

CORNELIUS NEPOS

4. At Hamilcar, posteaquam mare transit in Hispaniamque venit, magnas res secunda gessit fortuna; maximas bellicosissimasque gentes subegit, equis, armis, viris, pecunia totam locupletavit Africam. Hic cum in Italiam bellum inferre meditaretur, nono anno postquam in Hispaniam venerat, in proelio pugnans adversus Vettones occisus est. Huius perpetuum odium erga Romanos maxime concitasse videtur secundum bellum Poenicum; namque Hannibal, filius eius, assiduis patris obtestationibus eo est perductus, ut intexire quam Romanos non experiri mallet.

XXIII. HANNIBAL

1. Hannibal, Hamilcaris filius, Karthaginiensis. Si verum est, quod nemo dubitat, ut populus Romanus omnes gentes virtute superarit, non est inficiandum Hannibalem tanto praestitisse ceteros imperatores prudentia quanto populus Romanus antecedit fortitudine cunctas nationes. Nam quotienscumque cum eo congressus est in Italia, semper discessit superior. Quod nisi domi civium suorum invidia debilitatus esset, Romanos videtur superare potuisse. Sed multorum obtrectatio devicit unius virtutem.

3 Hic autem, velut hereditate relictum, odium paternum erga Romanos sic conservavit, ut prius animam quam id deposuerit, qui quidem, cum patria pulsus esset et alienarum opum indigeret, nunquam

XXIII. HANNIBAL, I. 1-3

4. But Hamilcar, after crossing the sea and coming into Spain, did great deeds through the favour of fortune. He subdued mighty and warlike nations and enriched all Africa with horses, arms, men and money. As he was planning to carry the war into Italy, in the ninth year after his arrival in Spain, he fell in battle, fighting against the Vettones. It was this man's inveterate hatred of Rome that seems to have been the special cause of the second Punic war. For his son Hannibal was so affected by his father's constant entreaties that he preferred to die rather than fail to measure his strength against the Romans.

XXIII. HANNIBAL

1. Hannibal the Carthaginian, son of Hamilcar. If it be true, as no one doubts, that the Roman people have surpassed all other nations in valour, it must be admitted that Hannibal excelled all other commanders in skill as much as the Roman people are superior to all nations in bravery. For as often as he engaged with that people in Italy, he invariably came off victor; and if his strength had not been impaired by the jealousy of his fellow-citizens at home, he would have been able, to all appearance, to conquer the Romans. But the disparagement of the multitude overcame the courage of one man.

Yet after all, he so cherished the hatred of the Romans which had, as it were, been left him as an inheritance by his father, that he would have given up his life rather than renounce it. Indeed, even after he had been driven from his native land and was dependent on the aid of foreigners, he never

CORNELIUS NEPOS

destiterit animo bellare cum Romanis. 2. Nam ut omittam Philippum, quem absens hostem reddidit Romanis, omnium iis temporibus potentissimus rex Antiochus fuit. Hunc tanta cupiditate incendit bellandi, ut usque a rubro mari arma conatus sit inferre Italiae.

2 Ad quem cum legati venissent Romani, qui de eius voluntate explorarent darentque operam consiliis clandestinis ut Hannibalem in suspicionem regi adducerent, tanquam ab ipsis corruptus alia atque antea sentiret,¹ neque id frustra fecissent idque Hannibal comperisset seque ab interioribus consiliis segregari vidisset, tempore dato adit ad regem, eique cum multa de fide sua et odio in Romanos commemorasset, hoc adiunxit: "Pater meus," inquit, "Hamilcar puerulo me, utpote non amplius novem annos nato, in Hispaniam imperator proficiscens, Karthagine Iovi 4 optimo maximo hostias immolavit. Quae divina res dum conficiebatur, quaesivit a me velleme secum in castra proficisci. Id cum libenter accepissem atque ab eo petere coepissem ne dubitaret ducere, tum ille, 'Faciam,' inquit, 'sibi fidem quam postulo dederis.' Simul me ad aram adduxit apud quam sacrificare instituerat eamque ceteris remotis tenentem iurare iussit numquam me in amicitia cum Romanis fore. 5 Id ego iusiurandum patri datum usque ad hanc aetatem ita conservavi, ut nemini dubium esse debeat quin reliquo tempore eadem mente sim futurus.

¹ corruptus . . . sentiret, *Bosius*; corruptum . . . sentire, *MSS.*

¹ Philip V, of Macedon (220-179 B.C.).

² From 215 to 205 B.C.

³ The Persian Gulf. ⁶ 192 B.C.

