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως σύντροφον εἰσεληλυθότα  
 μετὰ στρατιωτῶν εἶργειν αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐπιβολάς, ἀπῆρεν  
 11 ἐπὶ Θυατείρων. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπάνοδον τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος  
 12 ἱερὸν τῆς ἐν Ἱερᾷ κώμη μετὰ βίας ἐσύλησεν. ὁμοίως  
 καὶ τὸ τοῦ Κυννείου Ἀπόλλωνος τέμενος τὸ περὶ  
 Τῆμνον οὐ μόνον ἐσύλησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ πυρὶ διέ-  
 13 φθειρεν. καὶ ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν  
 οἰκίαν, οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς  
 14 πεπολεμηκώς. ἐταλαιπώρησε δὲ καὶ τὸ πεζικὸν στρα-  
 τευμα τῷ Προυσίᾳ κατὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδον ὑπὸ τε τοῦ  
 λιμοῦ καὶ τῆς δυσεντερίας, ὥστε παρὰ πόδας ἐκ θεο-  
 πέμπτου δοκεῖν ἀπηντῆσθαι μῆμιν αὐτῷ διὰ ταύτας  
 τὰς αἰτίας. . . .

(28) 16. Ὅτι Ἄτταλος ἤττηθεις παρὰ Προυσίου, προχει-  
 ρισάμενος Ἀθήναιον τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐξαπέστειλε μετὰ  
 τῶν περὶ τὸν Πόπλιον, διασαφῆσοντα τῇ συγκλήτῳ  
 2 τὸ γεγονός. οἱ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, τοῦ μὲν Ἀνδρονίκου  
 παραγενομένου καὶ διασαφούντος τὰ περὶ τὴν πρώ-

<sup>46</sup> Syntrophos of Attalus II, married to a daughter of Attalus' cousin Athenaeus. In 170 he was with king Eumenes and the army in Larisa and was honored by that city with citizenship (*Tyche* 2 [1987], 27, n. 27). In 158 Attalus named him second after prince Athenaeus among the members of his Council (*RC* 61, 3–4). He was priest of Dionysus *Kathegemon* and when he died in 142, the king transferred this priesthood to his son Athenaeus (*RC* 65). See also the letter of Attalus III, *RC* 66, of 135, and the stemma of the family in WC 3.538, furthermore I. Savalli-Lestrade, *Les*

a few assaults, which were quite ineffectual, as Sosander<sup>46</sup> the king's foster brother had entered the town with some troops and frustrated his attempts, he withdrew to Thyateira,<sup>47</sup> attacking and despoiling on his retreat the temple of Artemis at Hiera Come.<sup>48</sup> Similarly he not only despoiled, but burned to the ground the sanctuary of Apollo Cynneius near Temnus,<sup>49</sup> and after those exploits returned to his own country, having waged war not only on men but on gods. His infantry also suffered much on the retreat from hunger and dysentery, so that it seemed that the vengeance of heaven visited him instantly for these misdeeds.

16. Attalus, when defeated<sup>50</sup> by Prusias appointed his brother Athenaeus as his envoy and sent him off together with Publius Lentulus to inform the senate of the fact. For in Rome, when Andronicus<sup>51</sup> arrived and informed them

*Philoi Royaux dans l'Asie Hellénistique* (Geneva 1998), 139, no. 24 and 153, no. 46.

<sup>47</sup> See 16.1.7. The route followed by Prusias on his return from Pergamum in 155 was reconstructed by Robert (32.8.5), 111–118. <sup>48</sup> See 16.1.8. *RC* 68, believed to be a letter of Attalus III, comes, in fact, from a Roman Emperor, as L. Robert was the first to suggest (*Rev. Ét. Anc.* 36 [1934], 525). This was confirmed and Claudius as the author suggested by K. Rigsby, *Asia Minor Studien* 17 (1994), 77–83, and briefly in *Asylia. Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World* (Berkeley 1996), 440, no. 216.

<sup>49</sup> On Temnus and the sanctuary of Apollo Kynneios see L. Robert (32.8.5), 90–110, and P. Herrmann, *MDAI* (I) 29 (1979), 239–271.

<sup>50</sup> In summer 156, as this excerpt precedes 32.15 (see 15.1).

<sup>51</sup> Diplomat in the service of Attalus II, also known from Ap-  
 pianus and from the inscription *OGI* 323, found at Pergamum. Savalli-Lestrade (15.10), 143–144, no. 31.

- 3 την ἔφοδον τῶν πολεμίων, οὐ προσεῖχον, ἀλλ' ὑπενόουν  
τὸν Ἄτταλον βουλόμενον αὐτὸν ἐπιβαλεῖν τῷ Προυσίᾳ  
τὰς χεῖρας προφάσεις προκατασκευάζεσθαι καὶ προ-  
4 καταλαμβάνειν διαβολαῖς· ἅμα δὲ τοῦ τε Νικομήδους  
καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀντίφιλον, τῶν παρὰ τοῦ Προυσίου  
πρεσβευτῶν, διαμαρτυρομένων μηδὲν εἶναι τούτων, ἔτι  
μᾶλλον ἠπιστεύτο τὰ λεγόμενα περὶ τοῦ Προυσίου.  
5 μετὰ δὲ τινα χρόνον ἐπιδιασαφουμένης τῆς πραγμα-  
τείας, ἀμφιδοξήσασα περὶ τῶν προσπιπτόντων ἢ  
σύγκλητος ἐξαπέστειλε πρεσβευτὰς Λεύκιον Ἀπολήμιον  
καὶ Γάιον Πετρώνιον τοὺς ἐπισκεψομένους πῶς ἔχει  
τὰ κατὰ τοὺς προειρημένους βασιλεῖς.

of the first attack by the enemy, they paid no attention to him, but suspected that Attalus, intending himself to attack Prusias, was preparing a pretext and anticipating the protest of Prusias by bringing false accusations against him. And as Nicomedes<sup>52</sup> and the envoy of Prusias Antiphilus assured them that there was no truth in it, they were still less inclined to believe this report about Prusias. But after a short time, when further information to the same effect arrived, the senate, in doubt what to believe, dispatched as legates<sup>53</sup> Lucius Apuleius and Gaius Petronius to inquire into the relations of the two kings.

<sup>52</sup> Son of Prusias II and Apame, in 149 successor to his father as king of Bithynia.

<sup>53</sup> Publius Cornelius Lentulus and Lucius Appuleius (this is the correct spelling) Saturninus. *MRR* I.448.

## FRAGMENTA LIBRI XXXIII

### I. RES ITALIAE

1. Ὅτι ἡ σύγκλητος ἔτι κατὰ χειμῶνα διακούσασα τῶν περὶ τὸν Πόπλιον Λέντλον ὑπὲρ τῶν κατὰ Προυσίαν διὰ τὸ νεωστὶ παραγεγονέναι τούτους ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, εἰσεκαλέσατο καὶ τὸν Ἀθήναιον τὸν Ἀττάλου  
 2 τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφόν. οὐ μέντοι πολλῶν προσεδε-  
 ήθη λόγων, ἀλλ' εὐθέως καταστήσασα πρεσβευτὰς  
 συνεξαπέστειλε τῷ προειρημένῳ τοὺς περὶ Γάιον  
 Κλαύδιον Κέντωνα καὶ Λεύκιον Ὀρτήσιον καὶ Γάιον  
 Αὔρογκολήμιον, ἐντολὰς δοῦσα κωλύειν τὸν Προυσίαν  
 Ἀττάλῳ πολεμεῖν.

3 Παρεγένοντο δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πρέσβεις  
 εἰς Ῥώμην ὑπὲρ τῶν κατεχομένων οἱ περὶ Ξένωνα τὸν  
 4 Αἰγία καὶ Τηλεκλέα τὸν Αἰγειράτην. ὧν ποιησαμέ-  
 νων λόγους ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ, καὶ τοῦ διαβουλίου προ-  
 τεθέντος, παρ' ὀλίγον ἦλθον ἀπολύσαι τοὺς κατηγι-  
 5 ἀμένους οἱ τοῦ συνεδρίου. τὴν δ' αἰτίαν ἔσχε τοῦ  
 μὴ συντελεσθῆναι τὴν ἀπόλυσιν Αὔλος Ποστόμιος,  
 στρατηγὸς ὧν ἐξαπέλεκτος καὶ βραβεύων τὸ διαβού-

<sup>1</sup> MRR 1.449.

<sup>2</sup> 32.3.14.

## FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXXIII

### I. AFFAIRS OF ITALY

#### *The War Between Prusias and Attalus*

1. The senate, while it was still winter, had heard what 156-155  
 Publius Lentulus had to report about King Prusias, as this B.C.  
 legate had just returned from Asia, and they now sum-  
 moned also Athenaeus, the brother of King Attalus. They  
 did not, however, require many words from him, but at  
 once appointed Gaius Claudius Cento, Lucius Horten-  
 sius, and Gaius Aurunculeius their legates<sup>1</sup> and sent them  
 off in company with Athenaeus with orders to prevent  
 Prusias from making war on Attalus.

#### *Embassy on Behalf of the Achaean Detainees*

There came also to Rome an embassy from the Achae-  
 ans consisting of Xenon of Aegium and Telecles of Ae-  
 geira<sup>2</sup> on behalf of those in detention. After they had spo-  
 ken in the senate, when the debate was opened, the senate  
 came very near setting the suspects free. That their lib-  
 eration was not carried out was the fault of Aulus Postu-  
 mius Albinus,<sup>3</sup> at this time praetor and as such presiding

<sup>3</sup> Aulus Postumius Albinus was *praetor urbanus* in 155 and presided during the absence of both consuls.

- 6 λιον. τριῶν γὰρ οὐσῶν γνωμῶν, μιᾶς μὲν τῆς ἀφιέναι  
καλενούσης, ἑτέρας δὲ τῆς ἐναντίας ταύτης, τρίτης δὲ  
τῆς ἀπολύειν μὲν, ἐπισχέειν δὲ κατὰ τὸ παρὸν, καὶ  
7 πλείστων δ' ὄντων τῶν ἀφιέντων, παρελθὼν τὴν μίαν  
γνώμην διηρώτα τὰς δύο καθολικῶς, οἷς δοκεῖ τοὺς  
8 ἀνακεκλημένους ἀφιέναι καὶ τοῦναντίον. λοιπὸν οἱ  
κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ἐπέχειν κελεύοντες προσέβησαν πρὸς  
τοὺς μὴ φάσκοντας δεῖν ἀπολύειν, καὶ πλείους ἐγενή-  
θησαν τῶν ἀφιέντων. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τούτων ἦν.

2. Animadversa tripartita varietas est in tribus philoso-  
phis, quos Athenienses Romam ad senatum legaverant  
inpetratum uti multam remitteret, quam fecerat is propter  
Oropi vastationem. Ea multa fuerat talentum fere quin-  
gentum. Erant isti philosophi Carneades ex Academia,  
Diogenes Stoicus, Critolaus Peripateticus. Et in senatum  
quidem introducti interprete usi sunt C. Acilio senatore;  
sed ante ipsi seorsum quisque ostentandi gratia magno  
conventu hominum dissertaverunt. Tum admirationi  
fuisse aiunt Rutilius et Polybius philosophorum trium sui

<sup>4</sup> It is not very clear what this third motion (which was not put to the vote) really meant. As a majority favored release, ἀφιέναι and ἀπολύειν must both mean release and differ only in that the third motion opted for it to become effective only after some delay.

<sup>5</sup> It was imposed by the Achaean city of Sicyon.

<sup>6</sup> See n. on 32.11.5. Athens sent the heads of the three major philosophical schools, all foreigners, to plead for a remission. The fine was reduced to one hundred talents. See the complete evidence for this famous affair collected in G. Garbarino, *Rome e la filosofia greca dalle origini alla fine del II secolo a. C.*, 1 (Turin

over the senate. For while there were three resolutions, one for their release, another opposed to this, and a third<sup>4</sup> for postponement of the release for the present, the majority being in favor of release, Aulus passing over the third alternative put the question in general terms: "Who is for releasing the men and who against it?" Consequently those who were for delay joined those who were for absolute refusal, and thus gave a majority against release. Such were these events.

#### *Embassy from Athens*

(From Aulus Gellius, *N.A.* 6 (7). 14. 8–10)

2. A difference was noticed in the three philosophers whom the Athenians sent to Rome as their envoys to the senate, to obtain the remission of the fine<sup>5</sup> imposed by the latter for the pillage of Oropus.<sup>6</sup> It was a fine of about five hundred talents. The philosophers were Carneades of the Academy, Diogenes the Stoic, and Critolaus the Peripatetic. When introduced into the senate they employed the senator Gaius Acilius<sup>7</sup> as their interpreter, but each of them had previously spoken before huge crowds to exhibit their skill. Rutilius<sup>8</sup> and Polybius<sup>9</sup> tell us that in each phi-

1973), 80–86. For the effects of the event on Roman society, see A. E. Astin, *Cato the Censor* (Oxford 1978), 174–178.

<sup>7</sup> Gaius Acilius, the historian. For what survives of his work see *FGrH* 813.

<sup>8</sup> Publius Rutilius Rufus, consul 105, legate to Quintus Mucius Scaevola, the proconsul of Asia in the nineties. He also was a historian, *FGrH* 815, and will have read P.'s *Histories*.

<sup>9</sup> He may have attended one or more of these public lectures.



cuiusque generis facundiam. "Violenta," inquit, "et rapida Carneades dicebat, scita et teretia Critolaus, modesta Diogenes et sobria."

3. Ὅτι τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης πρεσβευτῶν ἀνακαμψάντων  
(2) εἰς τὴν Ἀχαιᾶν καὶ διασαφούντων ὅτι παρ' ὀλίγον ἔλθοι  
τὰ πράγματα τοῦ πάντας ἐπανελθεῖν τοὺς κατεχομέ-  
2 νους, εὐέλπιδες γενόμενοι καὶ μετεωρισθέντες οἱ πολλοὶ  
πάλιν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔπεμπον Τηλεκλέα <καὶ> τὸν Μεγαλο-  
πολίτην Ἀναξίδαμον. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Πελοπόννησον  
ἐπὶ τούτων ἦν.

## II. RES RHODIORUM

4. Ὅτι Ἀριστοκράτης ὁ τῶν Ῥοδίων στρατηγὸς ἦν  
μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἀξιωματικὸς καὶ καταπληκτι-  
2 κός. διόπερ ἐκ πάντων τούτων ὑπέλαβον οἱ Ῥόδιοι τε-  
λέως ἀξιόχρεων ἡγεμόνα καὶ προστάτην ἔχειν τοῦ πο-  
3 λέμου. διεψεύσθησαν μέντοι γε τῶν ἐλπίδων· ἐλθὼν γὰρ  
εἰς τὰς πράξεις ὡς περ εἰς πῦρ, καθάπερ τὰ κίβδηλα τῶν  
4 νομισμάτων, ἀλλοίως ἐφάνη. τοῦτο δ' ἐγένετο δῆλον ἐπ'  
αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων.

<sup>10</sup> He had come to Rome in an earlier mission (30.30.1 and 32.1) and now replaced Xenon.

<sup>11</sup> The excerpt 32.15, continuing the report of 1.2, should follow here (see 32.15.1).

osopher a different kind of eloquence was admired. "Carneades," they say, "spoke vehemently and rapidly, Critolaus with skill and smoothness, and Diogenes with sobriety and modesty."

### *The Achaean Exiles*

3. When the envoys from Rome returned to Achaia and reported that all those in detention had been very nearly returning, the people became hopeful and elated and at once sent off Telecles and Anaxidamus<sup>10</sup> of Megalopolis on another embassy. Such was the state of matters in Peloponnesus.<sup>11</sup>

## II. AFFAIRS OF RHODES

4. Aristocrates,<sup>12</sup> the Rhodian general, was dignified and imposing in appearance, and from all this the Rhodians imagined that they had a perfectly capable commander and director of the war. But they were deceived in their hopes. For when he came to be tested by action, like base coin tried by fire, he turned out quite otherwise, as was shown by actual facts.

<sup>12</sup> Not securely identified, but certainly admiral (*nauarchus*). The fragment refers to the Second Cretan War of Rhodes, for which see K. Buraselis, *Kos between Hellenism and Rome* (Philadelphia 2000), 5-13. Diod. Sic. narrates a defeat of the Rhodian fleet by small vessels of the enemy, to which P.'s words may refer.

## III. RES CYPRI

5. . . . προτείνειν αὐτῷ πεντακόσια τάλαντα παραχωρήσαντι τῆς Κύπρου, καὶ τᾶλλα συνακολουθήσοντα λυσιτελῆ καὶ τίμια παρ' αὐτῷ συνεπιδεικνύειν, προσενεγκαμένῳ τὴν χρείαν αὐτήν.

2a Τῷ δὲ Πτολεμαίῳ γενομένης προσαγγελίας παρεῖναι τὸν Ἀρχίαν . . .

2 Ὅτι Ἀρχίας βουλόμενος τὴν Κύπρον προδοῦναι τῷ Δημητρίῳ καὶ φωραθεὶς καὶ εἰς κρίσιν ἀχθεὶς καλωδίῳ τῶν ἐκ τῆς αὐλαίας παραπεπετασμένων ἑαυτὸν ἀπεκρέμασεν. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι διὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας κενοὶ κενὰ  
3  
4 λογίζονται κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος δόξας πεντακόσια τάλαντα προσλήψεσθαι καὶ τὰ προὔπαρχοντα χρήματα καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα προσπέβαλεν.

## IV. RES ARIARATHIS

(12) 2 6. Ὅτι κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους καὶ Πριηνεῖς ἐπέπεσον παραλόγῳ συμφορᾷ. δεξάμενοι γὰρ παρ' Ὀροφέρνηους, ὅτ' ἐκράτησε τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐν παραθήκῃ τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀπητοῦντο κατὰ τοὺς ἐξῆς χρό-

<sup>13</sup> King Demetrius I offered a bribe to the Ptolemaic governor of Cyprus, Archias, if he betrayed the island to him. See for the event and its date *CAH*, 2nd ed., 8 (1989), 361 (C. Habicht), also for similar attempts of the Seleucids to gain control of the island.

## III. AFFAIRS OF CYPRUS

(Suda)

5. Demetrius<sup>13</sup> offered Archias five hundred talents if he gave up Cyprus, and pointed out to him the other advantages and honors that would accrue to him if he rendered him this service

(Suda)

When news reached Ptolemy that Archias had arrived . . .

(Cf. Suda)

Archias purposed to betray Cyprus to Demetrius, but when detected and prosecuted he hanged himself with a rope taken from the curtain hangings. So true is it that owing to covetousness "vain heads make vain plans,"<sup>14</sup> as the proverb says. For thinking to gain five hundred talents he lost both all the money he had and his life into the bargain.

## IV. AFFAIRS OF ARIARATHES

6. At about this time an unexpected disaster overtook the people of Priene.<sup>15</sup> For having received from Orophernes when he was in power four hundred talents as a deposit, they were asked subsequently to return it by Ari-

<sup>14</sup> P. repeats this in 38.16.11. See (in slightly different form) *Paroemiogr.* 1.270; 2.119.475.

<sup>15</sup> For the city's connection with Orophernes, see the *senatus consultum de Priensibus et Ariarathe*, *RDGE* 6. A fragmentary letter of Orophernes to Priene from ca. 157 survives: *RC* 63. See also *RE* Priene 1188 (G. Kleiner).

- 3 νους ὑπ' Ἀριαράθου, ὅτε μετέλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν. οἱ μὲν  
οὖν Πριηνεῖς, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ὀρθῶς ἴσταντο, φάσκου-  
τες μηδενὶ προήσεσθαι τὰ χρήματα ζώντος Ὀροφέρ-  
4 νους πλὴν αὐτῷ τῷ παραθεμένῳ· ὁ δ' Ἀριαράθης  
πολλοῖς ἐδόκει παραπίπτειν τοῦ καθήκοντος, ἀπαιτῶν  
5 τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν παραθήκην. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἕως μὲν τοῦ-  
του τάχ' ἂν τις ἔχοι συγγνώμην αὐτῷ καταπειράζοντι  
τῷ δοκεῖν τῆς ἐκείνου βασιλείας εἶναι τὰ χρήματα· τὸ  
δὲ καὶ πορρωτέρω προβαίνειν ὀργῆς καὶ φιλοτιμίας  
6 οὐδαμῶς ἐδόκει γενέσθαι κατὰ λόγον. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς  
νῦν λεγομένους καιροὺς ἐπαποστείλας ἐλεηλάτει τὴν  
χώραν τῶν Πριηνέων, συνεργούντος Ἀττάλου καὶ  
παροξύνοντος αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν διαφοράν, ἣν εἶχε  
7 πρὸς τοὺς Πριηνεῖς. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ σωματῶν καὶ  
θρεμμάτων ἀπολομένων καὶ πρὸς τῇ πόλει πτωμάτων  
γενομένων, ἀμύνασθαι μὲν οὐχ οἰοί τ' ἦσαν οἱ Πρι-  
ηνεῖς, ἐπρέσβευον δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ῥοδίου, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ'  
8 ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους κατέφυγον. οἱ δ' οὐ προσείχον τοῖς λε-  
γομένοις. καὶ Πριηνεῖς μὲν μεγάλας ἔχοντες ἐλπίδας  
ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν χρημάτων τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐνεκύρη-  
9 σαν· τῷ μὲν γὰρ Ὀροφέρνῃ τὴν παραθήκην ἀπέδωκαν,  
ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀριαράθου ἱκαναῖς τισι βλά-  
βαις περιέπεσον ἀδίκως διὰ τὴν παραθήκην.

arathes when he recovered his kingdom. Now the position of the Prienians in my opinion was correct, when they refused to give up the money to anyone except the depositor during the lifetime of Orophernes, and Ariarathes was thought by many to have exceeded his rights in demanding the return of a deposit not his own. One might, however, pardon him to a certain extent for this attempt, on the ground that the money as he thought belonged to his kingdom; but his conduct in proceeding to extreme measures dictated by anger and determination to enforce his will cannot, I think, be justified. At the time I am speaking of he sent a force to devastate the territory of Priene, helped and encouraged by Attalus owing to that prince's own quarrel<sup>16</sup> with Priene. After the loss of many slaves and cattle and when some buildings were laid in ruins close to the city, the Prienians proved unable to defend themselves, and having in the first place sent an embassy to Rhodes appealed to the Romans, who paid no attention to their demand. The Prienians had based high hopes on their command of so large a sum but the result was just the opposite. For they paid the deposit back to Orophernes, and unjustly suffered considerable damage at the hands of King Ariarathes owing to this same deposit.

<sup>16</sup> It is not known what that was.

## V. RES ITALIAE

- (9) 7. Ὅτι τῶν περὶ τὸν Ὀρτήσιον καὶ Αὐρουγκολήιον  
 (6) παραγεγονότων ἐκ τοῦ Περγάμον καὶ διασαφούντων  
 τὴν τε τοῦ Προυσίου καταφρόνησιν τῶν τῆς συγκλή-  
 2 του παραγγελμάτων, καὶ διότι παρασπονδήσας καὶ  
 συγκλείσας εἰς τὸ Πέργαμον αὐτούς τε καὶ τοὺς περὶ  
 3 τὸν Ἀτταλον πάσαν βίαν ἐνεδείξατο καὶ παρανομίαν,  
 ἢ σύγκλητος ὀργισθεῖσα καὶ βαρέως φέρουσα τὸ  
 γεγονός ἐξ αὐτῆς δέκα πρεσβευτὰς κατέστησε τοὺς  
 περὶ Δεύκιον Ἀνίκιον καὶ Γάιον Φάννιον καὶ Κόιντον  
 4 Φάβιον Μάξιμον, καὶ παραχρῆμ' ἐξαπέστειλεν, ἐντο-  
 λὰς αὐτοῖς δοῦσα διαλύσαι τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὸν  
 Προυσίαν ἀναγκάσαι δίκας ὑποσχέιν Ἀττάλῳ τῶν  
 κατὰ πόλεμον ἀδικημάτων.
- (7) 8. Ὅτι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἦγον <πρεσβευταὶ>  
 (4) 2 καὶ παρὰ Μασσαλιητῶν, <οἱ> πάλαι μὲν κακῶς πά-  
 σχοντες ὑπὸ τῶν Λιγυστίνων, τότε δὲ συγκλειόμενοι  
 τελέως, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ πολιορκουμένων τῶν  
 πόλεων Ἀντιπόλεως καὶ Νικαίας, ἐξαπέστειλαν πρε-  
 σβευτὰς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην τοὺς τὰ τε γινόμενα διασαφή-  
 3 сонτας καὶ δεησομένους σφίσι βοηθεῖν. ὧν καὶ παρ-  
 ελθόντων εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον, ἔδοξε τῷ συνεδρίῳ  
 πρεσβευτὰς πέμψαι τοὺς ἅμα μὲν αὐτόπτας ἐσομένους

17 1.2.

18 32.15.3-5.

19 MRR 1.450.

<sup>20</sup> Massalia was founded by the Ionian city Phocaea ca. 600. Relations with Rome are recorded since the 4th century and were close during the Hannibalic War. The city obtained effective Ro-

## V. AFFAIRS OF ITALY

*Attalus and Prusias*

7. On Hortensius<sup>17</sup> and Aurunculeius returning from Pergamum and reporting how Prusias had treated the orders of the senate with scorn, and how by treachery he had shut them and Attalus up in Pergamum and been guilty of every kind of violence and lawlessness,<sup>18</sup> the senate was very indignant and deeply aggrieved at his conduct, and at once appointed ten legates<sup>19</sup> headed by Lucius Anicius, Gaius Fannius, and Quintus Fabius Maximus, whom they dispatched promptly with orders to put a stop to the war and compel Prusias to make amends to Attalus for the wrongs he had inflicted on him during the war. 155-154 B.C.

*Ligurian War*

8. At about the same time envoys also arrived from the people of Marseilles,<sup>20</sup> who had for long suffered from the incursions of the Ligurians, and were now entirely hemmed in, the cities of Antibes<sup>21</sup> and Nicaea<sup>22</sup> being besieged as well. They therefore sent envoys to Rome to inform the senate of this and beg for help. Upon their coming before the senate, it was decided to send legates to witness with their own eyes what was happening, and

man help against Ligurian pirates in 181. *RE* Massalia 2130-2152 (H. G. Wackernagel).

<sup>21</sup> Ancient Antipolis, founded by Massilia. *RE* Antipolis 2533-2534 (M. Ihm).

<sup>22</sup> Modern Nizza, likewise a colony of Massalia. *RE* Nicaea 168-171 (L. Banti and H. Philipp).

τῶν γινομένων, ἅμα δὲ πειρασομένους λόγῳ διορθώ-  
σασθαι τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν ἄγνοιαν.

- (10) 9. Ὅτι τῶν Μασσαλιητῶν διαπρεσβευσαμένων  
(7) πρὸς Ῥωμαίους κακῶς πάσχειν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν Λιγυ-  
στίνων, παραχρῆμα κατέστησαν Φλαμίνιον καὶ Πο-  
2 πίλιον Δαινάτον καὶ Λεύκιον Πόπιον πρεσβευτάς. οἱ  
καὶ πλείοντες μετὰ τῶν Μασσαλιητῶν προσέσχον τῆς  
3 Ὀξυβίων χώρας κατὰ πόλιν Αἴγιταν. οἱ δὲ Λιγυστίνοι  
προακηκοότες ὅτι πάρεισιν ἐπιτάξοντες αὐτοῖς λύειν  
τὴν πολιορκίαν, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἔτι καθορμιζομένους  
4 ἐπελθόντες ἐκώλυσαν τῆς ἀποβάσεως, τὸν δὲ Φλαμί-  
νιον καταλαβόντες ἀποβεβηκότα καὶ τὰς ἀποσκευὰς  
ἀποτεθειμένον, τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ἐκέλευον αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς  
5 χώρας ἀπολύεσθαι, τοῦ δὲ παρακούοντος ἤρξαντο τὰ  
σκευὴ διαρπάζειν. τῶν δὲ παιδῶν καὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων  
ἀντιποιουμένων καὶ κωλονόντων, ἀπεβιάζοντο καὶ  
6 προσέφερον τούτοις τὰς χεῖρας. ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ καὶ τοῦ  
Φλαμινίου βοηθοῦντος τοῖς ἰδίους, τούτον μὲν κατέτρω-  
σαν, δύο δὲ τῶν οἰκετῶν κατέβαλον, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς  
κατεδίωξαν εἰς τὴν ναῦν, ὡς τὸν Φλαμίνιον μόγις  
ἀποκόψαντα τὰ πύργα καὶ τὰς ἀγκύρας διαφυγεῖν τὸν  
7 κίνδυνον. οὗτος μὲν ἀποκομισθεὶς εἰς Μασσαλίαν  
8 ἐθεραπεύετο μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας· ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος  
πυθομένη τὰ γεγονότα παραχρῆμα τὸν ἓνα τῶν ὑπ-  
άτων Κόιντον Ὀπίμιον ἐξαπέστειλε μετὰ δυνάμεως  
πολεμήσοντα τοῖς Ὀξυβίοις καὶ Δεκικήταις.
- (11) 10. Ὁ δὲ Κόιντος συναθροίσας τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς  
(8) τὴν τῶν Πλακεντίνων πόλιν καὶ ποιησάμενος τὴν πο-

to attempt by remonstrances to correct the misconduct of  
the barbarians.

9. Upon the Massaliots sending an embassy to Rome  
to complain of the conduct of the Ligurians, the senate at  
once appointed as their legates<sup>23</sup> Flaminius Popilius Lae-  
nas and Lucius Pupius. Accompanying the Massaliots they  
put in to a town called Aegitna<sup>24</sup> in the territory of the  
Oxybii.<sup>25</sup> The Ligurians on hearing that they were com-  
ing to order them to raise the siege, prevented the others  
who were bringing their ship to anchor from disembark-  
ing, but finding that Flaminius was already on shore and  
had stowed away his baggage, they at first ordered him to  
quit the place, and, when he refused, began to pillage his  
things. When his slaves and freedmen tried to get hold of  
the things and prevent their seizure they forced them away  
and attacked them; and when Flaminius now came up to  
the help of his own people, they wounded him, struck  
down two of his servants, and chased the others on board,  
so that Flaminius only just managed by cutting the shore  
and anchor cables to escape from the danger. He was car-  
ried back to Marseilles, and nursed there with every atten-  
tion; and the senate on hearing of the incident at once  
dispatched one of the consuls, Quintus Opimius,<sup>26</sup> with an  
armed force to make war on the Oxybii and Decietae.<sup>27</sup>

10. Opimius collected his forces at Piacenza, and  
marching across the Apennines reached the country of the

<sup>23</sup> *MRR* 1.451.

<sup>24</sup> Not securely identified.

<sup>25</sup> People living east of Antibes. *RE* Oxybii 2022 (L. Banti).

<sup>26</sup> Quintus Opimius, one of the two consuls of 154.

<sup>27</sup> People living west of the Oxybii. *RE* Decietes 2270 (M. Ihm).



- 1 ρείαν διὰ τῶν Ἀπεννίνων ὀρῶν ἤκεν εἰς τοὺς Ὀξυβίους.  
 2 στρατοπεδεύσας δὲ παρὰ τὸν Ἄπρωνα ποταμὸν ἀν-  
 3 εδέχετο τοὺς πολεμίους, πυνθανόμενος αὐτοὺς ἀθροί-  
 4 ζεσθαι καὶ προθύμους εἶναι πρὸς τὸ διακινδυνεύειν. καὶ  
 5 προσαγαγὼν τὴν στρατιάν ὁ Κόιντος πρὸς τὴν Αἰ-  
 6 γιτταν, ἐν ἣ συνέβη τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς παρασπονδη-  
 7 θῆναι, τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος ἐλὼν ἐξηνδραποδίσασα  
 8 καὶ τοὺς ἀρχηγοὺς τῆς ὕβρεως ἀπέστειλε δεσμίους  
 9 εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην. καὶ ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἀπήντα τοῖς  
 10 πολεμίους. οἱ δ' Ὀξύβιοι νομίζοντες ἀπαραίτητον αὐ-  
 11 τοῖς εἶναι τὴν εἰς τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς ἀμαρτίαν, παρα-  
 12 λόγῳ τιῦ χρησάμενοι θυμῷ καὶ λαβόντες ὄρμην  
 13 παραστατικὴν, πρὶν ἢ τοὺς Δεκίητας αὐτοῖς συμμίξαι,  
 14 περὶ τετρακισχιλίου ἀθροισθέντες ὄρμησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 15 πολεμίους. ὁ δὲ Κόιντος ἰδὼν τὴν ἔφοδον καὶ τὸ θρά-  
 16 σος τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν μὲν ἀπόνοιαν αὐτῶν κατ-  
 17 ἐπλάγη, θεωρῶν δὲ μηδεὶ λόγῳ ταύτῃ χρωμένους  
 18 τοὺς ἐχθροὺς εὐθαρσῆς ἦν, αἶε τριβὴν ἐν πράγμασιν  
 19 ἔχων καὶ τῇ φύσει διαφερόντως ἀγχίνους ὑπάρχων.  
 20 διόπερ ἐξαγαγὼν τὴν αὐτοῦ στρατιάν καὶ παρακαλέ-  
 21 σας τὰ πρέποντα τοῖς καιροῖς ἦει βιάδην ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 22 πολεμίους. χρησάμενος δὲ συντόνῳ προσβολῇ τα-  
 23 χέως ἐνίκησε τοὺς ἀντιταξαμένους καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν  
 24 αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἠνάγκασε φυγεῖν  
 25 προτροπάδην. οἱ δὲ Δεκίηται <συν>ηθροισμένοι παρ-  
 26 ἦσαν, ὡς μεθέξοντες τοῖς Ὀξυβίοις τῶν αὐτῶν κινδύ-  
 27 νων ὑστερήσαντες δὲ τῆς μάχης τοὺς τε φεύγοντας  
 28 ἐξελέξαντο καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον συνέβαλον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις

Oxybii. Encamping beside the river Apro<sup>28</sup> he waited for the enemy, hearing that they were collecting and were ready to give battle. Then leading his army to Aegitna, the town in which the legates had been treacherously attacked, he took it by assault, sold the inhabitants into slavery, and sent the ringleaders of the outrage in chains to Rome. After this success he went to meet the enemy. The Oxybii, thinking that their offense against the legates was inexpiable, showed extraordinary spirit, and with frenzied eagerness for the fray, before being joined by the Decietae, collected a force of about four thousand men and threw themselves on the enemy. Opimius, seeing the barbarians attack him so boldly, was amazed at their desperate courage; but knowing that they had no good grounds for this display of valor, felt full of confidence, as he was a practiced commander and exceedingly intelligent. Therefore, leading out his army and exhorting them in terms suitable to the occasion, he advanced slowly to meet the enemy. Pressing home his attack vigorously he soon got the better of his adversaries, slew many of them and forced the others to headlong flight. The Decietae now arrived in full force, thinking that they would take part in the battle side by side with the Oxybii, but arriving after all was over, received the fugitives into their ranks; they shortly after-

<sup>28</sup> Not mentioned elsewhere, its location is disputed.

11 μετὰ μεγάλης ὀρμῆς καὶ προθυμίας. ἡττηθέντες δὲ τῇ  
 μάχῃ παραντικά πάντες παρέδωκαν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ  
 12 τὴν πόλιν εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων πίστιν. ὁ δὲ Κόντος κύ-  
 ριος γενόμενος τούτων τῶν ἐθνῶν παραντικά μὲν τῆς  
 χώρας ὅσῃν ἐνεδέχετο προσέθηκε τοῖς Μασσαλιή-  
 ταις, εἰς δὲ τὸ μέλλον ὄμηρα τοὺς Λιγυστίους ἠνάγ-  
 13 κασε διδόναι κατὰ τινὰς τακτοὺς χρόνους τοῖς Μασ-  
 σαλιήταις· αὐτὸς δὲ παροπλίσας τοὺς ἀντιταξαμένους  
 καὶ <δι>ελὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτοῦ τὴν  
 14 παραχειμασίαν ἐποιήσατο. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὀξείαν  
 ἔλαβε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν συντέλειαν.

(8) 11. Ὅτι κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς, καθ' οὓς ἐξέπεμψεν ἡ  
 (5) σύγκλητος τὸν Ὀπίμιον ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν Ὀξυβίων πόλε-  
 2 μον, ἦκε Πτολεμαῖος ὁ νεώτερος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, καὶ  
 παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον ἐποιεῖτο κατηγορίαν  
 τὰδελφοῦ, φέρων τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐπ' ἐκείνου.  
 3 ἅμα δὲ τὰς ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων οὐλὰς ὑπὸ τὴν ὄψιν  
 δεικνύς καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν δεινολογίαν ἀκόλουθον τοῖ-  
 4 τοις διατιθέμενος ἐξεκαλείτο τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πρὸς  
 ἔλεον. ἦκον δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου πρέσβεις  
 οἱ περὶ τὸν Νεολαΐδαν καὶ Ἀνδρόμαχον, ἀπολογούμενοι  
 5 πρὸς τὰς ὑπὸ τὰδελφοῦ γενομένας κατηγορίας. ὧν ἡ  
 σύγκλητος οὐδ' ἀνέχεσθαι δικαιολογούμενων ἤβου-  
 λήθη, προκατελιημμένη ταῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ νεωτέρου διαβο-  
 λαῖς· ἀλλὰ τούτοις μὲν ἐπανάγειν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης

<sup>29</sup> To be exchanged from time to time.

<sup>30</sup> Ptolemy Euergetes II.

ward attacked the Romans with great spirit and resolution, but when worsted in the fight at once unconditionally surrendered themselves and their city. Opimius having overcome these tribes added as much of their territory as he thought fit to that of Marseilles, and compelled the Ligurians to give the Massaliots in future hostages for certain periods.<sup>29</sup> He himself, after disarming his adversaries and distributing his forces among the different cities, went into winter quarters in Liguria. This campaign, then, both began and ended rapidly.

#### *The Rival Ptolemies*

11. At the time when the senate dispatched Opimius to make war on the Oxybii the younger Ptolemy<sup>30</sup> came to Rome and appearing before the senate accused his brother, asserting that he was responsible for the plot<sup>31</sup> against himself. Exhibiting the scars left by his wounds, and laying full stress besides in his speech on the atrocity of the deed, he pleaded for pity. Neolaïdes and Andromachus<sup>32</sup> also came as envoys from the elder king to defend him against these accusations, but the senate would not even listen to their defense, so much were they prepossessed by the younger brother's charges. Ordering these

<sup>31</sup> An alleged assassination attempt, which prompted Euergetes II to publish his testament, in which he bequeathed his kingdom (apparently Cyrene once more) to Rome. The document is preserved: *SEG* 9.7. Huss (28.19.1), 572-573.

<sup>32</sup> *PP* 14637. E. Olshausen, *Prosopographie der hellenistischen Königsgesandten* 1 (Leuven 1974), 69, no. 44.

- 6 προσέταξεν ἐξ αὐτῆς, τῷ δὲ νεωτέρῳ πέντε πρεσβευτὰς καταστήσασα τοὺς περὶ Γνάϊου Μερόλαν καὶ Λεύκιου Θέρμον καὶ πεντήρη δούσα τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ἐκάστω, τούτοις μὲν παρήγγειλε κατάγειν Πτολεμαῖον εἰς Κύ-  
7 προν, τοῖς δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν συμμάχους ἔγραψαν ἐξείναι συμπράττειν τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ τὰ κατὰ τὴν κάθοδον.

## VI. RES PERGAMI

12. Ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἄτταλος ἔτι κατὰ χειμῶνα  
(10) συνήθροιζε μεγάλας δυνάμεις, ἅτε καὶ τῶν περὶ <τὸν> Ἀριαράθην καὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἐξαπεσταλκώτων αὐτῷ στρατιᾶν ἰππέων καὶ πεζῶν κατὰ τὴν συμμα-  
2 χίαν, ὧν ἠγάετο Δημήτριος Ἀριαράθου. ὄντος δὲ περὶ ταύτας αὐτοῦ τὰς κατασκευάς, ἤκον ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης οἱ δέκα πρέσβεις, οἱ καὶ συμμίζαντες αὐτῷ περὶ Κάδου καὶ κοινολογηθέντες περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ὤρμησαν  
3 πρὸς τὸν Προυσίαν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ συνέμιξαν, διεσάφουν αὐτῷ τὰ παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου μετὰ πολλῆς ἀνατάσεως.  
4 ὁ δὲ Προυσίας ἔνια μὲν τῶν προσταττομένων προσ-  
5 εδέχετο, τοῖς δὲ πλείστοις ἀντέλεγε. διόπερ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι προσκόψαντες αὐτῷ τὴν τε φιλίαν ἀπέιπαντο καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν, καὶ πάντες ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀπηλλάττοντο πάλιν  
6 ὡς τὸν Ἄτταλον. ὁ δὲ Προυσίας μετανοήσας μέχρι μὲν τίνος ἐπηκολούθει λιπαρῶν, ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἦνεν,  
7 ἀπαλλαγεῖς ἐν ἀμηχανίαις ἦν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν μὲν Ἄτταλον ἐκέλευον προκαθίσαντα τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας

envoys to leave Rome at once, they appointed five legates,<sup>33</sup> headed by Gnaeus Merula and Lucius Thermus, to support the younger brother, and furnishing each of them with a quinquereme ordered them to reestablish Ptolemy in Cyprus, writing to their allies in Greece and Asia to the effect that they had their permission to assist his return.

## VI. AFFAIRS OF PERGAMUM

12. In Asia Attalus began as early as the winter<sup>34</sup> to collect large forces, Ariarathes and Mithridates<sup>35</sup> having sent him under the terms of their alliance an army consisting of cavalry and infantry under the command of Demetrius, the son of Ariarathes. While he was occupied in these preparations, the ten legates<sup>36</sup> arrived from Rome. After meeting him near Cadi<sup>37</sup> and conversing about the situation they left to visit Prusias, and when they met him, delivered the message from the senate in a very threatening manner. Prusias yielded to some of the commands, but resisted most of them. Consequently the Romans, being angry with him, renounced their friendship and alliance, and all of them left on the spot to join Attalus. Prusias now thought better of it, and followed them for some distance entreating them, but when this had no effect, he left them and was now at a loss what to do. The legates ordered Attalus to protect his frontiers with an army and not to open

<sup>33</sup> MRR 1.451.<sup>34</sup> Of 155/4.<sup>35</sup> Mithridates IV, King of Pontus, who succeeded his brother Pharnaces I in 170/69; see n. on 27.17.<sup>36</sup> 7.3.<sup>37</sup> In Phrygia Epictetus, within Attalus' realm, modern Gediz.

- μετὰ δυνάμεως αὐτὸν μὲν μὴ κατάρχειν τοῦ πολέμου, ταῖς δὲ πόλεσι ταῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῖς κώμαις τὴν
- 8 ἀσφάλειαν παρασκευάζειν· αὐτοὶ δὲ μερίσαντες σφᾶς αὐτούς, οἱ μὲν ἔπλεον κατὰ σπουδὴν ἀπαγγελοῦντες τῇ συγκλήτῳ τὴν ἀπίθειαν τοῦ Προυσίου, τινὲς δ' ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰωνίας ἐχωρίσθησαν, ἕτεροι δ' ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸ Βυζάντιον τόπων, μίαν ἔχοντες καὶ
- 9 τὴν αὐτὴν πρόθεσιν ἅπαντες, ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Προυσίου φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας ἀποκαλεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, Ἀττάλῳ δὲ προσνέμειν τὴν εὐνοίαν καὶ συμμαχεῖν κατὰ δύναμιν.

13. Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς Ἀθήναιος κατ-
- (11) ἔπλευσε ναυσὶ καταφράκτους ὄγδοήκοντα ὧν αἱ πέντε
- 2 μὲν τετρήρεις ἦσαν Ῥοδίων τῶν ἀποσταλεισῶν εἰς τὸν Κρητικὸν πόλεμον, εἴκοσι δὲ Κυζικηνῶν, ἑπτὰ δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς εἴκοσι τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀττάλον, αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ
- 3 τῶν ἄλλων συμμαχῶν. ποιησάμενος δὲ τὸν πλοῦν ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ συνάψας ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς ὑπὸ Προυσίαν ταπτομένας ἀποβάσεις τε συνεχεῖς ἐποιεῖτο
- 4 καὶ κακῶς διετίθει τὴν χώραν. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος διακούσασα τῶν παρὰ τοῦ Προυσίου πρεσβευτῶν ἀνακεχωρηκότων ἐξ αὐτῆς τρεῖς ἄλλους ἀπέστειλεν, Ἀππίων τε τὸν Κλαύδιον καὶ Λεύκιον Ὀππίον καὶ Αὔλον Πο
- 5 στόμιον. οἱ καὶ παραγενόμενοι πρὸς τὴν Ἀσίαν διέλυσαν τὸν πόλεμον, εἰς τὰς τοιαύτας συνθήκας ἐπαγα
- 6 γόμενοι τοὺς βασιλέας ἀμφοτέρους, ὥστε παραχρῆμα μὲν εἴκοσι καταφράκτους νῆας ἀποδοῦναι Προυσίαν Ἀττάλῳ, πεντακόσια δὲ τάλαντα κατενεγκεῖν ἑνὶ

hostilities himself, but to place his towns and villages in safety. They now separated, and while some of them left in haste to announce to the senate the contumacy of Prusias, others went to different parts of Ionia and others to the country near the Hellespont and Byzantium, all with one and the same project, that is to call on the inhabitants to desert the alliance of Prusias and, as far as lay in their power, to favor the cause of Attalus and cultivate his alliance.

13. At about the same time Athenaeus arrived with eighty decked ships of which five were Rhodian quadriremes from the fleet that had been sent to the Cretan war,<sup>38</sup> twenty were Cyzicene,<sup>39</sup> twenty-seven belonged to Attalus, and the rest to the other allies. Sailing to the Hellespont and approaching the cities which owed allegiance to Prusias he made frequent landings and inflicted damage on their territory. The senate, after hearing the report of the legates who had returned from Prusias, at once dispatched three others,<sup>40</sup> Appius Claudius, Lucius Oppius, and Aulus Postumius, who on reaching Asia put an end to the war, inducing both kings to make a treaty, by the terms of which Prusias was to hand over at once twenty decked ships to Attalus, and to pay him five hundred talents in

<sup>38</sup> The "Second Cretan War" of Rhodes; see 4.1-4.

<sup>39</sup> Attalus' and Athenaeus' mother Apollonis was from Cyzicus: 22.20.1-8.

<sup>40</sup> MRR 1.450-451.

- 7 ἔτεσιν εἴκοσι τὴν δὲ χώραν ἀμφοτέροισι ἔχειν ἦν καὶ  
 8 πρότερον εἶχον, ὅτ' εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἐνέβαινον. διορ-  
 θώσασθαι δὲ Προυσίαν καὶ τὴν καταφθορὰν τῆς χώ-  
 ρας τῆς τε Μηθυμναίων καὶ τῶν Αἰγαίων καὶ τῆς  
 9 Κυμαίων καὶ Ἡρακλειωτῶν, ἑκατὸν τάλαντα δόντα  
 τοῖς προειρημένοις· γραφεισῶν δ' ἐκπὶ τούτοις τῶν  
 συνθηκῶν, ἀπήγον τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν οἱ  
 10 περὶ τὸν Ἀττάλου, τὰς ναυτικὰς καὶ τὰς πεζικὰς. καὶ  
 τῆς μὲν Ἀττάλου καὶ Προυσίου διαφορᾶς τοιοῦτος ὁ  
 τε κατὰ μέρος χειρισμὸς ἐγενήθη τῶν πράξεων . . .

## VII. RES ITALIAE

14. Ὅτι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τούτου ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τῶν  
 (13) ἐκ τῆς Ἀχαιᾶς πρεσβευτῶν εἰσελθόντων εἰς τὴν σύγ-  
 κλητον περὶ τῶν ἀνακεκλημένων, ἔδοξε τῷ συνεδρίῳ  
 μένειν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποκειμένων.  
 15. Ὅτι ὁ Ἡρακλείδης ἔτι τῆς θερείας ἀκμαζούσης  
 (14) παρῆν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἄγων τὴν Λαοδίκην καὶ τὸν  
 2 Ἀλέξανδρον. ποιούμενος δὲ τὴν παρεπιδημίαν μετὰ  
 τερατείας ἅμα καὶ κακουργίας ἐνεχρόνιζε, κατασκευ-  
 αζόμενος τὰ περὶ τὴν σύγκλητον.  
 3 Καὶ Ἀστυμήδης ὁ Ῥόδιος, πρεσβευτῆς ἅμα καὶ  
 ναύαρχος καθεσταμένος, παρελθὼν ἐξ αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν  
 σύγκλητον διελέγετο περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς

<sup>41</sup> City on Lesbos, apparently attacked in 155 by Prusias' fleet. Aegae and Cyme are cities in Aeolis.

twenty years, each keeping the territory that was theirs before they entered on hostilities. Prusias also undertook to repair the damage he had done to the territory of Methymna,<sup>41</sup> Aegae, Cyme, and Heracleia, paying a hundred talents to those cities. The treaty having been drawn up on these terms, Attalus withdrew his forces both military and naval to his own country. Such were the incidents in the quarrel between Attalus and Prusias and such was its end. . . .

## VII. AFFAIRS OF ITALY

*The Achaean Exiles*

14. At Rome during this year when the envoys from Achaëa appeared before the senate to plead for the Achaeans in detention it was decided to make no change. 154-153 B.C.

15. Heracleides<sup>42</sup> still at the height of summer came to Rome bringing Laodice<sup>43</sup> and Alexander.<sup>44</sup> He made a long stay there, trying by means of jugglery and base intrigue to work upon the senate.

Astymedes<sup>45</sup> of Rhodes, who held the two posts of admiral and envoy, came at once on his arrival before the senate and spoke about their war with the Cretans. The

<sup>42</sup> 28.1.1; P. Herrmann, *Chiron* 17 (1987), 171-173.

<sup>43</sup> Daughter of Antiochus IV Epiphanes.

<sup>44</sup> A young man by the name of Balas, living in Smyrna, who bore a resemblance to Antiochus IV, claimed to be his son and was perhaps his illegitimate son. King Attalus brought him to Pergamum, invested him with the diadem and gave him the dynastic name Alexander.

<sup>45</sup> See 27.7.3; last mentioned 4.1. The Cretan War: 13.2.



- 4 Κρηταιεῖς. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος προσέχουσα τὸν νοῦν ἐπι-  
μελῶς παραχρῆμα πρεσβευτὰς ἐξαπέστειλε τοὺς περὶ  
Κόιντον λύσοντας τὸν πόλεμον.

VIII. BELLUM RHODIORUM  
CUM CRETENSIBUS

16. Ὅτι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τούτου οἱ Κρηταιεῖς πρε-  
(15) σβευτὰς ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς Ἀχαιοὺς ὑπὲρ βοθηθείας  
<τοὺς περὶ> Ἀντιφάταν Τηλεμνάστου Γορτύνιου,  
παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ Ῥόδιοι τοὺς περὶ Θεοφάνην.  
2 οὔσης δὲ τῆς συνόδου τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐν Κορίνθῳ, καὶ  
διαλεγομένων τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ἑκατέρων ὑπὲρ τῆς  
3 βοθηθείας, ἔρρεπον ταῖς γνώμαις οἱ πολλοὶ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ  
τοὺς Ῥοδίους, ἐντρεπόμενοι καὶ τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα  
καὶ τὴν ὅλην αἴρεσιν τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν.  
4 εἰς ἃ βλέπων Ἀντιφάτας ἐβουλήθη πάλιν ἐπεισελθεῖν,  
τοῦ δὲ στρατηγοῦ συγχωρήσαντος ἐχρήσατο λόγοις  
5 βαρυτέροις ἢ κατὰ Κρήτα καὶ σπουδαιοτέροις· καὶ  
γὰρ ἦν ὁ νεανίσκος οὐδαμῶς Κρητικός, ἀλλὰ πεφεύ-  
6 γως τὴν Κρητικὴν ἀναγωγίαν. διὸ καὶ συνέβαινε τοὺς  
Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπιδέχεσθαι τὴν παρρησίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ μάλ-  
λον ἔτι διὰ <τὸ> τὸν πατέρα τοῦ προειρημένου Τη-  
λέμναστου μετὰ πεντακοσίων Κρητῶν ἔλθοντα συμ-  
πεπολεμηκέναι τὸν πρὸς Νάβιν πόλεμον εὐγενῶς  
7 αὐτοῖς. πλὴν διακούσαιτες οὐδὲν ἤττον ὄρμην εἶχον  
οἱ πολλοὶ τοῖς Ῥοδίους βοηθεῖν, ἕως Καλλικράτης ὁ

senate after listening to him with attention instantly sent  
a commission under Quintus to put an end to the war.

VIII. THE WAR BETWEEN  
RHODES AND CRETE

16. At this time<sup>46</sup> the Cretans sent to the Achaeans as  
their envoy Antiphatas,<sup>47</sup> the son of Telemnastus<sup>48</sup> of Gor-  
tyna, and the Rhodians sent Theophanes, each begging for  
help. The Achaean assembly was sitting at Corinth, and  
when both envoys addressed them on the subject, the ma-  
jority were more favorably inclined to the Rhodians out of  
respect for the dignity of that city and the character in  
general of the Rhodian state and its citizens. Antiphatas,  
noticing this, expressed a wish to address them a second  
time, and on receiving the permission of the strategus did  
so in terms more weighty and serious than is usual with a  
Cretan. For, as a fact, this young man was not at all Cretan  
in character but had escaped the contagion of Cretan ill-  
breeding. The Achaeans in consequence put up with his  
freedom of speech, and still more because his father  
Telemnastus had come with five hundred Cretans to help  
them in their war against Nabis, and had borne himself  
gallantly. Nevertheless, after they had listened to him, the  
majority was still inclined to help the Rhodians, until Cal-

<sup>46</sup> Cannot be verified within the year 154/3.

<sup>47</sup> LGPN 1 48, no. 4.

<sup>48</sup> The war against Nabis, in which he supported the Achaeans  
(16.6), had been fought in 192. The Cretans honored him with a  
statue set up in the Achaean sanctuary at Epidaurus: IG IV 1<sup>2</sup> 244.  
See also Livy 35.29.1, based on P.

8 Λεοντήσιος ἀναστὰς οὐκ ἔφη δεῖν οὔτε πολεμεῖν οὐδενὶ χωρὶς τῆς Ῥωμαίων γνώμης οὔτε βοήθειαν πέμπειν οὐδενὶ κατ' οὐδενός. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα κατίσχυσε μένειν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποκειμένων.

(15a) 17. Ὅτι οἱ Ῥόδιοι δυσθετούμενοι τοῖς συμβαίνουσιν εἰς παραλόγους τινὰς ἐπέπεσαν ὀρμὰς καὶ παρασκευὰς καὶ πρὸς παραπλησίαν διάθεσιν ἦλθον τοῖς ἐν ταῖς πολυχρονίοις ἀρρωστίαις δυσποτιμοῦσι. καὶ 2 γὰρ ἐκείνοι πολλάκις, ἐπειδὴν πάντα ποιοῦντες κατὰ λόγον τῆς θεραπείας καὶ πειθαρχοῦντες τοῖς ἰατροῖς μὴ δύνωνται τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον προκοπῆς ἄψασθαι, δυσθετούμενοι τοῖς συμβαίνουσιν ἀποδυσπετεῖν ἀναγκάζονται, καὶ τινὲς μὲν θύταις καὶ μάντεσι προσέχειν, ἔνιοι δὲ πάσης ἐπωδῆς καὶ παντὸς περιάμματος 3 πείραν λαμβάνειν. ὃ καὶ περὶ τοὺς Ῥοδίους συνέβαινε πάντων γὰρ αὐτοῖς παρὰ δόξαν ἀπαντωμένων, ἠναγκάζοντο παντὶ τῷ λεγομένῳ προσέχειν καὶ 4 πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα σωματοποιεῖν καὶ προσδέχεσθαι. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐδόκουν πάσχειν εἰκότως· ὅταν γὰρ μηδὲν ἀνῆται <τῶν> κατὰ λόγον, δέη δὲ κατ' ἀνάγκην ἐνεργεῖσθαι τὸ συνεχές, ἀνάγκη πείραν λαμβάνειν καὶ τῶν παρὰ 5 λόγον. διὸ καὶ Ῥόδιοι ἐμπεσόντες εἰς τοιαύτην διάθεσιν ἐποίησάν τι τῶν γινομένων καὶ ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν ἄρχοντα, τοῦτον πάλιν εἴλοντο ἄρχοντα, καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ παράλογα.

licrates<sup>49</sup> of Leontium rose and said that they should not go to war with anyone or send help to anyone without taking the advice of Rome. For this reason it was finally decided to take no steps.

17. The Rhodians, dissatisfied with the turn of events, adopted strange resolutions and expedients, and fell into a condition like that of those afflicted by chronic sickness. For such men, when, after following scrupulously all the treatment imposed on them and obeying the orders of their physician, they fail to see any sign of improvement, are often dissatisfied with the result and give up the treatment perforce, some of them taking the advice of performers of sacrifice and of soothsayers, and others resorting to all kinds of charms and amulets. The same thing happened to the Rhodians. For when everything had turned out contrary to their expectations, they listened perforce to all kinds of advice and gave substance and welcome to every kind of hope. And this seems quite natural; for when all reasonable action has failed and we are still compelled to go on doing something, we must perforce resort to unreasonable courses. The Rhodians, therefore, having reached this condition acted as often happens in such cases, choosing as magistrate one<sup>50</sup> whom they had rejected and acting unreasonably in other respects.

<sup>49</sup> He was still the dominant figure; see n. on 24.8.6.

<sup>50</sup> His identity is not known.

## IX. RES ITALIAE

18. Ὅτι πρέσβων διαφόρων παραγενομένων εἰς  
 (16) τὴν Ῥώμην ἢ σύγκλητος πρῶτον μὲν εἰσεκαλέσατο  
 2 τὸν Εὐμένους τοῦ βασιλέως υἱὸν Ἄτταλον παραγεγ-  
 νει γὰρ ἔτι παῖς ὢν κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον εἰς Ῥώμην  
 3 χάριν τοῦ τῆ τε συγκλήτῳ συσταθῆναι καὶ τὰς πατρι-  
 κὰς ἀνανεώσασθαι φιλίας καὶ ξενίας. οὗτος μὲν οὖν  
 φιλανθρώπως ὑπὸ τε τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ τῶν πατρικῶν  
 φίλων ἀποδεχθεὶς καὶ λαβὼν ἀποκρίσεις ἃς ἐβούλετο  
 καὶ τιμὰς ἀρμοζούσας τῆ καθ' αὐτὸν ἡλικία, μετὰ τι-  
 4 νας ἡμέρας ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, πασῶν αὐτὸν  
 τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πόλεων ἐκτενῶς καὶ μεγαλοψύ-  
 5 χως ἀποδεξαμένων κατὰ τὴν δίοδον. ἦκε δὲ καὶ Δη-  
 μῆτριος κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν, τυχῶν δὲ μετρίας  
 ἀποδοχῆς ὡς παῖς αὐθις ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν.  
 6 ὁ δ' Ἡρακλείδης κεχρονικῶς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ παρήλθεν  
 εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον, ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν Λαοδίκην  
 7 καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὁ νεανίσκος  
 ἐποιήσατό τινας μετρίους λόγους, ἠξίου δὲ Ῥωμαίους  
 μνησθῆναι τῆς πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον τὸν αὐτοῦ πατέρα  
 φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας, μάλιστα δὲ συγκατασκευάζειν  
 8 αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν· εἰ δὲ μή, συγχωρήσαι τὴν κάθ-  
 οδον καὶ μὴ κωλύσαι τοὺς βουλομένους συμπράττειν  
 9 αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ καθικέσθαι τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς. ὁ δ'  
 Ἡρακλείδης παραλαβὼν τὸν λόγον καὶ πολλήν τινα  
 ποιησάμενος Ἀντιόχου μὲν μνείαν ἐπὶ ἀγαθῷ, Δημη-

## IX. AFFAIRS OF ITALY

*Visits of the Young Attalus, Demetrius,  
and Alexander Balas*

18. Several embassies arrived in Rome, and the senate 153-152  
 summoned in the first place Attalus, the son of King B.C.  
 Eumenes, who had come to Rome at this time while still  
 a boy to be introduced to the senate, and renew in his own  
 person his father's friendships and hospitable relations.  
 Having met with a kind reception from the senate and his  
 father's friends and received the answers he wished, and  
 such honors as suited his age, he returned home after a  
 few days, all the Greek cities through which he passed  
 giving him a cordial and generous reception. Demetrius<sup>51</sup>  
 also arrived at the same time, and after being received  
 with no great state, as he was still a boy, returned home.  
 Heracleides<sup>52</sup> too, after having spent some time in Rome,  
 appeared before the senate accompanied by Laodice and  
 Alexander. The young man spoke first in a reasonable  
 manner, begging the Romans to remember their friend-  
 ship and alliance with his father Antiochus, and entreat-  
 ing them, if they could, to help him to regain his kingdom,  
 but if not, to allow his return and not to prevent those  
 who were willing to assist him in winning back his father's  
 throne. After him Heracleides addressed them, deliver-  
 ing a long panegyric of Antiochus and accusing Deme-

<sup>51</sup> Probably the son of King Demetrius I rather than the son  
 of Ariarathes (12.1).

<sup>52</sup> 28.1.1; 33.15.1.

- 10 τρίου δὲ κατηγορίαν, εἰς τοῦτο κατήνησεν ὅτι δεῖ  
 συγχωρεῖν τὴν κάθοδον τῷ τε νεανίσκῳ καὶ τῇ Λαο-  
 δίκη κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον, οὓσιν Ἀντιόχου τοῦ βασιλέως  
 11 ἐγγόνοις κατὰ φύσιν. τοῖς μὲν οὖν μετρίοις τῶν ἀν-  
 θρώπων οὐδὲν ἤρεσκε τούτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν κατα-  
 σκευὴν τοῦ δράματος ἐνεόουν καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλείδην  
 12 ἐβδελύττοντο προφανῶς. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τεθεραπευμένοι  
 ταῖς Ἡρακλείδου γοητείαις συγκατηνέχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ  
 13 γράφειν δόγμα τοιοῦτον: "Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Λαοδίκη,  
 βασιλέως υἱοί, φίλου καὶ συμμάχου ἡμετέρου γεγενη-  
 μένον, ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τὴν σύγκλητον λόγους ἐποι-  
 14 ἤσαντο· ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκεν ἐπὶ  
 τὴν πατρίαν ἀρχὴν καταπορεύεσθαι, καὶ βοηθεῖν  
 αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἡξίου, ἔδοξεν." ὁ δ' Ἡρακλείδης ἐπιλα-  
 βόμενος τῆς ἀφορμῆς ταύτης εὐθέως ἐξενολόγει καὶ  
 προσεκαλεῖτο τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν . . . ἀφικόμενος  
 δ' εἰς τὴν Ἔφεσον ἐγένετο περὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν τῆς  
 προκειμένης ἐπιβολῆς.

## X. RES SYRIAE

- (14) 19. Καὶ Δημήτριον δὲ φησι, τὸν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης τὴν  
 ὀμηρείαν διαφυγόντα, ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ τριακοστῇ βα-  
 σιλεύσαντα Σύρων πολυπότην ὄντα τὸ πλείστον τῆς  
 ἡμέρας μεθύσκεσθαι.

trius,<sup>53</sup> and finally maintaining that it was only just that they should allow the return of the young man and Laodice, who were the real children of King Antiochus. None of this pleased sober-minded members who understood the artful construction of the plot, and were frankly disgusted with Heracleides, but the majority, seduced by the charlatanism of Heracleides, were persuaded to draw up a consultum in these terms. "Alexander and Laodice, the children of a king who was our friend and ally, came before the senate and addressed it. The senate thereupon gave them authority to go home to regain their father's throne, and it was decided to grant their request for help." Heracleides now, availing himself of this permission, at once began to hire mercenaries and summoned to his aid a number of distinguished men. On arriving at Ephesus he occupied himself with preparations<sup>54</sup> for his enterprise.

## X. AFFAIRS OF SYRIA

(Athenaeus 10.440b)

19. Polybius<sup>55</sup> tells us in his thirty-third book that Demetrius, who escaped from Rome when he was a hostage, and became king of Syria, was much given to drink and was tipsy for the greater part of the day.

<sup>53</sup> King Demetrius I, to whom the Senate remained hostile. The hostility is clearly borne out by the decree passed by the Senate at that time (below, 18.12-13). <sup>54</sup> For Alexander Balas see especially *LXX I Ma.* 10. 1-11.19 and *CAH*, 2nd ed., 8 (1989), 361-365 (C. Habicht). <sup>55</sup> P., who had been close to Demetrius while the prince was a hostage in Rome, does not hesitate, as a historian, to speak about his drunkenness.

## FRAGMENTA INCERTAE SEDIS

(16a) 20. Ὅτι ὅταν ἅπαξ οἱ πολλοὶ σχῶσιν ὄρμην πρὸς τὸ φιλεῖν ἢ μισεῖν τινὰς ὑπερβαλλόντως, πᾶσα πρόφασις ἱκανὴ γίνεται πρὸς τὸ συντελεῖν τὰς αὐτῶν προθέσεις.

(16a) 21. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὀκνῶ μὴ ποτ' εἰς τὸ περιφερόμενον ἐμπεσῶν λάθω, πότερον ὁ τὸν τράγον ἀμέλγων ἀφρονέστερος ἢ ὁ τὸ κόσκινον ὑπέχων· δοκῶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ γὰρ πρὸς ὁμολογουμένην ψευδολογίαν ἀκριβολογούμενος καὶ τὸν ἐπιμετροῦντα λόγον εἰσφέρειν παραπλήσιόν τι ποιεῖν. διὸ καὶ μάτην τελῶς περὶ τούτων λέγειν, εἰ μὴ τις καὶ γράφειν ἐνύπνια βούλεται καὶ θεωρεῖν ἐγρηγορότος ἐνύπνια.

## UNPLACED FRAGMENTS

20. When once the multitude are impelled to love or hate anyone in excess, any pretext is sufficient for them to execute their projects.

21. But I fear that the well-known adage<sup>56</sup> may apply to me unknown to myself: "Which is the greater simpleton, the man who milks a he-goat or he who holds a sieve to catch the milk?" For it may be said of me that by confuting in detail what is confessed to be a lie, and doing so at great length, I am behaving in a very similar manner. So I shall be told I entirely waste my time in speaking of this matter, unless indeed I wish to record dreams and take into serious consideration the visions of a man with his eyes open.

<sup>56</sup> *Paroemiogr.* 1.303; 2.695.



## FRAGMENTA LIBRI XXXIV

### FRAGMENTA GRAECA

#### I. GENERALIA NONNULLA. DE ARGUMENTO HUIUS LIBRI

1. Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ κοινῇ τῆς ἱστορίας γραφῆ χωρὶς  
2 ἀποδείξαντες τὴν τῶν ἠπείρων τοπογραφίαν, καθάπερ  
"Ἐφορός τε ἐποίησε καὶ Πολύβιος.  
3 Πολύβιος . . . φήσας περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καλῶς  
μὲν Εὐδοξόν, κάλλιστα δ' Ἐφορον ἐξηγεῖσθαι περὶ  
4 κτίσεων, συγγενειῶν, μεταναστάσεων, ἀρχηγῶν,  
ἡμεῖς δέ, φησί, τὰ νῦν ὄντα δηλώσομεν καὶ περὶ θέ-  
5 σεως τόπων καὶ διαστημάτων· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν οἰκει-  
6 ὅτατον χωρογραφία. ἀλλὰ μὴν σύγε, ὦ Πολύβιε, ὁ τὰς  
λαοδογματικὰς ἀποφάσεις περὶ τῶν διαστημάτων  
εἰσάγων οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ἔξω τῆς Ἑλλάδος μόνον, ἀλλὰ  
καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς.

## FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXXIV

### GREEK FRAGMENTS CHIEFLY FROM STRABO

#### I. SOME GENERAL REMARKS. THE SUBJECT OF THIS BOOK

(From Strabo 7.1.1, C 332)

1. Those who in a general history have dealt separately with the geography of the continents like Ephorus<sup>1</sup> and Polybius.

