The History of Rome, Vol. V

Livy

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Translated by Reverend Canon Roberts

Book 33. The Second Macedonian War

The above−described events took place in the winter. At the commencement of spring Quinctius, anxious to make the Boeotians, who were uncertain which side to take, into a Roman dependency, summoned Attalus to Elatia, and marching through Phocis fixed his camp at a point five miles from Thebes, the Boeotian capital. The following day, escorted by a single maniple and accompanied by Attalus and the various deputations who had flocked to him from all quarters, he proceeded to the city. The hastati of the legion, numbering 2000 men, were ordered to follow him at a distance of one mile. About half−way he was met by Antiphilus, the captain−general of the Boeotians; the population of the city were on the walls, anxiously watching the approach of the Roman general and the king. They saw few arms and few soldiers with them, the hastati, who were following a mile behind, were hidden by the windings of the road and the undulating nature of the terrain. As he came nearer to the city he slackened his pace, as though he were saluting the crowds who had come out to meet him, but really to allow the hastati to catch him up. The townsfolk pushing along in a mass in front of the lictor did not see the armed column which had hurried up until they reached the general's quarters. Then they were utterly dismayed, as they believed that the city had been betrayed and captured through the treachery of Antiphilus. It was quite clear that the Council of Boeotia which was summoned for the next day would have no chance of unfettered deliberation. They concealed their vexation, since to have exhibited it would have been useless and dangerous.

Attalus was the first to speak in the council. He began by recounting the services which he had rendered to Greece as a whole and in particular to the Boeotians. But he was too old and infirm to stand the strain of public speaking, and suddenly became silent and fell down. Whilst they were removing the king, who had lost the use of one side, the proceedings were suspended. Aristaenus, the chief magistrate of the Achaeans, was the next to speak, and he spoke with all the more weight because he gave the Boeotians the same advice which he had given to the Achaeans. Quinctius himself added a few remarks, in which he dwelt more upon the good faith of the Romans and their sense of honour than upon their arms and resources. Dicaearchus of Plataea next brought forward a motion in favour of alliance with Rome. When its terms had been recited no one ventured to oppose it, consequently it was passed by the unanimous vote of the cities of Boeotia. After the council broke up Quinctius only stayed in Thebes as long as Attalus' sudden attack made it necessary, and as soon as he saw that there was no immediate danger to life but only powerlessness in the limbs, he left him to undergo the necessary treatment and returned to Elatia. The Boeotians, like the Achaeans before them, were thus admitted as allies, and as he was leaving everything behind in peaceful security, he was able to devote all his thoughts to Philip and the means of

bringing the war to a close.

After his envoys had returned from their fruitless mission to Rome, Philip decided to raise troops in every town in his kingdom. Owing to the perpetual wars which had for so many generations drained the manhood of Macedonia there was a serious lack of men of military age, and under Philip's own rule vast numbers had perished in the naval battles against the Rhodians and Attalus and in the campaigns against the Romans. Under these circumstances he even enrolled youths of sixteen and recalled to the colours men who had served their time, provided they had any stamina left. After his army was brought up to its proper strength he concentrated the whole of his forces at Dium and formed a standing camp there in which he drilled and exercised his soldiers day by day whilst waiting for the enemy. During this time Quinctius left Elatia and marched by way of Thronium and Scarphea to Thermopylae. The Aetolian Council had been summoned to meet at Heraclea to decide the strength of the contingent which was to follow the Roman general to war, and he waited at Thermopylae for a couple of days to learn the result. When he had been informed of their decision he started, and marching past Xyniae fixed his camp where the frontiers of Acarnania and Thessaly meet. Here he waited for the Aetolian contingent, who came up without any loss of time under the command of Phaeneas. They numbered 600 infantry and 400 cavalry. To remove any doubt as to why he had waited he resumed his march as soon as they arrived. On his advance through Phthiotis he was joined by 500 Cretans from Gortynium and 300 Apollonians, armed like the Cretans, and not long after by Amynander with 1200 Athamanian infantry. As soon as Philip ascertained that the Romans had started from Elatia he realised that a struggle lay before him which would decide the fate of his kingdom, and he thought it well to address words of encouragement to his soldiers. After repeating the familiar phrases about the virtues of their ancestors and the military reputation of the Macedonians, he dwelt more especially on the considerations which tended to depress their courage and then on those from which they ought to derive consolation and hope.

Against the three defeats sustained by the Macedonian phalanx at the Aous he set the repulse of the Romans at Atrax. On the former occasion, when they failed to maintain their hold on the pass leading into Epirus, he pointed out that the fault lay, first, with those who had been careless in their outpost duties and then in the behaviour of the light infantry and the mercenaries in the actual battle. But the Macedonian phalanx stood its ground, and on favourable ground and in a fair field would always remain unbeaten. The phalanx consisted of 16,000 men, the flower of the military strength of his dominions. There were in addition 2000 caetrati, whom they call " peltasts," and contingents of the same strength were furnished by the Thracians and by the Trallians, an Illyrian tribe. Besides these there were about 1500 hired troops drawn from various nationalities. and a body of cavalry numbering 2000 troopers. With this force the king awaited his enemies. The Roman army was almost equal in numbers, in cavalry alone were they superior, owing to the accession of the Aetolians.

Quinctius had been led to hope that Thebes in Phthiotis would be betrayed to him by Timon, the first man in the city, and accordingly he marched thither. He rode up to the walls with a small body of cavalry and light infantry, but his expectations were so far frustrated by a sortie from the city that he would have been in imminent danger had not infantry and cavalry from the camp come to his assistance in time. When he found that his hopes were illusory and that there was no prospect of their being realised he desisted from any further attempt for the time. Definite information having reached him, however, that the king was now in Thessaly, though his exact whereabouts was unknown, he sent his men into the fields round to cut down and prepare stakes for a stockade. Both the Macedonians and the Greeks made use of stockades, but they did not adapt their materials either for convenience in carrying or for defensive strength. The trees they cut down were too large and too branching for the soldiery to carry together with their arms, and when they had put them in position and fenced their camp with them the demolition of their rampart was an easy matter. The large trunks stood up apart from one another and the numerous stout branches afforded a good hold, so that two, or at the most three, men by pulling together would bring a tree down, making at once a gap as wide as a gate, and there was nothing at hand with which to block the opening. On the other hand, the stakes which the Romans cut were light and generally forked with three, or at the most four, branches, so that, with his arms slung at his back, the Roman soldier could carry several of them together comfortably. Then again they fix them so close together in the ground and interlace the branches in such

a way that it is impossible to discover to which particular tree any of the outside branches belong, and these are made so sharp and so closely intertwined that there is no room left for inserting the hand, nothing can be got hold of to be dragged away, nor if there were would the enemy succeed in doing so because the branches are hooked together like the links of a chain. If one happens to be pulled out, it leaves only a small opening and it is very easy to put another in its place.

Quinctius resumed his march on the following day, but as the soldiers were carrying the timber for a stockade, so that they might be ready to form an entrenched camp anywhere, the day's march was not a long one. The position he selected was about six miles from Pherae, and after fixing his camp he sent out reconnoitring parties to find out in what part of Thessaly the enemy was, and what were his intentions. Philip was in the neighbourhood of Larisa and had already received information that the Romans had left Thebes for Pherae. He, too, was anxious to bring matters to a decision and determined to make straight for the enemy, and finally fixed his camp some four miles from Pherae. The next day light infantry from both sides moved out to seize some hills which commanded the city, but when they caught sight of one another they halted and sent to their respective camps for instructions as to what they were to do now that they had come unexpectedly upon the enemy. As they awaited their return without moving the day passed without any fighting and these detachments were recalled to camp. The next day there was a cavalry action near those hills, in which Philip's troops were routed and driven back to their camp; a success in which the Aetolians had the greatest share. Both sides were greatly hampered in their movements by the nature of the ground, which was thickly planted with trees, and by the gardens which are usually found in suburban districts, the roads being enclosed between walls and in some cases blocked. Both commanders alike determined to get out of the neighbourhood, and as though by mutual agreement they both made for Scotusa: Philip, in the hope of obtaining a supply of corn there; Quinctius, with the intention of forestalling his adversary and destroying his corn. The armies marched the whole day without once getting sight of each other owing to a continuous range of hills which lay between them. The Romans encamped at Eretria in Phthiotis, Philip fixed his camp by the river Onchestus. The next day Philip encamped at Melambium in the territory of Scotusa and Quinctius at Thetideum in the neighbourhood of Pharsalia, but not even then did either side know for certain where their enemy was. The third day heavy clouds came up, followed by a darkness as black as night which kept the Romans in their camp for fear of a surprise attack.

Eager to press on, Philip was not in the least deterred by the clouds which had descended to the earth after the rain, and he ordered the standard−bearers to march out. But so thick a fog had blotted out the daylight that the standard−bearers could not see their way, nor could the men see their standards. Misled by the confused shouts, the column was thrown into as great disorder as if it had lost its way in a night march. When they had surmounted the range of hills called Cynoscephalae, where they left a strong force of infantry and cavalry in occupation, they formed their camp. The Roman general was still in camp at Thetideum; he sent out, however, ten squadrons of cavalry and a thousand velites to reconnoitre and warned them to be on their guard against an ambuscade, which owing to the darkened daylight might not be detected even in open country. When they reached the heights where the enemy were posted both sides stood stock−still as though paralysed by mutual fear. As soon as their alarm at the unexpected sight subsided they sent messages to their generals in camp and did not hesitate any longer to engage. The action was begun by the advanced patrols, and then as the supports came up the fighting became general. The Romans were by no means a match for their opponents, and they sent message after message to their general to inform him that they were being overpowered. A reinforcement of 500 cavalry and 2000 infantry, mostly Aetolians, under two military tribunes, was hastily despatched and restored the battle, which was going against the Romans. This turn of fortune threw the Macedonians into difficulties and they sent to their king for help. But as owing to the darkness a battle was the last thing he had looked for on that day, and as a large number of men of all ranks had been sent out to forage, he was for a considerable time at a loss what to do. The messages became more and more importunate, and as the fog had now cleared away and revealed the situation of the Macedonians who had been driven to the topmost height and were finding more safety in their position than in their arms, Philip felt that he ought to risk a general and decisive engagement rather than let a part of his force be lost through want of support. Accordingly he sent Athenagoras, the commander of the mercenaries, with the whole of the foreign contingent, except the Thracians, and also the Macedonian and Thessalian cavalry. Their

appearance resulted in the Romans being dislodged from the hill and compelled to retreat to lower ground. That they were not driven in disorderly flight was mainly owing to the Aetolian cavalry, which at that time was the best in Greece, though in infantry they were inferior to their neighbours.

This affair was reported to the king as a more important success than the facts warranted. Messenger after messenger ran back from the field shouting that the Romans were in flight, and though the king, reluctant and hesitating, declared that the action had been begun rashly and that neither the time nor the place suited him, he was at last driven into bringing the whole of his forces into the field. The Roman commander did the same, more because no other course was open to him than because he wished to seize the opportunity of a battle. He posted the elephants in front of his right wing, which he kept in reserve; the left, with the whole of the light infantry, he led in person against the enemy. As they advanced he reminded them that they were going to fight with the same Macedonians as those whom in spite of the difficult ground they had driven out of the pass leading into Epirus, protected though they were by the mountains and the river, and had thoroughly defeated; the same as those whom they had vanquished under P. Sulpicius when they tried to stop their march on Eordaea. The kingdom of Macedonia, he declared, stood by its prestige, not by its strength, and even its prestige had at last disappeared. By this time he had come up to his detachments who were standing at the bottom of the valley. They at once renewed the fight and by a fierce attack compelled the enemy to give ground. Philip with his caetrati and the infantry of his right wing, the finest body in his army, which they call "the phalanx," went at the enemy almost at a run; Nicanor, one of his courtiers, was ordered to follow at once with the rest of his force. As soon as he reached the top of the hill and saw a few of the enemy's bodies and weapons lying about, he concluded that there had been a battle there and that the Romans had been repulsed, and when he further saw that fighting was going on near the enemy's camp he was in a state of great exultation. Soon, however, when his men came back in flight and it was his turn to be alarmed, he was for a few moments anxiously debating whether he ought not to recall his troops to camp. Then, as the enemy were approaching, and especially as his own men were being cut down as they fled and could not be saved unless they were defended by fresh troops, and also as retreat was no longer safe, he found himself compelled to take the supreme risk, though half his force had not yet come up. The cavalry and light infantry who had been in action he stationed on his right; the caetrati and the men of the phalanx were ordered to lay aside their spears, the length of which only embarrassed them, and make use of their swords. To prevent his line from being quickly broken he halved the front and gave twice the depth to the files, so that the depth might be greater than the width. He also ordered the ranks to close up so that man might be in touch with man and arms with arms.

After the Roman troops who had been engaged had retired through the intervals between the leading maniples, Quinctius ordered the trumpets to sound the advance. Seldom, it is said, has such a battle−shout been raised at the beginning of an action, for both armies happened to shout at the same moment, not only those actually engaged, but even the Roman reserves and the Macedonians who were just then appearing on the field. On the right the king, aided mainly by the higher ground on which he was fighting, had the advantage. On the left, where that part of the phalanx which formed the rear was only just coming up, all was confusion and disorder. The centre stood and looked on as though it were watching a fight in which it had no concern. The newly−arrived part of the phalanx, in column instead of in line of battle, in marching rather than in fighting formation, had hardly reached the crest of the hill. Though Quinctius saw that his men were giving ground on the left he sent the elephants against these unformed troops and followed up with a charge, rightly judging that the rout of a part would involve the rest. The result was not long in doubt; the Macedonians in front, terrified by the animals, instantly turned tail, and when these were repulsed the rest followed them. One of the military tribunes, seeing the position, suddenly made up his mind what to do, and leaving that part of his line which was undoubtedly winning, wheeled round with twenty maniples and attacked the enemy's right from behind. No army when attacked in the rear can fail to be shaken, but the inevitable confusion was increased by the inability of the Macedonian phalanx, a heavy and immobile formation, to face round on a new front. To make matters worse, they were at a serious disadvantage from the ground, for in following their repulsed enemy down the hill they had left the height for the enemy to make use of in his enveloping movement. Assailed on both sides they lost heavily, and in a short time they flung away their arms and took to flight.

With a small body of horse and foot Philip occupied the highest point on the hills in order to see what fortune his left wing had met with. When he became aware of their disorderly flight and saw the Roman standards and arms flashing on all the hills he too left the field. Quinctius, who was pressing on the retiring foe, saw the Macedonians suddenly holding their spears upright, and as he was doubtful as to what they intended by this unfamiliar maneuver he held up the pursuit for a few minutes. On learning that it was the Macedonian signal of surrender, he made up his mind to spare them. The soldiers, however, unaware that the enemy were no longer resisting and ignorant of their general's intention, commenced an attack upon them, and when those in front had been cut down the rest scattered in flight. Philip himself rode off at a hard gallop in the direction of Tempe and drew rein at Gomphi, where he remained for a day to pick up any survivors from the battle. The Romans broke into the hostile camp in hopes of plunder, but they found that it had to a large extent been cleared out by the Aetolians. 8000 of the enemy perished that day; 5000 were made prisoners. Of the victors about 700 fell. If we are to believe Valerius, who is given to boundless exaggeration, 40,000 of the enemy were killed and−here his invention is not so wild−5700 made prisoners and 249 standards captured. Claudius too writes that 32,000 of the enemy were killed and 4300 made prisoners. We have taken the smaller number, not because it is the smaller, but because we have followed Polybius, who is no untrustworthy authority on Roman history especially when the scene of it is in Greece.

After collecting together the fugitives who had been scattered in the various stages of the battle and had followed him in his flight, Philip despatched men to burn his papers at Larisa, that they might not fall into the enemy's hands, and then retreated into Macedonia. Quinctius sold some of the prisoners and a part of the booty and gave the rest to the soldiers, after which he proceeded to Larisa, not knowing for certain in what direction the king had gone or what movements he was contemplating. Whilst he was there a herald arrived from the king ostensibly to ask for an armistice for the purpose of burying those who had fallen in the battle, but really to ask for permission to open negotiations for peace. Both requests were granted by the Roman general, who also sent a message to the king bidding him not to lose heart. This gave great offence to the Aetolians, who were intensely mortified and said that the commander had been changed by his victory. Before the battle, so they alleged, he used to consult his allies on all matters great and small, but now they were excluded from all his counsels; he was acting solely on his own judgment. He was looking out for an opportunity of ingratiating himself personally with Philip so that after the Aetolians had borne the whole burden of the hardships and sufferings of the war the Roman might secure for himself all the credit and advantages of peace. As a matter of fact Quinctius certainly did show the Aetolians less consideration, but they were quite ignorant of his reason for treating them with neglect. They believed that he was looking for bribes from Philip, though he was a man who never yielded to the temptation of money; but it was not without good reason that he was disgusted with the Aetolians for their insatiable appetite for plunder and their arrogance in claiming for themselves the credit of the victory, a piece of vanity which offended all men's ears. Besides, if Philip were out of the way and the kingdom of Macedonia hopelessly crushed he recognised that the Aetolians must be regarded as the dominant power in Greece. Dictated by these considerations his conduct was deliberately designed to humiliate and belittle them in the eyes of Greece.

The enemy were granted a fifteen days' armistice and arrangements were made for a conference with Philip. Before the date fixed for it Quinctius called his allies into consultation and laid before them the conditions of peace which he thought ought to be imposed. Amynander briefly stated his view, which was that the terms should be such that Greece should be sufficiently strong, even in the absence of the Romans, to protect her liberty and prevent the peace from being broken. The Aetolians spoke in a more vindictive tone. After a brief allusion to the correctness of Quinctius' attitude in calling in those who had been his allies in war to advise with him on the question of peace, they went on to assure him that he was totally mistaken if he supposed that he would leave either peace with Rome or liberty for Greece on a sure basis unless Philip were either put to death or expelled from his kingdom. Either of these alternatives was easy for him if he chose to make full use of his victory. Quinctius replied that in uttering these sentiments the Aetolians were losing sight of the settled policy of Rome and convicting themselves of inconsistency. In all the former councils and conferences when discussing the question of peace they had never advocated the destruction of Macedonia, and the Romans, whose policy from the earliest times had been to show mercy to the conquered, had furnished a conspicuous proof of this in the peace

which had been granted to Hannibal and the Carthaginians. Leaving the Carthaginians, however, out of account, how often had he himself had conferences with Philip? But never had the question of his abdication been raised. Had his defeat in battle made the war one of extermination? "An enemy in arms one is bound to meet with ruthless hostility; towards the conquered the greatest minds show the greatest clemency. You think that kings of Macedon are a danger to the liberties of Greece. If that nation and kingdom were swept away, Thracians, Illyrians, Gauls, savage and barbarous tribes, would pour into Macedonia and then into Greece. Do not, by removing the danger closest to you, open the door to greater and more serious ones." Here he was interrupted by Phaeneas, the president of the Aetolian league, who solemnly declared amid great excitement that if Philip escaped then, he would soon prove a still more dangerous enemy. "Cease your uproar," said Quinctius, "when we have to deliberate. Peace will not be settled upon such terms as to make it possible to recommence war."