XXIII. HANNIBAL, I. 3-II. 5

ceased to war with the Romans in spirit. 2. For not to mention Philip,¹ whom from afar he made an enemy of the Romans,² he fired Antiochus, the most powerful of all kings in those times, with such a desire for war, that from far away on the Red Sea³ he made preparations to invade Italy.⁴

To his court came envoys from Rome to sound his intentions and try by secret intrigues to arouse his suspicions of Hannibal, alleging that they had bribed him and that he had changed his sentiments. These attempts were not made in vain, and when Hannibal learned it and noticed that he was excluded from the king's more intimate councils, he went to Antiochus, as soon as the opportunity offered, and after calling to mind many proofs of his loyalty and his hatred of the Romans, he added: "My father Hamilcar, when I was a small boy not more than nine years old, just as he was setting out from Carthage to Spain as commander-in-chief, offered up victims to Jupiter, Greatest and Best of gods,⁵ While this ceremony was being performed, he asked me if I would like to go with him on the campaign. I eagerly accepted and began to beg him not to hesitate to take me with him. Thereupon he said: 'I will do it, provided you will give me the pledge that I ask.' With that he led me to the altar on which he had begun his sacrifice, and having dismissed all the others, he bade me lay hold of the altar and swear that I would never be a friend to the Romans. For my part, up to my present time of life, I have kept the oath which I swore to my father so faithfully, that no one ought to doubt that in the future I shall be of the same mind. Therefore, if

⁵ Really to Baal, the great god of the Carthaginians.

CORNELIUS NEPOS

6 Quare si quid amice de Romanis cogitabis, non imprudenter feceris, si me celaris; cum quidem bellum parabis, te ipsum frustraberis, si non me in eo principem posueris."

3. Hac igitur qua diximus aetate cum patre in Hispaniam profectus est, cuius post obitum, Hasdrubale imperatore suffecto, equitatus omni praefuit. Hoc quoque interfecto, exercitus summam imperii ad eum detulit. Id Karthaginem delatum publice communitum est. Sic Hannibal minor V et XX annis natus imperator factus, proximo triennio omnes gentes Hispaniae bello subegit, Saguntum, foederatam civitatem, vi expugnavit, tres exercitus maximos comparavit. Ex his unum in Africam misit, alterum cum Hasdrubale fratre in Hispania reliquit, tertium in Italiam secum duxit. Saltum Pyrenaeum transiit; quacumque iter fecit, cum omnibus incolis confixit, neminem nisi victum dimisit.

4 Ad Alpes posteaquam venit, quae Italiam ab Gallia seungunt, quas nemo unquam cum exercitu ante eum praeter Herculem Graium transierat—quo facto is hodie saltus Graius appellatur—Alpicos conantes prohibere transitu concidit, loca patefecit, itinera munit, effecit ut ea elephantus ornatus ire posset qua antea unus homo inermis vix poterat repere. Hac copias traduxit in Italiamque pervenit.

¹ In reality, he was twenty-six.

² The origin of the name is uncertain; it may come from some unknown tribe.

XXIII. HANNIBAL, II. 6—III. 4

you have any kindly intentions with regard to the Roman people, you will be wise to hide them from me; but when you prepare war, you will go counter to your own interests if you do not make me the leader in that enterprise."

3. Accordingly, at the age which I have named, Hannibal went with his father to Spain, and after Hamilcar died and Hasdrubal succeeded to the chief command, he was given charge of all the cavalry. When Hasdrubal died in his turn, the army chose Hannibal as its commander, and on their action being reported at Carthage, it was officially confirmed. So it was that when he was less than twenty-five years old,¹ Hannibal became commander-in-chief; and within the next three years he subdued all the peoples of Spain by force of arms, stormed Saguntum, a town allied with Rome, and mustered 219 B.C. three great armies. Of these armies he sent one to Africa, left the second with his brother Hasdrubal in Spain, and led the third with him into Italy. He crossed the range of the Pyrenees. Wherever he marched, he warred with all the natives, and he was everywhere victorious.

When he came to the Alps separating Italy from Gaul, which no one before him had ever crossed with an army except the Grecian Hercules—because of which that place is called the Grecian Pass²—he cut to pieces the Alpine tribes that tried to keep him from crossing, opened up the region, built roads, and made it possible for an elephant with its equipment to go over places along which before that a single unarmed man could barely creep. By this route he led his forces across the Alps and came into Italy.

4. He had already fought at the Rhone with Publius Cornelius Scipio, the consul, and routed him; with the same man he engaged at Clastidium on the Po, wounded him, and drove him from the field. A third time that same Scipio, with his colleague Tiberius Longus, opposed him at the Trebia. With those two he joined battle and routed them both. Then he passed through the country of the Ligurians over the Apennines, on his way to Etruria. In the course of that march he contracted such a severe eye trouble that he never afterwards had equally good use of his right eye. While he was still suffering from that complaint and was carried in a litter, he ambushed the consul Gaius Flaminius with his army at Trasumenus and slew him; and not long afterwards Gaius Centenius, the praetor, who was holding a pass with a body of picked men, met the same fate.