(*Id.* 10.3.5, C 465)

Polybius says that in regard to Greece Eudoxus<sup>2</sup> has given a good and Ephorus a very good account of the foundation of cities, genealogies, migrations, and the planters of colonies; "but I," he adds, "will describe the actual situation of places and give the actual distances, that being the most essential thing in geography." But yet it is you, Polybius, who introduce the popular misstatements of distances not only outside Greece, but in Greece itself.

<sup>1</sup> Of Cyme in Aeolis, universal historian of the 4th century; see n. on 4.20.5. This passage is *FCrH* 70, T 12.

<sup>2</sup> Of Cnidus, 4th century mathematician, astronomer, and geographer. *RE* Eudoxos 930-950 (H. Hultsch). D. Sedley, *Cron. Erc.* 6 (1976), 23-54.

- 7 Πολύβιος οὖν ὁ ἱστοριογράφος πεπραγμάτευται  
βιβλίον, ὃ ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχει "περὶ τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν ἰσημε-  
ριὸν οἰκήσεως" αὕτη δέ ἐστιν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ διακεκαυμένη  
8 ζώνῃ, καὶ φησιν οἰκεῖσθαι τοὺς τόπους καὶ εὐκρα-  
τοτέραν ἔχειν τὴν οἴκησιν τῶν περὶ τὰ πέρατα τῆς  
διακεκαυμένης ζώνης κατοικούντων. καὶ ἃ μὲν ἱστορίας  
φέρει τῶν κατωπτευκότων τὰς οἰκήσεις καὶ ἐπιμαρτυ-  
ρούντων τοῖς φαινομένοις, ἃ δὲ ἐπιλογίζεται ἐπὶ τῆς  
9 φυσικῆς περὶ τὸν ἥλιον ὑπαρχούσης κινήσεως. ὁ γὰρ  
ἥλιος περὶ μὲν τοὺς τροπικοὺς κύκλους πολλὴν ἐπιμένει  
χρόνον κατὰ τε τὴν πρόσοδον τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ  
τὴν ἀποχώρησιν, ὥστε σχεδὸν ἐφ' ἡμέρας τετταράκοντα  
10 μένει πρὸς αἴσθησιν ἐπὶ <τῶν> τροπικῶν κύκλων. δι'  
ἦν αἰτίαν καὶ τὰ μεγέθη τῶν ἡμερῶν σχεδὸν ἐφ'  
ἡμέρας μ' τὰ αὐτὰ διαμένει. ὅθεν ἐπιμονῆς γινομένης  
πρὸς τὰς οἰκήσεις τὰς κειμένας ὑπὸ τοὺς τροπικοὺς  
ἀνάγκη ἐκπυροῦσθαι τὴν οἴκησιν καὶ ἀοίκητον γίνε-  
11 σθαι διὰ τὴν τοῦ καύματος ὑπερβολήν. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ  
ἰσημερινοῦ κύκλου ταχείας συμβαίνει τὰς ἀποχωρή-  
σεις γίνεσθαι. ὅθεν καὶ τὰ μεγέθη τῶν ἡμερῶν περὶ  
τὰς ἰσημερίας μεγάλας λαμβάνει τὰς παραυξήσεις.  
εὐλογον οὖν καὶ τὰς ὑπὸ τὸν ἰσημερινὸν κειμένας  
οἰκήσεις εὐκρατοτέρας ὑπάρχειν, ἐπιμονῆς μὲν <οὐ>  
γινομένης ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ κορυφὴν σημείου, ταχέως δὲ  
12 ἀποχωροῦντος τοῦ ἡλίου. πάντες γὰρ οἱ μεταξὺ τῶν  
τροπικῶν κύκλων οἰκούντες παρὰ τὴν ἀρόδον ὁμοίως  
κεῖνται τοῦ ἡλίου· πλείονας δὲ χρόνους ἐπιμένει τοῖς  
13 περὶ τοὺς τροπικοὺς οἰκούσι. δι' ἦν αἰτίαν εὐκρατοτέρας

(From Geminus, *Elements of Astronomy*, C 16)

Polybius the historian has composed a book<sup>3</sup> with the title *On the inhabited part of the globe under the Celestial Equator*, that is to say in the middle of the torrid zone. He says that the region is inhabited, and has a more temperate region of habitation than that of those who live at the extremities of the torrid zone. On the one hand he cites the accounts given by those who have actually visited the region, and can testify to the fact, and on the other he argues from the nature of the sun's movements. For at the solstices the sun remains a long time near the tropic circles both in approaching them and receding from them, so that we actually see it stay in their neighborhood for about forty days; for which reason the length of the day remains almost the same for about forty days. So owing to the length of its stay over the climates lying under the tropic circles, that region is burned up and is uninhabitable owing to the excessive heat. But from the equinoctial circle or equator the sun recedes rapidly, so that the length of the day rapidly increases or decreases after the equinoxes. It is reasonable then to suppose that the climates situated under the equator are more temperate, as the sun does not prolong his stay near the extreme point but rapidly recedes from it. For all those who live between the two tropic circles are equally exposed to the passage of the sun; but he remains longer over those who live under the ac-

<sup>3</sup> Not mentioned elsewhere, perhaps just a section of Book 34.

εἶναι συμβέβηκε τὰς ὑπὸ τὸν ἰσημερινὸν οἰκῆσεις, αἵτινες κέινται ἐν μέσῃ τῇ διακεκαυμένη ζώνῃ, τῶν περὶ τὰ πέρατα τῆς διακεκαυμένης οἰκῆσεων, αἵτινες ὑπὸ τοὺς τροπικοὺς κύκλους κέινται.

- 14 Πολύβιος δὲ ποιεῖ ζώνας ἕξ, δύο μὲν τὰς τοῖς ἀρκτικοῖς ὑποπιπτούσας, δύο δὲ τὰς μεταξὺ τούτων τε καὶ τῶν τροπικῶν <καὶ δύο τὰς μεταξὺ τούτων> καὶ τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ.
- 15 Ὁ δὲ Πολύβιος τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ εἶδ', τὸ ποιεῖν τινὰς ζώνας τοῖς ἀρκτικοῖς διοριζόμενας, δύο μὲν τὰς ὑποπιπτούσας αὐτοῖς, δύο δὲ τὰς μεταξὺ τούτων καὶ τῶν τροπικῶν.
- 16 Εἰ δ' ὡσπερ Ἐρατοσθένης φησὶν, ἡ ὑποπίπτουσα τῷ ἰσημερινῷ ἐστὶν εὐκρατος, καθάπερ καὶ Πολύβιος ὁμοδοξεῖ—προστίθησι δ' οὗτος καὶ διότι ὑψηλοτάτη ἐστὶ διόπερ καὶ κατομβρεῖται, τῶν βορείων νεφῶν κατὰ τοὺς ἐτησίας ἐκεῖ τοῖς ἀναστήμασι προσπιπτόντων πλείστων—πολὺ κρεῖττον τρίτην εὐκρατον ταύτην ποιεῖν στενὴν τινα, ἢ τὰς ὑπὸ τοῖς τροπικοῖς εἰσάγειν.
- 17 Ἐνίσταται δ' ὁ Ποσειδώνιος τῷ Πολυβίῳ, διότι φησὶ τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ ἰσημερινῷ οἰκῆσιν ὑψηλοτάτην.

<sup>4</sup> Of Cyrene, a universally learned third-century philologist, who studied with various philosophers at Athens. Ptolemy III Euergetes appointed him librarian at Alexandria and mentor of prince Ptolemy (IV). *RE* Eratosthenes 358–388 (G. Knaack), recently K. Geus, *Eratosthenes von Kyrene. Studien zur hellenistischen Kultur- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte* (Munich 2002).

tual tropics. So for this reason the region under the equator in the middle of the torrid zone has a more temperate climate than those at the extremities of the torrid zone, which lie under the tropic circles.

(From Strabo 2.3.1, C 96)

Polybius makes the zones six in number, two lying under the arctic circles, two between these and the tropic circles, and two between the latter and the equinoctial circle or equator.

(*Id.* 2.3.2, C 97)

Polybius is mistaken in making some zones determined by the arctic circles, two immediately under them, and two between them and the tropic circles.

(*Id.*)

But if, as Eratosthenes<sup>4</sup> says, the zone under the equator is temperate, an opinion with which Polybius agrees—the latter adds that it is very high and therefore has a rainfall, the clouds from the north during the etesian winds being arrested by the heights in large masses—it is much better to assume that this is a third narrow temperate zone, than to introduce here the two zones under the tropic circles.

(*Id.*)

Poseidonius<sup>5</sup> is against the statement of Polybius that the region under the equator is very high.

<sup>5</sup> Of Apamea in Syria. Stoic philosopher, scientist, and historian, 1st century. He studied with Panaetius at Athens, then settled at Rhodes. *OCD* Posidonius (I. G. Kidd), L. Edelstein-I. G. Kidd, *Posidonius*, 3 vols. (2–3 by Kidd) (Cambridge 1972–1999). For the historical fragments see *FGrH* 87.

- 18 Περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ αὐτῶν πολλή διαφωνία τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν γέγονεν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἕξ αὐτὰς εἶπον, ὡς Πολύβιος καὶ Ποσειδώνιος, τὴν διακεκαυμένην εἰς δύο διαιροῦντες.

## II. DE ULIXIS NAVIGATIONE, PROPE SICILIAM PRAESERTIM

2. Ἐκ μηδενὸς δὲ ἀληθοῦς ἀνάπτει κενὴν τερατο-  
 2 λογίαν οὐχ Ὀμηρικόν. προσπίπτει γάρ, ὡς εἰκός, ὡς  
 πιθανώτερον ἂν οὕτω τις ψεύδοιτο, εἰ καταμίσοι τι  
 3 καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀληθινῶν· ὅπερ καὶ Πολύβιος φησὶ  
 περὶ τῆς Ὀδυσσεῶς πλάνης ἐπιχειρῶν.  
 4 Καὶ Πολύβιος δ' ὀρθῶς ὑπονοεῖ τὰ περὶ τῆς πλά-  
 5 νης. τὸν γὰρ Αἴολον τὸν προσημαίνοντα τοὺς ἔκπλους  
 ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὸν πορθμὸν τόποις ἀμφιδρόμοις οὖσι  
 καὶ δυσέκπλοις διὰ τὰς παλιρροίας ταμίαν τε εἰρήσθαι  
 6 τῶν ἀνέμων καὶ βασιλέα νενομίσθαι φησὶ, καθάπερ  
 Δαναὸν μὲν τὰ ὑδρεῖα τὰ ἐν Ἄργει παραδείξαντα,  
 Ἄτρεα δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου τὸν ὑπεναντίον τῷ οὐρανῷ δρό-  
 μων, μάντις τε καὶ ἱεροσκοπουμένους ἀποδείκνυσθαι  
 7 βασιλέας· τοὺς θ' ἱερέας τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Χαλδαί-  
 ουσ καὶ Μάγους σοφία τινὶ διαφέροντας τῶν ἄλλων

<sup>6</sup> Fragments 2.1–4.8 are part of a widespread discussion among hellenistic scholars how to treat the places and events in Homer.

(From Achilles, Introduction to the *Phaenomena*, C 31)  
 Those after Parmenides are not at all agreed about the number of the zones. Some, like Polybius and Poseidonius, say they are six, dividing the torrid zone into two.

## II. ON THE VOYAGE OF ODYSSEUS, ESPECIALLY IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF SICILY

(Strabo 1.2.9, C 20)

2. It is not like Homer<sup>6</sup> to build an empty narrative full of marvels on no basis of truth. For naturally the fact is that one makes falsehood more credible if one mixes a little truth with it, as Polybius also says when he undertakes to deal with the wanderings of Ulysses.

(*Id.* 1.2.15–17, C 23–25)

Polybius is right in his notion about the wanderings of Ulysses. For he says that Aeolus,<sup>7</sup> the man who gave sailing directions for the seas near the Straits, which have a current setting both ways and are difficult to pass owing to the reverse currents, was supposed to be the dispenser of the winds and a king, just as Danaus, who first revealed the reservoirs in Argos, and Atreus who discovered that the motion of the sun was contrary to that of the heavens, and those who were proclaimed seers and kings practicing divination from sacrifices, and the Egyptian priests, and the Chaldaeans and the Magi, who were distinguished from other men by some special science, enjoyed in early

<sup>7</sup> See for this section treating Aeolus, Danaus, and Atreus, WC 3.578–580.

- ἡγεμονίας καὶ τιμῆς τυγχάνειν παρὰ τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν.  
 8 οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῶν θεῶν ἕνα ἕκαστον τῶν χρησίμων  
 9 τινὸς εὐρετὴν γενόμενον τιμᾶσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ προουκο-  
 νομησάμενος οὐκ ἔῤῥ' τὸν Αἰόλον ἐν μύθου σχήματι  
 ἀκούεσθαι, οὐδ' ὄλην τὴν Ὀδυσσεῶς πλάνην, ἀλλὰ  
 μικρὰ μὲν προσμεμνηθεῖσθαι, καθάπερ καὶ τῷ Ἰλιακῷ  
 10 πολέμῳ, τὸ δ' ὅλον περὶ Σικελίαν καὶ τῷ ποιητῇ πε-  
 ποιῆσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συγγραφεῦσιν, ὅσοι τὰ πικρά-  
 11 ρια λέγουσι τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ Σικελίαν. οὐκ  
 ἐπαίνει δὲ οὐδὲ τὴν τοιαύτην τοῦ Ἐρατοσθένους ἀπό-  
 φασι, διότι φησὶ τότε ἂν εὐρεῖν τινα ποῦ Ὀδυσσεὺς  
 πεπλάνηται, ὅταν εὖρη τὸν σκυτέα τὸν συρράψαντα  
 12 τὸν τῶν ἀνέμων ἀσκόν. καὶ τοῦτο δ' οἰκείως εἰρησθαι  
 τοῖς συμβαίνοσι περὶ τὸ Σκύλλαιον καὶ τὴν θήραν  
 τῶν γαλεωτῶν, τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς Σκύλλης,  
 13 αὐτοῦ δ' ἰχθυῖα, σκόπελον περιμαιμώωσα, δελ-  
 φινᾶς τε κύνας τε καὶ εἴ ποθι μείζον ἔλθῃσι κή-  
 τος.  
 14 τοὺς γὰρ θύννοὺς ἀγεληδὸν φερομένους παρὰ τὴν  
 Ἰταλίαν, ἐπειδὴν ἐκπέσωσι καὶ κωλυθῶσι τῆς Σικε-  
 λίας ἄψασθαι, περιπίπτειν τοῖς μείζοσι τῶν ζώων,  
 οἷον δελφίνων καὶ κυνῶν καὶ ἄλλων κητωδῶν, ἐκ δὲ  
 15 τῆς θήρας αὐτῶν πιαίνεσθαι τοὺς γαλεώτας, οὓς καὶ  
 16 ξιφίας λέγεσθαι καὶ κύνας φησὶ. συμβαίνειν γὰρ  
 ταῦτόν ἐνθάδε καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἀναβάσεις τοῦ Νείλου  
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑδάτων, ὅπερ ἐπὶ πυρὸς καὶ ὕλης

times peculiar precedence and honor; and so each of the gods is honored as the author of some useful invention. Having thus prepared his way, he does not allow us to treat Aeolus and the whole of the wanderings of Odysseus as mythical, but he says, that while some mythical elements have been added, as in the case of the Trojan war, the wanderings in general have been located in Sicily both by Homer and by the other writers who treat of the local history of Italy and Sicily. Neither does he applaud the dictum of Eratosthenes that we may find out where Odysseus traveled when we find the cobbler who sewed the bag of the winds. And it is, he says, quite in accordance with the facts about the Scyllaeen rock and the method of fishing for swordfish, when he says about Scylla<sup>8</sup>—

and there<sup>9</sup> she fishes, swooping round the rock in quest of dolphins, dogfish, or of prey more bulky.

For when the tunnies swimming in shoals along the Italian coast are carried out of their course and are unable to approach the Sicilian coast they fall a prey to larger animals, such as dolphins, sharks, and other marine monsters. By preying on them the swordfish (galeotae), also called xiphiae and sea dogs, are fattened. For in this case and in that of the rising of the Nile and other waters, the same thing happens as in the case of forest fires. The wild ani-

<sup>8</sup> Scylla was a sea monster (Hom. *Od.* 2.7-8. 12.85-100, 118-125, 245-259). For the various locations recorded for her, see *RE* Scylla 650-653 (J. Schmidt). The rock is mostly associated with Sicily and the Straits of Messina.

<sup>9</sup> Hom. *Od.* 12.95-97.



ἐμπιπραμένης· ἀθροιζόμενα γὰρ τὰ θηρία φεύγειν τὸ πῦρ ἢ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ βορὰν γίνεσθαι τοῖς κρείττοσι.

3. Ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν διηγεῖται τῶν γαλεωτῶν θήραν,  
 2 ἢ συνίσταται περὶ τὸ Σκύλλαιον. σκοπὸς γὰρ ἐφέ-  
 στηκε κοινὸς ὑφορμοῦσιν ἐν δικώποισι σκαφιδίοις  
 3 πολλοῖς, δύο καθ' ἕκαστον σκαφιδιον. καὶ ὁ μὲν  
 ἐλαύνει, ὁ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς πρῶρας ἔστηκε δόρυ ἔχων, ση-  
 μήναντος τοῦ σκοποῦ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ γαλεώτου.  
 4 φέρεται δὲ τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἕξ αλον τὸ ζῶον. συνάψαν-  
 τος δὲ τοῦ σκάφους ὁ μὲν ἐπληξεν ἐκ χειρός, εἴτ'  
 5 ἐξέσπασεν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος τὸ δόρυ χωρὶς τῆς ἐπι-  
 δορατίδος· ἀγκιστρῶδης τε γὰρ ἔστι καὶ χαλαρῶς  
 ἐνήρμοσται τῷ δόρατι ἐπίτηδες, καλώδιον δ' ἔχει  
 μακρὸν ἐξημμένον. τοῦτ' ἐπιχαλῶσι τῷ τρωθέντι, τέως  
 6 ἂν κάμη σφαδάζον καὶ ὑποφεύγον· τότε δ' ἔλκουσιν  
 ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἢ εἰς τὸ σκάφος ἀναλαμβάνουσιν, εἰ μὴ  
 7 μέγα ἢ τελῶς τὸ σῶμα. κἂν ἐκπέσῃ δὲ εἰς τὴν θά-  
 λατταν τὸ δόρυ, οὐκ ἀπόλωλεν· ἔστι γὰρ πηκτὸν ἐκ τε  
 δρυὸς καὶ ἐλάτης, ὥστε βαπτιζομένου τοῦ δρυῖνου βά-  
 8 ρει μετέωρον εἶναι τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ εὐανάληπτον. συμ-  
 βαίνειν δὲ ποτε καὶ τιτρώσκεισθαι διὰ τοῦ σκαφιδίου  
 τὸν κωπηλάτην διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ ξίφους τῶν γαλεω-  
 τῶν καὶ τὸ τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ ζῶου συναγρώδη εἶναι καὶ  
 τὴν θήραν.

9 Ἐκ τε δὴ τῶν τοιούτων εἰκάλοι τις ἄν, φησί, περὶ  
 Σικελίαν γενέσθαι τὴν πλάνην κατὰ τὸν Ὅμηρον, ὅτι  
 τῇ Σκύλλῃ προσήψε τὴν τοιαύτην θήραν, ἢ μάλιστ'  
 10 ἐπιχώριός ἐστι τῷ Σκυλλαίῳ, καὶ ἐκ τῶν περὶ τῆς Χα-

imals collect to escape from the fire or the water and are devoured by the more powerful ones.

3. After saying this he describes the method of fishing for the swordfish as practiced near the Scyllaeian rock. There is a single signaler for all the fishermen who lie in wait in many two-oared skiffs, two men to each skiff. In each boat, whenever the signaler announces the appearance of the swordfish, one man rows and another stands on the prow holding a spear. The fish swims with the third part of his body out of the water. When the boat gets near it the man strikes it from close quarters and then pulls out of its body the shaft of the spear, leaving the point, which is barbed and is on purpose loosely fixed into the shaft, having a long line attached to it. They give the wounded fish line until he is tired out by his struggles and his effort to escape. Then they land him or pull him into the boat, unless he is exceedingly heavy. If the shaft happens to fall into the sea, it is not lost, for it is composed of oak and pinewood, so that when the oaken part of it sinks owing to its weight the rest remains on the surface and can be easily picked up. Sometimes the rower is wounded through the boat owing to the length of the fish's sword, and the fact that in his force and in his method of hunting he is like a wild boar.

From all this, he says, one may conjecture that according to Homer Odysseus is wandering near Sicily, since he attributes to Scylla that method of fishing which is especially practiced by the natives near the Scyllaeian rock, and

11 *ρύβδεως λεγομένων ὁμοίων τοῖς τοῦ πορθμοῦ πάθεσι.*  
τὸ δὲ

τρίς μὲν γὰρ τ' ἀνίησι

12 ἀντὶ τοῦ δις γραφικὸν εἶναι ἀμάρτημα ἢ ἱστορικόν. καὶ  
τὰ ἐν τῇ Μήνιγγι δὲ τοῖς περὶ τῶν Λωτοφάγων εἰρη-  
μένους συμφωνεῖν.

4. Εἰ δέ τινα μὴ συμφωνεῖ, μεταβολὰς αἰτιᾶσθαι  
δεῖν ἢ ἀγνοῖαν ἢ καὶ ποιητικὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἢ συνέστη-

2 κεν ἐξ ἱστορίας καὶ διαθέσεως καὶ μύθου. τῆς μὲν οὖν  
ἱστορίας ἀλήθειαν εἶναι τέλος, ὡς ἐν Νέων καταλόγῳ  
τὰ ἐκάστοις τόποις συμβεβηκότα λέγοντος τοῦ ποι-  
ητοῦ, τὴν μὲν πετρήεσσαν, τὴν δὲ ἐσχατώσασαν πόλι,

3 ἄλλην δὲ πολυτρήωνα, τὴν δ' ἀγχίαλον· τῆς δὲ δια-  
θέσεως ἐνέργειαν εἶναι τὸ τέλος, ὡς ὅταν μαχομένους

4 εἰσάγη, μύθου δὲ ἡδονὴν καὶ ἔκπληξιν. τὸ δὲ πάντα  
πλάττειν οὐ πιθανὸν οὐδ' Ὀμηρικόν· τὴν γὰρ ἐκείνου  
ποίησιν φιλοσόφημα πάντα νομίζειν, οὐχ ὡς Ἐρα-  
τοσθένης φησί, κελεύων μὴ κρίνειν πρὸς τὴν διάνοιαν

5 τὰ ποιήματα μηδ' ἱστορίαν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ζητεῖν. πιθανώ-  
τερόν τε τὸ

ἔνθεν δ' ἐννήμαρ φερόμην ὀλοοῖς ἀνέμοισιν

ἐν βραχεῖ διαστήματι δέχεσθαι—οἱ γὰρ ὀλοοὶ οὐκ

<sup>10</sup> See Hom. *Od.* 12.101-107; the quotation is verse 105. The rock with a fig tree, under which Charybdis lies, is opposite the Scyllaeian rock. *RE* Charybdis 2194-2195 (O. Waser).

also because what he says about Charybdis<sup>10</sup> resembles what happens in the straits. And as for "thrice she disgorges," it is rather an error in the text for "twice" than an error of fact. And what happens in the island of Meninx<sup>11</sup> is in agreement with the description of the Lotus eaters.

4. And if there is anything that does not correspond with reality, we must set it down to change or error or poetic license, a combination of history, rhetorical elaboration, and myth. Now the end aimed at by history is truth, and so we find the poet in the Catalog of Ships<sup>12</sup> mentioning the peculiar features of each place, calling one town "rocky," another "on the border," another "with many doves," another "by the sea"; and the end aimed at by disposition is vividness, as in his battle scenes, while the aim of myth is to please or astonish. But to invent everything neither produces illusion nor is it like Homer; for all consider his poems to be philosophical works, and refuse to follow the advice of Eratosthenes who tells us not to judge the poems by their meaning or seek for history in them. Polybius says, too, that to understand

Nine days by cruel storms I thence was borne<sup>13</sup>

of a short voyage is more likely, as cruel winds do not carry

<sup>11</sup> City on the island of Djerba off the Tunisian coast. It was the dwelling place of the Lotophagi, for which see 12.2.1-2; cf. 1.39.1-2. *RE* Meninx 859-860 (M. Schwabe).

<sup>12</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2. 493-760. A. Giovannini, *Étude historique sur les origines du Catalogue des Vaisseaux* (Bern 1969).

<sup>13</sup> Hom. *Od.* 9. 82.

6 εὐθύδρομοι—ἢ ἐξωκεανίζειν, ὡς ἂν οὐρίων πνεόντων  
 στήλας σταδίων δισμυρίων καὶ δισχιλίων πεντακο-  
 σίων, εἰ, φησί, τοῦτο θέημεν ἐν ταῖς ἐννέα ἡμέραις  
 7 διηγύσθαι ἰσοταχῶς, ἐκάστης ἂν ἡμέρας ὁ πλοῦς  
 συμβαίνοι σταδίων δισχιλίων πεντακοσίων. τίς οὖν  
 ἰστόρηκεν ἐκ Λυκίας ἢ Ῥόδου δευτεραῖόν τινα ἀφιγμέ-  
 8 νον εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ὄντος τοῦ διαστήματος στα-  
 δίων τετρακισχιλίων; πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπιζητοῦντας πῶς  
 τρίς εἰς Σικελίαν ἐλθὼν οὐδ' ἅπαξ διὰ τοῦ πορθμοῦ  
 πέπλευκεν Ὀδυσσεύς, ἀπολογεῖται διότι καὶ οἱ ὕστερον  
 ἔφευγον ἅπαντες τὸν πλοῦν τοῦτον. τοιαῦτα μὲν εἴ-  
 ρηκεν.

### III. CONTRA PRIORES SCRIPTORES GEOGRAPHICOS DISPUTAT POLYBIUS

5. Πολύβιος δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην χωρογραφῶν τοὺς  
 μὲν ἀρχαίους ἔαν φησι, τοὺς δ' ἐκείνους ἐλέγχοντας  
 ἐξετάζειν Δικαίαρχόν τε καὶ Ἐρατοσθένη τὸν τελευ-  
 2 ταῖον πραγματευσάμενον περὶ γεωγραφίας καὶ Πυ-  
 θέαν, ὑφ' οὗ παρακροσθῆναι πολλούς, ὄλην μὲν τὴν  
 Βρεττανικὴν ἐμβαδὸν ἐπελθεῖν φάσκοντος, τὴν δὲ

<sup>14</sup> The promontory of Laconia, dreaded by sailors since Homer; see, e.g., Cic. *Fam.* 4.12. 1. Plin. *ep.* 10.15.

<sup>15</sup> The Straits of Gibraltar; see 3.37.9.

<sup>16</sup> Of Messina, Peripatetic philosopher, pupil of Aristotle and

us straight, than to understand that he sailed out into the ocean as if fair winds had been blowing all the time. And reckoning the distance from Cape Malea<sup>14</sup> to the Pillars of Heracles<sup>15</sup> as 22,500 stades, he says if this were traversed in nine days at a uniform pace it would mean that each day he made 2,500 stades. Now, who has ever heard of anyone sailing from Lycia or Rhodes to Alexandria in two days, the distance here being 4,000 stades? And to those who object that Odysseus, though he came thrice to Sicily, did not once pass the Straits of Messina, he replies that every one after him also avoided this route. This, then, is what he says.

### III. POLYBIUS' CRITICISM OF PREVIOUS GEOGRAPHICAL WRITERS

(*Id.* 2.4.1-3, C 104)

5. Polybius in his account of the geography of Europe says that he dismisses older authors, but that he will examine those who find fault with them, Dicæarchus<sup>16</sup> and Eratosthenes, the latest author who has dealt with geography, and Pytheas<sup>17</sup> who has led many people into error by saying that he traversed the whole of Britain on foot,

Theophrastus. The remains of his works are collected in F. Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles*, 10 (2nd ed.) (Basel 1967). *RE* Dikaiarchos 546-563 (E. Martini), *RE-Suppl.* 11, 526-534 (F. Wehrli). W. W. Fortenbaugh-E. Schütrumpf (ed.), *Dicæarchus of Messana. Text, Translation, and Discussion* (New Brunswick 2001).

<sup>17</sup> Of Massilia, he circumnavigated Britain and reported on Thule (5.3). *RE* Pytheas 314-366 (F. Gisinger).

3 περίμετρον πλειόνων ἢ τετάρων μυριάδων ἀποδόντος  
 τῆς νήσου, προσιστορήσαντος δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς  
 Θούλης καὶ τῶν τόπων ἐκείνων, ἐν οἷς οὔτε γῆ καθ'  
 αὐτὴν ὑπῆρχεν ἔτι οὔτε θάλαττα οὔτ' ἀήρ, ἀλλὰ σύγ-  
 4 κριμά τι ἐκ τούτων πλεύμονι θαλαττίῳ ἑοικός, ἐν ᾧ  
 φησι τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλατταν αἰωρεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ  
 σύμπαντα, καὶ τοῦτον ὡς ἂν δεσμὸν εἶναι τῶν ὄλων,  
 5 μήτε πορευτὸν μήτε πλωτὸν ὑπάρχοντα. τὸ μὲν οὖν τῷ  
 πλεύμονι ἑοικὸς αὐτὸς ἑωρακέαι, τᾶλλα δὲ λέγειν ἐξ  
 6 ἀκοῆς. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ τοῦ Πυθέου, καὶ διότι ἐπανελθὼν  
 ἐνθένδε πᾶσαν ἐπέλθοι τὴν παρωκεανίτιν τῆς Εὐρώπης  
 7 ἀπὸ Γαδείρων ἕως Τανάιδος· φησι δ' οὖν ὁ Πολύβιος  
 ἄπιστον καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πῶς ἰδιώτῃ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ  
 πένητι τὰ τοσαῦτα διαστήματα πλωτὰ καὶ πορευτὰ  
 8 γένοιτο. τὸν δ' Ἐρατοσθένη διαπορήσαντα εἰ χρὴ πι-  
 στεύειν τούτοις, ὅμως περὶ τε τῆς Βρεττανικῆς πε-  
 πιστευκέαι καὶ τῶν κατὰ Γάδειρα καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν.  
 9 πολὺ δὲ φησι βέλτιον τῷ Μεσσηνίῳ πιστεύειν ἢ  
 τούτῳ· ὁ μὲντοι γε εἰς μίαν χώραν τὴν Παγχαίαν λέ-  
 γει πλεύσαι· ὁ δὲ καὶ μέχρι τῶν τοῦ κόσμου περάτων  
 10 κατωπτευκέαι τὴν προσάρκτιον τῆς Εὐρώπης πάσαν,  
 ἣν οὐδ' ἂν τῷ Ἑρμῇ πιστεύσαι τις λέγοντι. Ἐρα-

18 All attempts to locate it are based on Pytheas (5.1); see *RE* Pytheas 332–344 (F. Gisinger). The main proposals are Iceland, the Shetland islands, some point in Norway.

19 Phoenician city, founded by Tyre, modern Cadiz on the Spanish coast, south of Sevilla.

giving the island a circumference of over forty thousand stades, and telling us also about Thule<sup>18</sup> and those regions in which there was no longer any proper land nor sea nor air, but a sort of mixture of all three of the consistency of a jellyfish in which the land and sea float, this medium, in which one can neither walk nor sail, holding everything together, so to speak. He says he himself saw this jellyfish-like substance but the rest he derives from hearsay. That is the account that Pytheas gives, and he tells us that he came back thence and starting again followed the whole shore of the ocean from Gades<sup>19</sup> to the river Tanais.<sup>20</sup> Polybius, then, says that it is in itself incredible that a private man and a poor man should have traversed such vast distances in a ship or on foot, but that Eratosthenes, while doubting if one should believe this, still believes in the account of Britain and the neighborhood of Gades and the rest of Spain. But Polybius says it is far better to believe the Messenian Euhemerus than Pytheas, for Euhemerus<sup>21</sup> says that he sailed only to one country, Panchaia, but Pytheas says that he personally visited the whole northern coast of Europe as far as the ends of the world, a thing we would not even believe of Hermes himself if he told us so. Eratosthenes, however, he says, calls Eu-

<sup>20</sup> The river Don and the city of that name at its mouth, founded by Miletus. *RE* Tanais, nos. 1–2, 2162–2169 (A. Herrmann).

<sup>21</sup> Of Messene, author of an utopian work *Sacred Record*, a novel describing a fictive journey to a string of islands, the central one of which is called Panchaea. *RE* Euhemerus 952–972 (F. Jacoby).

11 τοσθένη δὲ τὸν μὲν Εὐήμερον Βεργαῖον καλεῖν, Πυθέα  
 12 δὲ πιστεύειν, καὶ ταῦτα μηδὲ Δικαιάρχου πιστεύσαντος. τὸ μὲν οὖν “μηδὲ Δικαιάρχου πιστεύσαντος” γε-  
 13 λοῖον, ὥσπερ ἐκείνῳ κανόνι χρῆσασθαι προσήκον,  
 14 καθ’ οὗ τοσούτους ἐλέγχους αὐτὸς προφέρεται Ἐρα-  
 τοσθένους δὲ εἴρηται ἢ περὶ τὰ ἑσπέρια καὶ τὰ  
 ἀρκτικά τῆς Εὐρώπης ἄγνοια. ἀλλ’ ἐκείνῳ μὲν καὶ  
 Δικαιάρχῳ συγγνώμη τοῖς μὴ κατιδοῦσι τοὺς τόπους  
 ἐκείνους· Πολυβίῳ δὲ καὶ Ποσειδωνίῳ τίς ἂν συγ-  
 γνοίη; ἀλλὰ μὴν Πολυβίός γέ ἐστιν ὁ λαοδογματικὰς  
 καλῶν ἀποφάσεις, ἅς ποιοῦνται περὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις  
 τοῖς τόποις διαστημάτων καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς, ἀλλ’  
 οὐδ’ ἐν οἷς ἐκείνους ἐλέγχει καθαρεύων.

6. τοῦ γοῦν Δικαιάρχου μυρίους μὲν εἰπόντος τοὺς  
 ἐπὶ στήλας ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου σταδίου, πλείους  
 δὲ τούτων τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδρίαν μέχρι τοῦ μυχοῦ, τοῦ  
 δ’ ἐπὶ στήλας τὸ μέχρι τοῦ πορθμοῦ τρισχιλίους  
 ἀποδόντος, ὡς γίνεσθαι τὸ λοιπὸν ἑπτακισχιλίους τὸ  
 2 ἀπὸ πορθμοῦ μέχρι στηλῶν, τοὺς μὲν τρισχιλίους εἶναι  
 φησιν εἴτ’ εἰ λαμβάνονται εἴτε μή, τοὺς δ’ ἑπτα-  
 3 κισχιλίους οὐδετέρως, οὔτε τὴν παραλίαν ἐκμετροῦντι  
 οὔτε τὴν διὰ μέσου τοῦ πελάγους. τὴν μὲν γὰρ παρα-  
 4 λιαν εὐκέναι μάλιστα ἀμβλεία γωνία, βεβηκνία ἐπὶ  
 τε τοῦ πορθμοῦ καὶ τῶν στηλῶν, κορυφὴν δ’ ἐχούσῃ  
 Νάρβωνα, ὥστε συνίστασθαι τρίγωνον, βάσιν ἔχον

<sup>22</sup> “The man from Berge” is Antiphanes (6.15), a third-century author of travelers’ tales. He became notorious as a liar, a Greek

hemerus a Bergaeon,<sup>22</sup> but believes Pytheas whom not even Dicaearchus believed. Now to say “whom not even Dicaearchus believed” is ridiculous, as if it were fitting for Eratosthenes to take him as a standard, an author in whom Polybius himself detects so many errors. I have spoken above of Eratosthenes’ mistaken notion of the west and north of Europe. But while we should excuse him and Dicaearchus who had never seen these districts, how can we excuse Polybius and Poseidonius? Who but Polybius is it who calls the statements they make about distances in this case and in many others popular misstatements, but he is not even correct where he confutes them.

6. At any rate, Dicaearchus says that the distance from the Peloponnesus to the Pillars of Hercules is 10,000 stades, and that that to the head of the Adriatic is more. The distance as far as the Straits in going to the Pillars he estimates at 3,000, so that the remainder from the Straits to the Pillars amounts to 7,000. Here Polybius says that he leaves it out of consideration whether Dicaearchus is right or not in his estimate of 3,000 stades, but that he is not right in that of 7,000, whether we follow the coast or go straight across the sea. For the coastline more or less resembles an obtuse angle, the two sides resting on the Straits and the Pillars respectively, and the apex being at Narbo,<sup>23</sup> so that a triangle is formed the base of which is

Münchhausen. See O. Weinreich, “Antiphanes und Münchhausen,” *Sitz. Wien* 1942, no. 4.

<sup>23</sup> Modern Narbonne, to become the center of Gallia Narbonensis. Mentioned in 3.37.8; 38.2; 39.8. *RE Narbo* (Suppl. 7), 515-548 (P. Goessler). Narbo was founded in 118 as the first Roman colony overseas.



5 τὴν διὰ τοῦ πελάγους εὐθείαν, πλευρὰς δὲ τὰς τὴν  
 γωνίαν ποιούσας τὴν λεχθείσαν. ὦν ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 πορθμοῦ μέχρι Νάρβωνος μυρίων ἐστὶ καὶ πλείονων  
 ἢ διακοσίων ἐπὶ τοῖς χιλίοις, ἡ δὲ λοιπὴ μικρῶ λείπον  
 6 [ἐλαττόνων ἢ] ὀκτακισχιλίων. καὶ μὴν πλείστον μὲν  
 διάστημα ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐπὶ τὴν Λιβύην ὁμολο-  
 γείσθαι κατὰ τὸ Τυρρηρικὸν πέλαγος σταδίων οὐ  
 πλείονων ἢ τρισχιλίων, κατὰ τὸ Σαρδόνιον δὲ λαμβά-  
 7 νει συναγωγὴν. ἀλλ' ἔστω, φησί, καὶ ἐκεῖνο τρισ-  
 χιλίων, προειλήφθω δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις δισχιλίων σταδίων  
 τὸ τοῦ κόλπου βάθος τοῦ κατὰ Νάρβωνα, ὡς ἂν κάθ-  
 8 ἑτος ἀπὸ τῆς κορυφῆς ἐπὶ τὴν βάσιν τοῦ ἀμβλυ-  
 γωνίου. δῆλον οὖν, φησὶν, ἐκ τῆς παιδικῆς μετρήσεως  
 ὅτι ἡ σύμπασα παραλία ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ πορθμοῦ ἐπὶ στή-  
 9 λας ἔγγιστα ὑπερέχει τῆς διὰ τοῦ πελάγους εὐθείας  
 πεντακοσίοις σταδίοις. προστεθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς  
 Πελοποννήσου ἐπὶ τὸν πορθμὸν τρισχιλίων, οἱ σύμ-  
 10 παντες ἔσονται στάδιοι, αὐτοὶ οἱ ἐπ' εὐθείας, πλείους  
 ἢ διπλάσιοι ὧν Δικαίαρχος εἶπε. πλείους δὲ τούτων  
 τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν μυχὸν τὸν Ἀδριατικὸν δεήσει, φησί, τι-  
 θέναι κατ' ἐκεῖνον.

11 Ἄλλ', ὦ φίλε Πολύβιε, φαίη τις ἂν, ὥσπερ τούτου  
 τοῦ ψεύσματος ἐναργῆ παρίστησι τὸν ἔλεγχον ἢ  
 12 πείρα ἕξ αὐτῶν ὧν εἴρηκας αὐτός, εἰς μὲν Λευκάδα ἐκ  
 Πελοποννήσου ἑπτακοσίους, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ τοὺς ἴσους  
 εἰς Κόρκυραν, καὶ πάλιν ἐντεῦθεν εἰς τὰ Κεραῦνια  
 τοὺς ἴσους καὶ ἐν δεξιᾷ εἰς τὴν Ἰαπυδίαν ἀπὸ τῶν  
 Κεραυνίων τὴν Ἰλλυρικὴν παραλίαν σταδίων ἑξακισ-

the straight line across the sea and the two sides those forming the above angle. Of these sides the one reaching from the Straits to Narbo measures more than 11,200 stades, and the other a little less than 8,000 stades. Now the longest distance from Europe to Africa across the Tyrrhenian Sea is admittedly not more than 3,000 stades; across the Sardinian Sea it is somewhat shorter, but let us, he says, call it there also 3,000 stades, and besides this let us assume that the depth of the Gulf of Narbo, or let us say of a perpendicular from the apex to the base of the obtuse angle is 2,000 stades. Then, he says, it is evident from a schoolboy's geometry that the whole coastline from the Straits to the Pillars is longer by very nearly 500 stades than the straight line across the sea. Then if we add to this the 3,000 stades from the Peloponnesus to the Straits, the whole distance along this straight line will be more than double the estimate of Dicaearchus, and according to him we must reckon the distance to the head of the Adriatic as even more than this.

But one feels inclined to say, "my dear Polybius, just as the error of these false reckonings is clearly demonstrated when tested by your own statements, which are that it is 700 stades from the Peloponnesus to Leucas, the same distance from Leucas to Corcyra, and again the same from Corcyra to the Ceraunian Mountains,<sup>24</sup> and the length of the whole Illyrian coast on the right as far as Iapydia from

<sup>24</sup> In Albania, northwest of Corfu, behind the bay of Valona, modern Vlore. *RE* Keraunische Berge 268-269 (E. Oberhummer).

- 13 χιλίων ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα. οὕτως κακείνα ψεύσματά  
 ἔστιν ἀμφότερα, καὶ ὁ Δικαίαρχος εἶπε, τὸ ἀπὸ πορ-  
 14 θμοῦ ἐπὶ στήλας εἶναι σταδίων ἑπτακισχιλίων, καὶ ὁ  
 σὺ δοκεῖς ἀποδείξαι· ὁμολογοῦσι γὰρ οἱ πλείστοι λέ-  
 γοντες τὸ διὰ πελάγους μυρίων εἶναι καὶ δισχιλίων.  
 15 Πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως δόξειεν ὑπερβεβηκέναι καὶ  
 ἀπολεληρηκέναι τὸν Βεργαῖον Ἀντιφάνην καὶ καθ-  
 ὄλου μηδενὶ καταλιπεῖν ὑπερβολὴν ἀνοίας τῶν ἐπι-  
 γινομένων;

7. Ἐξῆς δὲ τὰ τοῦ Ἐρατοσθένους ἐπανορθοῖ, τὰ μὲν  
 2 εὖ, τὰ δὲ χεῖρον λέγων ἢ ἐκείνος. ἐξ Ἰθάκης μὲν γὰρ  
 εἰς Κόρκυραν τριακοσίων εἰπόντος, πλείους φησὶν  
 εἶναι τῶν ἑνακοσίων, ἐξ Ἐπιδάμνου δὲ εἰς Θεσσαλο-  
 νίκειαν ἑνακοσίους ἀποδόντος, πλείους τῶν δισχιλίων  
 3 φησὶ. ταῦτα μὲν εὖ, ἀπὸ δὲ Μασσαλίας ἐπὶ στήλας  
 λέγοντος ἑπτακισχιλίου, ἀπὸ δὲ Πυρρήνης ἑξακισ-  
 χιλίου, αὐτὸς λέγει χεῖρον πλείους ἢ ἑνακισχιλίου  
 τοὺς ἀπὸ Μασσαλίας, ἀπὸ δὲ Πυρρήνης μικρὸν ἐλάτ-  
 4 τους ἢ ὀκτακισχιλίου· ἐγγυτέρω γὰρ τῆς ἀληθείας  
 ἐκείνος εἴρηκεν. οἱ γὰρ νῦν ὁμολογοῦσιν, εἴ τις τὰς  
 τῶν ὁδῶν ἀνωμαλίας ὑποτέμνοιτο, μὴ μείζω τῶν  
 5 Ἰβηρίαν ἀπὸ Πυρρήνης ἕως τῆς ἑσπερίου πλευρᾶς. ὁ  
 δ' αὐτὸν τὸν Τάγον ποταμὸν ὀκτακισχιλίων τίθησι τὸ  
 μῆκος ἀπὸ τῆς πηγῆς μέχρι τῶν ἐκβολῶν, οὐ δῆπου  
 τὸ σὺν τοῖς σκολιώμασιν—οὐ γὰρ γεωγραφικὸν

<sup>25</sup> See 5.10.

the Ceraunian mountains onward 6,150 stades, so both the above statements are false, that of Dicaearchus that it is 7,000 stades from the Straits to the Pillars and the one which you think you have proved. For almost every one is agreed that the direct distance by sea amounts to 12,000 stades.

How, then, can we avoid thinking that Eratosthenes in the nonsense he tells has surpassed even Antiphanes<sup>25</sup> of Berga and rendered it impossible for any subsequent writer to excel him in absurdity?

(Strabo 2.4.4, C 106)

7. Next Polybius corrects Eratosthenes, in some cases rightly but in others making worse mistakes himself. For while Eratosthenes says it is 300 stades from Ithaca to Corcyra, Polybius says it is more than 900, and while Eratosthenes gives the distance from Epidamnus to Thessalonica as 900 stades, Polybius says it is above 2,000. In these two cases he is right, but when, Eratosthenes having said that it is 7,000 stades from Marseilles to the Pillars and 6,000 from the Pyrenees to the Pillars, Polybius makes a worse mistake in giving these distances as 9,000 and nearly 8,000 respectively, Eratosthenes' statement being nearer the truth. For it is now generally agreed that if one cuts off an allowance for the winding of the roads, the width of the whole of Spain from the Pyrenees to its western coast is as the crow flies not more than 6,000 stades. But Polybius says that the length of the Tagus<sup>26</sup> alone from its source to its mouth is 8,000 stades, not I suppose reckoning its windings—for that is not correct in geography—

<sup>26</sup> The Tajo or Tejo. *RE* Tagus 2025 (A. Schulten).

6 τούτο—ἀλλ' ἐπ' εὐθείας λέγων· καίτοι γε ἀπὸ Πυρή-  
 νης οἱ τοῦ Τάγου πηγαὶ πλέον διέχουσιν ἢ χιλίους  
 7 σταδίους. πάλιν δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ὀρθῶς ἀποφαίνεται ὅτι  
 ἀγνοεῖ τὰ Ἰβηρικὰ ὁ Ἐρατοσθένης καὶ διότι περὶ  
 αὐτῆς ἔσθ' ὅπου τὰ μαχόμενα ἀποφαίνεται, ὅς γε  
 μέχρι Γαδείρων ὑπὸ Γαλατῶν περιουκείσθαι φήσας  
 <τὰ> ἔξωθεν αὐτῆς, εἰ γε τὰ πρὸς δύσιν τῆς Εὐρώπης  
 8 μέχρι Γαδείρων ἔχουσιν ἐκεῖνοι, τούτων ἐκλαθόμενος  
 κατὰ τὴν τῆς Ἰβηρίας περίοδον τῶν Γαλατῶν οὐδαμῶ  
 9 μέμνηται. τὸ <δὲ> μῆκος τῆς Εὐρώπης ὅτι ἔλαττόν  
 ἔστι τοῦ συνάμφω τῆς τε Λιβύης καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐκ-  
 10 θεῖς, οὐκ ὀρθῶς τὴν σύγκρισιν ποιεῖται. τὸ μὲν γὰρ  
 στόμα τὸ κατὰ στήλας φησὶν ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἰσημερινῇ  
 11 δύσιν ἐστίν, ὁ δὲ Ταναῖς ῥεῖ ἀπὸ θερινῆς ἀνατολῆς.  
 Προπεπτωκυίας δὲ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἄκραις πλείοσι,  
 βέλτιον μὲν οὗτος εἶρηκε περὶ αὐτῶν Ἐρατοσθένους,  
 12 οὐπω δὲ ἰκανῶς. ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ τρεῖς ἔφη, τὴν ἐπὶ  
 τὰς στήλας καθήκουσαν, ἐφ' ἧς ἡ Ἰβηρία, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ  
 τὸν πορθμόν, ἐφ' ἧς ἡ Ἰταλία, καὶ τρίτην τὴν κατὰ  
 13 Μαλέας, ἐφ' ἧς τὰ μεταξὺ τοῦ Ἀδρίου καὶ τοῦ Εὐξείνου  
 πάντ' ἔθνη καὶ τοῦ Ταναΐδος· οὗτος δὲ τὰς μὲν δύο  
 τὰς πρώτας ὁμοίως ἐκτίθεται, τρίτην δὲ τὴν κατὰ Μα-  
 14 λέας καὶ Σούνιον, ἐφ' ἧς ἡ Ἑλλάς πᾶσα καὶ ἡ Ἰλλυρίς  
 καὶ τῆς Θράκης τινά, τετάρτην δὲ τὴν κατὰ τὴν Θρα-  
 κίαν χερρόνησον, ἐφ' ἧς τὰ κατὰ Σηστόν καὶ Ἀβυδὸν  
 στενά—ἔχουσι δ' αὐτὴν Θράκες—πέμπτην δὲ τὴν  
 κατὰ τὸν Κιμμερικὸν Βόσπορον καὶ τὸ στόμα τῆς  
 Μαιώτιδος.

but meaning in a straight line. And yet the distance of the source of the Tagus from the Pyrenees is more than 1,000 stades. Again, he is right in saying that Eratosthenes is mistaken about Spain, and that in some cases his statements about it are evidently contradictory. Eratosthenes indeed says that the further side of Spain as far as Gades is inhabited by Gauls, in which case if the Gauls inhabit the outer side of Europe as far as Gades, why forgetting this does he in his detailed description of Spain never mention Gauls? But when Polybius states that the length of Europe is less than that of Africa and Asia combined he makes a false comparison. For he says that the Strait between the Pillars lies due west while the Tanaïs flows from northeast.

(*Id.* 2.4.8, C 108)

There are several peninsulas jutting out from Europe, and Polybius has given a better description of them than Eratosthenes, but not an adequate one. The latter says there are three, that which runs down to the Pillars and is occupied by Spain, that running down to the Straits and occupied by Italy, and thirdly that terminated by Cape Malea and comprising all the peoples between the Adriatic and the Euxine and Tanaïs. Polybius agrees about the two first, but makes the third that reaching to Malea and Sunium, occupied by the whole of Greece, by Illyria and parts of Thrace, the fourth being the Thracian Chersonese, on which is the Strait between Sestus and Abydus, inhabited by Thracians, and the fifth that of the Cimmerian Bosphorus<sup>27</sup> and the mouth of the Palus Maeotis.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> The Crimea.

<sup>28</sup> The Sea of Azov.

## IV. DE LUSITANIA

8. Πολύβιος δ' ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης ἐν τετάρτῃ καὶ τριακοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν περὶ τῆς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ Λυσιτανίας χώρας διαλεγόμενός φησιν ὅτι βάλανοί εἰσι κατὰ βάθος ἐν τῇ αὐτόθι θαλάττῃ πεφυτευμένοι, ὧν τὸν καρπὸν σιτουμένους τοὺς θύννους πιαίνεσθαι, διόπερ οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι τις λέγων ὅς εἶναι θαλαπτίους τοὺς θύννους.
- 3 Λέγει δ' ὁ Πολύβιος καὶ μέχρι τῆς Λατίνης ἐκπίπτει τὴν βάλανον ταύτην, εἰ μὴ ἄρα, φησί, καὶ ἡ Σαρδῶ φέροι καὶ ἡ πλησιόχωρος ταύτη.
- 4 Τὴν κατὰ Λυσιτανίαν—χώρα δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη τῆς Ἰβηρίας, ἣν νῦν Ῥωμαῖοι Σπανίαν ὀνομάζουσι—διηγούμενος εὐδαιμονίαν Πολύβιος ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης . . . ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ καὶ τριακοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν φησιν ὡς αὐτόθι διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀέρος εὐκρασίαν καὶ τὰ ζῶα πολύγωνα καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καρποὶ οὐδέποτε φθείρονται· ῥόδα μὲν γὰρ αὐτόθι καὶ λευκόια καὶ ἀσπάραγοι καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια τούτοις οὐ πλείον διαλείπει μηνῶν τριῶν, τὸ δὲ θαλάττιον ὄψον καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ κατὰ τὴν χρηστότητα καὶ κατὰ τὸ κάλλος μεγάλην ἔχει διαφορὰν πρὸς τὸ γινόμενον ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς θαλάττῃ. καὶ ὁ μὲν τῶν κριθῶν Σικελικὸς μέδιμνός ἐστι δραχμῆς, ὁ δὲ τῶν πυρῶν ἑννέα ὀβολῶν Ἀλεξανδρινῶν τοῦ δ' οἴνου δραχμῆς ὁ μετρητῆς καὶ ἔριφος ὁ μέτριος ὀβολου καὶ λαγῶς. τῶν δ' ἀρνῶν τριῶβολου καὶ τετρώβολου ἢ

## IV. ON LUSITANIA

(From Athenaeus 7.302c)

8. Polybius of Megalopolis in the thirty-fourth book of his *Histories*, in speaking of that portion of Iberia called Lusitania, says that there are oak trees planted deep in the sea, on the fruit of which the tunnies feed and get fat. So that we should not be wrong in calling tunas sea-hogs.

(Strabo 3.2.7, C 145)

Polybius says that these acorns<sup>29</sup> are carried as far as Latium and washed up, unless indeed, he adds, Sardinia too and that neighborhood produce them.

(Athenaeus 7.330c)

Polybius, in the thirty-fourth book of his *Histories* speaking of the natural wealth of Lusitania<sup>30</sup> (a district of Iberia, or, as the Romans now call it, Spain), tells us that owing to the favorable climate both men and animals are very prolific, and the land is constantly productive. For roses, white violets, asparagus, and similar plants only cease flowering for three months, and as for the sea fish, in quantity, excellence, and beauty it is far superior to that in our own sea. The Sicilian medimnus of barley costs one drachma and that of wheat nine Alexandrian obols, the metreta of wine costs a drachma and a fair-sized kid or hare one obol. Lambs are three or four obols apiece, a fat

<sup>29</sup> On the nature of these acorns see WC 3.599-601, with input from botanists.

<sup>30</sup> What Athenaeus refers to about Lusitania is really true for Turdetania, the area of the Guadalquivir; see the following notes.

9 τιμή. ὅς δὲ πίων ἑκατὸν μνάς ἄγων πέντε δραχμῶν  
 10 καὶ πρόβατον δυεῖν. τάλαντον δὲ σύκων τριῶν ὀβολῶν,  
 μόσχος δραχμῶν πέντε καὶ βοῦς ζύγιμος δέκα. τὰ δὲ  
 τῶν ἀγρίων ζῴων κρέα σχεδὸν οὐδὲ κατηξιότο τιμῆς,  
 ἀλλ' ἐν ἐπιδόσει καὶ χάριτι τὴν ἀλλαγὴν ποιῶνται  
 τούτων.

## V. DE HISPANIA

9. Τοὺς δ' ἐνοικοῦντας Τουρδητανούς τε καὶ Τουρ-  
 δούλους προσαγορεύουσιν, οἱ μὲν τοὺς αὐτοὺς νομί-  
 2 ζουτες, οἱ δ' ἑτέρους· ὧν ἔστι καὶ Πολύβιος, συννοίκους  
 φήσας τοῖς Τουρδητανοῖς πρὸς ἄρκτον τοὺς Τουρδοῦ-  
 λους.

3 Τῇ δὲ τῆς χώρας εὐδαιμονία καὶ τὸ ἡμερον καὶ τὸ  
 πολιτικὸν συννηκολούθησε τοῖς Τουρδητανοῖς, καὶ τοῖς  
 Κελτικοῖς δὲ διὰ τὴν γειτνίασιν, ὡς δ' εἶρηκε Πολύ-  
 βιος, διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν.

4 Καὶ Δικαίαρχος δὲ καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης καὶ Πολύβιος  
 καὶ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων περὶ τὸν πορθμὸν ἀπο-  
 φαίνουσι τὰς στήλας.

5 Φησὶ δὲ ὁ Πολύβιος κρήνην ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ τῷ  
 ἐν Γαδείροις εἶναι, βαθμῶν ὀλίγων κατάβασιν ἔχου-

<sup>31</sup> RE Turdetani 1378–1380 (A. Schulten). They are the native inhabitants of the kingdom of Tartessus: OCD Tartessus 1476 (S. J. Keay). <sup>32</sup> RE Turduler 1380 (A. Schulten). According to Schulten, they dwelled to the east and south (not to the north, as P. says) of the Turdetani.

pig weighing a hundred minae costs five drachmae and a sheep two. A talent's weight of figs can be had for three obols, a calf for five drachmae and a plowing ox for ten. The flesh of wild animals is scarcely thought worth pricing, but the inhabitants exchange these freely with each other as presents and marks of favor.

## V. ON SPAIN

(Strabo 3.1.6, C 139)

9. The inhabitants are known as Turdetani<sup>31</sup> and Turduli,<sup>32</sup> some considering them to be the same and others different. Among the latter is Polybius, who says that the Turduli are next to the Turdetani on the north.

(Id. 3.2.15, C 151)

The prosperity of their country results in the Turdetani as well as the Celts, owing to their proximity, or as Polybius says, owing to their kinship, having a quiet and orderly character.

(Id. 3.5.5, C 170)

Dicaearchus, Eratosthenes, and Polybius and most Greeks place the Pillars<sup>33</sup> at the Straits.

(Id. 3.5.7, C 172)

Polybius says there is a spring<sup>34</sup> in the precinct of Hercules<sup>35</sup> at Gades, a few steps leading down to the water,

<sup>33</sup> Their location is variously indicated; details in WC 3.603.

<sup>34</sup> P. may have seen it for himself, in 151 or 146.

<sup>35</sup> The Tyrian Melqart; see on the Tyrian origin of Gades n. on 5.6.



- σαν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, πότιμον, ἦν ταῖς παλιρροίαις τῆς  
θαλάττης ἀντιπαθεῖν, κατὰ μὲν τὰς πλήμας ἐκλεί-  
6 πουσαν, κατὰ δὲ τὰς ἀμπώτεις πληρουμένην. αἰτιᾶται  
δ' ὅτι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ βάθους εἰς τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν  
τῆς γῆς ἐκπίπτει, καλυφθείσης μὲν αὐτῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ  
κύματος κατὰ τὰς ἐπιβάσεις τῆς θαλάττης, εἴργεται  
τῶν οἰκείων τοιούτων ἐξόδων, ἀναστρέφει δὲ εἰς τὸ  
ἐντὸς ἐμφράττει τοὺς τῆς πηγῆς πόρους καὶ ποιεῖ λει-  
7 ψυδρία· γυμνωθείσης δὲ πάλιν εὐθυπορήσαν ἐλευθεροῖ  
τὰς φλέβας τῆς πηγῆς, ὥστ' ἀναβλύειν εὐπόρως.
- 8 Πολύβιος δὲ τῶν περὶ Καρχηδόνα Νέαν ἀργυρείων  
μνησθεὶς μέγιστα μὲν εἶναι φησι, διέχειν δὲ τῆς πό-  
λεως ὅσον εἴκοσι σταδίου, περιειληφότα κύκλον τε-  
9 τρακοσίων σταδίων, ὅπου τέτταρας μυριάδας ἀνθρώ-  
πων μένειν τῶν ἐργαζομένων, ἀναφέροντας τότε τῷ  
δήμῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν δισμυρίας  
10 καὶ πεντακισχιλίας δραχμάς. τὴν δὲ κατεργασίαν τὴν  
μὲν ἄλλην ἐῷ—μακρὰ γάρ ἐστι—, τὴν δὲ συρτήν  
βῶλον τὴν ἀργυρίτιν φησι κόπτεσθαι καὶ κοσκίνους  
εἰς ὕδωρ διαρτᾶσθαι κόπτεσθαι δὲ πάλιν τὰς ὑποστά-  
σεις καὶ πάλιν διηθουμένας ἀποχεομένων τῶν ὑδάτων  
11 κόπτεσθαι τὴν δὲ πέμπτην ὑπόστασιν χωνευθεῖσαν,  
ἀποχυθέντος τοῦ μολίβδου, καθαρὸν τὸν ἀργυρον  
ἐξάγειν.

which is drinkable. It behaves in a contrary manner to the tide of the sea, disappearing at high tide and filling again at low water. The reason of this, he says, is that the air which comes from the depths to the surface of the earth is prevented, when the surface is covered by the sea as the tide advances, from finding its natural outlet, and is driven back to the interior, thus stopping up the passage of the spring and causing the flow of water to cease; but when the spring is uncovered again the air resumes its direct course and sets free the veins of the spring so that it bubbles up in abundance.

(*Id.* 3.2.10, C 147)

Polybius, in speaking of the silver mines near New Carthage, says they are very extensive and are distant about twenty stades from the town, extending in a circle for four hundred stades. Here forty thousand miners<sup>36</sup> lived who at that period produced for the Roman government a daily sum of twenty-five thousand drachmae. I say nothing of the working of the mines in other respects—for it is a long story—but the silver-bearing ore which is washed down by the streams is crushed, he says, and separated through sieves into water. The deposit is then again crushed and sifted and while the water is running off undergoes a third crushing. This is done five times in all and the fifth deposit, after being smelted and after the lead has been drained off, produces pure silver.

<sup>36</sup> The number may include workers other than miners in the shaft; see J. S. Richardson, *JRS* 66 (1976), 151-152.

- 12 Πολύβιος δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἄναν καὶ τοῦτον ἐκ τῆς Κελτιβηρίας ρεῖν φησι, διέχοντας ἀλλήλων ὅσον ἑνακοσίουσ σταδίουσ.
- 13 Πολύβιος δὲ τὰ τῶν Οὐακκαίων καὶ τῶν Κελτιβήρων ἔθνη καὶ χωρία διεξιὼν συλλέγει ταῖς ἄλλαισ πόλεσι καὶ Σεγεσάμαν καὶ Ἰντερκατίαν.
- 14 Τοιοῦτον δὲ τινα ὑφίσταται τῇ κατασκευῇ καὶ λαμπρότητι <οἶανπερ> Πολύβιος Ἰβηρός τινοσ βασιλέωσ οἰκίαν. ὃν καὶ ἐξηλωκέσαι λέγει τὴν τῶν Φαιάκωσ τρυφὴν πλὴν τοῦ τοῦσ κρατήρασ ἐν μέσφ τῆσ οἰκίασ ἐστάναι πλήρεισ οἴνου κριθίνου, ἀργυροῦσ ὄντασ καὶ χρυσοῦσ.

## VI. DE GALLIA

10. Πολύβιος δ' ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ καὶ τριακοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν μετὰ τὴν Πυρήνην φησὶν ἕωσ τοῦ Νάρβωνοσ ποταμοῦ πεδίου εἶναι, δι' οὗ φέρεσθαι ποταμοῦσ Ἰλλέβεριν καὶ Ῥόσκυνον, ῥέοντασ παρὰ πόλεισ ὀμαύμοσ, κατοικουμένασ ὑπὸ Κελτῶν. ἐν οὖν τῷ πεδίῳ
- 2 τούτῳ εἶναι τοῦσ λεγομένοσ ἰχθῦσ ὀρυκτοῦσ. εἶναι δὲ
- 3 τὸ πεδίου λεπτόγειον καὶ πολλὴν ἄγρωστω ἔχον πεφυκυίαν ὑπὸ δὲ ταύτην διάμμου τῆσ γῆσ οὕσησ ἐπὶ

<sup>37</sup> The Guadalquivir. <sup>38</sup> By origin Celts, but adapted to the Iberians. Situated on the middle reaches of the Douro. *RE* Vaccaei 2034–2038 (A. Schulten).

<sup>39</sup> Allusion to a passage in *Od.* 4 or 15 on Menelaus' house visited by Telemachus. <sup>40</sup> *Od.* 7.88 ff.

(*Id.* 3.2.11, C 148)

Polybius says that this river (the Baetis<sup>37</sup>) and the Anas both flow from Celtiberia though distant from each other about nine hundred stades.

(*Id.* 3.4.13, C 162)

Polybius in enumerating the tribes and cities of the Vaccaei<sup>38</sup> and Celtiberians counts among the other cities Segesama and Intercatia.

(Athenaeus 1.16c)

The splendor of the table utensils of the house of Menelaus as described by Homer<sup>39</sup> recalls Polybius' description of the house of a Spanish king, who, he says, vied with the Phaeacians<sup>40</sup> in luxury, except that the bowls in the middle of the house which were made of gold and silver were full of beer.<sup>41</sup>

## VI. ON GAUL

(*Id.* 7.332a)

10. Polybius, in the thirty-fourth book of his *Histories* says that after the Pyrenees as far as the river Narbo there is a plain traversed by the rivers Illeberis and Roscynus<sup>42</sup> which pass towns of the same name inhabited by Celts. In this plain are found the so-called underground fish.<sup>43</sup> The plain has a light soil and a great deal of agrostis grows there. Under the plants, when the soil consists of sand to

<sup>41</sup> Hardly appropriate with vessels of precious metal.

<sup>42</sup> The rivers Tech and Tet. The town Roscynus is Roussillon.

<sup>43</sup> The "drag mullets" feeding upon mud. More about them in *Str.* 4.1.6, C 182.

- 4 δύο καὶ τρεῖς πήχεις, ὑπορρεῖν τὸ πλαζόμενον ἀπὸ τῶν ποταμῶν ὕδωρ, μεθ' οὗ ἰχθύες κατὰ τὰς παρεκχύσεις ὑποτρέχοντες ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν χάριω τῆς τροφῆς—φιληδοῦσι γὰρ τῇ τῆς ἀγρώστεως ῥίζῃ—πεποιήκασιν πᾶν τὸ πεδῖον πλήρες ἰχθύων ὑπογείων, οὓς ἀνορύττοντες λαμβάνουσιν.
- 5 Περὶ δὲ τῶν τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ στομάτων Πολύβιος . . . ἐπιτιμᾷ Τιμαίῳ, φήσας εἶναι μὴ πεντάστομον, ἀλλὰ δίστομον.
- 6 Ὁ δὲ Δίγηρ μεταξὺ Πικτόνων τε καὶ Ναμνιτῶν ἐκβάλλει. πρότερον δὲ Κορβιλῶν ὑπήρχεν ἐμπόριον ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ ποταμῷ, περὶ ἧς εἶρηκε Πολύβιος, μνησθεῖς τῶν ὑπὸ Πυθίου μυθολογηθέντων, ὅτι Μασσαλιωτῶν μὲν τῶν συμμιξάντων Σκιπίωνι οὐδεὶς εἶχε λέγειν οὐδὲν μνήμης ἄξιον, ἐρωτηθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος περὶ τῆς Βρεταννικῆς, οὐδὲ τῶν ἐκ Νάρβωνος οὐδὲ τῶν ἐκ Κορβιλῶνος, αἵπερ ἦσαν ἄρισται πόλεις τῶν ταύτης, Πυθίας δ' ἐθάρρησε τοσαῦτα ψεύσασθαι.
- 8 Φησὶ δὲ Πολύβιος καὶ ἰδιόμορφόν τι γενιᾶσθαι ζῶον ἐν αὐταῖς, ἐλαφοειδὲς τὸ σχῆμα πλὴν αὐχένος
- 9 καὶ τριχώματος, ταῦτα δ' εὐικέναι κάπρω· ὑπὸ δὲ τῷ γενεῖῳ πυρῆνα ἴσχειν ὅσον σπιθαμιαῖον ἀκρόκομον, πωλικῆς κέρκου τὸ πάχος.

<sup>44</sup> Ancient authors differ on their number: two, three, five, and seven are given.

<sup>45</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>46</sup> 5.1.

<sup>47</sup> Probably Scipio Aemilianus, either in 154 (see 33.9.8) or on his return from Spain in 150.

the depth of two or three cubits, the flood water of the rivers penetrates, and together with the water in flood-time certain fish descending in search of food—for they are very fond of the roots of the agrostis—make all the plain full of subterranean fish which they catch by digging them up.

(Strabo 4.1.8, C 183)

As regards the mouths<sup>44</sup> of the Rhone Polybius finds fault with Timaeus. It has not, he says, five mouths, but only two.

(*Id.* 4.2.1, C 190)

The Loire falls into the sea between the Pictones and the Namnitae. There was formerly a trading port called Corbilo<sup>45</sup> on this river, which Polybius mentions in talking of the fictions of Pytheas.<sup>46</sup> He says that none of the Massaliots who met Scipio<sup>47</sup> and were questioned by him had any particular information to give him about Britain, nor had the people from Narbo, or those from Corbilo, the finest cities in those parts, and yet Pytheas has boldly made so many false statements about it.

(*Id.* 4.6.10, C 207)

Polybius says there is a peculiar animal<sup>48</sup> in the Alps, like a deer in form except its neck and coat, which are like a boar's. Under its chin it has a hard growth about a span long and with hairs at the end, about as thick as a colt's tail.

