

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XIII

Zonaras 8, 21.

21. Τῷ δ' ἐχομένῳ ἔτει περιφανῶς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἐξεπολεμώθησαν, καὶ ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος τῷ μὲν χρόνῳ πολλὴν ἐλάσσωσεν τοῦ προτέρου συμβέβηκε, τοῖς δ' ἔργοις τοῖς τε παθήμασι καὶ μείζων καὶ χαλεπώτερος. ἐπήρθε δὲ τοῦτον μάλιστα ὁ Ἀννίβας στραταρχῶν τῶν Καρχηδονίων. ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας οὗτος παῖς τοῦ Ἀμίλκου τοῦ Βαρχίδου ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐκ παίδων εὐθύς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἠσκήθη. πάντας γὰρ τοὺς υἱεῖς ὁ Ἀμίλκας ὥσπερ τινας σκύμνους ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τρέφειν ἔλεγεν, ἐκείνου δὲ πολλὴ τῇ φύσει προφέροντα ὄρων καὶ ὄρκωσε πολεμήσειν αὐτοῖς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἐπι μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἐξεδίδασκε, πεντεκαίδεκάτη ὄντα· ὅθεν οὐκ ἠδυνήθη θανόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ πατρὸς τὴν στρατηγίαν διαδέξασθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἐτελεύτησεν, οὐκέτι ἐμέλλησεν, ἐξ τότε καὶ εἰκοσὶν ἐτῶν γεγονώς, ἀλλὰ τό τε στρατεύμα ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ ὑπὲρ προκατέλαβε καὶ στρατηγὸς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀναδειχθεὶς διφκήσατο καὶ παρὰ τῶν οἰκοὶ τετῶν βεβαιωθῆναι αὐτῷ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. πράξας δὲ ταῦτα προφάσεως εὐπρεποῦς ἐδέετο εἰς τὴν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ὁρμὴν, καὶ ταύτην ἐποιήσατο τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ Ζακυνθίους.

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21. IN the following year the Romans became B.C. 218 openly hostile to the Carthaginians, and this war, though of far shorter duration than the previous one, proved to be both greater and severer in its exploits and its disasters. It was brought on chiefly by Hannibal, the general of the Carthaginians. This Hannibal was a son of Hamilcar Barca, and from his earliest boyhood had been trained to fight against the Romans. For Hamilcar said he was rearing all his sons like so many whelps to fight against them, and when he saw that this one had by far the best nature, he made him take an oath that he would wage war upon them; accordingly he was engaged in giving him a careful training, particularly in warfare, at the time of his own death, when the boy was fifteen years of age. Because of his youth Hannibal was unable to succeed then to the generalship; upon the death of Hasdrubal, however, he delayed no longer, being now twenty-six years of age, but at once took possession of the army in Spain, and after being acclaimed general by the soldiers, brought it about that the command was confirmed to him also by those in authority at home. After accomplishing this he required a plausible excuse for his enterprise against the Romans, and this he found in the Saguntines of Spain. These people,

οὗτοι γὰρ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ ποταμοῦ οἰκοῦντες τοῦ Ἰβηρος, ἄνω τῆς θαλάσσης βραχύ, τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσέκειντο, κακένοι καὶ ἐτίμων αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους συνθήκαις ἐξαιρέτους ἐπεποιήκεσαν. διὰ ταῦτ' οὖν ὁ Ἀννίβας πόλεμον ἤρατο πρὸς αὐτούς, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἢ ἐπικουρήσουσιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοῖς Ζακυνθίοις ἢ καὶ τι παθοῦσι τιμωρήσουσι. διὰ τε οὖν ταῦτα καὶ ὅτι μέγαν πλοῦτον κεκτήσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐγίνωσκεν, οὐ καὶ μάλιστα ἔχρηζε, καὶ δι' ἕτερ' αἷτια¹ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶ συμβαλλόμενα τοῖς Ζακυνθίοις ἐπέθετο.