Next, he arrived in Apulia. There he was opposed by two consuls, Gaius Terentius and Lucius Aemilius, both of whose armies he put to flight in a single battle; the consul Paulus was slain, besides several ex-consuls, including Gnaeus Servilius Geminus, who had been consul the year before.

5. After having fought that battle, Hannibal advanced upon Rome without resistance. He halted in the hills near the city. After he had remained in camp there for several days and was returning to Capua, the Roman dictator Quintus Fabius Maximus opposed himself to him in the Falernian region. But Hannibal, although caught in a defile, extricated himself by night without the loss of any of his men, and thus tricked Fabius, that most skilful of generals. For under cover of night the Carthaginian bound

CORNELIUS NEPOS

4. Confluxerat apud Rhodanum cum P. Cornelio Scipione consule eumque pepulerat. Cum hoc eodem Clastidi apud Padum decernit sauciumque inde ac fugatum dimittit. Tertio idem Scipio cum collega Ti. Longo apud Trebiam adversus eum venit. Cum his manum conseruit utrosque profligavit. Inde per Ligures Appenninum transit, petens Etruriam. Hoc itinere adeo gravi morbo adficitur oculorum, ut postea numquam dextro aequè bene usus sit. Qua valetudine cum etiam tum ¹ premeretur lecticaque ferretur, C. Flaminius consulem apud Trasumenum cum exercitu insidiis circumventum occidit, neque multo post C. Centenium praetorem cum delecta manu saltus occupantem.

4. Hinc in Apuliam pervenit. Ibi obviam ei venerunt duo consules, C. Terentius et L. Aemilius. Utriusque exercitus uno proelio fugavit, Paulum consulem occidit et aliquot praeterea consulares, in his Cn.² Servilius Geminus, qui superiore anno fuerat consul.

5. Hac pugna pugnata, Romam profectus nullo resistente, in propinquis urbi ³ montibus moratus est. Cum aliquot ibi dies castra habuisset et Capuam reverteretur, Q. Fabius Maximus, dictator Romanus, in agro Falerno ei se obiecit. Hic, clausus locorum angustiis, noctu sine ullo detrimento exercitus se expeditavit Fabioque, callidissimo imperatori, dedit verba; namque obducta nocte sarmenta in cornibus

¹ etiam tum, *P. M.*; etiamnum, *A. v.*; etiam nunc, *B.*; nimum,

P. ² Cn. *Lembini*; *P.*, *MSS.*

³ urbi, *Fleck.*; urbis, *MSS.*

iuventorum deligata incendit eiusque generis multitudinem magnam dispalatam immisit. Quo repentino obiecto visu¹ tantum terrorem iniecit exercitui Romanorum, ut egredi extra vallum nemo sit ausus. 3 Hanc post rem gestam non ita multis diebus M. Minucium Rufum, magistrum equitum pari ac dictatorem imperio, dolo productum in proelium, fugavit. Ti. Sempronium Gracchum, iterum consulem, in Lucanis absens in insidias inductum sustulit. M. Claudium Marcellum, quinqueiens consulem, apud Venusiam pari modo interfecit.

⁴ Longum est omnia enumerare proelia. Qua re hoc unum satis erit dictum, ex quo intellegi possit quantum ille fuerit: quamdiu in Italia fuit, nemo ei in acie restitit, nemo adversus eum post Cannensem pugnam in campo castra posuit.

6. Hinc invictus patriam defensum revocatus, bellum gessit adversus P. Scipionem, filium eius² quem ipse primo apud Rhodanum, iterum apud Padum, tertio apud Trebiam fugarat. Cum hoc, exhaustis iam patriae facultatibus, cupivit impraesentiarum bellum componere, quo valentior postea congregetur. In colloquium convenit, condiciones non connumerunt. Post id factum paucis diebus apud Zamam cum eodem conflixit; pulsus—incredibile dictu—biduo et duabus noctibus Hadrumetum pervenit, quod

¹ obiecto visu, *C. W. Nauck*; obiectu viso, *MSS.*

² S. filium eius (eius omitted by *M*) *RM F λ u*; filium eius omitted by *PA B π μ*; S. f. eius Scipionis, *Nipp.*

¹ Nepos should have written *bis* and *quintum*; see Gellius, x. 1.