<sup>48</sup> Perhaps the European elk, now extinct. For this and what follows in 8–14, see O. Harl, "Polybius bereist um 150 v. Chr. die östliche Cisalpina und besucht die norischen Taurisker" (*Tyche* 26, 2011), 91–139.

- 10 Ἔτι φησὶ Πολύβιος ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ κατ' Ἀκυληίαν  
 μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς Ταυρίσκοις τοῖς Νωρικοῖς εὑρεθῆναι  
 χρυσεῖον οὕτως εὐφυνὲς ὥστ' ἐπὶ δύο πόδας ἀποσύραυτι  
 τὴν ἐπιπολῆς γῆν εὐθὺς ὄρυκτὸν εὐρίσκεσθαι χρυ-  
 11 σόν. τὸ δ' ὄρυγμα μὴ πλείονων ὑπάρχειν ἢ πεντεκαί-  
 12 δεκα ποδῶν. εἶναι δὲ τοῦ χρυσοῦ τὸν μὲν αὐτόθεν  
 καθαρὸν, κυάμου μέγεθος ἢ θέρμον, τοῦ ὀγδοῦ μέρους  
 μόνον ἀφειψηθέντος, τὸν δὲ δεῖσθαι μὲν χωνείας  
 13 πλείονος, σφόδρα δὲ λυσιτελοῦς. συνεργασαμένων δὲ  
 τοῖς βαρβαροῖς τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν ἐν διμήνῳ, παραχρῆμα  
 τὸ χρυσεῖον εὐνότερον γενέσθαι τῷ τρίτῳ μέρει καθ'  
 14 ὅλην τὴν Ἰταλίαν. αἰσθομένους δὲ τοὺς Ταυρίσκους  
 μονοπωλεῖν ἐκβαλόντας τοὺς συνεργαζομένους.  
 15 Ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ περὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν Ἄλπεων  
 καὶ τοῦ ὕψους λέγων παραβάλλει τὰ ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν  
 ὄρη τὰ μέγιστα, τὸ Ταῦγετον, τὸ Λύκαιον, Παρνασσόν,  
 Ὀλυμπον, Πήλιον, Ὀσσαν, ἐν δὲ Θράκῃ Αἴμον,  
 16 Ῥοδόπην, Δούνακα. καὶ φησιν ὅτι τούτων μὲν ἕκαστον  
 μικροῦ δέιν αὐθημερὸν εὐζώνους ἀναβῆναι δυνατὸν,  
 17 αὐθημερὸν δὲ καὶ περιελθεῖν, τὰς δ' Ἄλπεις οὐδ' ἂν

<sup>49</sup> Founded as a Roman colony in 181, to protect Italy from the northeast. Located on the coast, some 13 kilometers north of Grado. S. Tavano, *Aquileia e Grado: storia, arte, cultura* (Trieste 1986).

<sup>50</sup> A large Celtic tribe with extended seats. Those working the gold mines are sought somewhere in the Tauern, but no exact location of the gold mines seems possible. *RE* Taurisci 1–14 (M. Fluss), on the mining of gold 10–11.

(*Id.* 4.6.12, C 208)

Polybius says that in his time a gold mine was discovered in the region of Aquileia<sup>49</sup> in the country of the Noric Taurisci,<sup>50</sup> so easy to work that when the earth on the surface was scraped off to the depth of two feet the diggers found gold at once. The deposit was not deeper than fifteen feet. The gold consisted partly of nuggets as big as a bean or a lupine, which were pure gold when the eighth part only had been smelted off, and partly of stuff which required a good deal of smelting but was very rich. After the Italians had been working it together with the natives for two months, the price of gold throughout Italy at once fell by one-third. But the Taurisci, when aware of this, expelled the other workers and made a monopoly of it.

(*Id.*)

Polybius also in talking of the size and height of the Alps compares with them the greatest mountains<sup>51</sup> in Greece, Taygetus, Lycaenum, Parnassus, Olympus, Pelion and Ossa, and Haemus, Rhodope, and Dunax in Thrace.<sup>52</sup> He says that each of these can be ascended by a pedestrian in about one day and that the circuit of each may be made in the same time, but it takes at least five days to ascend

<sup>51</sup> The six Greek mountains named have high points between 1635 and 2918 (Olympus) meters, all below those of the Alps. They are located (in P.'s order) west of Delphi, in Arcadia, above Delphi, between Thessaly and Macedonia, at the Magnesian peninsula, and (the Ossa) at Pelion's north end. The three Thracian mountains likewise do not reach the height of the Alps.

<sup>52</sup> P. mentions Haemus (which rises up to 2,290 meters), Rhodope (up to 2,191), and Dunax, between Nestus (Mesta) and Hebrus (Marica), which attains 2,910 meters.

- πεμπταίος ἀναβαίη τις· τὸ δὲ μῆκος ἐστὶ δισχιλίων  
καὶ διακοσίων σταδίων τὸ παρῆκον παρὰ τὰ πεδία.
- 18 τέτταρας δ' ὑπερβάσεις ὀνομάζει μόνον, διὰ Λιγύων  
μὲν τὴν ἔγγιστα τῷ Τυρρηρικῷ πελάγει, εἶτα τὴν διὰ  
Ταυρίνων, ἣν Ἀντίβας διήλθεν, εἶτα τὴν διὰ Σαλασσῶν,
- 19 τετάρτην δὲ τὴν διὰ Ῥαιτῶν, ἀπάσας κρημνώδεις. λί-  
μνας δὲ εἶναι φησὶν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι πλείους μὲν, τρεῖς  
δὲ μεγάλας, ὧν ἡ μὲν Βήνακος ἔχει μῆκος πεντα-  
κοσίων σταδίων, πλάτος δὲ <ἐκατὸν> τριάκοντα, ἐκρεῖ
- 20 δὲ ποταμὸς Μίγκιος· ἡ δ' ἐξῆς Λάριος τετρακοσίων,  
πλάτος δὲ στενωτέρα τῆς πρότερον, ἐξίησι δὲ ποταμὸν
- 21 τὸν Ἀδοῦαν· τρίτη δὲ Οὐερβανὸς μῆκος ἔγγυς τρια-  
κοσίων σταδίων, πλάτος δὲ τριάκοντα, ποταμὸν δὲ  
ἐξίησι μέγαν Τίκινον. πάντες δ' εἰς τὸν Πάδον συρ-  
ροῦσι.

## VII. DE ITALIA

11. Πολύβιος δὲ διάφορον οἶνον ἐν Καπύῃ φησὶ  
γίνεσθαι τὸν ἀναδεδριτήν καλούμενον, ᾧ μηδένα  
συγκρίνεσθαι.

- 2 Φησὶ δὲ Πολύβιος περὶ μὲν εἶναι τὴν παραλίαν  
τὴν ἀπὸ Ἰαπυγίας μέχρι πορθμοῦ καὶ τρισχιλίων  
σταδίων, κλύεσθαι δ' αὐτὴν τῷ Σικελικῷ πελάγει,  
πλέοντι δὲ καὶ πεντακοσίων δέουσαν.

<sup>53</sup> through Liguria, the coastal route to the Colle di Tenda; through the country of the Taurisci to Mt. Genève, with Col du

the Alps, and the length of that part of the chain which rises from the plain is two thousand two hundred stades. He only mentions four passes,<sup>53</sup> one through Liguria nearest the Tyrrhenian Sea, that through the country of the Taurini, which Hannibal crossed, that through the country of the Salassi, and that through Rhaetia, all very steep. He says there are several lakes in the mountains, three of them very large, Benacus (Garda) being five hundred stades long and thirty in breadth, the river Mincius flowing from it. Next comes Larius (Como), four hundred stades in length but narrower than the last, the Adda flowing from it. The third is Verbanus (Maggiore), three hundred stades long and thirty broad, from which a large river, the Ticinus, flows. All these streams fall into the Po.

## VII. ON ITALY

(Athenaeus 1.31d)

11. Polybius says that the wine made in Capua from vines trained up trees is particularly good and no other can be compared with it.<sup>54</sup>

(Strabo 5.1.3, C 211)

Polybius says the coast from Iapygia to the straits measures by road three thousand stades and is washed by the Sicilian sea. By sea the distance is five hundred stades less than that.

Clapier and Mt. Cenis; through the country of the Salassi to the two St. Bernards; finally the pass through Raetia, which is not securely identified.

<sup>54</sup> The Falernian wine, however, was regarded as still superior; Plin. *HN* 14.62 and 67.



3 Τῆς δὲ Τυρρηνίας μῆκος μὲν τὸ μέγιστον εἶναι φασι τὴν παραλίαν ἀπὸ Λούνης μέχρι Ὀστίων δισχιλίων πού καὶ πεντακοσίων σταδίων. πλάτος δὲ τοῦ ἡμίσεως ἔλαττον τὸ πρὸς τοῖς ὄρεσιν. εἰς μὲν οὖν Πίσσας ἀπὸ Λούνης πλείους τῶν τετρακοσίων σταδίων εἰσίν, ἐντεύθεν δ' εἰς Οὐολατέρρας διακόσιοι ὀγδοήκοντα, πάλιν δ' ἐνθένδε εἰς Ποπλώνιον διακόσιοι ἑβδομήκοντα, ἐκ δὲ Ποπλώνιου εἰς Κόσαν ἑγγυς ὀκτακόσιοι, οἱ δὲ ἑξακόσιοί φασι. Πολύβιος δ' οὐκ εὖ καὶ τοὺς πάντας χιλίους τριακοσίους τριάκοντα λέγει.

4 Αἰθάλη, νῆσος Τυρσηνῶν . . . Πολύβιος δ' ἐν τριακοστῇ τετάρτῃ λέγει Αἰθάλειαν τὴν Λῆμμον καλεῖσθαι.

5 Καλοῦσι δ' αὐτὸν Κρατῆρα, ἀπὸ τοῦ Μισσηνοῦ μέχρι τοῦ Ἀθηναίου, δνεῖν ἀκρωτηρίων, κολπούμενον. ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων τῶν ἡόνων Καμπανία πᾶσα ἴδρυται,

6 πεδίων εὐδαιμονέστατον τῶν ἀπάντων . . . Ἀντίοχος μὲν οὖν φησι τὴν χώραν ταύτην Ὀπικοὺς οἰκῆσαι,

7 τούτους δὲ καὶ Αὔσονας καλεῖσθαι. Πολύβιος δ' ἐμφαίνει δύο ἔθνη νομίζων ταῦτα. Ὀπικοὺς γάρ φησι καὶ Αὔσονας οἰκεῖν τὴν χώραν ταύτην περὶ τὸν Κρατῆρα.

<sup>55</sup> Modern Luni on the border of Etruria and Liguria. It was founded as a Roman colony in 177.

<sup>56</sup> R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia* (2nd ed.) (Oxford 1973).

<sup>57</sup> *RE* Volaterrae 721–740, esp. 738–740 (G. Radke).

<sup>58</sup> Opposite Elba. *RE* Populonia 91–95 (G. Radke).

(*Id.* 5.2.5, C 222)

The extreme length of the coast of Etruria they say from Luna<sup>55</sup> to Ostia<sup>56</sup> is 2,500 stades, the extreme breadth near the hills is less than half this. It is more than 400 stades from Luna to Pisa, from Pisa to Volaterra<sup>57</sup> 280 stades and from there to Populonia<sup>58</sup> 270. From Populonia to Cosa<sup>59</sup> it is nearly 800 or as some say 600. Polybius is wrong<sup>60</sup> in giving the whole length as 1,330 stades.

(Steph. Byz.)

Aethale, an island off Etruria. Polybius in his thirty-fourth book says that Lemnos was called Aethaleia.<sup>61</sup>

(Strabo 5.4.3, C 242)

They call the bay which is formed by the two capes, Misenum and the temple of Minerva, the "Crater." Above this coast lies the whole of Campania, the most fertile of all plains. Antiochus says this region was inhabited by the Opici,<sup>62</sup> who were also called Ausones. Polybius, however, evidently regards them as two nations, for he says that this region near the Crater is inhabited by Opici and Ausones.

<sup>59</sup> Modern Ansedonia on the Etruscan coast, a Roman colony, founded, as was (Posidonia) Paestum, in 273 (misprinted in WC 3.617, as 173). E. T. Salmon, *Roman Colonization under the Republic* (Ithaca 1970), 29–39.

<sup>60</sup> According to WC 3.617 (see his tables), P's number of 1,330 stades is nearly perfect, whereas Strabo's is much too high.

<sup>61</sup> Elba.

<sup>62</sup> A different name for the Osci, who inhabited Campania before the arrival of the Greeks. *RE* Osci 1543–1567 (E. Vetter).

(Id. 6.3.10, C 285)

Polybius says that from Iapygia the road has milestones. It is 562 miles to Sila,<sup>63</sup> and from there to Aquileia 178.

(Id. 6.1.11, C 261)

After these capes comes the Lacinium, the temple of Hera, once very rich and full of numerous offerings. The distances are not stated exactly. Polybius, however, speaking roughly, gives the distance from the Straits to the Lacinium<sup>64</sup> as 1,300 stades and from thence to the headland of Iapygia as 700.

(Id. 6.2.10, C 276)

Of the three craters of the Holy Island<sup>65</sup> of Vulcan Polybius says one has partly collapsed, but the others are entire. The edge of the largest is circular and is five stades in circumference. It gradually contracts to a diameter of fifty feet. At this spot the height straight down to the sea is one stade, so that in calm weather the sea is visible in the distance. When the south wind is going to blow, a thick haze gathers all round the island so that not even Sicily is visible; but when the north wind is going to blow clear flames spring up to some height from the crater I was speaking of and louder rumblings than usual issue from it. The signs foretelling a west wind are half way between the two. The other craters are similar, but the force of their discharge is less. And he states that from the difference of the rumblings, and from the direction from which the

<sup>64</sup> See 3.33.18 and n. The Lacinian promontory is Capo Colonne near Croton.

<sup>65</sup> The island of Thermessa, modern Volcano, the most southerly of the Lipari Islands.

8 Πολύβιος δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰαπυγίας μεμυλιάσθαι φησί, καὶ εἶναι μίλια πεντακόσια ἑξήκοντα δύο εἰς . . . Σίλαν πόλιν, ἐντεῦθεν δ' εἰς Ἀκυληίαν ἑκατὸν ἑβδομήκοντα ὀκτώ.

9 Μετὰ δὲ ταύτας τὸ Λακίνιον, Ἥρας ἱερόν, πλούσιόν  
10 ποτε ὑπάρξαν καὶ πολλῶν ἀναθημάτων μεστόν. τὰ  
διάρματα δ' οὐκ εὐκρινῶς λέγεται· πλὴν ὥς γε ἐπὶ τὸ  
πολὺ σταδίους ἀπὸ πορθμοῦ μέχρι Λακινίου Πολύ-  
11 βιος ἀποδίδωσι χιλίους καὶ τριακοσίους, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ  
καὶ διάρμα εἰς ἄκραν Ἰαπυγίαν ἑπτακοσίους.

12 Πολύβιος δὲ τῶν τριῶν κρατήρων τὸν μὲν κατε-  
13 ρηκέσαι φησὶν ἐκ μέρους, τοὺς δὲ συμμένειν· τὸν δὲ  
μέγιστον τὸ χεῖλος ἔχειν περιφερὲς ὃν πέντε σταδίων,  
κατ' ὀλίγον δὲ συνάγεσθαι εἰς πεντήκοντα ποδῶν διά-  
14 μετρον· καθ' οὗ βάθος εἶναι τὸ μέχρι θαλάττης στα-  
15 διαῖον, ὥστε καθορᾶν ταῖς νηγεμίαις. εἰ μὲν οὖν νό-  
τος μέλλῃ πνεῖν, ἀχνὴν ὀμιχλώδη καταχεῖσθαι κύκλω  
φησὶ τῆς νησίδος, ὥστε μηδὲ τὴν Σικελίαν ἀπωθεῖ  
16 φαίνεσθαι· ὅταν δὲ βορέας, φλόγας καθαρὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ  
λεχθέντος κρατήρος εἰς ὕψος ἐξαίρεσθαι καὶ βρόμους  
ἐκπέμπεσθαι μείζους· τὸν δὲ ζέφυρον μέσσην τινὰ  
17 ἔχειν τάξιν. τοὺς δ' ἄλλους κρατήρας ὁμοειδῆς μὲν  
18 εἶναι, τῇ δὲ βίᾳ λείπεσθαι τῶν ἀναφυσημάτων· ἕκ τε  
δὴ τῆς διαφορᾶς τῶν βρόμων καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πόθεν

<sup>63</sup> The name is corrupt, the most likely emendation is Σήναν, i.e., Sena, between Rimini and Ancona, for which see 2.14.11.

ἄρχεται τὰ ἀναφυσήματα καὶ αἱ φλόγες καὶ αἱ  
 λιγνύες προσημαίνεσθαι καὶ τὸν εἰς ἡμέραν τρίτην  
 19 πάλιν μέλλοντα ἄνεμον πνεῖν. τῶν γοῦν ἐν Λιπάραις  
 γενομένης ἀπλοίας προειπεῖν τινὰς φησι τὸν ἐσόμενον  
 20 <ἄνεμον> καὶ μὴ διαψεύσασθαι. ἀφ' οὗ δὴ τὸ μυθω-  
 δέστατον δοκοῦν εἰρησθαι τῷ ποιητῇ οὐ μάτην φαί-  
 νεσθαι λεχθέν, ἀλλ' αἰνιξαμένου τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὅταν  
 φῆ ταμίαν τῶν ἀνέμων τὸν Αἰόλον.

VIII. DE THRACIA,  
 MACEDONIA, GRAECIA

12. Καὶ ἄλλα δ' οὐ πιστὰ λέγει, τό τε συντετρῆσθαι  
 τὰ πελάγη . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐρίσκεσθαι κέραμόν τε Χίον  
 καὶ Θάσιον ἐν τῷ Νάρωνι, καὶ τὸ ἄμφω κατοπτεύε-  
 σθαι τὰ πελάγη ἀπὸ τινος ὄρους, καὶ τῶν νήσων τῶν  
 Λιβυρνίδων . . . τιθείς, ὥστε κύκλον ἔχειν σταδίων καὶ  
 πεντακοσίων, καὶ τὸ τὸν Ἰστρον ἐνὶ τῶν στομάτων  
 2 εἰς τὸν Ἀδρίαν ἐμβάλλειν. τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἐρα-  
 τοσθένους ἔνια παρακούσματα ἔστι λαοδογματικά,  
 καθάπερ Πολύβιος φησι καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλ-  
 λων λέγων συγγραφέων.

discharges and the smoke and flame come, one can fore-  
 tell from what quarter the wind will blow even three days  
 later. At least some of the people in Lipara, he says, when  
 the weather made sailing impossible, foretold what wind  
 would blow and were not wrong. So that what seems to us  
 Homer's most mythical statement,<sup>66</sup> when he calls Aeolus  
 the dispenser of the winds, was not quite an idle tale, but  
 darkly hinted at the truth.

VIII. ON THRACE, MACEDONIA,  
 AND GREECE

(Strabo 7.5.9, C 317)

12. Among other improbable things Theopompus<sup>67</sup>  
 states that the Aegean Sea and the Adriatic have an un-  
 derground connection, Chian and Thasian pottery being  
 found in the Naro,<sup>68</sup> and again that the two seas are visible  
 from a certain mountain, and that the Liburnian islands<sup>69</sup>  
 have a circumference of as much as 500 stades, and that  
 one of the mouths of the Danube falls into the Adriatic.<sup>70</sup>  
 These and some assertions of Eratosthenes are mere vul-  
 gar errors, as Polybius says in speaking of the latter and  
 other writers.

<sup>66</sup> *Od.* 10.21, quoted also in 2.5.

<sup>67</sup> This is *FGH* 115, F 129. See on him n. on 8.9.1, for P's  
 general criticism of Theopompus 8.9-11.

<sup>68</sup> Modern Narenta in Dalmatia.

<sup>69</sup> South of Histria, forty in number, Rab among them.

<sup>70</sup> An error, committed also by earlier writers.

- 2a Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίας εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἡ Ἐγνατία  
 ἐστὶν ὁδὸς πρὸς ἑω, βεβηματισμένη κατὰ μίλιον καὶ  
 κατεστηλωμένη μέχρι Κυψέλων καὶ Ἐβρου ποταμοῦ·  
 3 μιλίων δ' ἐστὶ πεντακοσίων τριάκοντα πέντε. λογι-  
 ζομένῃ δέ, ὡς μὲν οἱ πολλοί, τὸ μίλιον ὀκταστάδιον  
 τετρακισχίλιοι ἂν εἴεν στάδιοι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς διακό-  
 4 σιοι ὄγδοῆκοντα, ὡς δὲ Πολύβιος, προστιθεὶς τῷ  
 ὀκτασταδίῳ δίπλεθρον, ὃ ἐστὶ τρίτον σταδίον, προσ-  
 5 τρίτον τοῦ τῶν μιλίων ἀριθμοῦ. συμβαίνει δ' ἀπὸ  
 ἴσου διαστήματος συμπίπτειν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν  
 τοὺς τ' ἐκ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίας ὀρμηθέντας καὶ τοὺς ἐξ  
 6 Ἐπιδάμνου. ἡ μὲν οὖν πᾶσα Ἐγνατία καλεῖται, ἡ δὲ  
 πρώτη ἐπὶ Κανδαουίας λέγεται, ὄρους Ἴλλυρικοῦ, διὰ  
 Λυχνιδοῦ πόλεως καὶ Πυλῶνος, τόπου ὀρίζοντος ἐν τῇ  
 7 ὁδῷ τὴν τε Ἴλλυρίδα καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν. ἐκέϊθεν δ'  
 ἐστὶ παρὰ Βαρνοῦντα διὰ Ἡρακλείας καὶ Λυγκηστῶν  
 καὶ Ἐορδῶν εἰς Ἐδεσσαν καὶ Πέλλαν μέχρι Θεσσα-  
 8 λονικείας· μίλια δ' ἐστὶ, φησὶ Πολύβιος, ταῦτα διακό-  
 σια ἑξήκοντα ἑπτὰ.

<sup>71</sup> A colony of Corcyra in Epirus.

<sup>72</sup> Roman road from Epidamnus to Thessalonica, built in the later 140s by the governor of Macedonia, Gnaeus Egnatius (*MRR* 3.84). A milestone with his name has been found close to Thessalonica (*BCH* 98 [1974], 813–816 and figs. 1–2). He is also mentioned in a *senatus consultum* of about the same time, *IG IX* 1<sup>2</sup> 796, A 16. From the vast bibliography see L. Gounaropoulou-M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Les millitaires de la voie Egnatienne entre Heraclee des Lyncestes et Thessalonique* (Athens 1985), and for the

(*Id.* 7.7.4, C 322)

From Apollonia<sup>71</sup> the Via Egnatia<sup>72</sup> runs east to Macedonia. It has been measured and marked<sup>73</sup> with milestones as far as Cypsela<sup>74</sup> and the river Hebrus, the distance being 535 miles. If we reckon the mile, as most people do, at 8 stades, this makes 4,280 stades, but if like Polybius we add to the 8 stades 2 plethra, i.e., the third of a stade, we must add 178 stades, the third of the number of miles. Travelers starting from Apollonia and from Epidamnus<sup>75</sup> strike the same road at an equal distance from their point of departure. The whole road is called Via Egnatia, but the first section passing through the town of Lychnidus<sup>76</sup> and through Pylon, the point on the road which separates Illyria from Macedonia, derives its name from Candavia, a mountain of Illyria. Thence it passes along Mt. Barnus through Heraclea<sup>77</sup> and Lyncestis, and Eordea<sup>78</sup> to Edessa<sup>79</sup> and Pella<sup>80</sup> and finally Thessalonica. The length of this part is according to Polybius 267 miles.<sup>81</sup>

western part F. W. Walbank, *Ancient Macedonia* 4 (1986), 673–680, with map. M. Fasolo, *La Via Egnatia* 1<sup>2</sup>, (2005).

<sup>73</sup> P. has used almost identical terms for the *via Domitia*, built after 118; see 3.39.8 with n.

<sup>74</sup> City in Thrace, on the Hebrus, north of its mouth. *RE* Kypsela 117–118 (E. Oberhammer).

<sup>75</sup> In Roman times Dyrrhachium.

<sup>76</sup> Modern Ohrid at Lake Ohrid in Albania.

<sup>77</sup> H. in Lyncestis, located 2 kilometers south of Monastir.

<sup>78</sup> See N. G. L. Hammond, *A History of Macedonia* 1 (Oxford 1972), 106–110.

<sup>79</sup> Macedonian city, west of Pella (next n.). Hammond (previous n.), 165–166.

<sup>80</sup> Until 168 the capital of Macedonia, see n. on 4.66.6.

<sup>81</sup> For distances between various points of the road see the table in WC 3.625–628.

- 9 Ὅτι ἐκ Περίνθου εἰς Βυζάντιόν εἰσιν ἑξακόσιοι  
 τριάκοντα, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἑβρου καὶ Κυψέλων εἰς Βυζάντιον  
 μέχρι Κυανέων τρισχίλιοι ἑκατὸν, ὡς φησὶν Ἄρτε-  
 μίδωρος, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν μῆκος ἀπὸ Ἴονίου κόλπου τοῦ  
 10 κατὰ Ἀπολλωνίαν μέχρι Βυζαντίου ἑπτακισχίλιοι  
 τριακόσιοι εἴκοσι προστίθῃσι δ' ὁ Πολύβιος καὶ ἄλ-  
 λους ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα, τὸ τρίτον τοῦ σταδίου προ-  
 λαμβάνων ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀκτὼ τοῦ μιλίου σταδίοις.
- 11 Ἡ δὲ περίμετρος μὴ κατακολλίζοντι τετρακισ-  
 χιλίων σταδίων, ὡς Πολύβιος.
- 12 Πολυβίου δ' εἰρηκότος τὸ ἀπὸ Μαλεῶν ἐπὶ τὰς  
 ἄρκτους μέχρι τοῦ Ἴστρου διάστημα περὶ μυρίου  
 σταδίου, εὐθύνει τοῦτο ὁ Ἄρτεμίδωρος οὐκ ἀτόπως  
 . . . κατ' ἐκείνου δὴ συμβαίνει τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Ἴστρου ἐπὶ  
 Μαλᾶς ἑξακισχιλίων πεντακοσίων. αἰτίων δὲ τούτου  
 τὸ μὴ τὴν σύντομον καταμετρεῖν ἀλλὰ τὴν τυχοῦσαν,  
 ἣν ἐπορεύθη τῶν στρατηγῶν τις.

## IX. DE ASIA

13. Τὰ δ' ἐπ' εὐθείας τούτοις μέχρι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς τὰ  
 αὐτὰ κέεται καὶ παρὰ τῷ Ἄρτεμιδώρῳ, ἅπερ καὶ παρὰ  
 τῷ Ἐρατοσθένει. λέγει δὲ καὶ Πολύβιος περὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ  
 μάλιστα δεῖν πιστεῦν ἐκείνῳ.

<sup>82</sup> See n. on 18.2.4.

(Strabo, epit. 7.57)

From Perinthus<sup>82</sup> to Byzantium the distance is 630 stades, from the Hebrus and Cypsela to Byzantium as far as the Cyanean rocks it is 3,100 according to Artemidorus,<sup>83</sup> and the whole distance from the Ionian gulf at Apollonia to Byzantium is 7,320 stades, Polybius adding a further 180 stades, as he reckons the mile at 8½ stades.

(*Id.* 8.2.1, C 335)

The circumference of the Peloponnesus sailing from cape to cape is 4,000 stades according to Polybius.

(*Id.* 8.8.5, C 339)

Polybius says that the distance due north from Cape Malea<sup>84</sup> to the Danube is about 10,000 stades, but Artemidorus corrects him, and no wonder. According to him the distance from the Danube to Malea is 6,500 stades. The reason of the discrepancy is that Polybius does not reckon the distance in a straight line, but by the route some general chanced to follow.

## IX. ON ASIA

(*Id.* 14.2.29, C 663)

13. Artemidorus agrees with Eratosthenes in his estimate of the direct distance from the Euphrates to India. Polybius says that we should mainly rely on Eratosthenes for information about the area between Euphrates and India.

<sup>83</sup> Geographer from Ephesus, lived around the turn of the 2nd century. For a recently discovered papyrus with remains of his work see, e.g., *ArchPapf* 44 (1998), 189-208.

<sup>84</sup> 4.6.



## X. DE ALEXANDRIA, AEGYPTI URBE

14. Ὁ γοῦν Πολύβιος γεγυῶς ἐν τῇ πόλει βδελύτ-  
 2 τεται τὴν τότε κατάστασιν καὶ φησι τρία γένη τὴν  
 πόλιν οἰκεῖν, τό τε Αἰγύπτιον καὶ ἐπιχώριον φύλον,  
 3 ὁξὺ καὶ <οὐ><sup>1</sup> πολιτικόν, καὶ τὸ μισθοφορικόν, βαρὺ  
 καὶ πολὺ καὶ ἀνάγωγον· ἐξ ἔθους γὰρ παλαιοῦ ξένους  
 4 ἔτρεφον τοὺς τὰ ὄπλα ἔχοντας, ἄρχειν μᾶλλον ἢ ἄρ-  
 χεσθαι δεδιδαγμένους διὰ τὴν τῶν βασιλέων οὐδέ-  
 5 νειαν. τρίτον δ' ἦν γένος τὸ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων, οὐδ'  
 αὐτὸ εὐκρινῶς πολιτικὸν διὰ τὰς αὐτὰς αἰτίας, κρείττον  
 6 δ' ἐκείνων ὁμως· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μιγάδες, Ἕλληνες ὁμως  
 ἀνέκαθεν ἦσαν καὶ ἐμέμνητο τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἑλ-  
 7 λήνων ἔθους. ἠφανισμένοι δὲ καὶ τούτου τοῦ πλήθους;  
 μάλιστα ὑπὸ τοῦ Εὐεργέτου τοῦ Φύσκωνος, καθ' ὃν  
 8 ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὁ Πολύβιος—καταστασι-  
 αζόμενος γὰρ ὁ Φύσκων πλεονάκις τοῖς στρατιώταις  
 ἐφίει τὰ πλήθη καὶ διέφθειρε—, τοιούτων δὴ, φησὶν,  
 ὄντων τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, λοιπὸν ἦν τῷ ὄντι τὸ τοῦ ποι-  
 ητοῦ

Αἰγυπτῶνδ' ἰέναι δολιχὴν ὁδὸν ἀργαλέην τε.

<sup>1</sup> Suppl. Kramer.

## X. ON ALEXANDRIA

(*Id.* 17.1.12, C 797)

14. Polybius at least, who visited the city,<sup>85</sup> was disgusted with its condition at the time. He says it is inhabited by three classes of people, first the native Egyptians, volatile and resistant to civil control;<sup>86</sup> secondly by the mercenaries, a numerous, overbearing, and uncultivated set, it being an ancient practice there to maintain a foreign armed force which owing to the weakness of the kings had learned rather to rule than to obey; thirdly there were the Alexandrians themselves, a people not genuinely civilized for the same reason, but still superior to the mercenaries, for though they are mongrels they came from a Greek stock and had not forgotten Greek customs. But when this population had been nearly annihilated, chiefly by Euergetes Physcon,<sup>87</sup> in whose reign Polybius came to Alexandria—for this king being frequently troubled by seditions exposed the populace to the onslaught of the soldiers and destroyed them—the city fell into such a state that afterward Homer's line<sup>88</sup> was really true—

To Egypt is a long and dangerous road.

<sup>85</sup> P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 3 vols. (Oxford 1972).

<sup>86</sup> See WC 3.629 who justifies Kramer's emendation.

<sup>87</sup> Ptolemy Euergetes II. P. Nadig, *Ptolemaios VIII Euergetes II* (Munich 2007).

<sup>88</sup> *Od.* 4.483.

## FRAGMENTA LATINA

15. Polybius latitudinem Europae ab Italia ad oceanum scripsit [xī] L M pass. esse, etiam tum inconperta magnitudine. Est autem ipsius Italiae, ut diximus, [xī] xx M ad Alpis, unde per Lugdunum ad portum Morinorum Britannicum, qua videtur mensuram agere Polybius, [xī] LXVIII.

2 Polybius a Gaditano freto longitudinem directo cursu ad os Maeotis [xxxiiii] xxxvii mil. D passuum prodidit, ab eodem initio ad orientem recto cursu Siciliam [xii] L mil. passuum, Cretam CCCLXXV M passuum, Rhodum CLXXXVII M D passuum, Chelidonias tantundem, Cyprum CCXXV M passuum, inde Syriae Seleuciam Pieriam CXV mil. passuum, quae computatio efficit [xxiii] XL M passuum.

3 In ipso vero capite mox Baeticae ab ostio freti xxv mil. pass. Gadis, longa, ut Polybius scribit, xii mil., lata iii mil. passuum. Abest a continente proxima parte minus pedes DCC, reliqua plus vii mil. passuum.

4 Ultra Siciliam quod est ad Salentinos Ausonium Polybius appellat.

5 At inter duos Bosphoros, Thracium et Cimmericum, directo cursu, ut auctor est Polybius, D M pass. intersunt.

<sup>89</sup> See WC 3.630–631 on the distances given in chapter 15 and the problems about them.

<sup>90</sup> 7.14.

<sup>91</sup> 5.58.4 and n.

<sup>92</sup> People of Illyrian origin, who inhabited Calabria south of Tarentum. *RE* Sallentini 1907–1908 (H. Philipp).

## LATIN FRAGMENTS

(Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 4.121)

15. Polybius<sup>89</sup> states that the breadth of Europe from Italy to the Ocean is 1,150 miles, the true distance not having been determined at that date. For, as I said, the length of Italy as far as the Alps is 1,120 miles and thence through Lyon to the British harbor of the Morini, which seems to be the distance measured by Polybius, 1,169 miles.

(*Ibid.* 6.206)

Polybius says that the distance from the straits of Gades to the mouth of the Palus Maeotis<sup>90</sup> is 3,437 miles, from the same point in a direct line east to Sicily 1,250 miles, thence to Crete 375 miles, thence to Rhodes 187 miles, thence to the Chelidonian islands the same, thence to Cyprus 225 miles, and thence to Seleucia Pieria<sup>91</sup> in Syria 115 miles, the whole amounting to 2,340 miles.

(*Ibid.* 4.119)

Not far at the very point of Baetica, 25 miles from the mouth of the strait is the island of Gades, 12 miles long and 3 miles broad according to Polybius. It is distant from the continent at the nearest point less than 700 feet, the distance of most of it being more than 7 miles.

(*Ibid.* 3.75)

The sea beyond Sicily as far as the Salentini<sup>92</sup> is called by Polybius the Ausonian Sea.

(*Ibid.* 4.77)

Between the two Bosphori, the Thracian and Cimmerician, the distance according to Polybius is 500 miles.

- 6 Agrippa totius Africae a mari Atlantico cum inferiore Aegypto [XXX] L M passuum longitudinem, Polybius et Eratosthenes diligentissimi existimati ab oceano ad Carthaginem magnam [XI] M passuum, ab ea Canopum, Nili proximum ostium, [XVI] XXVIII M pass. fecerunt.
- 7 Scipione Aemiliano res in Africa gerente Polybius analium conditor, ab eo accepta classe scrutandi illius orbis gratia circumvectus, prodidit a monte eo ad occasum versus saltus plenos feris, quas generat Africa, ad flumen Anatum CCCCLXXXVI M passuum.
- 8 Ad proximam, quae minor est, a Carthagine CCC M pass. Polybius tradit, ipsum C M passuum aditu, CCC M ambitu.
- 9 Polybius in extrema Mauretania contra montem Atlantem a terra stadia VII abesse prodidit Cernen.
16. Magnitudo dentium videtur quidem in templis praecipua, sed tamen in extremis Africae, qua confinis Aethiopiae est, postium vicem in domiciliis praebere, saepes-

<sup>93</sup> Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, Augustus' admiral, colleague, and son-in-law. J.-M. Roddaz, *Marcus Agrippa* (Paris 1984). He was the author of a map of the world which was widely used by Plin. *HN*.

<sup>94</sup> Suburb of Alexandria.

<sup>95</sup> In command against Carthage as consul in 147 and, with extended *imperium*, in 146. *MRR* 1.463. He conquered and destroyed the city.

<sup>96</sup> On Polybius' voyage in Africa, his *Periplus*, see J. Desanges, *Recherches sur l'activité des Méditerranéens aux confins de l'Afrique* (Paris 1978), 121-147 and maps V-VI; the same, pp. 106-107 of his edition of *Plîne l'Ancien. Livre V I* (Paris 1980).

<sup>97</sup> Mentioned in Hanno's *Periplus*, *GGM* 1.7, and Scylax,

(Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 5.40)

Agrippa<sup>93</sup> gives the total length of Africa from the Atlantic and including lower Egypt as 3,050 miles. Polybius and Eratosthenes, who are considered the most careful authorities, make it 1,100 miles from the ocean to Carthage and 1,628 miles from Carthage to Canopus,<sup>94</sup> the most westerly mouth of the Nile.

(*Ibid.* 5.9)

When Scipio Aemilianus<sup>95</sup> was in command in Africa Polybius the historian<sup>96</sup> went round in a squadron furnished by the general for the purpose of exploring that continent, and tells us that from Mt. Atlas to the west as far as the river Anatis for 496 miles there are woods full of those wild beasts that Africa produces.

(*Ibid.* 5.26)

To the lesser Syrtis from Carthage it is according to Polybius 300 miles, the Syrtis itself being 100 miles wide and 300 miles in circumference.

(*Ibid.* 6.199)

Polybius states that Cerne<sup>97</sup> is an island at the extremity of Mauretania over against Mt. Atlas, 8 stades distant from the shore.

(*Ibid.* 7.47)

16. The size of the elephants' tusks is chiefly to be observed in the temples, but still in the extreme parts of Africa which border on Aethiopia they are used in houses

*GGM* 1. 93. It is widely disputed whether or not it was an island and where its location was. *RE* Κέρνη νήσος 315-316 (C. T. Fischer).

que in his et pecorum stabulis pro palis elephantorum dentibus fieri Polybius tradidit auctore Gulusa regulo.

2 Polybius, Aemiliani comes, in senecta hominem ab his adpeti refert, quoniam ad persequendas feras vires non subpetant. Tunc obsidere Africae urbes, eaque de causa cruci fixos vidisse se cum Scipione, quia ceteri metu poenae similis absterrerentur eadem noxa.

3 Trogus auctor est circa Lyciam penicillos mollissimos nasci in alto, unde ablatae sint spongeae, Polybius super aegrum suspensos quietiores facere noctes.

as doorposts, and palings round houses and stables are constructed of tusks, as Polybius tells us on the authority of the African prince Gulusa.<sup>98</sup>

(Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 8.47)

Polybius, who accompanied Scipio Aemilianus, tells us that lions in their old age attack men, as they have no longer sufficient strength to pursue beasts. Then they haunt the neighborhood of towns, and for this reason<sup>99</sup> he and Scipio saw several hanging crucified, to deter the others from the same offense for fear of a similar penalty.

(Ibid. 31.131)

Trogus tells us that near Lycia very soft small sponges are produced at the bottom of the sea in the places whence sponges have been plucked. Polybius<sup>100</sup> says that if they are hung above a sick man, his nights are quieter.

<sup>98</sup> Gulusa was the second son of Masinissa, whom he succeeded in 149/8 jointly with his brothers Micipsa and Mastanabal. He supported Scipio Aemilianus in the Third Punic War.

<sup>99</sup> A rather naive explanation of what was probably a sacrifice to Baal Hammon and Tanit.

<sup>100</sup> This author, writing in Latin, is different from the historian. He is quoted by Pliny, *HN* Book 1, among the authors for his Book 31.

## FRAGMENTA LIBRI XXXV

### I. BELLUM CELTIBERICUM

1. Πύρινος πόλεμος, ὁ Ῥωμαίων πρὸς τοὺς Κελτί-  
βηρας συσταθείς. θαυμαστὴν γὰρ ἔσχε τὴν ιδιότητα  
2 τὴν τε συνέχειαν τῶν ἀγώνων. τοὺς γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλ-  
λάδα πολέμους καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὡς ἐπίπαν  
μία μάχη κρίνει, σπανίως δὲ δευτέρα, καὶ τὰς μάχας  
αὐτὰς εἰς καιρὸς ὁ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἔφοδον καὶ σύμ-  
3 πτωσιν τῆς δυνάμεως· κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν πόλεμον  
4 τὰναντία συνέβαινε τοῖς προειρημένοις. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ  
κινδύνους ὡς ἐπίπαν ἢ νύξ διέλυε, τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐτ'  
εἴκειν ταῖς ψυχαῖς οὔτε παρακαθιέναι τοῖς σώμασι  
5 μεταμελείας αὐθις ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ποιουμένων. τὸν γε  
μὴν ὅλον πόλεμον καὶ τὴν συνέχειαν τῶν ἐκ παρατά-  
6 ξεως διακρίσεων ὁ χειμῶν ἐπὶ ποσὸν διείργε. καθόλου  
γάρ, εἴ τις διανοηθεῖ πύρινον πόλεμον, οὐκ ἂν ἕτερον  
ἢ τοῦτον νοήσκει.

2. Ὅτι ἐπειδὴ οἱ Κελτίβηρες ἀνοχὰς ποιησάμενοι  
πρὸς Μάρκον Κλαύδιον τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων

<sup>1</sup> Iberians influenced by Celts who inhabited their seats ear-

## FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXXV

### I. THE CELTIBERIAN WAR

(Suda)

1. The war between the Romans and the Celtiberians<sup>1</sup> 154 B.C.  
was called the "fiery war," so remarkable was the uninter-  
rupted character of the engagements. For while wars in  
Greece and Asia are as a rule decided by one battle, or  
more rarely by two, and while the battles themselves are  
decided in a brief space of time by the result of the first  
attack and encounter, in this war it was just the opposite.  
The engagements as a rule were only stopped by darkness,  
the combatants refusing either to let their courage flag or  
to yield to bodily fatigue, and ever rallying, recovering  
confidence and beginning afresh. Winter indeed alone put  
a certain check on the progress of the whole war and on  
the continuous character of the regular battles, so that on  
the whole if we can conceive a war to be fiery it would be  
this and no other one.

2. After the Celtiberians had made a truce with Mar-  
cus Claudius Marcellus,<sup>2</sup> the Roman commander, and had

lier. *RE* Keltiberer 150–156 (A. Schulten). There were four major  
tribes, among them the Aravaeae on the upper Duero. The Vac-  
caeii (34.9.13) were neighbors and sometimes their allies.

<sup>2</sup> The consul of 152.



2 ἔξαπέστειλαν τὰς πρεσβείας εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, οὗτοι  
 μὲν τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἤγουν, καταδοκοῦντες τὴν ἀπόφασιν  
 3 τῆς συγκλήτου, Μάρκος δὲ στρατεύσας εἰς τοὺς Λυσι-  
 τανοὺς καὶ τὴν Νερκόβρικα πόλιν κατὰ κράτος ἔλων  
 4 ἐν Κορδύβῃ τὴν παραχειμασίαν ἐποιεῖτο. τῶν δὲ πρέ-  
 σβειῶν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην παραγενομένων, τοὺς μὲν παρὰ  
 τῶν Βελλῶν καὶ Τίττων, ὅσοι τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἤρουντο,  
 5 παρεδέξαντο πάντας εἰς τὴν πόλιν, τοὺς δὲ παρὰ τῶν  
 Ἀρανακῶν πέραν τοῦ Τιβέρεως ἐκέλευσαν κατασκηνοῦν  
 6 διὰ τὸ πολεμίους ὑπάρχειν, ἕως βουλευσῶνται περὶ  
 τῶν ὄλων. γενομένου δὲ καιροῦ πρὸς ἔντευξιν, κατὰ  
 7 πόλιν ὁ στρατηγὸς εἰσήγγε τοὺς συμμάχους. οἱ δὲ καί-  
 περ ὄντες βάρβαροι . . . διετίθεντο λόγους καὶ πάσας  
 8 ἐξεκρивεῖν ἐπειρῶντο τὰς διαφοράς, ὑποδεικνύντες  
 ὡς, εἰ μὴ συστκαλῆσονται καὶ τεύξονται τῆς ἀρμο-  
 ζούσης κολάσεως οἱ πεπολεμηκότες, παραντίκα μὲν,  
 ἐπανελθόντων τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν στρατοπέδων ἐκ τῆς  
 9 Ἰβηρίας, ἐκ χειρὸς προσεπιθήσουσι τὴν δίκην αὐτοῖς,  
 ὡς προδόταις γεγονόσι, ταχὺ δὲ πάλιν αὐτοὶ κινή-  
 10 σουσι πραγμάτων ἀρχήν, ἐὰν ἀνεπιτίμητοι διαφύγω-  
 σιν ἐκ τῆς πρώτης ἀμαρτίας, ἐτοιμοὺς δὲ πάντας πρὸς  
 καινοτομίαν ποιήσουσι τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, ὡς  
 ἱκανοὶ γεγονότες ἀντίπαλοι Ῥωμαίοις. διόπερ ἤξιουν  
 ἢ μένειν τὰ στρατόπεδα κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν καὶ δια-  
 βαίνειν καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ὑπατον ἐφεδρεύοντα τοῖς  
 συμμάχοις καὶ κολάσοντα τὰς Ἀρανακῶν ἀδικίας, ἢ  
 βουλομένους ἀπάγειν τὰς δυνάμεις παραδειγματι-  
 στέον εἶναι τὴν τῶν προειρημένων ἐπανάστασιν, ἵνα

sent embassies to Rome, they remained inactive awaiting the decision of the senate, while Marcus after an expedition into Lusitania,<sup>3</sup> in which he took by assault the city of Nercobrica,<sup>4</sup> retired into winter quarters at Cordova. When the embassies arrived in Rome those from the Belli and Titti<sup>5</sup> who had taken the side of Rome were all admitted into the city, but those from the Aravacae, as they were enemies, were ordered to encamp on the other side of the Tiber until a decision was arrived at about the whole question. When the time for their audience came the Praetor Urbanus first introduced the allies. Although foreigners they spoke at length and attempted to lay before the senate a clear statement of all the points in dispute, pointing out that if those who had taken up arms were not reduced and did not meet with proper chastisement they would at once take vengeance on themselves as having betrayed the cause, and if their former fault remained unpunished, very soon again commence disturbances and make the whole of Spain disposed to rebel, under the idea that they had proved themselves more than a match for the Romans. They therefore demanded either that the legions should remain in Spain and that a consul should proceed there every year to protect the allies and check the malpractices of the Aravacae,<sup>6</sup> or if the senate desired to withdraw their forces, the revolt of the Aravacae should be punished in such an exemplary fashion that no one would dare to do

<sup>3</sup> Roughly today's Portugal. *RE* Lusitania 1867-1872 (A. Schulten).

<sup>4</sup> The better attested form (inscriptions, coins) is Nertobriga. *RE* Nertobriga 54 (A. Schulten).

<sup>5</sup> Two others of the four main tribes of the Celtiberians.

<sup>6</sup> See n. on I.1.

11 μηδεὶς ἔτι ποιεῖν θαρρήν τὸ παραπλήσιον τούτοις. οἱ  
 12 μὲν οὖν Βελλῶν καὶ Τίττων συμμαχοῦντες Ῥωμαίοις  
 13 ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια διελέχθησαν. ἐπὶ  
 14 δὲ τούτοις εἰσήγον τοὺς παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων. οἱ δ'  
 Ἀρανακαὶ παρελθόντες κατὰ μὲν τὴν ὑπόκρισιν  
 ἐχρῶντο τοῖς λόγοις ὑποπεπτωκότως καὶ ταπεινῶς, τῆ  
 γε μὴν προαιρέσει [ὡς] διέφαινον οὐκ εἰκούσῃ τοῖς  
 14 ὄλοις οὐδ' ἠττωμένη. καὶ γὰρ τὰ τῆς τύχης ἄδηλα  
 πολλάκις ὑπεδείκνυον καὶ τὰς προγεγενημένας μάχας  
 ἀμφιδηρίτους ποιοῦντες ἐν πάσαις ἔμφασιν ἀπέλειπον  
 15 ὡς ἐπικυδεστέρων αὐτῶν γεγονότων. τέλος δ' ἦν τῶν  
 λόγων· εἰ μὲν τι δεῖ ρητὸν πρόστιμον ὑπομένειν τῆς  
 ἀγνοίας, ἀναδέχεσθαι τοῦτ' ἔφασαν, τελεσθέντος δὲ  
 τοῦ προστάγματος ἐπανάγειν ἠξίουσαν ἐπὶ τὰς κατὰ  
 Τεβέριον ὁμολογίας αὐτοῖς γενομένας πρὸς τὴν σύγ-  
 κλητον.

3. Οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ διακούσαντες ἀμφοτέρων  
 2 εἰσήγαγον τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου πρέσβεις. θεω-  
 ροῦντες δὲ καὶ τούτους βλέποντας ἐπὶ τὴν διάλυσιν καὶ  
 τὸν στρατηγὸν προσνέμοντα τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην τοῖς  
 3 πολεμίοις μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς συμμαχοῖς, τοῖς μὲν Ἀραν-  
 άκαις ἔδωκαν καὶ τοῖς συμμαχοῖς ἀπόκρισιν ὅτι  
 Μάρκελλος ἀμφοτέροις ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ διασαφήσει τὴν  
 4 τῆς συγκλήτου γνώμην, αὐτοὶ δὲ νομίσαντες τοὺς  
 συμμαχοῦς ἀληθῆ καὶ συμφέροντα σφίσι λέγειν,  
 5 τοὺς δ' Ἀρανακὰς ἀκμὴν μεγαλοφρονεῖν, τὸν δὲ στρα-  
 τηγὸν ἀποδειλιῶν τὸν πόλεμον, ἐντολὰς ἔδωκαν δι'

the like again. Such was the substance of the speeches made by those of the Belli and Titti who were the allies of the Romans. The envoys of the hostile tribes were then introduced. The Aravacae when they presented themselves assumed in their speech a humble and submissive attitude, but made it evident that at heart they were neither disposed to make submission at all nor to accept defeat. For they more than once hinted at the uncertainty of Fortune, and by making out that the engagements that had taken place were hotly contested left the impression that in all of them they thought they themselves had fought more brilliantly than the Romans. The gist of the speeches was that if a fixed penalty were to be imposed on them for their error they would consent to pay it; but when they had complied with this they demanded that the Romans should revert to the terms of their convention with the senate in the time of Tiberius Gracchus.<sup>7</sup>

3. After the senate had heard both parties, the legates from Marcellus were introduced. When the house saw that these also were pacifically inclined, and that the general himself was more disposed to favor the enemy than the allies, they replied to the Aravacae and to the allies, that Marcellus would inform both parties in Spain of the decision of the senate. But their private opinion being that what the allies<sup>8</sup> said was both true and to the advantage of Rome, that the Aravacae still had a high opinion of themselves, and that the general was afraid of the war, they gave

<sup>7</sup> As *propraetor* in 179 he won important victories over the Celtiberians, then made treaties that ushered in peace for twenty-five years. *MRR* 1.393. *RE* Hispania 2035 (A. Schulten).

<sup>8</sup> Among the Belli and Titti.

6 ἀπορρήτων τοῖς παρ' ἐκείνου πρεσβευταῖς πολεμεῖν  
γενναίως καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἀξίως. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸν πόλε-  
μον ἐποίησαν κατὰ μόνον, πρῶτον μὲν τῷ Μαρκέλλῳ  
διαπιστήσαντες ἕτερον στρατηγὸν ἔμελλον διαπέ-  
7 πειν εἰς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν· ἤδη γὰρ ἔτυχον ὕπατοι τότε  
καθεσταμένοι καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς παρειληφότες Ἄδλος  
8 Ποστόμιος καὶ Δεύκιος Δικύννιος Δεύκολλος. ἔπειτα  
περὶ τὰς παρασκευὰς ἐγίνοντο φιλοτίμως καὶ μεγα-  
λομερῶς, νομίζοντες διὰ ταύτης τῆς πράξεως κριθή-  
9 σεσθαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν· κρατηθέντων μὲν γὰρ  
τῶν ἐχθρῶν πάντας ὑπέλαβον σφίσι ποιήσειν τὸ  
προσταττόμενον, ἀποστρεψαμένων δὲ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα  
φόβον οὐ μόνον Ἀραβάκας καταθαρρήσειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας.

4. Ὅσῳ δὲ φιλοτιμότερον ἢ σύγκλητος διέκειτο  
πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, τοσοῦτ' ἄριστον τὰ πράγματα· ἀπ-  
2 ἐβαινε παραδοξότερα. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ Κοῦντου τοῦ τὸν  
πρότερον ἐνιαυτὸν στρατηγήσαντος ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ  
τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατευσασμένων ἠγγελκότων εἰς τὴν  
Ῥώμην τὴν τε συνέχειαν τῶν ἐκ παρατάξεως κινδύ-  
νων καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολωλότων καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν  
3 τῶν Κελτιβήρων, τοῦ δὲ Μαρκέλλου προφανῶς ἀπο-  
δεικνύοντος τὸν πόλεμον, ἐπέπεσέ τις πτοία τοῖς νέοις  
παραλόγος, οἷον οὐκ ἔφασαν οἱ πρεσβῦται γεγενημέ-  
4 νην πρότερον. εἰς γὰρ τοῦτο προύβη τὰ τῆς ἀπο-  
δεικνύουσης ὥστε μήτε χιλιάρχους προπορεύεσθαι  
πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν τοὺς ἰκανοὺς, ἀλλ' ἑλλείπειν τὰς χώ-  
ρας, τὸ πρότερον εἰθισμένων πολλαπλασιῶν προ-

secret orders to the legates he had sent to continue to fight bravely and worthily of their country. Having thus determined to pursue the war, they first of all, as they distrusted Marcellus, were minded to send another general to Spain—for Aulus Postumius Albinus and Lucius Licinius Lucullus had already been designated as consuls<sup>9</sup> and had entered on their office—and in the next place began to make energetic and lavish preparations for the campaign, thinking that the future of Spain depended on its issue. For they supposed that if this enemy were vanquished, all others would submit to their authority, but that if the enemy could avert their present peril, not only would the Aravae be encouraged to resist, but all the other tribes also.

4. But the more eager the senate was to pursue the war, the more alarming did they find the state of affairs. For since Quintus Fulvius Nobilior,<sup>10</sup> their commander the previous year, in Spain, and the members of his force had spread the report in Rome of the constant succession of pitched battles, the great losses suffered by the Romans and the valor of the Celtiberians, and as Marcellus was evidently afraid of continuing the war, such an extraordinary panic took hold of the young recruits as their elders said they never remembered before. This fit of cowardice went so far, that neither did competent officers present themselves as military tribunes, but their posts were not filled, although formerly many more than the required

<sup>9</sup> For 151. *MRR* 1.454.

<sup>10</sup> Consul in 153. *MRR* 1.452.

5 πορεύεσθαι τῶν καθηκόντων, μήτε τοὺς εἰσφερομένους  
 ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων πρεσβευτὰς ὑπακούειν, οὓς ἔδει πο-  
 6 ρεύεσθαι μετὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, τοὺς  
 νέους διακλίνειν τὰς καταγραφὰς καὶ τοιαύτας πορί-  
 ζεσθαι προφάσεις ἃς λέγειν μὲν αἰσχρὸν ἦν, ἐξετάζειν  
 7 δ' ἀπρεπές, ἐπιτέμνειν δ' ἀδύνατον. τέλος δὲ καὶ τῆς  
 συγκλήτου καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐν ἀμηχανίαις ὄντων τί  
 τὸ πέρας ἔσται τῆς τῶν νέων ἀναισχυντίας—τούτῳ  
 γὰρ ἠναγκάζοντο χρῆσθαι τῷ ῥήματι διὰ τὰ συμβαί-  
 8 νοντα—Πόπλιος Κορινθίλιος [Ἀφρικανός], νέος μὲν ὢν,  
 δοκῶν δὲ σύμβουλος γεγονέναι τοῦ πολέμου, <τὴν>  
 ἐπὶ καλοκάγαθία καὶ σωφροσύνη δόξαν ὁμολογουμένην  
 9 πεποιημένος, τῆς δ' ἐπ' ἀνδρεία φήμης προσδεόμενος,  
 θεωρῶν τὴν σύγκλητον ἀπορουμένην, ἀναστὰς εἶπεν  
 εἴτε χιλίαρχον εἴτε πρεσβευτὴν πέμπειν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν  
 Ἰβηρίαν μετὰ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐξεῖναι πρὸς ἀμφοτέρα  
 10 γὰρ ἐτοίμως ἔχειν. καίτοι γ' ἔφη κατ' ἰδίαν μὲν αὐτῷ  
 τὴν εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἔξοδον ἅμα μὲν ἀσφαλεστέρα  
 11 <ἅμα δ' οἰκειότεραν> εἶναι· συνέβαινε γὰρ τότε τοὺς  
 Μακεδόνας ἐπ' ὀνόματος καλεῖν τὸν Σκιπίωνα διαλύ-  
 12 σοντα τὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς στάσεις· ἀλλὰ τοὺς τῆς πατρίδος  
 καιροὺς ἔφη κατεπείγειν μᾶλλον καὶ καλεῖν εἰς τὴν  
 13 Ἰβηρίαν τοὺς ἀληθινῶς φιλοδοξοῦντας. πᾶσιν δὲ  
 παραδόξου φανείσης τῆς ἐπαγγελίας καὶ διὰ τὴν  
 ἡλικίαν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἄλλην εὐλάβειαν, παραντίκα μὲν  
 εὐθέως συνέβη μεγάλην ἀποδοχὴν γενέσθαι τοῦ Σκι-

<sup>11</sup> Scipio Aemilianus. He was thirty-three or thirty-four years

number of qualified officers used to apply, nor were the legates, nominated by the consuls, who should have accompanied the general, willing to serve; but the worst of all was that the young men avoided enrollment, finding such excuses as it was disgraceful to allege, unseemly to examine, and impossible to check. Finally, when both the senate and the magistrates were at a loss to know what would be the end of this shameless conduct on the part of the young men—for so they were compelled by circumstances to describe it—Publius Cornelius Scipio,<sup>11</sup> who was still young and was thought to have advised the prosecution of the war, having now attained an unquestioned reputation for nobility of conduct and temperance of life, but being desirous of gaining the like for courage, when he saw the difficulty that faced the senate, rose and asked to be allowed to be sent to Spain either as tribune or as legate with the consuls; for he was ready to go in either capacity. Although, he said, as far as concerned himself personally, it was both safer and more agreeable for him to proceed to Macedonia—for at this time he had been specially invited<sup>12</sup> by the Macedonians to go there and settle their domestic quarrels, yet the voice of their country at this critical time summoned more urgently to Spain all true devotees of glory. All were surprised at this offer owing to Scipio's youth and his cautiousness in general, and Scipio became very popular both at the moment and

of age when he volunteered. A. E. Astin, *Scipio Aemilianus* (Oxford 1967).

<sup>12</sup> He was chosen as son of L. Aemilius Paullus, who had overseen the replacement of the Macedonian monarchy by four republics. His son inherited his ties to Macedonian society.



14 πίωνος, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ταῖς ἐξῆς ἡμέραις· οἱ γὰρ πρό-  
τερον ἀποδειλιῶντες, ἐκτρεπόμενοι τὸν ἐκ παραθέσεως  
ἐλεγχον, οἱ μὲν πρεσβεύσειν ἐθελοντῆν ἐπηγγέλλοντο  
τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὰς στρατιωτικὰς κατα-  
γραφὰς προσεπορεύοντο κατὰ συστρέμματα καὶ συν-  
ηθείας.

5. Πολύβιος· ἐνέπεσε δέ τις ὁρμῇ τῷ Σκιπίωνι καὶ  
διαπόρησις, εἰ δεῖ συμβαλεῖν καὶ μονομαχήσαι πρὸς  
τὸν βάρβαρον.

2 Ὁ δ' ἵππος ὁ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἐδυσχρήστησε μὲν ὑπὸ  
τῆς πληγῆς, οὐ μὴν ὀλοσχερῶς ἐσφάλμησε. διόπερ  
ὀρθὸς ἀπέπεσεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ὁ Σκιπίων· Πολύβιος.

## II. ACHAEORUM EXSULES LIBERANTUR

6. Ὅτι δὲ τῶν ἐξ Ἀχαιῶν φυγάδων ἐντευχθεῖς διὰ  
Πολύβιον ὑπὸ Σκιπίωνος, ὡς πολὺς ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ

2 λόγος ἐγένετο, τῶν μὲν διδόντων κάθοδον αὐτοῖς, τῶν  
δ' ἐνισταμένων, ἀναστὰς ὁ Κάτων "ὥσπερ οὐκ ἔχοντες"  
εἶπεν "ὁ πράττωμεν, καθήμεθα τὴν ἡμέραν ὄλην περὶ  
γεροντίων Γραικῶν ζητοῦντες, πότερον ὑπὸ τῶν παρ'  
3 ἡμῶν ἢ τῶν ἐν Ἀχαιῶν νεκροφόρων ἐκκομισθῶσι." ψη-  
φισθείσης δὲ τῆς καθόδου τοῖς ἀνδράσι, ἡμέρας ὀλί-  
γας οἱ περὶ τὸν Πολύβιον διαλιπόντες αὐθις ἐπεχεί-

<sup>13</sup> Scipio, challenged to single combat, accepted and was vic-  
torious. The story is told by many writers. For Scipio's doubts,

still more on the following days. For those who previously  
shirked their duty, ashamed now of being shown up by a  
comparison of their conduct with his, began some of them  
to volunteer for the post of legate and the rest to flock in  
groups to enroll themselves as soldiers.

(Suda; cf. Livy, Epit. 48)

5. Scipio was assailed at the same time by an eager  
impulse to meet the barbarian<sup>13</sup> in single combat and by  
doubt whether he should do so.

(Suda)

Scipio's horse was disabled by the blow, but did not  
entirely collapse, so that in losing his seat he fell on his  
feet.

## II. LIBERATION OF THE ACHAEAN EXILES

(Plutarch, *Cato Mai.* 9)

6. Cato<sup>14</sup> was approached by Scipio on behalf of the 151-150  
Achaean exiles through the influence of Polybius, and B.C.  
when there was a long debate in the senate, some advocat-  
ing their return and others opposing it, Cato rose and said:  
"Just as if we had nothing to do we sit here all day disput-  
ing about some wretched old Greeks whether they shall  
be carried to their graves by bearers from Rome or from  
Achaea." And when their restitution was voted, and a few  
days afterward Polybius intended to enter the house to

stressed by P., see P.'s remarks on Scipio Africanus maior exposing  
himself during his first battle, at Ticinum, in 10.3.4-7.

<sup>14</sup> The famous censor, consul in 195, censor in 184.



ρον ἐὶς τὴν σύγκλητον εἰσελθεῖν, ὅπως ἄς πρότερον  
 εἶχον ἐν Ἀχαιᾷ τιμὰς οἱ φυγάδες ἀναλάβοιεν, καὶ τοῦ  
 4 Κάτωνος ἀπεπειρῶντο τῆς γνώμης. ὁ δὲ μειδιάσας  
 ἔφη τὸν Πολύβιον, ὡσπερ τὸν Ὀδυσσεῆα, βούλεσθαι  
 πάλιν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Κύκλωπος σπήλαιον εἰσελθεῖν, τὸ  
 πιλίον ἐκεῖ καὶ τὴν ζώνην ἐπιλεησμένον.

demand that the exiles should recover the honors they had  
 previously enjoyed in Achaea, and asked Cato's advice,  
 Cato smiled and said that Polybius, like Odysseus, wanted  
 to enter the cave of the Cyclops again, because he had  
 forgotten his cap and belt.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> The story as told in Hom. *Od.*, Book 10.

## FRAGMENTA LIBRI XXXVI

### I. BELLUM PUNICUM TERTIUM

- (1a) 1. Ἴσως δέ τις ἐπιζητοῦσι πῶς ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐν-  
 2 αγωνίσματι κεκρήμεθα προφερόμενοι τοὺς κατὰ μέ-  
 3 ρος λόγους, τοιαύτης ὑποθέσεως ἐπειλημμένοι καὶ  
 4 τηλικαύτης πράξεως· ὅπερ οἱ πλείστοι ποιοῦσι τῶν  
 5 συγγραφέων, εἰς ἀμφότερα τὰ μέρη διατιθέμενοι τοὺς  
 6 ἐνόοντας λόγους. ἐγὼ δὲ διότι μὲν οὐκ ἀποδοκιμάζω  
 7 τοῦτο τὸ μέρος, ἐν πλείοσι τόποις τῆς ἱστορίας δηλον  
 8 πεποίημαι, πολλάκις ἀπηγγελκῶς δημηγορίας καὶ  
 9 συντάξεις ἀνδρῶν πολιτικῶν· ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἐκ παντὸς  
 10 τρόπου τοῦτο προαιροῦμαι πράττειν, νῦν ἔσται συμ-  
 11 φανές· οὔτε γὰρ ὑπόθεσιν ἐπιφανεστέραν ταύτης εὑ-  
 12 ρεῖν ῥάδιον οὔθ' ἕλην πλείων καὶ παράθεσιν. καὶ μὴν  
 13 οὐδὲ προχειρότερον ἕτερον ἐμοὶ τῆς τοιαύτης παρα-  
 14 σκευῆς. ἀλλ' οὔτε τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἀνδράσι οἶμαι  
 15 πρέπειν πρὸς πᾶν τὸ προτεθὲν διαβούλιον εὐρησιλογεῖν  
 16 καὶ διεξοδικοῖς χρῆσθαι λόγοις, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τοῖς ἀρμό-  
 17 ζουσι πρὸς τὸν ὑποκείμενον καιρὸν, οὔτε τοῖς ἱστορι-

## FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXXVI

### I. THE THIRD PUNIC WAR

1. Perhaps some may ask themselves why I do not, now  
 that I have to deal with a subject of such importance and  
 so momentous an event,<sup>1</sup> display my talent and report the  
 particular speeches after the fashion of most authors who  
 lay before us all that it is possible to say on either side.  
 That I do not disapprove of such a practice is evident from  
 various passages of this work in which I have quoted both  
 the speeches and the writings of politicians, but it will now  
 be made clear that it is not my principle to do this on any  
 and every pretext. For it is not easy to find a subject more  
 renowned than the present nor ampler material for com-  
 parisons; nor again is anything more facile for myself than  
 such an exercise. But on the one hand neither do I think  
 it is the proper part of a politician to display his ingenuity  
 and indulge in discursive talk on any and every subject of  
 debate that may arise, but simply to say what the situation  
 demands, nor is it the proper part of a historian to practice

150-149  
 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> The Third Punic War. As P.'s account of events leading to the war and of the course the war took is incomplete, see the fuller picture in U. Kahrstedt, *Geschichte der Karthager* 3 (Berlin 1913), 619-663; more recently S. Lancel, *Carthage. A History* (Oxford 1995), 396-427.

7 ογράφοις ἐμμελετᾶν τοῖς ἀκούουσιν οὐδ' ἐναποδείκνυσθαι τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ <τὰ> κατ' ἀλήθειαν ῥηθέντα <καθ'> ὅσον οἶόν τε πολυπραγμονήσαντας διασαφῆναι, καὶ τούτων τὰ καιριώτατα καὶ πραγματικώτατα.

2. Πάλαι δὲ τούτου κεκυρωμένου βεβαίως ἐν ταῖς  
(1b) ἐκάστων γνώμαις καιρὸν ἐζήτουν ἐπιτήδειον καὶ πρό-  
2 φασιν εὐσχήμονα πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτός. πολὺ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ-  
του τοῦ μέρους ἐφρόντιζον Ῥωμαῖοι, καλῶς φρονούντες.  
3 ἔνστασις γὰρ πολέμου κατὰ τὸν Δημήτριον δικαία  
μὲν εἶναι δοκοῦσα καὶ τὰ νικήματα ποιεῖ μείζω καὶ  
τὰς ἀποτεύξεις ἀσφαλεστέρας, ἀσχήμων δὲ καὶ φαῦλη  
4 τοῦναντίον ἀπεργάζεται διὸ καὶ τότε περὶ τῆς τῶν  
ἐκτός διαλήψεως πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφερόμενοι παρ'  
ὀλίγον ἀπέστησαν τοῦ πολέμου.