The council broke up, and on the morrow Philip went to the spot fixed for the conference, which was in the pass leading into Tempe. The day following a meeting of the Romans and all their allies was convened, before which he appeared. He showed great prudence in deliberately abstaining from any allusion to those conditions which were regarded as essential, instead of letting them be forced from him in the discussion. All the concessions which in the former conference the Romans had insisted upon or the allies had demanded he said he would agree to, everything else he would leave to the decision of the senate. This would seem to have precluded any further demands even from those most hostile to him, and yet Phaeneas broke the general silence by asking, "What? Philip! Do you at last restore to us Larisa, Cremaste, Echinus and Phthiotic Thebes?" On Philip replying that he placed no difficulty in the way of their resuming possession of these places, a dispute arose between Quinctius and the Aetolians over Thebes. Quinctius asserted that it belonged to Rome by the right of war, for before the war broke out he marched there and invited the citizens to enter into friendly relations with him, and whilst they were at full liberty to abandon Philip they preferred his allegiance to that of the Romans. Phaeneas retorted that it was only just and equitable, considering the part they had taken in the war, that all which the Aetolians possessed before the war should be restored to them. It was provided by treaty from the very first that the spoils of war, including all movable goods and all livestock and prisoners, should go to the Romans; the conquered cities and territories to the Aetolians. "You yourselves," replied Quinctius, "broke that treaty when you left us and made peace with Philip. If it were still in force, it would only apply to the cities which have been captured; the cities of Thessaly have passed into our power of their own free will." This declaration was approved by all the allies, but created a bitter feeling amongst the Aetolians at the time, and soon led to a war which proved most disastrous to them. It was agreed that Philip should give up his son Demetrius and some of "the friends of the king" as hostages and also pay an indemnity of 200 talents. With regard to the other matters, he was to send an embassy to Rome and a four months' truce was granted him to enable him to do so. In case the senate declined to grant terms of peace the agreement was to be cancelled and the hostages and money returned to Philip. The main reason for Quinctius desiring an early peace is alleged to have been the warlike designs of Antiochus and his threatened invasion of Europe.

At this very time, and according to some accounts on the very day on which the battle of Cynoscephalae was fought, the Achaeans routed Androsthenes, one of Philip's generals, in a pitched battle at Corinth. Philip intended to hold that city as a menace to the States of Greece, and after inviting the leading citizens to a conference on the pretext of settling what force of cavalry the Corinthians could furnish for the war, he had detained them all as hostages. The force in occupation consisted of 500 Macedonians and 800 auxiliaries of various nationalities. In addition to these he had sent 1000 Macedonians and 1200 Illyrians and also Thracian and Cretan contingents (these tribes fought on both sides), amounting to 800 in all. There were in addition 1000 heavy−armed troops, consisting of Boeotians, Thessalians and Acarnanians. A draft from Corinth itself made up the whole force to 6000 men, and Androsthenes felt himself strong enough to give battle. The Achaean captain−general, Nicostratus, was at Sicyon with 2000 infantry and 200 cavalry, but seeing that he was inferior in both the number and the quality of his troops, he did not venture outside the walls. The king's troops overran and ravaged the territories of Pellene, Phlius and Cleonae. At last, to show their contempt for the timidity of their enemy, they invaded the territory of Sicyon and, sailing along the Achaean seaboard, harried and wasted the land. Their confidence, as is usually the case, made them careless, and their raids were conducted with an absence of all precautions. Seeing a

possibility of a successful surprise attack, Nicostratus sent secret information to all the cities round as to what force each city should contribute and on what day they should all muster at Apelaurus, a place in Stymphalia. All being in readiness on the appointed day he made a night march through the district of Phlius to Cleonae, no one knowing what his object was. He had with him 5000 infantry, of which . . . were light−armed troops, and also 300 cavalry. With this force he waited for the return of the scouting patrols whom he had sent out to ascertain in what direction the enemy had dispersed themselves.

Androsthenes, in perfect ignorance of all this, marched out from Corinth and encamped by the Nemea, a stream which divides the territory of Corinth from that of Sicyon. Here, leaving half his army in camp, he formed the other half and the whole of the cavalry into three divisions and ordered them to make simultaneous raids in the territories of Pellene, Sicyon and Phlius. The three divisions marched off on their separate errands. As soon as intelligence of this was brought to Nicostratus at Cleonae, he promptly sent a strong detachment of mercenaries to seize the pass leading to Corinth. He followed with his army in two columns, the cavalry forming an advanced guard. In one column marched the mercenaries and light infantry; in the other the hoplites, the main strength of all Greek armies. When they were not far from the hostile camp some of the Thracians began to attack the parties of the enemy scattered in the fields. The camp was filled with sudden alarm and the commander was surprised and bewildered. He had never seen the enemy, unless it were a few here and there on the hills before Sicyon, as they did not venture on the lower ground, and he never supposed that they would leave their position at Cleonae and take the aggressive against him. The dispersed parties were recalled to camp by sound of trumpet, and, ordering the soldiers to seize their arms with all speed, he hurried out, of the camp with a weak force and formed his line on the river bank. The other troops had hardly had time to collect and form, and did not withstand the first charge, but the Macedonians, who formed the bulk of the fighting line, made the victory for a long time doubtful. At length, with their flank exposed by the flight of the rest of the army and subjected to two separate attacks from the light infantry on their flank and the hoplites and heavy armed on their front, they began to give ground, and, as the pressure increased, turned and fled. The greater number flung away their arms and, abandoning all hope of holding their camp, made for Corinth. Against these Nicostratus sent his mercenaries in pursuit, and despatched the cavalry and Thracian auxiliaries to attack the plundering parties round Sicyon. Here too there was great slaughter, almost more, in fact, than in the actual battle. Some who had been ravaging the country round Pellene and Phlius were returning to camp, in no military formation and unaware of all that had happened, when they fell in with the enemy patrols where they had expected to find their own. Others, seeing men running in all directions, suspected what had happened and fled with such precipitation that they lost themselves and even the peasantry were able to cut them off. 1500 men fell on that day and 300 prisoners were secured. The whole of Achaia was delivered from a great fear.

Acarnania was the only Greek State that still adhered to the Macedonian alliance. Before the battle of Cynoscephalae L. Quinctius had invited their chiefs to a conference at Corcyra, where he induced them to take the first step towards a change of policy. The two main reasons for their fidelity were their innate sense of loyalty and their fear and dislike of the Aetolians. A national council was convened at Leucas. It was by no means generally attended, nor did those who were present agree as to the course to be pursued. The leaders, however, including the presiding magistrate, succeeded in getting a party motion carried in favour of an alliance with Rome. The cities which had not sent representatives resented this strongly, and amidst the national excitement two of their leading men, Androcles and Echedemus, emissaries of Philip, had sufficient influence not only to obtain the cancelling of the decree, but even to secure the condemnation of its authors, Archelaus and Bianor, on a charge of treason and the dismissal from office of Zeuxidas, who as president had allowed the motion to be put. The condemned men took a hazardous but, as events turned out, a successful step. Their friends advised them to bow to circumstances and go to the Romans at Corcyra, but they resolved to present themselves before the people and either calm the popular indignation or submit to whatever fortune might have in store for them. When they entered the crowded council chamber there were at first murmurs of astonishment, but soon the respect inspired by the high position they once held and the compassion felt for their present misfortunes evoked silent sympathy. Permission having been given them to speak, they at first adopted a suppliant tone, but when it came to meeting the charges against them they defended themselves with all the confidence of innocent men, and at last they ventured to complain

mildly of the treatment they had received and remonstrated against the injustice and cruelty which had been meted out to them. The feelings of their audience were so stirred that all the decrees made against them were rescinded by a large majority. Nevertheless it was decided to go back to the alliance with Philip and renounce friendly relations with Rome.

These decrees were passed at Leucas, the capital of Acarnania and the seat of the national council. When this sudden change of feeling was reported to Flamininus at Corcyra, he at once set sail for Leucas and brought up at a spot called the Heraeum. He then advanced towards the city with every description of artillery and siege engines, thinking that at the first shock of alarm the defenders would lose heart. As soon as he saw that there were no signs of their asking for peace he began to set up the vineae and towers and bring the battering−rams up to the walls. Acarnania as a whole lies between Aetolia and Epirus and looks westward towards the Sicilian Sea. Leucadia, which is now an island separated from Acarnania by a canal of moderate depth, was then a peninsula, connected with the western shore of Acarnania by a narrow isthmus half a mile long, and at no point more than 120 paces broad. The city of Leucas is situated at the head of this isthmus, resting on a hill which faces eastward towards Acarnania; the lowest part of the city lies on the sea front and is level. This makes it open to attack both by land and sea, for the shallow waters are more like a lagoon than like the sea, and the soil of the surrounding plain can easily be thrown up for lines of investment and siege works. Many parts of the wall were in consequence undermined or shaken down by the battering−rams. But the advantage which the situation of the city gave to the assailants was counterbalanced by the indomitable spirit of the defenders. Ever on the alert, night and day they repaired the shattered walls, barricaded the breaches, made constant sorties and defended their walls by arms more than their walls defended them. The siege would have been protracted longer than the Romans anticipated had not some refugees of Italian nationality who were living in Leucas admitted soldiers from the citadel. Once admitted, they ran down with great tumult from the higher ground and found the Leucadians drawn up in battle formation in the forum, who offered a stout resistance. In the meanwhile the walls had in many places been successfully escaladed, and over the heaps of stones and debris a way was made into the city. By this time the general himself had enveloped the combatants with considerable force, and whilst some perished between the two bodies of assailants others threw down their arms and surrendered. A few days later, on hearing of the battle of Cynoscephalae; the whole of Acarnania submitted to the Roman general.

In every direction alike Philip's fortunes were sinking. Just at this time the Rhodians determined to win back from him the district on the mainland known as Peraea, which had been held by their forefathers. An expedition was despatched under the command of Pausistratus, consisting of 1300 Achaean infantry and about 1800 miscellaneous troops drawn from various nations−Gauls and Pisuetae; Nisuetae, Tamians and Trahi from Africa, and Laudicenes from Asia. With this force Pausistratus seized Tendeba, an extremely advantageous position situated in the territory of Stratonice, the king's troops who had held it being unaware of his advance. Here he was joined by a body of 1000 Achaean infantry and 400 cavalry specially raised for this campaign. They were commanded by Theoxenus. Dinocrates, one of the king's lieutenants, marched to Tendeba with a view of recovering the place, and from there to Astragon, another fortified position in the same district. All the scattered garrisons were recalled, and with these and a contingent of Thessalians from Stratonice itself he went on to Abanda where the enemy lay. The Rhodians were quite ready for battle, and as the camps lay near one another they at once took the field. Dinocrates posted his 500 Macedonians on his right and the Agrianians on his left, and formed his centre from the troops of the various garrisons, mostly Carians, whilst the flanks were covered by the Macedonian horse and the Cretan and Thracian irregulars. The Rhodians had the Achaeans on their right and a picked force of mercenaries on their left; the centre was held by a mixed force drawn from several nationalities; their cavalry and such light infantry as they had protected their flanks.

On that day the two armies only stood on the banks of the stream, which was then running low, and after discharging a few missiles at each other returned to camp. The following day they were marshalled in the same order, and the action which followed was a much more keenly contested one than might have been expected from the numbers engaged. There were not more than 3000 infantry and about 100 cavalry on each side, but they were fairly matched not only in numbers and equipment, but also in courage and tenacity. The battle was begun by the

Achaeans, who crossed the rivulet and attacked the Agrianians, and they were followed by the whole line, who went over the brook at the double. For a long time the struggle remained doubtful, till the Achaeans, who numbered . . ., compelled the 400 to give ground. With the enemy's left pushed back, they concentrated their attack on his right. As long as the Macedonian ranks were unbroken and the phalanx kept its close formation they could not be moved, but when their left was exposed and they tried to bring their spears round to face the enemy who were making a flank attack, they at once got into confusion and fell foul of one another, then they turned and at last, flinging away their arms, broke into headlong flight. The fugitives made for Bargyliae, and Dinocrates also fled thither. The Rhodians kept up the pursuit for the remainder of the day and then returned to camp. Had they gone on to Stratonice straight from the battle−field the city would in all probability have been taken, but they lost the chance of doing this by wasting their time in recovering the fortified posts and villages in Peraea. During this interval those in command at Stratonice regained their courage, and before long Dinocrates with the survivors from the battle entered the place. The city was subsequently besieged and assaulted, but all to no purpose, nor could it be secured until some years later, when it was made over to the Rhodians by Antiochus. These incidents occurred almost simultaneously in Thessaly, Achaia and Asia.

Emboldened by the successive Macedonian defeats, the Dardanians began to lay waste the northern part of the realm. Although Philip had almost the whole world against him and Fortune was driving him and his people out of every place in turn, he felt that to be expelled from Macedonia itself would be worse than death. No sooner, therefore, did he hear of the Dardanian invasion than he hurriedly levied troops in all the cities of his kingdom and with a force of 6000 infantry and 500 cavalry he came upon the enemy unexpectedly near Stobi in Paeonia. A great many men fell in the battle, a greater number amongst the fields, where they were dispersed in the hope of plunder. Where there was no obstacle to flight they were in no mood to risk the chance of a battle, and so they retired within their own borders. The success of this expedition, so different from the state of things elsewhere, revived the spirits of his men. After this he returned to Thessalonica. The close of the Punic War took place at a favourable moment, for it removed the danger of having a second war on hand at the same time, namely the war against Philip. Still more opportune was the victory over Philip at a time when Antiochus was already taking hostile action from Syria. Not only was it easier to meet each singly than if they had joined forces, but Spain was giving trouble at the same time and a warlike movement on a large scale was taking place in that country. During the previous summer Antiochus had reduced all the cities in Coelo−Syria which had been under Ptolemy's sway, and though he had now withdrawn into winter quarters he displayed as great activity as he had done during the summer. He had called up the whole strength of his kingdom and had amassed enormous forces, both military and naval. At the commencement of spring he had sent his two sons, Ardys and Mithridates, with an army to Sardis with instructions to wait for him there whilst he started by sea with a fleet of a hundred decked ships and two hundred smaller vessels, including swift pinnaces and Cyprian barques. His object was twofold: to attempt the reduction of the cities along the whole coastline of Cilicia, Lycia and Caria which owed allegiance to Ptolemy, and also to assist Philip−the war with him was not over−both by land and sea.

The Rhodians have given many splendid proofs of their courage in maintaining their loyalty to Rome and in defending the liberties of Greece, but never did they afford a finer instance of it than at this time. Undismayed by the vastness of the impending war they sent a message to the king forbidding him to sail beyond the promontory of Chelidonia in Cilicia, a place rendered famous by its being mentioned in an ancient treaty between the Athenians and the kings of Persia. If he did not keep his fleet and his forces within that limit, they informed him that they should oppose him, not because of any personal enmity to him, but because they would not allow him to join forces with Philip and so hinder the Romans in their work of liberating Greece. Antiochus was at the time investing Coracesium. He had so far secured Zephyrium, Soli, Aphrodisias and Corycus, and after rounding Anemurium−another Cilician headland−had captured Selinus. All these towns and other fortified places on this coast had submitted to him either voluntarily or under the stress of fear, but Coracesium unexpectedly shut its gates against him. During this delay the Rhodian envoys obtained an audience of him. The tenor of their instructions was of a nature to rouse the king's wrath, but he curbed his anger and told them that he should send envoys to Rhodes with instructions to renew the old ties which he and his ancestors had formed with that State, and also to reassure them as to the object of his approach, which would bring no injury or loss either to them or to

their allies. The embassy which he had sent to Rome had just returned, and as the issue of the war with Philip was still uncertain the senate had wisely given them a favourable reception. Antiochus alleged the gracious reply of the senate and the resolution they passed, so complimentary to him, as a proof that he had no intention of breaking off his friendly relations with Rome. Whilst the king's envoys were urging these considerations in a meeting of the citizens of Rhodes, news came that the war had been brought to a close at Cynoscephalae. On receipt of this intelligence the Rhodians, having nothing more to fear from Philip, abandoned their design of opposing Antiochus with their fleet. They did not, however, abandon the other object, the defence of the liberties of the States in alliance with Ptolemy which Antiochus was now threatening. To some they gave active assistance, others they forewarned of the movements of the enemy; it was thus that Caunos, Myndus, Halicarnassus and Samos owed their liberty to Rhodes. It is not worth while to go in detail into the events which happened in this part of the world, seeing that it is almost beyond my powers to deal with those especially connected with the war with Rome.

It was at this time that Attalus, who owing to his illness had been carried from Thebes to Pergamum, died there in his seventy−second year after a reign of forty−four years. Beyond his wealth Fortune had bestowed nothing on this man which could lead him to hope that he would ever be king. But by making a wise use of his riches and at the same time employing them on a magnificent scale he gradually began to be regarded, first in his own estimation and then in the eyes of his friends, as not unworthy of the crown. In one decisive battle he defeated the Gauls−a nation all the more dreaded because they had migrated into Asia comparatively recently−and after this victory he assumed the royal title and ever after justified it by a corresponding greatness of soul. He governed his subjects with absolute justice and showed exceptional loyalty to his allies; affectionate towards his wife and his children, four of whom survived him, he was considerate and generous to his friends and left his kingdom so settled and secure that the possession of it descended to the third generation of his posterity. This was the state of things in Greece, Asia and Macedonia, when just as the campaign against Philip was brought to a close and before peace had been definitely established a serious war broke out in Further Spain. M. Helvius was administering the province, and he wrote to the senate to inform them that the tribal chiefs Culchas and Luxinius were in arms. Fifteen fortified towns were taking part with Culchas, whilst Luxinius was supported by the strong cities of Carmo and Bardo, the Malacini and Sexetani on the coast and the whole of Baeturia. In addition to these the tribes which had not yet disclosed their intentions were prepared to rise as soon as their neighbours moved. After M. Sergius, the city praetor, had read this despatch in the senate a decree was passed ordering that after the new praetors were elected the one who obtained Spain as his province should as soon as possible ask for the senate's instructions as to the military operations there.

The consuls arrived in Rome both at the same time and convened the senate at the temple of Bellona. On their demanding a triumph for their military successes, they were opposed by two of the tribunes of the plebs, who insisted on the proposal being submitted to the House by each consul separately. They would not permit a joint proposal to be made on the ground that in that case equal honours would be conferred when the services were far from equal. Q. Minucius replied that Italy had been assigned to them both and he and his colleague had conducted their operations with one mind and one policy. C. Cornelius added that when the Boii crossed the Po to assist the Insubres and the Cenomanni it was through his colleague's action in laying waste their fields and villages that they were compelled to return and defend their own country. The tribunes admitted that the achievements of C. Cethegus were such that there could be no more hesitation about according him a triumph than about paying honours to the immortal gods. Neither Cethegus, however, nor any other citizen possessed so much influence and power that he could, after obtaining a well−deserved triumph for himself, grant the same honour to a colleague who did not deserve it, and whose request for it was an affront. Q. Minucius, they declared, had fought some insignificant actions, hardly worth talking about, amongst the Ligurians and had lost a large number of men in Gaul. Two military tribunes, T. Juventius and Cneius Ligurius, both attached to the fourth legion, had fallen in an unsuccessful battle in company with many other brave men, both citizens and allies. A few towns and villages had ostensibly surrendered for the time being, without giving any guarantee of good faith. These altercations between the consuls and the tribunes took up two days. At last the pertinacity of the tribunes won the day and the consuls submitted their requests separately.