² The battle actually took place on the day after the conference.

faggots to the horns of cattle and set fire to them, then sent a great number of animals in that condition to wander about in all directions. The sudden appearance of such a sight caused so great a panic in the Roman army that no one ventured to go outside the entrenchments. Not so many days after this exploit, when Marcus Minucius Rufus, master of horse, had been given the same powers as the dictator, he craftily lured him into fighting, and utterly defeated the Roman. Although not present in person, he enticed Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, who had been twice consul,¹ into an ambushade in 212 B.C. Lucania and destroyed him. In a similar manner, at Venusia, he slew Marcus Claudius Marcellus, who was 208 B.C. holding his fifth consulship.¹

It would be a long story to enumerate all his battles. Therefore it will suffice to add this one fact, to show how great a man he was: so long as he was in Italy, no one was a match for him in the field, and after the battle of Cannae no one encamped face to face with him on open ground.

6. Then, undefeated, he was recalled to defend his native land; there he carried on war against Publius Scipio, the son of that Scipio whom he had put to flight first at the Rhone, then at the Po, and a third time at the Trebia. With him, since the resources of his country were now exhausted, he wished to arrange a truce for a time, in order to carry on the war later with renewed strength. He had an interview with Scipio, but they could not agree upon terms. A few days² after the conference he fought with Scipio at Zama. Defeated—incredible to relate 202 B.C.—he succeeded in a day and two nights in reaching Hadrumetum, distant from Zama about three

CORNELIUS NEPOS

⁴ abest ab Zama circiter milia passuum ¹ trecenta. In hac fuga Numidae qui simul cum eo ex acie excesserant insidiati sunt ei, quos non solum effugit, sed etiam ipsos oppressit. Hadrumeti reliquos e fuga conlegit, novis dilectibus paucis diebus multos contraxit.

7. Cum in apparando acerrime esset occupatus, Karthaginienses bellum cum Romanis composuerunt. Ille nihilo setius exercitui postea praefuit resque in Africa gessit ² usque ad P. Sulpicium C. Aurelium consules. His enim magistratibus legati Karthaginienses Romam venerunt, qui senatui populoque Romano gratias agerent, quod cum iis pacem fecissent ob eamque rem corona aurea eos donarent simulque peterent ut obsides eorum Fregellis essent captivique redderentur. His ex senatus consulto responsum est: munus eorum gratum acceptumque esse; obsides quo loco rogarent futuros; captivos non remissuros, quod Hannibalem, cuius opera susceptum bellum foret, inimicissimum nomini Romano, etiam nunc cum imperio apud exercitum haberent itemque ⁴ fratrem eius Magonem. Hoc responso Karthaginenses cognito, Hannibalem domum et Magonem revocarunt. Huc ut redit, rex ³ factus est, postquam praetor ⁴ fuerat anno secundo et vicesimo—ut enim Romae consules, sic Karthagine quotannis annui bini reges creabantur.

¹ passuum, *Ascensius, Can.*; passus, *the other MSS.*

² After gessit *the MSS. have* itemque Mago frater eius; *deleted by Bosius.*

³ rex, *Heusinger*; praetor, *MSS.*

⁴ praetor, *Heusinger* (imperator, *Nipp.*); rex, *MSS.*

XXIII. HANNIBAL, VI. 3-VII. 4

hundred miles. In the course of that retreat the Numidians who had left the field with him laid a trap for him, but he not only eluded them, but even crushed the plotters. At Hadrumetum he rallied the survivors of the retreat and by means of new levies mustered a large number of soldiers within a few days.

7. While he was busily engaged in these preparations, the Carthaginians made peace with the Romans. 201 B.C. Hannibal, however, continued after that to command the army and carried on war in Africa until the consulship of Publius Sulpicius and Gaius Aurelius. For 200 B.C. in the time of those magistrates Carthaginian envoys came to Rome, to return thanks to the Roman senate and people for having made peace with them; and as a mark of gratitude they presented them with a golden crown, at the same time asking that their hostages might live at Fregellae and that their prisoners should be returned. To them, in accordance with a decree of the senate, the following answer was made: that their gift was received with thanks; that the hostages should live where they had requested; that they would not return the prisoners, because Hannibal, who had caused the war and was bitterly hostile to the Roman nation, still held command in their army, as well as his brother Mago. Upon receiving that reply the Carthaginians recalled Hannibal and Mago to Carthage. On his return Hannibal was made a king,¹ after he had been general for twenty-one years. For, as is true of the consuls at Rome, so at Carthage two kings were elected annually for a term of one year.

¹ Really, one of the highest magistrates at Carthage, called *suffetes*, or judges.