3. Ὅτι τῶν Καρχηδονίων πάλαι βουλευομένων περὶ  
(1) τοῦ πῶς ἀπαντῆσαι <δεῖ πρὸς> τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀπό-  
κρισιν, καὶ τῶν Ἴτυκαίων ὑποτεμομένων τὴν ἐπίνοιαν  
αὐτῶν, τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τὴν ἑαυτῶν παραδόντων πόλιν,  
2 ὀλοσχερῆς ἀμηχανία περιέστη τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. μᾶς  
γὰρ ἐλπίδος ἔτι φαινομένης αὐτοῖς, εἰ συγκαταβαίεν  
εἰς τὸ δοῦναι τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν περὶ αὐτῶν, διότι πάντως  
3 εὐδοκεῖν ποιήσουσι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, διὰ τὸ μῆδ' ἐν  
ταῖς μεγίσταις περιστάσεσιν καταπολεμηθέντες, καὶ  
πρὸς τοῖς τέχεσι τῶν πολεμίων ὑπαρχόντων, μῆδέ-

<sup>2</sup> The members of the Roman Senate. <sup>3</sup> Demetrius of Phalerum (see nn. on 10.24.7 and 29.21.1), *FGrH* 228 F 29.

on his readers and make a display of his ability to them, but rather to find out by the most diligent inquiry and report to them what was actually said, and even of this only what was most vital and effectual.

2. They<sup>2</sup> had long ago made up their minds to act thus, but they were looking for a suitable opportunity and a pretext that would appeal to the world at large. For the Romans very rightly paid great attention to this matter, since, as Demetrius<sup>3</sup> says, when the inception of a war seems just, it makes victory greater and ill-success less perilous, while if it is thought to be dishonorable and wrong it has the opposite effect. So on this occasion their disputes with each other about the effect on outside opinion very nearly made them desist from going to war.

3. The Carthaginians had been for long debating how they should answer the Roman reply,<sup>4</sup> and now when the people of Utica<sup>5</sup> forestalled their design by surrendering their city to Rome, they were entirely at a loss how to act. The one and only hope that presented itself to them was to consent to commit themselves to the faith of the Romans; since they thought that was sure to gratify these, as not even in the season of their greatest danger when they had been utterly defeated and the enemy was at their gates

<sup>4</sup> For decades there had been tensions between Masinissa and Carthage, during which the Senate repeatedly decided in the king's favor. Open war had broken out, which the Senate used to demand that the Carthaginians burn their fleet and demobilize. The Senate decided for war in 150, the declaration followed in 149.

<sup>5</sup> Some 30 kilometers northwest of Carthage.

4 ποτε τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν δεδωκέναι τῆς πατρίδος, καὶ ταύ-  
της τῆς ἐπινοίας τὸν καρπὸν ἀπέβαλον, προκαταλη-  
5 φθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰτυκαίων· οὐδὲν γὰρ ξένου οὐδὲ  
παράδοξον ἔμελλε φανήσεσθαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, εἰ ταύ-  
6 τὸν ποιήσαιεν τοῖς προειρημένοις. οὐ μὴν <ἀλλὰ>  
κακῶν αἰρέσεως καταλειπομένης, ἣ τὸν πόλεμον ἀνα-  
δέχεσθαι γενναίως ἢ διδόναι τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν περὶ τῶν  
7 καθ' αὐτούς, πολλοὺς καὶ ποικίλους ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ  
δι' ἀπορρήτων ποιησάμενοι λόγους κατέστησαν πρε-  
σβευτὰς αὐτοκράτορας, καὶ τούτους ἐξαπέστειλλον,  
8 δόντες ἐντολὴν βλέποντας πρὸς τὰ παρόντα πράττειν  
τὸ δοκοῦν <συμφέρειν> τῇ πατρίδι. ἦσαν δ' οἱ πρε-  
σβεύοντες Γίσκων Στρυνάτος ἐπικαλούμενος, Ἀμίλκας,  
9 Μίσδης, Γιλλίμας, Μάγων. ἦκοντες <δ'> οἱ πρέσβεις  
παρὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων εἰς Ῥώμην καὶ καταλαβόντες  
πόλεμον δεδογμένον καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ὠρμηκότας  
μετὰ τῶν δυνάμεων, οὐκέτι διδόντων βουλὴν αὐτοῖς  
τῶν πραγμάτων, ἔδωκαν τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν περὶ αὐτῶν.

4. Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς εἴρηται μὲν ἡμῖν καὶ  
(2) πρότερον, ἀναγκαῖον δ' ἔστιν καὶ νῦν ὑπομνησθαι  
2 κεφαλαιωδῶς. οἱ γὰρ διδόντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων  
ἐπιτροπὴν διδῶσι πρῶτον μὲν χώραν τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν  
αὐτοῖς καὶ πόλεις τὰς ἐν ταύτῃ, σὺν δὲ τοῦτοις ἄνδρας  
καὶ γυναῖκας τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ ταῖς  
3 πόλεσιν ἅπαντας, ὁμοίως ποταμούς, λιμένας, ἱερά, τά-  
φους, συλλήβδην ὥστε πάντων εἶναι κυρίου Ῥωμαί-  
ους, αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς διδόντας ἀπλῶς μηκέτι μηδενός.  
4 γενομένης δὲ τῆς ἀνθομολογήσεως τοιαύτης ὑπὸ τῶν

had they ever thus surrendered the liberty of their country. But now the fruit of this project was snatched from them by the people of Utica anticipating them, since they would no longer seem to the Romans to be acting in any remarkable or unexpected way by following the example of Utica. However, now that they were left with the choice of two evils, either to accept war with brave hearts or to entrust themselves to the faith of Rome, after a long secret discussion in the senate they appointed plenipotentiaries and sent them to Rome with instructions to do whatever they thought was in the interest of their country under present circumstances. The names of the envoys<sup>6</sup> were Giscon, surnamed Strytanus, Hamilcar, Misdes, Gillimas, and Mago. But when these envoys from Carthage arrived in Rome they found that war had already been decided on, and that the generals<sup>7</sup> had left with their armies and therefore, as the situation left them no choice, they committed Carthage to the faith of Rome.

4. I have previously<sup>8</sup> stated what this phrase (*dedere se in fidem*) means, but it is here necessary to remind my readers briefly of its significance. Those who thus commit themselves to the faith of Rome surrender in the first place the whole of their territory and the cities in it, next all the inhabitants of the land and the towns, male and female, likewise all rivers, harbors, temples, tombs, so that the result is that the Romans enter into possession of everything and those who surrender remain in possession of absolutely nothing. Shortly after an agreement of this kind

<sup>6</sup> Those named are not known elsewhere.

<sup>7</sup> They were the consuls of 149: Lucius Marcus Censorinus and Manius Manilius; *MRR* 1.458.

<sup>8</sup> 20.9.10-12.

Καρρηδονίων, καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον εἰσκληθέντων αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον, ἔλεγεν ὁ στρατηγὸς τὴν τῆς συγκλήτου γνώμην ὅτι καλῶς αὐτῶν βεβουλευμένων δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς ἢ σύγκλητος τὴν τ' ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τοὺς νόμους, ἔτι δὲ τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ὑπαρχόντων κτήσιν καὶ κοινῇ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν. οἱ δὲ Καρρηδόνιοι ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες ἔχαιρον, δόξαντες ὡς ἐν κακῶν αἰρέσει καλῶς σφίσιν κεχρηῆσθαι τὴν σύγκλητον, ἅτε τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων καὶ μεγίστων αὐτοῖς συγκεχωρημένων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ στρατηγοῦ διασαφούντος διότι τεύξονται τούτων, ἐὰν τριακοσίους ὁμήρους εἰς τὸ Διλύβιον ἐκπέμψωσιν ἐν τριάκονθ' ἡμέραις τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἐκ <τῆς> συγκλήτου καὶ τῆς γερουσίας καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων παραγγελμένοις πειθαρχήσωσιν, ἐπὶ ποσὸν ἠπόρησαν ποῖα τὰ διὰ τῶν ὑπάτων αὐτοῖς ἔσται παραγγελόμενα· πλὴν τότε γ' ἐξ αὐτῆς ὥρμησαν, σπεύδοντες ἀναγγεῖλαι τῇ πατρίδι περὶ τούτων. παραγενόμενοι δ' εἰς τὴν Καρρηδόνα διεσάφουν τοῖς πολίταις τὰ κατὰ μέρος. οἱ δὲ διακούσαντες τᾶλλα μὲν ἐνδεχομένως ἐνόμιζον βεβουλεύσθαι τοὺς πρεσβευτάς, περὶ δὲ πόλεως μὴ γενέσθαι μνείαν εἰς μεγάλην ἐπίστασιν αὐτοὺς ἦγε καὶ πολλὴν ἀμηχανίαν.

5. Ἐν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ φασὶ Μάγωνα τὸν Βρέτιον χρήσασθαι λόγοις ἀνδρώδεσι καὶ πραγματικοῖς.  
 (3) δύο γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, καιροὺς ἔφασκεν εἶναι τοῦ βουλευσασθαι περὶ σφῶν καὶ τῆς πατρίδος, ὧν τὸν μὲν ἕνα παρείσθαι. δεῖν γὰρ οὐ μὰ Δία νῦν διαπορεῖν τί διὰ

had been made by the Carthaginians they were called into the senate, where the praetor conveyed to them the decision of the senate, that as they had been well advised, the senate granted them freedom and their laws, besides their whole territory and all other possessions both public and private. The Carthaginians on hearing this were pleased, thinking that in the choice of evils they had been well treated by the senate, as all that was most essential and important had been conceded to them. But after this, when the praetor informed them that they would obtain these favors if within thirty days they sent to Lilybaeum<sup>9</sup> three hundred hostages, sons of senators or of members of the Gerousia, and if they obeyed the orders of the consuls, they were somewhat at a loss to know what these orders would be. However they left at once to announce all this at Carthage, and on coming there they informed their fellow citizens of all the particulars. On hearing these they all thought that the envoys had obtained a satisfactory result in general, but the fact that there was no mention of the city caused serious anxiety and surprise.

5. At this time Mago<sup>10</sup> the Bruttian was said to have spoken in a manly and practical fashion. For, as it seems, he said there were two opportunities of deciding about themselves and their country of which the one had been let slip. For the proper time, surely, to question what the

<sup>9</sup> City in western Sicily on the coast, long a Carthaginian stronghold.

<sup>10</sup> Not otherwise known.



τῶν ὑπάτων αὐτοῖς παραγγελθήσεται, καὶ διὰ τί περὶ  
 πόλεως οὐδεμίαν ἐποιήσατο μνείαν ἢ σύγκλητος,  
 4 ἀλλὰ καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ἐδίδοσαν τὴν ἐπιτροπήν· δόντας  
 δὲ σαφῶς γινώσκων διότι πᾶν τὸ παραγγελόμενον  
 ἐπιδεκτέον ἐστίν, ἐὰν μὴ τελέως ὑπερήφανον <ἦ> καὶ  
 5 παρὰ τὴν προσδοκίαν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, τότε πάλιν βουλευέ-  
 σθαι πότερα δεῖ προσδέχσθαι τὸν πόλεμον εἰς τὴν  
 χώραν καὶ πάσχειν ὃ τι ποτ' αὖ οὗτος ἐπιφέρει τῶν  
 δεινῶν, ἢ κατορρωδήσαντας τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἔφοδον  
 6 ἐθελουτὴν ἀναδέχσθαι πᾶν τὸ προσταττόμενον. πάν-  
 των δὲ διὰ τὸν ἐφεστῶτα πόλεμον καὶ διὰ τὸ τῆς  
 προσδοκίας ἄδηλον φερομένων ἐπὶ τὸ πειθαρχεῖν τοῖς  
 παραγγελλομένοις, ἔδοξεν πέμπειν τοὺς ὀμήρους εἰς  
 7 τὸ Διλύβαιον. καὶ παραντίκα καταλέξαντες τριακοσί-  
 οὺς τῶν νέων ἐξέπεμπον μετὰ μεγάλης οἰμωγῆς καὶ  
 δακρύων, ἅτε προπεμπόντων ἕκαστον τῶν ἀναγκαιῶν  
 καὶ συγγενῶν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν γυναικῶν ἐκκαουσῶν  
 8 τὴν τοιαύτην διάθεσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέπλευσαν εἰς τὸ Δι-  
 λύβαιον, οἱ μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς παρεδόθησαν διὰ τῶν ὑπά-  
 των Κοῖντῳ Φαβίῳ Μαξίμῳ—συνέβαινε γὰρ τοῦτον  
 9 ἐπὶ τῆς Σικελίας τετάχθαι στρατηγὸν τότε—δι' οὗ  
 παρακομισθέντες ἀσφαλῶς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην συνεκλεί-  
 σθησαν ὁμοῦ πάντες εἰς τὸ τῆς ἐκκαϊδεκῆρους νεώ-  
 ριον . . .

6. Καὶ τῶν μὲν ὀμήρων ἐκέισε παραχθέντων, οἱ  
 (4) στρατηγοὶ κατήχθησαν εἰς τὴν τῆς Ἰτύκης ἄκραν. τού-  
 2 των δὲ προσπεπτωκότων τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ὀρθῆ καὶ  
 περίφοβος ἦν ἡ πόλις διὰ τὴν ἀδηλόγητα τῶν προσ-

orders of the consuls would be and why the senate made  
 no reference to their city was not the present but the time  
 when they put themselves at the mercy of Rome. Once  
 they had done this they should be clearly aware that they  
 must accept any order unless it were flagrantly oppressive  
 and beyond expectation. In the latter case they must again  
 consider if they should expose their country to war and  
 its terrors, or not daring to face the attack of the enemy,  
 yield unresistingly to every demand. But as they all, ow-  
 ing to the war being close upon them and owing to the  
 uncertainty of the future, were inclined to obey the or-  
 ders, it was decided to send the hostages to Lilybaeum,  
 and choosing at once three hundred of their young men  
 they dispatched them with great lamentations and tears,  
 as each was escorted by his near friends and relatives, the  
 women adding fuel to a situation such as this. On arriv-  
 ing at Lilybaeum the hostages were at once handed over  
 through the consuls to Quintus Fabius Maximus,<sup>11</sup> who  
 was then in command in Sicily, and by him they were safely  
 conveyed to Rome and the whole body confined in the  
 dock of the 'Sixteen' warship.<sup>12</sup>

6. After the hostages had been brought to Rome the  
 Roman consuls landed at the Cape of Utica. Upon this  
 news reaching Carthage the whole city was in great excite-

<sup>11</sup> Quintus Fabius Maximus Aemilianus, the brother of Scipio  
 Aemilianus. In 149 he was praetor and governor of Sicily.

<sup>12</sup> See n. on 18.44.6; it is the large ship previously owned by  
 King Philip V.

- 3 δοκωμένων. οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς πρεσβευτὰς πέμπειν τοὺς πευσομένους τῶν ὑπάτων τί δεῖ ποιεῖν καὶ διασαφῆσοντας ὅτι πρὸς πᾶν τὸ παραγγελόμενον ἔτοιμοι πάντες εἰσὶν. τῶν δὲ πρεσβευτῶν ἀφικομένων εἰς τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων παρεμβολήν, καὶ τοῦ συνεδρίου συναχθέντος, εἰσελθόντες οἱ πρέσβεις διέ-
- 4 λέγοντο κατὰ τὰς ἐντολάς. ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτερος τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπαινέσας αὐτῶν τὴν πρόθεσιν καὶ προαίρεσιν ἐκέλευε παραδίδουσι τὰ θ' ὄπλα καὶ τὰ βέλη
- 6 πάντα χωρὶς δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ποιήσασιν μὲν ἔφασαν τὸ παραγγελόμενον, σκοπεῖσθαι δ' αὐτοὺς ἠξίουσι τὸ συμβησόμενον, εἰάν αὐτοὶ μὲν παραχωρήσωσι τῶν ὄπλων, ἐκείνοι δὲ λαβόντες ἀποπλεύσωσιν. ὁμως ταῦτα ἔδωκαν.
- 7 Δῆλον ἐγένετο διότι μέγα τὸ βάσταγμα τῆς πόλεως ἦν· πλείονα γὰρ εἴκοσι μυριάδων ὄπλα παρέδωκαν Ῥωμαίοις καὶ καταπέλτας δισχιλίουσιν.
7. Ἀπλῶς δ' οὐδὲν εἶδος τῶν μελλόντων ἔγνωσαν,
- (5) 2 ἐξ αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς ἐμφάσεως ὀπτενόμενοι τῶν πρέσβεων εἰς παντοδαπὰς οἰμωγὰς καὶ θρήνους ἐνέπυπτον.
- 3 Οἱ δὲ πάντες ἅμ' ἀνακεκραγότες ἐξ αὐτῆς οἰονεῖ
- 4 παρελύθησαν. ταχὺ δὲ τοῦ λόγου διαδοθέντος εἰς τὸ πλῆθος, οὐκέτι συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι τὴν ἀλογίαν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς ὤρων, ὡς αἰτίους σφίσι

13 Censorinus.

14 The Roman demand that the Carthaginians abandon their city and rebuild it some 16 kilometers away from the sea.

ment and terror, owing to the uncertainty that prevailed as to what they were to expect. They decided, however, to send envoys to the consuls to ask them what they must do and inform them that all were disposed to obey any command. Upon their arrival at the Roman camp a council was called and the envoys spoke according to their instructions. The elder<sup>13</sup> of the two consuls, after commending their decision and their compliant temper, ordered them to surrender all their arms and missiles without fraud or deceit. The envoys said they would comply with the order, but begged the Romans to consider what would happen to them if they gave up all their arms and the Romans took them and sailed away with them. Nevertheless they gave them up.

(Suda)

It was evident that the power of the city was very great, for they gave up to the Romans more than two hundred thousand suits of mail and two thousand catapults.

(Suda)

7. They had absolutely no notion of any kind of what was in store for them, but auguring the worst from the manner alone of the envoys, they gave vent to every kind of lament and plaint.

(Suda)

After one loud cry they remained, as it were, without power of utterance. But when the news<sup>14</sup> quickly spread among the people there was no more speechlessness, but some threw themselves upon the envoys, as if it were all

τῶν κακῶν ὄντας τούτων, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς κατειλημμέ-  
 5 νους τῶν Ἰταλικῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους ἀπηρέισαντο τὸν  
 θυμόν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὰς πύλας τῆς πόλεως . . .

8. Ἀμίλκας, ὁ καὶ Φαμέας, Καρχηδονίων στρατη-  
 (6) γός, ὃς ὑπῆρχε κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀκμάζων καὶ  
 κατὰ τὴν ἕξι ἐρρωμένος, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ἐφόδιον  
 πρὸς πολεμικὴν χρεῖαν, ἵππεὺς ἄγαν ἀγαθὸς καὶ τολ-  
 μηρός.

2 Οἱ δὲ διαζηλοτυπούμενοι πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἐπ-  
 εβάλλοντο διασύρειν τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ.

3 (2) Τὰς προφυλακὰς βλέπων ὁ Φαμέας, ὧν οὐκ ἄψυχός,  
 ἐξέκλινε τὰς πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα συμπλοκάς. καί ποτε  
 συνεγγίσας ταῖς ἐφεδρείαις, προβαλόμενος ὄφρ' ἂν  
 ἀπότομον ἐπέστη καὶ πλείω χρόνον.

4 (3) Αἱ δὲ σημεῖαι τῶν Ῥωμαίων συνεπεφεύγεσαν εἰς  
 βουνόν· καὶ πάντων δόντων γνώμας ὁ Σκιπίων ἔφη,

5 (4) . . . ὅταν ἐξ ἀκεραίου βουλεύωνται, καὶ πλείω ποιείσθαι  
 πρόνοιαν τοῦ μηδὲν παθεῖν ἢ τοῦ δράσαι κακῶς τοὺς  
 ἐχθρούς.

6 (5) Οὐ χρὴ θαυμάζειν εἰ φιλοτιμότερον ἐξηγοῦμεθα τὰ  
 κατὰ τὸν Σκιπίωνα καὶ πᾶν τὸ ρηθὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μετὰ

7 διαστολῆς ἐξαγγέλλομεν. Πολύβιος ἐν γὰρ τῇ Ῥώμῃ  
 Μάρκον Πόρκιον ἀκούσαντα τὰς ἀριστείας Σκιπίωνος  
 εἰπεῖν "τί ἀκήκοας;" πυνθανόμενον "οἶος πέπνυται. τοῖ

<sup>15</sup> Rather Himilco.

their fault, others attacked such Italians as were detained  
 in the city and vented their wrath on them, and others  
 rushed to the gates.

(Suda)

8. Hamilcar,<sup>15</sup> also known as Phameas, the Carthagin-  
 ian general, was in the prime of life, of great personal  
 vigor, and what is most important in a soldier, a good and  
 bold rider.

(Suda)

Others from extreme jealousy of Scipio tried to belittle  
 his achievements.

(Suda)

Seeing the strength of the outposts, Phameas, who was  
 by no means timid, used to avoid any engagement with  
 Scipio, and once when he approached the Roman reserve  
 force he got under shelter of a steep ridge and halted there  
 for a considerable time.

(Suda)

The Roman maniples fled to the top of a hill, and when  
 every one had given his advice, Scipio said, "When men  
 are consulting about a fresh emergency they must rather  
 take care to avoid disaster than scheme how to damage the  
 enemy."

(Suda)

It should not be a matter of surprise to anyone if I  
 display particular interest in Scipio and report all his ut-  
 terances at length. Polybius says that in Rome Marcus  
 Porcius (Cato), when he heard of Scipio's achievements,  
 answered the man asking him "what news have you?"

- 8 δὲ σκιαὶ αἰσσοῦσιν." Οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ὑπερευδοκούμενοι κατὰ πάντα χρόνον τῇ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ὁμολογίᾳ καὶ τῷ χειρισμῷ τῶν πραγμάτων x x x.

## II. RES GRAECIAE

- (xxvii.1) 9. Ὅτι περὶ Καρχηδονίων, ὅτε κατεπολέμησαν  
(xxvii.1a) αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ψευδοφίλιππον κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πολλοὶ καὶ παντοῖοι διεφέροντο λόγοι, τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν κατὰ Καρχηδονίους, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν ὑπὲρ τῶν κατὰ τὸν  
2 Ψευδοφίλιππον. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ Καρχηδονίους ἀμφοδοξουμένας εἶχε τὰς ἀποφάσεις καὶ τὰς διαλήψεις.  
3 ἔνιοι μὲν γὰρ συγκατήρουν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, φάσκοντες αὐτοὺς φρονίμως καὶ πραγματικῶς βουλευσασθαι  
4 περὶ τῆς δυναστείας· τὸ γὰρ τὸν ἐπικρεμάμενον φόβον καὶ τὴν πολλάκις μὲν ἡμφισβητηκυῖαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλιν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ νῦν δυναμένην ἀμφισβητῆσαι σὺν καιρῷ, ταύτην ἐπανελομένους βεβαιῶσαι τῇ σφετέρᾳ πατρίδι τὴν ἀρχὴν νοῦν ἔχόντων εἶναι καὶ μακρὰν βλεπόντων ἀνθρώπων.  
5 Ἐνιοὶ δὲ τούτοις ἀντέλεγον, φάσκοντες οὐ τικρεῖν αὐτοὺς τὴν προαίρεσιν ἢ κατεκτήσαντο τὴν ἡγεμο-

<sup>16</sup> Hom. *Od.* 10.495. There is a corruption after εἰπεῖν. What is presented here is the text as proposed by WC 3.662. The meaning is clear from other evidence of Cato's remark. Scipio was a military tribune at the time.

"He alone is truly alive, the others are shadows only."<sup>16</sup> The Romans were highly pleased in every respect with the agreement made by Scipio and his handling of affairs<sup>17</sup> x x x.

## II. AFFAIRS OF GREECE

9. Both about the Carthaginians when they were crushed by the Romans and about the affair of the pseudo-Philip many divergent accounts were current in Greece, at first on the subject of Carthage and next concerning the pseudo-Philip. As regards the former the judgments formed and the opinions held in Greece were far from unanimous. There were some who approved the action of the Romans, saying that they had taken wise and statesmanlike measures in defense of their empire. For to destroy this source of perpetual menace,<sup>18</sup> this city which had constantly disputed the supremacy with them and was still able to dispute it if it had the opportunity and thus to secure the dominion of their own country, was the act of intelligent and far-seeing men.

Others took the opposite view, saying that far from maintaining the principles by which they had won their

<sup>17</sup> The reference is probably to the agreement with Himilco-Phameas (8.1), who in 148 deserted to the Romans (*App. Lib.* 108-109. D. S. 32.17.1). What followed in the lacuna cannot be guessed.

<sup>18</sup> How Carthage, hardly able to withstand Masinissa, could be considered to be a menace to Rome and dispute Rome's supremacy ca. 150, is hard to see.

- 6 *νίαν καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς τὴν Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λακεδαι-  
 μονίων ἐκτρέπεσθαι φιλαρχίαν καὶ βραδύτερον μὲν  
 ἐκείνων ὄρμᾶν, ἤξειεν δ' ἐπὶ ταῦτ' ἔτος ἐκ τῶν προ-  
 φαινόμενων. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ πᾶσι πεπολεμηκέναι  
 μέχρι τοῦ κρατῆσαι καὶ συγχωρῆσαι τοὺς ἀντιταξαμέ-  
 νους ὅτι δεῖ πείθεσθαι σφίσι καὶ ποιεῖν τὸ παραγγελ-  
 7 λόμενον· νῦν δὲ προοίμιον μὲν ἐκτεθεῖσθαι τῆς ἰδίας  
 προαιρέσεως τὰ κατὰ Περσέα, βαστάσαντας ἐκ ριζῶν  
 τὴν Μακεδόνων βασιλείαν, τετελειωκέναι δὲ κατὰ τὸ  
 8 παρὸν διὰ τῆς περὶ Καρχηδονίων διαλήψεως· μηδεὶς  
 γὰρ ἀνηκέστου γεγονότος ἐξ ἐκείνων, ἀνηκέστως καὶ  
 βαρέως βεβουλεύσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, πᾶν ἀναδεχομένων  
 καὶ πᾶν ὑπομενόντων ποιῆσειν τὸ προσταττόμενον.  
 9 Ἄλλοι δὲ καθόλου μὲν πολιτικὸν εἶναι τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν  
 ἔθνος ἔφασαν καὶ τοῦτ' ἴδιον εἶναι καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ  
 σεμνύνεσθαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ἐπὶ τῷ καὶ τοὺς πολέ-  
 μους ἀπλῶς καὶ γενναίως πολεμεῖν, μὴ νυκτεριναῖς  
 ἐπιθέσει χρωμένους μηδ' ἐνέδραις, πᾶν δὲ τὸ δι'  
 ἀπάτης καὶ δόλου γινόμενον ἀποδοκιμάζοντας, μό-  
 νους δὲ τοὺς ἐκ προδήλου καὶ κατὰ πρόσωπον κινδύ-  
 10 νους ὑπολαμβάνοντας αὐτοῖς καθήκειν. νῦν δὲ πάντα  
 περὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους δι' ἀπάτης καὶ δόλου κειρι-  
 κέναι, κατὰ βραχὺ τὸ μὲν προτείνοντας, τὸ δ' ἐπι-  
 κρυπτομένους, ἕως οὗ παρέιλαντο πάσας τὰς ἐλπίδας  
 11 τοῦ βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς τοὺς συμμάχους. τοῦτο δὲ μοναρ-*

<sup>19</sup> These observers stress the imperialistic character of Rome's

supremacy, they were little by little deserting these for a  
 lust of domination like that of Athens and Sparta,<sup>19</sup> starting  
 indeed later than those states, but sure, as everything indi-  
 cated, to arrive at the same end. For at first they had  
 made war with every nation until they were victorious and  
 until their adversaries had confessed that they must obey  
 them and execute their orders. But now they had struck  
 the first note of their policy by their conduct to Perseus,  
 in utterly exterminating the kingdom of Macedonia, and  
 they had now completely revealed it by their decision con-  
 cerning Carthage. For the Carthaginians had been guilty  
 of no immediate offense to Rome, but the Romans had  
 treated them with irremediable severity, although they  
 had accepted all their conditions and consented to obey  
 all their orders.

Others said that the Romans were, generally speaking,  
 a civilized people, and that their peculiar merit on which  
 they prided themselves was that they conducted their wars  
 in a simple and noble manner, employing neither night  
 attacks<sup>20</sup> nor ambushes, disapproving of every kind of de-  
 ceit and fraud, and considering that nothing but direct and  
 open attacks were legitimate for them. But in the present  
 case, throughout the whole of their proceedings in regard  
 to Carthage, they had used deceit and fraud, offering cer-  
 tain things one at a time and keeping others secret, until  
 they cut off every hope the city had of help from her allies.  
 This, they said, savored more of a despot's intrigue than of

policy by associating Rome with the two dominant Greek powers  
 in the fifth century.

<sup>20</sup> See, however, the night attack of Scipio Africanus in winter  
 204/3 on Hasdrubal and Syphax, 14.2-5 and n. on 14.5.15.



- χικῆς πραγματοποιίας οἰκέειν εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ πολιτι-  
 κῆς καὶ Ῥωμαϊκῆς αἰρέσεως καὶ προσεικοῦς ἀσεβή-  
 ματι καὶ παρασπονδήματι κατὰ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον.  
 12 ἦσαν δέ τινες οἱ καὶ τούτοις ἀντιλέγοντες. εἰ μὲν γὰρ  
 πρὶν ἢ δοῦναι τοὺς Καρχηδονίους τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν αὐ-  
 τῶν οὕτως ἐχείριζον τὰ πράγματα, κατὰ βραχὺ τὰ  
 μὲν προτείνοντες, τὰ δὲ παραγυμνοῦντες, εἰκότως ἀν-  
 13 αὐτοὺς ἐνόχους φαίνεσθαι τοῖς ἐγκαλουμένοις· εἰ δὲ  
 δόντων αὐτῶν τῶν Καρχηδονίων τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν ὥστε  
 βουλευέσθαι Ῥωμαίους ὃ τι ποτὲ φαίνοιο περὶ αὐτῶν,  
 οὕτω <κατὰ> τὴν ἔξουσίαν, ὡς ποτε δοκοῖ σφίσι, τὸ  
 κριθὲν ἐπέταττον καὶ παρήγγελλον, οὐκ ἐτί τὸ > γινώ-  
 μενον ἀσεβήματι παραπλήσιον <εἰ>νκαι > καὶ <μὴν>  
 οὐδὲ παρασπονδήματι <μικ>ροῦ <δ>εῖν· ἔ<νιοι> δ'  
 14 <ἐφ>ασαν οὐκ ἀδικήματι τὸ παρά<παν>· τριῶν γὰρ  
 <οὐς>ῶν διαφορῶν, <εἰς> ἅς <τὸ π>ᾶν ἔγκλημα φύσει  
 καταντᾶν, εἰς οὐδεμίαν ἐπίπτειν τούτων τὸ γινόμενον  
 15 ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων· ἀσεβήμα μὲν γὰρ εἶναι τὸ περὶ τοὺς  
 θεοὺς καὶ τοὺς γονεῖς καὶ τοὺς τεθνεώτας ἀμαρτάνειν,  
 παρασπόνδημα δὲ τὸ παρὰ τὰς ἐνόρκους καὶ τὰς  
 ἐγγράπτους ὁμολογίας πραττόμενον, <ἀδικημα δὲ τὸ  
 παρὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ> τοὺς ἔθισμοὺς ἐπιτελούμενον>  
 16 ᾧ οὐδὲν <κατὰ> τὸ παρὸν ἐνόχους εἶναι Ῥωμαίους·  
 οὐ γὰρ εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς οὐδ' εἰς τοὺς γονεῖς οὐδ' εἰς  
 τοὺς τεθνεώτας ἐξαμαρτάνειν, οὐδὲ μὴν ὄρκους οὐδὲ  
 17 συνθήκας παραβαίνειν, τὸ δ' ἐναντίον αὐτοὺς ἐγκαλεῖν  
 τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ὅτι παραβεβήκασιν. καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ  
 νόμους οὐδ' ἔθισμοὺς οὐδὲ τὴν κατ' ἰδίαν πίστιν

the principles of a civilized state such as Rome, and could  
 only be justly described as something very like impiety and  
 treachery. And there were others who differed likewise  
 from these latter critics. For, they said, if before the Car-  
 thaginians had committed themselves to the faith of Rome  
 the Romans had proceeded in this manner, offering cer-  
 tain things one at a time and gradually disclosing others,  
 they would of course have appeared to be guilty of the  
 charge brought against them. But if, in fact, after the Car-  
 thaginians had of their own accord committed themselves  
 to the faith of the Romans and given them liberty to treat  
 them in any way they chose, the Romans, being thus au-  
 thorized to act as it seemed good to them, gave the orders  
 and imposed the terms on which they had decided, what  
 took place did not bear any resemblance to an act of im-  
 piety and fell far short of an act of treachery; in fact some<sup>21</sup>  
 said it was not even of the nature of an injustice. For every  
 crime must naturally fall under one of these three classes,  
 and what the Romans did belongs to neither of the three.  
 For impiety is sin against the gods, against parents, or  
 against the dead; treachery is the violation of sworn or  
 written agreements; and injustice is what is done contrary  
 to law and custom. Of none of these three were the Ro-  
 mans guilty on the present occasion. Neither did they sin  
 against the gods, against their parents, or against the dead,  
 nor did they violate any sworn agreement or treaty; on  
 the contrary they accused the Carthaginians of doing this.  
 Nor, again, did they break any laws or customs or their

<sup>21</sup> A group of those defending the actions of the Romans.

ἀθετεῖν λαβόντας γὰρ τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν παρ' ἐκόντων δὲ βούλουτο πράττειν, οὐ πειθαρχούντων τοῖς παραγγελλομένοις, οὕτως αὐτοῖς προσάγειν τὴν ἀνάγκην.

10. Περὶ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίων καὶ Καρχηδονίων ταύτ'  
 (xxxvii.2) ἐλέγετο· περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ψευδοφιλίππου τὸ μὲν πρῶτον  
 (xxxvii.1b) οὐδ' ἀνεκτὸς ὁ λόγος ἐφαίνετο· πάρεστί τις ἐπὶ τῇ  
 2 Μακεδονίᾳ ἀεροπετῆς Φίλιππος, καταφρονήσας οὐ  
 μόνον Μακεδόνων ἀλλὰ καὶ Ῥωμαίων, οὐδεμίαν ἀφορ-  
 3 μὴν εὐλογον ἔχων πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβολήν, ἅτε γινωσκο-  
 μένου τοῦ κατ' ἀλήθειαν Φιλίππου διότι σχεδὸν ὀκτω-  
 4 καίδεκα γεγονὼς ἐτῶν μετήλλαξε τὸν βίον ἐν Ἄλβᾳ  
 τῆς Ἰταλίας δυσὶν ὕστερον ἔτεσιν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Περ-  
 5 σέως. μετὰ δὲ μῆνας τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας προσπεσοῦσης  
 φήμης διότι νενίκηκε μάχῃ τοὺς Μακεδόνας πέραν  
 τοῦ Στρυμόνος <κατὰ> τὴν Ὀδομαντικὴν, τινὲς μὲν  
 ἀπεδέχοντο τὸν λόγον, οἱ δὲ πλείους ἀκμὴν ἠπίσταν.  
 6 μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ πάλιν ἅμα τοῦ λόγου προσπίπτουτος  
 ὅτι νικῆ μάχῃ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Στρυ-  
 μόνος καὶ πάσης Μακεδονίας κρατεῖ, καὶ Θετταλῶν  
 γράμματα καὶ πρεσβευτὰς πεμφάντων πρὸς τοὺς  
 Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ παρακαλούντων βοηθεῖν, ὡς καὶ περὶ  
 αὐτοὺς ὑπάρχοντος κινδύνου, θαυμαστὸν ἐφάνη καὶ  
 παράδοξον τὸ γεγονός· οὐδεμία γὰρ οὔτε πιθανότης

<sup>22</sup> A certain Andriscus who claimed to be King Perseus' son Philip. As it was widely known that this son had died in Roman captivity, Andriscus was dubbed "False Philip." He found support in Thrace, where prince Teres was a brother-in-law of Perseus, and with Thracian support invaded Macedonia, where he was

personal faith. For having received from a people who consented willingly full authority to act as they wished, when this people refused to obey their orders they finally resorted to force.

10. This, then, is what was said concerning the Romans and Carthaginians. As for the false Philip,<sup>22</sup> at first the story seemed utterly inadmissible. Here is a Philip fallen from the skies who appears in Macedonia, making light not only of the Macedonians but of the Romans too, with no plausible reason to show for his enterprise, as it was well known that the real Philip died at the age of about eighteen at Alba<sup>23</sup> in Italy, two years after the death of Perseus himself. But when three or four months later the report came that he had defeated the Macedonians in a battle beyond the Strymon in the country of the Odomanti, some accepted the news as true, but most people still remained incredulous. But when again, a short time after, it was reported that he had defeated the Macedonians on this side of the Strymon and was master of the whole of Macedonia, and when the Thessalians<sup>24</sup> sent a letter and envoys to the Achaeans begging for their help, as they themselves were now in peril, the whole thing seemed most wonderful and extraordinary, for such an

twice victorious over an army of the Macedonian republics. B. Scardigli, *Ziva Antika* 55 (2005), 149-154.

<sup>23</sup> Alba Fucens, a little north of Avezzano. Founded as a Latin colony in 303, the city was more than once used for the detention of foreign prisoners, such as Syphax or Perseus. *RE Alba Fucens* 1300-1301 (Ch. Hülsen).

<sup>24</sup> The Confederacy as reorganized by Titus Flamininus in 196.

οὐτ' εὐλογία προφαίνεταιο περι τοῦ συμβεβηκότος.

7 τοιαῦται μὲν οὖν περι τούτων ἦσαν διαθέσεις.

(xxxvii.3) 11. Ὅτι προσπεσόντων εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον  
(xxxvii.2a) γραμμάτων τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς παρὰ τοῦ Μανιλίου διότι  
καλῶς ποιήσουσι Πολύβιον τὸν Μεγαλοπολίτην ἐκ-  
πέμψαντες μετὰ σπουδῆς εἰς Διλύβαιον, ὡς χρεῖας  
οὔσης αὐτοῦ δημοσίῳν ἔνεκεν πραγμάτων, ἔδοξε τοῖς  
Ἀχαιοῖς ἐκπέμπειν ἀκολούθως τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑπάτου  
2 γεγραμμένοις. ἡμεῖς δὲ νομίζοντες ἑαυτοῖς καθήκειν  
κατὰ πολλοὺς τρόπους τὸ πειθαρχεῖν Ῥωμαίοις,  
πάντα τᾶλλα πάρεργα <θέμενοι> θερείας ἀρχομένης  
3 ἐξεπλεύσαμεν. ἀφικόμενοι δ' εἰς Κέρκυραν καὶ κατα-  
λαβόντες αὐτοῦ γράμματα παρὰ τῶν ὑπάτων προσι-  
πεπτωκότα τοῖς Κερκυραίοις, ἐν οἷς διεσάφουν ὅτι  
τοὺς μὲν ὁμήρους ἤδη παραδεδώκασιν αὐτοῖς οἱ Καρ-  
χηδόνιοι, πάντως ἔτοιμοι δ' εἰσὶν αὐτοῖς πειθαρχεῖν,  
4 νομίσαντες διαλελύσθαι τὸν πόλεμον καὶ μηκέτι  
χρεῖαν ἡμῶν εἶναι μηδεμίαν, αὐθις ἀπεπλεύσαμεν εἰς  
τὴν Πελοπόννησον.

(xxxvii.4) 12. Οὐ χρὴ δὲ θαυμάζειν ἂν ποτὲ μὲν τῷ κυρίῳ  
(xxxvii.2b) σημαίνωμεν αὐτοὺς ὀνόματι, ποτὲ δὲ ταῖς κοιναῖς ἐμ-  
φάσεσιν, οἷον οὕτως "ἐμοῦ δὲ ταῦτ' εἰπόντος" καὶ πάλιν  
2 "ἡμῶν δὲ συγκαταθεμένων." ἐπὶ πολὺ γὰρ ἐμ-  
πεπλεγμένων ἡμῶν εἰς τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα μελλούσας  
ἱστορεῖσθαι πράξεις, ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι μεταλαμβάνειν  
τὰς περι αὐτῶν σημασίας, ἵνα μήτε τοῦνομα συνεχῶς  
προφερόμενοι προσκόπτωμεν ταυτολογούντες μήτε  
πάλιν "ἐμοῦ" καὶ "δι' ἐμέ" παρ' ἑκαστον λέγοντες λά-

event had not previously seemed remotely probable or at all to be reckoned with. Such was the state of opinion about these matters.

11. When a letter reached the Peloponnesus addressed to the Achaeans from Manilius,<sup>25</sup> saying that they would do well to send Polybius of Megalopolis at once to Lilybaeum<sup>26</sup> as he was required for the public service, the Achaeans voted to send him in response to this written request of the consul. I, myself, thinking that for many reasons I ought to obey the Romans, put every other consideration aside and set sail early in summer. On arriving at Corcyra and finding there a letter addressed by the consuls to the Corcyraeans, in which they informed them that the Carthaginians had already delivered the hostages to them and were ready to comply with all their orders, I thought that the war was over, and that there was no further need for my services, and therefore I at once sailed back to the Peloponnesus.

12. It should cause no surprise if at times I use my proper name in speaking of myself, and elsewhere use general expressions such as "after I had said this" or again, "and when I agreed to this." For as I was personally much involved<sup>27</sup> in the events I am now about to chronicle, I am compelled to change the phrases when alluding to myself, so that I may neither offend by the frequent repetition of my name, nor again by constantly saying "when I" or

<sup>25</sup> The consul (3.1).

<sup>26</sup> 4.6.

<sup>27</sup> See n. on 3.4.13.

- 3 θωμεν εἰς φορτικὴν διάθεσιν ἐμπίπτοντες, ἀλλὰ συγ-  
 χρώμενοι πᾶσι τούτοις καὶ μεταλαμβάνοντες αἰεὶ τὸ  
 τῷ καιρῷ πρέπον ἐφ' ὅσον οἶόν τε διαφεύγωμεν τὸ  
 4 λῖαν ἐπαχθὲς τῆς περὶ αὐτῶν λαλιᾶς, ἐπειδὴ φύσει  
 μὲν ἀπρόσδεκτός ἐστιν ὁ τοιοῦτος λόγος, ἀναγκαῖος  
 δ' ὑπάρχει πολλάκις ὅταν μὴ δυνατὸν ἄλλως ἢ δη-  
 5 λῶσαι τὸ προκείμενον. γέγονε δέ τι πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ  
 μέρος ἡμῖν οἶον ἐκ αὐτομάτου συνέργημα τὸ μηδὲνα  
 μέχρι γε τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς καιρῶν ταῦτον ἡμῖν ὄνομα  
 κεκληρονομηκέναι κυρίως, ὅσον γε καὶ ἡμᾶς εἶδέναι.

13. Ὅτι κατὰ τι σύμπτωμα τῶν μὲν τοῦ Καλλικρά-  
 (xxxvii.5) τούς εἰκόνων εἰσφερομένων κατὰ τὸ σκότος, τῶν δὲ  
 (xxxvii.2c) τοῦ Λυκόρτα κατὰ τὴν <αὐτὴν> ἡμέραν ἐκφερομένων  
 εἰς τὸ φῶς κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς διάθεσιν, πάντας  
 2 ἠνάγκαζε τὸ γινόμενον ἐπιφθέγγεσθαι διότι δεῖ μηδέ-  
 ποτε τοῖς καιροῖς ὑπερηφάνως χρῆσθαι κατὰ τῶν πέ-  
 λας, εἰδότα διότι καὶ λῖαν τοῦτ' ἐστιν ἴδιον ἐπιτήδευμα  
 τῆς τύχης, τὸ τοῖς αὐτῶν ἐπινοήμασι καὶ νομοθετήμα-  
 σιν ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς αὐτοὺς ὑποβάλλει τοὺς νομοθε-  
 τήσαντας.

- 3 Ὅτι αὐτὸ τὸ φύσει φιλόκαινον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἰκα-  
 νόν ἐστι πρὸς πᾶσαν μεταβολήν.

<sup>28</sup> "No inscription down to P.'s time has produced another Polybius" (WC 3.671). New evidence from Megalopolis has recently become known: roof tiles from the temple of Zeus Homarios have been found with stamped names of those who dedi-

"for me" fall unintentionally into an ill-mannered habit of speech. What I wish is by using these modes of expression alternately and in their proper place to avoid as far as possible the offense that lies in speaking constantly about oneself, as such personal references are naturally unwelcome, but are often necessary when the matter cannot be stated clearly without them. Luckily I have been assisted in this matter by the fortuitous fact that no one as far as I know, up to the time in which I live at least, has received from his parents the same proper name as my own.<sup>28</sup>

13. It chanced that on one and the same day the portraits of Callicrates<sup>29</sup> were carried in in darkness, while those of Lycortas<sup>30</sup> on the same day were brought out into the light to occupy their original position, and this made every one remark that no one should misuse his success to persecute his neighbors, since he should know that it is the peculiar function of Fortune to bring to bear in turn on the legislators themselves the very laws they themselves originated and passed.

The love of innovation natural to man is in itself sufficient to produce any kind of revolution.

cated them. Among them are Philopoemen, Polybius (the historian), and Aristion (H.Lauter, *AW* 33 [2002], 375-386, with [for Polybius] figs. 12a and b).

<sup>29</sup> His statues were removed after he died while on his way to Rome on an embassy (Paus. 7.12.8).

<sup>30</sup> His statues, removed while Callicrates held the dominant position in Achaëa, were perhaps replaced at the initiative, certainly with the approval, of P.

## III. RES BITHYNIAE

14. Ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι ἔπεμψαν πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς ἐπι-  
 (xxvii.6) ληψομένους τῆς ὀρμῆς τῆς τοῦ Νικομήδους καὶ κω-  
 (xxxvii.2d) λύσοντας τὸν Ἄτταλον πολεμεῖν τῷ Προυσίᾳ, καὶ  
 2 κατεστάθησαν Μάρκος Δικίννιος, ἄνθρωπος ποδαγρι-  
 κὸς καὶ τελείως ἀδύνατος τοῖς ποσὶ, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον  
 Ἀῦλος Μαγκίνος, ὃς κεραμίδος εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐμ-  
 πεσοῦσης αὐτῷ τηλικαύτας καὶ τοσαύτας οὐλὰς εἶχε  
 διὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς ὥστε θαυμαστὸν εἶναι πῶς ἐσώθη,  
 καὶ Δεύκιος Μαλλέολος, ὃς πάντων ἐδόκει Ῥωμαίων  
 3 ἀναισθητότατος ὑπάρχειν. τῆς δὲ πράξεως προσδεο-  
 μένης τάχους καὶ τόλμης ἐδόκουν ἀφνέστατοι πρὸς  
 4 τὴν χρεῖαν εἶναι ταύτην οἱ καθεσταμένοι. διὸ καὶ  
 φασὶ Μάρκον Πόρκιον τὸν Κάτωνα προσαγορευόμε-  
 νον εἰπεῖν ἐν συγκλήτῳ διότι συμβήσεται μὴ μόνον  
 ἀποδόμενον φθᾶσαι τὸν Προυσίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Νι-  
 5 κομήδην γηράσαντ' ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ· πῶς γὰρ οἶόν τε  
 καταταχῆσαι, πῶς δὲ καταταχῆσασαν ἀνύσασθαί τι  
 τὴν πρεσβεῖαν, μήτε πόδας μήτε κεφαλὴν μήτε καρ-  
 διὰν ἔχουσιν.

15. Ὅτι Προυσίας ὁ βασιλεὺς, εἰδεχθῆς ἂν κατὰ  
 (xxxvii.7) τὴν ἔμφασιν, καίπερ ἐκ συλλογισμοῦ βελτίων ὑπάρ-  
 (xxxvii.2) χων, ἤμισος ἀνὴρ <ἦν> κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ πρὸς  
 2 τὰς πολεμικὰς χρεῖας ἀγεννῆς καὶ γυναικώδης. οὐ  
 γὰρ μόνον δειλὸς ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰς κακοπαθείας

## III. AFFAIRS OF BITHYNIA

(Cf. Livy, epit. 1)

14. The Romans sent legates to check the aggressive spirit of Nicomedes<sup>31</sup> and to prevent Attalus from going to war with Prusias. Those appointed<sup>32</sup> were Marcus Licinius, a gouty man quite weak upon his legs, Aulus Mancinus, who in consequence of a tile falling on his head had received so many serious wounds on the head, that it is a wonder he escaped with his life, and Lucius Malleolus, who was thought to be the most stupid man in Rome. As the matter called for rapid and bold action, the legates selected were considered to be the most incompetent that could be found for this task. Owing to this they say that Marcus Porcius Cato<sup>33</sup> remarked in the senate that before it was finished not only would Prusias be dead<sup>34</sup> but Nicomedes, too, would have died of old age in his royal state; for how could the commission act expeditiously, or if it did, achieve any result, as it had not feet nor a head nor a heart.

15. King Prusias was an ill-favored man, and though possessed of fair reasoning power, was but half a man as regards his appearance, and had no more military capacity than a woman; for not only was he a coward, but he was incapable of putting up with hardship, and, to put it

<sup>31</sup> For the events narrated in this chapter see *RE* Prusias (II), 1120-1124 (C. Habicht). <sup>32</sup> *MRR* I.460. The correct name of the third envoy was Lucius Manlius Vulso.

<sup>33</sup> He died soon thereafter. <sup>34</sup> He was killed after the arrival of the envoys by the forces of his son Nicomedes, who succeeded him and reigned as king of Bithynia 149-128.



3 ἀλλότριος καὶ συλλήβδην ἐκτεθλημμένος καὶ τῆ  
 ψυχῇ καὶ τῷ σώματι παρ' ὅλον τὸν βίον ὅπερ ἤκιστα  
 4 βούλονται περὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ὑπάρχειν ἅπαντες μὲν,  
 μάλιστα δὲ τὸ τῶν Βιθυνῶν γένος. πολλῇ δέ τις ἀσέλ-  
 5 γεια καὶ περὶ τὰς σωματικὰς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῷ συνεξη-  
 6 κολούθει. παιδείας δὲ καὶ φιλοσοφίας καὶ τῶν ἐν τού-  
 τοις θεωρημάτων ἄπειρος εἰς τέλος ἦν καὶ συλλήβδην  
 7 τοῦ καλοῦ τί ποτ' ἔστιν οὐδ' ἔννοιαν εἶχε, Σαρδανα-  
 πάλλου δὲ βάρβαρον βίον ἔζη καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ  
 νύκτωρ. τοιγαροῦν ἅμα τῷ δράσασθαι βραχείας ἐλ-  
 πίδος τὸ τῶν βασιλευομένων πλήθος ἀμετάκλητον  
 ὄρμην ἔσχεν εἰς τὸ μὴ μόνον ἀλλότρια φρονεῖν τοῦ  
 βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμωρίαν βούλεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ  
 λαμβάνειν.

## IV. BELLUM PUNICUM TERTIUM

16. Ὅτι Μασανάσσης ὁ ἐν Λιβύῃ τῶν Νομάδων  
 (xxxvii.10) βασιλεὺς ἀνὴρ ἦν τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς βασιλέων ἄριστος  
 (xxxvii.3) καὶ μακαριώτατος, ὃς ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη πλείω τῶν  
 2, 3 ἐξήκονθ', ὑγιεινότετος ὢν καὶ πολυχρονιώτατος· ἐνε-  
 νήκοντα γὰρ ἐτῶν ἔγεγονει. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ δυνάμικώ-  
 τatos τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν σωματικὴν ἔξιν, ὃς,  
 4 ὅτε μὲν στῆναι δέοι, στὰς ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἴχνεσι δι'  
 ἡμέρας ἔμενε, καθελζόμενος <δὲ> πάλιν οὐκ ἠγείρετο. καὶ  
 τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ἰππικῶν κακοπάθειαν ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα  
 5 συνεχῶς διακαρτερῶν οὐδὲν ἔπασχεν. σημεῖον δὲ τῆς  
 σωματικῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως· ἔχων ἐνενήκοντ' ἔτη, καθ'

shortly, he was effeminate in body and mind through his whole life, a defect that no one, and least of all Bithynians, like to see in a king. In addition to this he was most incontinent in satisfying his sensual appetites; he was entirely a stranger to education, philosophy, and the systematic training these give, and generally speaking had no notion whatever of what goodness and beauty are, but lived by day and night the barbarous life of a Sardanapallus.<sup>35</sup> So that all his subjects, the moment they saw the least chance of success, became irrevocably resolved not only to throw off allegiance to the king, but to exact punishment from him.

## IV. THE THIRD PUNIC WAR

16. Massanissa,<sup>36</sup> the king of the Numidians in Africa, one of the best and most fortunate men of our time, reigned for over sixty years, enjoying excellent health and attaining a great age, for he lived till ninety. He also excelled all his contemporaries in bodily strength, for when it was necessary to stand, he could stand in the same place for a whole day without shifting, and again, if he were seated, he never used to get up. And he could also continue to ride hard by night and day without feeling any the worse. The following is a proof of his bodily strength.

149-148  
B.C.

<sup>35</sup> See n. on 8.10.3.

<sup>36</sup> He died late in 149. His glowing obituary stands in sharp contrast to the damning one of Prusias in the preceding chapter.

- ὄν καιρὸν μετέλλαξε τὸν βίον, υἱὸν ἀπέλειπε τεττάρων ἐτῶν, ὄνομα Σθέμβανον, ὃν μετὰ ταῦτα Μικίψης
- 6 υἱοποιήσατο, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις υἱοὺς ἑννέα. διὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τούτων εὐνοίαν διετήρησε τὸν ὄλον βίον πάσης ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ παντὸς οἰκείου μιάσματος
- 7 ἄμοιρον αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι τὴν βασιλείαν. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον καὶ θειώτατον τούτου· τῆς γὰρ Νομαδίας ἀπάσης ἀχρήστου τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου ὑπαρχούσης καὶ νομιζομένης ἀδυνάτου τῇ φύσει πρὸς ἡμέρους καρποὺς
- 8 ὑπάρχειν, πρῶτος καὶ μόνος ὑπέδειξε διότι δύναται πάντας ἐκφέρειν τοὺς ἡμέρους καρποὺς οὐδ' ὅποιας ἦττον, ἐκάστῳ τῶν υἱῶν ἐν διαστάσει μυριοπλήθους
- 9 ἀγροὺς κατασκευάσας παμφόρους. τῇ μὲν οὖν ἐκείνου μεταστάσει ταῦτ' ἂν τις εὐλόγως ἐπιφθέγγαιτο καὶ
- 10 δικαίως. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Κίρταν ἡμέρᾳ τρίτῃ μετὰ τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως θάνατον διώκησε καλῶς πάντα.
- 11 Μασανάσσην δ' ἱστορεῖ Πολύβιος ἐνενήκοντα μὲν ἐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν, τετράετες καταλιπόντα παιδάριον ἕξ
- 12 αὐτοῦ γεγεννημένον· ὀλίγῳ δ' ἔμπροσθεν τῆς τελευταίας μάχῃ νικήσαντα μεγάλην Καρχηδονίου ὀφθῆναι τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς ῥύπαρὸν ἄρτον ἐσθίουσα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θαυμάζοντας εἰπεῖν ὅτι τοῦτο ποιεῖ
- ...

At the age of ninety, the age at which he died, he left a son of four years old called Sthembanus, subsequently adopted by Micipsa, besides nine other sons. Owing to the affectionate terms they were all on he kept his kingdom during his whole life free from all plots and from any taint of domestic discord. But his greatest and most godlike achievement was this. While Numidia had previously been a barren country thought to be naturally incapable of producing crops, he first and he alone proved that it was as capable as any other country of bearing all kinds of crops, by making for each of his sons a separate property of a vast acreage which produced all kinds of crops. It is only proper and just to pay this tribute to his memory on his death. Scipio<sup>37</sup> arrived in Cirta two days after the king's death and set everything in order.

(Plutarch, *An seni sit gerenda respublica* 791F)

Polybius tells us that Massanissa died at the age of ninety, leaving a four-year-old child of which he was the father. A little before his death, he defeated the Carthaginians in a great battle, and next day he was seen in front of his tent eating a dirty piece of bread, and to those who expressed their surprise said he did it . . .

<sup>37</sup> The king had called for him to oversee his succession. Of the king's three sons Micipsa received the capital, Cirta, and the title of king, Gulussa the command of the army, Mastanabal the jurisdiction. The latter had been victorious in an equestrian contest at the Panathenaea of 158: *IG II* (2nd ed.) 2316.43, and was the father of Jugurtha.

## V. BELLUM MACEDONICUM

17. Ἐγὼ δέ, φησὶν ὁ Πολύβιος ἐπιτιμῶν τοῖς τὴν  
 (xxxvii.9) τύχην καὶ τὴν εἰμαρμένην ἐπιγράφουσιν ἐπὶ τε τὰς  
 (xxxvii.4) κοινὰς πράξεις καὶ τὰς κατ' ἰδίαν περιπετείας, οὐκ  
 βούλομαι περὶ τούτου τοῦ μέρους διαστείλασθαι καθ'  
 ὅσον ὁ τῆς πραγματικῆς ἱστορίας ἐπιδέχεται τρόπος.
- 2 ὦν μὲν νῆ Δί' ἀδύνατον ἢ δυσχερὲς τὰς αἰτίας κατα-  
 λαβεῖν ἀνθρωπον ὄντα, περὶ τούτων ἴσως ἂν τις ἀπο-  
 ρῶν ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν τὴν ἀναφορὰν ποιούτο καὶ τὴν τύ-  
 χην, οἷον ὄμβρων καὶ νιφετῶν ἐξαισίων ἐπιφορὰ  
 συνεχῆς, ἢ τὰναντία πάλιν ἀνχμῶν καὶ πάγων καὶ  
 διὰ ταῦτα φθορὰ καρπῶν, ὁμοίως λοιμικαὶ διαθέσεις  
 συνεχεῖς, ἄλλα παραπλήσια τούτοις, ὧν οὐκ εὐμαρὲς
- 3 τὴν αἰτίαν εὔρειν. διόπερ εἰκότως περὶ τῶν τοιούτων  
 ἀκολουθοῦντες ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν δόξαις διὰ τὴν ἀπο-  
 ρίαν, ἰκετεύοντες καὶ θύοντες ἐξίλασκόμενοι τὸ θεῖον,  
 πέμπομεν ἐρησόμενοι τοὺς θεοὺς τί ποτ' ἂν ἢ λέγου-  
 σιν ἢ πράττουσιν ἡμῖν ἄμεινον εἴη καὶ γένοιτο παῦλα
- 4 τῶν ἐνεστώτων κακῶν. ὦν δὲ δυνατὸν ἐστὶ τὴν αἰτίαν  
 εὔρειν, ἐξ ἧς καὶ δι' ἣν ἐγένετο τὸ συμβαῖνον, οὐχὶ μοι  
 δοκεῖ τῶν τοιούτων δεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ θεῖον ποιείσθαι τὴν
- 5 ἀναφορὰν. λέγω δ' οἷον οὕτως. ἐπέσχευ ἐν τοῖς καθ'  
 ἡμᾶς καιροῖς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν ἀπαιδία καὶ συλ-  
 λήβδην ὀλιγανθρωπία, δι' ἣν αἱ τε πόλεις ἐξηρημώ-  
 θησαν καὶ ἀφορίαν εἶναι συνέβαινε, καίπερ οὔτε  
 πολέμων συνεχῶν ἐσχηκότων ἡμᾶς οὔτε λοιμικῶν
- 6 περιστάσεων. εἰ τις οὖν περὶ τούτου συνεβούλευσεν

## V. THE MACEDONIAN WAR

17. For my part, says Polybius, in finding fault with those who ascribe public events and incidents in private life to Fate and Chance, I now wish to state my opinion on this subject as far as it is admissible to do so in a strictly historical work. Now indeed as regards things the causes of which it is impossible or difficult for a mere man to understand, we may perhaps be justified in getting out of the difficulty by setting them down to the action of a god or of chance, I mean such things as exceptionally heavy and continuous rain or snow, or on the other hand the destruction of crops by severe drought or frost, or a persistent outbreak of plague or other similar things of which it is not easy to detect the cause. So in regard to such matters we naturally bow to popular opinion, as we cannot make out why they happen, and attempting by prayer and sacrifice to appease the heavenly powers, we send to ask the gods what we must do and say, to set things right and cause the evil that afflicts us to cease. But as for matters the efficient and final cause of which it is possible to discover we should not, I think, put them down to divine action. For instance, take the following case. In our own time the whole of Greece has been subject to childlessness and a general decrease of the population, owing to which cities have become deserted and the land has ceased to yield fruit, although there have neither been continuous wars nor epidemics. If, then, any one had advised us to

εἰς θεοὺς πέμπειν ἐρησομένους τί ποτ' ἂν ἡ λέγοντες  
 ἢ πράττοντες πλείονες γινόμεθα καὶ κάλλιον οἰκοίη-  
 μεν τὰς πόλεις, ἂρ' οὐ μάταιος ἂν ἐφαίνεται, τῆς αἰτίας  
 προφανοῦς ὑπαρχούσης καὶ τῆς διορθώσεως ἐν ἡμῖν  
 7 κειμένης; τῶν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων εἰς ἀλαζονείαν καὶ φι-  
 λοχρημοσύνην, ἔτι δὲ ῥαθυμίαν ἐκτετραμμένων καὶ  
 μὴ βουλομένων μήτε γαμῆν μήτ', εἰς γήμωσι, τὰ γι-  
 νόμενα τέκνα τρέφειν, ἀλλὰ μόλις ἐν τῶν πλείστων ἢ  
 δύο χάριν τοῦ πλουσίου τούτους καταλιπεῖν καὶ  
 σπαταλῶντας θρέψαι, ταχέως ἔλαθε τὸ κακὸν αὐξηθέν.  
 8 ὅτε γὰρ ἐνὸς ὄντος ἢ δυῶν, τούτων τὸν μὲν πόλεμος,  
 τὸν δὲ νόσος ἐνστάσα παρείλετο, δῆλον ὡς ἀνάγκη  
 καταλείπεσθαι τὰς οἰκῆσεις ἐρήμους, καὶ καθάπερ  
 9 βραχὺ καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀπορουμένας ἀδυνατεῖν. ὑπὲρ  
 ὧν οὐδὲ χρεία παρὰ τῶν θεῶν πυνθάνεσθαι πῶς ἂν  
 10 ἀπολυθῆμεν τῆς τοιαύτης βλάβης· ὁ γὰρ τυχὼν τῶν  
 ἀνθρώπων ἐρεῖ διότι μάλιστα μὲν αὐτοὶ δι' αὐτῶν  
 μεταθέμενοι τὸν ζῆλον, εἰ δὲ μή, νόμους γράψαντες,  
 ἵνα τρέφῃται τὰ γινόμενα. περὶ τούτων οὔτε μάντεων  
 11 οὔτε τερατειῶν χρεία. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ περὶ τῶν  
 12 κατὰ μέρος. ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐκείνων ἐφ' ὧν ἀλήπτους ἢ δυσ-  
 λήπτους εἶναι τὰς αἰτίας συμβαίνει, διαπορητέον ὧν  
 13 ἐν ἦν καὶ τὸ περὶ Μακεδόνων γεγενημένον. Μακεδόνες  
 μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἐτετεύχει-  
 σαν φιλανθρωπιῶν, κοινῇ μὲν πάντες ἀπολυθέντες  
 μοναρχικῶν ἐπιταγμάτων καὶ φόρων καὶ μεγαλαβόν-  
 τες ἀπὸ δουλείας ὁμολογουμένως ἐλευθερίαν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ

send and ask the gods about this, and find out what we  
 ought to say or do, to increase in number and make our  
 cities more populous, would it not seem absurd, the cause  
 of the evil being evident and the remedy being in our own  
 hands? For as men had fallen into such a state of preten-  
 tiousness, avarice, and indolence that they did not wish to  
 marry, or if they married to rear the children born to them,  
 or at most as a rule but one or two of them, so as to leave  
 these in affluence and bring them up to waste their sub-  
 stance, the evil rapidly and insensibly grew. For in cases  
 where of one or two children the one was carried off by  
 war and the other by sickness, it is evident that the houses  
 must have been left unoccupied, and as in the case of  
 swarms of bees, so by small degrees cities became re-  
 sourceless and feeble. About this it was of no use at all to  
 ask the gods to suggest a means of deliverance from such  
 an evil. For any ordinary man will tell you that the most  
 effectual cure had to be men's own action, in either striv-  
 ing after other objects, or if not, in passing laws making it  
 compulsory to rear children who are born. Neither prophe-  
 ts nor magic were here of any service, and the same holds  
 good for all particulars. But in cases where it is either  
 impossible or difficult to detect the cause the question is  
 open to doubt. One such case is that of Macedonia. For  
 the Macedonians had met with many signal favors from  
 Rome; the country as a whole had been delivered from the  
 arbitrary rule and taxation<sup>38</sup> of autocrats, and, as all con-  
 fessed, now enjoyed freedom in place of servitude, and

<sup>38</sup> It is far from certain that matters had been worse for the  
 people in Macedonia under the kings than they were under the  
 republics and the Roman administration succeeding them.

- πάλιν κατὰ πόλεις ἐκλυθέντες ἐκ μεγάλων στάσεων  
 καὶ φόνων ἐμφυλίων διὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων . . . . . πλεί-  
 στους ἐπέιδον αὐτῶν ἐν πάνν βραχεῖ χρόνῳ φυγαδευ-  
 θέντας καὶ στρεβλωθέντας καὶ φονευθέντας ἢ τῶν ἐν  
 τοῖς πρότερον καιροῖς ὑπὸ τῶν κατ' ἀλήθειαν βασι-  
 14 <λέων> . . . οἱ δὲ μετὰ <Φιλίππου> τοῦ Δημητρίου  
 καὶ πάλιν μετὰ Περσέως μαχόμενοι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους  
 ἠττήθησαν, ἀνδρὶ <δὲ> στυγνῷ συναγωνιζόμενοι καὶ  
 περὶ τῆς τούτου βασιλείας ἀνδραγαθήσαντες ἐνίκησαν  
 15 Ῥωμαίους. ἐξ ὧν τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐπαπορήσειεν ἐπὶ τῷ  
 συμβάντι; τὴν γὰρ αἰτίαν εὐρεῖν τούτων δυσχερές.  
 διόπερ ἂν τις ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων διαθέσεων δαιμονο-  
 βλάβειαν εἴπειε τὸ γεγονός καὶ μῆνιν ἐκ θεῶν ἅσασι  
 Μακεδόσιν ἀπηντήσθαι. δῆλον δ' ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν λέγε-  
 σθαι μελλόντων.

the several cities had, owing to the beneficent action of Rome, been freed from serious civil discord and interne-  
 cine massacres<sup>39</sup>. . . . But now they witnessed in quite a  
 short time more of their citizens exiled, tortured and mur-  
 dered by this false Philip than by any of their previous real  
 kings<sup>40</sup>. . . . But while they were defeated by the Romans  
 in fighting <for Philip, son of> Demetrius, and Perseus,<sup>41</sup>  
 yet now fighting for a hateful man and displaying great  
 valor in defense of his throne, they worsted<sup>42</sup> the Romans.  
 How can anyone fail to be nonplused by such an event?  
 for here it is most difficult to detect the cause. So that in  
 pronouncing on this and similar phenomena we may well  
 say that the thing was a heaven-sent infatuation, and that  
 all the Macedonians were visited by the wrath of God, as  
 will be evident from what follows.

<sup>39</sup> There follow some five lines of extremely fragmentary text where only a mention of "false Philip" stands out.

<sup>40</sup> There follow some nine lines of equally fragmentary text, in which "false Philip" is once again mentioned.

<sup>41</sup> As the Romans never defeated Macedonians fighting for Demetrius, the excerptor seems to have erroneously omitted the name of Philip, son of Demetrius II.

<sup>42</sup> In 148 Andriscus defeated and killed the Roman praetor of 149, Publius Iuventius Thalna, and the legion he commanded. The engagement was fought in Thessaly. *MRR* 1.461.



FRAGMENTUM LIBRI XXXVII

Μούσειον, τόπος περὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον τὸν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ.  
Πολύβιος τριακοστῷ ἐβδόμῳ.

FRAGMENT OF BOOK XXXVII

Mouseion, a place in the area of Mt. Olympus in Macedonia. Polybius in Book 37.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Steph. Byz. preserved this fragment of the book that had already been lost in, or before, the tenth century. This sanctuary for the Muses is not mentioned elsewhere.

