

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXII

73 Ὅτι Οὐριάθος ἀνὴρ Λυσιτανός, ἀφανέστατος μὲν γένος ὡς γέ τισι δοκεῖ ὄν, περιβοητότατα δὲ ταῖς πράξεσι χρησάμενος, ληστής τε γέγονεν¹ ἐκ ποιμένος, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ στρατηγός. ἐπεφύκει γὰρ καὶ ἤσκητο τάχιστος μὲν διῶξαι τε καὶ φυγεῖν, ἰσχυρότατος δὲ ἐν σταδία μάχη² εἶναι καὶ τὴν τε τροφήν τὴν αἰεὶ παρούσαν καὶ τὸ ποτὸν τὸ προστυχὸν ἤδιστα ἐλάμβανεν, ὑπαίθριός τε τὸν πλείω τοῦ βίου χρόνον διητᾶτο, καὶ ταῖς αὐτοφύεσι στρωμαῖς ἠρκέτο. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα παντὸς μὲν καύματος, παντὸς δὲ ψύχους κρείσσων ἦν, καὶ οὐθ' ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ποτε ἐπόνησεν οὐθ' ὑπὸ ἄλλης τινὸς ἀκηδίας ἐταλαιπώρησεν, ἅτε καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐκ τῶν αἰεὶ παρόντων ὡς καὶ ἀρίστων ἀπολαύων³ ἰκανώτατα. τοιούτου δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἐκ τῆς φύσεως καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀσκήσεως ὄντος, πολλὴ ταῖς² τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρεταῖς ὑπερέφερε. ταχὺς μὲν γὰρ πᾶν τὸ δέον ἐπινοῆσαι³ καὶ ποιῆσαι ἦν (τό τε γὰρ πρακτέον ἅμα ἐγίγνωσκε, καὶ τὸν καιρὸν αὐτοῦ ἠπίστατο), δεινὸς δὲ⁴ τὰ τε ἐμφα-

¹ γέγονεν Rk., γὰρ Ms.

² ταῖς Val., ἐς cod.

³ ἐπινοῆσαι Bs., ἐκνοῆσαι Ms.

⁴ δὲ Rk., γὰρ Mss.

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VIRIATHUS was a Lusitanian, of very obscure origin, as some think, who gained great renown through his deeds, since from a shepherd he became a robber and later on also a general. He was naturally adapted and had also trained himself to be very swift both in pursuit and in flight, and of powerful endurance in a hand-to-hand conflict. He was glad enough to get any food that came to hand and whatever drink fell to his lot; most of his life he lived under the open sky and was satisfied with nature's bedding. Consequently he was superior to any heat or cold, and was never either troubled by hunger or annoyed by any other privation; for he found full satisfaction for all his needs in whatever he had at hand, as if it were the very best. And yet, possessed of such a physique, as the result both of nature and training, he excelled still more in his mental powers. He was swift to plan and accomplish whatever was needful, for he not only knew what must be done, but also understood the proper occasion for it; and he was equally clever at

νέστατα ἀγνοεῖν καὶ τὰ ἀφανέστατα εἰδέναι
 4 προσποιήσασθαι. πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ στρατηγὸς
 καὶ ὑπηρέτης αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ ἐς πάντα ὁμοίως
 γιγνόμενος, οὔτε ταπεινὸς οὔτε ἐπαχθῆς ἑωρᾶτο,
 ἀλλ' οὕτω πρὸς τε τὴν τοῦ γένους ἀσθένειαν
 καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἰσχύος ἀξίωσιν ἐκέκρατο ὥστε
 μήτε χείρων τινὸς μήτε κρείστων δοκεῖν εἶναι.
 τό τε σύμπαν εἰπεῖν, οὔτε πλεονεξίας οὔτε
 δυναστείας ἢ καὶ ὀργῆς ἕνεκα τὸν πόλεμον,
 ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἐποιεῖτο, κακὸν τούτου
 τὰ μάλιστα καὶ φιλοπόλεμος καὶ εὐπόλεμος
 ἐλογίσθη.—V. 62 (p. 614).