CORNELIUS NEPOS

5 In eo magistratu pari diligentia se Hannibal
 praebuit ac fuerat in bello. Namque effecit ex novis
 vectigalibus non solum ut esset pecunia quae Romanis
 ex foedere penderetur, sed etiam superesset quae in
 6 aerario reponeretur. Deinde ¹ M. Claudio L. Furio
 consulibus, Roma legati Karthaginem venerunt.
 Hos Hannibal ratus sui exproscendi gratia missos,
 priusquam iis senatus daretur, navem ascendit clam
 7 atque in Syriam ad Antiochum perfugit. Hac re
 palam facta, Poeni naves duas quae eum compre-
 henderent, si possent consequi, miserunt, bona eius
 publicarunt, domum a fundamentis disiecerunt, ipsum
 exsulem iudicarunt.

8. At Hannibal anno tertio ² postquam domo pro-
 fugerat, L. Cornelio Q. Minucio consulibus, cum
 quinque navibus Africam accessit in finibus Cyrenaeo-
 rum, si forte Karthaginenses ad bellum Antiochi spe-
 fiduciaque inducere posset, cui iam persuaserat ut
 cum exercitibus in Italiam proficisceretur. Huc
 2 Magonem fratrem excivit. Id ubi Poeni resciverunt,
 Magonem eadem qua fratrem absentem adfecerunt
 poena. Illi, desperatis rebus, cum solvissent naves ac
 vela ventis dedissent, Hannibal ad Antiochum per-
 venit. De Magonis interitu duplex memoria prodita
 est: namque alii naufragio, alii a servolis ipsius inter-

¹ *The MSS. have anno post praeturam after deinde; deleted by Fleck.; praeturam deleted by Heusinger.*
² quarto, Nipp.

¹ The Carthaginian body corresponding to the Roman senate.

XXIII. HANNIBAL, VII. 5-VIII. 2

In that office Hannibal gave proof of the same energy that he had shown in war. For by means of new taxes he provided, not only that there should be money to pay to the Romans according to the treaty, but also that there should be a surplus to be deposited in the treasury. Then in the following year, when Marcus Claudius and Lucius Furius were consuls, ^{196 B.C.} envoys came to Carthage from Rome. Hannibal thought that they had been sent to demand his surrender; therefore, before they were given audience by the senate,¹ he secretly embarked on a ship and took refuge with King Antiochus in Syria. When this became known, the Carthaginians sent two ships to arrest Hannibal, if they could overtake him; then they confiscated his property, demolished his house from its foundations, and declared him an outlaw.

8. But Hannibal, in the third ² year after he had fled from his country, in the consulship of Lucius Cornelius and Quintus Minucius, with five ships landed in Africa in the territories of Cyrene, to see whether the Carthaginians could by any chance be induced to make war by the hope of aid from King Antiochus, whom Hannibal had already persuaded to march upon Italy with his armies. To Italy also he dispatched his brother Mago. When the Carthaginians learned this, they inflicted on Mago in his absence the same penalty that Hannibal had suffered. The brothers, regarding the situation as desperate, raised anchor and set sail. Hannibal reached Antiochus; as to the death of Mago there are two accounts; some have written that he was shipwrecked; others,

² According to the usual Roman method of reckoning it would be the fourth year, and Nipperdey emended *tertio* to *quarto*.

3 factum eum scriptum reliquerunt. Antiochus autem si tam in agendo ¹ bello consiliis eius parere voluisset, quam in suscipiendo instituerat, propius Tiberi quam Thermopylis de summa imperii dimicasset. Quem etsi multa stulte conari videbat, tamen nulla deseruit ⁴ in re. Praefuit paucis navibus, quas ex Syria iussus erat in Asiam ducere, iisque adversus Rhodiorum classem in Pamphylia mari confixit. Quo cum multitudine adversariorum sui superarentur, ipse quo cornu rem gessit fuit superior.

9. Antiocho fugato, verens ne dederetur, quod sine dubio accidisset, si sui fecisset potestatem, Cretam ad Gortynios venit, ut ibi quo se conferret consideraret. ² Vidit autem vir omnium callidissimus in ² magno se fore periculo, nisi quid providisset, propter avaritiam Cretensium; magnam enim secum pecuniam portabat, de qua sciebat exisse famam. Itaque capit tale ³ consilium. Amphoras complures complet plumbo, summas operit auro et argento. Has, praesentibus principibus, deponit in templo Dianae, simulans se suas fortunas illorum fidei credere. His in errorem inductis, status aeneas, quas secum portabat, omni ³ sua pecunia complet easque in propatulo domi abicit. ⁴ Gortynii templum magna cura custodiunt, non tam a

¹ agendo, MSS.; cf. *Sallust, Or. Cott.* 11 (p. 412, L.C.L.) *belli ab aliis acti ratio*; gerendo, *Lambin.*

² in, added by *Fleck.*

³ omni, *Nipp.*; omnes, MSS.