## FRAGMENTA LIBRI XXXVIII

### I. EX PROOEMIO

- (3) 1. Ὅτι ἡ λή' βίβλος περιέχει τὴν συντέλειαν τῆς  
 (1a) 2 τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀτυχίας. καίπερ γὰρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ  
 καθόλου καὶ κατὰ μέρος πλεονάκις ἑπτακυίας, ὅμως  
 οὐδ' ὁποίοις ἂν τις τῶν πρότερον ἐλαττωμάτων οἰκει-  
 3 ὄτερον ἐφαρμόσαι τὸ τῆς ἀτυχίας ὄνομα καὶ τὴν  
 ἔννοιαν ταύτην ὡς τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς γεγενοῖσιν. οὐ γὰρ  
 μόνον ἀφ' ὧν ἔπαθον ἐλεῆσαι τις ἂν τοὺς Ἕλληνας,  
 4 ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐφ' οἷς ἔπραξαν ἡτυχηκεῖναι νομίσει,  
 πυθόμενος περὶ ἐκάστων τὰς ἀληθείας. δοκοῦντος  
 γοῦν μεγίστου πάθους γεγεμέναι τοῦ περὶ τοὺς Καρ-  
 5 χηδονίους οὐκ ἔλαττον ἂν τις ἠγήσαστο, κατὰ δέ τι  
 μείζον τὸ περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τότε συμβάν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ  
 τόπον ἔσχατον ἀπολογίας γε πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιγινομένους  
 περὶ σφῶν ἀπέλειπον, οὗτοι δ' οὐδ' ἀφορμὴν εὐλογον  
 6 ἔδοσαν τοῖς βουλομένοις σφίσι βοηθεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν  
 ἡμαρτημένων. καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι μὲν ἅμα ταῖς περιπε-  
 τεύαις ἄρδην ἀφανισθέντες ἀνεπαίσθητοι τῶν σφετέ-  
 ρων εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἐγένοντο συμπτωμάτων, οἱ δ' Ἕλ-  
 ληνες ἐφορῶντες τὰς αὐτῶν ἀτυχίας παισὶ παίδων

## FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXXVIII

### I. FROM THE INTRODUCTION

1. The thirty-eighth book contains the completion of 147-146  
 the disaster<sup>1</sup> of Greece. For though both the whole of B.C.  
 Greece and her several parts had often met with mis-  
 chance, yet to none of her former defeats can we more  
 fittingly apply the name of disaster with all it signifies than  
 to the events of my own time. For not only are the Greeks  
 to be pitied for what they suffered, but we cannot fail to  
 think that what they did was still more disastrous to them  
 when we know the truth in detail. The ruin of Carthage is  
 indeed considered to have been the greatest of calamities,  
 but when we come to think of it the fate of Greece was  
 no less terrible and in some ways even more so. For the  
 Carthaginians at least left to posterity some ground, how-  
 ever slight, for defending their cause, but the Greeks gave  
 no plausible pretext<sup>2</sup> to any one who wishes to support  
 them and acquit them of error. And again the Carthagini-  
 ans, having been utterly exterminated by the calamity  
 which overtook them, were for the future insensible of  
 their sufferings, but the Greeks, continuing to witness

<sup>1</sup> The defeat of the Achaeans in 146.

<sup>2</sup> P. plainly condemns the policy of the Achaeans as leading to their catastrophe.

7 παραδόσιμον ἐποίησαν τὴν ἀκληρίαν. ὥστε καθ' ὅσον  
 τοὺς ζῶντας μετὰ τιμωρίας ἐλεεινοτέρους νομίζομεν  
 τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς δεινοῖς ἐκλειπόντων τὸν βίον, κατὰ  
 τοσοῦτο καὶ τὰς τότε περιπετείας τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλεει-  
 νοτέρας νομιστέον τῶν συμβάντων Καρχηδονίους, ἐὰν  
 8 μὴ τις ἀφροντιστῶν τοῦ καθήκοντος καὶ τοῦ καλοῦ,  
 πρὸς αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ συμφέρον ἀποβλέπων ποιῆται τὴν  
 9 ἀπόφασιν. ὅτι δ' ἔστι τὸ νῦν εἰρημένον ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀλη-  
 θές, εἴποι τις ἂν ὑπομηθηθεὶς καὶ παρακθείς τὰς  
 δοκούσας μεγίστας συμφορὰς γεγονέναι κατὰ τὴν  
 Ἑλλάδα πρὸς τὰ νῦν ὑφ' ἡμῶν λεγόμενα.

- (4) 2. Μέγιστον ἢ τύχη δοκεῖ φόβον ἐπιστήσαι τοῖς  
 (1b) Ἕλλησι κατὰ τὴν Ξέρξου διάβασιν εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην  
 2 τότε γὰρ ἐκινδύνευσαν μὲν πάντες, ἔπαισαν δὲ τε-  
 3 λέως ὀλίγιστοι, μάλιστα δὲ τούτων Ἀθηναῖοι προῖδό-  
 μνοι γὰρ ἐμφρόνως τὸ μέλλον ἐξέλιπον τὴν πατρίδα  
 4 μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν. βλάβην μὲν οὖν ὁ καιρὸς  
 αὐτοῖς ἐπήνεγκε· κύριοι γὰρ γενηθέντες οἱ βάρβαροι  
 πικρῶς διέφθειραν τὰς Ἀθήνας· οὐ μὴν ὄνειδος οὐδ'  
 αἰσχύνην, τὸ δ' ἐναντίον εὐκλείαν παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς  
 ἀνθρώποις τὴν μεγίστην ἀπηνέγκαντο <διλότι πάντ'  
 ἐν ἐλάττονι θέμενοι τῆς αὐτῆς τύχης εἴλαντο κοινωνεῖν  
 5 τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι. τοιγαροῦν καλῇ χρησάμενοι  
 προαιρέσει, παρὰ πόδας οὐ μόνον ἀνεκτήσαντο τὴν  
 πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν χώραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῆς  
 τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίας μετ' ὀλίγον ἡμφισβή-  
 6 τουν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν ὑπὸ  
 Σπαρτιατῶν καταπολεμηθέντες εἰς τοῦτ' ἀνάγκης ἦλ-

their calamities, handed on from father to son the memory of their misfortune. So that inasmuch as we consider that those who remain alive and suffer punishment are more to be pitied than those who perished in the actual struggle, we should consider the calamities that then befell Greece more worthy of pity than the fate of Carthage, unless in pronouncing on the matter we discard all notion of what is decorous and noble, and keep our eyes only on material advantage. Every one will acknowledge the truth of what I say if he recalls what are thought to have been the greatest misfortunes that had befallen Greece and compares them with my present narrative.

2. The greatest terror with which fortune afflicted Greece is supposed to have been the crossing of Xerxes to Europe. For then we all were in danger but very few came to grief; first and foremost the Athenians, who, intelligently foreseeing what would happen, abandoned their city, taking their wives and children with them. Of course at the time they suffered severe damage, for the barbarians became masters of Athens and destroyed the town pitilessly. They did not, however, incur any reproach or shame, but on the contrary their action was universally regarded as being most glorious, in that, regardless of what might happen to themselves, they decided to throw in their fortunes with the rest of Greece. And in consequence, by this brave resolve, not only did they at once recover<sup>3</sup> their fatherland and their country, but were soon disputing<sup>4</sup> with Sparta the hegemony of Greece. And subsequently, when they were crushed<sup>5</sup> in the war with Sparta,

<sup>3</sup> Through the victories at Salamis 480 and at Plataeae 479.

<sup>4</sup> In the Peloponnesian War.

<sup>5</sup> At Aegospotami in 404.

- 7 θον ὥστε καθελείν τὰ τεῖχη τῆς αὐτῶν πατρίδος. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο Λακεδαιμονίων, οὐκ Ἀθηναίων ἄν τις εἶναι φήσει τοῦγκλημα, διότι βαρύτερον ἐχρήσαντο τῇ
- 8 δοθείσῃ σφίσι παρὰ τῆς τύχης ἐξουσίᾳ. Σπαρτιάται <δ'> ἠττηθέντες ὑπὸ Θεβαίων πάλιν ἀπέβαλον τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίαν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τῆς τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀρχῆς ἀποστάντες συνεκλείσθησαν εἰς τοὺς
- 9 τῆς Λακωνικῆς ὄρους. καὶ τί δὴ τοῦτ' αἰσχρόν, εἰ περὶ τῶν καλλίστων ἀμφισβητοῦντες ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἔπταισαν ὥστε πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν πάτριον ἀναχωρῆσαι δυνα-
- 10 στείαν; διὸ τὰ γεγονότα ταῦτα συμπτώματα μὲν εἶναι φατέον, ἀτυχήματα δ' οὐδαμῶς ῥητέον. Μαντινεῖς ἠναγκάσθησαν ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πατρίδα διοικισθέντες ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ διασπασθέντες οἰκῆσαι κατὰ
- 12 κώμας· ἀλλὰ πάντες ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐ τὴν τῶν Μαντινεῶν ἀβουλίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ὠνείδιζον.
- 13 Θεβαῖοι μετὰ τινα χρόνον ἄρδην ἐπέιδον τὴν αὐτῶν πατρίδα γενομένην ἀνάστατον, ὅτε προθέμενος Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβαίνειν ὑπέλαβε διὰ τῆς εἰς Θεβαίους τιμωρίας τῷ φόβῳ φρουρήσειν τοὺς Ἑλ-
- 14 ληνας κατὰ τοὺς ἰδίους περισπασμούς· ἀλλὰ τότε πάντες ἠλέουν μὲν τοὺς Θεβαίους ὡς ἄδικα καὶ δεινὰ πεπονθότας, διεδικαίου δὲ τὴν πράξιν ταύτην οὐδεὶς Ἀλεξάνδρου.
- (5) 3. τοιγαροῦν βραχεῖ χρόνῳ τυχόντες ἐπικουρίας  
(1c) 2 τινὸς αὐθις ᾤκουν τὴν πατρίδα μετ' ἀσφαλείας. ὁ γὰρ παρὰ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἔλεος οὐ μικρὸν ἐπίχειρόν ἐστι τοῖς

they were actually forced to pull down the walls of their own city; but it must be said that the fault here lay not with the Athenians but with the Lacedaemonians, who made an oppressive use of the power that Fortune had placed in their hands. The Spartans again in their turn when defeated<sup>6</sup> by the Thebans lost the hegemony of Greece, and afterward renouncing all projects of foreign conquest were confined to the limits of Laconia. And what disgrace was there in this, if after struggling for the highest prize they so far failed that they had to retire once more to their ancestral dominions? So all these events may be described as misfortunes but not by any means as disasters. The Mantineans<sup>7</sup> again were compelled to abandon their city when the Spartans dispersed them and broke them up and to live in villages. But every one in this case blamed the Spartans, and not the Mantineans for their unwisdom. The Thebans some time afterward witnessed the utter destruction<sup>8</sup> of their city when Alexander, intending to cross to Asia, thought that by chastising the Thebans he would frighten the other cities into subjection to him while he was otherwise occupied. But then every one pitied the Thebans for the cruel and unjust treatment they suffered, and no one attempted to justify this act of Alexander.

3. And consequently in a short time with some slight assistance<sup>9</sup> they were able to restore their city and again dwell safely in it. For the compassion of others is no small

<sup>6</sup> At Leuctra 371.

<sup>7</sup> The event is the so-called dioecism of 385/4. *RE* Mantinea 1322-1323 (F. Böhle).

<sup>8</sup> In 335.

<sup>9</sup> Cassander of Macedonia took the initiative; various donations came from kings, states, and individuals; see Holleaux, *Ét.* 1, 1-40.

ἀδίκως ἀκληροῦσιν, εἴ γε πολλάκις ἰδεῖν ἔστιν ἅμα  
 ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν ὀρμαῖς καὶ τὴν τύχην μεταβαλλο-  
 μένην καὶ τοὺς κρατοῦντας αὐτοὺς μεταμελομένους  
 καὶ διορθουμένους τὰς τῶν παραλόγως ἡτύχηκότων  
 3 περιπετείας. πάλιν ἐπέθοντο κατὰ τινας καιροὺς Χαλ-  
 κιδεῖς καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ τινες ἕτεραι πόλεις διὰ τὴν  
 τῶν τόπων εὐφύϊαν τοῖς ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ βασιλευῦσι καὶ  
 4 φρουρὰς εἶχον· ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν δουλεύοντας πάντες  
 ἐσπούδαζον κατὰ δύναμιν ἐλευθεροῦν, τοὺς δὲ κατα-  
 δουλωσαμένους ἐμίσουν καὶ πολεμίους ἡγοῦντο διὰ  
 5 τέλους. καθόλου δὲ κατὰ πόλεις ἔπταιον καὶ κατὰ πό-  
 λιν ἐσφάλλοντο τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον ὡς ἐπίπαν, οἱ μὲν  
 ὑπὲρ ἡγεμονίας καὶ πραγμάτων ἀμφισβητοῦντες, οἱ  
 6 δ' ὑπὸ μονάρχων καὶ βασιλέων παρασπονδούμενοι· διὸ  
 καὶ σπανίους ἂν εὔροις <οἷς> ὄνειδος ἡκολούθει τῶν  
 ἀκληροῦντων καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀτυχίας ὄνομα διέμενε·  
 7 ἀκληρεῖν μὲν γὰρ ἅπαντας ἡγητέον καὶ κοινῇ καὶ  
 κατ' ἰδίαν τοὺς παραλόγοις συμφοραῖς περιπίπτον-  
 τας, ἀτυχεῖν δὲ μόνους τούτους οἷς διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν  
 8 ἀβουλίαν ὄνειδος αἱ πράξεις ἐπιφέρουσι. κατὰ <δὲ>  
 τοὺς ὑποκειμένους καιροὺς ἡτύχησαν ἅμα Πελοπον-  
 νήσιοι, Βοιωτοί, Φωκεῖς, . . . εἰς, Λοκροί, τινὲς τῶν τῶν  
 Ἰόνιον κατοικούντων κόλπον, μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἔτι Μα-  
 9 κεδόνες· . . . μὴ μόνον κατὰ τὸ πλήθος . . . τῶν  
 πρότερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ . . . ἐπίπαν οὐκ ἠκλήρησαν,  
 ἀλλ' ἡτύχησαν ἀτυχίαν αἰσχρὰν ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα καὶ

help to those who have suffered undeserved misfortune, and we often see that general sympathy is attended by a change of Fortune and that those in power themselves repent of their conduct and repair the calamity that they unjustifiably inflicted. Again for a certain time Chalcis, Corinth<sup>10</sup> and some other cities owing to their favorable situations were obliged to obey the kings of Macedonia and were held by garrisons. But in this case all did their best to free them from slavery and looked with hatred and persistent enmity on those who had subjected them to it. To speak generally, they were single cities or groups of cities which in former times came to grief, some of them contending for supremacy or practical objects and others treacherously seized by despots and kings. So that in very few cases did the victims of misfortune incur reproach or did they continue to be spoken of as having met with disaster. For we should consider that all states or individuals who meet with exceptional calamities are unfortunate, but that only those whose own folly<sup>11</sup> brings reproach on them suffer disaster. In the time I am speaking of a common misfortune befell the Peloponnesians, the Boeotians, the Phocians, the Euboeans, the Locrians, some of the cities on the Ionian Gulf, and finally the Macedonians<sup>12</sup> . . . not resulting merely from the number of defeats they suffered, far from it, but by their whole conduct they brought on themselves no misfortune, but a disaster as disgraceful

<sup>10</sup> See n. on 5.2.8. <sup>11</sup> P. throughout speaks of the Achaean policy that led to the war with Rome in such terms.

<sup>12</sup> The participants in the war of 146; in Euboea it may have been only the city of Chalcis. See on this poorly preserved passage WC 3.688.



- 10 ἐπονείδιστον ἄμα μὲν γὰρ ἀπιστίαν, ἄμα δ' ἀνανδρίαν  
 ἔδειξαν, καὶ πράξεις αὐτοῖς ἐπήνεγκαν διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν . . . . .
- 11 ἄμα. τοιγαροῦν στερηθέντες πάντων τῶν καλῶν οἱ μὲν  
 ὑπὸ στέ. . . . , ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ δ. . . . ντες εἰς τὰς πόλεις
- 12 τότε παρεδέξαντο ῥάβδους καὶ πελέκεις ἐθέλο. . . . : ἐν  
 μεγάλῳ γὰρ φόβῳ διὰ τὴν <ὑπερ>βολὴν τῶν ἰδίων
- 13 ἀμκαρτημάτων ἦσαν, εἰ χρῆ <λέγειν> ἰδίων. ἐγὼ γὰρ  
 ἠγνοσηκέναι <μὲν φαίην ἂν τοὺς> πολ<λοὺς> καὶ παρα-  
 πεπαικέναι <τοῦ καθήκοντος>, ἡμαρτ<ηκέναι> δὲ τοὺς  
 αἰτίους> γεγονότας τῆς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀγνοίας.
- (6) 4. Ἵπὲρ ὧν οὐ δεήσει θαυμάζειν ἐὰν παρεκβαίνον-
- (1d) 1 τες τὸ τῆς ἱστορικῆς διηγήσεως ἦθος ἐπιδεικτικωτέρα  
 καὶ φιλοτιμοτέρα φαινόμεθα ποιούμενοι περὶ αὐτῶν
- 2 τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν. καίτοι τινὲς ἴσως ἐπιτιμήσουσιν  
 ἡμῖν ὡς φιλαπεχθῶς ποιουμένους τὴν γραφήν, οἷς  
 καθήκον ἦν μάλιστα πάντων περιστέλλειν τὰς τῶν
- 3 Ἑλλήνων ἀμαρτίας. ἐγὼ δ' οὔτε φίλον οὐδέποτ' ἂν  
 ὑπολαμβάνω γνήσιον νομισθῆναι παρὰ τοῖς ὀρθῶς  
 φρονούσι τὸν δεδιότα καὶ φοβούμενον τοὺς μετὰ παρ-
- 4 ρησίας λόγους, καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ πολίτην ἀγαθὸν τὸν  
 ἐγκαταλείποντα τὴν ἀλήθειαν διὰ τὴν ἐσομένην ὑπὲρ
- 5 ἐνίων προσκοπήν παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν. συγγραφέα  
 δὲ κοινῶν πράξεων οὐδ' ὄλως ἀποδεκτόν τὸν ἄλλο τι
- 6 περὶ πλείονος ποιούμενον τῆς ἀληθείας. ὅσῳ γὰρ εἰς  
 πλείους διατείνει καὶ ἐπὶ πλείω χρόνον ἢ <διὰ> τῶν  
 ὑπομνημάτων παράδοσις τῶν πρὸς καιρὸν λεγόμε-  
 νων, τοσοῦτω χρῆ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸν γράφοντα περὶ  
 πλείστου ποιέισθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας

and discreditable as it could be. For they showed both faithlessness and cowardice and brought on their heads all this trouble. . . .<sup>13</sup> Therefore they lost every shred of honor, and for various reasons consented to receive the Roman lictors into their cities, in such terror were they owing to their own offenses, if they must be called their own. For I should rather say that the people in general acted mistakenly and failed in their duty, but that the actual authors of the mistakes were the real offenders.

4. It should not surprise anyone if abandoning here the style proper to historical narrative I express myself in a more declamatory and ambitious manner. Some, however, may reproach me for writing with undue animosity, it being rather my first duty to throw a veil over the offenses of the Greeks. Now neither do I think that a man who is timid and afraid of speaking his mind should be regarded by those qualified to judge as a sincere friend, nor that a man should be regarded as a good citizen who leaves the path of truth because he is afraid of giving temporary offense to certain persons; and in a writer of political history we should absolutely refuse to tolerate the least preference for anything but the truth. For inasmuch as a literary record of facts will reach more ears and last longer than occasional utterances, a writer should attach the highest value to truth and his readers should approve his principle

<sup>13</sup> These passages in 3.9-11 are illegible.

- 7 ἀποδέχασθαι τὴν τοιαύτην αἴρεσιν. κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς τῶν περιστάσεων καιροὺς καθήκει βοηθεῖν τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὄντας τοῖς Ἕλλησι κατὰ πάντα τρόπον, τὰ μὲν ἀμύνοντας, τὰ δὲ περιστέλλοντας, τὰ δὲ παραιτούμενους τὴν τῶν κρατούντων ὀργήν· ὅπερ ἡμεῖς ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐποιήσαμεν ἀληθινῶς· τὴν <δ'> ὑπὲρ τῶν γεγονότων τοῖς ἐπιγινόμενοις διὰ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων παράδοσιν ἀμιγῆ παντὸς ψεύδους ἀπολείπεσθαι χάριν τοῦ μὴ ταῖς ἀκοαῖς τέρπεσθαι κατὰ τὸ παρὸν τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ψυχαῖς διορθοῦσθαι πρὸς τὸ μὴ πλεονάκεις ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς διασφάλλυσθαι. καὶ περὶ <μὲν> τούτων ἐπὶ τοσούτων ἡμῖν εἰρήσθω.

5. Οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοῶ διότι τινὲς ἐπιλήφονται τῆς πραγματείας, φάσκοντες ἀτελεῆ καὶ διερριμμένην ἡμᾶς πεποιήσθαι τὴν ἐξήγησιν τῶν πραγμάτων, <εἶγ'> ἐπιβαλλόμενοι λόγου χάριν διεξιέναι τὴν Καρχηδόνος πολιορκίαν, κάπειτα μεταξὺ ταύτην ἀπολιπόντες καὶ μεσολαβήσαντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς μεταβαίνομεν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς κἀντεύθεν ἐπὶ τὰς Μακεδονικὰς ἢ Συριακὰς ἢ τινὰς ἑτέρας πράξεις· ζητεῖν δὲ τοὺς φιλομαθοῦντας τὸ συνεχὲς καὶ τὸ τέλος ἰμείρειν ἀκοῦσαι τῆς προθέσεως· καὶ γὰρ τὴν ψυχαγωγίαν καὶ τὴν ὠφέλειαν οὕτω μᾶλλον συνεκτρέχει τοῖς προσέχουσιν. ἐμοὶ δ' οὐχ οὕτως δοκεῖ, τὸ δ' ἐναντίον. μάρτυρα δὲ τούτων ἐπικαλεσαίμην ἂν αὐτὴν τὴν φύσιν, ἣτις κατ' οὐδ' ὁποῖαν τῶν αἰσθήσεων εὐδοκεῖ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιμένειν κατὰ τὸ συνεχές, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ μεταβολῆς ἐστὶν οἰκεία,

in this respect. In times of danger it is true those who are Greek should help the Greeks in every way, by active support, by cloaking faults and by trying to appease the anger of the ruling power, as I myself<sup>14</sup> actually did at the time of the occurrences; but the literary record of the events meant for posterity should be kept free from any taint of falsehood, so that instead of the ears of readers being agreeably tickled for the present, their minds may be reformed in order to avoid their falling more than once into the same errors. Enough on this subject.

5. I am not unaware that some people will find fault<sup>15</sup> with this work on the ground that my narrative of events is imperfect and disconnected. For example, after undertaking to give an account of the siege of Carthage I leave that in suspense and interrupting myself pass to the affairs of Greece, and next to those of Macedonia, Syria and other countries, while students desire continuous narrative and long to learn the issue of the matter I first set my hand to; for thus, they say, those who desire to follow me with attention are both more deeply interested in the story and derive greater benefit from it. My opinion is just the reverse of this; and I would appeal to the testimony of Nature herself, who in the case of any of the senses never elects to go on persistently with the same allurements, but is ever fond of change and desires to meet with the same

<sup>14</sup> P. refers to his role after the defeat of the Achaeans, *RE* Polybios 1456-1457 (K. Ziegler).

<sup>15</sup> This sounds as if P. had already met with some criticism before the work was published, perhaps from informants with whom he shared some of his opinions.

5 τοῖς δ' αὐτοῖς ἐγκυρεῖν ἐκ διαστήματος βούλεται καὶ  
 διαφορᾶς. εἶη δ' ἂν τὸ λεγόμενον ἐναργές πρῶτον μὲν  
 ἐκ τῆς ἀκοῆς, ἥτις οὔτε κατὰ τὰς μελωδίας οὔτε κατὰ  
 6 τὰς λεκτικὰς ὑποκρίσεις εὐδοκεῖ συνεχῶς ταῖς αὐταῖς  
 ἐπιμένειν στάσεσιν, ὁ δὲ μεταβολικὸς τρόπος καὶ  
 καθόλου πᾶν τὸ διερριμμένον καὶ μεγίστας ἔχον ἀλ-  
 7 λαγὰς καὶ πυκνοτάτας αὐτὴν κινεῖ. παραπλησίως καὶ  
 τὴν γεύσιν εὖροι τις ἂν οὐδὲ τοῖς πολυτελεστάτοις  
 βρώμασιν ἐπιμένειν δυναμένην, ἀλλὰ σικχαίνουσαν  
 καὶ χαίρουσαν ταῖς μεταβολαῖς καὶ προσηνεστέρας  
 ἀποδεχομένην πολλάκις καὶ τὰ λιτὰ τῶν ἐδεσμάτων  
 8 ἢ τὰ πολυτελῆ διὰ τὸν ξενισμόν. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ περὶ  
 τὴν ὄρασιν ἴδοι τις ἂν γινόμενον ἤκιστα γὰρ δύναται  
 πρὸς ἓν μένειν ἀτενίζουσα, κινεῖ δ' αὐτὴν ἡ ποικιλία  
 9 καὶ μεταβολὴ τῶν ὄρωμένων. μάλιστα δὲ περὶ τὴν  
 ψυχὴν τοῦτό τις ἂν ἴδοι συμβαῖνον· αἱ γὰρ μεταλή-  
 ψεις τῶν ἀτενισμῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιστάσεων οἷον ἀναπαύ-  
 σεις εἰσὶ τοῖς φιλοπόνουσι τῶν ἀνδρῶν.

6. διὸ καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων συγγραφέων οἱ λογιώτατοι  
 (xxxix.2) δοκοῦσί μοι προσαναπεπαῦσθαι τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ, τι-  
 (xxxix.1b) νές μὲν μυθικαῖς καὶ διηγηματικαῖς κεχρημένοι παρ-  
 εκβάσει, τινές δὲ καὶ πραγματικαῖς, ὥστε μὴ μόνον  
 ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τόποις ποιεῖσθαι τὰς  
 2 μεταβάσεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς περιλαμβάνειν. λέγω  
 δ' οἷον ἐπειδὴν τὰ κατὰ τὴν Θετταλίαν ἐξηγουμένοι  
 καὶ τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φεραίου πράξεις μεταξὺ τὰς  
 κατὰ Πελοπόννησον Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπιβολὰς διηγῶν-

things after an interval and a difference. What I mean may be illustrated in the first place from the sense of hearing, which never either as regards melodies or recitation readily consents to give ear persistently to the same strain, but is touched by a diversified style and by everything that is disconnected and marked by abrupt and frequent transitions. Take again the sense of taste. You will find that it is incapable of constantly enjoying the most luxurious viands but becomes disgusted with them and likes change, often preferring quite simple dishes to expensive ones merely owing to their novelty. And the same holds good as regards the sense of sight. For it is quite incapable of gazing constantly at one object, but requires variety and change to captivate it. But this is especially true as regards the intellect. For hard workers find a sort of rest in change of the subjects which absorb and interest them.

6. And this, I think, is why the wisest of ancient writers<sup>16</sup> were in the habit of giving their readers a rest in the way I say, some of them employing digressions dealing with myth or story and others digressions on matters of fact; so that not only do they shift the scene from one part of Greece to another, but include doings abroad. For instance, when dealing with Thessalian affairs and the exploits of Alexander of Pherae,<sup>17</sup> they interrupt the narrative to tell us of the projects of the Lacedaemonians in the

<sup>16</sup> The cases that follow show that P. has primarily Theopompus in mind.

<sup>17</sup> Tyrant of the city 369-358. H. Berve, *Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen* (Munich 1967), 290-293, 670-671.

ται, καὶ πάλιν τὰς Θηβαίων,<sup>1</sup> ἔτι δὲ τὰ κατὰ Μακεδο-  
 νίαν ἢ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα, κάπειτα διατρίβαντες λέγωσι  
 τὴν Ἰφικράτους εἰς Αἴγυπτον στρατείαν καὶ τὰ Κλε-  
 3 ἀρχῶ πραχθέντα παρανομήματα κατὰ τὸν Πόντον. ἐξ  
 ὧν κεκρημένους μὲν ἅπαντας εὖροι τις ἂν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ  
 χειρισμῷ, κεκρημένους γε μὴν ἀτάκτως, ἡμᾶς δὲ τε-  
 4 ταγμένως. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ μνησθέντες πῶς Βάρδυλ-  
 λισ ὁ τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ Κερσοβλέπτης ὁ  
 τῶν Θρακῶν κατεκτήσαντο τὰς δυναστείας, οὐκέτι  
 προστιθέασι τὸ συνεχές, οὐδ' ἀνατρέχουσιν ἐπὶ τὰ κό-  
 λουθον ἐκ διαστήματος, ἀλλὰ καθάπερ ἐν ποιήματι  
 χρησάμενοι πάλιν ἐπανάγουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 5 ὑποθέσεις. ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντας διηρημένοι τοὺς ἐπιφανε-  
 στάτους τόπους τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ τὰς ἐν τούτοις  
 πράξεις καὶ μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔφοδον αἰεὶ ποιούμε-  
 νοι κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τῆς διαλήψεως, ἔτι δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον  
 ἔτος ὠρισμένως ἐξηγούμενοι τὰς καταλλήλους πρά-  
 6 ξεις ἐνεστηκυίας, ἀπολείπομεν πρόδηλον τοῖς φιλομα-  
 θούσι τὴν ἐπακναγωγὴν ἐπὶ τὸν συνεχῆ λόγον καὶ  
 τὰς μεσολαβηθείσας αἰεὶ τῶν πράξεων, ὥστε μηδὲν  
 7 εἰρημένον. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον.

<sup>1</sup> Buettner-Wobst: Ἀθηναίων codd.

Peloponnese or of those of the Thebans<sup>18</sup> and of what happened in Macedonia or Illyria, and after entertaining us so tell us of the expedition of Iphicrates<sup>19</sup> to Egypt and the excesses committed by Clearchus<sup>20</sup> in Pontus. So that you will find that all historians have resorted to this device but have done so irregularly, while I myself resort to it regularly. For the authors I allude to, after mentioning how Bardyllis,<sup>21</sup> the king of Illyria, and Cersobleptes,<sup>22</sup> the king of Thrace, acquired their kingdoms, do not give us the continuation or come back to the sequel after a certain lapse of time, but after inserting these matters like episodes in a poem, return to their original subject. But I myself, keeping distinct all the most important parts of the world and the events that took place in each, and adhering always to a uniform conception of how each matter should be treated, and again definitely relating under each year the contemporary events that then took place, leave obviously full liberty to students to carry back their minds to the continuous narrative and the several points at which I interrupted it, so that those who wish to learn may find none of the matters I have mentioned imperfect and deficient. This is all I have to say on the subject.

<sup>18</sup> For this emendation see WC 3.692-693. <sup>19</sup> Son of Timotheus of Rhamnous, renowned Athenian general, in 374/3 campaigning with the satrap Pharnabazus in Egypt. Davies, *APF* 7737. He was married to a daughter (or sister: Davies) of King Cotys. <sup>20</sup> Clearchus I, tyrant of Heraclea Pontica 364/3-353/2. Berve (6.2), 315-318, 679-681. <sup>21</sup> King in Illyria. The location and the extent of his realm are disputed. Defeated by Philip II of Macedonia. <sup>22</sup> Son of Cotys. He was king of the Thracian Odrysai 360-342 or 341, until deposed by Philip II. *RE Kersobleptes* 329-330 (U. Kahrstedt).

## II. BELLUM PUNICUM TERTIUM

- (1) 7. Ὅτι Ἀσδρούβας ὁ στρατηγὸς Καρχηδονίων κε-  
 (xxxix.1) νόδοξος ἦν ἀλαζὼν καὶ πολὺ κεχωρισμένος τῆς πρα-  
 2 γματικῆς καὶ στρατηγικῆς δυνάμεως. πολλὰ δὲ ση-  
 μεία τῆς ἀκρισίας αὐτοῦ. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ παρήν ἐν  
 πανοπλία, πορφυρίδα θαλαττίαν ἐπιπεπορημένος,  
 ἠνίκα Γολόσση συνεγίνετο τῷ τῶν Νομάδων βασιλεῖ,  
 3 μετὰ μαχαιροφόρων δέκα. ἔπειτα προβὰς ἀπὸ τῶν  
 δέχ' ὅσον εἴκοσι πόδας ἀπέστη, προβεβλημένος τά-  
 φρον καὶ χάρακα, καὶ κατένευε τῷ βασιλεῖ προσίεναι  
 4 πρὸς αὐτόν, καθήκον γίνεσθαι τούναντίον. οὐ μὴν  
 ἀλλ' ὁ Γολόσσης ἀφελῶς ἔχων Νομαδικῶ τινι τρόπῳ  
 μόνος προσῆει πρὸς αὐτόν καὶ προσεγγίσας ἤρετο  
 5 τίνα φοβούμενος τὴν πανοπλίαν ἔχων ἦκε. τοῦ δ' εἶ-  
 πόντος ὅτι Ῥωμαίους, "οὐκ ἂν ἄρ'" ἔφησεν ὁ Γολόσ-  
 σης "ἔδωκας σαυτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, μηδεμίαν ἔχων  
 6 ἀνάγκην. πλὴν τί βούλει καὶ τί παρακαλεῖς;" φησὶν. ὁ  
 δ' Ἀσδρούβας "ἐγὼ" φησὶ "πρεσβευτὴν σε παρακαλῶ  
 γενέσθαι πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ πᾶν ἀναδέχεσθαι  
 διότι ποιήσομεν τὸ προσταττόμενον· μόνον ἀπόσχεσθε  
 7 τῆς ταλαιπώρου πόλεως ταύτης." καὶ [ὁ] Γολόσσης  
 "παιδικὴν δοκεῖς μοι" φησὶν "ἀξίωσιν ἀξιούν, ὦ βέλ-  
 8 τιστε· ὑπὲρ ὧν γὰρ ἐξ ἀκεραίου πρεσβεύοντες, ἔτι  
 καθημένων ἐν Ἰτύκῃ Ῥωμαίων, οὐκ ἐδύνασθε πείθειν,  
 τίνι λόγῳ νῦν ἀξιοῖς ταῦτά σοι συγχωρεῖσθαι, περι-  
 τετειχισμένος καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν καὶ  
 σχεδὸν ἀπάσας ἀπεγνωκὼς τὰς τῆς σωτηρίας ἐλ-

## II. THE THIRD PUNIC WAR

7. Hasdrubal,<sup>23</sup> the Carthaginian general, was an empty-headed braggart and very far from being a competent statesman or general. There are many evidences of his lack of judgment. To begin with, at his meeting with Gulussa, king of the Numidians, he appeared in a complete suit of armor over which was fastened a cloak of sea purple and with a retinue of ten swordsmen. Then advancing in front of these ten men he remained at a distance of about twenty feet from the king protected by a trench and palisade, and made signs to him to come to him, while it ought to have been the reverse. However, Gulussa clothed simply in the Numidian fashion advanced to him unaccompanied, and when he approached him asked him in fear of whom he had come thus armed cap-a-pie. Hasdrubal answered, "In fear of the Romans." "True," said Gulussa, "for otherwise you would scarcely have trusted yourself in the town without any necessity. But what do you want, what is your request?" "I beg you," answered Hasdrubal, "to act as my envoy to the general, and go surety for the fact that I consent on my part to submit to any terms, if only they will spare this unhappy city." "My good friend," said Gulussa, "you seem to me to make a perfectly childish request. How do you expect, now you are surrounded by land and sea and have almost abandoned every hope of safety, to persuade the Romans to grant you what they refused you, when at the time they were still in Utica, you approached them with your strength

<sup>23</sup> The commander of the Carthaginians during the last phase of the war. *RE* Hasdrubal 2476-2477 (Th. Lenschau).



- 9 πίδας;" ὁ δ' Ἀσδρούβας ἀγνοεῖν αὐτὸν ἔφη· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔξωθεν συμμάχοις ἀκμὴν καλὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχειν· οὐ γὰρ πῶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς Μαυρουσίους ἠκηκόει καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν ὑπαίθρων δυνάμεων [ὅτι σώζονται]· καὶ <μὴν> οὐκ ἀπελπίζειν τὰ καθ' αὐτούς, μάλιστα δὲ πεποιθέναι τῇ τῶν θεῶν συμμαχίᾳ καὶ ταῖς ἐν ἐκείνοις
- 10 ἐλπίσιν· οὐ γὰρ περιόψεσθαι σφᾶς προφανῶς παρασπονδουμένους, ἀλλὰ πολλὰς δώσειν ἀφορμὰς πρὸς
- 11 σωτηρίαν. διὸ παρακαλεῖν ἡξίου τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ τῶν θεῶν ἕνεκεν καὶ τῆς τύχης φείσασθαι τῆς πόλεως, εἰδότα σαφῶς διότι μὴ δυνάμενοι τυχεῖν τούτου κατασφαγήσονται πρότερον ἢ παραχωρήσουσι ταύ-
- 12 τῆς. τότε μὲν οὖν ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια διαλεχθέντες ἐχωρίσθησαν, ταξάμενοι μετὰ τρίτην ἡμέραν πάλιν συμπορεύεσθαι.
- (2) 8. τοῦ δὲ Γολόσσου μεταδόντος τῷ στρατηγῷ περὶ  
(xxix.2) τῶν εἰρημένων, γελάσας ὁ Πόπλιος "ταῦτα μέλλων ἀξιούν" ἔφη "τοιαύτην καὶ τηλικαύτην ἀσέβειαν εἰς τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἡμῶν ἐκἀπεδείξω καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς θεοῖς τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχεις, παραβεβηκῶς καὶ τοὺς
- 2 τῶν ἀνθρώπων νόμους;" τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως βουλομένου τι προσυπομιμνήσκειν τὸν Σκιπίωνα, καὶ μάλιστα διότι <δεῖ> συντέλειαν ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι
- 3 χωρὶς γὰρ τῶν ἀδῆλων καὶ τὴν κατάστασιν τῶν ὑπᾶτων ἤδη συνεγγίζειν, ἧς δεῖν ἔφη στοχάζεσθαι, μὴ τοῦ χειμῶνος προκαταλαβόντος ἐπελθὼν ἕτερος ἀκο-

<sup>24</sup> App., *Lib.* 596-603, reports that Scipio and Gulusa had

yet intact?" "You are mistaken," said Hasdrubal, "for I still have good hopes of what our foreign allies may do for us." For he had not yet heard what had happened to the Moors<sup>24</sup> or to his own force in the field. And he added that he was not even in despair as regards their own resources: for he chiefly relied on the support of the gods and the hope he placed in them. "Surely," he said, "they will not suffer us to be thus undisguisedly betrayed but will give us many means of salvation." He therefore begged him to implore the general to think of the gods and of Fortune and to spare the town, and he might be quite sure that if they could not obtain this request they would all rather be slaughtered than give up the town. After conversing more or less in this sense they separated, agreeing to meet again in three days.

8. When Gulusa communicated the conversation to Scipio the latter laughed<sup>25</sup> and said, "I suppose you<sup>26</sup> were about to make this request, when you treated our prisoners in such an inhuman manner, and now you expect help from the gods after violating even the laws of men." And when the king wished to submit some further reflections to Scipio and chiefly that he ought to bring matters to a conclusion; for, apart from the uncertainty of things, the appointment of the new consuls was close at hand and he should take this into consideration, lest when he was overtaken by winter another commander should succeed him

recently, late in 147, defeated an army of Carthaginians and their allies at Nopheris (Henchir bu Beker, near Carthage).

<sup>25</sup> If true, Scipio seems rather insensitive to the horrendous cruelties to which Hasdrubal had submitted Roman prisoners.

<sup>26</sup> Scipio addresses Gulusa as if the king were Hasdrubal.

- 4 *νιτὶ λάβῃ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τῶν ἐκείνου πόνων· καὶ δὴ  
τούτων λεγομένων ἐπιστήσας ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐκέλευσεν  
ἀναγγέλλειν διότι δίδωσι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν αὐτῷ καὶ  
γυναικὶ καὶ τέκνοις καὶ δέκα τῶν συγγενῶν <καὶ> φί-  
λων οἰκίαις, σὺν δὲ τούτοις δέκα τάλαντα λαβεῖν ἐκ  
τῶν ἰδίων ὑπαρχόντων καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἕξαγαγεῖν*
- 5 *ἑκατὸν οὓς ἂν αἰρήται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ Γολδόσσης  
ἔχων τὰ φιλάνθρωπα συνῆει πρὸς τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν τῇ*
- 6 *τρίτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν· ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἔξεπορεύετο μετὰ με-  
γάλης ἀξίας ἐν τῇ πορφυρίδι καὶ τῇ πανοπλίᾳ βιά-  
δην, ὥστε τοὺς ἐν ταῖς τραγωδίαις τύραννους πολὺ τι*
- 7 *προσοφείλειν. ἦν μὲν οὖν καὶ φύσει σάρκινος, τότε δὲ  
καὶ κοιλίαν εἰλήφει καὶ τῷ χρώματι παρὰ φύσιν ἐπι-  
κεκαυμένος ἦν, ὥστε δοκεῖν ἐν πανηγύρει που διαιτᾶ-  
σθαι παραπλησίως τοῖς σιτευτοῖς βουσίην, ἀλλὰ μὴ  
τηλικούτων καὶ τοιούτων κακῶν προστατεῖν, ὧν οὐδ’*
- 8 *ἂν ἐφίκοιτο τῷ λόγῳ διεξιῶν οὐδεὶς. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ  
συνῆλθε τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ διήκουσε τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ στρα-  
τηγοῦ προτεινομένων, πολλὰκις τὸν μηρὸν πατάξας,  
τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὴν τύχην ἐπικαλεσάμενος, οὐδέποτε  
ταύτην ἔσεσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν ἔφασκεν ἐν ἣ συμβήσε-  
ται τὸν ἥλιον Ἀσδρούβαν βλέπειν ἅμα καὶ τὴν πα-*
- 9 *τρίδα πυρπολουμένην· καλὸν γὰρ ἐντάφιον εἶναι τοῖς*
- 10 *εἰ φρονούσι τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὸ ταύτης πῦρ. ὥσθ’ ὅτε  
μὲν εἰς τὰς ἀποφάσεις αὐτοῦ τις βλέψει, θαυμάζειν  
τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸ μεγαλόψυχον τῶν λόγων, ὅτε δ’ εἰς  
τὸν χειρισμὸν τῶν πραγμάτων, τὴν ἀγεννίαν κατα-*
- 11 *πλήττεσθαι καὶ τὴν ἀνανδρίαν· ὃς πρῶτον μὲν, τῶν*

and without any trouble credit himself with the result of all his pains, the general paid careful attention to what he said, and told him to inform Hasdrubal that he answered for the safety of himself, his wife and children, and the families of ten of his friends, and that, in addition to this, he might keep ten talents out of his own fortune and carry off with him any slaves he chose to the number of a hundred. Gulussa conveying this kind offer met Hasdrubal again two days afterward. The Carthaginian again advanced slowly to meet him in great state, wearing his full armor and purple robe, leaving the tyrants of tragedy much to seek. He was by nature corpulent, and he had now become potbellied and was unnaturally red in the face, so that it looked as if he were living like a fatted ox in the plenty of a festival, instead of being at the head of a people suffering from such extreme misery that it would be difficult to set it down in words. However, when he met the king and listened to Scipio's offer, slapping his thigh often and calling upon the gods and Fortune, he said that the day would never come on which Hasdrubal would look at the same time on the sun and on his city being consumed by fire; for the most noble funeral for right-minded men was to perish in their native city and amid her flames. So that when we look at his utterances we admire the man and his high-souled words, but when we turn to his actual behavior we are amazed by his ignobility and cowardice.

- ἄλλων πολιτῶν διαφθειρομένων ὀλοσχερῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 λιμοῦ, πότους αὐτὸς συνήγε καὶ δευτέρας τραπέζας  
 παρετίθετο πολυτελεῖς καὶ διὰ τῆς ἰδίας εὐεξίας παρ-  
 12 εδειγματίζε τὴν ἐκείνων ἀτυχίαν· ἄπιστον μὲν γὰρ ἦν  
 τὸ τῶν ἀποθνησκόντων πλήθος, ἄπιστον δὲ τὸ τῶν  
 13 αὐτομολούντων καθ' ἡμέραν διὰ τὸν λιμόν· ἔπειτα  
 τοὺς μὲν διαχλευάζων, οἷς δ' ἐνυβρίζων καὶ φονεῶν  
 κατεπλήττετο τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τοῦτω τῷ τρόπῳ συν-  
 εἶχε τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἣ μάλιστα ἂν χρῆσαιτο τύραννος ἐν  
 14 εὐτυχούσῃ πόλει, καὶ ἐν δεδυστυχηκυῖα πατρίδι. διὸ  
 καὶ λίαν δοκῶ καλῶς ἡμῖν εἰρήσθαι διότι προστάτας  
 πραγμάτων ὁμοιοτέρους τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι τότε  
 καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ὑπαρξάντων οὐκ ἂν εὖ-  
 15 ροι τις ῥαδίως. τοῦτο δ' ἔσται δῆλον, ὅταν ἐκ παρα-  
 θέσεως τὸν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ποιησώμεθα λόγον.

## III. BELLUM ACHAICUM

- (7) 9. Ὅτι παραγενομένων ἐκ Πελοποννήσου τῶν περὶ  
 (1) τὸν Αὐρήλιον πρεσβευτῶν καὶ διασαφούντων τὰ συμ-  
 2 βεβηκότα περὶ αὐτούς, ὅτι παρ' ὀλίγον τοῖς ὄλοις  
 ἐκινδύνευσαν, καὶ λεγόντων μετ' αὐξήσεως καὶ καινο-

<sup>27</sup> P. puts Hasdrubal and those Achaean leaders that were responsible for the war against Rome (mainly Critolaus, Diaeus) at the same level.

<sup>28</sup> Summer of 147. *MRR* 1.464. He submitted the Senate's demand that Sparta, Corinth, Argos, Heraclea in Trachis, and

For, to begin with, when the rest of the citizens were utterly perishing from famine, he gave drinking parties and offered his guests sumptuous second courses and by his own good cheer exposed the general distress. For the number of deaths was incredibly large and so was the number of daily desertions due to famine. And next by making mock of some and inflicting outrage and death on others he terrorized the populace and maintained his authority in his sorely stricken country by means to which a tyrant in a prosperous city would scarcely resort. Therefore I think I was exceedingly right in saying as I did that it would not be easy to find men more like each other than those who then swayed the destinies of Greece<sup>27</sup> and Carthage. This will become evident when I come to speak of the former and compare them with this man.

## III. THE ACHAEAN WAR

9. When Aurelius Orestes<sup>28</sup> and the other legates returned from the Peloponnesus and informed the senate of what had happened to them and how they had been very nearly in danger of their lives, both exaggerating the truth

Orchomenus be separated from the League (*Paus.* 7.14.1). This very soon led to the war between Rome and the Achaeans: see the succinct account of P. Derow, *CAH*, 2nd ed., 8 (1989), 319-323, and J. Deininger, *Der politische Widerstand gegen Rom in Griechenland 217-86 v. Chr.* (Berlin 1971), 220-241. P's account, absolving Rome, is to be read with that of Pausanias (7.11-13), incriminating Rome (and the Achaean politicians) and suggesting that the Senate had tried for some time to reduce the Achaean League.

- λογίας· οὐ γὰρ ὡς κατὰ περιπέτειαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἤκου-  
 τος τοῦ δεινοῦ διεσάφουν, ἀλλ' ὡς κατὰ πρόθεσιν ὠρ-  
 μηκότων τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπὶ τὸ παραδειγματίζειν αὐτούς·  
 3 ἢ σύγκλητος ἠγανάκτησεν μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγυνοσιν ὡς  
 οὐδέποτε καὶ παραχρῆμα πρεσβευτὰς κατεστήσατο  
 4 τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰούλιον, καὶ τούτους ἔπεμπε δοῦσα τοι-  
 αύτας ἐντολάς, διότι δεῖ μετρίως ἐπιτιμῆσαντας καὶ  
 μεμψιμένους ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγυνοσιν τὸ πλείον παρακαλεῖν  
 καὶ διδάσκειν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς μήτε τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖριστα  
 παρακαλοῦσι προσέχειν μήτ' αὐτοὺς λαθεῖν εἰς τὴν  
 5 πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἀλλοτριότητα διεμπεσόντας, ἀλλ' ἔτι  
 καὶ νῦν ποιήσασθαι τινα διόρθωσιν τῶν ἠγνοημένων,  
 ἀπειρησαμένους τὴν ἄγνοϊαν ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς  
 6 ἁμαρτίας. ἐξ ὧν καὶ λίαν δῆλον ἐγένετο διότι καὶ τοῖς  
 περὶ τὸν Αὐρήλιον ἔδωκε τὰς ἐντολάς <οὐ> διασπάσαι  
 βουλομένη τὸ ἔθνος, ἀλλὰ πτοῆσαι καὶ καταπλήξασ-  
 7 θαι [βουλομένη] τὴν αὐθάδειαν καὶ τὴν ἀπέχθειαν  
 τῶν Ἀχαιῶν. τινὲς μὲν οὖν ὑπελάμβανον καθ' ὑπό-  
 κρισιν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους . . . διὰ τὸ μένειν ἀτελῆ τὰ  
 8 κατὰ Καρχηδόνα· τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς οὐχ οὕτως εἶχεν, ἀλλ'  
 ἀποδεδεγμένοι τὸ ἔθνος ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου καὶ νομί-  
 ζοντες ἔχειν αὐτὸ πιστὸν μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν,  
 ἀνασοβῆσαι μὲν ἔκριναν διὰ τὸ φρονηματίζεσθαι  
 πέρα τοῦ δέοντος, πόλεμον δ' ἀναλαβεῖν ἢ διαφορὰς  
 ὀλοσχερῆ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς οὐδαμῶς ἐβούλοντο.
- (8) 10. Ὅτι οἱ περὶ τὸν Σέξτον προάγοντες ἐκ τῆς  
 (2) Ῥώμης εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἀπήνησαν τοῖς περὶ  
 2 τὸν Θεαρίδαν, οἵ κ' περὶ ἦσαν πρεσβευταὶ πεμφθέντες

and exercising their invention—for they did not represent the danger to which they had been exposed as a fortuitous one, but pretended that the Achaeans had of set purpose determined to make an example of them—the senate was more indignant at the occurrence than it had ever been before, and at once appointed a commission under Sextus Julius Caesar<sup>29</sup> and dispatched it with instructions, however, merely to administer a mild censure for what had taken place, and then to beg and instruct the Achaeans not to give heed in future to those who urged them to the worst courses or to incur before they were aware of it the hostility of Rome, but once again to correct their errors and bring the blame home to the real authors of the offense. This made it quite evident that by the instructions they gave to Aurelius they did not wish to dissolve the League, but to alarm the Achaeans and to deter them from acting in a presumptuous and hostile manner. Some, it is true, thought that the Romans were playing false, as the fate of Carthage was still undecided. This, however, was not the fact; but having for so long acknowledged the League and regarding it as the most loyal of the Greek powers, they thought fit to alarm the Achaeans and curb their undue arrogance, but by no means wished to go to war with them or proceed to an absolute rupture.

10. Sextus Julius and his colleagues on their way from Rome to the Peloponnesus met the envoys headed by Thearidas<sup>30</sup> who had been sent by the Achaeans to excuse

<sup>29</sup> MRR 1.464.

<sup>30</sup> P.'s elder brother; see n. on 32.7.1.

3 ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν παραιτησόμενοι καὶ διδάζοντες τὴν  
 σύγκλητον ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Αὐρήλιον γε-  
 νομένων ἀλογημάτων. οἷς καὶ συμμίζαντες οἱ προει-  
 ρημένοι παρεκάλεσαν αὐτοὺς ἀνακάμπτειν εἰς τὴν  
 4 Ἀχαιᾶν, ὅτι περὶ πάντων τούτων ἔχουσιν ἐντολὰς αὐ-  
 τοῖ διαλέγεσθαι τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς. παραγενομένων δὲ τῶν  
 περὶ τὸν Σέξτον εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον καὶ διαλεγο-  
 μένων τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐν τῇ τῶν Αἰγίων πόλει καὶ προ-  
 φερομένων πολλοὺς καὶ φιλανθρώπους λόγους, καὶ τὸ  
 5 περὶ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς ἔγκλημα παραπεμπόντων καὶ  
 σχεδὸν οὐδὲν προσδεόμενον δικαιολογίας, ἀλλὰ βέλ-  
 τιον ἐκδεχομένων τὸ γεγονὸς αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, καθ-  
 ὅλου δὲ παρακαλούντων μὴ πορρωτέρω προβῆναι τῆς  
 ἀμαρτίας μήτε τῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς μήτε τῆς εἰς τοὺς Λα-  
 6 κεδαιμονίους, τὸ μὲν σωφρονοῦν μέρος ἀσμένως ἀπ-  
 ἐδέχετο τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ λίαν ἐνετρέπετο, συνειδὸς  
 αὐτῷ τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν λαμβάνον  
 τὰ συμβαίνοντα τοῖς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἀντιπαττομένοις,  
 7 τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀντιλέγειν μὲν οὐδὲν  
 εἶχε τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Σέξτον λεγομένοις δικαί-  
 οισ, ἀλλ' ἦγε τὴν ἡσυχίαν, ἔμενε δὲ νοσοῦν καὶ δι-  
 8 εφθαρμένον. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Δίαιον καὶ Κριτόλαον  
 <καὶ> πάντες οἱ μετέχοντες αὐτοῖς τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης·  
 οἷτο δ' ἦσαν ὡσπερ ἐπίτηδες ἐξ ἐκάστης πόλεως  
 κατ' ἐκλογὴν οἱ χείριστοι καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐχθροὶ καὶ  
 9 λυμαινόμενοι τὸ ἔθνος· καθάπερ ἡ παροιμία φησὶν, οὐ  
 μόνον τὰ διδόμενα τῇ δεξιᾷ παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐδέχοντο  
 τῇ λαιᾷ χειρὶ, καθόλου δὲ καὶ συλλήβδην παρέπαιον

themselves and to inform the senate of the truth concern-  
 ing the foolish insults inflicted on Aurelius and his fel-  
 low legates. Sextus and his colleagues upon meeting the  
 Achaean envoys begged them to return to Achaea, as they  
 themselves were charged to discuss the whole matter with  
 the Achaeans. When upon reaching the Peloponnesus  
 they conversed with the Achaeans in Aegium their lan-  
 guage was most courteous; they scarcely alluded to the  
 charge of ill-treating the legates or demanded any justifi-  
 cation of the conduct of the Achaeans, but taking a more  
 favorable view of what had occurred than the Achaeans  
 themselves, begged them not to give any further offense  
 either to the Romans or to the Lacedaemonians. Upon this  
 all the wiser people gladly accepted the advice and paid  
 great heed to it, conscious as they were of their error and  
 having before their eyes the fate that awaited those who  
 opposed Rome; but the majority, while having nothing to  
 say against the just strictures of Sextus and being obliged  
 to keep silence, yet remained ill-conditioned and demor-  
 alized. And Diaeus<sup>31</sup> and Critolaus and all who shared  
 their views—and these were, so to speak, a deliberate se-  
 lection from each city of the worst men, the most godfor-  
 saken and the greatest corrupters of the nation—not only  
 as the proverb has it, took with the left hand what the  
 Romans gave with the right, but were under an entire and

<sup>31</sup> Of Megalopolis, federal strategus in 148/7. *RE* Diaios  
 (Suppl. 11), 521-526 (J. Deininger). His successor in 147/6 was  
 Critolaus, for whom see Deininger (9.1), 224-240.



- 10 τοῖς λογισμοῖς. ὑπέλαβον γὰρ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους διὰ τε  
 τὰς ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν πράξεις  
 δεδιότας τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πόλεμον πᾶν ὑπομένειν
- 11 καὶ πᾶσαν προῖεσθαι φωνήν. διὸ νομίσαντες ἴδιον τὸ  
 παρὸν ἀπεκρίθησαν φιλανθρώπως τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς  
 τοὺς μὲν περὶ τὸν Θεαρίδαν ὁμῶς ἀποστέλλειν εἰς τὴν  
 σύγκλητον, αὐτοὶ δὲ παρακολουθήσαντες εἰς τὴν Τε-  
 γέαν καὶ κοινολογηθέντες τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις . . . ,  
 ἵνα γένηται τις ὠμολογημένη λύσις περὶ τοῦ πολέ-  
 μου. ταῦτα δ' ἀποκριθέντες ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς ἤγνον ἐπὶ τὴν
- 12 πάλαι προκειμένην αὐτοῖς ἄγνοιαν τὸ ταλαίπωρον  
 ἔθνος. καὶ τοῦτ' εἰκότως συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι δι' ἀπει-  
 ρίαν καὶ κακίαν τῶν κρατούντων.
- (9) 11. Τὸ δὲ τέλος τῆς ἀπωλείας ἠνύσθη τοιῷδέ τι  
 (3) 2 τρόπῳ. παραγενομένων γὰρ εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν τῶν περὶ  
 τὸν Σέξτον καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπισπασαμένων  
 χάριν τοῦ σύμφωνου αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι πρὸς τοὺς  
 Ἀχαιοὺς τὴν τε περὶ τῶν προγεγονότων ἐγκλημάτων  
 δικαιοδοσίαν <καὶ> τὴν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐποχὴν, ἕως
- 3 ἂν πέμψωσι Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς περὶ τῶν ὄλων ἐπισκεψο-  
 μένους, συνεδρεύσαντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Κριτόλαον ἔκριναν  
 τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους διακλίνειν τὴν ἀπάντησιν, τὸν δὲ
- 4 Κριτόλαον προάγειν εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν προ-  
 ειρημένος ἤδη σχεδὸν ἀπηλπικότων τῶν περὶ τὸν
- 5 Σέξτον ἦλθε, γενομένης δὲ συγκαταστάσεως πρὸς  
 τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους εἰς οὐδὲν συγκατέβαινε, φήσας

absolute misconception. For they imagined that the Romans, owing to their campaigns in Africa and in Spain, were afraid of a war with the Achaeans, and consequently tolerated everything and were ready to say anything. Consequently, thinking that they were masters of the situation, they answered the legates in courteous terms, insisting, however, upon sending Thearidas and his colleagues to the senate: they themselves would accompany the legates as far as Tegea, where they would discuss matters with the Lacedaemonians<sup>32</sup> and try to find a means of coming to an agreement with them which would put an end to the war. After giving this answer, they by their future conduct, led on the unhappy nation to adopt the mistaken policy they had set their hearts on. What else could be expected when those in power were so ignorant and ill-disposed?

11. The end of the catastrophe was brought about in the following way. When Sextus and the other legates reached Tegea they invited the Lacedaemonians to attend there so that they might act in unison toward the Achaeans, both as regards exacting justice for their offenses in the past and as regards the suspension of hostilities, until the Romans should send commissioners to deal with the whole situation. Critolaus and his party now held a meeting at which it was decided that the others should decline to meet the Romans, but that Critolaus alone should proceed to Tegea. Critolaus arrived at Tegea when Sextus and his colleagues had almost given up all hope of his coming, and when they called in the Lacedaemonians to negotiate

<sup>32</sup> Tensions, among them their wish to secede, and personal intrigues, involving the Spartan Menalcidas, federal strategus in 151/0, Callicrates, and Diaeus, led to war.

- οὐκ ἔχειν ἔξουσίαν οὐδὲν οἰκονομεῖν ἄνευ τῆς τῶν πολλῶν γνώμης· ἐπανοίσειν δὲ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς εἰς τὴν ἑξῆς ἔφη σύνοδον, <ἦν ἔδει> γενέσθαι μετὰ μῆνας ἕξ.
- 6 διὸ σαφῶς ἐπιγυρόντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Σέξτον ἐθελοκακοῦντα τὸν Κριτόλαον καὶ δυσχεραίνοντες ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπαντωμένους τοὺς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπέλυσαν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐπανήγουν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, κατεγνωκό-
- 7 τες ἄγνοιαν καὶ μαρίαν τοῦ Κριτολάου. ὁ δὲ Κριτόλαος χωρισθέντων τούτων ἐπιπορευόμενος κατὰ τὸν χειμῶνα τὰς πόλεις ἐκκλησίας συνήγε, προφάσει μὲν χρώμενος ὅτι βούλεται τὰ ῥηθέντα πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Τεγέα διασαφεῖν αὐ-
- 8 τοῖς, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ κατηγορίαν ποιούμενος Ῥωμαίων καὶ πᾶν τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἐκδε-
- 9 χόμενος, ἕξ ὧν δυσμένειαν καὶ μίσος ἐνεργάζετο τοῖς ὄχλοις. ἅμα δὲ τούτοις παρήγγειλε τοῖς ἄρχουσι μὴ
- 10 πρᾶττειν τοὺς ὀφειλέτας μηδὲ παραδέχεσθαι τοὺς ἀπαγομένους εἰς φυλακὴν πρὸς τὰ χρέα, τοὺς <δ'> ἐράνους ἐπιμόνους ποιεῖν, ἕως ἂν λάβῃ τὰ τοῦ πολέ-
- 11 μου κρίσιν. λοιπὸν ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης δημαγωγίας πᾶν τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πιστὸν ἐγένετο, καὶ πρὸς πᾶν τὸ παραγγελλόμενον ἔτοιμον ἦν τὸ πλῆθος, περὶ μὲν τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀδυνατοῦν προνοεῖσθαι, τῇ δὲ παρ' αὐτὰ χάριτι καὶ ῥαστώνῃ δελεαζόμενον.
- (10) 12. Ὁ δὲ Κώντος ὁ Καικίλιος ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ τάδε
- (4) πυνθανόμενος <καὶ> τὴν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ γενομένην

he refused to make any concessions, saying that he was not empowered to arrange anything without taking the opinion of the people, but that he would refer the matter to the next Assembly which was to meet in six months. So that Sextus and his colleagues, now recognizing that Critolaus was guilty of willful obstruction, and indignant at his answer, allowed the Lacedaemonians to return home and themselves left for Italy, pronouncing Critolaus to have acted in a wrongheaded way and like a madman. After their departure Critolaus visited the different cities during the winter and called meetings, on the pretext that he wished to inform the people of the language he had used to the Lacedaemonians and the Roman legates at Tegea, but in reality for the purpose of accusing the Romans and giving the worst sense to all that they had said, by which means he inspired the populace with hostility and hatred. At the same time he advised the magistrates not to exact payment from debtors or to admit into the prisons those arrested for debt, and also to declare a moratorium on loan repayments, until the war was decided. As a result of such appeals to the rabble everything he said was accepted as true, and the people were ready to do anything he ordered, incapable as they were of taking thought for the future, and enticed by the bait of present favor and ease.

12. When Quintus Caecilius<sup>33</sup> in Macedonia heard of all this, and of the foolish excitement and commotion

<sup>33</sup> Member of the Metellus family. As praetor in 148 he had defeated Andriscus and gained the name of *Macedonicus*; his command was then extended for another year. He had warned the Achaeans not to make war against Sparta.

ἀκρισίαν καὶ ταραχὴν ἐξέπεμψε πρεσβευτὰς Γνάιον  
 Παπίριον καὶ τὸν νεώτερον Ποπίλιον Λαινώτου, σὺν  
 2 δὲ τούτοις Ἀῦλον Γαβίνιον καὶ Γάιον Φάννιον· οἱ καὶ  
 συνηγμένων τῶν Ἀχαιῶν εἰς Κόρινθον, κατὰ τύχην  
 ἐλθόντες εἰς τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν καὶ παραχθέντες εἰς  
 τὰ πλήθη διετίθεντο πολλοὺς οὔτοι καὶ φιλανθρω-  
 3 πους λόγους παραπλησίους τοῖς περὶ τὸν Σέξτον,  
 πᾶσαν ἐνδεικνύμενοι φιλοτιμίαν χάριν τοῦ μὴ προ-  
 βῆναι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς εἰς ὀλοσχερεστέραν ἀπέχθειαν  
 πρὸς Ῥωμαίους μῆτ' ἐκκ' τῆς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους  
 προφάσεως μῆτε διὰ τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ἄλλο-  
 4 τριότητος. ὧν οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ διακούοντες οὐδαμῶς  
 ἀνείχοντο, χλευάζοντες δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις μετὰ θορύ-  
 5 βου καὶ κραυγῆς ἐξέβαλον· καὶ γὰρ συνηθροίσθη  
 πλήθος ἐργαστηριακῶν καὶ βαναύσων ἀνθρώπων  
 ὅσον οὐδέποτε· πᾶσαι μὲν γὰρ ἐκορύζων αἱ πόλεις,  
 6 πανδημεὶ δὲ καὶ μάλιστα πῶς ἢ τῶν Κορινθίων. ὀλί-  
 γοις δὲ τισι καὶ λίαν ἤρεσκε τὰ λεγόμενα διὰ τῶν  
 7 πρεσβευτῶν. ὁ δὲ Κριτόλαος, ὥσπερ κατ' εὐχὴν ὑπο-  
 θέσεως ἐπειλημμένος καὶ θεάτρον συνενθουσιώματος  
 καὶ παρεστηκότος ταῖς διανοίαις, κατανίστατο μὲν  
 τῶν ἀρχόντων, διέσυρε δὲ τοὺς ἀντιπολιτευομένους,  
 ἐνεπαρρησιάζετο δὲ τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρεσβευταῖς,  
 8 φάσκων βούλεσθαι μὲν Ῥωμαίων φίλος ὑπάρχειν,  
 9 δεσπότης δ' οὐκ ἂν εὐδοκῆσαι κτησάμενος. καθόλου  
 δὲ παρήγει, λέγων ὡς, εἰ μὲν ἄνδρες ὦσιν, οὐκ ἀπο-  
 10 ρήσουσι συμμάχων, εἰ μὲν <δ'> ἀνδρόγυνοι, κυρίων. καὶ  
 πολλὰ δὴ τινα πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἐμπορεύων

in the Peloponnesus, he dispatched there as legates<sup>34</sup>  
 Gnaeus Papirius, the younger Popilius Laenas, Aulus Ga-  
 binius, and Gaius Fannius. They happened to arrive when  
 the General Assembly of the Achaeans was being held at  
 Corinth, and when brought before the people addressed  
 them at length in the same conciliatory terms as Sextus  
 and his colleagues had done, employing every effort to  
 prevent the Achaeans from proceeding to acts of declared  
 hostility toward Rome, either on account of their differ-  
 ence with Sparta or owing to their dislike of the Romans  
 themselves. The people, on listening to them, showed no  
 disposition to comply, but jeered at the legates, hooted  
 and hustled them out of the meeting. For never had there  
 been collected such a pack of artizans and common men.  
 All the towns, indeed, were in a driveling state, but the  
 malady was universal and most fierce at Corinth. There  
 were a few, however, who were exceedingly gratified by  
 the language of the legates. But Critolaus, thinking he had  
 got hold of the very handle he had been praying for and  
 of an audience ready to share his fervor and run mad, at-  
 tacked the authorities and inveighed against his political  
 opponents, and used the utmost freedom of language re-  
 garding the Roman legates, saying that he wished to be  
 friends with Rome, but he was not at all minded to make  
 himself subject to despots. The general tenor of his advice  
 was that if they behaved like men they would be in no want  
 of allies, but if they behaved no better than women they  
 would have plenty of lords and masters. By dealing freely

<sup>34</sup> MRR 1, 468 (where "Gaius" is a slip for Gnaeus Papirius).  
 The year was 146.