A triumph was unanimously decreed to C. Cethegus. His popularity was still further enhanced by delegates from Cremona and Placentia, who gratefully described how he had delivered them from the horrors of a siege, and in the case of most of those who had fallen into the enemy's hands from actual slavery. Q. Minucius put his motion merely tentatively, and on finding the whole senate opposed to him gave out that by virtue of his rights as consul, and in accordance with the precedent set by many illustrious men, he should triumph on the Alban Mount. C. Cethegus celebrated his triumph while he was still in office. Many military standards were carried in the procession, many spoils in captured wagons and many noble Gauls were led before his chariot. Some authorities aver that the Carthaginian general Hamilcar was amongst them. But the eyes of all were turned chiefly to a crowd of colonists from Cremona and Placentia who followed the consul's chariot wearing the cap of liberty. The amount of specie carried in the procession was 237,500 ases and 79,000 silver denarii. Each of the soldiers received a bonus of 70 ases and double the amount was given to each centurion and horseman. Q. Minucius celebrated his victories over the Ligurians and the Boii on the Alban Mount. Though this triumph was less of a distinction than the other in respect of the scene and glory of his achievements, and though everybody was aware that its cost was not defrayed from the public treasury, still it about equalled it in the number of standards and wagons and spoils. Even the amount of money almost reached the same figure; there were 254,000 ases and 53,200 silver denarii. He gave to each of his soldiers the same sums as his colleague had given

After the triumph came the elections. The new consuls were L. Furius Purpurio and M. Claudius Marcellus. The praetors elected the day following were Q. Fabius Buteo, Tiberius Sempronius Longus, Q. Minucius Thermus, Manius Acilius Glabrio, L. Apustius Fullo and C. Laelius. About the end of the year despatches arrived from T. Quinctius stating that he had fought a pitched battle with Philip in Thessaly, and that the enemy had been routed and put to flight. These despatches were read by Sergius first in the senate and then, with the sanction of the senate, at a meeting of the citizens. A five days' thanksgiving was appointed for this success. The joint delegation from T. Quinctius and Philip arrived soon afterwards. The Macedonians were conducted to the Government building in the Campus Martius, where they were accommodated as guests of the State. The senate received them in audience in the temple of Bellona; no long speeches were made, for the delegates simply stated that the king was prepared to act in accordance with the wishes of the senate. Following the traditional usage, ten commissioners were appointed to advise with T. Quinctius as to the terms on which peace was to be granted to Philip, and a clause was added to the decree providing that among the members of the commission should be included P. Sulpicius and P. Villius, to whom Macedonia had been assigned as their province when they were consuls. On the same day a petition was presented by the inhabitants of Cosa praying that their numbers might be enlarged, and an order was made for a thousand fresh colonists to be enrolled, no one to be included in the number who had been an enemy alien since the consulship of P. Cornelius and Tiberius Sempronius.

The Roman Games in the Circus Maximus and the scenic plays on the stage were exhibited by the curule aediles, P. Cornelius Scipio and Cneius Manlius Vulso, on a more splendid scale than usual, and amid greater hilarity on the part of the spectators owing to the recent successes in the field. Three times they were repeated in every detail. The Plebeian Games were repeated seven times. The latter were exhibited by Manius Acilius Glabrio and C. Laelius, and out of the proceeds of fines they set up bronze statues of Ceres, Liber and Libera. The first business before the new consuls, L. Furius and M. Claudius Marcellus, after taking office was the allotment of the provinces. The senate was preparing to decree Italy as the province for both, but the consuls tried hard to get Macedonia allotted as well as Italy. Marcellus, who was the more anxious of the two to obtain Macedonia, declared that the peace with Philip was illusory and that if the Roman army were withdrawn he would resume hostilities. This made the senate hesitate in coming to a decision, and the consul would probably have gained his point had not two tribunes of the plebs, Q. Marcius Ralla and C. Atinius Labeo, threatened to interpose their veto unless the plebs were first consulted as to whether it was their will and pleasure that peace should be made with Philip. The question was submitted to the plebs in the Capitol, and the whole of the thirty−five tribes voted in the affirmative. The satisfaction felt at the peaceful settlement with Macedonia was all the more welcome owing to the gloomy news from Spain and the publication of a despatch stating that the proconsul, C. Sempronius Tuditanus, acting in Hither Spain had been defeated and his army routed and put to flight. Many men of high rank had fallen in the battle, and Tuditanus himself was seriously wounded and died soon after being carried off the

field. Italy was assigned to both the consuls as their province, together with the legions which the previous consuls had had, and they were to raise four new legions, two to garrison the City and two to be at the disposal of the senate. T. Quinctius Flamininus was to remain in his province with the army which he had, and the previous extension of his command was deemed sufficient.

The praetors next balloted for their provinces. L. Apustius Fullo obtained the City jurisdiction, M. Acilius Glabrio the jurisdiction in causes between citizens and aliens. Q. Fabius Buteo received Further Spain and Q. Minucius Thermus, Hither Spain. C. Laelius was allotted Sicily and Tiberius Sempronius Longus, Sardinia. The consuls were ordered to furnish the two praetors who were to proceed to Spain with one legion each from the four new legions they were raising and also 4000 allied infantry and 300 cavalry. These two praetors were ordered to proceed to their provinces at the earliest possible moment. The Spanish war, which was practically a fresh war, because the natives had resorted to arms on their own account without any Carthaginian army or general to support them, broke out five years after the former war had been brought to a close simultaneously with the Punic War. Before the praetors started for Spain, or the consuls left the City, they were charged with the expiation of the various portents that had been announced. P. Villius, a Roman knight who was on his way to the Sabine country, was killed, together with his horse, by a flash of lightning. The temple of Ferona near Capenae was similarly struck. At the temple of Moneta two spear−heads burst into flame. A wolf entered the City through the Porta Esquilina, the busiest part of the City, and ran down to the Forum; it then ran through the Tuscan and Cermalian wards, and finally escaped through the Porta Capena almost untouched. These portents were expiated by the sacrifice of full−grown victims.

During this interval Cneius Cornelius Blasio, who had administered Hither Spain before Tuditanus, was authorised by the senate to enter the City in ovation. Before him were borne 1515 pounds of gold and 20,000 of silver, and also 34,500 silver denarii. L. Stertinius, who made no effort to obtain a triumph, brought away from Further Spain 50,000 pounds of silver for the public treasury, and with the proceeds from the sale of the spoil he erected two gateways in the Forum Boarium in front of the temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta, and one in the Circus Maximus. On these three structures he placed gilded statues. The above were the principal events during the winter. T. Quinctius was in winter quarters at Elatia. Amidst the numerous requests which he received from the friendly States was one from the Boeotians begging that, those of their countrymen who had been fighting for Philip might be restored to them. Quinctius readily granted their request, not because he thought that they deserved it, but because he was anxious, in view of Antiochus' suspicious movements, to win the support and sympathy of the Grecian States. After they had been restored it became at once apparent how little gratitude he had evoked among the Boeotians, for they sent delegates to thank Philip for the return of their countrymen, as though it were he who had made the concession and not Quinctius and the Romans. And at the next election they chose a person called Brachylles as the Boeotarch, for no other reason than because he had commanded the Boeotian contingent which had served under Philip, thus passing over men like Zeuxippus and Pisistratus and others who had brought about the alliance with Rome. Annoyed as these men were at the time, they were still more apprehensive as to the future, for if these things could go on while a Roman army was lying almost at their gates, what would happen to them, they asked, when the Romans had left for Italy and Philip was close at hand to help his friends and take his revenge upon his opponents?

As Brachylles was the main supporter of the king they determined to get rid of him while the arms of Rome were in their neighbourhood. The hour chosen was when he was returning from a State banquet in a state of intoxication, escorted by an effeminate crew who had been carousing in the banquet hall. He was set upon by six armed men, three of whom were Italians and three Aetolians, and killed on the spot. His companions fled screaming for help, and the whole city was thrown into uproar, men running in all directions with lanterns and torches. The assassins had meanwhile escaped through the nearest gate. At daybreak the next morning the population gathered in the theatre in such numbers as to give the appearance of a formal assembly convened by edict or by the public crier. Openly all men were saying that he had been murdered by his retinue and the dissolute wretches who accompanied him, but in their hearts they fixed upon Zeuxippus as the instigator of the crime. For the time being, however, it was decided that those who had been with him should be arrested and

examined under torture. While search was being made for them Zeuxippus, determined to clear himself of any suspicion of complicity, came calm and undismayed into the gathering and said that people were mistaken who supposed that such an atrocious murder could have been committed by such effeminate creatures. He adduced many strong arguments to support this view, and some who heard him were convinced that if he were an accomplice he would never have appeared before the people or made any allusion to the murder when no one had challenged him to do so. Others were quite certain that by thus unblushingly meeting the charge he was endeavouring to divert suspicion from himself. After a short time those who were really innocent were put to the torture, and though they themselves knew nothing about it they treated the universal opinion as though it amounted to proof and named Zeuxippus and Pisistratus without alleging any evidence as to their actually knowing what had happened. Zeuxippus, however, with a person called Stratonidas escaped by night to Tanagra, fearing his own conscience more than the statements of men who were unconscious of the true state of the case. Pisistratus paid no regard to the informers and remained in Thebes.

Zeuxippus had a slave with him who had acted as messenger and intermediary all through the affair. Pisistratus was afraid that this man might turn informer, and it was through this very fear that the slave was compelled to make the disclosure. He sent a letter to Zeuxippus warning him to do away with the slave as he was privy to all they had done, and he did not believe him to be so capable of concealing the thing as he had been of carrying it out. The bearer was ordered to give the letter to Zeuxippus as soon as possible, and as he had no opportunity of giving it at once he handed it to this very slave, whom he regarded as the most faithful of all to his master, telling him at the same time that it was from Pisistratus about a matter which greatly concerned Zeuxippus. The slave assured the bearer that he would deliver it forthwith, but being conscience stricken he opened it, and after reading it through fled to Thebes and laid the evidence before the magistrates. Warned by the flight of the slave, Zeuxippus withdrew to Anthedon, as he considered that a safer place to live in. Pisistratus and the others were examined under torture and afterwards executed.

This murder roused Thebes and the whole of Boeotia to an intensely bitter hatred against the Romans; they were quite convinced that Zeuxippus, the foremost man amongst them, would not have been a party to such a crime if he had not been countenanced by the Roman general. To go to war was impossible; they had neither forces nor a leader, but they did the next thing to it, they took to brigandage and assassination. They made away with soldiers who were billeted on them, and others on furlough who were going about on various errands in their winter quarters. Some were caught in the high roads by men who lay in wait for them, others were led on false pretences to lonely inns and then seized and murdered. These crimes were committed from greed quite as much as from hatred, because the men carried silver in their belts for making purchases. As more and more men were amongst the missing every day, the whole of Boeotia acquired an evil reputation, and the men were more afraid to go outside their camp than if they had been in an enemy's country. On this, Quinctius sent officers to the different cities to investigate the murders. Most of them were found to have been committed round Lake Copais; here bodies were dug out of the mud and recovered from the shallows with stones or amphorae fastened to them, to sink them deeper by their weight. Many murders also took place at Acraephia and Coronea. Quinctius issued orders for those who were guilty to be given up to him, and he levied a fine of 500 talents upon the Boeotians for the 500 soldiers who had been murdered.

Neither of these orders was complied with. The cities simply excused themselves by saying that their government had not sanctioned any of these deeds. Quinctius thereupon sent a deputation to visit Athens and Achaia and explain to them that it was in a just and holy cause that he was going to punish the Boeotians by arms. Appius Claudius received orders to march to Acraephia with half the force, and he himself with the other half invested Coronea after laving waste the country round. All the country through which the two divisions advanced from Elatia was devastated. The Boeotians, completely cowed by the losses they were sustaining and seeing fear and flight everywhere, sent envoys, but as they were not admitted into the camp, the Athenian and Achaean envoys came to their support. The mediation of the Achaeans was the more effectual of the two, because in case they failed to obtain peace for the Boeotians they were resolved to fight by the side of the Romans. Through their representations, the Boeotians were allowed to approach the Roman general and lay their case before him. Peace

was granted them on condition that they surrendered the guilty parties and paid a fine of 30 talents, and the siege was raised.

A few days later the ten commissioners arrived from Rome. On their advice peace was granted to Philip on the following terms: All the Greek communities in Europe and Asia were to be free and independent; Philip was to withdraw his garrisons from those which had been under his rule and after their evacuation hand them over to the Romans before the date fixed for the Isthmian Games. He was also to withdraw his garrisons from the following cities in Asia: Euromus, Pedasae, Bargyliae, Iasos, Myrina, Abydos, Thasos and Perinthus, for it was decided that these too should be free. With regard to the freedom of Cios, Quinctius undertook to communicate the decision of the senate and the commissioners to Prusias, King of Bithynia. The king was also to restore all prisoners and deserters to the Romans, and all his decked ships, save five, were to be surrendered, but he could retain his royal galley, which was all but unmanageable owing to its size and was propelled by sixteen banks of oars. His army was never to exceed 5000 men and he was not allowed to have a single elephant, nor was he permitted to make war beyond his frontiers without the express sanction of the senate. The indemnity which he was required to pay amounted to 1000 talents, half of it to be paid at once and the remainder in ten annual instalments. Valerius Antias asserts that an annual tribute of 4000 lbs. of silver was imposed on the king for ten years. Claudius says that the annual tribute amounted to 4200 lbs. of silver and extended over thirty years, with an immediate payment of 2000 lbs. He also says that an additional clause in the treaty expressly provided that Philip should not make war upon Eumenes, who had succeeded his father Attalus upon the throne. As a guarantee of the observance of these conditions hostages were taken by the Romans, amongst whom was Philip's son, Demetrius. Valerius Antias further states that the island of Aegina and the elephants were given to Attalus, and that Stratonice and the other cities in Caria which Philip had held were given to the Rhodians, and the islands of Lemnos, Imbros, Delos and Scyros to the Athenians.

Almost all the States of Greece welcomed peace on these terms. The Aetolians formed a solitary exception. They did not venture upon open opposition, but they criticised the commissioners' decision bitterly in private. It was, they said, a mere form of words vaguely suggesting the delusive image of pretended liberty. Why, they asked, were some cities to be given to the Romans without being named, and others which were named to retain their freedom, unless it was thought that the cities in Asia might be safely left free because of their remoteness, whilst those in Greece which are not even named might be appropriated, viz. Corinth, Chalcis, Oreus, together with Eretria and Demetrias? Nor was this charge altogether groundless, for there was much hesitation as to three of those cities. In the decree of the senate which the commissioners had brought with them the rest of the cities in Greece and Asia were unequivocally declared free, but in the case of Corinth, Chalcis and Demetrias the commissioners were instructed to do and determine as the interests of the commonwealth and the circumstances of the time and their own sense of duty required. It was Antiochus they had in their minds; they were convinced that as soon as he deemed his strength adequate he would invade Europe, and they did not intend to leave it open to him to occupy cities which would form such favourable bases of operations. Quinctius proceeded with the ten commissioners to Anticyra, and from there sailed across to Corinth. Here the commissioners discussed for days the measures for securing the freedom of Greece. Again and again Quinctius urged that the whole of Greece must be declared free if they wanted to stop the tongues of the Achaeans and inspire all with a true affection for Rome and an appreciation of her greatness−if, in fact, they desired to convince the Greeks that they had crossed the seas with the sole purpose of winning their freedom and not of transferring Philip's dominion over them to themselves. The commissioners took no exception to his insistence on making the cities free, but they argued that it would be safer for the cities themselves to remain for a time under the protection of Roman garrisons rather than have to accept Antiochus as their master in the place of Philip. At last they came to a decision; the city of Corinth was to be restored to the Achaeans, but a garrison was to be placed in Acrocorinthus, and Chalcis and Demetrias were to be retained until the menace of Antiochus was removed.

The date fixed for the Isthmian Games was now close at hand. These Games always drew vast crowds, owing partly to the innate love of the nation for a spectacle in which they watched contests of every kind, competitions of artistic skill, and trials of strength and speed, and partly owing to the fact that its situation between two seas

made it the common emporium of Greece and Asia, where supplies were to be obtained of everything necessary or useful to man. But on this occasion it was not the usual attractions alone that drew the people from every part of Greece; they were in a state of keen expectancy, wondering what would be the future position of the country, and what fortune awaited themselves. All sorts of conjectures were formed and openly expressed as to what the Romans would do, but hardly anybody persuaded himself that they would withdraw from Greece altogether.

When the spectators had taken their seats, a herald, accompanied by a trumpeter, stepped forward into the middle of the arena, where the Games are usually opened by the customary formalities, and after a blast from the trumpet had produced silence, made the following announcement: "THE SENATE OF ROME AND T. QUINCTIUS, THEIR GENERAL, HAVING CONQUERED KING PHILIP AND THE MACEDONIANS DO NOW DECREE AND ORDAIN THAT THESE STATES SHALL BE FREE, SHALL BE RELEASED FROM THE PAYMENT OF TRIBUTE, AND SHALL LIVE UNDER THEIR OWN LAWS, NAMELY THE CORINTHIANS; THE PHOCIANS; ALL THE LOCRIANS TOGETHER WITH THE ISLAND OF EUBOEA; THE MAGNESIANS; THE THESSALIANS; THE PERRHAEBIANS, AND THE ACHAEANS OF PHTHIOTIS." This list comprised all those States which had been under the sway of Philip. When the herald had finished his proclamation the feeling of joy was too great for men to take it all in. They hardly ventured to trust their ears, and gazed wonderingly on one another, as though it were an empty dream. Not trusting their ears, they asked those nearest how their own interests were affected, and as everyone was eager not only to hear but also to see the man who had proclaimed their freedom, the herald was recalled and repeated his message. Then they realised that the joyful news was true, and from the applause and cheers which arose it was perfectly evident that none of life's blessings was dearer to the multitude than liberty. The Games were then hurried through; no man's eyes or ears were any longer fixed on them, so completely had the one master joy supplanted all other pleasurable sensations.

At the close of the Games, almost the entire assemblage ran to the spot where the Roman general was seated, and the rush of the crowd who were trying to touch his hand and throw garlands and ribbons became almost dangerous. He was about thirty−three years old at the time, and not only the robustness of his manhood but the delight of reaping such a harvest of glory gave him strength. The universal rejoicing was not simply a temporary excitement; for many days it found expression in thoughts and words of gratitude. "There is," people said, "one nation which at its own cost, through its own exertions, at its own risk has gone to war on behalf of the liberty of others. It renders this service not to those across its frontiers, or to the peoples of neighbouring States or to those who dwell on the same mainland, but it crosses the seas in order that nowhere in the wide world may injustice and tyranny exist, but that right and equity and law may be everywhere supreme. By this single proclamation of the herald all the cities in Greece and Asia recover their liberty. To have formed this design shows a daring spirit; to have brought it to fulfilment is a proof of exceptional courage and extraordinary good fortune."

Immediately after the Isthmian Games Quinctius and the ten commissioners gave audience to the ambassadors from the different monarchs and self−governing communities. The first to be heard were those from Antiochus. They spoke to very much the same effect as they had before spoken in Rome, making insincere and empty professions of friendship, but they did not receive the same ambiguous answer as on the former occasion, when the business with Philip was not yet settled. Antiochus was openly and unequivocally warned to evacuate all the cities in Asia which had belonged to either Philip or Ptolemy, to leave the free States alone, and never to make aggressions on them, as all the cities through the length and breadth of Greece must continue to enjoy peace and liberty. He was especially warned not to lead his forces into Europe or go there himself. On the dismissal of the king's ambassadors a convention of those from the different cities and States was held and the proceedings were expedited by the reading out of the names in the decree of the ten commissioners. The people of Orestis, a district in Macedonia, had their old constitution restored to them as a reward for having been the first to revolt from Philip. The Magnetes, the Perrhaebians and the Dolopians were also declared free. The Thessalians received their freedom and also a grant of the Achaean portion of Phthiotis exclusive of Thebes and Pharsalus. The demand of the Aetolians that Pharsalus and Leucas should be restored to them in accordance with treaty rights was referred to the senate, but the commissioners acting under the authority of their decree united Phocis and Locris thus reverting to the former state of things. Corinth, Triphylia and Heraea−also in the Peloponnesus−were restored to

the Achaean league. The commissioners intended to make a grant of Oreus and Eretria to Eumenes, Attalus' son, but as Quinctius raised objections this one point was left to the decision of the senate, and that body declared these places and also Carystus to be free cities. Lychnis and Parthus were given to Pleuratus; both these Illyrian cities had been subject to Philip. Amynander was told to keep the forts which he had taken from Philip during the war.