⁴ He was defeated at Thermopylae in 191 B.C.

that he was killed by his own slaves. As for Antiochus, if he had been as willing to follow Hannibal's advice in the conduct of the war as he had been in declaring it, he would not have fought for the rule of the world at Thermopylae,¹ but nearer to the Tiber. But although Hannibal saw that many of the king's plans were unwise, yet he never deserted him. On one occasion he commanded a few ships, which he had been ordered to take from Syria to Asia, and with them he fought against a fleet of the Rhodians in the Pamphylian Sea. Although in that engagement his forces were defeated by the superior numbers of their opponents, he was victorious on the wing where he fought in person.

9. After Antiochus had been defeated, Hannibal, 190 B.C. fearing that he would be surrendered to the Romans—as undoubtedly would have happened, if he had let himself be taken—came to the Gortynians in Crete, there to deliberate where to seek asylum. But being the shrewdest of all men, he realized that he would be in great danger, unless he devised some means of escaping the avarice of the Cretans; for he was carrying with him a large sum of money, and he knew that news of this had leaked out. He therefore devised the following plan: he filled a number of large jars with lead and covered their tops with gold and silver. These, in the presence of the leading citizens, he deposited in the temple of Diana, pretending that he was entrusting his property to their protection. Having thus misled them, he filled some bronze statues which he was carrying with him with all his money and threw them carelessly down in the courtyard of his house. The Gortynians guarded the temple with great care, not so much

CORNELIUS NEPOS

ceteris quam ab Hannibale, ne ille inscientibus iis tolleret secumque duceret.

10. Sic conservatis suis rebus, Poenus illis Creteus omnibus, ad Prusiam in Pontum pervenit. Apud quem eodem animo fuit erga Italiam neque aliud quicquam egit quam regem armavit et exercuit¹ adversus Romanos. Quem cum videret domesticis opibus minus esse robustum, conciliabat ceteros reges adiungebat bellicosas nationes. Dissidebat ab eo Pergamenus rex Eumenes, Romanis amicissimus, bellumque inter eos gerebatur et mari et terra. Sed utrobique Eumenes plus valebat propter Romanorum societatem.² Quo magis cupiebat eum Hannibal opprimi; quem si removisset, facillora sibi cetera fore arbitrabatur.

Ad hunc interficiendum talem inivit rationem. 4 Classe paucis diebus erant decreturi. Superabatur navium multitudine; dolo erat pugnandum, cum par non esset armis. Imperavit quam plurimas venenatas serpentes vivas conligi easque in vasa fictilia conici. 5 Harum cum effecisset magnam multitudinem, die ipso quo facturus erat navale proelium classarios convocat iisque praecipit, omnes ut in unam Eumenis regis concurrant navem, a ceteris tantum satis habeant se defendere. Id illos facile serpentium multitudine 6 consecuturos. Rex autem in qua nave veheretur ut

¹ exaquit, *Heinrich*.

² sed . . . societatem, *transposed by Fleck.*; *after opprimi in MSS.*

¹ Prusias was king of Bithynia. Why he was in Pontus is not stated.

² See note 1, p. 207.

XXIII. HANNIBAL, ix. 4-x. 6

against others as against Hannibal, to prevent him from taking anything without their knowledge and carrying it off with him.

10. Thus he saved his goods, and having tricked all the Cretans, the Carthaginian joined Prusias in Pontus.¹ At his court he was of the same mind towards Italy and gave his entire attention to arming the king and training his forces to meet the Romans. And seeing that Prusias' personal resources did not give him great strength, he won him the friendship of the other kings of that region and allied him with warlike nations. Prusias had quarrelled with Eumenes, 184 B.C. king of Pergamum,² a strong friend of the Romans, and they were fighting with each other by land and sea. But Eumenes was everywhere the stronger because of his alliance with the Romans, and for that reason Hannibal was the more eager for his overthrow, thinking that if he got rid of him, all his difficulties would be ended.

To cause his death, he formed the following plan. Within a few days they were intending to fight a decisive naval battle. Hannibal was outnumbered in ships; therefore it was necessary to resort to a ruse, since he was unequal to his opponent in arms. He gave orders to collect the greatest possible number of venomous snakes and put them alive in earthenware jars. When he had got together a great number of these, on the very day when the sea-fight was going to take place he called the marines together and bade them concentrate their attack on the ship of Eumenes and be satisfied with merely defending themselves against the rest; this they could easily do, thanks to the great number of snakes. Furthermore, he promised to let them know in what ship Eumenes was

scirent se facturum; quem si aut cepissent aut interfecissent, magno iis pollicetur praemio fore.