Ἡ δ' Ἰβηρία, ἐν ἣ οἱ Ζακύνθιοι οἰκοῦσι, καὶ ἡ προσεχῆς αὐτῇ πᾶσα ἐν τε τῇ Εὐρώπῃ πρὸς δυσμᾶς ἐστί, καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν παρὰ τὴν ἕσω θάλασσαν καὶ παρὰ τὰς Ἡρακλείους στήλας τὸν τε Ὀκεανὸν αὐτὸν προῆκει, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὴν ἡπειρον τὴν ἄνω διὰ πλείστου μέχρι τοῦ Πυρηναίου νέμεται. τὸ γὰρ ὄρος τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς πάλαι μὲν Βεβρύκων ὑστερον δὲ Ναρβωνησίων ἀρξάμενον ἐς τὴν ἔξω τὴν μεγάλην διατείνει, πολλὰ μὲν ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ σύμμικτα ἔθνη ἔχον, πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀπὸ τῆς προσοίκου Γαλατίας ἀφορίζον. οὔτε δ' ὁμόφωνοι ἦσαν οὔτε κοινῇ ἐπολιτεύοντο. ὅθεν οὐδὲ εἰς ἓν ὄνομα ἐτέλουν· οἱ

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 516.

Δίων δὲ Κοκκειανὸς τοὺς Ναρβωνησίου Βεβρυκας λέγει, γράφων οὕτω· “τῶν πάλαι μὲν Βεβρύκων νῦν δὲ Ναρβωνησίων ἐστὶ τὸ Πυρηναίου ὄρος. τὸ δὲ ὄρος τοῦτο χωρίζει Ἰβηρίαν καὶ Γαλατίαν.”

¹ ἕτερ' αἷτια Cary (cf. Zon. 9, 7—p. 192 inf.), ἕτερα αἷτια Mss.

dwelling not far from the river Iberus, and a short distance from the sea, were dependents of the Romans, who held them in honour, and in the treaty with the Carthaginians had made a special exception of them. Hence, for this reason Hannibal began war with them, knowing that the Romans would either assist the Saguntines or avenge them if they suffered injury. From this motive, then, as well as because he knew that they possessed great wealth, which he particularly needed, and from various other considerations that promised him advantages against the Saguntines, he made an attack upon the Saguntines.

Spain, in which the Saguntines dwell, and all the adjoining land is in the western part of Europe. It extends for a great distance along the inner sea, past the Pillars of Hercules, and along the Ocean itself; furthermore, it includes the regions inland for a very great distance, even to the Pyrenees. This range, beginning at the sea called anciently the sea of the Bebryces, but later the sea of the Narbonenses, reaches to the great outer sea, and contains many diverse nationalities; it also separates the whole of Spain from the neighbouring land of Gaul. The tribes were neither of one speech, nor did they have a common government. As a result, they were not known by one name: the Romans

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 516.

Dio Cocceianus calls the Narbonenses Bebryces, writing thus: “To those who were of old Bebryces, but now Narbonenses, belongs the Pyrenees range. This range is the boundary between Spain and Gaul.”

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μὲν γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι Ἰσπανούς, οἱ δ' Ἕλληνας Ἰβηρας ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Ἰβηρος αὐτοὺς ἐπεκάλεσαν.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ζακύνθιοι οὗτοι ἐπολιορκοῦντο, καὶ ἐπεμψαν πρὸς τοὺς περιούκους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπικουρίας δεόμενοι. ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐκώλυσε, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι πρέσβεις πρὸς ἐκείνους πέμψαντες μὴ πελάζειν τοῖς Ζακυνθίοις ἐκέλευον, καὶ εἰ μὴ πείθοιτο, ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα πλεύσαι εὐθὺς καὶ κατηγορῆσαι αὐτοῦ ἐπηπέλιψαν. ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας ἐκ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων πέμψας τινας ὡς εὖνοιαν τηροῦντας τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἤδη πλησίον οὖσι παρεσκεύασε λέγειν αὐτοῖς μὴ παρῆναι τὸν στρατηγόν, πόρρω που ἐς ἄγνωστα χωρία ἀποδημήσαντα. καὶ παρήνουν ἀπαλλαγῆναι ὡς τάχιστα, πρὶν καταγγελθεῖεν ὡς πάρεσιν, ἵνα μὴ διὰ τὴν ἀναρχίαν, τοῦ στρατηγοῦ μὴ παρόντος, ἀπόλωνται. οἱ μὲν οὖν πιστεύσαντες αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἀπήεσαν γενομένης δὲ ἐκκλησίας οἱ μὲν τῶν Καρχηδονίων εἰρήνην ἄγειν πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους συνεβούλευον, οἱ δὲ τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ προσκείμενοι τοὺς μὲν Ζακυνθίους ἀδικεῖν, τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίους τὰ μηδὲν σφίσι προσήκοντα πολυπραγμανεῖν ἔλεγον. καὶ τέλος ἐπεκράτησαν οἱ πολεμήσαι φᾶς ἀναπέιθοντες.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὁ Ἀννίβας σπουδῆ τὰς προσβολὰς τῆς τευχομαχίας ἐποιεῖτο. πολλῶν δὲ πιπτόντων καὶ πλειόνων τιτρωσκομένων ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Ἀννίβου, καὶ ποτε τῶν Καρχηδονίων κατασεισάντων τι τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ κατὰ τὸ ῥήγμα εἰσελθεῖν τολμησάντων, ἐπεξέδραμον οἱ Ζακύνθιοι καὶ ἀπεσώβησαν σφᾶς· ὅθεν αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπερρώσθησαν, οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ ἐνέδοσαν ἀθυμήσαντες. οὐκ ἀπαν-