After the convention had broken up the commissioners divided amongst themselves the work that lay before them and separated, each proceeding to effect the liberty of the cities within his own district. P. Lentulus went to Bargyliae; L. Stertinius to Hephaestia, Thasos and the cities in Thrace; P. Villius and L. Terentius went to interview Antiochus; and Cn. Cornelius visited Philip. After settling minor points in accordance with his instructions, he asked the king whether he would listen patiently to advice that might be not only useful to him but salutary as well. Philip replied that he should be grateful for any suggestion he might make which would be to his interest. Cornelius then strongly urged him, now that he had obtained peace, to send a mission to Rome to establish relations of friendship and alliance. By doing this he would remove, in case of any hostile movement on the part of Antiochus, the possibility of appearing to be waiting for an opportunity of recommencing hostilities. This meeting with Philip took place at Tempe. He assured Cornelius that he would send delegates forthwith, and Cornelius then went on to Thermopylae, where what was called the Pylaic council−a gathering from all parts of Greece−met on stated days. He appeared before the council, and urged the Aetolians especially to continue staunch and loyal friends to Rome. Some of their leaders mildly remonstrated against the change in the feelings of the Romans towards them since their victory; others took a much stronger line and declared that without the aid of the Aetolians Philip could not have been vanquished, nor could the Romans ever have landed in Greece. To prevent matters from coming to an open quarrel, the Roman commander abstained from replying to these charges and simply assured them that if they would send an embassy to Rome they would gain everything that was fair and reasonable. On his authority, therefore, they passed a resolution that a mission should be despatched. Such were the incidents that marked the close of the war with Philip.

Whilst these events were happening in Greece and Macedonia and Asia, Etruria very nearly became the scene of war owing to a conspiracy of the slaves. For the purpose of investigating and crushing this movement, Manius Acilius Glabrio, to whom as praetor the mixed jurisdiction over citizens and aliens had been assigned, was sent into Etruria with one of the two legions stationed in the City. A body of the conspirators was defeated in open battle and many of them were killed or taken prisoners; the ringleaders were scourged and crucified; the others sent back to their masters. The consuls left for their provinces. Marcellus entered the territory of the Boii, and whilst he was entrenching his camp on some rising ground, his men worn out with marching all day long, Corolamus, one of the Boian chiefs, attacked him with a large force and killed as many as 3000. Several men of high rank fell in this tumultuary battle; amongst them Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus and M. Junius Silanus, prefects of the allies, and two military tribunes in the second legion−M. Ogulnius and P. Claudius. The Romans, however, succeeded by great exertions in completing their lines and held the camp against the attacks of the enemy, which his initial success rendered all the more fierce. Marcellus remained in his camp for some time, in order that his wounded might be cured and that his men might have time to recover their spirits after such heavy losses.

The Boians, quite incapable of supporting the weariness of delay, dispersed everywhere to their villages and strongholds. Suddenly Marcellus crossed the Po and invaded the Comum territory, where the Insubres had induced the natives to take up arms and were now encamped. The Boian Gauls, full of confidence after the recent fight, joined battle with him while he was actually on the march, and at first attacked with such violence that they forced the front ranks to give way. Fearing that if they once began to give ground it might end in a complete repulse, Marcellus brought up a cohort of Marsians and launched all the troops of the Latin cavalry against the enemy. After they had by successive charges held up the determined onset of the Gauls the rest of the Roman line recovered its steadiness and resisted all attempts to break it. At last they took the offensive in a furious charge which the Gauls were unable to stand; they turned and fled in disorder. According to Valerius Antias over 40,000 men were killed in that battle, 801 standards captured, together with 732 wagons and a large number of gold

chains. Claudius tells us that one of these, a very heavy one, was deposited as an offering in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol. The Gaulish camp was stormed and plundered on the same day as the battle took place, and a few days later the town of Comum was captured. Subsequently twenty−eight fortified places went over to the consul. It is a question amongst the various historians whether it was against the Boii or the Insubres that the consul marched in the first place, and whether he wiped out his unsuccessful action by a successful one afterwards or whether the victory at Comum was marred by his later disaster amongst the Boii.

Soon after these instances of Fortune's caprice, the other consul, L. Furius Purpurio, invaded the Boian territory from the Sapinian canton in Umbria. He was approaching the fortress of Mutelus, but fearing that he might be cut off by the Boii and Ligurians, he led his army back over the way he had come, and by making a wide detour through open and therefore safe country ultimately joined his colleague. With their united armies they traversed the Boian country as far as the town of Felsina, systematically plundering as they advanced. That place, with all the fortified positions in the country round, surrendered, as did most of the tribe; the younger men remained in arms for the sake of plunder and had retreated into the depths of the forest. Then the two armies advanced against the Ligurians. The Boii, who were still in arms, expected that as they were supposed to be a long way off the Roman army would be more careless in keeping its formation on the march, and they followed it through secret paths in the forest with the intention of making a surprise attack. As they did not catch it up, they suddenly crossed the Po in ships and devastated the lands of the Laevi and Libui. On their way back along the Ligurian frontier they fell in with the Roman armies whilst they were loaded with plunder. The battle began more quickly and more furiously than if the time and place had previously been determined and all preparations made for battle. Here was a striking instance of the way in which passion stimulates courage, for the Romans were so determined to kill rather than simply to win a victory that they left hardly a man alive to carry the news of the battle. When the despatch announcing this success reached Rome a three days' thanksgiving was ordered for the victory. Marcellus arrived in Rome soon afterwards and a triumph was unanimously accorded to him by the senate. He celebrated his triumph over the Insubres and the Comensians while still in office. The anticipation of a triumph over the Boii he resigned to his colleague, because he personally had been unsuccessful against them, only in conjunction with his colleague had he been victorious. A large amount of spoil was carried in the wagons taken from the enemy, including numerous standards. The specie amounted to 320,000 ases and 234,000 silver denarii. Each legionary received a gratuity of 80 ases; the cavalry and centurions each three times as much.

.During this year Antiochus, who had spent the winter in Ephesus, endeavoured to reduce all the cities in Asia to their old condition of dependence. With the exception of Smyrna and Lampsacus, he thought that they would all accept the yoke without difficulty, since they either lay in open level country or were weakly defended by their walls and their soldiery. Smyrna and Lampsacus asserted their right to be free and there was danger, should their claim be allowed, of other cities in Aeolis and Ionia following the example of Smyrna, and those on the Hellespont the example of Lampsacus. Accordingly he despatched a force from Ephesus to invest Smyrna and ordered the troops in Abydos to march to Lampsacus, only a small detachment being left to hold the place. But it was not only the threat of arms that he made use of, he sent envoys to make friendly overtures to the citizens, and whilst gently rebuking their rashness and obstinacy lead them to hope that in a short time they would have what they wanted. It was, however, perfectly clear to them and to all the world that they would enjoy their liberty as the free gift of the king and not because they had seized a favourable opportunity of winning it. They told the envoys in reply that Antiochus must be neither surprised nor angry if they did not patiently resign themselves to the indefinite postponement of their hopes of liberty.

At the beginning of spring he set sail from Ephesus for the Hellespont and ordered his land army to proceed from Abydos to the Chersonese. He united his naval and military powers at Madytos, a city in the Chersonese, and as they had shut their gates against him he completely invested the place, and was on the point of bringing up his siege engines when the city surrendered. The fear which Antiochus thus inspired led the inhabitants of Sestos and the other cities in the Chersonese to make a voluntary surrender. His next objective was Lysimachia. When he arrived here with the whole of his land and sea forces he found the place deserted and little more than a heap of ruins, for some years previously the Thracians had captured and plundered the city and then burnt it. Finding it in

this condition, Antiochus was seized by a desire to restore a city of such celebrity and so favourably situated, and he at once set about the various tasks which this involved. The houses and walls were rebuilt, some of the former inhabitants who had been made slaves were ransomed, others who were scattered as refugees throughout the Chersonese and the shores of the Hellespont were discovered and brought together, and new colonists were attracted by the prospect of the advantages they would receive. In fact every method was adopted of repopulating the city. To remove at the same time all apprehensions of trouble from the Thracians he proceeded with one half of his army to devastate the neighbouring districts of Thrace, the other half and all the ships' crews he left to go on with the work of restoration.

Very shortly after this L. Cornelius, who had been sent by the senate to settle the differences between Antiochus and Ptolemy, made a halt at Selymbria, and three of the ten commissioners went to Lysimachia: P. Lentulus from Bargyliae, P. Villius and L. Terentius from Thasos. They were joined there by L. Cornelius from Selymbria, and a few days later by Antiochus, who returned from Thrace. The first meeting with the commissioners and the invitation which Antiochus gave them were kindly and hospitable, but when it came to discussing their instructions and the position of affairs in Asia a good deal of temper was shown on both sides. The Romans told Antiochus plainly that everything he had done since his fleet set sail from Syria met with the disapproval of the senate and they considered it right that all the cities which had been subject to Ptolemy should be restored to him. With regard to those cities which had formed part of Philip's possessions and which while he was preoccupied with the war against Rome Antiochus had seized the opportunity of appropriating himself, it was simply intolerable that after the Romans had sustained such risks and hardships by sea and land for all those years Antiochus should carry off the prizes of war. Granting that it was possible for the Romans to take no notice of his appearance in Asia as being no concern of theirs, what about his entrance into Europe with the whole of his army and navy? What difference was there between that and an open declaration of war against Rome? Even if he had landed in Italy he would say that he did not mean war, but the Romans were not going to wait until he was in a position to do that.

In his reply Antiochus expressed his surprise that the Romans should go so carefully into the question as to what Antiochus ought to do, whilst they never stopped to consider what limits were to be set to their own advance by land and sea. Asia was no concern of the senate, and they had no more right to ask what Antiochus was doing in Asia than he had to ask what the Roman people were doing in Italy. As for Ptolemy and their complaint that he had appropriated his cities, he and Ptolemy were on perfectly friendly terms and arrangements were being made for them to be connected by marriage shortly. He had not sought to take advantage of Philip's misfortunes nor had he come into Europe with any hostile intent against the Romans. After the defeat of Lysimachus all that belonged to him passed by the right of war to Seleucus, and therefore he counted it part of his dominion. Ptolemy, and after him Philip, alienated some of these places at a time when his (Antiochus') ancestors were devoting their care and attention to other matters. Could there be a shadow of doubt that the Chersonese and that part of Thrace which lies round Lysimachia once belonged to Lysimachus? To recover the ancient right over these was the object of his coming and also to rebuild from its foundations the city of Lysimachia, which had been destroyed by the Thracians, in order that his son Seleucus might have it as the seat of empire.

After this discussion had been going on for some days, an unauthenticated rumour reached them that Ptolemy was dead. This prevented any decision from being arrived at; both parties pretended that they had heard nothing about it, and L. Cornelius, whose mission extended to both Antiochus and Ptolemy, asked for a short adjournment to allow of his obtaining an interview with Ptolemy. His object was to land in Egypt before the new occupant of the throne could initiate any change of policy. Antiochus, on the other hand, felt certain that if he took possession of Egypt at once it would be his own, and so, taking his leave of the Roman commissioners and leaving his son to complete the restoration of Lysimachia, he sailed with the whole of his fleet to Ephesus. From there he despatched envoys to Quinctius to lull his suspicion and to assure him that he was not contemplating any new departure. Coasting along the Asiatic shores he reached Patarae in Lycia and there he learnt that Ptolemy was alive. He now abandoned all intention of sailing to Egypt, but continued his voyage as far as Cyprus. When he had rounded the promontory of Chelidoniae he was for some time delayed in Pamphylia near the river Eurymedon

by a mutiny amongst the crews. After continuing his voyage as far as the co−called "heads" of the river Saros he was overtaken by a terrible storm which engulfed nearly the whole of his fleet. Many of the ships were wrecked, many ran aground, a large number foundered so suddenly that none could swim to land. There was a very great loss of life; not only nameless crowds of sailors and soldiers, but many distinguished men, friends of the king, were amongst the victims. Antiochus collected the remains of his shattered fleet, but as he was in no condition to make an attempt on Cyprus he returned to Seleucia, much poorer in men and material resources than when he started on his expedition. Here he had the ships beached, for winter was close at hand, after which he went to Antioch for the winter. Such was the position of affairs with regard to the two monarchs.

This year for the first time three epulones were appointed, namely C. Licinius Lucullus, one of the tribunes of the plebs who had got the law passed under which they were appointed, and with him P. Manlius and P. Portius Laeca. They were allowed by law to wear the toga praetexta like the priests. But a serious dispute broke out this year between the whole body of priests and the City quaestors, Q. Fabius Labeo and P. Aurelius. The senate had decided that the last repayment of the money subscribed for the Punic War should be made to those who had contributed and money was needed for the purpose. As the augurs and pontiffs had not made any contribution during the war, the quaestors demanded payment from them. They appealed in vain to the tribunes of the plebs, and were compelled to pay their quota for every year of the war. Two pontiffs died during the year; they were succeeded by the consul, M. Marcellus, in place of C. Sempronius Tuditanus, who had died while acting as praetor in Spain, and L. Valerius Flaccus in place of M. Cornelius Cethegus. The augur Q. Fabius Maximus also died while quite young, before he could hold any magistracy; no successor was appointed during the year.

The consular elections were conducted by M. Marcellus; the new consuls were L. Valerius Flaccus and M. Porcius Cato. The praetors elected were Cn. Manlius Volso, Ap. Claudius Nero P. Porcius Laeca, C. Fabricius Luscinus, C. Atinius Labeo and P. Manlius. The curule aediles, M. Fulvius Nobilior and C. Flaminius, sold during the year a million modii of wheat to the people at two ases the modius. This wheat was sent by the Sicilians out of regard to C. Flaminius and in honour of his father's memory. The Roman Games were celebrated with great splendour and repeated on three different days. The plebeian aediles, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus and C. Scribonius Curio, brought several farmers of State lands before the popular tribunal; three of these were convicted, and out of the fines imposed they built a temple to Faunus on the Island. The Plebeian Games lasted two days and there was the usual banquet.

On March 15, the day when they entered upon office, the new consuls consulted the senate as to the allocation of provinces. The senate decided that since the war in Spain was spreading to such a serious extent as to require the presence of a consul and a consular army, Hither Spain should be one of the two consular provinces. The consuls were instructed to come to a mutual arrangement or else ballot for that province and Italy. Whichever of them drew Spain was to take with him two legions, 15,000 allied infantry and 800 cavalry and a fleet of 20 ships of war. The other consul was to raise two legions; that was looked upon as sufficient to hold Gaul after the crushing blow dealt to the Insubres and the Boii the previous year. Cato drew Spain, Valerius Italy. The praetors now balloted for their provinces. C. Fabricius Luscinus received the City jurisdiction; C. Atinius Labeo the jurisdiction over aliens; Cn. Manlius Volso, Sicily; Ap. Claudius Nero, Further Spain; P. Porcius Laeca, Pisae, in order to threaten the Ligurians from the rear. P. Manlius was assigned to the consul to assist him in Hither Spain. Owing to the suspicious attitude of Antiochus and of the Aetolians, and also of Nabis and the Lacedaemonians, T. Quinctius was continued in his command with the two legions he had had before. Any reinforcements required to bring them up to full strength were to be raised by the consuls and despatched to Macedonia. In addition to the legion which Q. Fabius had had, Appius Claudius was authorised to raise 2000 infantry and 200 cavalry. The same number of infantry and cavalry were assigned to P. Manlius for employment in Hither Spain as well as the legion which had served under the praetor Q. Minucius. Out of the army in Gaul 10,000 infantry and 500 cavalry were decreed to P. Portius Laeca to operate in Etruria round Pisae. Tiberius Sempronius Longus had his command in Sardinia extended.

Such was the distribution of the provinces. Before the consuls left the City they were required, in accordance with a decree of the pontiffs, to proclaim a Sacred Spring. This was in fulfilment of a vow made by the praetor A. Cornelius Mammula at the desire of the senate and by order of the people twenty−one years previously in the consulship of Cn. Servilius and C. Flaminius. C. Claudius Pulcher, the son of Appius, was at the same time appointed augur in place of Q. Fabius Maximus, who had died the year before. Whilst general surprise was felt that nothing was being done about the war which had broken out in Spain, a despatch arrived from Q. Minucius announcing that he had successfully engaged the Spanish generals Budar and Baesadines, and that the enemy had lost 12,000 men, Budar being made prisoner and the rest routed and put to flight. When the despatch was read less apprehension was felt about the two Spains, where a very serious war had been anticipated. The general anxiety now centered on Antiochus, especially after the return of the ten commissioners. After giving their report on the negotiations with Philip and the terms on which peace had been made with him, they made it evident that a war on at least as great a scale with Antiochus was imminent. He had, so they informed the senate, landed in Europe with an enormous fleet and a splendid army, and if his attention had not been diverted by a groundless hope based upon a still more groundless rumour, to the invasion of Egypt, Greece would very soon have been in the blaze of war. Even the Aetolians, a nation naturally restless and now intensely embittered against the Romans, would no longer remain quiet. And there was another most formidable mischief with its roots in the very vitals of Greece−Nabis, who was for the time being tyrant of Lacedaemon, but who if he were allowed would soon become tyrant of the whole of Greece, a man who in greed and brutality rivalled the most notorious tyrants in history. If, after the Roman armies had been carried back to Italy, he were allowed to hold Argos as a stronghold threatening the whole of the Peloponnese, the deliverance of Greece from Philip would have been effected in vain; in any case instead of a distant monarch as their lord they would have a tyrant at their doors.

After listening to these statements made by men of such weight and judgment, who, moreover, had made their report after personal investigation, the senate were of opinion that though the policy to be pursued towards Antiochus was the more important question before them, still, as the king, whatever his reason might be, had retired into Syria, it seemed better to consider first what to do about the tyrant. After a lengthy discussion as to whether there were sufficient grounds for a formal declaration of war or whether it would be enough to leave it to T. Quinctius to act, as far as Nabis was concerned, in whatever way he thought best in the interests of the State, the matter was finally left in his hands. Whether they took prompt steps or whether they delayed action it did not seem to them to be of vital importance to the commonwealth. A much more pressing question was what Hannibal and Carthage were likely to do in case of war with Antiochus. The members of the party opposed to Hannibal were constantly writing to their friends in Rome. According to their account, messengers and letters were being sent by Hannibal to Antiochus and emissaries from the king were holding secret conferences with him. Just as there were wild beasts which no skill could tame, so this man was untamable and implacable. He complained that his countrymen were becoming enervated through ease and self−indulgence, and slumbering in indolence and sloth, and said that nothing could rouse them but the clash of arms. People were all the more ready to believe these assertions when they remembered that it was this man who was responsible for the beginning quite as much as for the conduct of the late war. His recent action had also called forth strong resentment amongst many of the magnates.