74 "Ὅτι ὁ Κλαύδιος ὁ συνάρχων Μετέλλου, πρὸς
 τε τὸ γένος¹ ὠγκωμένος καὶ τῷ Μετέλλῳ φθονῶν,
 ἔτυχεν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ λαχὼν ἄρχεῖν, καὶ πολέμιον
 οὐδὲν ἀποδεδειγμένον εἶχε, καὶ ἐπεθύμησε πάντως
 τινὰ ἐπινικίων πρόφασιν λαβεῖν, καὶ Σαλάσσους
 Γαλάτας μὴ ἐγκαλουμένους τι ἐξεπολέμωσε
 τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. ἐπέμφθη γὰρ ὡς συμβιβάζων
 αὐτοὺς τοῖς ὀμοχώροις περὶ τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ ἐς
 τὰ χρυσεῖα ἀναγκαίου διαφερομένοις αὐτοῖς,²
 καὶ τὴν τε χώραν αὐτῶν πᾶσαν κατέδραμεν . . .
 ἐπεμφαν δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκ τῶν δέκα ἱερέων
 δύο.—V. 63 (p. 617).

2 "Ὅτι Κλαύδιος, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀκριβῶς
 ἠπίστατο ὅτι οὐκ ἐνευικήκει, ἀλλ' οὖν καὶ τότε

¹ γένος Val., γεγονὸς Ms.

² διαφερομένοις αὐτοῖς Kuiper, διαφερομένους αὐτοὺς Ms.

feigning ignorance of the most obvious facts and
 knowledge of the most hidden secrets. Further-
 more, he was not only general but his own assistant
 as well in every undertaking, and was seen to
 be neither humble nor overbearing; indeed, in him
 obscurity of family and reputation for strength were
 so combined that he seemed to be neither inferior
 nor superior to any one. And, in fine, he carried on
 the war not for the sake of personal gain or power
 nor through anger, but for the sake of warlike deeds
 in themselves; hence he was accounted at once a
 lover of war and a master of war.

Claudius, the colleague of Metellus, impelled by B.C. 143
 pride of birth and jealousy of Metellus, since he had
 chanced to draw Italy as his province, where no
 enemy was assigned to him, was eager to secure by
 any means some pretext for a triumph; hence he set
 the Salassi, a Gallic tribe, at war with the Romans,
 although no complaints were being made against
 them. For he had been sent to reconcile them with
 their neighbours who were quarrelling with them
 about the water necessary for the gold mines, and
 he overran their entire country . . . the Romans
 sent him two of the ten priests.

Claudius, even though he realised perfectly well
 that he had won no victory, nevertheless even then

τοσαύτη ὑπερηφανία ἐχρήσατο ὥσθ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν ἐπιεικίων μηδένα λόγον μήτε ἐν τῇ βουλῇ μήτε ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ποιήσασθαι, καθάπερ δὲ ὑπαρχόντων οἱ πάντως αὐτῶν κἂν μηδεὶς ψηφίσσεται, τὰ ἐς αὐτὰ ἀναλώματα αἰτῆσαι.—V. 64 (p. 617).

76 Ὅτι Μόμμιος¹ καὶ ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς παμπληθὲς ἀλλήλων τοῖς τρόποις ἐς πάντα διέφερον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τε τὸ σωφρονέστατον καὶ μετὰ ἀκριβείας, μηδενὸς μηδὲν προτιμῶν, ἤρξεν, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν τε ἄλλων ὡς ἐκάστους εὐθύνειν. ὁ δὲ δὴ Μόμμιος πρὸς τε τὸ δημοτικώτερον καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀνθρωπινώτερον οὐτ' αὐτὸς τιμὴ κηλῖδα προσέθηκε, καὶ συχνὰ τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου πραχθέντων, 2 ὅσα γε καὶ ἐνεδέχeto, κατέλυσεν. ἐς τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἐπιεικείας φύσει προήκων ἦν ὥστε καὶ τῷ Λουκούλλῳ χρῆσαί τε ἀγάλματα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Τυχαίου, ὃ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰβηρικοῦ πολέμου κατεσκεύασε, καθιέρωσιν, καὶ μὴ βουληθέντος αὐτὰ ὡς καὶ ἱερὰ ἐκ τῆς ἀναθέσεως γεγονότα ἀποδοῦναι μηδεμίαν ὀργὴν ποιήσασθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείνου ὀνόματι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ λάφυρα περιδεῖν ἀνακείμενα.—V. 65 (p. 618).