11. Tali cohortatione militum facta, classis ab utriusque in proelium deducitur. Quarum acie constituta, priusquam signum pugnae daretur, Hannibal, ut palam faceret suis quo loco Eumenes esset, tabellarium ² in scapha cum caduceo mittit. Qui ubi ad naves adversariorum pervenit epistulamque ostendens, se regem professus est quaerere, statim ad Eumenem deductus est, quod nemo dubitabat quin aliquid de pace esset scriptum. Tabellarius, ducis nave declarata suis, eodem unde erat egressus se recepit.

3 At Eumenes soluta epistula nihil in ea reperit nisi quae ad irridendum eum pertinerent. Cuius etsi causam mirabatur neque reperiebat,¹ tamen proelium statim committere non dubitavit.

4 Horum in concursu Bithynii Hannibalis praecepto universi navem Eumenis adoriuntur. Quorum vim rex cum sustinere non posset, fuga saluteri petit, quam consecutus non esset, nisi intra sua praesidia se recepisset, quae in proximo litore erant conlocata.

5 Reliquae Pergamenae naves cum adversarios premerent acius, repente in eas vasa fictilia de quibus supra mentionem fecimus conici coepta sunt. Quae iacta initio risum pugnantibus concitarunt, neque qua re id fieret poterat intellegi. Postquam autem naves suas oppletas conspexerunt serpentibus, nova re perterriti, cum quid potissimum vitarent non vide-

¹ reperiebat, *Lambin*; reperiebat, *MSS.*

sailing, and to give them a generous reward if they succeeded in either capturing or killing the king.

11. After he had encouraged the soldiers in this way, the fleets on both sides were brought out for battle. When they were drawn up in line, before the signal for action was given, in order that Hannibal might make it clear to his men where Eumenes was, he sent a messenger in a skiff with a herald's staff. When the emissary came to the ships of the enemy, he exhibited a letter and said that he was looking for the king. He was at once taken to Eumenes, since no one doubted that it was some communication about peace. The letter-carrier, having pointed out the commander's ship to his men, returned to the place from which he came. But Eumenes, on opening the missive, found nothing in it except what was designed to mock at him. Although he wondered at the reason for such conduct and could not find one, he nevertheless did not hesitate to join battle at once.

When the clash came, the Bithynians did as Hannibal had ordered and fell upon the ship of Eumenes in a body. Since the king could not resist their force, he sought safety in flight, which he secured only by retreating within the entrenchments which had been thrown up on the neighbouring shore. When the other Pergamene ships began to press their opponents too hard, on a sudden the earthenware jars of which I have spoken began to be hurled at them. At first these projectiles excited the laughter of the combatants, and they could not understand what it meant. But as soon as they saw their ships filled with snakes, terrified by the strange weapons and not knowing how to avoid them, they turned

7 *rent, puppes verterunt*¹ seque ad sua castra nautica retulerunt. Sic Hannibal consilio arma Pergamenorum superavit, neque tum solum, sed saepe alias pedestribus copiis pari prudentia pepulit adversarios.

12. Quae dum in Asia geruntur, accidit casu ut legati Prusiae Romae apud T.² Quinctium Flaminium³ consularem cenarent, atque ibi de Hannibale mentione facta, ex iis unus diceret eum in Prusiae regno esse. Id postero die Flaminium senatui detulit. Patres conscripti, qui Hannibale vivo numquam se sine insidiis futuros existimarent, legatos in Bithyniam miserunt, in iis Flaminium, qui ab rege peterent ne inimicissimum suum secum haberet sibiique dederet. His Prusia negare ausus non est; illud recusavit, ne id a se fieri postularent quod adversus ius hospitii esset: ipsi, si possent, comprehendere; locum, ubi esset, facile inventuros. Hannibal enim uno loco se tenebat, in castello quod ei a rege datum erat muneris idque sic aedificarat, ut in omnibus partibus aedificii exitus haberet, scilicet verens ne usu veniret quod accidit.

4 Huc cum legati Romanorum venissent ac multitudine domum eius circumdedissent, puer, ab ianua prospiciens, Hannibali dixit plures praeter consuetudinem armatos apparere. Qui imperavit ei ut omnes fores aedificii circumiret ac propere sibi nuntiareret num eodem modo undique obsideretur.

¹ *verterunt, Nipp.*; *avertentur, MSS.*; *converterunt, Buchner.*

² *T., Magnus*; *L., MSS.*

³ *Flaminium, Lambin.*; *Flaminium, etc., MSS.*

their ships about and retreated to their naval camp.³ Thus Hannibal overcame the arms of Pergamum by strategy; and that was not the only instance of the kind, but on many other occasions in land battles he defeated his antagonists by a similar bit of cleverness.