The order of judges exercised supreme power in Carthage at that time, owing mainly to the fact that they held office for life. The property, reputation and life of everyone were in their power. Whoever offended one of the order had an enemy in every member, and when the judges were hostile there was always a prosecutor to be found amongst them. Whilst these men were exercising this unbridled despotism, for they used their power without any regard to the rights of their fellow−citizens, Hannibal, who had been appointed one of the presiding magistrates, ordered the quaestor to be summoned before him. The quaestor paid no attention to the summons; he belonged to the opposite party and, moreover, as the quaestors were generally advanced to the all−powerful order of judges he gave himself the airs of a man who was sure of promotion. Resenting this indignity Hannibal sent an officer to arrest the quaestor, and after he was brought into the assembly Hannibal denounced not only the quaestor but the whole of the judicial order, whose insolence and excessive power utterly subverted the laws and the authority of the magistrates who had to enforce them. When he saw that his words were making a favourable impression and

that the insolence and tyranny of that order were recognised as dangerous to the liberty of the meanest citizen, he at once proposed and carried a law enacting that the judges should be elected annually and that none should hold office for two consecutive years. Whatever popularity, however, he gained amongst the masses by his action was counterbalanced by the offence given to a large number of the aristocracy. A further step which he took in the public interest aroused intense hostility to him personally. The public revenues were being frittered away, partly through careless management and partly through being fraudulently appropriated by some of the political leaders and superior magistrates. The result was that there was not money enough to meet the annual payment of the indemnity to Rome, and there seemed every likelihood of a heavy tax being imposed upon the individual citizens.

When Hannibal had informed himself as to the amount of the national income from all sources, the objects for which calls upon it were made, what proportion was absorbed by the regular needs of the State and how much had been embezzled, he stated publicly in the assembly that if the balance were called up the government would be rich enough to meet the demands of Rome without any tax falling on individual citizens. And he was as good as his word. Those who had for years been battening on their pilferings from the national treasury were as furious as if it was the seizure of their personal property and not the forcible recovery of what they had stolen that was contemplated. In their rage they began to urge on the Romans, who were on their own account looking out for an opportunity of visiting their hate upon him. For a long time this policy found an opponent in P. Scipio Africanus. He considered it quite beneath the dignity of the Roman people to support the attacks of Hannibal's accusers or to allow the authority of the government to be mixed up with the party politics of Carthage, or not content with having defeated Hannibal in open war to treat him as though he were a criminal against whom they were to appear as prosecutors. At last, however, his opponents carried their point and delegates were sent to Carthage to point out to the senate there that Hannibal was concerting plans with Antiochus for commencing war. Cn. Servilius, M. Claudius Marcellus and Q. Terentius Culleo formed the delegation. On their arrival in Carthage they were advised by Hannibal's enemies to give out that people who asked the reason of their coming should be told that they had come to adjust the differences between Masinissa and the government of Carthage. This explanation was generally believed. Hannibal alone was not deceived, he knew that he was the object at which the Romans were aiming, and that the underlying motive of the peace with Carthage was that he might be left as the sole victim of their undying hostility. He decided to bow before the storm, and after making every preparation for flight he showed himself during the day in the forum to allay suspicion and as soon as it was dark he went in his official dress to the gate, accompanied by two attendants who were unaware of his design.

When the horses which he had ordered were ready, he rode during the night to Byzacium−the name of a country district−and the next day reached his castle on the coast between Acylla and Thapsus. There a ship was awaiting him, prepared for immediate departure. It was in this way that Hannibal withdrew from Africa, the country for whose misfortunes he had felt much more pity than for his own. That same day he landed in the island of Cercina. Here he found some Phoenician merchant ships lying in the harbour, and on his leaving his vessel there was a general rush to greet him. In reply to inquiries he gave out that he was on a mission to Tyre. Fearing, however, that one or other of these ships might leave in the night for Thapsus or Hadrumetum and report his appearance in Cercina, he ordered preparations for a sacrifice to be prepared and the ships' captains to be invited to the solemnity. He also gave directions for the sails and yards to be collected from the ships that they might serve as awnings to shade them at their feast, as it happened to be the middle of the summer. The entertainment was as sumptuous as time and circumstances permitted, and the conviviality was prolonged far into the night, much wine being consumed. As soon as he had an opportunity of escaping the observation of those in the harbour Hannibal set sail. The rest were all asleep and it was not till late the next day that they rose from their torpor, stupid with the effects of intoxication, and then had to spend several hours in getting the tackle of their vessels back into its place. At Hannibal's house in Carthage the usual crowd had collected in large numbers in the vestibule. When it became generally known that he was not to be found, the crowd surged into the forum demanding the appearance of their foremost citizen. Some, guessing the truth, suggested that he had fled, others−and these were the loudest and most numerous−said that he had been put to death through Roman treachery, and you might note the different expressions in their faces, as would be expected in a city torn by violent political partisanship. Then came the news that he had been seen in Cercina.

The Roman delegates informed the council of Carthage that the senate had definitely ascertained that it was mainly at Hannibal's instigation that Philip had made war on Rome, and now letters and messengers were being despatched to Antiochus and the Aetolians, and plans had been formed for driving Carthage into revolt. It was to Antiochus that he had gone, and nowhere else, and he would never rest until he had stirred up war throughout the whole world. If the Carthaginians wanted to satisfy the Roman people that none of his proceedings was in accordance with their wishes or sanctioned by their government, they must see that he did not go unpunished. The Carthaginians replied that they would do whatever the Romans thought right. After a fair voyage Hannibal reached Tyre, and the founders of Carthage welcomed as from a second fatherland the man who had achieved every possible distinction. After a short stay here he continued his voyage to Antiochia. Here he heard that the king had left for Asia, and he had an interview with his son, who was at the time celebrating the Games at Daphne, and who gave him a most friendly welcome. Anxious to lose no time he at once resumed his voyage and found the king at Ephesus, still unable to make up his mind on the question of war with Rome. Hannibal's arrival was not the least important factor in bringing him to a decision. The Aetolians, too, were now growing averse from their alliance with Rome. They had sent a mission to Rome to demand the restitution of Pharsalus, Leucas and certain other cities under the terms of the former treaty, and the senate referred them to Quinctius.

Book 34. Close of the Macedonian War

While the State was preoccupied by serious wars, some hardly yet over and others threatening, an incident occurred which though unimportant in itself resulted in a violent party conflict. Two of the tribunes of the plebs, M. Fundanius and L. Valerius, had brought in a proposal to repeal the Oppian Law. This law had been made on the motion of M. Oppius, a tribune of the plebs, during the consulship of Q. Fabius and Tiberius Sempronius, when the strain of the Punic War was most severely felt. It forbade any woman to have in her possession more than half an ounce of gold, to wear a dress of various colours or to ride in a two−horsed vehicle within a mile of the City or of any Roman town unless she was going to take part in some religious function. The two Brutuses−M. Junius and T. Junius−both tribunes of the plebs, defended the law and declared that they would not allow it to be repealed; many of the nobility came forward to speak in favour of the repeal or against it; the Capitol was crowded with supporters and opponents of the proposal; the matrons could not be kept indoors either by the authority of the magistrates or the orders of their husbands or their own sense of propriety. They filled all the streets and blocked the approaches to the Forum; they implored the men who were on their way thither to allow the women to resume their former adornments now that the commonwealth was flourishing and private fortunes increasing every day. Their numbers were daily augmented by those who came up from the country towns. At last they ventured to approach the consuls and praetors and other magistrates with their demands. One of the consuls at all events was inexorably opposed to their request−M. Porcius Cato. He spoke as follows in defence of the law:

"If we had, each one of us, made it a rule to uphold the rights and authority of the husband in our own households we should not now have this trouble with the whole body of our women. As things are now our liberty of action, which has been checked and rendered powerless by female despotism at home, is actually crushed and trampled on here in the Forum, and because we were unable to withstand them individually we have now to dread their united strength. I used to think that it was a fabulous story which tells us that in a certain island the whole of the male sex was extirpated by a conspiracy amongst the women; there is no class of women from whom the gravest dangers may not arise, if once you allow intrigues, plots, secret cabals to go on. I can hardly make up my mind which is worse, the affair itself or the disastrous precedent set up. The latter concerns us as consuls and magistrates; the former has to do more with you, Quirites. Whether the measure before you is for the good of the commonwealth or not is for you to determine by your votes; this tumult amongst the women, whether a spontaneous movement or due to your instigation, M. Fundanius and L. Valerius, certainly points to failure on the part of the magistrates, but whether it reflects more on you tribunes or on the consuls I do not know. It brings the greater discredit on you if you have carried your tribunitian agitation so far as to create unrest among the women, but more disgrace upon us if we have to submit to laws being imposed upon us through fear of a secession on

their part, as we had to do formerly on occasions of the secession of the plebs. It was not without a feeling of shame that I made my way into the Forum through a regular army of women. Had not my respect for the dignity and modesty of some amongst them, more than any consideration for them as a whole, restrained me from letting them be publicly rebuked by a consul, I should have said, 'What is this habit you have formed of running abroad and blocking the streets and accosting men who are strangers to you? Could you not each of you put the very same question to your husbands at home? Surely you do not make yourselves more attractive in public than in private, to other women's husbands more than to your own? If matrons were kept by their natural modesty within the limits of their rights, it would be most unbecoming for you to trouble yourselves even at home about the laws which may be passed or repealed here.' Our ancestors would have no woman transact even private business except through her guardian, they placed them under the tutelage of parents or brothers or husbands. We suffer them now to dabble in politics and mix themselves up with the business of the Forum and public debates and election contests. What are they doing now in the public roads and at the street corners but recommending to the plebs the proposal of their tribunes and voting for the repeal of the law. Give the reins to a headstrong nature, to a creature that has not been tamed, and then hope that they will themselves set bounds to their licence if you do not do it yourselves. This is the smallest of those restrictions which have been imposed upon women by ancestral custom or by laws, and which they submit to with such impatience. What they really want is unrestricted freedom, or to speak the truth, licence, and if they win on this occasion what is there that they will not attempt?

"Call to mind all the regulations respecting women by which our ancestors curbed their licence and made them obedient to their husbands, and yet in spite of all those restrictions you can scarcely hold them in. If you allow them to pull away these restraints and wrench them out one after another, and finally put themselves on an equality with their husbands, do you imagine that you will be able to tolerate them? From the moment that they become your fellows they will become your masters. But surely, you say, what they object to is having a new restriction imposed upon them, they are not deprecating the assertion of a right but the infliction of a wrong. No, they are demanding the abrogation of a law which you enacted by your suffrages and which the practical experience of all these years has approved and justified. This they would have you repeal; that means that by rescinding this they would have you weaken all. No law is equally agreeable to everybody, the only question is whether it is beneficial on the whole and good for the majority. If everyone who feels himself personally aggrieved by a law is to destroy it and get rid of it, what is gained by the whole body of citizens making laws which those against whom they are enacted can in a short time repeal? I want, however, to learn the reason why these excited matrons have run out into the streets and scarcely keep away from the Forum and the Assembly. Is it that those taken prisoners by Hannibal−their fathers and husbands and children and brothers−may be ransomed? The republic is a long way from this misfortune, and may it ever remain so! Still, when this did happen, you refused to do so in spite of their dutiful entreaties. But, you may say, it is not dutiful affection and solicitude for those they love that has brought them together; they are going to welcome Mater Idaea on her way from Phrygian Pessinus. What pretext in the least degree respectable is put forward for this female insurrection? 'That we may shine,' they say, 'in gold and purple, that we may ride in carriages on festal and ordinary days alike, as though in triumph for having defeated and repealed a law after capturing and forcing from you your votes.'

"You have often heard me complain of the expensive habits of women and often, too, of those of men, not only private citizens but even magistrates, and I have often said that the community suffers from two opposite vices−avarice and luxury−pestilential diseases which have proved the ruin of all great empires. The brighter and better the fortunes of the republic become day by day, and the greater the growth of its dominion−and now we are penetrating into Greece and Asia, regions filled with everything that can tempt appetite or excite desire, and are even laying hands on the treasures of kings−so much the more do I dread the prospect of these things taking us captive rather than we them. It was a bad day for this City, believe me, when the statues were brought from Syracuse. I hear far too many people praising and admiring those which adorn Athens and Corinth and laughing at the clay images of our gods standing in front of their temples. I for my part prefer these gods who are propitious to us, and I trust that they will continue to be so as long as we allow them to remain in their present abodes.

In the days of our forefathers Pyrrhus attempted, through his ambassador Cineas, to tamper with the loyalty of women as well as men by means of bribes. The Law of Oppius in restraint of female extravagance had not then been passed, still not a single woman accepted a bribe. What do you think was the reason? The same reason which our forefathers had for not making any law on the subject; there was no extravagance to be restrained. Diseases must be recognised before remedies are applied, and so the passion for self−indulgence must be in existence before the laws which are to curb it. What called out the Licinian Law which restricted estates to 500 jugera except the keen desire of adding field to field? What led to the passing of the Cincian Law concerning presents and fees except the condition of the plebeians who had become tributaries and taxpayers to the senate? It is not therefore in the least surprising that neither the Oppian nor any other law was in those days required to set limits to the expensive habits of women when they refused to accept the gold and purple that was freely offered to them. If Cineas were to go in these days about the City with his gifts, he would find women standing in the streets quite ready to accept them.

There are some desires of which I cannot penetrate either the motive or the reason. That what is permitted to another should be forbidden to you may naturally create a feeling of shame or indignation, but when all are upon the same level as far as dress is concerned why should any one of you fear that you will not attract notice ? The very last things to be ashamed of are thriftiness and poverty, but this law relieves you of both since you do not possess what it forbids you to possess. The wealthy woman says, 'This levelling down is just what I do not tolerate. Why am I not to be admired and looked at for my gold and purple? Why is the poverty of others disguised under this appearance of law so that they may be thought to have possessed, had the law allowed it, what it was quite out of their power to possess?'

Do you want, Quirites, to plunge your wives into a rivalry of this nature, where the rich desire to have what no one else can afford, and the poor, that they may not be despised for their poverty, stretch their expenses beyond their means? Depend upon it, as soon as a woman begins to be ashamed of what she ought not to be ashamed of she will cease to feel shame at what she ought to be ashamed of. She who is in a position to do so will get what she wants with her own money, she who cannot do this will ask her husband. The husband is in a pitiable plight whether he yields or refuses; in the latter case he will see another giving what he refused to give. Now they are soliciting other women's husbands, and what is worse they are soliciting votes for the repeal of a law, and are getting them from some, against the interest of you and your property and your children. When once the law has ceased to fix a limit to your wife's expenses, you will never fix one. Do not imagine that things will be the same as they were before the law was made. It is safer for an evil−doer not to be prosecuted than for him to be tried and then acquitted, and luxury and extravagance would have been more tolerable had they never been interfered with than they will be now, just like wild beasts which have been irritated by their chains and then released. I give my vote against every attempt to repeal the law, and pray that all the gods may give your action a fortunate result."

After this the tribunes of the plebs who had announced their intention of vetoing the repeal spoke briefly to the same effect. Then L. Valerius made the following speech in defence of his proposal: "If it had been only private citizens who came forward to argue in favour of, or against, the measure we have brought in, I should have awaited your votes in silence as I should have considered that enough had been said on either side. But now, when a man of such weight of character as M. Porcius, our consul, is opposing our bill, not simply by exerting his personal authority which, even had he remained silent, would have had very great influence, but also in a long and carefully thought out speech, it is necessary to make a brief reply. He spent, it is true, more time in castigating the matrons than in arguing against the bill, and he even left it doubtful whether the action of the matrons which he censured was due to their own initiative or to our instigation. I shall defend the measure and not ourselves, for that was thrown out as a suggestion rather than as an actual charge. Because we are now enjoying the blessings of peace and the commonwealth is flourishing and happy, the matrons are making a public request to you that you will repeal a law which was passed against them under the pressure of a time of war. He denounces this action of theirs as a plot, a seditious movement, and he sometimes calls it a female secession. I know how these and other strong expressions are selected to bolster up a case, and we all know that, though naturally of a gentle disposition, Cato is a powerful speaker and sometimes almost menacing. What innovation have the matrons been guilty of by

publicly assembling in such numbers for a cause which touches them so closely? Have they never appeared in public before? I will quote your own 'Origines' against you. Hear how often they have done this and always to the benefit of the State.

"At the very beginning, during the reign of Romulus, after the capture of the Capitol by the Sabines, when a pitched battle had begun in the Forum, was not the conflict stopped by the matrons rushing between the lines? And when after the expulsion of the kings the Volscian legions under their leader Caius Marcius had fixed their camp at the fifth milestone from the City, was it not the matrons who warded off that enemy by whom otherwise this City would have been laid in ruins? When it had been captured by the Gauls, how was it ransomed? By the matrons, of course, who by general agreement brought their contributions to the treasury. And without searching for ancient precedents, was it not the case that in the late war when money was needed the treasury was assisted by the money of the widows? Even when new deities were invited to help us in the hour of our distress did not the matrons go in a body down to the shore to receive Mater Idaea? You say that they were actuated by different motives then. It is not my purpose to establish the identity of motives, it is sufficient to clear them from the charge of strange unheard−of conduct. And yet, in matters which concern men and women alike, their action occasioned surprise to no one; why then should we be surprised at their taking the same action in a cause which especially interests them? But what have they done? We must, believe me, have the ears of tyrants if, whilst masters condescend to listen to the prayers of their slaves we deem it an indignity to be asked a favour by honourable women.

"I come now to the matter of debate. Here the consul adopted a twofold line of argument, for he protested against any law being repealed and in particular against the repeal of this law which had been passed to restrain female extravagance. His defence of the laws as a whole seemed to me such as a consul ought to make and his strictures on luxury were quite in keeping with his strict and severe moral code. Unless, therefore, we show the weakness of both lines of argument there is some risk of your being led into error. As to laws which have been made not for a temporary emergency, but for all time as being of permanent utility, I admit that none of them ought to be repealed except where experience has shown it to be hurtful or political changes have rendered it useless. But I see that the laws which have been necessitated by particular crises are, if I may say so, mortal and subject to change with the changing times. Laws made in times of peace war generally repeals, those made during war peace rescinds, just as in the management of a ship some things are useful in fair weather and others in foul. As these two classes of laws are distinct in their nature, to which class would the law which we are repealing appear to belong? Is it an ancient law of the kings, coeval with the City, or, which is the next thing to it, did the decemviri who were appointed to codify the laws inscribe it on the Twelve Tables as an enactment without which our forefathers thought that the honour and dignity of our matrons could not be preserved, and if we repeal it shall we have reason to fear that we shall destroy with it the self−respect and purity of our women? Who does not know that this is quite a recent law passed twenty years ago in the consulship of Q. Fabius and Tiberius Sempronius? If the matrons led exemplary lives without it, what danger can there possibly be of their plunging into luxury if it is repealed? If that law had been passed with the sole motive of limiting female excesses there might be some ground for apprehension that the repeal might encourage them, but the circumstances under which it was passed will reveal its object.

Hannibal was in Italy; he had won the victory of Cannae; he was now master of Tarentum, Arpi and Capua; there was every likelihood that he would bring his army up to Rome. Our allies had fallen away from us, we had no reserves from which to make good our losses, no seamen to render our navy effective, and no money in the treasury. We had to arm the slaves and they were bought from their owners on condition that the purchase money should be paid at the end of the war; the contractors undertook to supply corn and everything else required for the war, to be paid for at the same date. We gave up our slaves to act as rowers in numbers proportionate to our assessment and placed all our gold and silver at the service of the State, the senators setting the example. Widows and minors invested their money in the public funds and a law was passed fixing the maximum of gold and silver coinage which we were to keep in our houses. Was it at such a crisis as this that the matrons were so given to luxury that the Oppian Law was needed to restrain them, when, owing to their being in mourning, the sacrificial

rites of Ceres had been intermitted and the senate in consequence ordered the mourning to be terminated in thirty days? Who does not see that the poverty and wretched condition of the citizens, every one of whom had to devote his money to the needs of the commonwealth, were the real enactors of that law which was to remain in force as long as the reason for its enactment remained in force? If every decree made by the senate and every order made by the people to meet the emergency is to remain in force for all time, why are we repaying to private citizens the sums they advanced? Why are we making public contracts on the basis of immediate payment? Why are slaves not being purchased to serve as soldiers, and each of us giving up our slaves to serve as rowers as we did then?