77 Ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ ἐσφάλῃ καὶ αἰσχύνῃ δεινῇ ὄφλην ποταμὸν γὰρ τινα διὰ τῆς τῶν Νουμαντίνων χώρας ῥέοντα βουληθεὶς ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίας

¹ Μόμμιος Val., κλαύδιος Ms.

displayed such arrogance as not to say a word in either the senate or the assembly about the triumph; but acting as if it belonged to him in any case, even if no one should vote to that effect, he asked for the necessary funds.

As regards their characters, Mummius and Africanus were utterly different from each other in every respect. The latter performed his official duties [as censor] with the strictest integrity and with impartiality, not esteeming one person above another; indeed, he called to account many of the senators and many of the knights, as well as other individuals. Mummius, on the other hand, was more popular in his sympathies and more charitable; he not only attached no stigma himself to any one, but he even undid many of the acts of Africanus, whenever it was possible. In fact, he was of such an amiable nature that he even lent some statues to Lucullus for the consecration of the temple of Felicitas (which he had built from the booty gained in the Spanish war), and then, when that general was unwilling to return them on the ground that they had become sacred as a result of the dedication, he showed no anger, but permitted his own spoils to lie there offered up in the other's name.

[Pompeius] also received many setbacks and incurred great disgrace. There was a river flowing through the country of the Numantines that he wished to

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B.C. 142

διεξόδου παρατρέψαι,¹ ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀγροὺς αὐτῶν ἐφεῖναι, τοῦτο μὲν ἰσχυρῶς ποιηθεὶς ἐξεργάσατο, πολλοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας ἀποβαλὼν οὔτε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὄφελος ἐκ τῆς παρεκτροπῆς γενέσθαι οὔτε ἐκείνοις βλάβος . . .—V. 66 (p. 618).

78 Ὅτι Καπιῶν² τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν, τοὺς δὲ οἰκείους πολλὰ καὶ δευὰ ἔδρασεν, ὥστε καὶ κινδυνεῦσαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπολέσθαι. χαλεπῶς τε γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τραχέως τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἰππεύσι χρωμένον, πολλοὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα ταῖς νυξίν ὅτι μάλιστα διέσκωπτου καὶ διεθρόουν, καὶ ἐφ' ὅσον γε ἐκείνος διὰ τοῦτ' ἠγανάκτει, ἐπὶ πλείον ἐτώ-
2 θάζου, ὅπως ἐξοργίζοιτο. ὡς οὖν τὸ πραττόμενον ἐνδηλον ἦν, ὑπεύθυνος δὲ οὐδεὶς εὕρισκετο, ὑποτοπήσας ὑπὸ τῶν ἰππέων αὐτὸ γίνεσθαι, καὶ ἐς οὐδένα τρέψαι δυνηθεὶς τὴν αἰτίαν, πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν ὀργὴν ἔφερεν, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ἑξακοσίους ὄντας τὸν ποταμόν, παρ' ᾧ ἔστρατοπεδεύοντο, μετὰ μόνων ἰπποκόμων διαβῆναι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὕρου ἐφ' ᾧ ὁ Οὐιρίαθος ἠύλιζετο ξυλίσασθαι. προύπτου δὲ δὴ τοῦ κινδύνου πᾶσιν ὄντος, οἱ χιλίαρχοι καὶ οἱ ὑποστράτηγοι ἐδέοντο
3 αὐτοῦ μὴ ἀπολέσθαι σφᾶς. οἱ δὲ ἰππῆς ὀλίγον ἐπισχόντες ὡς καὶ ἐκείνων αὐτοῦ ἀκούσοντος, ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἐνεδίδου, ἰκετεύσαι μὲν αὐτὸν ἀπηξίωσαν, οὐπερ που καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐγλίχετο, διολέσθαι δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ τι ἐπιεικὲς φθέγγασθαι

¹ παρατρέψαι Val., παραστρέψαι Ms.