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called them Spaniards, but the Greeks Iberians, from the river Iberus.

These Saguntines, then, upon being besieged, sent to their neighbours and to the Romans, asking for aid. But Hannibal checked any local movement, while the Romans sent ambassadors to him commanding him not to come near the Saguntines, and threatening, in case he should not obey, to sail to Carthage at once and lay accusation against him. When the envoys were now close at hand, Hannibal sent some of the natives who were to pretend that they were kindly disposed to them and who were instructed to say that the general was not there, but had gone some distance away into parts unknown; and they advised the Romans to depart as quickly as possible, before their presence should be reported, lest in the disorder prevailing because of the absence of the general they should lose their lives. The envoys, accordingly, believed them and set off for Carthage. And when an assembly had been called, some of the Carthaginians counselled maintaining peace with the Romans, but the party attached to Hannibal affirmed that the Saguntines were guilty of wrongdoing, and that the Romans were meddling with what did not concern them. Finally those who urged them to make war won the day.

Meanwhile Hannibal in the course of the siege was conducting vigorous assaults, in which many of his men fell and many more were wounded. One day the Carthaginians succeeded in battering down a portion of the wall, and had been daring enough to enter through the breach, when the Saguntines made a sortie and drove them away. As a result the besieged were strengthened, and the Carthaginians gave

52 "Οτι οί Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἤκμαζον καὶ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμοιοῖα ἀκριβῶς ἐχρῶντο, ὥσθ' ἄπερ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐκ μὲν ἀκράτου εὐπραγίας ἐς θάρσος, ἐκ δὲ ἰσχυροῦ δέους ἐς ἐπιείκειαν

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ἔστησαν δὲ πρὶν τὴν πόλιν ἐλεῖν, καίτοι ἐπ' ὄγδοον μῆνα τῆς πολιορκίας παραταθείσης· ἐν οἷς ἄλλα τε πολλὰ συνημέχθη καὶ ἄτοπα καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας δειῶς ἐτρώθη. ἦλω δὲ οὕτως. μὴχάνημα τῷ τείχει προσήγαγον πολὺ τε αὐτοῦ ὑπεραῖρον καὶ ὀπλίτας τοὺς μὲν ἐμφανεῖς ἔχον, τοὺς δὲ λαυθάνοντας. τῶν οὖν Ζακυνθίων τοῖς ὀρωμένοις ὡς μόνοις οὖσι μαχομένων ἐρρωμενέστερον, οἱ κεκρυμμένοι τὸ τείχος ὑπορύξαντες εἰσεβίασαντο καὶ ἔνδον ἐγένοντο. τῷ γοῦν παραδόξῳ οἱ Ζακύνθιοι ἐκπλαγέντες εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνέδραμον, καὶ εἰς λόγους ἦλθον, εἴ πως ἐπιεικέ τι ὁμολογία περισθεῖεν. ὡς δ' οὐδὲν ὁ Ἀννίβας προῖσχετο μέτριον οὐδέ τις αὐτοῖς ὠφέλειαν πρὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐγένετο, ἐπισχεθῆναι τὰς προσβολὰς ἐξητήσαντο, ὡς τι περὶ τῶν κατὰ σφᾶς βουλευσόμενοι κἂν τούτῳ τὰ τιμώματα συμφορήσαντες τῶν χρημάτων ἐς πῦρ ἐνέβαλον, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπόμαχοι διεχειρίσαντο ἑαυτούς, οἱ δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ ἀθροῖοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους ὠρμήκεσαν καὶ προθύμως ἀγωνιζόμενοι κατεκόπησαν.