"All orders of society, all men will feel the change for the better in the condition of the republic; are our wives alone to be debarred from the enjoyment of peace and prosperity? We, their husbands, shall wear purple, the toga praetexta will mark those holding magisterial and priestly offices, our children will wear it, with its purple border; the right to wear it belongs to the magistrates in the military colonies and the municipal towns. Nor is it only in their lifetime that they enjoy this distinction; when they die they are cremated in it. You husbands are at liberty to wear a purple wrap over your dress, will you refuse to allow your wives to wear a purple mantle? Are the trappings of your horses to be more gorgeous than the dress of your wives? Purple fabrics, however, become frayed and worn out, and in their case I recognise some reason, though a very unfair one, for his opposition; but what is there to offend with regard to gold, which suffers no waste except on the cost of working it? On the contrary, it rather protects us in the time of need and forms a resource available for either public or private requirements, as you have learnt by experience. Cato said that there was no individual rivalry amongst them since none possessed what might make others jealous. No, but most certainly there is general grief and indignation felt among them when they see the wives of our Latin allies permitted to wear ornaments which they have been deprived of, when they see them resplendent in gold and purple and driving through the City while they have to follow on foot, just as though the seat of empire was in the Latin cities and not in their own. This would be enough to hurt the feelings of men, what then think you must be the feelings of poor little women who are affected by small things? Magistracies, priestly functions, triumphs, military decorations and rewards, spoils of war−none of these fall to their lot. Neatness, elegance, personal adornment, attractive appearance and looks−these are the distinctions they covet, in these they delight and pride themselves; these things our ancestors called the ornament of women. What do they lay aside when they are in mourning except their gold and purple, to resume them when they go out of mourning? How do they prepare themselves for days of public rejoicing and thanksgiving beyond assuming richer personal adornment? I suppose you think that if you repeal the Oppian Law, and should wish to forbid anything which the law forbids now, it will not be in your power to do so, and that some will lose all legal rights over their daughters and wives and sisters. No; women are never freed from subjection as long as their husbands and fathers are alive; they deprecate the freedom which orphanhood and widowhood bring. They would rather leave their personal adornment to your decision than to that of the law. It is your duty to act as their guardians and protectors and not treat them as slaves; you ought to wish to be called fathers and husbands, instead of lords and masters. The consul made use of invidious language when he spoke of female sedition and secession. Do you really think there is any danger of their seizing the Sacred Mount as the exasperated plebs once did, or of their taking possession of the Aventine? Whatever decision you come to, they in their weakness will have to submit to it. The greater your power, so much the more moderate ought you to be in exercising it."

After these speeches in support of and against the law the women poured out into the streets the next day in much greater force and went in a body to the house of the two Brutuses, who were vetoing their colleagues' proposal, and beset all the doors, nor would they desist till the tribunes had abandoned their opposition. There was no doubt now that the tribes would be unanimous in rescinding the law. It was abrogated twenty years after it had been made. After this matter was settled Cato at once left the City and with twenty−five ships of war, five of which belonged to the allies, sailed to the port of Luna, where the army had also received orders to muster. He had published an edict through the whole length of the coast requiring ships of every description to be assembled at Luna, and there he left orders that they should follow him to the Port of the Pyrenees, it being his intention to advance against the enemy with his full naval strength. Sailing past the Ligurian coast and the Gulf of Gaul, they assembled there by the appointed day. Cato sailed on to Rhoda and expelled the Spanish garrison who were holding the fort. From Rhoda a favourable wind brought him to Emporiae. Here he disembarked the whole of his

force with the exception of the crews of the vessels.

At that time Emporiae consisted of two towns divided by a wall. One was inhabited by Greeks who had, like the people of Massilia, originally come from Phocaea; the other contained a Spanish population. As the Greek town was almost entirely open to the sea its walls were less than half a mile in circuit; the Spanish town, further back from the sea, had walls with a circuit of three miles. A third element in the population was formed by some Roman colonists who had been settled there by the deified Caesar after the final defeat of Pompey's sons. At the present day all have been fused into one municipal body by the grant of Roman citizenship, in the first instance to the Spaniards and then to the Greeks. Anyone who saw how the Greeks were exposed to attacks on the one side from the open sea and from the Spaniards on the other side might wonder what there was that afforded them protection. Discipline was the guardian of their weakness, a quality which among stronger nations is best maintained by fear. They kept that portion of the wall which faced inland extremely well fortified, only one gate was situated on that side and it was always guarded night and day by one of the magistrates. During the night one−third of the citizens were on duty on the walls, not simply as a matter of routine or regulation, they kept up their watches and patrols as if an enemy were at their gates. No Spaniards were allowed within their city, nor did they themselves venture outside their walls without proper precautions. The exits to the sea were open to all. They never went out through the gate which faced the Spanish town unless a large number went together, and it was generally the body who had mounted guard on the walls the night before. The object of their going outside this gate was as follows: the Spaniards, unfamiliar with the sea, were glad to purchase the goods which the Greeks received from abroad and at the same time to sell the products of their fields to them. Owing to the need of this mutual intercourse the Spanish city was always open to the Greeks. An additional security was found in the friendship of Rome, under whose shelter they lay and to which they were quite as loyal as the Massilians, though their strength and resources were so much less. On this occasion they gave the consul and his army a hearty welcome. Cato made a short stay there, and while he was gaining intelligence as to the strength and position of the enemy he spent the interval in exercising his troops, that they might not waste their time. It happened to be the time of the year when the Spaniards had their corn stored in the barns. Cato forbade the army contractors to supply any corn to the troops, and sent them back to Rome with the remark, "War feeds itself." Then, advancing from Emporiae, he laid the enemy's fields waste with fire and sword, and spread terror and flight in all directions.

During this time M. Helvius, who was on his way from Further Spain with a force of 6000 men sent by the praetor Appius Claudius to escort him, fell in with an immense body of Celtiberians near the town of Iliturgi. Valerius states that they amounted to 20,000 men and that 12,000 were killed, the town of Iliturgi taken and all the adult males put to the sword. After this Helvius reached Cato's camp and as the country was now safe he sent his escort back to Further Spain and on his arrival at Rome celebrated his victory by entering the City in ovation. He brought into the treasury 732 pounds' weight of uncoined silver, 17,023 Spanish denarii, and 11,943 of Oscan silver. The reason why the senate refused him a triumph was that he had fought under another man's auspices and in another man's province. Moreover he did not return till two years after he had given up his command, for after handing over the administration to his successor, Q. Minucius, he was detained in the province by a long and dangerous illness. In consequence of this he entered the City only two months before Q. Minucius celebrated his triumph. The latter brought home 34,800 pounds' weight of silver, 73,000 denarii, and 278,000 of Oscan silver.

The consul in Spain was encamped not far from Emporiae. Here he was approached by three envoys from Bilistages, the chief of the Ilergetes, one of them the chief's son. They reported that their strongholds were being attacked and they were hopeless of making a successful resistance unless the Roman general sent a force: 3000 men would be sufficient; the enemy would not stay to fight if such a large body of troops came into the field. The consul told them that he was greatly concerned for their danger and their fears, but his numbers were by no means sufficient to allow of his reducing his strength by dividing his forces while the enemy were so near and he was daily expecting to have to fight a pitched battle with them. On hearing this the envoys flung themselves in tears at the consul's feet and implored him not to desert them in an hour of such sore distress. Where could they, they cried, go if they were repulsed by the Romans? They had no allies, no hope of succour anywhere else in the world. They could have avoided this danger had they been willing to break faith and make common cause with

the rest of their countrymen. No threats, no intimidation had moved them so long as they hoped to find sufficient help and support from the Romans. If there was none to be had, if their request was refused by the consul, they called gods and men to witness that, against their will and through sheer compulsion, they would have to desert the cause of Rome lest they should suffer what the Saguntines had suffered. They would rather perish with the rest of the Spaniards than meet their fate alone.

The envoys were dismissed for the day without receiving any reply. The consul passed an anxious night trying to decide between the two alternatives: he did not want to desert his allies nor did he want to weaken his army, a course which might possibly delay the decisive conflict, or, if it should come on, endanger his success. He finally made up his mind not to part with any of his troops lest the enemy should inflict some humiliation upon him, and he decided to hold out the hope of assistance to his allies instead of actually giving it. He reflected that promises have often been as effective as performance, especially in war; to the man who believes that he has help to fall back upon it is just the same as if he had it, his very belief nerves him to hope and to dare. The next day he gave his reply to the envoys, and assured them that though he was afraid of weakening his force for the benefit of others, he nevertheless made more account of the critical and dangerous position they were in than he did of his own. He then ordered a third of the men in each cohort to cook the food, which they were to take on board in good time, and orders were at the same time issued for the ships to be ready to sail in three days' time. He told two of the envoys to report these measures to Bilistages and the Ilergetes; the third, the chief's son, he succeeded, by his affability and the presents he gave him, in keeping with him. The envoys did not leave until they saw the soldiers actually on board, then, no longer feeling any doubts, they spread far and wide amongst friends and foes the news of the approach of Roman succour.

When the consul had kept up appearances long enough he recalled the soldiers from the ships, and as the season for active operations was now approaching, he fixed his camp at a distance of three miles from Emporiae. From this position he sent his men into the enemy's fields in quest of plunder, first in one quarter and then in another as occasion served, leaving only a small guard in the camp. They generally started at night in order to cover as great a distance from the camp as possible and also to take the enemy by surprise. This kind of thing was a training for the new levies and led to the capture of numerous prisoners, till the enemy no longer ventured outside the defences of their forts. When he had thoroughly tested the temper of his own men and that of the enemy he ordered the military tribunes and prefects of the allies, as well as all the cavalry and centurions, to appear on parade and addressed them as follows: "You have often wished for the time when you might have an opportunity of displaying your courage; that time has now come. So far your operations have resembled those of marauders rather than of warriors, now you shall join issue with the enemy in a regular battle. Henceforth you will be allowed, instead of ravaging fields, to drain cities of their wealth. When the Carthaginian commanders and armies were in Spain, our fathers had not a single soldier here, and yet they insisted upon a clause being added to the treaty fixing the Ebro as the boundary of their dominion. Now, when a consul, two praetors and three Roman armies are occupying Spain, and not a single Carthaginian has been seen in this province for the last ten years, our dominion on this side of the Ebro has been lost to us. It is your duty to win this back by your arms and courage and to compel a nation, which starts a war in a spirit of recklessness rather than of steady determination, to submit once more to the yoke which it has cast off." After these words of encouragement he announced that he should lead them that night against the enemy's camp. They were then dismissed to take food and rest.

After attending to the auspices the consul started at midnight in order that he might take up the position which he intended to secure before the enemy were aware of his movements. He led his troops round to the rear of the enemy's camp and formed them into line at daybreak, after which he sent three cohorts right up to the hostile rampart. Startled by the appearance of the Romans behind their lines, the barbarians flew to arms. Meanwhile the consul briefly addressed his men. "There is no hope," he said, "anywhere but in courage, and indeed I have taken care that there shall not be. Between us and our camp is the enemy, and behind us enemy country. The noblest course is also the safest, and that is to rest all your hopes in your valour." Then he ordered the cohorts to be recalled that their feigned retreat might draw the natives out of their camp. His anticipations were realised. They thought that the Romans had retired through fear, and bursting out of their camp they covered with their numbers

the whole of the ground between their camp and the Roman line of battle. Whilst they were hurriedly forming their ranks the consul, whose dispositions were completed, commenced the attack. The cavalry on the two wings were the first to get into action, but those on the right were immediately repulsed and their hasty retirement created alarm amongst the infantry. On seeing this, the consul ordered two picked cohorts to be taken round the enemy's right and to show themselves in his rear before the infantry became engaged. This menace to the enemy made the battle a more even one; still, the right wing, both cavalry and infantry, had become so demoralised that the consul seized some of them with his own hand and turned them towards the foe. As long as the action was confined to the discharge of missiles it was equally contested on both sides, but now the Roman right where the panic and flight began was with difficulty holding its ground; the left, on the other hand, was pressing back the barbarians in front, and the cohorts in the rear were creating a panic amongst them. When they had discharged their iron javelins and fire darts they drew their swords and the fighting became more furious. They were no longer wounded by chance hits from a distance, but foot to foot with the foe they had only their strength and courage to trust to.

Finding that his men were becoming exhausted, the consul rekindled their courage by bringing up the reserves from the second line. The front was re−formed, and these fresh troops attacking the wearied enemy with fresh weapons made a fierce charge in a dense body and broke their lines, and once broken they soon scattered in flight and rushed through the fields in the direction of their camp. When Cato saw the whole battleground filled with fugitives he galloped back to the second legion which was stationed in reserve, ordered the standards to be borne before him and the whole legion to follow him at the double to attack the hostile camp. When a man in his eagerness ran out of his rank the consul rode up and struck him with his sparus and ordered the military tribunes and centurions to chastise him. The attack on the camp had already begun, but the Romans were unable to reach the stockade, as they were held up by stones and stakes and every description of missile. The appearance of the fresh legion put heart into the assailants and made the enemy fight still more desperately in front of their breastwork. The consul surveyed the whole position that he might find out where there was the weakest resistance and therefore the best chance of breaking through. He saw that the defenders were in least force at the left−hand gate of their camp, and to this point he directed the hastati and principes of the second legion. The defenders who were holding the gate could not withstand their charge, and when the others saw the enemy within their lines they abandoned all further attempts to retain their camp and flung away their arms and standards. Many were killed at the gates, jammed together by the crowding in the narrow space, and whilst the soldiers of the second legion were cutting the enemy from behind, the rest plundered the camp. Valerius Antias says that more than 40,000 of the enemy were killed that day. Cato, who certainly does not depreciate his own merits, says that many were killed, but does not give the actual numbers.

(He is considered to have done three things on that day which deserve praise. One was his leading his army round the hostile camp into a position far from his ships and his own camp where his men had nothing to trust to but their courage, and also joining battle with the enemy on both sides of him. The second was his maneuver of throwing the cohorts on the enemy's rear. The third was his order to the second legion to advance in battle formation right up to the gate of the camp while the rest of his troops were scattered in pursuit of the enemy.) After this battle the consul's victorious advance was uninterrupted. When the signal had been given to retire and he had withdrawn his men loaded with spoil into camp, he allowed them a few hours' rest and then led them off to harry the fields. As the enemy had been scattered in flight they extended their depredations over a wider extent of country, and this action contributed no less than the battle to force the inhabitants of Spanish Emporiae and the settlers amongst them to surrender; many from other communities who had taken refuge in Emporiae also surrendered. The consul addressed them all in kind terms and dismissed them to their homes. He at once resumed his advance, and wherever his army marched delegates from the various communities met him to make their surrender. By the time he reached Tarraco the whole of Spain on this side the Ebro had been subjugated and the soldiers belonging to the Roman and allied troops who had through various mishaps been made prisoners in Spain were brought by the natives as a gift to the consul. Then a rumour was spread that the consul intended to take his army into Turdetania, and it was even reported−quite falsely−that he had actually marched against the secluded dwellers in the mountains. On this idle and absolutely groundless rumour seven fortified places belonging to the

Bergistani revolted. The consul reduced them to submission without any serious fighting. After he had returned to Tarraco and before he made any further advance these same people again revolted and again they were subdued, but they were not treated so leniently. They were all sold into slavery to prevent any further disturbance of peace.

In the meantime the praetor, P. Manlius, marched into Turdetania with the army which he had taken over from his predecessor Q. Minucius and, in addition, the force which Appius Claudius Nero had commanded in Further Spain. The Turdetani are considered the least warlike of all the Spanish tribes; nevertheless, trusting to their numbers, they ventured to oppose the Roman armies. A cavalry charge threw them at once into disorder; the infantry encounter was hardly a contest, the seasoned troops, familiar with the tactics of the enemy, left no doubt as to the issue of the fight. Still, that battle did not end the war. The Turduli hired a force of 10,000 Celtiberian mercenaries and prepared to carry on hostilities with foreign arms. While this was going on, the consul, seriously perturbed by the rising of the Bergistani, and convinced that all the other tribes would do the same whenever they had the chance, disarmed the whole of the Spanish population on this side of the Ebro. This step aroused such bitter feeling that many of them destroyed themselves, for they were a brave and high−spirited nation, and did not think life worth living without the possession of arms. On this being reported to the consul he summoned the senators in all the cities to meet him. "It is not," he told them, "more in our interest than in yours that you should abstain from hostilities; hitherto your wars have always involved more suffering for the Spaniards than toil and trouble for the Romans. I know of only one way in which this can be prevented, and that is to put it out of your power to commence hostilities. I am anxious to attain that result with as little harshness as possible. You must help me in this matter with your advice. I shall adopt no plan more gladly than the one which you yourselves suggest." As they remained silent, he said he would give them a few days for deliberation. After they had been summoned to a second conference, at which they still remained silent, he levelled the walls of all their cities in a single day, and during his advance against those which were still refractory he received the submission of all the cities in each district into which he came. The sole exception was Segestica, and this important and wealthy city he took by storm.

The subjugation of the enemy was a more difficult task for Cato than it had been for those generals who had entered Spain for the first time. The Spaniards went over to them because they were sick of the domination of Carthage, but Cato had, so to speak, to reclaim them like slaves who had asserted and enjoyed freedom. He found commotion everywhere, some tribes were in arms, others were having their cities besieged to drive them into revolt, and had it not been for his timely succour their powers of resistance must have been exhausted. But the consul was a man of such force and energy that he took up and executed single−handed the greatest and smallest tasks alike; he not only thought out and gave directions as to what was best to be done, but he carried most of his measures through personally. Over no one in the army did he exercise severer discipline than over himself; in his frugal mode of life, in his incessant vigilance and hard work he rivalled the meanest of his soldiers. The only privilege he enjoyed in his army was his rank and authority.

The Turdetani, as I have already stated, were employing Celtiberian mercenaries, and this added to the praetor's difficulties in his campaign against them. He wrote to Cato for assistance and the consul marched his legions thither, and found on arrival that the Celtiberians and the Turdetani were occupying separate camps. With the Turdetanian patrols encounters commenced at once and the Romans always came off victorious, however desultory the fighting. The Celtiberians were treated differently; the consul ordered the military tribunes to go to them and give them the choice of three courses: to go over to the Romans and receive double the pay that they were to get from the Turdetanians, or to depart to their homes under a guarantee from the Roman Government that they should not suffer for having joined their enemies, or, if they were in any case bent on war, to fix a time and place where they could decide the matter by arms. The Celtiberians asked for a day's grace for consultation. A council was held, but owing to the presence of the Turdetani and the confusion and disorder which prevailed, no decision could be arrived at. Whilst the question of war or peace was still in suspense the Romans were bringing provisions from the fields and fortified villages of the enemy, and often entered their entrenchments as many as ten at a time, just as though there was a tacit truce admitting of general intercourse. As the consul could not induce the enemy to fight, he sent some light−armed cohorts on a plundering expedition into a part of the country

which had not yet suffered spoliation. He next marched to Segestia with the view of attacking it, as he heard that all the baggage and personal belongings of the Celtiberians had been left there. As, however, nothing would make them move, he returned with an escort of seven cohorts to the Ebro, after discharging the arrears of pay to his own men and to the praetor's army as well. The whole of his army he left in the praetor's camp.