- καὶ μεθοδεύομενος ἐκίνει καὶ παρώξυνε τοὺς ὄχλους.
- 11 ἐποίει δ' ἐμφάσεις καὶ περὶ τοῦ μὴ τυχόντως χρῆσθαι  
ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν βασιλέων τινὰς καὶ τῶν  
πολιτευμάτων ἕνια κοινωνεῖν αὐτῷ τῆς προθέσεως.
- (11) 13. τῶν δὲ τῆς γερουσίας βουλομένων ἐπιλαμβά-  
(5) νεσθαι καὶ κωλύειν αὐτὸν τῶν τοιούτων λόγων, περι-  
σπασάμενος τοὺς στρατιώτας κατανίστατο, κελεύων  
προσελθεῖν, ἐγγίσει, τολμῆσαι τίνα μόνον ἄψασθαι  
2 τῆς χλαμύδος. καθόλου δ' ἔφη πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον  
παρακατεσχηκῶς αὐτὸν οὐκέτι δύνασθαι καρτερεῖν,  
3 ἀλλ' ἐρεῖν τὸ φαινόμενον. δεῖν γὰρ οὐ Λακεδαιμονίους  
οὐδὲ Ῥωμαίους ἀγωνιᾶν οὕτως <ὡς> τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν  
συνεργοῦντας τοῖς ἐχθροῖς· εἶναι γὰρ τινὰς τοὺς  
πλείον Ῥωμαίοις εὐνοοῦντας καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἢ  
4 τοῖς σφετέροις πράγμασιν. καὶ τούτων πίστιν ἔφερον·  
ἔφη γὰρ Εὐαγόραν τὸν Αἰγία καὶ τὸν Τριταία Στρα-  
τίον πάντα τὰ λεγόμενα δι' ἀπορρήτων ἐν ταῖς συν-  
5 αρχίαις διασαφεῖν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Γνάιον. τοῦ δὲ Στρα-  
τίου συμμιχένας μὲν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὁμολογοῦντος  
καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συμμίξειν φάσκοντος φίλοις οὔσι καὶ  
συμμάχοις, ἀνηγγελκέναι δ' ὀρκιζομένου μηδὲν τῶν  
ἐν ταῖς συναρχίαις εἰρημένων, ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες ἐπί-  
6 στευον, οἱ δὲ πλείους προσεδέχοντο τὰς διαβολάς. ὁ  
δὲ Κριτόλαος παροξύνει τοὺς ὄχλους διὰ τῆς τούτων  
κατηγορίας ἔπεισε τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς πάλιν ψηφίσασθαι

and systematically in such phrases he continued to excite and irritate the mob. He much insisted that his policy was by no means a haphazard one, but that some of the kings<sup>35</sup> and states shared his design.

13. When the assembly of elders wished to check him and keep him from using such language, he defied them, bidding his soldiers to withdraw and calling on anyone who chose to come on, to approach him, or to dare even to lay hands on his cloak. He said in fine that he had long held his hand, but could put up with this sort of thing no longer, but would say what he felt. "For," he said, "we should not so much fear the Lacedaemonians or the Romans, as those among ourselves who are cooperating with the enemy. Yes, there are some who favor the Romans and Lacedaemonians more than our own interests." He even produced proofs of this, saying Euagoras<sup>36</sup> of Aegium and Stratius of Tritaea communicated all the secret decisions of the magistrates to Gnaeus. And when Stratius<sup>37</sup> confessed he had associated with the legates and said he would continue to do so, as they were friends and allies, but swore that he had never reported to them anything that had been said at the meetings of magistrates, a few people believed him, but most gave ear to the accusation. Critolaus having excited the mob by the charges he brought against these men, further persuaded the Achae-

<sup>35</sup> It is difficult to say how serious this was: whether or not, and with whom, there was any contact.

<sup>36</sup> See C. Habicht, *Chiron* 2 (1972), 117-118.

<sup>37</sup> See n. on 28.6.2; 32.3.14-17: a special effort had earlier been made by the League for his and P.'s release from detention in Rome. *RE* Stratios (Suppl. 11), 1257-1258 (J. Deininger).

λόγῳ μὲν τὸν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πόλεμον, ἔργῳ δὲ  
 7 τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους· καὶ προσεπεμέτρησεν ἕτερον ψή-  
 φισμα παράνομον, ὥστε κυρίου εἶναι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους  
 οὓς [ἄν] ἐπὶ στρατηγίαν αἰρήσονται· δι' οὗ τρόπου  
 τινὰ μοναρχικὴν ἀνέλαβεν ἐξουσίαν.

8 Οὗτος μὲν οὖν ταῦτα διοικησάμενος ἐγένετο περὶ  
 τὸ πραγματοκοπεῖν καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιβάλλειν τὰς χεῖ-  
 9 ρας, οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τοῦτο πράττων, ἀλλὰ πάντων ἀσε-  
 βεστάτοις καὶ παρανοματώτατοις ἐπιβαλλόμενος· τῶν  
 δὲ πρέσβων ὁ μὲν Γνάιος εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀπήρην κἀκέθην  
 εἰς Λακεδαίμονα προσεδρεύσων τοῖς καιροῖς, ὁ δ' Αὐ-  
 λος εἰς Ναύπακτον, οἱ δὲ δύο μέχρι τῆς τοῦ Καικιλίου  
 παρουσίας ἔμειναν ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ  
 τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

14. Ὅτι Πυθίας ἦν μὲν ἀδελφὸς Ἀκαστίδου τοῦ  
 (xxxix.7) σταδιδέως, υἱὸς δὲ Κλεομνάστου, κακῶς δὲ βεβιωκῶς  
 (xl.1) καὶ δοκῶν ἐαντῷ παρακεχρησθαι τὴν πρώτην ἡλικίαν,  
 2 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν θρασὺς καὶ πλεο-  
 νέκτης καὶ δι' Εὐμένους καὶ Φιλεταίρου σεσωματο-  
 ποιημένος <διὰ> τὰς προειρημένας αἰτίας.

3 Polybius Achivus quamvis tunc in Africa cum Scipione  
 fuerit, tamen quia domesticam cladem ignorare non po-

<sup>38</sup> Metellus, who had sent them (12.1).

<sup>39</sup> Of Thebes. He brought the Boeotians into the war on the side of the Achaeans (Paus. 7.14.6). His brother Akastidas was a renowned athlete, who in his youth, had been victorious at the Panathenaea of 182 in both the stadion and the pentathlon (not

ans to vote for war, nominally against Sparta, but really against Rome. He added another unconstitutional decree, enacting that the men they chose as strategi should have absolute power, by which means he acquired a kind of despotic authority.

Critolaus then, having carried through these measures, set himself to intrigue against and attack the Romans, not listening to reason, but forming projects which outraged the laws of god and man. As for the legates, Gnaeus proceeded to Athens and thence to Sparta to await the progress of events, while Aulus went to Naupactus and the other two remained in Athens until the arrival of Caecil-  
 ius.<sup>38</sup> Such was the state of affairs in the Peloponnesus.

14. Pytheas<sup>39</sup> was the brother of Acastides the stadium runner and the son of Cleomnastus. He had led an evil life and was thought to have been debauched in his early years. He was also reckless and grasping in public life, and for the reasons I have stated above<sup>40</sup> had been indebted for his advancement to Eumenes and Philetaerus.<sup>41</sup>

(From Orosius 5.3)

Polybius the Achaean, though he was then with Scipio in Africa, nevertheless, as he could not remain in ignorance of the disaster of his own country, tells us there was

in wrestling, as WC 3. 709, and Deininger [9.1], 233, n. 6, have it): IG II<sup>2</sup>, 2314, I 9 and 11. The epic poet Cleondas, son of Pytheas, from Thebes, who was victorious at the Romaia at Thebes around 120, may have been his son (SEG 54: 515, line 10).

<sup>40</sup> The passage is lost.

<sup>41</sup> The third of the four sons of Attalus I and Apollonis.



tuit, semel in Achaia pugnatum Critolao duce asserit. Diaeum vero adducentem ex Arcadia militem ab eodem Metello praetore oppressum cum exercitu docet.

15. Ὅτι τοῦ Κριτολάου τοῦ στρατηγού τῶν Ἀχαιῶν  
 (xxix.8) μετῆλλαχότος, καὶ τοῦ νόμου κελεύοντος, ἐπὶ συμβῆ  
 (xl.2) τι περὶ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα στρατηγόν, τὸν προγεγονότα  
 2 διαδέχασθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἕως ἂν <ή> καθήκουσα σύν-  
 οδος γένηται τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἐπέβαλε τῷ Διαίῳ χειρίζειν  
 3 καὶ προεστάναι τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων. διόπερ ἐκ-  
 πέμψας εἰς τὰ Μέγαρα καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἄργος  
 ἔγραψε ταῖς πόλεσι πάσαις τῶν οἰκογενῶν καὶ παρα-  
 τρόφων τοὺς ἀκμάζοντας ταῖς ἡλικίαις εἰς μυρίουσ  
 4 καὶ δισχιλίους ἐλευθεροῦν καὶ καθοπλίσαντας πέμ-  
 πειν εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον. ἐμέρισε δὲ ταῖς πόλεσι τὴν  
 5 ἐπιβολὴν τῶν σωματῶν εἰκῆ καὶ ἀνίσως, καθάπερ καὶ  
 περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔπραττεν. οἷς δ' ἂν ἐλλείπη τὸ τῶν  
 παρατρόφων πλήθος, ἀναπληροῦν ἔδει τὴν ἐκάστοις  
 6 καθήκουσαν μοῖραν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων οἰκετῶν. θεωρῶν δὲ  
 τὴν ἀπορίαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς ἰσχυρὰν οἶσαν διὰ  
 τὸν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους γεγονότα πόλεμον, ἐπαγγελί-  
 ας ποιείσθαι συνηγάγκαζε καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν εἰσφέρειν  
 7 τοὺς εὐπόρους, οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἀνδρας ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς  
 γυναῖκας. ἅμα δὲ τούτοις παρήγγειλεν πανδημεῖ τοὺς  
 ἐν ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἀθροίζεσθαι μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων εἰς τὴν  
 8 Κόρινθον. ἐξ ὧν συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι τὰς πόλεις πλή-

<sup>42</sup> The battle was fought at Scarpheia east of Thermopylae. Critolao who wanted to defend against Metellus at Thermopylae, was defeated and killed (Paus. 7.15.3). "Achaea" in this late

one battle in Achaea,<sup>42</sup> Critolao being in command. But he adds that Diaeus,<sup>43</sup> who was bringing up reinforcements from Arcadia, was defeated by the same praetor Metellus.

15. Upon the death of Critolao, the strategus of the Achaeans, since the law enjoined that if anything happened to the actual strategus he should be succeeded by his predecessor until the regular Assembly of the Achaeans met, the management and direction devolved on Diaeus. Consequently, sending troops to Megara and proceeding himself to Argos, he wrote<sup>44</sup> to all the cities to set free twelve thousand of such of their home-born and homebred slaves as were in the prime of life, and after arming them, to send them to Corinth. But he apportioned the number of slaves ordered to be sent by each city as he chose and unfairly, as he always did about other matters. If they had not enough homebred slaves, they had to supply the deficiency from their other slaves. As he saw that their public exchequers were very badly off in consequence of the war with Sparta, he compelled them to make also special calls and to exact contributions from the wealthier inhabitants, not only from men but from women also. At the same time he ordered all citizens capable of bearing arms to muster at Corinth. In consequence all

author just means: within the limits of the imperial province Achaea, that is, Greece south of Thessaly.

<sup>43</sup> He was defeated by Metellus at Chaeronea in Boeotia.

<sup>44</sup> Emergency measures taken by Diaeus, for which see A. Fuks, *JHS* 90 (1970), 78-89. P.'s account veils the fact that after the Roman demands brought by Orestes (9.1), there was a general willingness of the population to fight rather than to give in.

9 ρεις ἀκρισίας, ταραχῆς, δυσθυμίας. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀπο-  
 10 λωλότας ἐπήνουν, τοὺς δ' ἐκπορευομένους ἠλέουν, καὶ  
 11 προσκατεκλαίοντο πάντες ὡσανεὶ προορώμενοι τὸ  
 μέλλον τὴν δὲ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀνάτασιν καὶ τὸν ἐπισυρ-  
 μὸν βαρέως ἔφερον, ὡς ἂν τῶν μὲν ἠλευθερωμένων  
 ἄρτι, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα ταύτην μεμετε-  
 11 ωρισμένων. ἅμα δὲ τούτοις οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες εἰσφέρειν  
 ἠναγκάζοντο παρὰ τὴν αὐτῶν προαίρεσιν ὅτι τις  
 ἔχειν δόξειεν, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἀφαιρούμεναι σφῶν αὐ-  
 τῶν καὶ τῶν ἰδίων τέκνων τὸν κόσμον ὡσπερ ἐπίτηδες  
 εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν ὄλεθρον εἰσέφερον.

16. ἀπάντων <δὲ> τούτων ἐν ἐνὶ καιρῷ συμβαινόν-  
 (xxix.9) των, ἢ τῶν κατὰ μέρος αἰεὶ προσπιπτόντων κατὰ πλη-  
 (xl.3) ξις ἀφῆρείτο τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὄλων ἐπί-  
 στασιν καὶ διάληψιν, δι' ἧς ἔμελλον προνοεῖσθαι  
 <δι>ότι πάντες εἰς πρόδηλον ὄλεθρον ἄγονται μετὰ  
 2 τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν. λοιπόν, οἷον ὑπὸ χειμάρρου τι-  
 νὸς λάβρου προωθούμενοι καὶ φερόμενοι μετὰ βίας,  
 ἐπηκολούθουν τῇ τοῦ προεστῶτος ἀγνοίᾳ καὶ παρα-  
 3 κοπῇ. Ἡλείοι μὲν γὰρ καὶ Μεσσήνιοι κατὰ χώραν  
 ἔμειναν, προσδοκῶντες τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόλου κίνδυνον  
 οὓς οὐδὲν ἂν τῶν παρόντων ὦνησεν, εἶπερ ἐφάνη τὸ  
 4 νέφος ἐκεῖνο κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρόθεσιν. Πατρεῖς δὲ  
 καὶ τὸ μετὰ τούτων συντελικὸν βραχεῖ χρόνῳ πρότε-  
 5 ρον ἐπταίκει κατὰ τὴν Φωκίδα, καὶ τὸ συμβαῖνον ἦν  
 πολλῶ τῶν κατὰ Πελοπόννησον ἐλεεινότερον. οἱ μὲν  
 γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν παραλόγως αὐτοὺς ἐξῆγον, οἱ δ' ἔφευ-

the cities were full of confusion, disturbance, and despon-  
 dency. They praised those who had fallen and pitied those  
 who were marching off, and everyone apart from this was  
 perpetually in tears as if they foresaw the future. They  
 suffered much from the insolence and laziness of the  
 slaves, some of whom had been just set free while the rest  
 were excited by the hope of freedom. At the same time the  
 men were forced to contribute contrary to their own as-  
 sessment whatever they were supposed to possess, and the  
 women, stripping themselves and their children of their  
 jewelry, had to contribute this, almost as of set purpose,  
 to a fund that could only bring destruction on them.

16. As all this was happening at one and the same time,  
 the dismay created by the particular events of every day  
 rendered people incapable of that general and careful re-  
 flection, which would have made them foresee that they  
 all with their wives and children were clearly on the road  
 to ruin. So, as if carried away and swept down by the force  
 of a fierce torrent, they resigned themselves to the de-  
 mented and perverse guidance of their leader. The people  
 of Elis and Messene indeed remained at home in expecta-  
 tion of an attack by the fleet, but they would have profited  
 nothing by the circumstances if that cloud had appeared  
 on their horizon as was originally contemplated. The peo-  
 ple of Patrae and those who contributed assistance to-  
 gether with them had a short time previously met with  
 disaster in Phocis,<sup>45</sup> and their case was much more lamen-  
 table than the events in the Peloponnese; for some of them  
 in strange desperation had put an end to their lives, and

<sup>45</sup> After he had taken Thebes, Metellus destroyed in Phocis  
 the contingent of the military district of Patrae; see n. on 5.94.1.

- γον ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἀνοδίας, πρὸς οὐδὲν ὀρισμένον  
 ποιούμενοι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν διὰ τὴν ἐκπληξιν τῶν γι-  
 6 νομένων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἦγον ἐκδώσοντας  
 ἀλλήλους τοῖς πολεμίοις ὡς ἀλλοτρίους γεγονότας  
 Ῥωμαίων, οἱ δ' ἐμήνουν καὶ κατηγοροῦν τῶν πέλας,  
 οὐδενὸς ἐπιζητοῦντος κατὰ τὸ παρὸν τὴν τοιαύτην  
 χρείαν· οἱ δὲ μεθ' ἱκετηρίας ἀπήντων, ὁμολογοῦντες  
 παρεσπονδηκῆναι καὶ πυνθανόμενοι τί δεῖ πάσχειν,  
 μηδέπω μηδεὶ ἐπιζητοῦντος λόγον ὑπὲρ τούτων.  
 7 πάντα δ' ἦν πλήρη παρηλλαγμένης φαρμακείας τῶν  
 ῥιπτοῦντων ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὰ φρέατα καὶ κατὰ κρημνῶν,  
 ὥστε κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν κἂν ἐχθρὸν ἐλεῆσαι θεασά-  
 8 μενον τὴν τότε περιπέτειαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος. τὸν μὲν γὰρ  
 πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου ἐσφάλλοντο καὶ τοῖς ὄλοις ἔπταιον  
 ἐνίοτε, ποτὲ μὲν ὑπὲρ πραγμάτων διαφερόμενοι, ποτὲ  
 9 δὲ παρασπονδούμενοι διὰ τῶν μονάρχων· κατὰ δὲ  
 τοὺς νῦν λεγομένους καιροὺς ἠτύχησαν ἀτυχίαν ὁμο-  
 λογουμένην διὰ τὴν τῶν προεστώτων ἀβουλίαν καὶ  
 διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἄγνοιαν. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἐκλιπόντες παν-  
 10 δημεῖ τὴν πόλιν ἔφημον τελῶς κατέλειπον· ἐν οἷς καὶ  
 Πυθίας εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἀποχωρήσας μετὰ γυναικὸς  
 καὶ τῶν τέκνων ἠλάτο κατὰ τῆς χώρας.  
 11 Παράδοξος αὐτῷ ἐφάνη ἢ ἀπάντησιν τῶν πολε-  
 μίων. ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν κενὰ κεοὶ  
 λογίζονται. λοιπὸν εἰκότως τοῖς τοιούτοις τὰ πρόδηλα  
 παράδοξα φαίνεται.

<sup>46</sup> WC 3.713 refers to Lys. 24.7: τοὺς καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐλεινοὺς ὄντας.

others were flying from the cities across country, directing their flight to no particular place, but terror-stricken by what was taking place in the towns. Some arrested others to surrender them to the enemy as having been guilty of opposition to Rome, and others informed against their friends and accused them, although no such service was demanded of them at present. Others again presented themselves as suppliants, confessing their treachery and asking what their punishment should be, in spite of the fact that no one as yet demanded any explanation of their conduct in this respect. The whole country in fact was under a strange and evil spell, people throwing themselves into wells and down precipices, so that, as the proverb<sup>46</sup> says, the calamity of Greece would even arouse the pity of an enemy, had he witnessed it. In former times indeed they had erred gravely and sometimes entirely come to grief, quarrelling now about questions of state and now betrayed by despots, but at the time I speak of they met with what all acknowledge to be a real calamity owing to the folly of their leaders and their own errors. The Thebans even abandoned their city in a body and left it entirely desert;<sup>47</sup> among them was Pytheas, who fled to the Peloponnese with his wife and children and was wandering about the country.

The encounter with the enemy seemed surprising to Critolaus; but I think that as the proverb says, "Empty heads have empty notions."<sup>48</sup> So that naturally such people think that what is obvious is surprising.

<sup>47</sup> For the evacuation of Thebes and the fate of Pytheas see Paus. 7.15.9-10.

<sup>48</sup> P. has quoted this before at 33.5.3.

12 Καὶ ἐβουλεύετο περὶ τῆς εἰς οἶκον ἀνακομιδῆς, ὁμοιον ποιῶν ὡς εἴ τις ἄπειρος ὑπάρχων τοῦ νεῦν καὶ μέλλων αὐτὸν ῥίπτειν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος περὶ μὲν τοῦ ῥῖψαι μὴ βουλεύοιτο, ῥίψας δὲ διανοοῖτο περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἂν ἐκνήξαιτο πρὸς τὴν γῆν.

17. Ὅτι ἄρτι τοῦ Διαίου παρόντος εἰς τὴν Κόριν-  
 (xxxix.1) θον, καθεσταμένου στρατηγοῦ διὰ τῶν πολλῶν, ἤκου  
 (xl.4) 2 οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀνδρωνίδα παρὰ τοῦ Καικιλίου καθ' ὧν  
 προδιαδοὺς φήμην ὡς συμφροούντων τοῖς ἐχθροῖς,  
 παρέβαλε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοῖς ὄχλοις, ὥστε μετὰ πά-  
 σης ὑβρεως συλληφθέντας ἀπαχθῆναι δεδεμένους.  
 3 ἤκε δὲ καὶ Φίλων ὁ Θετταλὸς πολλὰ φιλάνθρωπα τοῖς  
 4 Ἀχαιοῖς προτείων· ὧν ἀκούοντες συνέπραξάν τινας  
 τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Στρατίος ἡδὴ γηραιὸς  
 ὢν, ὃς ἐμπλεκόμενος καὶ λιπαρῶν ἐδεῖτο τοῦ Διαίου  
 5 πεισθῆναι τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Καικιλίου προτεινομένοις. οἱ  
 δὲ συνεδρεύσαντες τοῖς μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Φίλωνος λεγομέ-  
 6 νοις οὐ προσείχον· οὐκ ἐνόμισαν γὰρ κοινὴν εἶναι  
 τὴν σωτηρίαν, ἀλλ' ἀκύντους κατ' ἰδίαν τὸ σφέτερον  
 συμφέρον καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀσφάλειαν ἐν πλείστῳ τιθε-  
 μένους ταῦτα λέγειν. <διὸ> πρὸς τοῦτον οὖν τὸν σκο-  
 7 πὸν ἐβουλεύσαντο περὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων, εἰ καὶ πάντων  
 ἅμα διήμαρτον. σαφῶς γὰρ σφίσι τὰ πεπραγμένα  
 8 ἀν τινος ἐλέου παρὰ Ῥωμαίων. τὸ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν πρα-

<sup>49</sup> In 29.25.1 mentioned as a follower of Callicrates. Sent to Metellus after the battle at Scarpheia: 18.2.

And he (Critolaus) began to think about the best way of getting home, acting just like a man who cannot swim but is about to throw himself into the sea, and never hesitates in making the plunge, but having made it begins to think how he can swim to shore.

17. A short time after the arrival of Diaeus at Corinth, on his having been appointed strategus by the people, Andronidas<sup>49</sup> and his colleagues returned from their embassy to Caecilius. He had previously circulated a report that they were in league with the enemy and he now gave them up to the mob, so that they were arrested with every circumstance of ignominy and led off to prison in chains. Philo<sup>50</sup> of Thessaly also came the bearer of many kind offers to the Achaeans, and certain Achaeans from the country, on learning of this, gave him their support, among others Stratius,<sup>51</sup> who was now advanced in years, and embracing and imploring Diaeus, begged him to accept the proposals of Caecilius. But the members of the assembly paid no attention to what Philo said, for they did not think that the whole nation would be spared, but that these men<sup>52</sup> spoke so, since they put their own interests and safety above all. They therefore discussed the situation under this impression, although they were entirely wrong in entertaining it. For as they were perfectly conscious of their guilt, they could not conceive that the Romans could possibly have any compassion on them. They

<sup>50</sup> Perhaps of Larisa: *LGPN* III B, s. v. Φίλων, nos. 242. 243. 274. He brought a message from Metellus.

<sup>51</sup> 13.4 and, for his earlier career, 28.6.2.

<sup>52</sup> Philo, Stratius, and their followers. The emendation of the corrupt text is due to B-W.

γμάτων καὶ τῆς τῶν πολλῶν σωτηρίας παθεῖν ὃ τι  
 δέοι γενναίως οὐδ' ἐν νῶ καθάπαξ ἐλάμβανον ὅπερ  
 ἦν ἀνδρῶν φιλοδοξῶν καὶ προστατεῖν φασκόντων τῆς  
 9 Ἑλλάδος. ἀλλὰ γὰρ πῶς ἔμελλε καὶ πόθεν παραστή-  
 σεσθαι τοῦτο τὸ φρόνημα τοῖς προειρημένοις; ἦσαν  
 γὰρ οἱ βουλευόμενοι Δίαιος καὶ Δαμόκριτος, ἄρτι τῆς  
 καθόδου τετευχῶς διὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἀκρισίαν, σὺν  
 10 δὲ τοῦτοις Ἀλκαμένης, Θεοδέκτης, Ἀρχικράτης. ὑπὲρ  
 ὧν, τίνες ἦσαν καὶ τίνα φύσιν ἕκαστος εἶχε καὶ τίνα  
 προαίρεσιν καὶ βίον, εἴρηται διὰ πλειόνων.

18. Ὅθεν ἐν τοιούτοις ὄντος τοῦ διαβουλίου καὶ τὸ  
 (xxxix.11) τέλος ἀκόλουθον ἐξέβη τῶν δοξάντων. παραντίκα μὲν  
 2 οὖν συνέκλεισαν οὐ μόνον τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀνδρωνίδα  
 (xl.5) καὶ Λάγιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ὑποστράτηγον Σωσικράτην,  
 ἐπενέγκαντες αἰτίαν ὅτι προστατῆσαι τοῦ διαβουλίου  
 καὶ συναποφῆναιτο πέμπειν πρὸς τὸν Καικίλιον καὶ  
 3 συλλήβδην πάντων εἴη τῶν κακῶν αἴτιος· εἰς δὲ τὴν  
 ἐπαύριον καθίσαντες δικαστὰς τοῦ μὲν Σωσικράτους  
 κατεδίκασαν θάνατον καὶ δήσαντες καὶ στρεβλοῦντες  
 προσεκαρτέρου, ἕως διέφθειραν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, οὐδὲν  
 4 εἰπόντα τῶν ἐκείνοις προσδοκωμένων. τὸν δὲ Λάγιον  
 καὶ τὸν Ἀνδρωνίδα καὶ τὸν Ἀρχίππον ἀφήκαν, ἅμα  
 μὲν τοῦ πλήθους εἰς ἐπίστασιν παραγενομένου διὰ  
 τὴν εἰς τὸν Σωσικράτη παρανομίαν, ἅμα δὲ τοῦ Δι-  
 αίου λαβόντος παρὰ μὲν Ἀνδρωνίδου τάλαντον, παρὰ  
 5 δ' Ἀρχίππου τετταράκοντα μνᾶς. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ  
 σκάμματος ὦν, τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον, ἐδύνατο λῆξαι τῆς  
 περὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἀναισχυντίας καὶ παρανομίας ὃ

did not in the least think of making any brave sacrifice for the sake of the state, and the safety of the people in general, as was their duty if they were men who valued their reputations and pretended to be the leaders of Greece. But how could they possibly show any such spirit, for the members of the Council were Diaeus and Damocritus<sup>53</sup>—who had recently been allowed to return owing to the prevailing un wisdom—and in addition Alcamenes, Theodectes, and Archicrates, all men of whom I have already spoken at length,<sup>54</sup> describing who they were and what were their characters, principles, and lives.

18. Discussion being in the hands of such men, the result of their deliberations was in accord with their characters. Not only did they at once imprison Andronidas and Lagius, but the under-strategus Sosicrates as well, alleging that he had presided over the previous council, and had taken part in the decision to send to Caecilius, and was in fact the main cause of all the evil. On the following day they appointed a tribunal and condemned Sosicrates to death, and binding him on the rack continued the torture until he died under it without making any such avowal as they expected. As for Lagius and Andronidas and Archippus, they released them, partly because the attention of the people had been aroused by the flagrant injustice of their treatment of Sosicrates, and partly because Diaeus received a talent from Andronidas and forty minae from Archippus; for Diaeus could not even when he was at bay, as the saying is, abstain from such shameless and illegal

<sup>53</sup> He had been federal strategus in 149/8 and, failing to take Sparta, been fined and driven into exile (Paus. 7.13.1–5).

<sup>54</sup> Not preserved.



- 6 προειρημένους. παραπλήσια δὲ τούτοις ἔπραξε καὶ βραχεῖ χρόνῳ πρότερον εἰς Φιλίνον τὸν Κορίνθιον· προθεῖς γὰρ αἰτίαν ὅτι διαπέμπεται πρὸς Μενάλκιδαν καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων φρονεῖ, τὸν τε Φιλίνον καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ μαστιγῶν καὶ στρεβλῶν ἐν συνόψει πάντας ἀλλήλων οὐ πρότερον ἔληξε πρὶν ἢ διέφθειρε τὰ μειράκια καὶ τὸν Φιλίνον. τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς ἀνοίας καὶ τῆς ἀκρισίας συμβαιούσης περὶ πάντας οἶαν οὐδ' ἂν ἐν βαρβάροις εὔροι τις ῥαδίως, δῆλον ὡς εἰκότως ἂν τις
- 7 ἐπιζητήσῃε πῶς οὐκ ἄρδην ἀπόλωντο πάντες. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἂν εἶπομι διόστι > δοκεῖ μοι καθαπερανεῖ τύχη τις ἀντερέϊσαι πανούργος καὶ τεχνικὴ πρὸς τὴν ἄνοιαν καὶ μανίαν τῶν ἡγουμένων, ἣτις ἐξωθουμένη πάντη καὶ πάντως ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγνοίας τῶν προεστῶτων, βουλομένη δὲ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον σάξειν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, ἐπὶ τὸ καταλειπόμενον ἦλθεν ὥσπερ ἀγαθὸς παλαιστής.
- 9 τοῦτο δ' ἦν τὸ ταχέως σφῆλαι <καὶ> ῥαδίως ἠττήσαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας· ὅπερ ἐποίησε. διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο συνέβη
- 10 μῆτε τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὀργὴν καὶ θυμὸν ἐκκαυθῆναι πορρωτέρω, μῆδ' ἐλθεῖν τὰς ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης δυνάμεις, μῆτε τοὺς προεστῶτας, ὄντας οἴους εἶπον, ἐπιλαβομένους δὲ προτερήματος, ἀποδείξασθαι τὴν αὐτῶν ἀσέβειαν εἰς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους. τί γὰρ εἰκὸς ἦν πράξαι τούτους κατὰ τῶν ἰδίων, ἐπιλαβομένους ἀφορμῆς τινος ἢ προτερήματος, δῆλόν ἐστιν ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων διὰ τὸ κατὰ λόγον. ἅπαντες δὲ τότε τὴν παροι-
- 12

exactions. He had a short time previously behaved in a very similar manner to Philinus of Corinth. For accusing him of communicating with Menalcidas<sup>55</sup> and of being a partisan of the Romans, he continued to flog and rack Philinus himself and his sons before each others' eyes until both the father and the boys gave up the ghost. One is inclined to ask oneself, in view of the fact that all were guilty of such folly and demoralization as it would not be easy to find among barbarians, how it came to pass that the whole nation was not utterly destroyed. For my part I should say that some sort of resourceful and ingenious fortune counteracted the folly and insanity of the leading statesmen—a power which, though the leaders in their folly took every means and every opportunity to expel her, yet had resolved to leave nothing undone to save Achaea, and like a skillful wrestler adopted the sole device left to her, and that was to bring about the speedy discomfiture and easy defeat of the Greeks, as she in fact did. For owing to this the indignation and wrath of the Romans were not still further aroused, nor did the forces come from Africa, nor were the leading statesmen, whose characters were such as I said and who only wanted a pretext, able to reveal fully their guilty intentions to their countrymen. For it is evident from the analogy of their previous conduct, such as I have described it, how they would probably have acted against their own people if they had had any opportunity or achieved any success. Everybody in fact kept repeat-

<sup>55</sup> Of Sparta, federal strategus in 151/0 and while in office deeply involved in a bribery case. Previously in the service of the Ptolemies, where his reputation was already heavily damaged (30.16.2). *RE* Menalkidas 703-704 (V. Ehrenberg).

μίαν ταύτην διὰ στόματος ἔσχον, ὡς “εἰ μὴ ταχέως ἀπωλόμεθα, οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθημεν.”

## V. EXCIDIIUM CARTHAGINIS

(xxxix.3) 19. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος, τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας ἀμυνομένων, εὔρε τὴν διὰ μέσου θάλασσαν οὐ πᾶν βαθεῖαν οὔσαν, τοῦ Πολυβίου συμβουλευόντος αὐτῷ κατασπεύραι τριβόλους σιδηροῦς ἢ σανίδας ἐμβαλεῖν κεντρωτάς, ὅπως μὴ διαβαίνοντες οἱ πολέμοιοι προσμάχωνται τοῖς χώμασιν, ἔφη γελοῖον εἶναι, κατειληφότας τὰ τεῖχη καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐντὸς ὄντας, εἶτα πράττειν ὅπως οὐ μαχοῦνται τοῖς πολεμίοις.

(xxxix.4) 20. Ὅτι τοῦ Ἀσδρούβου τοῦ τῶν Καρχηδονίων  
(xxxix.3a) στρατηγοῦ ἰκέτου παραγενομένου τοῖς τοῦ Σκιπίωνος γόνασιν, ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐμβλέψας εἰς τοὺς συνόντας “ὄρατ” ἔφη “τὴν τύχην, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὡς ἀγαθὴ παραδειγματίζειν ἐστὶ τοὺς ἀλογίστους τῶν ἀνθρώπων.  
2 (3) οὗτός ἐστιν Ἀσδρούβας ὁ νεωστὶ πολλῶν αὐτῷ καὶ φιλανθρώπων προτεινομένων ὑφ’ ἡμῶν ἀπαξίων, φάσκων δὲ κάλλιστον ἐντάφιον εἶναι τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὸ ταύτης πῦρ, νῦν πάρεστι μετὰ στεμμάτων δεόμενος ἡμῶν τυχεῖν τῆς ζωῆς καὶ πάσας τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχων  
3 (4) ἐν ἡμῖν. ἂ τίς οὐκ ἂν ὑπὸ τὴν ἄψιν θεασάμενος ἐν νῷ λάβοι διότι δεῖ μηδέποτε λέγειν μηδὲ πράττειν μηδὲν ὑπερήφανον ἀνθρώπου ὄντα;” καὶ προελθόντες τινὲς  
4 (5) τῶν αὐτομόλων ἐπὶ τὸ πέρασ τοῦ τέγους παρητούντο

ing the proverb, “Had we not perished so soon we would never have been saved.”<sup>56</sup>

## V. THE FALL OF CARTHAGE

(From Plutarch, *Apophthegmata* 200)

19. Scipio had reached the wall, the Carthaginians still defending themselves from the citadel, and as he found that the depth of the sea between them was not very great, Polybius advised him to set it with iron caltrops or to throw into it planks furnished with spikes to prevent the enemy from crossing and attacking the mole, “But it is absurd,” said Scipio, “now we have taken the wall and are inside the town to take steps to prevent our fighting our enemy.”

20. When Hasdrubal, the Carthaginian commander, threw himself as a suppliant at Scipio’s knees, the general turning to those round him said, “Look, my friends, how well Fortune knows to make an example of inconsiderate men. This is that very Hasdrubal who lately rejected the many kind offers I made him, and said<sup>57</sup> that his native city and her flames were the most splendid obsequies for him; and here he is with suppliant boughs begging for his life from me and reposing all his hopes on me. Who that witnesses this with his eyes can fail to understand that a mere man should never either act or speak presumptuously?” Some of the deserters now came forward to the edge of the roof and begged the front ranks of the assailants to

<sup>56</sup> See *Paroemiogr.* 1.396.14, and WC 3.717, noticing “the paradox salvation through quick ruin.”

<sup>57</sup> 8.8-9.

- 5 τὸς προμαχομένους ἀνασχεῖν μικρόν· τοῦ δὲ στρατη-  
γοῦ κελεύσαντος ἐπισχεῖν, ἤρξαντο τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν  
λοιδορεῖν οἱ μὲν εἰς ἐπιορκίαν, φάσκοντες αὐτὸν πολ-  
λάκις ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ὁμωμοχέται μὴ προλείπειν αὐ-  
τούς, οἱ δ' εἰς ἀνανδρίαν καὶ καθόλου τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς
- 6 ἀγεννίαν· καὶ ταῦτ' ἐποίουν μετὰ χλευασμοῦ καὶ λοι-  
δορίας ἀσυροῦς καὶ δυσμενικῆς.
- 7 Κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἡ γυνὴ θεωροῦσα τὸν  
Ἀσδρούβαν προκαθήμενον μετὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ προ-  
ῆλθεν ἐκ τῶν αὐτομόλων, αὐτὴ μὲν ἐλευθερίως καὶ  
σεμνῶς ἠμφισμένη, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ἐν χιτωνίσκοις ἐξ  
ἐκατέρου τοῦ μέρους προσειληφῦια ταῖς χερσὶ μετὰ
- 8 τῶν ἰδίων ἐνδυμάτων. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὀνομαστὶ  
προσεφώνει τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν, τοῦ δ' ἀποσιωπῶντος  
καὶ νεύοντος εἰς τὴν γῆν, τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς τοὺς θεοὺς  
ἐπεκαλεῖτο καὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ μεγάλας ἀπένεμε τὰς  
χάριτας, διότι τὸ μὲν ἐκείνου μέρος οὐκ αὐτῇ μόνον,
- 9 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τέκνα σφίζεται· βραχὺ δ' ἐπισχούσα τὸν  
Ἀσδρούβαν ἤρετο πῶς αὐτῇ μὲν φάσκων οὐδέν, κατ'  
ἰδίαν δὲ παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πορίζοιτο τὴν σωτηρίαν  
αὐτοκμολήσας, πῶς δ' οὕτως ἀναισχύντως ἐγκατα-  
λιπὼν τὰ πράγματα καὶ τοὺς αὐτῷ πιστεύοντας
- 10 ὑπέλθοι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, πῶς δὲ παρὰ τούτοις  
τολμᾷ καθῆσθαι νῦν θαλλοὺς ἔχων πρὸς οὓς ....  
πολλάκις οὐδέποτε ταύτην ἔσεσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾗ  
συμβήσεται τὸν ἥλιον ἅμα καθορᾶν Ἀσδρούβαν  
<ζῶντα> καὶ τὴν πατρίδα πυρπολουμένην·

hold back for a moment, and when Scipio gave this order they began to abuse Hasdrubal, some of them for having violated his oath, saying that he had often sworn solemnly that he would not desert them, and others for his cowardice and general baseness of spirit. And this they did with jeers and in the most insulting, coarse, and hostile language.

At this moment his wife, seeing Hasdrubal seated with Scipio in front of the enemy, came out from the crowd of deserters, herself dressed like a great lady, but holding her children, who wore nothing but their smocks, by each hand and wrapping them in her cloak. At first she called on Hasdrubal by his name, but when he maintained silence and bent his eyes to the ground, she began by calling on the gods and expressing her deepest thanks to Scipio for sparing as far as he was concerned not only herself but her children. Then, after a short silence, she asked Hasdrubal how he had told her nothing, but for himself had secured safety from the Roman general; how he had thus shamelessly abandoned the state and those who trusted him, and gone over secretly to the enemy; and how he had the face to sit now beside the enemy with suppliant boughs in his hands, that enemy to whom he had often boasted<sup>58</sup> that the day would never dawn on which the sun would look on Hasdrubal alive and his city in flames<sup>59</sup>. . . .

<sup>58</sup> 8.8.8.

<sup>59</sup> Here followed some ten extremely fragmentary lines of text printed in B-W's edition. See *App. Lib.* 626-627 for what they would have narrated.

(xxxix.5) 21. καὶ ἐπιστρέψας ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ λαβόμενός μου  
 (xxxix.3) τῆς δεξιᾶς "ὦ Πολύβιε," ἔφη "καλὸν μὲν, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδ'  
 ὅπως ἐγὼ δέδια καὶ προορώμαι μὴ ποτέ τις ἄλλος  
 2 τοῦτο τὸ παράγγελμα δώσει περὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας πα-  
 τριδος" ταύτης δὲ πραγματικωτέραν καὶ νουχεσετέ-  
 3 ραν οὐ ῥᾶδιον εἰπεῖν· τὸ γὰρ <ἐν> τοῖς μεγίστοις  
 κατορθώμασι καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἐχθρῶν συμφοραῖς ἔννοια  
 λαμβάνειν τῶν οἰκείων πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς ἐναντίας  
 περιστάσεως καὶ καθόλου πρόχειρον ἔχειν ἐν ταῖς  
 ἐπιτυχίαις τὴν τῆς τύχης ἐπισφάλειαν ἀνδρός ἐστὶ  
 μέγαλον καὶ τελείου καὶ συλλήβδην ἀξίου μνήμης.

22. Ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων πόλιν ὁρῶν .... τότε ἄρδην  
 (xxxix.6) τελευτῶσαν ἐς πανωλεθρίαν ἐσχάτην, λέγεται μὲν  
 (xxxix.4) 2 δακρῦσαι καὶ φανερός γενέσθαι κλαίων ὑπὲρ πολε-  
 μίων· ἐπὶ πολὺ δ' ἔννοους ἔφ' ἑαυτοῦ γενόμενός τε καὶ  
 συνιδὼν ὅτι καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη καὶ ἀρχὰς ἀπάσας  
 δεῖ μεταβαλεῖν ὡς περ ἀνθρώπους δαίμονα, καὶ τοῦτ'  
 ἔπαθε μὲν Ἴλιον, εὐτυχῆς ποτε πόλις, ἔπαθε δὲ ἡ Ἀσ-  
 συρίων καὶ Μήδων καὶ Περσῶν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἀρχὴ με-  
 γίστη γενομένη καὶ ἡ μάλιστα ἔναγχος ἐκλάμψασα  
 ἡ Μακεδόνων, εἴτε ἐκῶν, εἴτε προφυγόντος αὐτὸν τοῦδε  
 τοῦ ἔπους <εἰπεῖν>.

<sup>60</sup> This is preceded by five very fragmentary lines.

<sup>61</sup> Clearly written after Scipio's death in 129, as was 31.28.13 ("for the whole of his life").

21. Turning round<sup>60</sup> to me at once and grasping my hand Scipio said, "A glorious moment, Polybius; but I have a dread foreboding that some day the same doom will be pronounced upon my own country." It would be difficult to mention an utterance more statesmanlike and more profound. For at the moment of our greatest triumph and of disaster to our enemies to reflect on our own situation and on the possible reversal of circumstances, and generally to bear in mind at the season of success the mutability of Fortune, is like a great and perfect man, a man in short worthy to be remembered.<sup>61</sup>

(From Appian, *Punica* 132)

22. Scipio,<sup>62</sup> when he looked upon the city as it was utterly perishing and in the last throes of its complete destruction, is said to have shed tears and wept openly for his enemies. After being wrapped in thought for long, and realizing that all cities, nations, and authorities must, like men, meet their doom; that this happened to Ilium, once a prosperous city, to the empires of Assyria, Media, and Persia, the greatest of their time, and to Macedonia itself, the brilliance of which was so recent, either deliberately or the verses escaping him, he said:<sup>63</sup>

<sup>62</sup> On Scipio and Polybius on the ruins of Carthage see Astin (35.4.8), 282-287. He prints (pp. 251-252) the accounts of P. D. S. (32.24), and App. (*Lib.* 628-630) side by side. D. S. follows P. more closely than Appian does.

<sup>63</sup> Hom. *Il.* 6.448-449, and 4.164, also quoted in D. S. 32.24. Spoken several days after the end of the fighting (Astin [35.4.8], 284).

ἔσσεται ἡμαρ ὅταν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ Ἴλιος ἱρή  
καὶ Πριάμος καὶ λαὸς ἐνμμελίῳ Πριάμοιο.

- 3 Πολυβίου δὲ αὐτὸν ἐρομένου σὺν παρρησίᾳ· καὶ γὰρ  
ἦν αὐτοῦ καὶ διδάσκαλος· ὃ τι βούλοιτο ὁ λόγος,  
φασὶν οὐ φυλαξάμενον ὀνομάσαι τὴν πατρίδα σαφῶς,  
ὑπὲρ ἧς ἄρα ἐς τὰνθρώπεια ἀφορῶν ἐδεδίει. καὶ τὰδε  
μὲν Πολύβιος αὐτὸς ἀκούσας συγγράφει.

A day will come when sacred Troy shall perish,  
And Priam and his people shall be slain.<sup>64</sup>

And when Polybius speaking with freedom to him, for he was his teacher, asked him what he meant by the words, they say that without any attempt at concealment he named his own country, for which he feared when he reflected on the fate of all things human. Polybius actually heard him and recalls it in his history.

<sup>64</sup> Iliad 6.448-9.



## FRAGMENTA LIBRI XXXIX

### I. RES GRAECIAE

- (12) 1. Ὅτι Αὐλὸς Ποστόμιος ἄξιός γε γέγονεν ἐπισημασίας  
 (xl.6) 2 ἀπεντεύθην. οἰκίας μὲν γὰρ ἦν καὶ γένους πρώτου,  
 κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν φύσιν στωμύλος καὶ λάλος καὶ  
 3 πέρπερος διαφερόντως. ἐπιθυμήσας δ' εὐθέως ἐκ παί-  
 δων τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀγωγῆς καὶ διαλέκτου πολλὸς μὲν  
 ἦν ἐν τούτοις καὶ κατακορήσ, ὥστε δι' ἐκείνου καὶ τὴν  
 αἵρεσιν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν προσκόψαι τοῖς πρεσβυτέ-  
 4 ροις καὶ τοῖς ἀξιολογωτάτοις τῶν Ῥωμαίων, τέλος δὲ  
 καὶ ποίημα γράφειν καὶ πραγματικὴν ἱστορίαν ἐνεχεί-  
 ρησεν, ἐν ἧ διατὰ τοῦ προοιμίου παρεκάλει τοὺς ἐντυγ-  
 χάνοντας συγγνώμην ἔχειν, ἐὰν Ῥωμαῖος ὢν μὴ δύ-  
 νηται κατακρατεῖν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς διαλέκτου καὶ τῆς  
 5 κατὰ τὸν χειρισμὸν οἰκονομίας. πρὸς δὲ οἰκείως ἀπην-  
 τηκέναι δοκεῖ Μάρκος Πόρκιος Κάτων θαυμάζειν  
 γὰρ ἔφη πρὸς τίνα λόγον ποιεῖται τοιαύτην παραίτη-  
 6 σιν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων συνέδριον  
 συνέταπτε γράφειν ἱστορίαν, ἴσως ἔδει προφέρεσθαι

## FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXXIX

### I. AFFAIRS OF GREECE

1. Aulus Postumius<sup>1</sup> was a man deserving of mention 146-145  
 for the following reason. He was a member of one of the B.C.  
 first families, but naturally wordy, loquacious, and vain-  
 glorious to excess. From childhood he had set his heart on  
 acquiring Greek culture and the Greek tongue, and in  
 both he was too much of an adept, so much so that it was  
 partly his fault that admiration for Greece became offen-  
 sive in the eyes of the older and more distinguished Ro-  
 mans. He even went so far as to attempt to write in Greek  
 a poem and a serious history, in the preface to which he  
 begs his readers to excuse him, if, as a Roman, he has not a  
 complete mastery of the Greek language and their method  
 of treating the subject. Marcus Porcius Cato answered  
 him, as I think, very properly on the subject. For he said  
 he wondered what reason he had for making this apology.  
 Had he indeed been ordered by the Amphictyonic Coun-  
 cil to write a history, possibly he would have been justified

<sup>1</sup> P. disliked him, because his clumsiness had prevented the  
 release of the Achaean detainees in 155 (33.1.5), and so, perhaps  
 unduly, he blackened his name for posterity. *RE* Postumius 902-  
 908 (F. Münzer). See also A. E. Astin, *Cato the Censor* (Oxford  
 1978), 164.

- 7 ταῦτα καὶ παραιεῖσθαι μηδεμιᾶς <δ'> ἀνάγκης οὐσης ἐθελοντῆν ἀπογράψασθαι κάπειτα παραιεῖσθαι συγγνώμην ἔχειν, εἰν βαρβαρίζῃ, τῆς ἀπάσης ἀτοπίας
- 8 εἶναι σημεῖον, καὶ παραπλησίως ἄχρηστον ὡσανεὶ τις εἰς τοὺς γυμνικοὺς ἀγῶνας ἀπογραφάμενος πνυγμῆν ἢ παγκράτιον, παρελθὼν εἰς τὸ στάδιον, ὅτε δέοι μάχεσθαι, παραιτοῖτο τοὺς θεωμένους συγγνώμην ἔχειν, εἰν μὴ δύνηται μήτε τὸν πόνον ὑπομένειν μήτε τὰς
- 9 πληγὰς. δῆλον γὰρ ὡς εἰκὸς γέλωτα τὸν τοιοῦτον ὀφλεῖν καὶ τὴν δίκην ἐκ χειρὸς λαμβάνειν· ὅπερ ἔδει καὶ τοὺς τοιοῦτους ἱστοριογράφους, ἵνα μὴ κατετόλμων τοῦ καλῶς ἔχοντος. παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸν λοιπὸν βίον ἐξηλώκει τὰ χείριστα τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν
- 10 καὶ γὰρ φιλήδονος ἦν καὶ φυγόπονος. τοῦτο δ' ἔσται δῆλον ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐνεστώτων· ὃς πρῶτος παρὰν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τόποις, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι τὴν ἐν Φωκίδι μάχην, σκηψάμενος ἀσθένειαν εἰς Θήβας ἀνεχώρησεν χάριν τοῦ μὴ μετα-
- 12 σχεῖν τοῦ κινδύνου· συντελεσθείσης δὲ τῆς μάχης πρῶτος ἔγραψε τῇ συγκλήτῳ περὶ τοῦ κατορθώματος, προσδιασαφῶν τὰ κατὰ μέρος, ὡς μετεσχηκῶς αὐτὸς τῶν ἀγώνων.
- (13) 2. Πολύβιος δὲ τὰ συμβάντα περὶ τὴν ἄλωσιν ἐν  
(xl.7) οἴκτου μέρει λέγων προστίθησι καὶ τὴν στρατιωτικὴν

<sup>2</sup> After the victory of the consul Lucius Mummius over the Achaean at the Isthmus in late summer of 146 the city was destroyed, in accordance with the order of the Senate. It disap-

in speaking thus and offering excuses; but to undertake of his own accord and under no compulsion to write a history, and then to beg to be pardoned for his barbarisms, was obviously ludicrous, and served just as little purpose, as if a man who had entered his name at the games for the boxing contest or the pancration, upon appearing in the stadium, when the time came for the fight, were to beg the spectators to pardon him if he could not support the labor of the tussle or the blows. For it is evident that such a man would certainly be ridiculed and receive summary punishment; and so should such historians have been treated, to prevent them from such audacious disregard of the proprieties. This man in the rest of his behavior likewise had adopted the worst vices of the Greeks. For he was both fond of pleasure and averse to toil, as will be evident from the actual facts. On his very first appearance, indeed, in Greek parts, when the battle in Phocis took place, he feigned indisposition and retired to Thebes so as not to have to take part in the fight, and when it was over he was the first to write to the senate about the victory, adding abundance of detail as if he had himself taken part in the engagement.

### *The Capture of Corinth*

(From Strabo 8.6.23)

2. Polybius, appealing to our sentiments of pity in his account of the capture of Corinth,<sup>2</sup> mentions among other

peared for a century as a political community. Part of its territory was given to Sicyon and this city henceforth held the Isthmian Games.

- ὀλιγοῦριαν τὴν περὶ τὰ τῶν τεχνῶν ἔργα καὶ τὰ ἀνα-  
 2 θήματα· φησὶ γὰρ ἰδεῖν παρῶν ἐρριμμένους πίνακας  
 ἐπ' ἐδάφους, πεττεύοντας δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπὶ τοῦ-  
 3 των. ὀνομάζει δ' αὐτῶν Ἀριστείδου γραφὴν τοῦ Διο-  
 νύσου, ἐφ' οὗ τινες εἰρήσθαι φασὶ τὸ "οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν  
 Διόνυσον," καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα τὸν καταπονούμενον τῆ  
 τῆς Δηιανείρας χιτῶνι.
- (14) 3. Ὅτι διὰ τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν τοῦ πλήθους πρὸς  
 (xl.8) Φιλοποίμενα εὐνοίαν οὐ καθείλον τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ  
 ἐν πόλεσιν οὐσας· οὕτως μοι δοκεῖ πᾶν τὸ γινώ-  
 μενον ἀληθινῶς ἐνεργάζεσθαι τινα δυσεξάλειπτον εὐ-  
 νοίαν τοῖς εὖ παθοῦσι.
- 2 Διὸ καὶ δικαίως ἂν εἴποι τις τὸ περιφερόμενον, οὐ  
 θύρα, τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον, ἀλλ' ἀμφόδοι διέψευσται.
- 3 Οὐσῶν δὲ πολλῶν μὲν εἰκόνων αὐτοῦ μεγάλων δὲ  
 τιμῶν, ἅς αἱ πόλεις ἐψηφίσαντο, Ῥωμαῖος ἀνὴρ ἐν  
 τοῖς περὶ Κόρινθον ἀτυχήμασι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπεχείρη-  
 σεν ἀνελεῖν ἀπάσας καὶ διώκειν αὐτόν, ἐνδεικνύμενος  
 ὥσπερ ἔτι ζῶντα Ῥωμαῖοις πολέμιον καὶ κακόνον  
 γενέσθαι. λόγων δὲ λεχθέντων καὶ Πολυβίου πρὸς  
 τὸν συκοφάντην ἀντειπόντος, οὐθ' ὁ Μόμμιος οὔτε οἱ  
 πρέσβεις ὑπέμειναν ἀνδρὸς ἐνδόξου τιμᾶς ἀφανίσαι.
- 4 . . . ἐπεβάλετο διδάσκειν διὰ πλειόνων ἀκολούθως

<sup>3</sup> It is to be inferred that statues of other Achaeans were re-  
 moved after the defeat and the suspension of the Confederacy.

things the contempt of the soldiers for works of art and  
 votive offerings. He says he was present himself and saw  
 pictures thrown on the ground with the soldiers playing  
 drafts on them. Among them he names the picture of  
 Dionysus by Aristeides which some say gave origin to the  
 phrase, "Nothing like Dionysus," and the Heracles tor-  
 tured by the tunic of Deianeira.

3. Owing to the long-standing affection of the people  
 for Philopoemen, the statues of him which existed in some  
 towns were left standing.<sup>3</sup> So it seems to me that all that  
 is done in a spirit of truth creates in those who benefit by  
 it an undying affection.

Therefore we may justly cite the current saying that he  
 had been foiled not at the door but in the street.

(From Plutarch, *Philopoemen* 21)

There were many statues and many decrees in his  
 honor in the different cities, and a certain Roman at the  
 time so disastrous to Greece, when Corinth was destroyed,  
 attempted to destroy them all, and, as it were, to expel him  
 from the country, accusing him as if he were still alive of  
 being hostile and ill-disposed to the Romans. But on the  
 matter being discussed and on Polybius refuting the false  
 accusation, neither Mummius<sup>4</sup> nor the legates<sup>5</sup> would suf-  
 fer the honors of the celebrated man to be destroyed.

Polybius set himself to give full information to the leg-

<sup>4</sup> RE Mummius (16.1, Nachträge), 1195-1206 (F. Münzer).  
 See H. Philipp-W. Koenigs, "Zu den Basen des Mummius in  
 Olympia," *MDAI (A)* 44 (1979), 193-216.

<sup>5</sup> The Commission of Ten, charged to settle the affairs of  
 Greece in 146. A prominent member was Aulus Postumius Albi-  
 nus (1.1). *MRR* 1.467-468.

- 5 τοῖς ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἡμῖν εἰρημένους περὶ τάνδρος. ταῦτα δ' ἦν ὅτι διαφέροιο μὲν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πολλάκις ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπιταττομένων, διαφέροιο δ' ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐφ' ὅσον διδάσκειν καὶ πείθειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων,
- 6 οὐδὲ τοῦτο ποιεῖν εἰκῆ. πείραν δὲ τῆς προαίρεσεως αὐτὸν ἀληθινῆν ἔφη καὶ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον ἐκ πυρὸς παρεσχῆσθαι χάριν κατὰ τοὺς Φιλιππικοὺς καὶ κατὰ τοὺς Ἀντιωχικοὺς καιροῦς· πλείστην γὰρ ἔχοντα ῥοπὴν τότε τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἀληθινώτατα διατηρηκέαι τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλίαν, μετασχόντα τοῦ δόγματος τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, ἐν ᾧ τετραμήνῳ πρότερον τῆς Ῥωμαίων διαβάσεως Ἀντιόχῳ καὶ τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας πόλεμον ἐξήνεγκαν, τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων σχεδὸν ἀπάντων ἀπηλλοτριωμένων τῆς Ῥωμαίων φιλίας.
- 9 ὧν οἱ δέκα διακούσαντες καὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἀποδεξάμενοι τοῦ λέγοντος συνεχώρησαν καταμόνους αὐτῷ τὰς τιμὰς ὑπάρχειν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσι. λαβόμενος δὲ τῆς ἀφορμῆς ταύτης Πολύβιος <τὰς> εἰκόνας ἤτήσατο τὸν στρατηγόν, καίπερ ἤδη μετακεκομισμένας εἰς Ἀκαρνανίαν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, λέγω δὲ τὴν Ἀχαιοῦ καὶ τὴν Ἀράτου καὶ Φιλοποίμενος. ἐν οἷς ἀγασθὲν τὸ πλῆθος αὐτοῦ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἔστησεν αὐτοῦ λιθίνην εἰκόνα.
- (15) 4. Ὅτι μετὰ τὴν κατάστασιν τῶν δέκα, ἦν ἐποι-

<sup>6</sup> Livy 33.50.2 of late 192.

<sup>7</sup> A slight exaggeration of the facts.

ates about Philopoemen, corresponding to what I originally stated about this statesman. And that was, that he often was opposed to the orders of the Romans, but that his opposition was confined to giving information and advice about disputed points, and this always with due consideration. A real proof of his attitude, he said, was that in the wars with Philip and Antiochus he had, as the saying is, done them a service during the test by fire. For then, being the most influential man in Greece owing to his personal power and that of the Achaean League, he in the truest sense maintained his friendship for Rome, helping to carry the decree<sup>6</sup> of the league, in which four months before the Romans crossed to Greece the Achaeans decided to make war from Achaea on Antiochus and the Aetolians, nearly all the other<sup>7</sup> Greeks being at the time ill-disposed to Rome. The ten legates therefore, giving ear to this and approving the attitude of the speaker, permitted the tokens of honor Philopoemen had received in all the towns to remain undisturbed. Polybius, availing himself of this concession, begged the general to return the portraits, although they had been already carried away from the Peloponnesus to Acarnania—I refer to the portraits of Achaeus,<sup>8</sup> of Aratus, and of Philopoemen. The people so much admired Polybius' conduct in the matter that they erected a marble statue of him.<sup>9</sup>

4. After the reorganization carried out by the ten com-

<sup>8</sup> The mythical ancestor of the Achaeans.

<sup>9</sup> Statues of P. are known from Megalopolis, Tegea, Pallantium, Lycosura, and Mantinea (all in his Arcadian homeland); besides, the relief from Cleitor, also in Arcadia. The city of Elis dedicated a statue of his to Olympia (SIG 686).

- (xl.9) ἦσαντο ἐν τῇ Ἀχαΐᾳ, οὗτοι οἱ δέκα τῷ ταμίᾳ τῷ μέλ-  
 λοντι πωλεῖν τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ Διαίου συνέταξαν, ὃ τι  
 ποτ' ἂν ἐκλέξασθαι βουλευθῆ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὁ Πο-  
 λύβιος, ὑφελόντα καὶ δόντα δωρεάν, τᾶλλα πωλεῖν  
 2 τοῖς ὠνούμενοις. ὁ δὲ προειρημένος τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχε  
 τοῦ προσδέξασθαι τι τῶν τοιούτων ὡς καὶ τοὺς φί-  
 λους παρεκάλεσε καθόλου μηθενὸς ἐπιθυμῆσαι τῶν  
 3 ὑπὸ τοῦ ταμίου πωλουμένων. συνέβαινε γὰρ τοῦτον  
 ἐπιπορευόμενον τὰς πόλεις πάντων τῶν τῷ Διαίῳ κοι-  
 νωνησάντων πωλεῖν τὰς οὐσίας, τῶν καὶ κατακριθέν-  
 4 των, ὅσοι μὴ παῖδας ἢ γονέας εἶχον. ὧν τινες μὲν οὐ  
 προσέσχον, οἱ δὲ κατακολουθήσαντες τῇ συμβουλίᾳ  
 καλλίστην δόξαν ἐξηνέγκαντο παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις.
- (16) 5. Ταῦτα δὲ διοικήσαντες ἐν ἕξ μηνσὶν οἱ δέκα [καὶ]  
 (xl.10) τῆς ἑαρινῆς ὥρας ἐνισταμένης ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν  
 Ἰταλίαν, καλὸν δείγμα τῆς Ῥωμαίων προαιρέσεως  
 2 ἀπολελοιπότες πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν. ἐνετείλαντο δὲ τῷ  
 Πολυβίῳ χωριζόμενοι τὰς πόλεις ἐπιπορευθῆναι καὶ  
 περὶ <ᾧ> οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀμφιβάλλουσι διευκρινῆσαι,  
 μέχρις οὐ συνήθειαν ἔχωσι τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τοῖς νό-  
 3 μοις. ὁ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τινα χρόνου ἐποίησε τοὺς ἀνθρώ-  
 πους στέρξει τὴν δεδομένην πολιτείαν καὶ μηδὲν  
 ἀπόρημα μήτε κατ' ἰδίαν μήτε κατὰ κοινὸν ἐκ τῶν  
 4 νόμων γενέσθαι περὶ μηδενός. διὸ καὶ καθόλου μὲν ἐξ  
 ἀρχῆς ἀποδεχόμενοι καὶ τιμῶντες τὸν ἄνδρα, περὶ

<sup>10</sup> After his defeat by Mummius he returned to his home at Megalopolis and took his own life.

missioners in Achaëa, these commissioners ordered the quaestor who was about to sell the property of Diaeus<sup>10</sup> to set aside and present to Polybius whatever objects he chose to select for himself and then sell the rest to bidders. Polybius was so far from accepting any gift of the kind that he even begged his friends not to desire to acquire any of the things sold by the quaestor,<sup>11</sup> who was now visiting the cities, and selling the property of all who had sided with Diaeus and had been condemned, except those who had children or parents. Some of his friends did not pay attention to his advice, but those who followed it earned the high approval of their fellow citizens.

5. The ten commissioners, having settled these matters in six months, left for Italy in the spring, leaving behind them a good example<sup>12</sup> to the whole of Greece of the policy of Rome. On quitting Polybius, they enjoined him to visit the cities, and clear up any matters about which people were doubtful, until they grew accustomed to the constitution<sup>13</sup> and laws; and after a certain time he succeeded in making people accept the constitution granted to them, and saw to it that no difficulty on any subject arose either in public or in private due to the laws. So that while they had from the first generally approved and honored Polybius,<sup>14</sup> in this latter period, and in their satisfac-

<sup>11</sup> The quaestor assigned to Lucius Mummius. *RE* quaestor 815-816 (G. Wesener). <sup>12</sup> A very personal view of P.

<sup>13</sup> See Paus. 8.30.9; 7. 16.9 and *SIG* 684.9-10. R. Kallet-Marx, *Hegemony to Empire. The Development of the Roman Imperium in the East from 148 to 62 B.C.* (Berkeley 1995), 83.

<sup>14</sup> The end of the sentence was added by the posthumous editor of the work.



τοὺς ἐσχάτους καιροὺς καὶ τὰς προειρημένας πράξεις  
 εὐδοκούμενοι κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ταῖς μεγίσταις  
 τιμαῖς ἐτίμησαν αὐτὸν κατὰ πόλεις καὶ ζῶντα καὶ  
 5 μεταλλάξαντα. πάντες <δ> ἔκριναν κατὰ λόγον τοῦτο  
 ποιεῖν μὴ γὰρ ἐξεργασαμένου τούτου καὶ γράψαντος  
 τοὺς περὶ τῆς κοινῆς δικαιοδοσίας νόμους ἄκριτα  
 6 πάντα ἦν καὶ πολλῆς γέμοντα ταραχῆς. διὸ καὶ τοῦτο  
 κάλλιστον Πολυβίου πεπράχθαι νομιστέον πάντων  
 τῶν προειρημένων.

- (17) 6. Ὅτι ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων μετὰ τὸ χωρι-  
 (xl.11) σθῆναι ἐξ Ἀχαιῶν τὸ συνέδριον, ἐπισκευάσας τὸν ἐν  
 Ἴσθμῷ τόπον καὶ κοσμήσας τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ  
 Δελφοῖς νεῶν ταῖς ἐξῆς ἡμέραις ἐπεπορεύετο τὰς πό-  
 λεις τιμώμενος ἐν ἐκάστη καὶ τυγχάνων τῆς ἀρμοζού-  
 2 σης χάριτος. εἰκότως δὲ τιμᾶσθαι συνέβαιεν αὐτὸν  
 3 καὶ κοινῇ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν· καὶ γὰρ ἐγκρατῶς καὶ καθα-  
 ρῶς ἀνεστράφη καὶ πράως ἐχρήσατο τοῖς ὄλοις πρά-  
 γμασι, μέγαν καιρὸν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἔχων καὶ με-  
 4 γάλην ἐξουσίαν. καὶ γὰρ ἐν οἷς ἐδόκει παρεωρακεῖναι  
 τι τῶν καθηκόντων, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ἐφαίνετο δι' ἑαυτὸν  
 τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι, διὰ δὲ τοὺς παρακειμένους φίλους.  
 5 τοῦτο δ' ἦν ἐκφανέστατον <ἐν> τοῖς τῶν Χαλκιδέων  
 ἱππεύσιν, οὓς ἀνείλεν.

tion with what he advised as I above narrated, each city  
 now took every means to confer the highest honors on him  
 during his life and after his death. And this was universally  
 thought to be fully justified; for had he not perfected and  
 drawn up the laws on the subject of common jurisdic-  
 tion, all would have remained undecided and in the ut-  
 most confusion. So we should consider this to be the most  
 brilliant achievement of Polybius among all those men-  
 tioned.

6. The Roman general, after the commissioners had  
 left Achaëa, repaired the Isthmian site and adorned the  
 temples at Delphi and Olympia,<sup>15</sup> and on the following  
 days visited the different cities, honored in each of them  
 and receiving testimonies of the gratitude due to him. It  
 was only natural indeed that he should be treated with  
 honor both in public and in private. For his conduct had  
 been unexacting and unsullied and he had dealt leniently  
 with the whole situation, though he had such great op-  
 portunities and such absolute power in Greece. If, indeed,  
 he was thought to be guilty of any deflection from his duty  
 I at least put it down not to his own initiative, but to the  
 friends who lived with him. The most notable instance was  
 that of the cavalymen of Chalcis<sup>16</sup> whom he slew.

<sup>15</sup> For the gifts of Mummius to Olympia, see Paus. 5.10.5;  
 24.4; 24.8. Münzer (3.3), 1202-1203.

<sup>16</sup> Chalcis and Thebes were punished for having supported  
 the Achaeans in the war (Livy, *ep.* 52).

## II. RES AEGYPTI

- (18) 7. Ὅτι Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῆς Συρίας βασιλεὺς κατὰ  
 (xl.12) τὸν πόλεμον πληγεὶς ἐτελεύτησε τὸν βίον, κατὰ μὲν  
 τινὰς μεγάλων ἐπαίνων καὶ μνήμης ὡς ἄξιος, κατὰ δὲ  
 2, 3 τινὰς τούναντίον. πρῶτος μὲν γὰρ ἦν καὶ χρηστός, εἰ  
 4 καὶ τις ἄλλος τῶν προγεγονότων βασιλέων. σημεῖον  
 δὲ τούτου μέγιστον ὅς πρῶτον μὲν οὐδένα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ  
 φίλων ἐπ' οὐδενὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἐπανέειλετο· δοκῶ  
 δὲ μηδὲ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀλεξανδρέων μηδένα δι' ἐκείνων  
 5 ἀποθανεῖν· ἔπειτα δόξας ἐκπεσεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ  
 τὰδελφοῦ, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ λαβὼν κατ'  
 αὐτοῦ καιρὸν ὁμολογούμενον ἀμνησικακῆτον ἐποιή-  
 6 σατο τὴν ἀμαρτίαν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν ἐπιβουλεύσαν-  
 τος τῇ Κύπρῳ, κύριος γενόμενος ἐν Λαπήθῳ τοῦ σώ-  
 ματος ἅμα καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ, τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχε τοῦ  
 κολάζειν ὡς ἐχθρὸν ὥστε καὶ δωρεὰς προσέθηκε  
 παρὰ τὰς πρότερον ὑπαρχούσας αὐτῷ κατὰ συνθήκας  
 7 καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα δώσειν ὑπέσχετο. κατὰ μέντοι γε  
 τὰς ἐπιτυχίας καὶ κατορθώσεις ἐξελύετο τῇ ψυχῇ,  
 καὶ τις οἶον ἀσωτία καὶ ῥαθυμία περὶ αὐτὸν Αἰγυπτιακῇ  
 συνέβαινεν <καὶ> κατὰ τὰς τοιαύτας διαθέσεις  
 εἰς περιπετείας ἐνέπιπτεν.