22. Καὶ δι' αὐτοὺς οἱ τε Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι ἐπολέμησαν. ὁ γὰρ Ἀννίβας καὶ συμμα-

THE Romans were at the height of their military power and enjoyed absolute harmony among themselves. Thus, unlike most people, who are led by unalloyed good fortune to audacity, but by

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way to discouragement. Yet they did not leave the city till they had captured it, though the siege dragged on to the eighth month. Many untoward incidents happened during that time, one of which was the dangerous wounding of Hannibal. The place was taken in the following manner. They brought to bear against the wall an engine much higher than the fortifications, and carrying heavily-armed soldiers, some visible, some concealed. While the Saguntines, therefore, were vigorously fighting against the men they saw, believing them to be the only ones, those concealed from view dug through the wall from below and found their way inside. The Saguntines, overwhelmed by the unexpectedness of the event, ran up to the citadel and held a conference, to see whether by any reasonable concessions they might be saved. But as Hannibal held out no moderate terms and no assistance came to them from the Romans, they begged for a cessation of the assaults, on the plea that they wished to deliberate a little about their present situation. During this respite they gathered together the most highly prized of their treasures and cast them into the flames; then such as were incapable of fighting took their own lives, and those who were in their prime advanced in a body against their opponents, and fighting zealously, were cut down.

22. On their account the Romans and the Carthaginians went to war; for Hannibal, after adding

φέρει, ταῦτα¹ αὐτοῖς τότε διαλλαγῆναι ὅσφ γὰρ ἐπὶ πλείον εὐτύχησαν, ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἐσωφρόνησαν, τὸ μὲν θράσος, οὐδὲ τὸ ἀνδρείον μετέχει, πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιπάλους ἐνδεικνύμενοι, τὸ δὲ ἐπιεικές, οὐδὲ κοινωνεῖ ἢ² εὐταξία,³ κατ' ἀλλήλους παρεχόμενοι² τὴν τε γὰρ ἰσχὺν πρὸς μετριότητος ἀκινδύνου⁴ ἐξουσίαν καὶ τὸ κόσμιον πρὸς ἀνδρείας ἀληθοῦς κτήσιν ἐλάμβανον, μήτε τὴν εὐπραγίαν ἐς ὕβριν μήτε τὴν ἐπιεικείαν ἐς δειλίαν ἐξάγοντες. οὕτω μὲν γὰρ τό τε σωφρονοῦν ἐξ ἀνδρείας καὶ τὸ θαρσοῦν ἐκ δέους⁵ φθείρεσθαι, ἐκείνως δὲ τὸ μέτριον ὑπ' ἀνδρείας ἀσφαλέστερον καὶ τὸ εὐτυχοῦν ὑπ' εὐταξίας βεβαιότερον γίγνεσθαι ἐνόμιζον. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ μάλιστα τοὺς τε προσπεσόντας σφίσι πολέμους κράτιστα διήνεγκαν καὶ τὰ σφέτερα τά τε τῶν συμμάχων ἄριστα ἐπολίτευσαν.—M. 132 (p. 186). ὅσφ—ἐνόμιζον Max. Conf. Flor. (cod. Paris. 1169 f. 26^r).

54 "Ὅτι ὅσοι ἐντὸς τῶν Ἄλπεων ἐνέμοντο τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις συνεπανέστησαν, οὐχ ὅτι τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἀντὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμόνας ἀνθηροῦντο, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἄρχον σφῶν ἐμίσουν, τὸ δὲ ἀπείρατον ἡγάπων. ἐκ πάντων μὲν δὴ τῶν τότε ἐθνῶν σύμμαχοι⁶ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἐπὶ

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χοῦς συχνοὺς προσλαβῶν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἠπέγετο.