Small as the force was which he had with him, the consul captured several towns; the Sedetani, the Ausetani, and the Suessetani went over to him. The Lacetani, a remote forest tribe, remained in arms, partly through their native love of fighting and partly through the fear of retribution from the tribes friendly to Rome, amongst whom they had made plundering raids whilst the consul was occupied with the war against the Turdetani. It was for this reason that the consul brought up to attack them not only his Roman cohorts but also the troops of the friendly tribes who had their own accounts to settle with them. Their town was considerably greater in length than in breadth. The consul halted his men a little less than half a mile from the place. Leaving some picked cohorts on guard with strict orders not to move from the spot till he returned to them, he led the rest of his force round to the further side of the town. His auxiliaries were mostly Suessetani, and he ordered them to advance up to the walls for the assault. As soon as the Lacetani recognised their arms and standards and remembered how often they had raided their fields with impunity and routed and scattered them in battle they flung open their gates and all in a body rushed upon them. The Suessetani did not wait for their battle−shout, much less their charge. The consul expected this, and on seeing what had happened he galloped close under the enemy's walls back to his cohorts and hurried them up to a part of the town where all was silence and solitude, as the defenders had gone off in pursuit of the Suessetani. The whole place passed into his hands before the Lacetani returned. Finding that they had nothing left them but their arms, they soon surrendered.

The victorious consul at once led his army against Vergium, a fortified place which served mainly as a haunt and shelter for brigands who were in the habit of raiding the peaceable districts of the province. Vergestanus, the chief, came over to the consul and on his own behalf and that of his fellow−townsmen disavowed any complicity with them. He and his friends could take no part in public affairs, when the brigands had been once admitted they made themselves masters of the whole place. The consul directed him to return home and make up some plausible reason for his absence. Then, when he saw the Romans approaching the walls and the brigands fully occupied in defending them, he was not to forget to seize the citadel with his sympathisers. Vergestanus carried out his instructions and the brigands found themselves menaced by a double danger, on the one side by the Romans who were scaling the walls and on the other by the seizure of the citadel. When the consul had gained possession of the town he gave orders for those who had held the citadel to be set at liberty, together with all their relations, and to retain their property; the rest of the townsfolk be made over to the quaestor to be sold as slaves, and the brigands were summarily executed. After the province was pacified Cato organised the working of the iron and silver mines so satisfactorily that they produced a considerable revenue, and the province in consequence became constantly richer. For these successful operations the senators decreed a three days' thanksgiving.

During this summer the other consul, L. Valerius Flaccus, fought a successful action in Gaul with a body of Boii near the forest of Litanae; 8000 Gauls are stated to have been killed; the rest, abandoning all further resistance, dispersed to their homes. During the remainder of the summer the consul kept his army around the Po in the neighbourhood of Placentia and Cremona, and repaired the ravages which had been made in war. Such was the position of affairs in Spain and Italy. In Greece T. Quinctius had made such use of his time through the winter that, with the exception of the Aetolians who had not received the rewards of victory which they expected and were quite incapable of remaining quiet for any length of time, the whole of Greece was supremely happy in the enjoyment of the blessings of peace and liberty, and was filled with admiration at the moderation and justice and self−control which the Roman general displayed in the hour of victory no less than at the courage and ability he had shown in war.

At this juncture there was handed to him the decree of the senate declaring war on Nabis the Lacedaemonian. After reading it he summoned a meeting of delegates from every State in Greece to be held in Corinth. It was attended by representatives from all quarters, even the Aetolians put in an appearance. The consul addressed the

gathering in the following terms: "The war against Philip was conducted by the Romans and the Greeks with a common aim and united action, though each had their own grounds of quarrel. He had broken off friendly relations with Rome by first assisting her enemies the Carthaginians and then by attacking her allies in this country. Towards you his conduct has been such that, if we could have forgotten our own wrongs, those inflicted on you would have been a sufficient justification for war. Today's deliberation, however, solely concerns yourselves. The question I am laying before you is whether you are willing that Argos, which as you know has been taken possession of by Nabis, should remain under his rule, or whether you think it right that a city of such antiquity and renown, situated in the heart of Greece, should be restored to liberty and placed in the same condition as all the other cities in the Peloponnese and the mainland of Greece. This question, as you see, is one that you must decide wholly for yourselves; it in no way touches the Romans except so far as the servitude of any one city deprives them of the full and untarnished glory of effecting the liberation of Greece."

After the Roman commander's speech others were asked to express their views. The Athenian delegate began by expressing the utmost gratitude for the services which the Romans had rendered to Greece. He pointed out that they had given assistance against Philip in answer to most pressing appeals, but their offer of help against Nabis was purely spontaneous, and he expressed strong indignation against remarks which some had made who had tried to belittle these great services and thrown out dark hints about the future when they ought rather to have expressed their grateful acknowledgments for the past. It was obvious that this was a hit at the Aetolians, and Alexander, their foremost citizen, replied with a bitter attack upon the Athenians, who, he said, had in old days been the first champions of liberty and were now betraying the common cause and trying to curry favour for themselves. He then protested against the action of the Achaeans in first fighting under Philip's banner and then, when his fortunes declined, turning renegades and after capturing Corinth scheming to get possession of Argos. The Aetolians, he declared, were the first to oppose Philip, they had always been allies of Rome, and though it was laid down in the treaty that after Philip was conquered their cities and territories should be restored, they were fraudulently kept out of Echinus and Pharsalus. He accused the Romans of hypocrisy, for after their ostentatious and empty proclamation of liberty to Greece they were holding Chalcis and Demetrias with their garrisons, although while Philip hesitated to withdraw his garrisons from those cities they were always protesting that as long as Demetrias, Chalcis and Corinth were held by him Greece could never be free. And now they were putting forward Argos and Nabis as an excuse for keeping their armies in Greece. Let them carry their armies back to Italy, the Aetolians would guarantee that Nabis would withdraw his garrison from Argos either voluntarily or for a consideration, otherwise they would forcibly compel him to submit to the will of a united Greece.

This pretentious harangue called up Aristaenus, the captain−general of the Achaean League. "I pray," he began, "that Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Queen Juno, the tutelary deities of Argos, may never allow that city to be a bone of contention between the tyrant of Lacedaemon and the robbers of Aetolia, or suffer more after you have recovered it than it did when he captured it. No intervening sea protects us from these brigands. What, then, will be our fate, T. Quinctius, if they make a stronghold for themselves in the very heart of Greece? They have nothing Greek about them but the language, any more than they have anything human about them but the form and appearance of men; their customs and rites are more horrid than those of any barbarians, nay, even than those of savage beasts. We ask you therefore, Romans, to rescue Argos from Nabis and settle the affairs of Greece in such a way that you may leave this country at peace and security even against the robber practices of the Aetolians." A general outcry against the Aetolians arose, and the Roman commander said that he would have replied to their charges had he not seen that the delegates were all so incensed against them that they needed to be calmed rather than excited further. He should now put the question, "What do you decide as to war with Nabis, if he does not restore Argos to the Achaeans?" There was a unanimous decision in favour of war, and he impressed upon them the duty of each city sending a contingent in proportion to their strength. He also sent an envoy to the Aetolians, not so much in the expectation of compliance with his demands as to make them disclose their real sentiments, and in this he succeeded.

The military tribunes received orders to bring up the army from Elatia. Envoys from Antiochus arrived about the same time to negotiate an alliance; Quinctius told them that he could express no opinion in the absence of the ten

commissioners; the envoys would have to go to Rome and consult the senate. On the arrival of the troops from Elatia he proceeded to Argos. Near Cleonae he was met by Aristaenus with 10,000 Achaean infantry and the united armies encamped not far from that place, and the following day marched down into the plain of Argos and selected a site for their camp some four miles distant from the city. The commander of the Lacedaemonian garrison was Pythagoras, son−in−law and also brother−in−law of the tyrant. Just before the arrival of the Romans he had considerably strengthened the defences of the citadels−Argos possessed two−and other points which appeared weak or vulnerable. Whilst carrying out these tasks, however, he was quite unable to disguise the alarm he felt at the appearance of the Romans, and his fears of a foreign foe were aggravated by disturbances at home. There was an Argive named Damocles, a young man of more courage than prudence. He got hold of those who seemed likely to support him, and after binding them by an oath discussed the question of expelling the garrison, and in his efforts to strengthen the conspiracy was somewhat incautious in testing the sincerity of those whom he addressed. While he was conferring with his supporters one of the commandant's officials summoned him to appear before him. Seeing that his designs were betrayed, he appealed to his fellow−conspirators who were present to take arms with him rather than be tortured to death. He went off accordingly with a few followers to the forum, calling upon all who had the safety of their State at heart to follow him as the champion of their liberty. He did not induce a single person to move, for they saw that there was no chance of success at the time nor any hope of sufficient support. While thus appealing loudly to the bystanders he was surrounded by the Lacedaemonians and killed together with his supporters. Others were arrested afterwards, and many of these were put to death; a few were imprisoned. During the following night several were lowered by cords from the walls and fled to the Romans.

These men assured Quinctius that if the Roman army had been at their gates the movement would have succeeded, and if he moved his camp nearer to the city the Argives would rise. He sent forward some light troops, cavalry and infantry, and the Lacedaemonians sallied out to meet them. They met near the Cylarabis, a gymnasium not three hundred paces from the city, and the Lacedaemonians were without much trouble driven back behind their walls. The Roman general then fixed his camp at the spot where the battle had taken place and remained there for a day on the watch in case any fresh movement was started. When he saw that the citizens were paralysed by fear, he summoned a council of war to consider the question of attacking Argos. All with the exception of Aristaenus were agreed that as Argos was the sole cause of the war, so it ought certainly to be the starting−point. This was very far from what Quinctius wanted, and when Aristaenus spoke in opposition to the unanimous sense of the council he listened to him with unmistakable signs of approval. He wound up the discussion by stating that it was on behalf of the Argives that war had been begun, and he could not imagine anything less consistent than to leave the real enemy alone and attack Argos. As far as he was concerned he should direct all his efforts against Lacedaemon and its tyrant, the head and front of the war.

After the council broke up he sent some cohorts of light troops, infantry and cavalry, to collect corn. All that was ripe was cut and carried off; what was still green was trampled down and spoilt to prevent the enemy from using it. Then he commenced his march, and after crossing Mount Parthenius and leaving Tegea on his right he encamped on the third day at Caryae, and here he awaited the allied contingents before entering the enemy's country; 1500 Macedonian troops came in from Philip and 400 Thessalian cavalry. He had now an adequate force, but he was still detained as he was waiting for the corn which had been requisitioned from the cities in the neighbourhood. A large naval force was also concentrating; L. Quinctius had arrived from Leucas with 40 ships; there were 18 decked ships from Rhodes; Eumenes was cruising amongst the Cyclades with 10 decked ships, 30 despatch−boats and various others of smaller build. Even refugees from Lacedaemon itself, driven away by the tyrant's violence and disregard of all law, gathered in large numbers at the Roman camp in the hope of recovering their country. The number of those expelled by the various tyrants who for several generations held Lacedaemon was very considerable. The principal man among the refugees was Agesipolis, and the sovereignty of Lacedaemon belonged by right to his family. He had been expelled when only an infant by Lycurgus, who became tyrant after the death of Cleomenes, the first of the Lacedaemonian tyrants.

Although Nabis was confronted by so serious a war both by land and sea, and a just comparison of his own strength with that of the enemy left him hardly any hope of success, he did not give up the struggle. He called up 1000 picked troops from Crete in addition to the 1000 he had already; there were 10,000 of his own subjects under arms including the garrisons in the country districts, and he also fortified the city of Sparta with rampart and fosse. To prevent any internal disturbance he kept the citizens in check by the fear of ruthless punishment, as he could not expect them to desire a tyrant's safety and success. There were certain citizens whom he suspected, and after marching all his forces on to a level space called the Dromos he then assembled the Lacedaemonians in front of him, ordering them to lay down their arms, and surrounding them with his armed bodyguard. He then explained briefly why he ought to be excused for feeling grave apprehensions and taking strict precautions at such a critical time, and he pointed out that it was in their own interest that any persons whom the present state of affairs brought under suspicion should be prevented from doing mischief rather than punished for having done it. He should therefore keep certain persons in custody until the storm which was threatening had passed over. If he was sufficiently on his guard against domestic treason he would have all the less cause to fear a foreign foe, and when the enemy had been repulsed they would at once be set at liberty. He then directed the names of some eighty of the principal men of military age to be called over, and as each answered to his name he ordered him into custody. During the night they were all put to death. The Helots are a class who from early times have occupied the fortified villages in the country districts and worked on the land. Some of these were now charged with attempted desertion and after being whipped through all the streets were put to death. The terror thus created so completely quelled the population that all attempts at revolution were at an end. Nabis kept his troops within their lines, as he did not feel himself a match for the enemy in the field and he was afraid to leave the city in such a state of suspense and uncertainty.

As his preparations were now completed, Quinctius broke up his camp and on the second day reached Sellasia on the river Oenus, the place where Antigonus, King of Macedon, was said to have fought with Cleomenes, tyrant of the Lacedaemonians. On hearing that the descent into the valley was by a difficult and narrow path, he sent an advance party by a short circuit over the heights to make a road, and thus by a fairly broad and open route he arrived at the Eurotas, which flows almost under the very walls of Sparta. Whilst the Romans were measuring out the site of their camp, and Quinctius had ridden forward with some infantry and cavalry, they were attacked by the tyrant's auxiliary troops. They were not prepared for anything of the kind, as they had met with no opposition on their march; the country through which they passed might have been a friendly territory. For some time there was considerable confusion, the cavalry calling for help from the infantry and the infantry from the cavalry, no man feeling any confidence in himself. At last the standards of the legions appeared in sight, and then those who a moment before had been spreading alarm were now driven in disorder back to the city. The Romans fell back just beyond the range of missiles from the walls and stood for some time in line of battle, but as none of the enemy came out against them they returned to camp. The next day Quinctius led his army along the river past the city to the foot of Mount Menelaus. The legionary cohorts marched in front and the light infantry and the cavalry closed the column. Nabis was keeping his mercenaries, his sole hope, drawn up under their standards inside the city wall, ready to attack the Roman rear.

As soon as the end of the column had gone by they made the same tumultuous dash as on the previous day from different points. Appius was in command of the rear and had told his men beforehand what to expect. He rapidly faced about, and bringing the whole column into line presented an unbroken front to the enemy. So the two armies met one another in battle order, and for some time there was a regular action. At length Nabis' men began to waver and finally took to flight. The rout would not have been so complete had not the Achaeans who were pursuing them been familiar with the country. They inflicted heavy losses upon them and deprived most of the scattered fugitives of their arms. Quinctius fixed his camp near Amyclae. This city lay in a populous and fertile district and he laid the whole of it waste. None of the enemy, however, ventured outside their gates, and he shifted his camp to the bank of the Eurotas and from there he carried devastation throughout the district which stretched from the foot of Taygetus to the sea.

Lucius Quinctius in the meantime was securing the towns on the coast, in some cases by voluntary surrender, in others by threats or force. Gytheum was the great seaport of Lacedaemonia, and when he learnt that the Romans were in camp at no great distance from the sea Lucius determined to attack it with his united strength. In those days it was a strong city with a large mixed population of citizens and aliens and was thoroughly equipped with all the apparatus for war. Lucius was attempting a far from easy task, and very opportunely for him Eumenes and the Rhodian fleet appeared on the scene. The immense number of seamen which had been drawn from the three fleets constructed in a few days all that was required for an attack upon the city, which was fortified on its landward as well as its seaward side. The testudines had been brought up and the wall was being undermined; in other places it was being battered by the rams. One turret had been brought down by repeated blows and the wall adjacent had fallen with it. To draw off the enemy from the breach thus caused, the Romans delivered an assault from the harbour, where the ground was more level, while at the same time they attempted to fight their way over the ruins of the wall. They had almost succeeded in penetrating at this point when the assault was suddenly stopped as a prospect presented itself of the city being surrendered, a prospect, however, which soon vanished. Two men, Dexagoridas and Gorgopas, shared the command of the city between them. Dexagoridas had sent to the Roman general to say that he would deliver up the city. After the time and manner of procedure had been settled he was put to death by Gorgopas as a traitor, and the latter, now in sole command, offered a more determined resistance. The assault would have become much more difficult had not Quinctius appeared with a body of 4000 picked troops. When he had shown himself with his army drawn up on the brow of a hill not far from the city, whilst Lucius on the other side was pressing the assault with his siege works both by land and Sea, Gorgopas was driven to despair and compelled to take the very course which in the case of another he had punished with death. After stipulating for the withdrawal of the soldiers who had formed his garrison he handed the city over to Quinctius. Before the surrender of Gytheum, Pythagoras, who had been left in command at Argos, transferred the custody of the city to Timocrates of Pellene and joined Nabis at Sparta with 1000 mercenary troops and 2000 Argives.

Nabis was thoroughly alarmed at the appearance of the Roman fleet and the loss of the towns on the coast, but as long as Gytheum was held by his men he accepted the situation though with faint hopes of success. When, however, he heard that it too had passed into the hands of the Romans he realised the hopelessness of his position with the enemy all round his frontiers and the sea entirely closed to him. He saw that he must yield to circumstances, and accordingly he sent a herald to the Roman camp to find out whether they would allow him to send envoys to them. His request was granted, and Pythagoras was sent to the general for the sole purpose of asking him to meet the tyrant in conference. The military council was convened and they were unanimously of opinion that a conference should be granted and the time and place were settled. The two principals proceeded to some rising ground midway between their camp accompanied by small escorts. Here the escorts were left well in view of the troops on both sides and Nabis went forward with some of his bodyguard, whilst Quinctius advanced to meet him accompanied by his brother, Eumenes, Sosilaus the Rhodian, Aristaenus, the captain−general of the Achaeans, and the military tribunes.

It was left to the tyrant to decide whether he would speak first or not, and he began the discussion in the following speech: "Titus Quinctius and all who are present: If I could have discovered for myself the reason why you have declared war against me or actually commenced it, I should have awaited in silence the issue of my fortunes. But as things are now I cannot control myself sufficiently to refrain from asking, before I perish, why I am to perish. If you were what the Carthaginians are reported to be, a people for whom the honourable observance of treaties possesses no sanctity, I should not be surprised at your considering it a matter of small moment in what way you treat me. But when I look at you I see that you are Romans who hold treaties to be the most solemn of all religious obligations, and fidelity to allies the most sacred of human duties. When I look at myself I hope I am still the man who in common with the rest of the Lacedaemonians is bound to you by an age−long treaty of alliance and who renewed in the recent war with Philip the personal tie of friendship. But, you say, I have violated and destroyed it by holding the city of the Argives. How shall I justify this? By appealing to facts or to the circumstances of the time? As to the facts I have a double defence, for it was the townsmen themselves who invoked my aid and put the place in my hands; I did not occupy it by force, I accepted it and that too when Philip's partisans were in

power, not when it was your ally. The circumstance of time clears me too, because it was when I was actually holding Argos that the alliance between us was formed, and the stipulation was not that I should withdraw my garrison from Argos, but only that I should furnish assistance to you in the war. In this question of Argos I most certainly have the best of the argument both on the ground of equity and justice−for I took a city which belonged not to you but to your enemy, not by force but at the wish of the inhabitants−and also on the strength of your own admission, for under the terms of peace you left Argos to me.