² Καπιῶν Val., καπίων Ms.

turn aside from its ancient channel and let in upon their fields, and after tremendous exertions he accomplished this; but he lost many soldiers, and no advantage from turning it aside came to the Romans, nor yet any harm to the enemy . . .

Caepio accomplished nothing worthy of mention against the foe, but visited many injuries upon his own men, so that he even came near being killed by them. For he treated them all, and especially the cavalry, with such harshness and cruelty that a great number of unseemly jokes and stories were told about him during the nights; and the more he grew vexed at it, the more they jested in the endeavour to infuriate him. When it became known what was going on and no one could be found guilty,—though he suspected it was the doing of the cavalry,—since he could not fix the responsibility upon anybody, he turned his anger against them all, and he commanded them, six hundred in number, to cross the river beside which they were encamped, accompanied only by their grooms, and to bring wood from the mountain on which Viriathus was bivouacking. The danger was manifest to all, and the tribunes and lieutenants begged him not to destroy them. The cavalry waited for a little while, thinking he might listen to the others, and when he would not yield, they scorned to entreat him, as he was most eager for them to do, but choosing rather to perish utterly than to speak a respectful word to him, they

πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλόμενοι ὄρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸ τεταγμένον· καὶ αὐτοῖς τό τε τῶν συμμάχων ἵππικὸν καὶ ἄλλοι ἐβελονταὶ συνεξήλθον. καὶ τὸν τε ποταμὸν διέβησαν, καὶ τὴν ἕλλην τεμόντες περὶ τὸ στρατήγιον αὐτοῦ παρενέβαλον ὡς καὶ καταπρήσοντες αὐτόν. κὰν κατεκαύθη, εἰ μὴ προεξέφυγεν.—V. 67 (p. 618).

75 Ὅτι Ποπίλιος οὕτω κατεφόβησε τὸν Οὐιρίαθον ὥστε καὶ ὑπὲρ σπονδῶν οἱ εὐθύς, πρὶν καὶ μάχης τινὸς πειραθῆναι, προσπέμφαι, τοὺς τε κορυφαίους τῶν ἀποστάντων¹ ἀπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐξαιτηθέντα τοὺς μὲν ἀποκτείνειν, ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ κηδεστής αὐτοῦ,² καίπερ ἰδίαν δύναμιν ἔχων, ἐφονεύθη, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκδοῦναι, ὧν πάντων ὁ ὕπατος τὰς χεῖρας ἀπέκοψε. κὰν παντελῶς κατελύσατο, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἤτήθη· τοῦτο γὰρ οὐτ' αὐτὸς οὔτε τὸ λοιπὸν πλήθος ὑπέμεινε ποιῆσαι.³—U^o 17 (p. 383).

¹ ἀποστάντων Leuncl., ἀποστατῶν Mss.

² αὐτοῦ Leuncl., αὐτοῦ ἦν Ms.

³ ὑπέμεινε ποιῆσαι Polak, ὑπομείναι ἐποίησεν Mss.

set out on the appointed mission. And the horse-men of the allies and other volunteers accompanied them. They crossed the river, cut the wood, and piled it in all around the general's quarters, intending to burn him to death. And he would have perished in the flames, if he had not fled away in time.

Popilius so terrified Viriathus that the latter immediately sent to him in regard to peace before they had made any trial of battle at all, killed some of the leaders of the rebels whose surrender had been demanded by the Romans (among these his son-in-law, though commanding his own force, was slain) and delivered up the rest, all of whom had their hands cut off by the consul's order. And he would have agreed to a complete truce, if their weapons had not also been demanded; with this condition neither he nor the rest of the soldiers would comply.

B.C. 139

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