12. While this was taking place in Asia, it chanced that in Rome envoys of Prusias were dining with Titus Quinctius Flaminius, the ex-consul, and that 183 B.C. mention being made of Hannibal, one of the envoys said that he was in the kingdom of Prusias. On the following day Flaminius informed the senate. The Fathers, believing that while Hannibal lived they would never be free from plots, sent envoys to Bithynia, among them Flaminius, to request the king not to keep their bitterest foe at his court, but to surrender him to the Romans. Prusias did not dare to refuse; he did, however, stipulate that they would not ask him to do anything which was in violation of the laws of hospitality. They themselves, if they could, might take him; they would easily find his place of abode. As a matter of fact, Hannibal kept himself in one place, in a stronghold which the king had given him, and he had so arranged it that he had exits in every part of the building, evidently being in fear of experiencing what actually happened.

When the envoys of the Romans had come to the place and surrounded his house with a great body of troops, a slave looking out from one of the doors reported that an unusual number of armed men were in sight. Hannibal ordered him to go about to all the doors of the building and hasten to inform him whether he was beset in the same way on every side.

5 Puer cum celeriter quid esset renuntiasset omnisque exitus occupatos ostendisset, sensit id non fortuito factum, sed se peti neque sibi diutius vitam esse retinendam. Quam ne alieno arbitrio dimitteret, memor pristinorum virtutum, venenum quod semper secum habere consuerat sumpsit.

13. Sic vir fortissimus, multis variisque perfunctus laboribus, anno adquevit septuagesimo. Quibus consulibus interierit non convenit. Namque Atticus M. Claudio Marcello Q. Fabio Labeone consulibus mortuum in Annali suo scriptum reliquit, at Polybius L. Aemilio Paulo Cn. Baebio Tamphilo, Sulpicius autem Blitho P. Cornelio Cethego M. Baebio Tamphilo. Atque hic tantus vir tantisque bellis districtus non nihil temporis tribuit litteris. Namque aliquot eius libri sunt, Graeco sermone confecti, in iis ad Rhodios de Cn. Manlii Volsonis in Asia rebus gestis.

3 Huius belli gesta multi memoriae prodiderunt, sed ex iis duo, qui cum eo in castris fuerunt simulque vixerunt, quam diu fortuna passa est, Silenus et Sosylus Lacedaemonius. Atque hoc Sosylo Hannibal litterarum Graecarum usus est doctore.

4 Sed nos tempus est huius libri facere finem et Romanorum explicare imperatores, quo facilius, collatis utrorumque factis, qui viri praeferendi sint possit iudicari.¹

¹ For the verses added in *A P* and a few other *MSS.* see *Introd.*, pp. xi f.

¹ In a ring; cf. Juvenal x. 164, sed ille Cannarum vindex ac tanti sanguinis ultor, anulus.

² In 183 B.C. Hannibal was sixty-three years old.

³ See xxv. 18. 1.

⁴ Cn. Manlius Volso defeated the Gauls in Asia Minor in 189 B.C., and in the following year brought about peace with

The slave having quickly reported the facts and told him that all the exits were guarded, Hannibal knew that it was no accident; that it was he whom they were after and he must no longer think of preserving his life. But not wishing to lose it at another's will, and remembering his past deeds of valour, he took the poison which he always carried about his person.¹

13. Thus that bravest of men, after having performed many and varied labours, entered into rest in his seventieth² year. Under what consuls he died is disputed. For Atticus has recorded in his *Annals*³ that he died in the consulate of Marcus Claudius^{183 B.C.} Marcellus and Quintus Fabius Labeo; Polybius, 182 B.C. under Lucius Aemilius Paulus and Gnaeus Baebius Tamphilius; and Sulpicius Blitho, in the time of Publius Cornelius Cethegus and Marcus Baebius Tamphilus. And that great man, although busied with such great wars, devoted some time to letters; for there are several books of his, written in Greek, among them one, addressed to the Rhodians, on the deeds of Gnaeus Manlius Volso in Asia.⁴ Hannibal's deeds of arms have been recorded by many writers, among them two men who were with him in camp and lived with him so long as fortune allowed, Silenus and Sosylus of Lacedaemon. And it was this Sosylus whom Hannibal employed as his teacher of Greek.

But it is time for us to put an end to this book and give an account of the Roman generals, to make it possible by comparing their deeds with those of the foreigners to judge which heroes ought to be given the higher rank.

Antiochus. The Rhodians had joined with the Romans in the campaigns.