<sup>17</sup> Another obituary. Ptolemy VI Philometor died of his wounds a few days after his victory over Alexander Balas (n. on 33.15.2) in 145 near Antioch in Syria; see *CAH*, 2nd ed., 8, 1989, 364–365 (C. Habicht). <sup>18</sup> In 164; see n. on 31.2.14.

<sup>19</sup> 31.10.3–10.

<sup>20</sup> On the northern coast of the island.

## II. AFFAIRS OF EGYPT

7. Ptolemy,<sup>17</sup> King of Syria, died of his wounds in the war. In the opinion of some he deserved high praise and a place in history, but others think contrariwise. It was true that he was gentle and good, more so than any previous king. The strongest proof of this is, that in the first place he did not put to death any of his own friends on any of the charges brought against them; and I do not believe that any other Alexandrian suffered death owing to him. Again, although his dethronement<sup>18</sup> was thought to be due to his brother, firstly, when in Alexandria he had, as was admitted, a chance of being revenged on him he treated his fault as one to be condoned, and next when his brother again conspired to deprive him of Cyprus,<sup>19</sup> and he was master at Lapethus<sup>20</sup> of his person and his life, he was so far from punishing him as an enemy that he loaded him with gifts in addition to what he already possessed under treaty, and promised him his daughter<sup>21</sup> in marriage. However, in seasons of good fortune and success his mind grew relaxed and weakened, and he suffered from a sort of Egyptian waste of energy and indolence. And it was when he was in this condition that reverses began to befall him.

*RE* Lapethos 763–766 (E. Oberhummer). The event happened in 154; the decree of the king's Cretan auxiliaries in his honor refers to it, *IDelos* 1518 (see also 1517). <sup>21</sup> Cleopatra Thea.

Marriage did not follow the engagement; she was married in 150 to Alexander Balas, but in 146 returned to her father, who then gave her in marriage to Demetrius II, his ally in the battle against Alexander. *RE* Kleopatra 785–78 7 (F. Stähelin).

## III. EX EPILOGO

(19) 8. Ὅτι ὁ Πολύβιος φησι κατὰ τὸ τέλος τῆς συγ-  
 (xl.12) γραφῆς ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμεῖς καταπράξαντες ἐκ τῆς  
 Ῥώμης ἐπανήλθομεν, ὡσανεὶ κεφάλαιά τινα τῶν προ-  
 πεπολιτευμένων κατειργασμένοι, χάριν ἀξίαν τῆς  
 2 πρὸς Ῥωμαίους εὐνοίας. διὸ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχὰς  
 ποιούμεθα τὰ λοιπὸν μέρος τῆς ζωῆς ἐν τούτοις καὶ  
 ἐπὶ τούτων διαμεῖναι, θεωροῦντες τὴν τύχην ὡς ἔστιν  
 ἀγαθὴ φθονῆσαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ  
 τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἰσχύει καθ' ὃ τις ἂν δοκῆ μάλιστα  
 μακαρίζεσθαι καὶ κατορθοῦν ἐν τῷ βίῳ.

3 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω γενέσθαι συνέπεσεν ἡμεῖς δὲ  
 παραγεγονότες ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς ὅλης πραγματείας  
 βουλόμεθα, προσαναμνήσαντες τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς  
 προεκθέσεως ἧς ἐποιησάμεθα καταβαλόμενοι τὴν  
 ἱστορίαν, συγκεφαλαιώσασθαι τὴν ὅλην ὑπόθεσιν, οἰ-  
 κειώσαντες τὴν ἀρχὴν τῷ τέλει καὶ καθόλου καὶ κατὰ  
 4 μέρος. ἐξεθέμεθα τοιγαροῦν ἐν ἀρχαῖς ὅτι τῆς μὲν  
 προκατασκευῆς ποιησόμεθα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφ' ἧν Τί-  
 5 μαιος ἀπέλιπεν ἐπιδραμόντες δὲ κεφαλαιωδῶς τὰς  
 κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ Σικελίαν καὶ Λιβύην πράξεις,  
 ἐπειδὴ περὶ μόνων τῶν τόπων τούτων κάκεινος πεποί-  
 ηται τὴν ἱστορίαν, ὅτ' ἀνήλθομεν ἐπὶ τοὺς χρόνους,  
 ἐν οἷς Ἀντίβας μὲν παρέλαβε τὰς Καρχηδόνας δυνά-  
 μεις, ὁ δὲ Δημητρίον Φίλιππος τὴν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ βα-  
 σιλείαν, Κλεομένης δ' ὁ Σπαρτιάτης ἔφυγεν ἐκ τῆς  
 Ἑλλάδος, ἅμα δὲ τούτοις Ἀντίοχος μὲν τὴν ἐν τῇ

## III. FROM THE EPILOGUE

8. Polybius says at the end of his work: "Accordingly, 145-144  
 having achieved this I returned home from Rome. I had, B.C.  
 as it were, set a crown on my previous political activity, a  
 favor which my devotion to Rome well merited. There-  
 fore, I pray to all the gods, that during the rest of my life  
 I may remain in the same condition and on the same  
 terms, seeing as I do how apt Fortune is to envy men, and  
 how she especially puts forth her power in cases where  
 we think that our life has been most blessed and most  
 successful.

"So it happened to fall out; and I, now I have reached  
 the end of my whole work, wish, after recalling to my read-  
 ers the initial scheme that I laid before them as the founda-  
 tion of the work, to give a summary of the whole sub-  
 ject matter, establishing both in general and in particular  
 the connection between the beginning and the end. I ex-  
 plained therefore at the beginning<sup>22</sup> that I would com-  
 mence my introductory books from the point where Ti-  
 maeus left off, and after a cursory view of events in Italy,  
 Sicily, and Africa—this author too having dealt only with  
 these parts in his history—upon reaching the time when  
 Hannibal<sup>23</sup> was entrusted with the Carthaginian forces,  
 when Philip,<sup>24</sup> son of Demetrius, succeeded to the throne  
 of Macedon, when Cleomenes<sup>25</sup> of Sparta was exiled from  
 Greece and when Antiochus<sup>26</sup> inherited the throne of

<sup>22</sup> 1.5.1. The starting point is the year 264.

<sup>23</sup> In 221 (2.36.1). <sup>24</sup> In 221 (2. 70.8).

<sup>25</sup> In July 222 (2.69.11).

<sup>26</sup> In late summer 223 (2.71.4).

Συρία βασιλείαν διεδέδεκτο, Πτολεμαῖος δὲ τὴν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ὁ κληθεὶς Φιλοπάτωρ, ἐπηγγειλάμεθα διότι  
 6 πάλιν ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν καιρῶν ἀρξάμενοι καθ' οὓς ἦν ὀλυμπιάς ἐνάτη καὶ τριακοστὴ πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν, δι-  
 ἐξιμεν τὰς κοινὰς τῆς οἰκουμένης πράξεις, περιγράφον-  
 7 τες κατ' ὀλυμπιάδας καὶ διαιροῦντες κατ' ἔτος καὶ συγκρίνοντες ἐκ παραβολῆς τὰς καταλλήλους ἕως τῆς Καρχηδόνης ἀλώσεως καὶ τῆς Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων περὶ τὸν Ἴσθμὸν μάχης, ἔτι δὲ τῆς ἐπιγενομένης  
 8 ἐκ τούτων ἀποκαταστάσεως περὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας. ἐξ ὧν τὸ κάλλιστον ἔφαμεν, ἅμα δ' ὠφελιμώτατον περιγενέσθαι τοῖς φιλομαθοῦσι τοῦτο δ' ἦν τὸ γινῶναι πῶς καὶ τίνι γένει πολιτείας ἐπικρατηθέντα σχεδὸν ἅπαντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ὑπὸ μίαν ἀρχὴν ἔπεσε τὴν Ῥωμαίων, ὃ πρότερον οὐχ εὐρίσκειται γεγονός. τούτων δὲ πάντων ἡμῖν ἐπιτετελεσμένων λείπεται διασαφῆσαι τοὺς χρόνους τοὺς περιειλημμένους ὑπὸ τῆς ἱστορίας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν βύβλων καὶ <τὸν> ἀριθμὸν τῆς ὅλης πραγματείας.

Syria and Ptolemy Philopator<sup>27</sup> that of Egypt, I undertook to make a fresh beginning from this date, i.e., the 139th Olympiad, and henceforth to deal with the general history of the whole world, classing it under Olympiads, dividing those into years and placing contemporary events side by side for comparison until the capture of Carthage, the battle of the Achaeans and Romans at the Isthmus and the consequent settlement of Greece. As I said, students by this treatment will attain the best and most salutary result, which is to know how <sup>28</sup>and by what system of polity the whole world was subjected to the single rule of Rome—an event without any parallel in the past. Now that I have actually accomplished all this, nothing remains for me but to indicate the periods included in the history, to give a list<sup>29</sup> of the number of books and the numerical organization of the whole work."

<sup>27</sup> In early February 221 (2.71.3).

<sup>28</sup> P. refers to 1.1.5.

<sup>29</sup> With the contents of each book.

FRAGMENTA EX  
INCERTIS LIBRIS<sup>1</sup>

A. FRAGMENTA ADDITO NOMINE  
POLYBII ALLATA

1\* (1 a) Suda α 722, s.v. ἀθεσία

καὶ ἀθῆτις Πολύβιος· ἐπικρύπτειν ἅπασι τὴν ἀθεσίαν  
αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἀβεβαιότητα

2 (1) St. Byz. α 109 Billerbeck

Αἰγόσθυνα, πόλις Μεγαρίδος . . . τὸ ἔθνικόν ᾧφειλεν  
Αἰγιοσθενεύς, ὡς Μεγαρεύς. Πολύβιος δ' Αἰγιοσθενίτην  
φησίν, ὡς Γάβαλα Γαβαλίτης.

3 (2) Suda αἰ 281, s.v. αἶρε δάκτυλον

καὶ Πολύβιος· ὁ δὲ προσπεσὼν αἶρεται νίκη ἐντυ-  
χεστάτην.

<sup>1</sup> The numbers in parentheses are those of the Buettner-Wobst edition. Asterisks indicate fragments considered by B-W, Schweighäuser, L. Dindorf, or others as foreign to Polybius. Fragments that have been identified as belonging to the works of other authors are omitted.

FRAGMENTS OF POLYBIUS  
FROM UNIDENTIFIED BOOKS  
OF THE HISTORIES

A. FRAGMENTS TRANSMITTED WITH  
POLYBIUS' NAME ATTACHED

1\* (1a) Suda α 722, s.v. ἀθεσία

And Polybius again: to conceal by every means their wrongdoing and unreliability

2 (1) St. Byz. α 109 Billerbeck

Aegosthena. A city in the Megarid . . . The ethnic ought to be *Aegostheneus*, like *Megareus* ("Megarian"). But Polybius uses *Aegosthenitês*, like Gabala (yielding) *Gabalitês*.<sup>1</sup>

3 (2) Suda αἰ 281, s.v. αἶρε δάκτυλον

Also Polybius: But he attacked, and carried off an extremely fortunate triumph.

<sup>1</sup> The ethnic is in fact *Αἰγιοσθενίτης*, as the inscriptions show: see *IG VII*, p. 763. Cf. (οἶνω) *Αἰγιοσθενεῖ* at *Plb.* 6.11a.4 B-W: -ίτη Schweighäuser.



4 (3) Suda α 918, s.v. ἀκόλουθον

καὶ Πολύβιος· τοὺς δ' ἐτίμησε χρυσοῖς ὑφάσμασιν καὶ λόγχαις, βουλόμενος ἀκόλουθον εἶναι τοῖς ἔργοις τὴν διὰ τῶν λόγων ἐπαγγελίαν.

5 (4) Suda α 1015, s.v. ἀκρόπολις

Δαμάσκιος· τὰ γὰρ ἐπιφανέστατα τῶν ὀχυρωμάτων ὡς ἐπίπαν κοινὴν ἔχει τὴν φύσιν. γνοίη δ' ἂν τις τὸ λεγόμενον ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὰς ἀκροπόλεις συμβαινόντων. αὐταὶ γὰρ δοκοῦσι μὲν μεγάλα συμβάλλεσθαι πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν τῶν πόλεων, ἐν αἷς<sup>2</sup> ἂν ᾧσι, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἐλευθερίας φυλακὴν, γίνονται δὲ καὶ πολλάκις αἴτια δουλείας καὶ κακῶν ὁμολογουμένων, ὡς φησι Πολύβιος.

6\* (5) Suda α 1277, s.v. ἀλκὴν

καὶ Πολύβιος· οἶδε γὰρ καὶ λόγων ἀλκὴ θανάτου καταφρονεῖν.

7 (6) Suda α 1312 (cf. 1309), 2273; κ 2602 (cf. 2591), s.vv. ἀλογιστία, ἀνευνόητον, κύβος

καὶ Πολύβιος. ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες ἦσαν οἱ κατανέσαντες, οἱ δὲ πλείονες ἀντέπιπτον ὧν οἱ μὲν ἀλογιστίαν, οἱ δὲ μανίαν ἔφασαν εἶναι τὸ παραβάλλεσθαι καὶ

<sup>2</sup> πόλεων, ἐν αἷς Küster: πολεμίων, ἐν οἷς Suda

4 (3) Suda α 918, s.v. ἀκόλουθον

Also Polybius: He honored them with gold garments and spearheads, since he wanted the oral report of his actions to resemble the deeds themselves.

5 (4) Suda α 1015, s.v. ἀκρόπολις

Damascius (fr. 308): Since the most notable fortifications generally have an ambiguous character. The meaning of this remark is apparent from what happens in the case of fortified high spots; because they appear to make a substantial contribution to the security of the cities in which they are located, and to safeguarding their freedom, but they are frequently responsible for their enslavement and for what are agreed to be problems (of other sorts), according to Polybius.<sup>2</sup>

6\* (5) Suda α 1277, s.v. ἀλκὴν

Also Polybius: For powerful words know how to show contempt for death.<sup>3</sup>

7 (6) Suda α 1312 (cf. 1309), 2273; κ 2602 (cf. 2591), s.vv. ἀλογιστία, ἀνευνόητον, κύβος

Also Polybius: There were a few who agreed, but the majority resisted, some saying that it was irrational, others that it was insane for a man who lacked any conception

<sup>2</sup> Buettner-Wobst's fr. 5 (Suda α 1277, s.v. ἀλκὴ) = Theophylactus Simocatta *Hist.* 5.2.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps a reference to Aemilianus fighting an enemy chieftain in single combat on horseback at Intercatia in 151 B.C.; see WC on Plb. 35.5.1–2. Fr. 19 (18) may come from the same context.

κυβέειν τῷ βίῳ τὸ παράπαν ἀνεννόητον ὄντα τῆς μάχης καὶ τῆς βαρβαρικῆς χρείας.

8 (7) Suda *a* 2098, s.v. ἀνατάσεις

Πολύβιος. οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ Μητροδώρον καταπλαγέντες τὴν ἀνάτασιν Φιλίππου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπανήλθον.

9 (8) Suda *a* 2241, s.v. ἀνεκτάν

καὶ Πολύβιος· διόπερ οὔτε τὸ λαθεῖν οὔτε κατὰ τούτους τοὺς καιροὺς εἰσβάλλοντας εἰς Μακεδονίαν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀνεκτὸν ἦν.

10 (9) Plu. *Pelop. et Marcelli compar.* 1 p. 85, 27 Sint.

Ἀννίβαν δὲ Μάρκελλος, ὡς μὲν οἱ περὶ Πολύβιον λέγουσιν, οὐδ' ἅπαξ ἐνίκησεν, ἀλλ' ἀήττητος ἀνὴρ δοκεῖ διαγενέσθαι μέχρι Σκιπίωνος.

11 (10) Πολύβιος· ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος ἔδυσχέραιεν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Κερκυραίων ἀπαξιώσει.

whatsoever of battle or of how the barbarians fought to take a chance and gamble with his life.<sup>4</sup>

8 (7) Suda *a* 2098, s.v. ἀνατάσεις

Polybius: The members of Metrodorus' circle<sup>5</sup> accordingly went back, astonished at King Philip's inflexibility.<sup>6</sup>

9 (8) Suda *a* 2241, s.v. ἀνεκτάν

Also Polybius: On that account the Romans found it intolerable either to act in secret or to invade Macedon during this period.

10 (9) Plu. *Pelop. et Marcelli compar.* 1 p. 85, 27 Sint.

According to Polybius' group, Marcellus did not defeat Hannibal on so much as a single occasion, nor does Hannibal appear to have suffered any reverse until Scipio arrived.

11 (10) Suda *a* 2910, s.v. ἀπαξίωσις

Polybius: Philip was annoyed by the Corcyreans' failure to show him respect.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The fragment has been assembled out of three separate, overlapping entries in the *Suda*.

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps to be taken simply "Metrodorus"; cf. fr. 10 (9) n.

<sup>6</sup> Philip is King Philip V of Macedon. Metrodorus is the Metrodorus of Plb. 15.24.2 and perhaps also Μητροδώρος Στράτωνος Μακεδών, *proxenos* and *euergetes* in Miletus, late 3rd century B.C. (*Milet* I 3, 99, line 3): A. B. Tataki, *Macedonians Abroad* (Athens 1999), 373, no. 72.

<sup>7</sup> Presumably in 215 B.C., when Philip V mounted an expedition against the island (App. *Mac.* 1; Zon. 9.4.2).

12 (11) Suda a 2914, s.v. ἀπαραγγέλτως

Πολύβιος· καὶ πανταχόθεν ἀπαραγγέλτως ἤθροίζοντο

13 (12) Suda a 3068, s.v. ἀπέστησεν

Πολύβιος· ἐκείνον γὰρ οὔτε σκότος οὔτε χειμῶνος μέγεθος ἀπέστησεν οὐδέποτε τῆς προθέσεως· ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα διωθόμενος καὶ τὰς ἀρρωστίας ἐκπονῶν καθίκτο<sup>3</sup> καὶ διευτυχήκει πάντα τὸν χρόνον.

14 (13) Suda a 3068, s.v. ἀπέστησεν

καὶ αὐθις Πολύβιος· ἀποσχόντες τῆς ἰδίας παρατάξεως ἐφ' ἱκανόν τινα τόπον οἱ μὲν πλείους ἀπέστησαν, δύο δ' ἐπὶ πολὺ προήλθον.

15 (14) Suda a 3178, s.v. ἀπηρέισατο

Πολύβιος· ὁ δ' ἀπορῶν τοῖς ὄλοις πέρας ἐπὶ τινα τοιαύτην ἐλπίδα κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ἀπηρέισατο τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἀπορίαν.

16 (15) Suda a 3239, s.v. ἀπλῶς

Πολύβιος· οὐδὲ καιρὸς ἀφνέστερος οὐδέ γέγονεν ἀπλῶς.

<sup>3</sup> καθίκτο Schweighäuser: καθήστοι Suda<sup>A</sup>, καθήτο Suda<sup>F</sup>

12 (11) Suda a 2914, s.v. ἀπαραγγέλτως

Polybius: and they were gathering together from all quarters without being summoned

13 (12) Suda a 3068, s.v. ἀπέστησεν

Polybius: For neither darkness nor the length of the winter ever kept him from doing what he intended. Instead, he pushed all of these matters aside, put up with being sick, and settled down and enjoyed himself for the entire time.<sup>8</sup>

14 (13) Suda a 3068, s.v. ἀπέστησεν

And Polybius again: After they abandoned their proper position for a secure spot, the majority stopped running, but two went much further on.

15 (14) Suda a 3178, s.v. ἀπηρέισατο

Polybius: Since he lacked any options whatsoever, he finally fixed his hopes for dealing with the impossible situation he faced on something like the following.<sup>9</sup>

16 (15) Suda a 3239, s.v. ἀπλῶς

Polybius: than which there has never been a more ill-suited occasion, bar none

<sup>8</sup> Cf. fr. 37 (38) with n.

<sup>9</sup> Perhaps a description of Achaeus at Sardis.

17 (16) Suda *a* 3380, s.v. ἀπολεγόμενος

Πολύβιος· ὁ δὲ παρητεῖτο τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἀπολεγόμενος τὴν ἀρχήν.

18 (17) Suda *a* 3546, s.v. ἀπόστασις

Πολύβιος· οὐδενὸς ἐπεγνωκότος τῶν πολιτῶν τὸ συμβαῖνον διὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν, ἅτε μεγάλης οὔσης τῆς πόλεως

19 (18) Suda *a* 3571; *v* 219, s.vv. ἀποσφαλμήσας, ὑπεραλγῆ χόλον

Πολύβιος· ὁ δ' ἵππος, ὑπεραλγῆς ὦν ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς, ἀποσφαλμήσας ἐφέρετο ῥύδην διὰ τοῦ μεταξὺ τόπου τοῦ στρατοπέδου.

20\* (19) Suda *a* 3605, s.v. ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου

Καὶ Πολύβιος· καὶ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου ἐγένετο παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἡ μονομαχία,<sup>4</sup> ἐν δὲ τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς πολλαὶ ὁδοὶ εὔρηται.

21 (20) St. Byz. *a* 429 Billerbeck

Ἄρκεσίνη μία τῶν τριῶν πόλεων τῶν ἐν Ἄμοργῷ τῇ νήσῳ. ἦσαν γὰρ Μελανία, Μινῶα, Ἄρκεσίνη. Πολύβιος δὲ ἀρσενικῶς τὸν Ἄρκεσίνην φησί.

<sup>4</sup> μονομαχία Suda<sup>CIFM</sup>; μοναρχία Suda<sup>ATS</sup>

17 (16) Suda *a* 3380, s.v. ἀπολεγόμενος

Polybius: He appealed to the Achaeans, requesting the command.

18 (17) Suda *a* 3546, s.v. ἀπόστασις

Polybius: although none of the citizens realized what the consequence of the withdrawal was, since the city was so large

19 (18) Suda *a* 3571; *v* 219, s.vv. ἀποσφαλμήσας, ὑπεραλγῆ χόλον

Polybius: The horse, which was in tremendous pain from the blow it had received, dashed off and made its way rapidly through the space between there and the camp.<sup>10</sup>

20\* (19) Suda *a* 3605, s.v. ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου

Also Polybius: In the old days, Roman gladiator fighting was a matter of brute force. But in our time, a variety of styles have been invented.

21 (20) St. Byz. *a* 429 Billerbeck

Arcesine. One of the three cities on the island of Amorgos. The cities were Melania, Minōa, and Arcesine. But Polybius uses Arcesine<sup>11</sup> as a masculine.

<sup>10</sup> For a possible context, see fr. 6 (5) n.

<sup>11</sup> A first-declension noun, which would normally be feminine. Polybius may have mentioned the place in connection with the Battle of Lade (cf. 16.14.5) in 201 B.C.

22 (21) St. Byz. a 447 Billerbeck

Ἄρπυια· πόλις ἐν Ἰλλυρία παρ' Ἐγγελέαις εἰς ἣν Βάτων ὁ Ἀμφιαράου ἡνίοχος μετὰ τὸν ἀφανισμὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπέκτισε. Πολύβιος.

23 (22) Suda a 4434, s.v. αὐλαία

Πολύβιος· ἀκούων ταῦτα πάντα διὰ τῆς αὐλαίας ἐγέλα ὁ βασιλεύς.

24 (23) Suda a 4530, s.v. αὐτοτελής

Πολύβιος· ταῦτ' εἰρήσθω χάριν τῆς Ῥωμαίων εὐβουλίας καὶ τῆς ἀνοίας τῶν ὀλιγωρούντων τῆς τῶν ἐκτὸς συγκαταθέσεως, αὐτοτελεῖς δὲ νομιζόντων εἶναι πρὸς τὸ κατορθοῦν τὰς σφετέρως δυνάμεις.

25 (25) Suda β 121, s.v. βάρος

προορώμενος δὲ καὶ κατορρωδῶν τὸ βάρος καὶ τὸ φιλόνηκον τῶν ἀνθρώπων . . . Πολύβιος φησι.

26 (26) Suda β 137, s.v. βασανίζειν

καὶ Πολύβιος· τότε νομίσας τὴν ἐκ πυρὸς ἔχειν βασανον ἀπελύθη τῆς ὑποψίας.

22 (21) St. Byz. a 447 Billerbeck

Harpua. A city in Illyria, in the territory of the Enceleai, where Amphiarus<sup>12</sup> charioteer Bato settled after Amphiarus disappeared. Polybius.<sup>13</sup>

23 (22) Suda a 4434, s.v. αὐλαία

Polybius: When the king heard all of this through the curtain, he began to laugh.

24 (23) Suda a 4530, s.v. αὐτοτελής

Polybius: Let these remarks be made in regard to the excellent planning of the Romans and the folly of those who feel contempt for forming alliances with external powers and regard their own power as sufficient to maintain their position.

25 (25) Suda β 121, s.v. βάρος

Looking to the future and fearing the number and quarrelsomeness of the people . . . thus Polybius.

26 (26) Suda β 137, s.v. βασανίζειν

Also Polybius: Believing at that point that he had the test by fire,<sup>14</sup> he ceased to be suspicious.

<sup>12</sup> One of the Seven Against Thebes; the earth swallowed him up.

<sup>13</sup> Polybius speaks of the area at 5.108 and mentions a city (or people? see WC) called Ἐγγελάνας at 5.108.8.

<sup>14</sup> Referring metaphorically to the way in which coins were tested; see WC on Plb. 21.20.7.



27 (27) St. Byz. β 169 Billerbeck

Βρεττία . . . τὸ ἐθνικὸν ἔδει Βρεττιανός, ὡς Πολύβιος  
τὸ θηλυκὸν ἵπέρι Βρεττιανῆν τόπων†

28 (28) Suda δ 775, s.v. διασχῶν

ὁ δὲ διασχῶν τῶν πολεμίων ὡς τρία στάδια κατεστρα-  
τοπέδευσε, μεταξὺ λαβῶν τὸν ποταμόν.

29 (29) Suda δ 778, s.v. διατατικώτερον

Πολύβιος· τοῦτ' ἄμεινον ὑπολαμβάνοντες εἶναι καὶ  
διατατικώτερον, τὸ μήτε τῷ καιρῷ μήτε ταῖς ἐκκλησι-  
αστικαῖς καὶ παραστατικαῖς διαθέσεσι περιγίνεσθαι  
τῶν ἐναντίων

30 (30) Suda δ 987, s.v. διεψευσμένοι

Πολύβιος· πάντων τούτων ἦσαν διεψευσμένοι οἱ Αἰ-  
τωλοί.

31 (31) Suda δ 1065, s.v. δικαιοδοσία

Πολύβιος· ὅταν ἦ τὸ δίκαιον ἐκλαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν ἀδι-  
κησάντων ἢ κατὰ νόμους ἢ κατ' ἄλλας τινὰς ὑπο-  
κειμένας δικαιοδοσίας

27 (27) St. Byz. β 169 Billerbeck

Brettia: . . . the ethnic ought to be *Brettianos*, for example  
Polybius (using) the feminine form (and saying) †near the  
*Brettianê* of the places†

28 (28) Suda δ 775, s.v. διασχῶν

Polybius: About a third of a mile<sup>15</sup> away from the enemy  
he made camp, putting the river between them.

29 (29) Suda δ 778, s.v. διατατικώτερον

Polybius: suspecting that it was better and more pressing  
to overcome their enemies neither by seizing a favorable  
moment nor by means of desperate, assembly-style ar-  
rangements

30 (30) Suda δ 987, s.v. διεψευσμένοι

Polybius: In all these matters the Aetolians were de-  
ceived.

31 (31) Suda δ 1065, s.v. δικαιοδοσία

Polybius: whenever opportunity arose to get satisfaction  
from the wrongdoers either in accord with the laws or in  
accord with established compacts of some other sort

<sup>15</sup> Literally "about three stades."

32 (32) Suda δ 1565, s.v. *δυεῖν*

Πολύβιος· ἀπελθεῖν εἰς πόλιν, ἣ δυεῖν μὲν ἡμερῶν ἀπέιχε

33 (34) Suda ε 308, s.v. *ἐθελουτήν*

καὶ Πολύβιος· τοῖς βουλομένοις πάντα κίνδυνον ἐθελουτήν ὑπομένειν

34 (35) Suda ει 80, s.v. *εἰκοβολεῖν*

φῶς ἑαυτοῖς παρεσκευάζον εἰς τὸ μῆτε σφάλλῃσθαι μῆτ' εἰκοβολεῖν. Πολύβιός φησιν.

35 (36) Suda ε 462, s.v. *ἐκκλείουσιν*

Πολύβιος· ἐπεὶ τὸν Φίλιππον ἐκκλείουσιν οἱ καιροί, βούλεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τῆς πράξεως ἐκείνῳ περιποιῆσαι, ὡς ἐν εὐεργεσίᾳ προφέρων τούτῳ τοὺς λόγους.

36 (37) Suda ε 705, s.v. *ἐκφανεστάτας*

Πολύβιος· τὸ γὰρ μάλιστα λυποῦν αἰετῶν ἐν χερσὶν ὄντων ἐκφανεστάτας ἔχει τὰς χαράς.

37 (38) Suda ε 1584, s.v. *ἐξαίσια*

Πολύβιος· ἐπιγίνεται χειμῶνος μέγεθος ἐξαίσιον.

32 (32) Suda δ 1565, s.v. *δυεῖν*

Polybius: to go off to the city, which was two days' journey away

33 (34) Suda ε 308, s.v. *ἐθελουτήν*

Also Polybius: for those who were willing to endure any danger voluntarily

34 (35) Suda ει 80, s.v. *εἰκοβολεῖν*

They were preparing light for themselves, so as neither to stumble nor fumble about; thus Polybius.

35 (36) Suda ε 462, s.v. *ἐκκλείουσιν*

Polybius: Since the situation was unfavorable for Philip, the king wanted to ensure that (Philip) got credit for what he had done, as if he was making these proposals to him out of good will.

36 (37) Suda ε 705, s.v. *ἐκφανεστάτας*

Polybius: For whichever of the matters at hand is giving one the most trouble offers the most extravagant delight.<sup>16</sup>

37 (38) Suda ε 1584, s.v. *ἐξαίσια*

Polybius: An extraordinary long winter followed.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Sc. when and if one brings it to a successful conclusion.

<sup>17</sup> Most naturally taken as introducing the situation referred to in very similar language in fr. 13 (12).

38 (39) Zosim. 5.20.4 Mendelssohn, s.v. *ἐξηρικὰ πλοῖα*  
 δοκοῦσι δέ πως τὰ πλοῖα ταῦτα ταχυναυτεῖσθαι πεντη-  
 κοντόρων οὐκ ἦττον, κατὰ πολὺ τῶν τριηρικῶν ἐλατ-  
 τούμενα, πλείστοις ἔτεσι πρότερον τῆς τούτων ἐκλι-  
 πούσης δημιουργίας, εἰ καὶ Πολύβιος ὁ συγγραφεὺς  
 ἐκτίθεσθαι πως ἔδοξε τῶν ἐξηρικῶν πλοίων τὰ μέτρα,  
 οἷς φαίνονται πολλάκις Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι  
 πολεμήσαντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

39 (40) Suda ε 1861, s.v. *ἔξοινοσ*

Πολύβιος· ἔξοινοι γεγονότες καὶ κατὰ τὰς σκηναὺς ἐρ-  
 ριμμένοι πάντες οὔτε παραγγέλματος ἀπλῶς ἤκουον  
 οὔτε τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐλάμβανον οὐδ' ἠντινοῦν πρό-  
 νοιαν.

40 (41) Suda ε 2261, *ἐπιγενήματα*

Πολύβιος· δεῖ τοὺς ὀρθῶς βουλευομένους περὶ τοῦ πο-  
 λέμον, καθάπερ καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀρρωστίαις, μηδὲν  
 ἦττον τῶν ἐπιγενημάτων ποιεῖσθαι λόγον ἢ τῶν ἐξ  
 ἀρχῆς ὑποκειμένων παθῶν.

41 (42) Suda ε 2366, s.v. *ἐπὶ κεφαλαίου*

Πολύβιος· μνησθεῖς δ' ἐπὶ κεφαλαίου τῶν γεγονότων  
 αὐτοῖς ἐλαττωμάτων καὶ θεῖς πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τὰ τῶν  
 Μακεδόνων προτερήματα

38 (39) Zosim. 5.20.4 Mendelssohn, s.v. *ἐξηρικὰ πλοῖα*

These ships apparently sail at least as fast as pentekonters,  
 but are considerably outclassed by triremes, which ceased  
 to be constructed many years before this, given that the  
 prose-author Polybius seemingly gives the dimensions of  
 ships fitted with six banks of oars, which the Romans and  
 Carthaginians patently used to wage war on one another  
 on many occasions.

39 (40) Suda ε 1861, s.v. *ἔξοινοσ*

Polybius: They had all got drunk and were lying sprawled  
 among the tents; and they accordingly paid no attention at  
 all to the order and had no thought whatsoever for the  
 future.

40 (41) Suda ε 2261, *ἐπιγενήματα*

Polybius: People who plan properly for war, like people  
 who are sick, ought to pay at least as much attention to the  
 troubles they are likely to have in the future as to those  
 that have been with them from the beginning.

41 (42) Suda ε 2366, s.v. *ἐπὶ κεφαλαίου*

Polybius: briefly recalling for them the defeats they had  
 suffered and setting before their eyes the successes of the  
 Macedonians

42 (43) Suda ε 2488, s.v. ἐπίνειον

Πολύβιος· ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς μὲν ναῦς ἐνεώληκσαν, τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ Ταρρακῶνι συναθροίσαντες ἐκ δὲ τῶν προγεγονότων ἐλαττωμάτων ἐπίνειον ἐποίησαν, ἐπὶ τῷ προκαθίσαντας ἐπὶ τῆς διαβάσεως διαφυλάξαι τοὺς συμμάχους

43\* (44) Suda ε 2522, s.v. ἐπίπνοια

Πολύβιος· οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι θείας ἐπιπνοίας τινὸς ἐπεπλήρωντο, τὴν τε προθυμίαν ἀνανταγωνίστω σθένει φραξάμενοι

44 (45) Suda ε 3102, s.v. ἐρύκειν

Πολύβιος· τὸ κυριώτατον ἦν τὸ τὸν πόλεμον ἐρύκειν ἀπὸ τῆς Μακεδονίας.

45 (46) Suda ε 3258, s.v. ἐσχεδιάζον

καὶ Πολύβιος· ἀπλῶς δὲ πάντα κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τέλους ἐσχεδιάσθαι καὶ διημερτῆσθαι.

46 (47) Suda ε 3174, s.v. ἐσωματοποιεῖ

Πολύβιος· ὡσανεὶ καὶ ταυτόματον καὶ τύχη τις ἐσωματοποιεῖ τὰς τοῦ Σκιπίωνος πράξεις, ὥστ' ἐπιφανεστέρας καὶ μείζονας αἰεὶ φαίνεσθαι τῆς προσδοκίας

42 (43) Suda ε 2488, s.v. ἐπίνειον

Polybius: because the Romans hauled their ships up on land, and after assembling the survivors of their earlier defeats in Tarraco, they established a port, the idea being that they would take up a position on the strait and keep a watch on their allies<sup>18</sup>

43\* (44) Suda ε 2522, s.v. ἐπίπνοια

Polybius: the Romans had been inspired with a sort of divine enthusiasm, and their high spirits fortified with irresistible power

44 (45) Suda ε 3102, s.v. ἐρύκειν

Polybius: The most important point was to keep the war out of Macedon.

45 (46) Suda ε 3258, s.v. ἐσχεδιάζο

Also Polybius: that absolutely everything right from the beginning to the end had been planned out but had gone utterly wrong

46 (47) Suda ε 3174, s.v. ἐσωματοποιεῖ

Polybius: just as if accident and luck of some kind was shaping Scipio's actions, to make them constantly appear more brilliant and significant than was expected<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> "This probably refers to the arrival of C. Claudius Nero in Spain (211) to take charge after the deaths of the Scipios" (WC ad loc.), cf. Livy, 26.17.1–2. Buettner-Wobst's fr. 44 (Suda ε 2522, s.v. ἐπίπνοια) = Theophylactus Simocatta *Hist.* 5.1.

<sup>19</sup> Nissen took the reference to be to Scipio Aemilianus, and put the fragment in Book 36.

47 (48) Suda ε 3426, s.v. *εὐδοκουμένην*

Πολύβιος· τοῦ δὲ λέγειν ἀληθινῶς ταῦτα, πίστιν ἔφη ποιήσειν εὐδοκουμένην.

48 (49) Suda ε 3463, s.v. *εὐήθης*

Πολύβιος· εὐήθως ἐκλογιζόμενοι τὰ παρόντα καὶ παιδικῶς

49 (50) Suda ε 3677, s.v. *εὐρεσιλόγος*

Πολύβιος· ἔχων δὲ καὶ πλείω λέγειν ἀγωνιῶ, μὴ δόξω τισὶν ὑμῶν οὐκ ἀναγκαίως εὐρεσιλογεῖν.

50 (51) Suda η 532, s.v. *ἡρμόσαντο*

Πολύβιος· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται πάνθ' ἡρμόζοντο πρὸς τὴν εἰς οἶκον ἐπάνοδον.

51 (52) Suda ι 526, s.v. *ἰππαφέσεων*

Πολύβιος· παραπλήσιόν τι πάθος ἔπασχε<sup>5</sup> τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἰππαφέσεων· οἷον εἰκὸς ἐφισταμένοις<sup>6</sup> ἐκ τῶν αἰρομένων πυρσῶν.

<sup>5</sup> ἔπασχε Tour: ἔφασκε Suda

<sup>6</sup> ἐφισταμένοις Hultsch: ἐφισταμένοι Suda

47 (48) Suda ε 3426, s.v. *εὐδοκουμένην*

Polybius: He said that he would provide satisfactory evidence that he was telling the truth about these matters.

48 (49) Suda ε 3463, s.v. *εὐήθης*

Polybius: assessing the situation in a foolish, childish manner

49 (50) Suda ε 3677, s.v. *εὐρεσιλόγος*

Polybius: Although I have even more to say, I am worried that some of you may feel that I am speaking at greater length than is necessary.

50 (51) Suda η 532, s.v. *ἡρμόσαντο*

Polybius: The soldiers were attempting to arrange everything with an eye to getting back home.

51 (52) Suda ι 526, s.v. *ἰππαφέσεων*

Polybius: What happened to him/it was similar to what men endure at the starting gates, as one would expect to happen to troops stationed in the rear when the signal fires were raised.



52 (53) Suda κ 77, s.v. καθήκον.

Πολύβιος· τολμῶσι πέρα τοῦ δέοντος καὶ ποιοῦσι παρὰ τὸ καθήκον.

53 (54) Constant. Porphyrogen. *de thematis* I 2 p. 18 Bonn.

καλοῦσι δὲ οἱ παλαιοὶ μεγάλην τε καὶ μικρὰν Καππαδοκίαν, μεγάλην μὲν τὴν ἀπὸ Καισαρείας τε καὶ τοῦ Ταύρου καὶ ἕως τῆς Ποντικῆς θαλάσσης, ἣν διορίζει Ἄλυσ μὲν ποταμὸς ἐκ δυσμῶν, Μελιτηνὴ δὲ ἐξ ἀνατολῶν. καὶ αὕτη μὲν ἡ μεγάλη Καππαδοκία. καὶ τούτων μάρτυς Πολύβιος, ὁ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἱστορίαν γεγραφώς, ὃς διορίζει τὴν Καππαδοκίαν ἀπὸ τε Ταύρου καὶ Λυκαονίας καὶ ἕως τῆς Ποντικῆς θαλάττης. καὶ αὕτη γὰρ ἡ Νεοκαισάρεια ἢ τε Κολώνεια καὶ ἡ Μελιτηνὴ σύμπασα Καππαδοκία λέγονται. ἔστι δὲ τὸ ὄνομα Περσικόν. Πέρσης γάρ τις ἀνὴρ, . . . ἐν κνηγίῳ Ἀρταξέρξει τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἣ οὐκ οἶδα ἄλλω τινί, λέων προσπαυτήσας τοῦ ἵππου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐδράξατο καὶ κατὰ τύχην εὐρεθεὶς ὁ Πέρσης ἐν τῷ τοῦ θηρὸς συναυτήματι τὸν ἀκινάκην σπασάμενος ἐρρύσατο τὸν βασιλέα παρὰ μικρὸν κινδυνεύοντα καὶ τὸν λέοντα ἐθανάτωσεν. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Πέρσης ἐπὶ τινος ὄρους ὑψηλοτάτου ἀναβὰς καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν περισκοπήσας, ὄσσην ὀφθαλμὸς ἀνθρώπινος περιβλέπει κατὰ τε ἀνατολὰς καὶ δυσμὰς ἄρκτον τε καὶ μεσημβρίαν, δωρεὰν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως πᾶσαν εἴληφε. ταῦτα δὲ ἱστορεῖ Πολύβιος.

52 (53) Suda κ 77, s.v. καθήκον.

Polybius: They are more venturesome than they need to be and behave inappropriately.

53 (54) Constant. Porphyrogen. *de thematis* I 2 p. 18 Bonn.

The ancients refer to both Greater and Lesser Cappadocia, the former being the region that extends from Caesarea and the Taurus range as far as the Black Sea, and whose western boundary is the River Halys and whose eastern boundary is Melitene. This is Greater Cappadocia. Evidence to this effect is provided by Polybius, the author of the history of Rome, who defines Cappadocia as extending from the Taurus range and Lycaonia as far as the Black Sea; since Neocaesaria itself, along with Coloneia and Melitene, are referred to collectively as Cappadocia. This is a Persian name. For a Persian man . . . a lion came face to face with King Artaxerxes,<sup>20</sup> or perhaps with someone else, when he was hunting, and sank its claws into the king's horse. The Persian happened to be there during the encounter with the beast, and drew his sword and saved the king, who was in grave danger, and killed the lion. This Persian accordingly climbed a very tall mountain; looked out over all the land, as much as the human eye could see to east and west and north and south; and he got all of this as a gift from the king. Polybius tells this story.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> The name was borne by a number of 5th- and 4th-century Persian kings.

<sup>21</sup> Perhaps in a digression on the history of Cappadocia in Book 31 (thus WC on 31.8.2).

54 (55) Suda κ 722, s.v. καταπορευθέντων

Πολύβιος· ἦν οὐχ οἶόν τ' ἀναλαβεῖν, μὴ οὐχὶ καταπορευθέντων τῶν πεφυγαδευμένων

55 (56) Suda κ 2000, s.v. κομιδή

Πολύβιος· τῆς εἰς τοῦμπροσθεν κομιδῆς καὶ τῆς ὄλης ἐπιβολῆς ἀπέστη.

56 (57) Varro *de ling. Lat.* 5.113, p. 135.13 Goetz-Schoell

*lana graecum, ut Polybius et Callimachus scribunt.*

57 (58) Suda λ 378, s.v. λείπεσθαι

Πολύβιος· πάντων τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐνεργημάτων μεγίστην ῥοπὴν ἔχουσι καὶ πρὸς τὸ λείπεσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ νικᾶν αἱ ψυχὰι τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων.

58 (59) Suda μ 1163, s.v. μνησικακεῖν

Πολύβιος· τοῦ μνησικακεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσιν οὐδ' ἠντινοῦν ἔμφασιν ἐποιοῦν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι.

59 (60) Plu. *Pelop.* 17

τὴν δὲ μόραν Ἐφορος μὲν ἄνδρας εἶναι πεντακοσίους φησί, Καλλισθένης δ' ἑπτακοσίους, ἄλλοι δὲ τινες ἑνακοσίους, ὧν Πολύβιός ἐστι.

54 (55) Suda κ 722, s.v. καταπορευθέντων

Polybius: which (land) could not be recovered, unless the exiles returned

55 (56) Suda κ 2000, s.v. κομιδή

Polybius: He abandoned his attempt to move forward, along with the enterprise as a whole.

56 (57) Varro *de ling. Lat.* 5.113, p. 135.13 Goetz-Schoell

*lana* ("wool") is a Greek word,<sup>22</sup> written by Polybius and Callimachus (fr. 722 Pfeiffer).

57 (58) Suda λ 378, s.v. λείπεσθαι

Polybius: Of everything that has an effect in war, the spirits of the combatants exercise the greatest influence in regard to both defeat and victory.

58 (59) Suda μ 1163, s.v. μνησικακεῖν

Polybius: The Romans put no emphasis at all on holding grudges about events in the past.

59 (60) Plu. *Pelop.* 17

Ephorus (*FGrH* 70 F 210) says that there are 500 men in a *mora*,<sup>23</sup> Callisthenes (*FGrH* 124 F 18) 700, and some other authorities, including Polybius, 900.

<sup>22</sup> I.e., λῆρος.

<sup>23</sup> A Spartan military unit.

60 (60β) St. Byz. μ 215 Billerbeck

Μοτιηνή· χωρίον Ἰβηρίας, ἀποικος ῥωμαίων· Πολύβιος τρίτω.

61 (61) Suda μ 1430, s.v. μύωψ

Πολύβιος· ὁ δὲ προσθεὶς τοὺς μύωπας ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων<sup>7</sup> τοῖν μεροῖν ἤλαυνε κατὰ κράτος.

62 (62) Suda ν 104, s.v. νεαλής

καὶ Πολύβιος· τοὺς πολεμίους ἀκεραίους ὄντας καὶ νεαλεῖς

63 (63) Suda ν 521, s.v. νοῦν ἔχειν

Πολύβιος· νοῦν ἔχειν καὶ τόλμαν δεῖ τοὺς στρατηγούς, ἅπερ ἐστὶ κυριώτατα πρὸς τὰς ἐπισφαλεῖς καὶ παραβόλους πράξεις.

64\* (64) Suda ο 602, s.v. ὀρμητήριον

Πολύβιος· τὸ δὲ φρούριον οἱ Παννόνιοι κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦ πολέμου λαβόντες ὀρμητήριον ἐπεποίητο καὶ εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τῶν λαφύρων ἐξηγήκεσαν.

<sup>7</sup> ἀμφοῖν cj. B-W

60 (60β) St. Byz. μ 215 Billerbeck

Motiene: An area in Iberia, a Roman colony. Polybius in Book 3.<sup>24</sup>

61 (61) Suda μ 1430, s.v. μύωψ

Polybius: He fixed his spurs to both legs and and rode as rapidly as he could.

62 (62) Suda ν 104, s.v. νεαλή

Also Polybius: the enemies, who had suffered no damage and had recently been assembled

63 (63) Suda ν 521, s.v. νοῦν ἔχειν

Polybius: Generals must be sensible and bold, these being the most important characteristics for dealing with dangerous or hazardous undertakings.

64\* (64) Suda ο 602, s.v. ὀρμητήριον

Polybius: At the beginning of the war, the Pannonians had captured the fort and had converted it into a spot for launching raids and designated it a collection point for plunder.

<sup>24</sup> "There seems to be confusion between *Μοτινή* in Spain and the Roman colony at Mutina (cf. 3.40.8)" (WC ad loc.). But something may have dropped out of the text, e.g., *Μοτινή, πόλις Ἰταλίας* (Meineke, comparing 3.40.8).

65 (65) Suda π 82, s.v. παλίγκυρτος

Πολύβιος· τῶν γὰρ πολεμίων αὐτομάτως καθάπερ εἰς παλίγκυρτον αὐτοὺς καθεικότων, δυνάμενος κρατῆσαι τῶν ἐχθρῶν τούτους παρέλιπε.

66 (66) Suda π 462, s.v. παρατετολμηκότες

Πολύβιος· παρατετολμηκότες καὶ τελέως ἀπελπίσαντες τὴν σωτηρίαν

67 (67) Suda π 564, s.v. παρέργως

οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὸ πάρεργον ἄξιον σιωπῆσαι, καθάπερ ἀγαθοῦ τεχνίτου, περὶ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος λέγων ὁ Πολύβιος.

68 (68) St. Byz. π 47 Billerbeck

Πάρθος· πόλις Ἰλλυρικῆ· Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν χρονικῶν (τρίτῳ). λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἀρσενικῶς, ὡς Πολύβιος.

69 (69) Suda π 1679, s.v. πλαδαρόν

καὶ αὖθις Πολύβιος· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καλῶς ἔχειν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν, τὸ δὲ δόρυ πλαδαρόν<sup>8</sup> εἶναι.

<sup>8</sup> κλαδαρόν Küster

65 (65) Suda π 82, s.v. παλίγκυρτος

Polybius: For since his foes were moving of their own accord into a net, as it were, and he was able to get the upper hand over his enemies, he ignored these men.

66 (66) Suda π 462, s.v. παρατετολμηκότες

Polybius: having taken enormous risks and and completely abandoned any hope of being saved

67 (67) Suda π 564, s.v. παρέργως

Nor is it proper to pass over this secondary accomplishment in silence, inasmuch as a fine craftsman produced it; thus Polybius, discussing Scipio.<sup>25</sup>

68 (68) St. Byz. π 47 Billerbeck

Parthos. An Illyrian city. Apollodorus in <Book 3> of the *Annals* (*FGrH* 244 F 50) . . . The name is also treated as masculine, for example by Polybius.<sup>26</sup>

69 (69) Suda π 1679, s.v. πλαδαρόν

And Polybius again: Everything else was exactly as he needed it, but the wood<sup>27</sup> was moist.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> "Schweighaeuser . . . thinks Africanus is meant, but 36.8.6 points to Aemilianus; this fragment probably belongs in that context" (WC ad loc.).

<sup>26</sup> Probably a reference to Plb. 18.47.12 ἔδωκαν δὲ καὶ Πλευράτῳ Λυχνίδα καὶ Πάρθον, οὗσας μὲν Ἰλλυρίας, ὑπὸ Φιλίππου δὲ ταπτομένας.

<sup>27</sup> Sc. for shipbuilding.

<sup>28</sup> Or, with Küster, "too pliant" (cf. 6.25.5 of shafts).

70 (70) Suda π 2217, s.v. *πράξις*

Πολύβιος· μετὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι φίλων τρίτον πρᾶξις κατασκευασαμένου καὶ προσενεγκόντος τῷ Φαβίῳ τὸν λόγον.

71 (71) Suda π 2443, s.v. *πρόθεσις*

Πολύβιος· ἦν δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις πρόθεσις ναυμαχηῖσαι.

72 (72) Suda π 2597, s.v. *προσανέχων*

Πολύβιος· ὁ δὲ πᾶν ὑπομένειν ἐδόκει, προσανέχωνταῖς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐπαρκείαις.<sup>9</sup>

73 (73) Ath. 2.45b-c

καὶ ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου δὲ βασιλεὺς δεύτερος, ὁ Φιλάδελφος ἐπίκλην, ἐκδοὺς τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα Βερενίκην Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ Συρίας βασιλεῖ ἐν ἐπιμελείᾳ εἶχε πέμπειν αὐτῇ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ Νείλου ὕδωρ, ἵνα μόνον τούτου τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἢ παῖς πίνη, ἱστορεῖ Πολύβιος.

74 (74) Suda ρ 3, s.v. *ῥαβδοῦχοι*

Πολύβιος· παρῆν ῥαβδοῦχος παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, καλῶν τὸν βασιλέα.

<sup>9</sup> ἐπαρκείαις: ἐπαρκίαις Suda: ἐπαρχείαις Casaubon

70 (70) Suda π 2217, s.v. *πράξις*

Polybius: With the assistance of his friends in his native country he made preparations for a third attempt and brought the proposal to Fabius.

71 (71) Suda π 2443, s.v. *πρόθεσις*

Polybius: The Romans were inclined to fight a naval battle.

72 (72) Suda π 2597, s.v. *προσανέχων*

Polybius: He gave the appearance of putting up with everything, since he was fixed on getting the Egyptians' support.<sup>29</sup>

73 (73) Ath. 2.45b-c

Likewise when the second king of Egypt, nicknamed Philadelphus,<sup>30</sup> married his daughter Berenice to Antiochus king of Syria,<sup>31</sup> he was careful to send her Nile water, so that his child could drink nothing except this, according to Polybius.<sup>32</sup>

74 (74) Suda ρ 3, s.v. *ῥαβδοῦχοι*

Polybius: A lictor sent by the general was there with a summons for the king.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>29</sup> The subject may be Achaeus clinging to the hope of being rescued by the efforts of the court at Alexandria (Plb. 8.17-21).

<sup>30</sup> Ptolemy II. <sup>31</sup> Berenice II ("the Syrian") married Antiochus II in 252 B.C. <sup>32</sup> Perhaps a mistake for "Phylarchus" (thus von Scala and Wilamowitz, independently).

<sup>33</sup> Perhaps a reference to how Perseus was fetched before Aemilius Paullus in 168 B.C. (Plb. 29.20.1; cf. Livy 45.7.4).



75 (75) Suda σ 501, s.v. *σιτομετρέϊν*

Πολύβιος· ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος διαδοὺς ὅτι μέλλει σιτομετρέϊν ἐκήρυξεν, ὅσοι μὴ πλείον ἔχουσι τριάκονθ' ἡμερῶν σῆτον, ἀπογράφεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν.

76 (76) Ath. 6.273a–b

Σκιπίων γοῦν, ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς ἐπὶ κλην, ἐκπεμπόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου ἐπὶ τὸ καταστήσασθαι τὰς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην βασιλείας, ἵνα τοῖς προσήκουσιν ἐγχειρισθῶσιν, πέντε μόνους (συν)επήγετο οἰκέτας, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Πολύβιος καὶ Ποσειδώνιος, καὶ ἐνὸς ἀποθανόντος κατὰ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ἐπέστειλε τοῖς οἰκείοις ἄλλον ἀντ' ἐκείνου πριαμένους πέμψαι αὐτῷ.

77 (77) Suda σ 1622, s.v. *συντάξας*

Πολύβιος· συντάξας ἐλαύνειν κατὰ σπουδὴν ὅσον ἔχει δυνάμει

78 (78) Suda σ 1624, s.v. *σύνταξις*

Πολύβιος· ταῦτ' ἐν ταῖς πρὸ τοῦ συντάξεσι δεδηλώκαμεν.

75 (75) Suda σ 501, s.v. *σιτομετρέϊν*

Polybius: Philip let it be known that he was going to ration grain and then issued a proclamation to the effect that anyone with less than 30 days' supply of grain was to register himself with him.

76 (76) Ath. 6.273a–b

When Scipio (nicknamed Africanus), for example, was sent out by the Senate<sup>34</sup> to arrange that the kingdoms throughout the inhabited world be handed over to those with legitimate claims to them, he took only five slaves with him, according to Polybius and Posidonius (*FCrH* 87 F 59 = fr. 265 Edelstein–Kidd). And when one died in the course of the journey, he wrote his family, asking them to buy another slave to replace the dead man and send him to him.

77 (77) Suda σ 1622, s.v. *συντάξας*

Polybius: after ordering that whatever forces he had were to march in haste

78 (78) Suda σ 1624, s.v. *σύνταξις*

Polybius: We have made these points clear in the previous discussion.

<sup>34</sup> In 140/139 B.C.

79 (79) Suda σ 1686, s.v. συστήσας

Πολύβιος· τούτον ἔξαπέστειλε, συστήσας ἱππεῖς πεντακοσίους δυναμένους ἐπιπονείν.<sup>10</sup>

80 (80) Suda σ 842, s.v. σωματοποιῆσαι

καὶ αὖθις Πολύβιος· ὁ δ' ὡς κηδεμονικὸς φίλος πᾶν ἐμηχανᾶτο, δι' οὗ τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν σωματοποιήσει, τοῖς δὲ σφετέροις πράγμασι περιστήσει τοὺς μεγίστους κινδύνους.

81 (81) Suda τ 261, s.v. τελεσιουργήσας

Πολύβιος· περὶ τὸ τῆς τάφρου χεῖλος τελεσιουργήσας τὴν πρᾶξιν

82 (82) Suda τ 1150, s.v. τύλα

Πολύβιος· τῆς πέτρας αὐτοῖς δυσχρηστίαν παρεχούσης διὰ τὸ δεῖν τρήμα ποιεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ τοῖς τύλοις (τοῖς)<sup>11</sup> κρατ(υ)νοῦσι<sup>12</sup> τὴν σύριγγα τὴν προσαγομένην

83 (83) Suda τ 1232, s.v. τύχη

Πολύβιος· εἰ χρὴ τύχην λέγειν ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων· ποτὲ μὲν γὰρ αὕτη μὲν κενῶς κληρονομεῖ τοιαύτην φήμην, αἴτιοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ χειρίζοντες τὰς πράξεις τῷ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἐπιτρέπειν<sup>13</sup> σεμνότητα καὶ μέγεθος, ποτὲ δὲ τοῦναντίον.

79 (79) Suda σ 1686, s.v. συστήσας

Polybius: He sent this man off, after turning over to him 500 horsemen capable of continuous hard labor.

80 (80) Suda σ 842, s.v. σωματοποιῆσαι

And Polybius again: But he, although posing as a solicitous friend, was trying to make everything happen that would allow him to improve their enemies' situation while putting themselves in the greatest danger.

81 (81) Suda τ 261, s.v. τελεσιουργήσας

Polybius: after bringing the business to completion around the edge of the ditch

82 (82) Suda τ 1150, s.v. τύλα

Polybius: since the rock was giving them trouble, because they needed to drill a hole in it for the beams that stabilized the passageway being brought up against it

83 (83) Suda τ 1232, s.v. τύχη

Polybius: If "fortune" is the proper term to use in situations of this sort. For sometimes fortune gets undeserved credit of this type, and the individuals who manage events by bringing dignity and magnanimity to bear on them are actually responsible for what happens, while at other times it is the other way around.

<sup>10</sup> ἐπιπονείν Schweighäuser: ἔτι πονεῖν Suda <sup>11</sup> add. Bhd. <sup>12</sup> suppl. Buettner-Wobst <sup>13</sup> ἐπιτρέπειν Olson: ἐπιτρέχειν Suda: ἐπιφέρειν vel ἐπιθεῖναι Hultsch

84\* (83b) Suda τ 1234, s.v. Τύχη

Τύχη παρ' Ἑλλησιν ἀπρονόητος κόσμου διοίκησις ἢ φορὰ ἐξ ἀδήλων εἰς ἀδηλον καὶ αὐτόματον, οἱ δὲ Χριστιανοὶ Θεὸν ὁμολογοῦμεν διοικεῖν τὰ πάντα. καὶ Πολύβιος φησι.

85 (84) St. Byz. v 48 Billerbeck

Ἰτρακός· ἢ καὶ Ἰτρακῖνος, πόλις Κρήτης. ὁ πολίτης Ἰτρακῖνος. Πολύβιος δὲ τὸ θηλυκὸν Ἰτρακίνη ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰτρακῖνος ἐθνικοῦ.

86 (85) St. Byz. φ 69 Billerbeck

Φίλιππου πόλις Μακεδονίας . . . ὁ πολίτης Φιλιππεύς, Φιλιππηνὸς δὲ παρὰ Πολυβίῳ.

87 (86) Hsch. φ 855, s.v. φρεατοτύπανα

φρεατοτύπανα· ὄργανά τινα παρὰ Πολυβίῳ.

88 (87) Suda φ 823, s.v. φυλάκια

καὶ Πολύβιος φησιν· ὁ δὲ κατέσχευεν ἀμφοτέρω τὰ κατεσκευασμένα φυλάκια, πεντήκοντα πόδας ἀλλήλων διεστώτα.

<sup>35</sup> Sc. as the name of the city.

<sup>36</sup> On Hyrtacina, see *I. Cret.* 2, pp. 184–190. The ethnic is Ἰτρακῖνιος on the coins and inscriptions (*I. Cret.* 2, p. 186, line 11, and 4, no. 179, 2), but Ἰτρακῖνος in *Milet* I 3, 38, ll. line 5.

84\* (83b) Suda τ 1234, s.v. Τύχη

For the Greeks, Fortune is a power that governs the universe with no forethought for the future, or it is the influence exercised by obscure forces on an obscure and accidental situation, whereas we Christians maintain that God controls everything. Polybius says this as well.

85 (84) St. Byz. v 48 Billerbeck

Hyrtacus, which is also known as Hyrtacinus; a city in Crete. A citizen of the place is a *Hyrtacinus*. Polybius uses the feminine form *Hyrtacinê*,<sup>35</sup> derived from the ethnic *Hyrtacinus*.<sup>36</sup>

86 (85) St. Byz. φ 69 Billerbeck

Philippi. A city in Macedon . . . A citizen of the place is a *Philippeus*, although Polybius uses *Philippênos*.<sup>37</sup>

87 (86) Hsch. φ 855, s.v. φρεατοτύπανα

*Phreatotupana*.<sup>38</sup> Implements of some sort mentioned by Polybius.

88 (87) Suda φ 823, s.v. φυλάκια

And Polybius says: But he had control of both of the guard posts that had been constructed, which were 50 feet apart from one another.

<sup>37</sup> It is difficult to believe that Polybius used the ethnic *Φιλιππηνός* attributed to him here. <sup>38</sup> Literally “well-wheels, well-drums,” i.e., waterwheels of some sort; cf. the *tympanum* at Vitruv. 10.4.1–2. But in Polybius the term (a *hapax legomenon*) probably referred to a siege machine or some part thereof.

THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

89 (88) Suda χ 399, s.v. χορήγια

καὶ Πολύβιος· μὴ οἶον κατὰ θάλατταν τὰς παρασκευὰς  
καὶ τὰ χορήγια παρακομίζειν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις μὴδ'  
ἐφ' ὑποζυγίων, ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς πήραις δέχ' ἡμερῶν ἔχου-  
τας ἐφόδια

90\* (89) Suda ψ 157, s.v. ψυχαγωγεῖ

φησὶ Πολύβιος· οὗτοι μὲν περὶ ταῦτα διέτριβον, ψυ-  
χαγωγούντες τὰς δυνάμεις

B. FRAGMENTA A VIRIS DOCTIS  
POLYBIO ATTRIBUTA

91\* (90) Suda α 55, s.v. ἀβλεπτήματι

ὁ δὲ φέρων ἐκαρτέρει τὰ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἀβλεπτήματα,  
τὰ δὲ τῶν λογικωτέρων αὐτὸν ἡγία.

92 (91) Suda α 55, s.v. ἀβλεπτήματι

οἱ δὲ ἀβλεπτοῦντες καὶ αἰδούμενοι ἀντοφθαλμεῖν πρὸς  
τὸν Φίλιππον ἐβοήθουν.

93 (92) Suda α 60, s.v. ἀβουλεί

ὁ δ' οὐ σφόδρα στοχαζόμενος τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως γνώ-  
μης ἀβουλότατα διεπράξατο.

UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

89 (88) Suda χ 399, s.v. χορήγια

Also Polybius: it was impossible to transport materials and supplies to the camps by sea or on pack animals, but by having ten days' provisions in their food bags

90\* (89) Suda ψ 157, s.v. ψυχαγωγεῖ

Polybius says: these men spent their time on such matters, wasting their energy

B. UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS  
ASSIGNED TO POLYBIUS BY  
MODERN SCHOLARS

91\* (90) Suda α 55, s.v. ἀβλεπτήματι

The man bringing it put up with the misjudgments of the average citizens, but felt distress at those of better-educated individuals.

92 (91) Suda α 55, s.v. ἀβλεπτήματι

Because they misjudged the situation and were ashamed to face them down, they provided assistance against Philip.

93 (92) Suda α 60, s.v. ἀβουλεί

Because he did a bad job of guessing what the king intended, he handled matters in an exceedingly ill-advised way.

94 (93) Suda *a* 361, s.v. ἀγριότης

θαυμαστὴ γὰρ τις κίνησις, ὡς ἔοικε, τὰνθρώπου πρὸς  
τοῦτο τὸ μέρος . . . ἀγριότης

95\* (94) Suda *a* 334, s.v. ἀγωνιῶ

ἠγωνία δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας μὴ ἐπιλείπη τὰ ὀψώνια.

96 (95) Suda *a* 487, s.v. ἀδικοδοξία

ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς οὐ δυνάμενος ἐνεγκεῖν τὴν ἀδικοδοξίαν  
τῶν ταῦτα λεγόντων

97 (96) Suda *a* 836; *ε* 1520, s.vv. ἀκέραιος, ἐξ ἀκεραίου

οὐ δυνάμενος δὲ πείθειν ἐξ ἀκεραίου διὰ τὴν εὐλάβειαν  
καὶ ἀπραγίαν τοῦ προειρημένου βασιλέως ἠναγκάσθη  
πεντακόσια τάλαντα προτείνει. καὶ δὴ συγκατέθετο  
βοηθήσειν ὁ Σέλευκος.

98 Suda *a* 836, s.v. ἀκέραιος

οὐ βουλόμενοι ἀκέραιον ἀπενεγκεῖν τὴν φήμην αὐτοῦ,  
ἤρξαντο διασύρειν αὐτόν.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> These words come immediately after fr. 97 (96), with the notice καὶ αὖθις ("and again"), and ought presumably to be treated as another fragment of Polybius.

94 (93) Suda *a* 361, s.v. ἀγριότης

for an extraordinary human inclination, it seems, in this direction . . . savagery<sup>39</sup>

95\* (94) Suda *a* 334, s.v. ἀγωνιῶ

He was worried that the soldiers' pay might run out.

96 (95) Suda *a* 487, s.v. ἀδικοδοξία

the general, being unable to endure the ugly intentions of the individuals making these remarks

97 (96) Suda *a* 836; *ε* 1520, s.vv. ἀκέραιος, ἐξ ἀκεραίου

Since the aforementioned king's timidity and unwillingness to act meant that he was unable to convince them again, he was forced to offer 500 talents. And in fact Seleucus agreed to assist him.<sup>40</sup>

98 Suda *a* 836, s.v. ἀκέραιος

Since they did not want to report what he had said in an unprejudiced manner, they began to ridicule him.

<sup>39</sup> Followed in the *Suda* by the comment "referring to a love of money."

<sup>40</sup> Sc. "on those terms." The Seleucus in question, apparently in the service of a king, may be Seleucus son of Bithys, a citizen of Alexandria and Rhodes, who served first Ptolemy VI and then his brother Ptolemy Euergetes II from 154 to 131 B.C. (L. Mooren, *The Aulic Titulature in Ptolemaic Egypt. Introduction and Prosopography* [Brussels 1975], 189–91). He was for many years governor of Cyprus.



99 (97) Suda *a* 918, s.v. ἀκόλουθον

ἀκόλουθον ἀπέβη τὸ τέλος ταῖς προτέραις ἐνεργείαις.

100\* (98) Suda *a* 1082, s.v. ἀλάστωρ

ὁ δὲ ἔγραφε πικρῶς καὶ παραστατικῶς ἀλάστορας ἀποκαλῶν καὶ παλαμναίους, εἰ οὕτως αἰσχρῶς προήσονται τοὺς τόπους, μηδὲν παθόντες ἢ ἰδόντες κακόν.

101 (99) Suda *a* 1678, 2202, s.vv. ἀμυνόμενοι, ἀναιρεθεῖς

οἱ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν πρόνοιαν ἐποιοῦντο τοῦ μὴ κατάρχοντες φαίνεσθαι χειρῶν ἀδίκων, μηδ' ἀναιρούμενοι τοὺς πολέμους τὰς χεῖρας ἐπιβάλλειν τοῖς πέλας, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ δοκεῖν ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ κατ' ἀνάγκην ἐμβαίνειν εἰς τοὺς πολέμους.

102 (100) Suda *a* 1847, s.v. ἀναδέξασθαι

πρὶν ἀναδέξασθαι τοὺς ἐσκεδασμένους ἐν ταῖς προνομαῖς

103 (101) Suda *a* 1848, s.v. ἀναδέξασθαι

ἀναδέχεσθαι τὴν παρουσίαν τῶν πολεμίων

99 (97) Suda *a* 918, s.v. ἀκόλουθον

The result turned out similar to their previous efforts.

100\* (98) Suda *a* 1082, s.v. ἀλάστωρ

He wrote a bitter, furious letter, calling down the gods of vengeance and retribution upon them, if they intended to abandon the area in such a shameless way, before suffering or witnessing any trouble.