¹ ταῦτα Cary, ταῦτά τε Ms. ² οὐδὲ κοινωνεῖ ἢ Kuebler, οὐκ ἐν Mss. ³ εὐταξία Cary, εὐψυχία Mss. ⁴ ἀκινδύνου Bs., ἀκινδύνου flor., om. palimps. ⁵ δέους Polak, θάρσους Mss.

strong fear to forbearance, they at this time had a very different experience in these matters. For the greater their successes, the more were they sobered; against their enemies they displayed that daring which is seen in the brave, but toward one another they showed the forbearance which goes hand in hand with good order. They used their power for the exercise of safe moderation and their orderliness for the acquirement of true bravery; and they did not allow either their good fortune to develop into arrogance or their forbearance into cowardice. They believed that in the latter case sobriety was ruined by bravery and boldness by fear; whereas with them moderation was rendered more secure by bravery and good fortune surer by good order. It was due to this in particular that they carried through so successfully the wars that came upon them and administered both their own affairs and those of the allies so well.

All who dwelt on the near side of the Alps revolted to join the Carthaginians, not because they preferred the Carthaginians to the Romans as leaders, but because they hated the power that ruled them and welcomed the untried. The Carthaginians had allies against the Romans from every one

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numerous allies to his force, was hastening toward Italy.

⁶ ἐκ πάντων μὲν δὴ τῶν τότε ἐθνῶν σύμμαχοι Bs., ἕκαστον τῶν μὲν δὴ τότε ἐθνῶν σύμμαχον Mai, ἐκ . . . γων μὲν δὴ τότε ἐθνῶν συμμα . . . Ms.

τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὑπῆρξαν πρὸς ἅπαντας δ' ὡς εἰπεῖν αὐτοὺς ἰσοστάσιος ὁ Ἄννίβας ἐγένετο· συνεῖναι τε γὰρ ὀξύτατα καὶ ἐκφροντίσαι πάνθ' ὅσα ἐνεθυμείτο τάχιστα¹ ἐδύνατο· καίτοι πέφυκεν ὡς πλήθει τὸ μὲν βέβαιον ἐκ βραδυτήτος, τὸ δὲ ὀξύρροπον ἐκ τάχους διανοίας ὑπάρχειν.
² κ . . . ωτατος² τε γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ὑπογυωτάτου καὶ διαρκέστατος ἐς τὸ φερεγγυώτατον ἦν· τό τε αἰεὶ παρὸν ἀσφαλῶς διετίθετο καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἰσχυρῶς προενόει, βουλευτῆς τε τοῦ συνήθους ἰκανώτατος καὶ εἰκαστῆς τοῦ παραδόξου ἀκριβέστατος γενόμενος, ἀφ' ὧν τό τε ἤδη προσπίπτόν οἱ ἐτοιμώτατα καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου καθίστατο, καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῖς λογισμοῖς προλαμβάνων ὡς καὶ παρὸν
³ διεσκόπει. κακὸν τούτου καὶ τοῖς καιροῖς ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἐφήρμοζεν, ἅτε καὶ ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ τό τε ὑπάρχον καὶ τὸ ἐλπιζόμενον ποιούμενος. ἐδύνατο δὲ ταῦθ' οὕτω πράττειν, ὅτι πρὸς τῇ τῆς φύσεως ἀρετῇ καὶ παιδείᾳ πολλῇ μὲν Φοινικικῇ κατὰ τὸ πάτριον πολλῇ δὲ καὶ Ἑλληνικῇ ἤσκητο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ μαντικὴν τὴν³ διὰ σπλάγχχνων ἠπίστατο.—M. 133 (p. 187); καίτοι—ὑπάρχειν (§ 1) Suid. s. v. ὡς ἐπίπαν, “ἐν τρισκαιδεκάτῳ,” and ὅτι πρὸς τῇ τῆς φύσεως—ἠπίστατο (§ 3) Val. 31 (p. 593).

¹ ἐνεθυμείτο τάχιστα Bs., ενεθυμειτο (?) . . . Ms.

² κ . . . ωτατος Ms. acc. to Bs., τη . . . acc. to Mai.

³ μαντικὴν τὴν Rk., μαντικῆς τῆς Ms.

of the tribes that then existed; but all of them taken together were scarcely Hannibal's equal. He could comprehend matters most clearly and plan out most promptly every project that he conceived, notwithstanding the fact that, as a rule, sureness is the result of deliberation and instability the result of a hasty disposition. He was most resourceful (?) in the suddenest emergency, and most steadfast with the greatest degree of reliability. Not only did he safely handle the affair of the moment, but he accurately read the future beforehand; he proved himself a most capable counsellor in ordinary events and a most accurate judge of the unusual. By these powers he not only handled the situation immediately confronting him most readily and in the briefest time, but also by calculation anticipated the future afar off and considered it as though it were actually present. Consequently he, above all other men, met each occasion with suitable words and acts, because he viewed the expected and the actual in the same light. He was able to manage matters thus for the reason that in addition to his natural capacity he was versed in much Phoenician learning common to his country, and likewise in much Greek learning, and furthermore he understood divination by the inspection of entrails.

- 4 Τοιοῦτος οὖν δὴ τις τὴν ψυχὴν γενόμενος ἀντίρροπον καὶ τὸ σῶμα, τὰ μὲν φύσει, τὰ δὲ καὶ διαίτη, παρεουκείαστο, ὥσθ' ὅσα ἐνεχειρίζετο ῥαδίως κατεργάζεσθαι. κουφὸν τε γὰρ καὶ ἐμβριθῆς ὅτι μάλιστα αὐτὸ εἶχε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ θεῖν καὶ συνίστασθαι ἰππεύειν τε ἀνὰ κράτος ἀσφαλῶς ἐδύνατο. καὶ οὔτε πλήθει ποτὲ τροφῆς ἐβαρύνετο οὔτε ἐνδεία ἔκαμνεν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ τὸ πλεον καὶ τὸ ἔλαττον, ὡς καὶ αὐταρκες ἐκάτερον, ἐλάμβανεν. ταῖς τε¹ τάλαιπωρίαῖς ἰσχυρίζετο, καὶ ταῖς ἀγρυπνίαις ἐρρώννυτο.
- 5 Οὕτως οὖν δὴ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἔχων τοιαῦδε τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων διαχειρίζεται ἐπίπαν ἐχρήτο. τοὺς τε γὰρ πολλοὺς ἐς μόνον τὸ συμφέρον σφίσι πιστοὺς ὄρων ὄντας, αὐτὸς τε τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῖς προσεφέρετο καὶ ἐς ἐκείνους ταῦτόν ὑπώπτευεν, ὥστε πλείστα μὲν ἀπατήσας τινὰς κατορθῶσαι, ἐλάχιστα δὲ ἐπιβουλευθεὶς σφαλῆναι. καὶ πολέμιον πᾶν τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν δυνάμενον καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὀθνεῖοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὀμοφύλοις ὀμοίως ἠγούμενος, οὐκ ἀνέμενε τοῖς ἔργοις τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐκμανθάνειν, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ βουλομένους σφᾶς ἀδικεῖν ὅτι ἐδύναντο² τραχύτατα μετεχειρίζετο, προποιήσας τέ τι μᾶλλον ἢ προπαθεῖν ἄμεινον ἠγείτο, καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐφ' ἑτέροις
- 7 ἑαυτὸν εἶναι ἠξίου. τό τε σύμπαν εἰπεῖν, τῇ φύσει τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῖς ἐς φήμη
- 66 ¹ τε supplied by Val. ² ἐδύνατο Reim., ἐδύνατο Ms.

In addition to such mental qualities he was also equipped with a physique that had been brought to a state of equal perfection, partly by nature and partly by his manner of life, so that he could carry out easily everything that he undertook. He kept his body agile and at the same time as compact as possible; and he could with safety, therefore, run, or stand his ground, or ride at furious speed. He never burdened himself with overmuch food, nor suffered through lack of it, but took more or less with equal readiness, feeling that either was satisfactory. Hardship made him rugged, and on loss of sleep he grew strong.

Possessing these advantages of mind and body, he managed affairs in general as follows. Since he saw that most men were trustworthy only in what concerned their own interest, he himself dealt with them on this principle and expected the same treatment of them, so that he very often succeeded by deceiving persons and very seldom failed by being the object of a plot. He regarded as enemies all who could gain an advantage, whether foreigners or his own countrymen, and did not wait to learn their intentions from their acts, but treated them very harshly, assuming that they were desirous of doing whatever injury they could; he thought it better to be the first to act than the first to suffer, and resolved that others should be in his power rather than he in theirs. In short, he paid attention to the real nature of things, rather than to the good things

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