101 (99) Suda *a* 1678, 2202, s.vv. ἀμυνόμενοι, ἀναιρεθεῖς

For the Romans took extra care not to appear to be the first to act unjustly, or to attack their neighbors when they undertook their wars, and tried instead to seem to be defending themselves and to be entering their wars under compulsion.<sup>41</sup>

102 (100) Suda *a* 1847, s.v. ἀναδέξασθαι

before collecting the men who had been scattered among the foraging parties

103 (101) Suda *a* 1848, s.v. ἀναδέξασθαι

to anticipate the presence of the enemy forces

<sup>41</sup> The fragment was pieced together by Valesius out of two partially overlapping entries in the *Suda*, and may refer to the outbreak of the Third Punic War (WC on Plb. 36.2.1-4).

**104** (102) Suda *a* 1862, s.v. ἀναδρομαί

“ἀναδρομὴ γίγνεται καὶ σφαλόμεθα.” δεῖ πρόχειρον ἔχειν αἰεὶ τὸν στίχον τοῦτον. τοῦτο μὴ ποιήσας Λεύκιος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος μεγάλως ἐσφάλῃ. οὕτω παρ’ ὀλίγον σφάλεται τὰ μέγιστα τῶν πραγμάτων (τῶν) ἡγουμένων<sup>15</sup> ἀκρισίᾳ. ἱκανὰ τῶν τοιούτων ὑποδείγματα τοῖς εὐφρονούσιν ἢ τε Πύρρον τοῦ τῶν Ἑπειρωτῶν βασιλέως βία καὶ πάροδος εἰς Ἄργος ἢ τε Λυσιμάχου στρατεία διὰ τῆς Θράκης ἐπὶ Δρομιχαίτην τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ὀδρυσῶν, καὶ πολλὰ δὴ τούτοις ἕτερα παραπλήσια.

**105** (103) Suda *a* 1868, s.v. ἀναζυγαῖς

οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν γεγονότων οὐδὲν ὄλως εἰδότες περὶ ἀναζυγῆν ἐγένοντο.

**106** (104) Suda *a* 1887, s.v. ἀνακαλούμενος

ὁ δ’ ἐσπούδαζεν ἀνακαλεῖσθαι τὰς τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων εὐνοίας καὶ προθυμίας ἐκ τοῦ γεγονότος ἐλαττώματος.

**107\*** (105) Suda *a* 1936, s.v. ἀνάλημμα

κατανοήσας τὸ βάρος τῶν ἀναλημμάτων καὶ ὡς ἀδύνατόν ἐστι σαλευθῆναι τὰ τεῖχη, ἐκ χειρὸς τὴν μάχην ἐποίησεν.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> (τῶν) ἡγουμένων Schweighäuser: ἀγομένων codd.

<sup>16</sup> fr. 106 Buettner-Wobst = D.S. 14.10.3.

**104** (102) Suda *a* 1862, s.v. ἀναδρομαί

“Let an expedition take place—we will not be defeated.”<sup>42</sup> This verse should always be kept ready to hand; for by failing to do this, the Roman Lucius suffered an enormous reverse. In this way the greatest undertakings, if managed carelessly, come close to disaster. Intelligent people will regard as sufficient examples of this tendency the violent conduct of Pyrrhus king of the Epirotes and his campaign against Argos,<sup>43</sup> and Lysimachus’ line of retreat through Thrace to attack Dromichaetes the king of the Odrysians,<sup>44</sup> as well as many other instances similar to these.

**105** (103) Suda *a* 1868, s.v. ἀναζυγαῖς

The Romans knew nothing about what happened and were in the process of breaking camp.

**106** (104) Suda *a* 1887, s.v. ἀνακαλούμενος

He was eager to restore the goodwill and enthusiasm of his troops after the defeat they had suffered.

**107\*** (105) Suda *a* 1936, s.v. ἀνάλημμα

When he realized how deep the foundations were, and that it would be impossible to topple the walls, he mounted a direct assault.

<sup>42</sup> An unattributed iambic trimeter line. The Lucius referred to below is unidentified.

<sup>43</sup> In 273 B.C.; the campaign resulted in Pyrrhus’ death.

<sup>44</sup> In 293 or 292 B.C.; Lysimachus was captured by Dromichaetes (who was actually the king of the Getae rather than of the Odrysians), but was later freed by him.

**108** (107) Suda *a* 2096, s.v. *ἀναταθείς*  
 οἷς δ' ἀναταθείς καὶ τὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ φόβον ἐπικρεμάσας

**109** (108) Suda *a* 2098, s.v. *ἀνατάσεις*  
 τὰ μὲν φιλάνθρωπα παρεσιώπων, τὰς δ' ἀνατάσεις  
 ἔλεγον.

**110** (109) Suda *a* 2101, s.v. *ἀνατεινόμενος*  
 ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς πολλὰ τοῖς εἰς τὴν πρᾶξιν ὑπουργηκόσιν  
 ἀνατεινόμενος οὐδὲν ἔδρασεν.

**111** (110, 178) Suda *a* 2196; κ 2254, s.vv. *ἀνδρωνῆτις*,  
*κωμάσαι*

ὁ δὲ Μάρκος, ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγός, ἐβούλετο ἀπο-  
 λυθεῖς τοῦ πολέμου πρὸς Λυσιτανούς μεταλαβεῖν τὸν  
 πόλεμον καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον ἐκνεύσας τὴν ἀνδρωνῆτιν  
 εἰς τὴν γυναικωνίτιν κωμάσαι· διὰ τὶ δοκεῖν τὸν στρα-  
 τηγὸν βραχεῖ χρόνῳ πρότερον ὑπὸ τῶν Λυσιτανῶν  
 ἠλαττώσθαι.

**112** (111) Suda *a* 2218, s.v. *ἀνεδέχετο*  
 ὁ δ' ἀνεδέχετο τὴν Ἀσδρούβου παρουσίαν.

**108** (107) Suda *a* 2096, s.v. *ἀναταθείς*  
 after threatening them and dangling the fear of himself  
 over their heads

**109** (108) Suda *a* 2098, s.v. *ἀνατάσεις*  
 They failed to mention his humane behavior, but de-  
 scribed his threats and bullying remarks.

**110** (109) Suda *a* 2101, s.v. *ἀνατεινόμενος*  
 Although the king issued many threats against those who  
 were lending assistance to the project, he did nothing.

**111** (110, 178) Suda *a* 2196; κ 2254, s.vv. *ἀνδρωνῆτις*,  
*κωμάσαι*

Marcus, the Roman general,<sup>45</sup> wanted to extract himself  
 from the war against the Lusitanians and to take on this  
 one instead and, as the saying goes, escape the men's  
 chamber and wander drunkenly off to the women's quar-  
 ters;<sup>46</sup> because the general had seemingly been defeated  
 a short time early by the Lusitanians.

**112** (111) Suda *a* 2218, s.v. *ἀνεδέχετο*  
 He was waiting for Hasdrubal to arrive.

<sup>45</sup> This must be M. Claudius Marcellus, who fought against  
 the Lusitani in 152 and 151 B.C. (*RE* Claudius no. 225; *MRR*  
 1.453, 455).

<sup>46</sup> A reference to the common Greek custom of leaving a sym-  
 posium (in the men's chamber of the house in which the party was  
 held) and parading drunkenly through the streets (= a *kômos*) to  
 the house of a woman in whom one felt a romantic interest.

113 (112) Suda *a* 2218, s.v. ἀνεδέχετο

ὁ δὲ τούτοις πιστεύων ἀνεδέχετο τὸν πρὸς Ἀριαράθην πόλεμον.

114 (113) Suda *a* 2222, s.v. ἀνεδίδου

ὁ δὲ συναθροίσας τοὺς φίλους ἀνεδίδου διαβούλιον, τί δέον εἴη πράττειν.

115 (114) Suda *a* 2299, s.v. ἀνεπιστάτως

οὐκ ἄξιον ἀνεπιστάτως παραδραμεῖν περὶ τῶν τοιούτων.

116 (115) Suda *a* 2986, s.v. ἀπεκάθητο

ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἀπεκάθητο πρὸς τινι πυραμίδι θεωρῶν τοὺς αὐτομόλους καὶ τὴν τούτων ἀπόνοιαν.

117 (116) Suda *a* 3013, s.v. ἀπελογίζετο

ὁ δ' εἰσελθὼν ἀπελογίζετο τὰς αἰτίας, δι' ἃς πεφευγὼς εἴη τὸν Φίλιππον.

118 (117) Suda *a* 3562, s.v. ἀποστομοῦν

προέθεντο τὰς διώρνυγας ἀποστομοῦν τὰς ἐπιφανεστάτας.

113 (112) Suda *a* 2218, s.v. ἀνεδέχετο

He trusted them<sup>47</sup> and continued to pursue the war against Ariarathes.<sup>48</sup>

114 (113) Suda *a* 2222, s.v. ἀνεδίδου

He assembled his friends and held a meeting about what ought to be done.

115 (114) Suda *a* 2299, s.v. ἀνεπιστάτως

(It is) inappropriate to ignore such matters without understanding them.

116 (115) Suda *a* 2986, s.v. ἀπεκάθητο

Scipio sat to one side by a pyramid and thought about the men who had deserted him and how crazy they were.<sup>49</sup>

117 (116) Suda *a* 3013, s.v. ἀπελογίζετο (= Polyæn. 5.17.1, cf. 13.5.2)

He went in and offered a list of the reasons why he had fled from Philip.

118 (117) Suda *a* 3562, s.v. ἀποστομοῦν

They proposed blocking the most significant channels.

<sup>47</sup> Or "these words."

<sup>48</sup> "Perhaps a reference to Pharnaces' war against Ariarathes of Cappadocia" (WC ad loc.).

<sup>49</sup> "This probably refers to Scipio Africanus at the fall of Carthage" (WC ad loc.).

**119** (118) Suda *a* 3605, s.v. ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου  
 ἄτε πεπειθαρχηκότων Καρχηδονίων ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου  
 πάσι τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις

**120** (119) Suda *a* 3654, s.v. ἀποχρησάμενος  
 οἱ δὲ περὶ Πόπλιον ἠπείγοντο σπεύδοντες συνάψαι  
 καὶ συναποχρήσασθαι ταῖς τῶν βαρβάρων ὀρμαῖς.

**121\*** (120) Suda *a* 3680; δ 584, s.vv. ἀπραγμάτευτον,  
 διακλεισθέντες

δείσαντες οὖν τὸ ἀπραγμάτευτον, λυπρᾶς οὔσης αὐ-  
 τῶν τῆς γῆς καὶ πάσης ἀθρόον ἀγορᾶς διακλεισθέντες,  
 ἐν ἀκαρεῖ χρόνῳ ἐκινδύνεον διαφθαρῆναι.

**122** Suda *β* 113, s.v. βαρεία χεῖρ  
 συνέστη δὲ πλεθος ἰκανόν, καὶ βαρεία χεῖρ καὶ παρά-  
 δοξος.

**123\*** (121) Suda *β* 302, s.v. βιώνται  
 προδήλου δ' οὔσης τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις τῆς τῶν ἐχθρῶν  
 ἐπιβουλῆς, ὅτι βιώνται διὰ τοῦ πτώματος τοῦ τείχους,  
 παρεσκευάζοντο πρὸς τὴν χρείαν.

**119** (118) Suda *a* 3605, s.v. ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου  
 inasmuch as the Carthaginians had aggressively obeyed all  
 the orders they were given

**120** (119) Suda *a* 3654, s.v. ἀποχρησάμενος  
 Publius' men were pressing on, eager to engage with the  
 barbarians' onslaughts and assist in crushing them.

**121\*** (120) Suda *a* 3680; δ 584, s.vv. ἀπραγμάτευτον,  
 διακλεισθέντες

They were accordingly terrified by their lack of resources,  
 since their land was wretched; and since they were com-  
 pletely cut off from any opportunity to purchase supplies,  
 they were at risk of being ruined in very short order.

**122** Suda *β* 113, s.v. βαρεία χεῖρ  
 A considerable group assembled, and a strange and pow-  
 erful force.<sup>50</sup>

**123\*** (121) Suda *β* 302, s.v. βιώνται  
 Their enemies' plan, which was to force their way through  
 the area where the wall had collapsed, was obvious to the  
 Carthaginians, so they began to prepare for the engage-  
 ment.

<sup>50</sup> For the language, cf. Plb. 4.61.3; 18.22.3, 53.4; 31.17.4.



124 (122) Suda δ 353, s.v. δείξαντες

οἱ δ' αἰφνιδίως ἐπεκθέουσι τῷ τάγματι καὶ διὰ τῆς φάραγγος δείξαντες προσπίπτουσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις.

125 (124) Suda δ 197, s.v. δέλεαρ

τοῦ δὲ προθύμως συγκαταθεμένου, δελέατος προσετίθει τὰκόλουθον, παρακαλῶν πλεῦσαι πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον.

126 (125) Suda δ 691, s.v. διαπεσοῦσης

ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτῷ ἐπισφαλές ἔχειν τι τὸ κοινωνῆσαι αὐτοῖς τῆς πράξεως, καὶ διαπεσοῦσης καὶ συντελεσθείσης τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς.

127 (126) Suda δ 762, s.v. διασπύσας

τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας διασπύσας, τοὺς δὲ χιλιάρχους παρακαλέσας ἄψασθαι τῆς πράξεως

128 (127) Suda δ 926, s.v. διέξειν

οὕτω γὰρ διέξειν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ φροντιεῖν τοῦ μηδὲν ἀδίκημα ποιῆσειν τὸν Προυσίαν εἰς αὐτούς

124 (122) Suda δ 353, s.v. δείξαντες

They abruptly ran out to attack the formation and, having appeared through the cleft, fell upon the Romans.<sup>51</sup>

125 (124) Suda δ 197, s.v. δέλεαρ

When the other man expressed vigorous agreement, he added the rest of the bait, by urging him to sail against Demetrius.

126 (125) Suda δ 691, s.v. διαπεσοῦσης

He accordingly judged it dangerous to be involved with them in the undertaking, since the plot had fallen through and been terminated.

127 (126) Suda δ 762, s.v. διασπύσας

stirring up the soldiers, and encouraging the tribunes to take part in the action

128 (127) Suda δ 926, s.v. διέξειν

for in this way Prusias could keep his hands outspread<sup>52</sup> and maintain his intention of doing them no harm<sup>53</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Buettner-Wobst's fr. 123 (Suda δ 369, s.v. δεισιδαίμων) = D.S. 15.53.4.

<sup>52</sup> Sc. so as to hold two hostile parties apart.

<sup>53</sup> Perhaps a reference to the roles of Prusias and Philip V in the acquisition of Cius (Plb. 15.22–24).

129 (33) Suda δ 1565, s.v. *δυεῖν*

*δυεῖν προελέσθαι θάτερον, ἢ τὸ ἢ τὸ*

130 (128) Suda δ 1640, s.v. *δυσθετήσας*

*ὁ δὲ Νάβις δυσθετήσας ταῖς συνθήκαις οὐ προσέσχε τοῖς γραφείοις.*

131 (129) Suda ε 308, s.v. *ἐθελοντήν*

*τοὺς παραβόλους κινδύνους ἐθελοντήν ἀναδεδεγμένους<sup>17</sup>*

132 (131) Suda ε 468, s.v. *ἐκκλήσεις*

*πρόδηλος γὰρ ἐγένετο φυγή καὶ τῶν ὑπεναντίων ἐκκλήσεις πρὸς ἐπίθεσιν.*

133 (132) Suda ε 506, s.v. *ἐκμηρυσάμενος*

*ὁ δ' ἐκμηρυσάμενος τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῶν δυσχωριῶν κατεστρατοπέδενσε.*

134\* (133) Suda ε 627, s.v. *ἐκ συγκειμένου*

*τότε δὲ καὶ ἐς τάξιν τινα ὥσπερ ἐκ συγκειμένου κατέστησαν καὶ ἐν κόσμῳ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποίησαν.*

<sup>17</sup> fr. 130 Buettner-Wobst = X. An. 4.1.27

129 (33) Suda δ 1565, s.v. *δυεῖν*

to choose one of the two, either this or that<sup>54</sup>

130 (128) Suda δ 1640, s.v. *δυσθετήσας*

But Nabis was dissatisfied with the treaty and paid no attention to what the text said.<sup>55</sup>

131 (129) Suda ε 308, s.v. *ἐθελοντήν*

voluntarily submitting himself to terrible dangers

132 (131) Suda ε 468, s.v. *ἐκκλήσεις*

For escape was evident, as were the enemy's exhortations to attack.

133 (132) Suda ε 506, s.v. *ἐκμηρυσάμενος*

But he withdrew his force from the rough ground and set up camp.

134\* (133) Suda ε 627, s.v. *ἐκ συγκειμένου*

At this point they drew themselves up into a formation of sorts, as if this had been arranged in advance, and fought the battle in good order.

<sup>54</sup> This fragment is not assigned specifically to Polybius, although it follows directly after fr. 32, and thus belongs in Buettner-Wobst's Category B rather than in Category A, where he placed it (despite his doubts, following Schweighäuser and Dindorf, as to its authenticity).

<sup>55</sup> "This perhaps refers to Nabis' plans against Messene in 202/1 (16.13.1), which ignored the fact of his inclusion in the Treaty of Phoenice or the peace between Philip and Aetolia or both" (WC ad loc.).

**135\*** (134) Suda ε 959, s.v. *ἐμβριθεστάτη*

εἶλε δὲ πόλιν Ὀρτόβριγα δοκοῦσαν κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐμβριθεστάτην εἶναι.

**136\*** (135) Suda ε 1022, s.v. *ἐμπλασσομένοι*

οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνοι ἀλλήλοις ἐμπλασσομένοι καὶ περιπίπτοντες τοῖς θηρίοις ἀπέθνησκον.

**137\*** (136) Suda ε 1066, s.v. *ἐμφαλκωμένοις*

ἔπειτα κάλοις ἐμφαλκωμένοις ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνωτάτω ἀνήρτησαν διὰ πήγματος.

**138** (137) Suda ε 1338, s.v. *ἐνίσαν*

καὶ τοῖς πύργοις πῦρ ἐνίσαν

**139** (138) Suda ε 1572, s.v. *ἐξαυτῆς*

ἐξ αὐτῆς οἱ προειρημένοι βιβλιαφόρον ἔπεμπον πρὸς τὸν Περσέα, διασαφούντα τὸ γεγονός.

**140** (139) Suda ε 1572, s.v. *ἐξαυτῆς*

ὁ δὲ ἐξαυτῆς προῆγε βάδην τῇ πορείᾳ χρώμενος.

**135\*** (134) Suda ε 959, s.v. *ἐμβριθεστάτη*

He captured the city of Ortobrix,<sup>56</sup> which was apparently quite substantial as far as its size and population were concerned.

**136\*** (135) Suda ε 1022, s.v. *ἐμπλασσομένοι*

The Carthaginians, who were packed tight against one another and were falling into the clutches of the wild beasts, were dying.

**137\*** (136) Suda ε 1066, s.v. *ἐμφαλκωμένοις*

Then they attached it from the very top through a piece of scaffolding by means of intricately wrapped ropes.<sup>57</sup>

**138** (137) Suda ε 1338, s.v. *ἐνίσαν*

and they hurled fire on the towers

**139** (138) Suda ε 1572, s.v. *ἐξαυτῆς*

The aforementioned individuals immediately sent a man with a letter to Perseus to explain what had happened.

**140** (139) Suda ε 1572, s.v. *ἐξαυτῆς*

But he immediately advanced step by step, at a marching pace.

<sup>56</sup> Probably corrupt for *Nertobriga* (Plb. 35.2.2) and part of the report on the campaign of M. Claudius Marcellus (fr. 111 (110, 178)) in Lusitania in 151 B.C. See A. Schulten, *RE Nertobriga* no. 2, 54–55, and *RE Ortobriga* 1506. <sup>57</sup> Glossed by the *Suda*: “referring to a mechanical battering ram.”

141\* (140) Suda ε 1594, s.v. ἐξέδρα

ὁ δὲ κατῆρχε χωμάτων, τὸ μὲν κατὰ τὴν βόρειον ἐξέδραν, ἣ μεταξὺ τῶν δύο πυλῶν ἦν

142 (141) Suda ε 1598, s.v. ἐξεθεάτρισαν

οὐ μόνον ἑαυτοὺς ἐξεθεάτρισαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν κατέστρεψαν.

143 (142) Suda ε 1660, s.v. ἐξέστηκε

ὁ δὲ τῇ πολυχρονίῳ τριβῇ τῶν πολεμικῶν οὐδ' ὅλως ἐξέστη τῶν φρενῶν.

144\* (143) Suda ε 1752, s.v. ἐξησθηνικότας

οἱ δὲ Κελτοὶ ἰδόντες τοὺς Ῥωμαίους μάχεσθαι παρεσκευασμένους καὶ δόξαντες ἐξησθηνικότας τὰ σώματα ὑπὸ λιμοῦ τὸν τάχιστον αἰρεῖσθαι τῶν θανάτων

145 (144) Suda ε 1794, s.v. ἐξ ὁμολόγου

διὰ τὰς ἐξ ὁμολόγου καὶ συστάδην μάχας πολλοὶ ἐπιπτον ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων.

146 (145) Suda ε 1993, s.v. ἔπαυλις

τότε μὲν οὖν ἀμφοτέροι τὴν ἔπαυλιν ἐπὶ τοῦ χώματος ἐποιήσαντο οἱ τε Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι.

141\* (140) Suda ε 1594, s.v. ἐξέδρα

but he began construction of the ditches, one of them following the course of the northern arcade, which was located between the two gates

142 (141) Suda ε 1598, s.v. ἐξεθεάτρισαν

They not only made a spectacle of themselves, but they brought about the ruin of Greece as a whole.<sup>58</sup>

143 (142) Suda ε 1660, s.v. ἐξέστηκε

The extended grind of warfare had not driven him entirely out of his mind.

144\* (143) Suda ε 1752, s.v. ἐξησθηνικότας

the Celts, seeing that the Romans were prepared to fight, and expecting that they were physically weakened by hunger and opting for the quickest death possible

145 (144) Suda ε 1794, s.v. ἐξ ὁμολόγου

As a consequence of the battles fought in close combat and by agreement, many men fell on both sides.

146 (145) Suda ε 1993, s.v. ἔπαυλις

At that point, then, both the Romans and the Carthaginians camped next to the ditch.

<sup>58</sup> Apparently referring to the leaders of the Achaean Confederacy on the eve of the war against Rome, Critolaus and Diaeus, in 147 and 146 B.C.; see e.g., Plb. 38.10.8.

147\* (146) Suda ε 2059, s.v. ἐπ' ἐξαγωγή

ἐμαστιγοῦτο ῥάβδοις, εἶτα ἐπ' ἐξαγωγή ἐπιπράσκετο, δειλίας καὶ ἀποδράσεως τίμημα φερόμενος δούλος εἶναι.

148 (147) Suda ε 2448, s.v. ἐπιλογισάμενος

καὶ ἀφ'<sup>18</sup> ὧν ἐνόμιζε πλεονεκτήσειν κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἐπιλογισάμενος πείθει

149 (148) Suda ε 2564, s.v. ἐπισημήνεσθαι

τοὺς μὲν χάρισι, τοὺς δὲ κολάσειν, ὡς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παράδειγμα εἶεν, ἐπισημαίνεσθαι

150 (149) Suda ε 2608, s.v. ἐπίστασις

τὰ δὲ τῶν πόλεων πράγματα ἀλλοιοτέρας ἔτυχεν ἐπιστάσεως καὶ μεταβολῆς.

151 (150) Suda ε 2645, s.v. ἐπιστροφῆς

ἡ σύγκλητος πλείονος ἐπιστροφῆς εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα νομίσαντες

152 (151) Suda ε 2732, s.v. ἐπιτροπή

ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος προχειρίζομενος διαπέμπεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς Λαπατηνοὺς καὶ λαλεῖν ὑπὲρ ἐπιτροπῆς, ἀπαράσκεως ἦν εἰς τὸ μέλλον.

147\* (146) Suda ε 2059, s.v. ἐπ' ἐξαγωγή

He was beaten with rods and then sold for export, becoming a slave as punishment for his cowardice and desertion.

148 (147) Suda ε 2448, s.v. ἐπιλογισάμενος

he calculated on the basis of the advantages he thought he would get from the battle, and convinced

149 (148) Suda ε 2564, s.v. ἐπισημήνεσθαι

to distinguish some by favors, some by punishments, so that they would serve as an example to others

150 (149) Suda ε 2608, s.v. ἐπίστασις

The cities' affairs came to be thought of in a rather different way and changed.

151 (150) Suda ε 2645, s.v. ἐπιστροφῆς

the Senate, judging the matter to be of more import

152 (151) Suda ε 2732, s.v. ἐπιτροπή

But Lucius, who was anticipating being invited to visit the Lapateni and making a speech about establishing a guardianship, was unprepared for what ensued.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Neither Lucius nor the Lapateni are identified.

<sup>18</sup> ἀφ' Dindorf cl. 6.56.2: ἐφ' Suda



**153** (152) Suda ε 2751, s.v. ἐπιφοραῖς

οἱ δὲ πεισθέντες καὶ παραδόντες ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὴν ἐπιφορὰν τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέθανον γενναίως.

**154** (153) Suda ε 2855, s.v. ἐπραξικόπει

ὁ δ' ἐπραξικόπει τὴν πόλιν, ἐκ πολλοῦ κατασκευαζόμενος ἐν αὐτῇ προδότας.

**155** (154) Suda ε 3020, s.v. ἔρμα

παρεκόμιζε ναῦς φορηγούς, ἃς ἔρματος γεμούσας ἐπενόει βυθίσας κατὰ τὸν τοῦ λιμένος ἔκπλου ἀποκλείειν τοὺς πολεμίους καθόλου τῆς θαλάττης.

**156** (155) Suda ε 3422, s.v. εὐδοκεῖν

ὁ δ' ἔφη εὐδοκεῖν τοῖς λεγομένοις, εἰ λάβῃ πίστει.

**157** (156) Suda ε 3532, s.v. εὐκαιρεῖν

ὁ δ' ἐκάλει τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς δοκοῦντας εὐκαιρεῖν τοῖς βίοις.

**158\*** (157) Suda ε 3644, s.v. εὐπερίοπτον

ἦσθάνετο γὰρ τὴν τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀρχὴν εὐπερίοπτον ἔσομένην, εἰ δὴ τῆς πρώτης πείρας οἱ ἐπαναστάντες κρατήσειαν.

**153** (152) Suda ε 2751, s.v. ἐπιφοραῖς

They were convinced and surrendered themselves to what their enemies imposed upon them; and they died a noble death.

**154** (153) Suda ε 2855, s.v. ἐπραξικόπει

He captured the city by surprise, by getting traitors in place inside it well in advance.

**155** (154) Suda ε 3020, s.v. ἔρμα

He brought along merchant ships, which he planned to fill with ballast stones and sink at the harbor mouth so as to cut his enemies off from the sea completely.<sup>60</sup>

**156** (155) Suda ε 3422, s.v. εὐδοκεῖν

He said he was delighted by the remarks, provided he was offered assurance of their veracity.

**157** (156) Suda ε 3532, s.v. εὐκαιρεῖν

He summoned the citizens who appeared to be particularly prosperous.

**158\*** (157) Suda ε 3644, s.v. εὐπερίοπτον

For he realized that the Macedonian regime would be easily disregarded, if those who revolted against it were in fact successful on their first attempt.

<sup>60</sup> "This corresponds to Livy, 37.14.5, describing a suggestion made by C. Livius to his successor as Roman commander, L. Aemilius Regillus, for blocking the harbor at Ephesus; it was rejected" (WC ad loc.).

159 (158) Suda ε 3825, s.v. εὐχειρία

οἱ δὲ Μακεδόνες ταῖς εὐχειρίαις πολὺ περιήσαν.

160\* (159) Suda ε 3834, s.v. εὐψυχία

καθάπερ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐπαμινώνδου καὶ Πελοπίδου καὶ Βρασίδου καὶ Κλεομβρότου τελευτῆς καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ ζῆν ἀρετὴν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ τελευτῶν εὐψυχίαν ἀδυνατοῦσιν οἱ συγγραφεῖς ἀξιούς εὐρίσκειν λόγους τῆς προκαθηγουμένης τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐννοίας.

161 (160) Suda ε 3851, s.v. ἔφεδρος

ἔφεδροι γίνονται τοῖς καιροῖς καὶ ἐτοίμως διάκεινται πρὸς τὸ πάλιν ἀντοφθαλμεῖν τούτοις.

162 (161) Suda ε 3863, s.v. ἐφέσεις

ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν γνώμης λαβὼν ἔφεσιν παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ξένην καὶ παράδοξον βοήθειαν ἐπορίσατο πρὸς τὴν ὑποκειμένην κατάστασιν.

163 (162) Suda η 342, s.v. ἡμιολίας

ταχὺ δὲ τοὺς κέλητας καὶ τὰς ἡμιολίας ὑπερισθμίσας ἀνήχθη, σπεύδων καταλαβεῖν τὴν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν σὺν-οδον.

159 (158) Suda ε 3825, s.v. εὐχειρία

The Macedonians were much better in terms of manual dexterity.

160\* (159) Suda ε 3834, s.v. εὐψυχία

For just as in the case of the deaths of Epaminondas, Pelopidas, Brasidas, and Cleombrotus, a consequence of the valor with which they lived and the courage with which they died is that historians are unable to find words appropriate to describe the vision that guided these men.

161 (160) Suda ε 3851, s.v. ἔφεδρος

They lie in wait for opportune occasions, but are prepared, on the other hand, to look them straight in the eye.

162 (161) Suda ε 3863, s.v. ἐφέσεις

Using the soldiers' opinion as a launching point, he extracted an odd and unusual form of assistance from their general in order to deal with the current situation.

163 (162) Suda η 342, s.v. ἡμιολίας

He rapidly hauled his single-banked yachts and his one-and-a-half-bankers<sup>61</sup> over the Isthmus and put to sea, eager to catch the Achaeans all in one place.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Repeatedly described in ancient sources as pirate vessels, presumably because they were so fast, which also explains why they are among the ships used here. See L. Robert, *OMS* 3.1377–1383.

<sup>62</sup> A similar action by the king in 217 B.C. is described at Plb. 5.101.4–5, where ἡμιολίαι are mentioned again and the same verb (also used at 4.19.9, where see n.) occurs.

164 (162a) Suda η 532, s.v. ἡρμόσαντο

οἱ δ' ἡρμόσαντο πρὸς τὴν βούλησιν καὶ συνέθεντο δέκα τάλαντα δώσειν.

165\* (162b) Suda θ 438, s.v. θωράκιον

ὅτι Ἀννίβας Καρχηδονίων στρατηγὸς φέρων τῶν ἐλεφάντων τὰ θωράκια καὶ τοῖς τῶν θηρίων οἰκιδίοις ἐπὶ πλείστον ὕψος τοὺς κλάδους ἀποκόπτων ἀσφαλῆ καὶ ῥαδίαν τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν κατεσκεύαζεν

166 (163) Suda ι 112, s.v. ἴδιον

καὶ ἴδιον ἔχουσιν οἱ Κελτίβηρες κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον. θεωροῦντες γὰρ τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν πεζοὺς πιεζομένους, παρακαταβάντες ἀπολείπουσι τοὺς ἵππους ἐστῶτας ἐν τάξει. ἄκροις γὰρ τοῖς ἀγωγέυσι τῶν ἵππων πασσαλίσκους μικροὺς ἀπηρητηκότες ἐπιμελῶς πῆξαντες πειθαρχεῖν διδάσκουσι τοὺς ἵππους ἐστῶτας ἐν τάξει, μέχρῃς ἀνακάμψαντες ἀνασπάσωσι τοὺς παττάλους.

167 (164) Suda ι 354, s.v. ἰμείρω

τὸ ἰμείρειν τοῦ βίου καὶ φιλοζωεῖν τῆς μεγίστης ἀγεννίας ἐστὶ σημεῖον καὶ κακίας.

164 (162a) Suda η 532, s.v. ἡρμόσαντο

They were amenable to the plan and agreed to contribute ten talents.

165\* (162b) Suda θ 438, s.v. θωράκιον

that the Carthaginian general Hannibal, by carrying his elephants' breastplates<sup>63</sup> and lopping the branches to a considerable height to accommodate the tiny structures on the creatures' backs, made the journey safe and easy

166 (163) Suda ι 112, s.v. ἴδιον

The Celtiberians have a peculiar custom in war: when they see their own foot soldiers having a difficult time of it, they dismount and take position beside them, leaving their horses standing in a line. For they have small pegs attached to the ends of the horses' lead-reins, and they carefully drive them into the ground and train their horses to obey by standing in line until (their masters) come back and pull up the pegs.<sup>64</sup>

167 (164) Suda ι 354, s.v. ἰμείρω

Longing for life and clinging to it is a mark of the greatest ignobility and baseness.

<sup>63</sup> I.e., rather than requiring them to wear them during the march.

<sup>64</sup> Fr. 182 (179) must be from the same section.

168 (165) Suda ι 655, s.v. *ισολογία*

διαφρασθεὶς δὲ τῆς κρίσεως ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀμφισβη-  
τουμένων ἰσολογίαν ἔξειν οὐδέποτε πρὸς τὸ συν-  
ἔδριον

169\* (166) Suda κ 87, s.v. *καθήρητο τὰς γνώμας*

οἱ δὲ πλείονες καθήρητο τὰς γνώμας ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον,  
ὥστε τῆς πίστεως τῆς πρὸς βασιλέας ὑπὸ τοῦ  
περιδεοῦς ἀφίσταντο.

170 (167) Suda κ 89, s.v. *καθιγμένος*

ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς καθιγμένος καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἐπιβολῆς  
ἐγίνετο πρὸς ἀναζυγήν.

171 (168) Suda κ 481, s.v. *καταβολή*

τῶν δὲ Μακεδόνων ἐκ μεταβολῆς συνεισεάντων τοῖς  
βαρβάρους, εὐθέως ἐκκλίναντες ἔφευγον.

172 (168b) Suda κ 483, s.v. *καταβολή*

ἐκ καταβολῆς πενήκοντα ναῦς ναυπηγήσασθαι, πεν-  
τήκοντα δὲ (τῶν) ὑπαρχουσῶν καθέλκειν<sup>19</sup> ἐκ τῶν  
νεωρίων

<sup>19</sup> (τῶν) ὑπαρχουσῶν καθέλκειν Schweighäuser: ὑπαρχου-  
σῶν κατελθεῖν Suda

168 (165) Suda ι 655, s.v. *ισολογία*

but if he judges wrongly, never to have his opinion taken  
as seriously as that of others in the matters debated in the  
Senate

169\* (166) Suda κ 87, s.v. *καθήρητο τὰς γνώμας*

The majority had their judgment overwhelmed to such an  
extent, that out of terror they abandoned the assurance  
they had offered the king.<sup>65</sup>

170 (167) Suda κ 89, s.v. *καθιγμένος*

The king, having got what he was aiming for, began to  
break camp.

171 (168) Suda κ 481, s.v. *καταβολή*

When the Macedonians clashed with the barbarians again,  
they<sup>66</sup> immediately turned and began to run.

172 (168b) Suda κ 483, s.v. *καταβολή*

to construct 50 ships from the keel up, and to haul 50 of  
those they had down to sea from the dockyards

<sup>65</sup> Probably Philip V.

<sup>66</sup> Presumably the barbarians rather than the Macedonians.

THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

**173** (169) Suda κ 647, s.v. καταμέμφομαι  
πολλά τὸν βασιλέα Εὐμένη καταμεμψάμενοι

**174** (170) Suda κ 814, s.v. καταταχούμενοι  
καταταχούμενοι δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ καιροῦ ἠναγκάσθησαν  
ὑπομένειν τὸν ἐπίπλουν.

**175** (171) Suda κ 833, s.v. κατατρίψειν  
οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ τὸν ἐν Τυρρηνία πόλεμον ἀτελῆ  
καταλείποντι περὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ πόλεων πραγματεῦσθαι,  
δεδοικότε μὴ κατατρίψειεν ἅπαντα τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς  
χρόνον, οὐ πολλὸν ὄντα, περὶ τὰς ἐλάττους ἀσχολού-  
μενος πράξεις.

**176** (172) Suda κ 955, s.v. κατεξαναστάντες τοῦ μέλ-  
λοντος  
διὸ κατεξαναστάντες τοῦ μέλλοντος, παρητήσαντο  
τοὺς πρυτάνεις ἐκπέμψαι πρεσβευτὰς εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον  
συνεπιλαβέσθαι τῆς ἐλευθερίας

**177\*** (173) Suda κ 979, s.v. κατεριθεομένου  
τὸ δ' ἐναντίον κατεριθεομένου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῆς  
χώρας ἀπεχομένου καὶ κατὰ τὴν δικαιοδοσίαν ἐξ-  
ακριβοῦντος ἐπιμελῶς, ἔλαθον ἐκλυθέντες ταῖς δια-  
νοίαις, κατολιγωρήσαντες τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀσφαλείας.

UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

**173** (169) Suda κ 647, s.v. καταμέμφομαι  
criticizing King Eumenes on numerous counts

**174** (170) Suda κ 814, s.v. καταταχούμενοι  
Being short of time, they were forced to submit to the  
naval attack.

**175** (171) Suda κ 833, s.v. κατατρίψειν  
For it made no sense to him to abandon the war in Etruria  
before he had accomplished his objectives, and to concern  
himself with the cities there, since he was afraid that he  
would squander the entire period of his command, which  
was not a long one, by engaging in less important busi-  
ness.

**176** (172) Suda κ 955, s.v. κατεξαναστάντες τοῦ μέλ-  
λοντος  
wherefore, as a way of guarding against the future, they  
begged the *prytaneis* to send ambassadors to Rhodes to  
assist in securing their freedom

**177\*** (173) Suda κ 979, s.v. κατεριθεομένου  
Because the king, by contrast, had been completely taken  
in, and was staying away from their territory and paying  
precise and scrupulous attention to the compact, no one  
noticed that their plans had failed, inasmuch as they were  
neglecting their own security.



178 (174) Suda κ 1002, s.v. κατέσχον

ὁ δὲ Πόπλιος κατέσχε τῆς Αἰτωλίας εἰς Ναύπακτον.

179 (175) Suda κ 1008, s.v. κατευδοκήσας

ὁ δὲ κατευδοκήσας τῷ νεανίσκῳ κατὰ τὴν ἀνάτησιν  
τοῦτον ἀπέλυσε παραχρῆμα ἐς τὸ Πέργαμον.

180 (176) Suda κ 1055, s.v. κατηργηκένας

τὸν δὲ καθήμενον περὶ τὰ Τύανα κατηργηκένας καὶ  
καταπροΐεσθαι τοὺς καιροὺς

181 (177) Suda κ 2569, s.v. κοίτη

ὁ δὲ παρήγγειλεν ἔρχεσθαι κοιταίους.

182 (179) Suda μ 302, s.v. μάχαιρα

οἱ Κελτίβηρες τῇ κατασκευῇ τῶν μαχαιρῶν πολὺ δια-  
φέρουσι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ γὰρ κέντημα πρακτικὸν καὶ  
καταφορὰν ἔχει δυναμένην ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τοῖν μεροῖν. ἢ  
καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς πατρίους ἀποθέμενοι μαχαίρας ἐκ  
τῶν κατ' Ἀννίβαν μετέλαβον τὰς τῶν Ἰβήρων. καὶ  
τὴν μὲν κατασκευὴν μετέλαβον, αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν χρηστό-  
τητα τοῦ σιδήρου καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἐπιμέλειαν οὐδαμῶς  
δύνανται μιμῆσθαι.

178 (174) Suda κ 1002, s.v. κατέσχον

Publius anchored in Aetolia, at Naupactus.<sup>67</sup>

179 (175) Suda κ 1008, s.v. κατευδοκήσας

He was quite pleased at the young man on account of this  
response, and immediately allowed him to go off to Per-  
gamum.

180 (176) Suda κ 1055, s.v. κατηργηκένας

that by sitting in camp around Tyana<sup>68</sup> he had got nothing  
done and had lost his opportunities

181 (177) Suda κ 2569, s.v. κοίτη

He ordered them to come at bedtime.

182 (179) Suda μ 302, s.v. μάχαιρα

The Celtiberians' daggers are designed very differently  
from those of other people; for the weapon has both an  
effective tip and a usable cutting edge on both sides. The  
Romans accordingly gave up their traditional daggers and  
from the time of Hannibal on adopted the Iberian type.  
They took over the design, but were quite incapable of  
imitating how the weapon was used or the other aspects  
of their training.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>67</sup> "As Schweighaeuser suggests, this may refer to P. Sulpicius  
Galba, who commanded the Roman fleet in Greek waters from  
210 to 205 and was reported at Naupactus in 209" (WC ad loc.).

<sup>68</sup> A town in Cappadocia.

<sup>69</sup> Fr. 166 (163) must be from the same section.

183 (180) Suda μ 360, s.v. *μεγαλείον*

οἱ δὲ τῷ Μάγωνι προσπολεμοῦντες τῶν Λιγυστίνων πράξαι μὲν ὄλοσχερές τι καὶ μεγαλείον οὐχ οἰοί τ' ἦσαν.

184 (181) Suda μ 366, s.v. *μεγαλομερῶς*

τὸν δὲ Πόπλιον καὶ τὸν Γάιον ἀποδεξάμενος φιλανθρώπως καὶ μεγαλομερῶς

185 (182) Suda μ 431, s.v. *μεθοδικῶς*

πάντα δὲ τὰ λεγόμενα μεθοδικῶς περὶ τῶν τάξεων ἐπωπτευκῶς, εἰ καὶ τις ἕτερος τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς

186 (183) Suda μ 660, s.v. *μεσιτεύειν*

τὰ δὲ χρήματα μεσιτεύειν ἐν Κύπρῳ συνετάξαντο, παρ' οἷς ἂν αὐτοῖς<sup>20</sup> εὐδοκηθῆ.

187 (184) Suda μ 667, s.v. *μεσολαβηθεῖς*

τὸν δ' υἱὸν ἔπεισεν, εἰ τύχοι μεσολαβηθεῖς αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τῆς πεπρωμένης, ἐξενεγκεῖν τὸν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων πόλεμον.

<sup>20</sup> αὐτοῖς Portus: αὐτὸς Suda

<sup>70</sup> "Evidently Mago, son of Hamilcar, Hannibal's brother"; the fragment perhaps belongs to the beginning of Book 13 (WC ad loc.).

183 (180) Suda μ 360, s.v. *μεγαλείον*

The Ligustinians who were waging a war against Mago<sup>70</sup> were unable to accomplish anything significant or impressive.

184 (181) Suda μ 366, s.v. *μεγαλομερῶς*

after receiving Publius and Gaius in a warm and lavish manner<sup>71</sup>

185 (182) Suda μ 431, s.v. *μεθοδικῶς*

having systematically kept an eye on everything said about tactics, to as great an extent as anyone in our time

186 (183) Suda μ 660, s.v. *μεσιτεύειν*

As for the money, they agreed to deposit it in Cyprus with anyone the other party approved of.

187 (184) Suda μ 667, s.v. *μεσολαβηθεῖς*

He convinced his son to undertake the war against the Romans, if he himself was intercepted by fate.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>71</sup> The subject must be Syphax in 206 B.C. receiving Publius Scipio, accompanied by Gaius Laelius and the Carthaginian general Hasdrubal son of Gisco, and entertaining them together at dinner. See Plb. 11.24.a4; Livy 28.17.12, 16; 18.2; App. *Iber.* 29.116, 118. The fragment accordingly belongs to Book 11.

<sup>72</sup> I.e., if he died prematurely. The description would seem to fit either Hamilcar Barcas and Hannibal (Plb. 3.11.5-9) or Philip V and Perseus (Plb. 22.18.7-10). Cf. WC ad loc.: "This seems to refer to Philip and his son Perseus; but whether it is from P(olybius) is not clear."

**188** (185) Suda ν 522, s.v. *νουνεχῶς*

*νουνεχῶς ἐδόκουν πολιτεύεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς τότε καιρούς.*

**189** (186) Suda ο 568, s.v. *ὀρθή*

*τὰ ἔθνη τῆς Ἰβηρίας ὀρθῶς αὐτοῖς ἀντικαθιστάμενα*

**190** (187) Suda ο 726, s.v. *ὄττα*

*ὁ δὲ τὸ μέλλον ἐμφρόνως ὀττευσάμενος εἰς ἔννοιαν ἦλθε τὴν φρουρὰν ἀποτρίψασθαι τὴν παρὰ Πτολεμαίου.*

**191** (188) Suda ο 1057, s.v. *ὄχλου*

*οὐτ' ἐξετάσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον οἷόν τ' ἦν ἀκριβῶς, ἀσθενεία σώματος ὀχλούμενον, οὐτ' ἐρωτᾶν εὐλαβεία τοῦ ὀχλώδους.*

**192** (189) Suda π 273, s.v. *παραβάλλεσθαι*

*λοιπὸν ἦν παραβάλλεσθαι καὶ τολμᾶν.*

**193** (190) Suda π 342, s.v. *παράθεσις*

*βουλόμενος δ' ἐκ παραθέσεως ὑπόδειγμα ποιῆσαι τῆς αὐτοῦ προαιρέσεως, ἧς ἔχει πρὸς τοὺς πεπιστευκότας αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας, ἐπολιόρκει.*

**188** (185) Suda ν 522, s.v. *νουνεχῶς*

They appeared to be managing the political situation sensibly, given the times.

**189** (186) Suda ο 568, s.v. *ὀρθή*

the ethnic groups in Iberia being utterly opposed to them

**190** (187) Suda ο 726, s.v. *ὄττα*

But he cleverly divined what was likely to happen and conceived the idea of eliminating Ptolemy's garrison.

**191** (188) Suda ο 1057, s.v. *ὄχλου*

It was impossible to examine the man closely, since he was in bad physical condition, or to question him, out of concern not to upset him.

**192** (189) Suda π 273, s.v. *παραβάλλεσθαι*

It remained to take a risk and behave boldly.

**193** (190) Suda π 342, s.v. *παράθεσις*

Since he wanted to offer an example allowing his conduct toward those who had showed confidence in him and those who refused to comply to be compared, he began a seige.

194 (191) Suda π 469, s.v. παράτοπον

παρὰ τόπον ὀρμίσαντες<sup>21</sup> διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ διὰ τὰς ἀμπώτεις τῆς θαλάττης

195 (192) Suda π 531; υ 347, s.vv. παρεκστήναι, ὑπερωδυνία

ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἀχανεῖς γενέσθαι καὶ παρεκστήναι ταῖς διανοίαις, συμπάσχοντας τῇ τῶν ἀκληρούντων ὑπερωδυνίᾳ

196 (193) Suda π 718, s.v. παρῶναι

ὁ δ' ἔπλει παράπλους ποιησάμενος τοὺς Σιδητῶν παρῶνας· ἦγον γὰρ Ῥοδίους εἰς συμμαχίαν.

197 (194) Suda π 1436, s.v. πειθανάγκη

ὑπολαμβάνων διὰ τούτων πειθανάγκην προσάξειν τοῖς Λευκαδίοις τοῦ συγχωρεῖν τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπιτατομένοις

<sup>21</sup> ὀρμίσαντες Suda<sup>AM</sup>: ὀρμήσαντες cett.

194 (191) Suda π 469, s.v. παράτοπον

anchoring in unfavorable locations on account of their inexperience, but on occasion also on account of the sea's tides

195 (192) Suda π 531; υ 347, s.vv. παρεκστήναι, ὑπερωδυνία

so as to make the members of the Senate stunned and crazed, since they shared the overwhelming grief of those who had nothing<sup>73</sup>

196 (193) Suda π 718, s.v. παρῶναι

He was at sea, after making the light Sidonian vessels fit for moving along the coast; for they had come to form an alliance with the Rhodians.<sup>74</sup>

197 (194) Suda π 1436, s.v. πειθανάγκη

imagining that he could use these (people) to forcibly convince the Leucadians to agree to the conditions they were proposing

<sup>73</sup> Connected by Nissen with the situation in Plb. 36.6.7, when the Carthaginian envoys are given the final Roman ultimatum.

<sup>74</sup> Schweighäuser suggested that the subject is the Rhodian naval commander Eudamus, and that the reference is to the Battle of Side in 190 B.C. See J. Nollé, *Side im Altertum* 1 (Cologne 1993), 160; also WC 3.217–18.

198\* (195) Suda π1451, s.v. *πειράζειν*

Σκιπίων ὁ Ῥωμαῖος συνεβούλευσεν οὕτως ἢ μὴ πειράζειν ἢ οὕτως ὥς τε ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι τῇ πράξει. τὸ γὰρ δις πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν πειράζειν ἅμα μὲν ἐπισφαλές, ἅμα δ' εὐκαταφρόνητον γενέσθαι ποιεῖ παντελῶς.

199 (196) Suda π 1141, s.v. *περίζωμα*

γυμνῶν μαχομένων τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐν τοῖς περιζώμασιν

200 (197) Suda π 1175, s.v. *περικεκλασμένος*

ἐνέδραν εἶχεν ἐν τόποις περικεκλασμένοις καὶ δυσθεωρήτοις

201 (198) Suda π 1186, s.v. *περικοπή*

ἄτε μηδεμίαν ἐχούσης πραγματικῆν ἔμφασιν τῆς περικοπῆς αὐτῶν

202 (199) Suda π 1187, s.v. *περικοπή*

ὁ δὲ προῆγε, ποιήσας εὐστολον τὴν ἀκολουθίαν καὶ τὴν περικοπὴν τῆς ἐκδημίας.

198\* (195) Suda π1451, s.v. *πειράζειν*

Scipio the Roman offered him the following advice, that he either not attempt this or that he do so in such a way that he was absolutely certain to put an end to the business. Because trying this twice against the same individual was dangerous and at the same time made it very easy to despise him.

199 (196) Suda π 1141, s.v. *περίζωμα*

since the Romans were fighting half-dressed in their underwear<sup>75</sup>

200 (197) Suda π 1175, s.v. *περικεκλασμένος*

he was maintaining an ambush on rough ground where the visibility was bad

201 (198) Suda π 1186, s.v. *περικοπή*

inasmuch as their general appearance did not produce a formidable impression

202 (199) Suda π 1187, s.v. *περικοπή*

But he moved forward, rendering his attendance there, as well the impression created by his time spent abroad, quite presentable.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>75</sup> "Perhaps a reference to 6.25.3" (WC ad loc.).

<sup>76</sup> Buettner-Wobst's fr. 200 (Suda π 1277, s.v. *περιρρῶγος*) = D.H. 9.15.4.



**203** (201) Suda π 1828, s.v. πνεύσας

ὁ δὲ νέος ὦν καὶ φιλόνομος<sup>22</sup> πολλὸς<sup>23</sup> ἐπέπνει.

**204** (202) Suda π 1828, s.v. πνεύσας

ἔτι δὲ τῶ<sup>24</sup> συνεληλαμένων<sup>25</sup> καὶ μαχομένων ἐκ διαί-  
ρέσεως ταῖς μαχαίραις, παραστὰς<sup>26</sup> ἐκ τῶν ὀπισθεν  
ὑπὸ τὴν μάλην πατ(άξας ἀπ)έσφαξε.<sup>27</sup>

**205** (203) Suda π 2193, s.v. πραγματικώτατον

ὁ δὴ καὶ πραγματικώτατον γεγονέναι τὸ διαβούλιον

**206** (204) Suda π 2193, s.v. πραγματικώτατον

τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίει νουνεχῶς ἅμα καὶ πραγματικῶς.

**207** (205) Suda π 2558, s.v. προπεπωκότες

προπεπωκέναι δὲ παρὰ τὴν συνουσίαν πολλὰ μὲν  
ἀργυρώματα τὸν προειρημένον, πολλὰ δὲ χρυσώματα  
τῶ Προυσία

<sup>22</sup> φιλόνομος B-W: φιλόνομος Suda

<sup>23</sup> πολὺ Olson: πολλὸς Suda <sup>24</sup> "since the lemma is πνεύσας; προσπνεύματι is probably a corruption of two words (so Bernhardt); LSJ quotes no other example of it. Hultsch proposes ἔτι δὲ τούτων ὡσπερ πνεύματι" (WC).

<sup>25</sup> συνεληλαμένων Bernhardt: συνηλαμένων Suda

<sup>26</sup> παραστὰς Hemst.: παρὰ τὰς Suda

<sup>27</sup> πατ(άξας ἀπ)έσφαξε Buettner-Wobst

**203** (201) Suda π 1828, s.v. πνεύσας

Since he was young and competitive, he became very upset.<sup>77</sup>

**204** (202) Suda π 1828, s.v. πνεύσας

While they were still locked together in a gust of anger and were fighting outside of their cohort with their swords, he emerged from group behind them and unexpectedly struck and butchered them.

**205** (203) Suda π 2193, s.v. πραγματικώτατον

which was also the most practical resolution

**206** (204) Suda π 2193, s.v. πραγματικώτατον

He was doing this out of good sense and pragmatism.

**207** (205) Suda π 2558, s.v. προπεπωκότες

that the individual mentioned earlier had pledged Prusias large amounts of gold and silver as a present when the two of them were together<sup>78</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Perhaps a much condensed version of fr. 217 (215), with the final clause to be added to the one preserved there.

<sup>78</sup> Sc. at a drinking party.

- 208** (206) Suda π 2594, s.v. *προσαναταθείς*  
 ὁ δὲ βραχέα προσαναταθείς κατένευσε ποιήσῃν.
- 209** (207) Suda π 2595, s.v. *προσανατεινόμενος*  
 τὰ μὲν παρακαλῶν, τὰ δὲ προσανατεινόμενος
- 210** (208) Suda π 2605, s.v. *προσαστειασάμενος*  
 ὁ δὲ παρακαλέσας αὐτὸν καί τι προσαστειασάμενος  
 τοιοῦτον αἰεὶ δ' ὀπλοτέρων ἀνδρῶν φρένες ἠερέθον-  
 ται
- 211** (209) Suda π 2617, s.v. *προσδέξασθαι*  
 προσδέξασθαι δέ, τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον, εἰς τοὺς πλευρὰς  
 τοὺς πολεμίους
- 212** (210) Suda π 2640, s.v. *προσεπιμετρῶν*  
 προσεπιμετρῶν αἰεὶ τῷ δεομένῳ πρὸς τὸ παρὰ πάντων  
 ὁμολογουμένως γίνεσθαι τὴν ἐπὶ τούτοις χάριν
- 213** (211) Suda π 2687, s.v. *προσηρειακός*  
 ὁ δὲ κατεσκεύασε στοάς, καὶ διὰ τούτων προσηρει-  
 κός τῷ τείχει τὰς κριοφόρους μηχανάς

- 208** (206) Suda π 2594, s.v. *προσαναταθείς*  
 He made a few threatening remarks and then promised to  
 do it.
- 209** (207) Suda π 2595, s.v. *προσανατεινόμενος*  
 offering encouragement on the one hand, but threats on  
 the other
- 210** (208) Suda π 2605, s.v. *προσαστειασάμενος*  
 but he, after encouraging him and adding a witty remark  
 of the following sort: "The minds of younger men always  
 turn with every wind"<sup>79</sup>
- 211** (209) Suda π 2617, s.v. *προσδέξασθαι*  
 to admit their enemies, as the saying goes, to their  
 breasts
- 212** (210) Suda π 2640, s.v. *προσεπιμετρῶν*  
 always adding something above and beyond what was  
 needed, with an eye to getting open gratitude from every-  
 one for this behavior
- 213** (211) Suda π 2687, s.v. *προσηρειακός*  
 he constructed "arbors,"<sup>80</sup> and after he used them to set  
 the machines that carried the battering rams directly  
 against the walls

<sup>79</sup> Homer, *Il.* 3.108.

<sup>80</sup> I.e., arbor-like blinds (Lat. *vineae*) used to provide cover  
 against missiles; cf. Plb. 1.48.2 with WC.

**214** (212) Suda π 2731, s.v. προσκήνιον

ἡ δὲ Τύχη παρελκομένη τὴν πρόφασιν καθάπερ ἐπὶ προσκήνιον παρεγύμνωσε τὰς ἀληθείς ἐπινοίας.

**215** (213) Suda π 2802, s.v. προστασία

ὁ δ' ἐξέπεμπε τὸν Πόπλιον μετὰ μεγάλης προστασίας.

**216** (214) Suda π 2820, s.v. πρόστιμα

οἱ δ' ἔδωκαν τῷ βασιλεῖ πενήκοντα τάλαντα πρόστιμον τῆς ἀμαρτίας.

**217\*** (215) Suda π 2972, s.v. πρωτόπειρος

ὁ δὲ νέος ἂν κομιδῇ καὶ πρωτόπειρος τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ἔργων καὶ νεωστὶ γενόμενος τῆς ἐπὶ πλείον προαγωγῆς φιλόνικος, καὶ φιλότιμος καὶ φιλόπρωτος ἦν.

**218\*** (216) Suda π 3250, s.v. πυρσουρίδας

ὅτι Περσεὺς ὁ Μακεδῶν κατὰ πᾶσαν Μακεδονίαν κατασκευασάμενος πυρσουρίδας, διὰ τούτων ὀξέως ἐμάνθανε τὰ πανταχῇ γινόμενα

**214** (212) Suda π 2731, s.v. προσκήνιον

Fortune dragged the pretext on stage, as it were, and laid bare his/their actual intentions.

**215** (213) Suda π 2802, s.v. προστασία

He sent Publius off with great pomp.

**216** (214) Suda π 2820, s.v. πρόστιμα

They gave the king 50 talents as a fine for their mistake.

**217\*** (215) Suda π 2972, s.v. πρωτόπειρος

Since he was quite young and this was his first experience of what happens in war, and as he had just now grown competitive about improving his rank, he was ambitious and eager to get ahead.<sup>81</sup>

**218\*** (216) Suda π 3250, s.v. πυρσουρίδας

that Perseus of Macedon had constructed beacon towers throughout Macedon and was using them to stay well-informed about events in all quarters

<sup>81</sup> Cf. fr. 203 (201) with n. The subject is perhaps Scipio Africanus major (cf. Plb. 10.3–7) or Scipio Aemilianus.

**219** (217) Suda σ 73, s.v. *σαμβύκαι*

οἱ δὲ προσεβοήθουν ἐπὶ τὸ διατείχισμα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ λιμένος ἐπερείδοντας, ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπερείδόντων ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος τὰς<sup>28</sup> *σαμβύκας*.

**220** (218) Suda σ 491, s.v. *σίτα*

ὅτι Φιλοποίμην μετὰ δευτέραν ἡμέραν ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς πόλεμον ἐξόδου παρήγγειλε τὰ δύο σίτα τρία ποιεῖν, ὅτε βούλοιο μίαν ἡμέραν προσλαβεῖν, ποτὲ δὲ τὰ δύο τέτταρα.

**221** (219) Plu. *Mor.* 199f

τὸ δὲ Πολυβίου παράγγελμα διαφυλάττων ἐπειράτο μὴ πρότερον ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἀπελθεῖν ἢ ποιήσασθαι τινα συνήθη καὶ φίλον ἀμῶς γέ πως τῶν ἐντυχανόντων.

**222** (220) Suda σ 1076, s.v. *στειλάμενοι*

ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες δεδιότες, μήποτ' οὐ δυνάμενοι στείλσθαι καταφανεῖς γένωνται, ἀνέφερον τὸ χρυσίον.

<sup>28</sup> τὰς Portus: τοὺς Suda

**219** (217) Suda σ 73, s.v. *σαμβύκαι*

They offered assistance in dealing with the cross-wall and against the men who were putting pressure on them from the harbor, drawing on the troops who were bringing the siege machines<sup>82</sup> to bear against the wall.<sup>83</sup>

**220** (218) Suda σ 491, s.v. *σίτα*

that two days after Philopoemen marched off to war he used to announce that he was converting two days' rations into three, when he wanted to add one day, or sometimes two day's rations into four

**221** (219) Plu. *Mor.* 199f (speaking of Scipio Aemilianus)

Maintaining Polybius' dictum, he tried not to leave the marketplace until he had converted someone he encountered into a friend and companion in one way or another.

**222** (220) Suda σ 1076, s.v. *στειλάμενοι*

A few, who were afraid of being exposed if they were unable to hush the situation up, handed over the gold.

<sup>82</sup> *sambukai*, a word normally used to describe a type of triangular lyre that this particular siege machine resembled. See WC 2.72–74 (on the siege of Syracuse by Marcellus in 212 B.C.).

<sup>83</sup> "If Meltzer is right in connecting this fragment with the attack on Carthage from the mole (App. *Lib.* 124–125), it will stand between 38.6.7 and 7. 1, followed immediately by 38.19" (WC ad loc., but nonetheless going on to express reservations about the assignment).

223 (221) Suda σ 1076, s.v. *στειλάμενοι*

ὁ δὲ Περσεὺς ἐβουλεύετο μὲν στέλλεσθαι τὸ γεγονός· οὐ μὴν ἐδύνατο γε κρύπτειν τὸ γεγονός.

224 (222) Suda σ 1258, s.v. *στύπη*

πηγνύντες εἰς τὴν γῆν ὀρθὰ τὰ στύπη, ψαύοντα ἀλλήλων,<sup>29</sup> ἐν ἡμικυκλίῳ σχήματι

225 (223) Suda σ 1479, s.v. *συνέθηκεν*

τοῦτο συνέθηκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἐκ λογισμῶν εἴκασε τὸ γινόμενον.

226\* (225) Suda σ 1513, s.v. *συνεσπειραμένοι*

τό τε πυκνὸν καὶ συνεσπειραμένον ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀνελίξεσιν οὐκ ἔξω τινὸς ἀπονοίας καὶ τόλμης κατεφαίνετο· παραχῆ τε ἐπέιχε καὶ παρακελευσμὸς τοῖς κατ' οὐρανὸν τεταγμένοις, αἱ τε ἀναστροφὰὶ τῶν κοντοφόρων, ἄλλοτε ἀλλαχοῦ τὰς ἐμβολὰς ποιούμεναι, πολυσχιδῆ καὶ ποικίλον ἀπειργάζοντο τὸν πόλεμον.

227 (226) Suda σ 1527, s.v. *συνέχον*

τὸ δὲ συνέχον ἡγεμόνα καὶ προστάτην ἀξιόχρεων

<sup>29</sup> ἀλλήλων ed. pr.: ἀλλήλοισι Suda

223 (221) Suda σ 1076, s.v. *στειλάμενοι*

Perseus considered hushing up what had happened, but was not in fact able to conceal the matter.

224 (222) Suda σ 1258, s.v. *στύπη*

fixing the stumps upright in the ground, touching one another, in a half-circle

225 (223) Suda σ 1479, s.v. *συνέθηκεν*

The king understood this and worked out what had happened by thinking the situation through.<sup>84</sup>

226\* (225) Suda σ 1513, s.v. *συνεσπειραμένοι*

The way the men pressed and crowded themselves together in their attempt to withdraw appeared to involve a certain amount of madness and recklessness. Confusion impeded their movements, as did the efforts to get orders to the men stationed in the rear; and the pike bearers' pivoting back and forth, leading to attacks being mounted now here, now there, produced a fight that was broken up into many sections and conducted in a variety of styles.

227 (226) Suda σ 1527, s.v. *συνέχον*

what was most important, an adequate leader and commander

<sup>84</sup> Buettnier-Wobst's fr. 224 (Suda σ 1497, s.v. *συνεπισπεύσαι*) = X. An. 1.5.8.



**228** (227) Suda σ 1527, s.v. *συνέχον*

ἦν δὲ τὸ συνέχον τῆς ὑποθέσεως αὐτῶν ὡς οὔτε φρουρὰν οὔθ' ὑπαρχον εἰσδέξαιτο καὶ τῆς κατὰ τοὺς νόμους πολιτείας οὐκ ἂν ἐκχωρήσειαν.

**229** (228) Suda σ 1621, s.v. *συντάξας*

συντάξας τοῖς κυβερνήταις ἀνακομίζειν τὰς ναῦς κατὰ δύναμιν εἰς τὴν Ἐλαίαν

**230** (229) Suda σ 841, s.v. *σωματοποιήσαντες*

ἐμοῦ δὲ ταχέως συγκαταθεμένου καὶ σωματοποιήσαντος τὴν ἐπιβολήν, τῷ βλέπειν διότι ὀρέγεται τῆς τοιαύτης ὑποθέσεως

**231** (230) Suda σ 842, s.v. *σωματοποιῆσαι*

ὁ δ' ἔφασκε δεῖν μὴ προῖεσθαι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν μηδὲ σωματοποιεῖν τὴν τόλμαν αὐτῶν φυγομαχοῦντας.

**232** (231) Suda σ 842, s.v. *σωματοποιῆσαι*

ὁ δὲ βραχείας ἐπιλαβόμενος ἐλπίδος ἐκ τῶν πολιορκουμένων ἐσωματοποιοῖε ταύτην.

**228** (227) Suda σ 1527, s.v. *συνέχον*

The most important part of their policy was that they would not accept a garrison or prefect, and that they would not give up running their state in the way the laws specified.

**229** (228) Suda σ 1621, s.v. *συντάξας*

after ordering the skippers to withdraw their ships to Elaea as rapidly as possible<sup>85</sup>

**230** (229) Suda σ 841, s.v. *σωματοποιήσαντες*

after I quickly agreed and arranged the attack, since I saw that there was a desire for a policy of this sort

**231** (230) Suda σ 842, s.v. *σωματοποιῆσαι*

He said that they should not let their enemies escape their hands or revive their daring when they attempted to avoid fighting.

**232** (231) Suda σ 842, s.v. *σωματοποιῆσαι*

But after he got a slight ground for hope from the men under siege, he made this a reality.

<sup>85</sup> "This probably refers to Eumenes' putting in at Elaea in 190" (WC ad loc.).

233 Suda τ 843, s.v. *τούτο ποιήσας ἐν*

*τούτο ποιήσας ἐν κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν τῶν ἀδίκων ἔργων δικαιοτάτον*

234 (233) Suda φ 83, s.v. *φαντασία*

*εἰδὼς γὰρ ὅτι φαντασία περὶ αὐτόν ἐστιν, ὡς ἔχοντα χρήματα μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ πλείω, (ταύτην) ἠρμόσατο πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἐνδεχομένως.*

235 (234) Suda φ 83, s.v. *φαντασία*

*οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι μετὰ μεγάλης φαντασίας καὶ συμπαθείας τοῦ δήμου προῆγον ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις.*

236\* (235) Suda φ 725, s.v. *φρονηματισμόν*

*θεασάμενοι δὲ τὸν φρονηματισμὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν τε ταῖς κατ' ἰδίαν ὁμιλίαις καὶ ταῖς κατὰ κοινὸν ἐντεύξεσιν, ἐξαυτῆς ἐπανήλθον ἐς τὸν στρατηγόν.*

237 (236) Suda φ 680, s.v. *φωτίζειν*

*οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι νομίσαντες ἤδη τὸν καιρὸν παραδιδόναί φωτίζειν τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν ἀπόρρητον*

<sup>86</sup> Part of an elegiac couplet (adesp. eleg. fr. 9 West<sup>2</sup>) quoted only by Polybius (4.18.7, 15.26a). Buettner-Wobst's fr. 232 (*Suda* υ 269, s.v. *ὑπερευδοκούμενοι*) appears as Plb. 36.8.8 in this edition of the text. <sup>87</sup> "Casaubon referred this to Hannibal's

visit to Gortyn during his wanderings, after escaping from the Syrian court following Magnesia" (WC ad loc.).

233 Suda τ 843, s.v. *τούτο ποιήσας ἐν*

by carrying out this single "most just of unjust actions," as the proverb puts it<sup>86</sup>

234 (233) Suda φ 83, s.v. *φαντασία*

For because he knew that the perception was that he had more money with him, he made his behavior conform to this assumption in every possible way.<sup>87</sup>

235 (234) Suda φ 83, s.v. *φαντασία*

The Romans undertook their actions with great imagination and the consent of the people.<sup>88</sup>

236\* (235) Suda φ 725, s.v. *φρονηματισμόν*

When they saw the arrogance of the people in their private conversations as well as in the speeches made in public, they immediately returned to the general.

237 (236) Suda φ 680, s.v. *φωτίζειν*

the Romans, since they felt that the occasion was now offering them an opportunity to bring the secret about the order into the light<sup>89</sup>

<sup>88</sup> Müller suggested that this fragment corresponds to Livy 42.49.2 and thus belongs between Plb. 27.6.4 and 27.7.1.

<sup>89</sup> Buettner-Wobst's fr. 237 (*Suda* χ 457, s.v. *χρεωκοπεῖται*) = D.S. 29.33.1.

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