But however that may be, the title of 'tyrant' and the arbitrary acts of a tyrant, such as summoning slaves to freedom and settling the poverty−stricken masses on the land, are alleged against me. As to the title I can make this reply, whatever my character is I am the same man with whom you yourself, T. Quinctius, entered into alliance. Then, I remember, you called me 'king,' now I see that you have dubbed me 'tyrant.' Now, if I had altered the designation of my rule, I should have to defend my inconsistency; as you are altering it, you must justify yours. As to my augmenting the civil population by freeing the slaves and dividing up the land amongst the poor and needy, I can defend myself against this charge also by pleading the time at which I did it. Whatever these measures were I had carried them out when you contracted alliance with me and accepted my assistance in the war with Philip. But even supposing that I had carried them out to−day, I do not ask how I could have injured you or disturbed the amity between us, I content myself with asserting that I have acted in accordance with our ancestral laws and customs. Do not weigh what is done in Lacedaemon by your own institutions. There is no necessity for going into details. You select your cavalry as you do your infantry, according to their assessment; you will have a few preeminent for their wealth and the mass of the population subject to them. Our legislator would not have the government in the hands of a small class such as you designate your senate, nor would he allow any one order to be preponderant in the State; he believed that an equality of rank and fortune was necessary in order that there might be a large number of men to bear arms for their country. I have spoken at greater length, I confess, than is usual with my countrymen. It could have been put very briefly−I have done nothing since I formed a league of amity with you which should make you regret it."

To this the Roman commander replied: "It is not with you that we entered into friendship and alliance, but with Philip, the rightful and legitimate king of Lacedaemon. His right to the crown has been usurped by the tyrants who ruled there while we were preoccupied by, first, the Punic War, then with wars in Gaul and elsewhere, just as you have usurped it during this war with Macedon. What greater inconsistency could there be than for those who waged war against Philip for the liberation of Greece to form a league of unity with a tyrant, and a tyrant, too, who has always treated his subjects with the utmost oppression and cruelty? In fact, even if you had not seized and were not now holding Argos by dishonest practices, it would still have been incumbent on us, whilst liberating the rest of Greece, to restore Lacedaemon also to her old free constitution and to those laws which you spoke about just now as though you put yourself on a par with Lycurgus. Are we to make it our care that your garrisons shall be withdrawn from Iasos and Bargyliae and at the same time leave Argos and Lacedaemon, two of the most famous cities and at one time the lights of Greece, prostrate beneath your feet, and so let their servitude sully our title as the liberators of Greece? You say the sympathies of the Argives were with Philip. Well, we release you from any obligation to be angry with them so far as we are concerned. We have sufficient evidence that the blame for that rests upon some two or at the most three persons, not upon the citizens as a body, just, in fact, as the invitation given to you and your troops and your admission into the citadel was in no way whatever the act of their government. We know that the Thessalians and Phocians and Locrians were unanimous in their support of Philip, and yet we have given them their freedom in common with the rest of Greece; what, pray, do you suppose we shall do in the case of the Argives, who as a State were innocent of any complicity with him?

You said that the enfranchisement of the slaves and the assignment of land to the needy were brought up as charges against you, and they are certainly serious ones, but what are they in comparison with the crimes committed by you and your adherents day by day? Produce an assembly where men are free to speak their minds, at either Argos or Lacedaemon, if you want to hear a true description of your unbridled tyranny. Not to mention earlier instances, what about the massacre which that son−in−law of yours, Pythagoras, perpetrated in Argos almost before my very eyes? What about the murders you yourself committed when I was close to your frontiers?

Come now, order those prisoners to be produced whom you arrested in the Assembly after promising in the hearing of all present that they should be kept in custody. Let their unhappy relatives know that those whom they are mourning are still alive. But you say, 'Even if these things are so, what have they got to do with you Romans?' Would you use this language to the liberators of Greece? To those who, to effect this liberation have crossed the sea and carried on war by sea and land? 'At all events,' you say, 'I have not injured you directly or violated your friendship and alliance.' How many instances do you want me to allege of your having done this? I do not want to bring many forward, I will sum them up briefly. What acts, then, constitute a violation of friendship? These two, most of all−to treat my allies as enemies, and to make common cause with my enemies. Both of these things you have done. Though you were our ally you seized by force a city in alliance with us, namely Messene, which had been admitted to our friendship and enjoyed precisely the same privileges as Lacedaemon. And further, you not only concluded an alliance with Philip, our enemy, but you actually established a relationship with him through Philocles, one of his viceroys. In open hostility to us, you infested the sea round Malea with your piratical barques, and have seized and put to death almost more Roman citizens than Philip, so that our transports, which were supplying our armies, found coasting along the Macedonian shores safer than rounding the Cape of Malea. Forbear henceforth, if you please, to talk about your loyal observance of treaties; drop the language of a citizen and speak as a tyrant and an enemy."

Aristaenus followed. He advised and even implored Nabis to take the course which was safest for himself and his fortunes while he had the opportunity. He alluded by name to several who after ruling as tyrants in the surrounding cities had been deposed on the restoration of liberty and had passed a safe and even an honoured old age amongst their fellow−citizens. Further discussion was put an end to by the approach of night. The next day Nabis said that he would evacuate Argos and withdraw his garrison whenever the Romans wished, and would also surrender the prisoners and deserters. Should any further demands be made, he requested that they might be put in writing in order that he might consult his friends about them. Time was allowed him for the purpose, and Quinctius on his side also called the friendly cities into council. The majority were in favour of continuing the war and getting rid of the tyrant; for they felt certain that the freedom of Greece would never be safe otherwise. They declared that it would have been better not to commence war against him than to abandon it after it had begun, for Nabis would be in a much stronger position if he could assume that his usurpation was sanctioned by Rome, and his example would incite many in other cities to plot against the liberties of their fellow−citizens.

The general himself was more inclined to peace. He saw clearly that if the enemy were driven within his walls there was nothing for it but a siege, and a long one too, for it was not Gytheum they would have to attack−that place had, however, been surrendered, not stormed−but Lacedaemon, a city exceptionally strong in men and arms. His one hope had been, so he told the council, that on the approach of his army a revolutionary outbreak might occur, but though the citizens saw the standards carried up to the gates no one stirred. He went on to inform them that Villius had returned from his mission to Antiochus and reported that they could no longer depend upon maintaining peace with him, as he had landed in Europe with a far larger force, both military and naval, than on the former occasion. If he, Quinctius, employed his army in investing Lacedaemon, what other troops, he asked, would he have available for war against so strong and powerful a monarch? This was what he gave out in public; his secret motive was the fear that when the new consuls balloted for their provinces Greece might fall to one of them, and the war which he had begun so victoriously might be brought to a triumphant close by his successor.

As his arguments failed to make any impression on the allies he tried another course, and by apparently falling in with their view he brought them over to his own. "Well and good," he continued, "let us undertake the siege of Lacedaemon, if such is your resolve. Do not close your eyes, however, to the fact that the investment of a city is a slow business and often wearies out the besiegers sooner than the besieged, and you must now face the certainty of having to pass the winter round the walls of Lacedaemon. If these tedious processes only involved toil and danger I should urge you to prepare yourselves in mind and body to sustain them. But a vast outlay will be necessary for the siege works and engines and artillery which will be required for the investment of so great a city, and supplies for you and for us will have to be collected against the winter. So, to prevent your suddenly finding yourselves in difficulties, and abandoning to your shame a task after you have undertaken it, I am of

opinion that you ought to write to your respective cities and find out what they really intend doing and what resources they possess. Of auxiliary troops I have enough and more than enough, the greater our number the greater our requirements. The enemy's territory contains nothing now but the bare soil, and besides, winter will be here, making it difficult to bring supplies from a distance." This speech at once reminded them of the evils they had to take account of in their own cities, the indolence, the jealousy, the malicious way in which those remaining at home spoke about those on active service, the unrestrained liberty which hindered united action, the low state of their national exchequers and the niggardliness displayed by individuals in contributing towards public expenses. So they quickly changed their minds and left it to the commander−in−chief to do what he thought best in the interest of Rome and the allies.

After consultation with his staff officers and military tribunes, Quinctius put into writing the conditions on which peace was to be made with the tyrant. There was to be a truce for six months between Nabis and his opponents−the Romans, Eumenes and the Rhodians. T. Quinctius and Nabis were each to send forthwith commissioners to Rome to secure the confirmation of the peace by the senate. The armistice was to commence from the day on which the document containing the conditions was handed to Nabis, and within ten days from that date he was to withdraw all his garrisons from Argos and the other towns in Argive territory and the places were to be handed over, evacuated and free, to the Romans. No slaves were to be removed from those places, whether they had belonged to the king or the public authorities or private individuals, and if any had previously been so removed they were to be duly restored to their owners. Nabis was to return the ships he had taken from the maritime cities, and he himself was not to possess any vessel beyond two light barques with not more than sixteen oars. All the cities allied with Rome were to have their prisoners and deserters restored to them, and all the property which the people of Messene could collect together and identify was to be given back to them. Further, he was to allow the Lacedaemonian refugees to have their wives and children with them, provided that no woman should be forced to join her husband whilst in exile against her will. Such of the tyrant's mercenaries as had gone back to their homes or deserted to the Romans were to have all their property restored to them. He was not to possess a single city in Crete, those which he had held he was to deliver up to the Romans, nor was he to form alliances with or make war against any of the Cretan cities, or anyone else. All the cities which he had to surrender, and all who had voluntarily accepted the suzerainty of Rome, were to be relieved of the presence of his garrisons; neither he nor his subjects were in any way to interfere with them. He was not to build a walled town or fortified post either on his own soil or elsewhere. As a guarantee for the due observance of these conditions he was to give five hostages to be selected by the Roman commander−one being his own son−and he was to pay an indemnity of 100 talents of silver at once and an annual instalment of 50 talents for the next eight years.

After the Roman camp had been moved nearer the city, these conditions were sent to Lacedaemon. None of them, of course, were very agreeable to the tyrant, though he was relieved to find that nothing was said about repatriating the refugees, but what he resented most of all was being deprived of his ships and his seaports. The sea had been a great source of profit to him as long as he could infest the whole Maleatic coastline with his pirate ships, and, moreover, the men drawn from the maritime cities furnished him with by far the finest of his troops. He had discussed the conditions privately with his friends, but as courtiers are untrustworthy in all other matters, so are they especially in keeping secrets, and the consul's demands soon became generally known. They were not objected to so strongly by the great body of the citizens as they were by the different individuals who were immediately affected by them. Those who had married the wives of the political exiles and those who had appropriated any of their property were as indignant as though they were to lose what belonged to themselves, instead of restoring what belonged to others. The slaves who had been freed by the tyrant saw not only their liberty gone but an even worse slavery awaiting them if they had to pass into the power of their enraged masters. The mercenary troops were angry at losing their pay when peace was established, and they saw no chance of returning to their own cities, which were as bitterly opposed to the supporters of tyrants as to the tyrants themselves.

They began by gathering together and discussing their grievances, and at last they flew to arms. The tyrant saw from this outbreak that the populace were sufficiently excited for his purpose, and he called a public assembly. As

he went separately through the consul's demands and added some of his own invention which were more burdensome and humiliating, each item called forth angry protests, at one time from the whole assembly, at another from separate groups. When he had finished he asked the people what answer they wished him to give, or what action he was to take. The whole assembly almost with one voice forbade him to return any answer and insisted that the war should go on. As usual with the crowd they encouraged one another by saying that they hoped for the best and that Fortune helped the brave. Encouraged by the general voice, the tyrant gave out that Antiochus and the Aetolians would assist them, and he meanwhile had enough troops to stand a siege. Nobody now still talked of peace, and unable to remain quiet any longer they ran off to attack the enemy's advanced posts. The offensive movements of small bodies of skirmishers and the discharge of their missiles removed any doubt from the minds of the Romans that war was inevitable. For four days slight actions took place without any decisive result, but on the fifth day the fighting almost amounted to a regular battle and the Lacedaemonians were driven back into their town in such a state of demoralisation that some of the Roman soldiers in hot pursuit entered the city at places where at that time there was no wall.

As the fear thus inspired had checked all further offensive on the part of the enemy, Quinctius saw that there was nothing left but to invest the place, and after despatching officers to bring up the whole of the naval contingent from Gytheum, he proceeded with his military tribunes to ride round the city and examine its position. Sparta had formerly been unwalled, but in recent years the various tyrants had protected those parts which were level and exposed by a wall; the higher and less accessible positions were defended by permanent military posts instead of fortifications. When the consul had made a thorough inspection of the place he saw that he would have to employ the whole of his force in the attack. Accordingly he completely invested the city with Roman and allied troops, mounted and unmounted; in fact, his entire military and naval strength, amounting to 50,000 men. Some were carrying scaling ladders, others fire, others the different things with which to attack and still more to appal the enemy. Orders were issued for all to raise the battle−shout and rush straight forward to the assault at the same moment so that the Lacedaemonians, threatened on every side, would not know where first to meet the attack or where assistance would be most required. Quinctius formed his main army into three divisions: the first was to deliver the assault in the neighbourhood of the Phoebeum; the second towards the Dictynneum; the third at the place called the Heptagoniae. All these points were unprotected by walls. Though the city was now encompassed on every side by so menacing a foe the tyrant was most energetic in its defence; wherever shouts arose on some sudden onset, when breathless messengers came asking for help, he either hurried to the threatened spot himself or sent others to assist. When, however, demoralisation and panic had set in everywhere, he completely lost his nerve, and was unable either to give the necessary orders or to listen to the messages that came; he not only lost all power of judgment, but was almost beside himself.

As long as they were in the narrow streets the Lacedaemonians stood their ground against the Romans, and three separate actions were going on at different places, but as the struggle became more intense it became more unequal. The Lacedaemonians were carrying on the fight with missiles, against which the Romans were easily able to protect themselves by their large shields, and whilst some fell harmlessly others came with little force. Owing to the confined space and the crowding together they had no room to run before hurling their missiles to give them greater force, nor could they keep a firm and steady footing while they tried to throw them. None of the darts which the enemy flung penetrated the bodies and very few the shields of the Romans. Some wounds were caused by the enemy who were on higher ground around them, but soon their advance exposed them to an unlooked−for attack from the houses, not only darts but even tiles being hurled upon them. On this they held their shields above their heads and closed up so that with shield joined to shield there might be no room for a chance missile or even for one thrown at close range to penetrate. In this testudo formation they went on.

For a short time the Romans were held up by the narrowness of the streets as they and the enemy were closely packed together, but when they got into a broader thoroughfare they pushed the enemy back and were able to advance, and the violence of their attack made further resistance impossible. When the Lacedaemonians had once turned to flight and were making for the higher parts of the city, Nabis, in a state of distraction as though the city was actually taken, was looking round for some way of escape, but Pythagoras, who in all other respects was

showing the spirit and leadership of a general, was now the one man who saved the city from capture. He gave orders for the buildings nearest the walls to be set alight and they instantly burst into flames, the townsmen, who at other times would naturally have helped to extinguish them, fanning the conflagration. The roofs collapsed upon the Romans, broken tiles and pieces of burning wood struck the soldiers, the flames spread far and wide, and the smoke caused them alarm out of all proportion to the danger incurred. Those who were still outside the city making the final assault fell back from the walls; those who were already within, afraid of being cut off by the outbreak of fire in their rear, retired, and Quinctius, seeing the state of matters, sounded the retreat. Recalled from the assault when the city was all but captured, they returned to camp.

Quinctius came to the conclusion that he would gain more from playing on the enemy's fears than by what he had hitherto achieved, and he kept them in a constant state of alarm for three successive days by harassing them with attacks and throwing up barriers at certain points to close the avenues of escape. Driven at last to submission by this perpetual menace, the tyrant sent Pythagoras once more to open negotiations. At first Quinctius refused to see him and ordered him to quit the camp, but when he assumed a suppliant tone and fell on his knees, the consul granted him an audience. He began by leaving everything at the absolute discretion of the Romans, but he gained nothing by taking this line, which was regarded as idle and leading to no result. Finally it was arranged that, conditionally upon the acceptance of the terms which had a few days previously been presented in writing, there should be a suspension of hostilities; the money and the hostages were accepted. While the siege was going on message after message reached Argos announcing the imminent capture of Lacedaemon, and the spirits of the population were raised higher by the departure of Pythagoras with the main strength of his garrison. Feeling contempt for the few still remaining, they expelled them from the citadel under the direction of a man called Archippus. Timocrates of Pellene was allowed to leave under a safe−conduct owing to the clemency and moderation he had shown as commandant. After granting peace to the tyrant, and dismissing Eumenes and the Rhodians and sending his brother Lucius back to the fleet, Quinctius went to Argos, where he found everybody very happy.

The famous Nemean Games, the most popular of all their festivals, had been suspended by he Argives owing to the sufferings of the war, but on the arrival of the Roman commander with his army they manifested their delight by ordering the Games to be celebrated and making the general himself the president. There were many circumstances which enhanced their joy−those of their fellow−citizens whom Pythagoras had lately removed and those whom Nabis had previously carried off had now been brought back from Lacedaemon; those who had succeeded in escaping after the discovery of the plot by Pythagoras and the consequent bloodshed had returned home; once more after a long interval they had their liberty restored, and they saw with their own eyes the Romans who were the authors of its restoration and who for their sake had undertaken the war with the tyrant. Moreover, on the very day the Nemean Games were exhibited the voice of the herald confirmed by public proclamation "the liberty of the Argives." The satisfaction which the Achaeans felt at the restoration of Argos to their league was considerably impaired by the fact that Lacedaemon was left in servitude to the tyrant, who remained as a thorn in their side. As for the Aetolians, they were perpetually harping upon the subject at every meeting of their council. They declared that the war was not at an end till Philip had evacuated every city in Greece; Lacedaemon was left to the tyrant, but her rightful king, who was in the Roman camp, and the noblest of her citizens would have to live in exile; Rome had made herself the minister to his tyranny. Quinctius led his forces back to Elatia, which had been his starting−point for the Spartan War. Some authorities state that the tyrant did not conduct operations by making sorties from the town, but after fixing his camp face to face with that of the Romans and waiting for a considerable time in expectation of assistance from the Aetolians, he was in the end compelled to give battle owing to the Romans attacking his foragers. In that battle they state that he was defeated and lost his camp and so was driven to ask for peace, after losing 14,000 in killed and wounded and more than 4000 who were made prisoners.

The despatch from T. Quinctius reporting his operations at Lacedaemon and one from M. Porcius, the consul in Spain, reached Rome almost simultaneously. A three days' thanksgiving was ordered by the senate on behalf of each of them. The consul, L. Valerius, who after routing the Boii near the Litanean forest had no further trouble in

his province, returned to Rome for the elections. The new consuls were P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus and Tiberius Sempronius Longus. Their fathers had both been consuls in the first year of the Second Punic War. The election of praetors followed. Those elected were P. Cornelius Scipio, the two Cornelii−Merenda and Blasio−Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus, Sextus Digitius, and T. Juventius Thalna. After the elections were over the consul went back to his province. During the year the people of Ferentinum tried to claim the right of those Latins who had been enrolled in Roman colonies to be deemed Roman citizens. Those who had given in their names had been assigned to the colonies of Puteoli, Salernum and Buxentum, and on the strength of this assumed the status of Roman citizens. The senate decided that they were not Roman citizens.

At the beginning of the year of office of the new consuls the envoys from Nabis arrived in Rome. An audience of the senate was granted them outside the City in the temple of Apollo. They asked that the treaty of peace which had been arranged with T. Quinctius might be confirmed, and their request was granted. When the allocation of provinces came under discussion there was a large attendance of senators, and the general opinion was that as the wars in Spain and Macedonia had come to an end Italy should be assigned to both consuls as their province. Scipio was of opinion that one consul was enough for Italy, the other ought to have Macedonia assigned to him. He pointed out that a serious war was impending with Antiochus, who had deliberately landed in Europe. What, Scipio asked, did they suppose he would do when he was invited to commence hostilities by the Aetolians on the one side, who were undoubtedly hostile, and on the other side urged on by Hannibal, the commander so renowned for the defeats he had inflicted on the Romans? While the consular provinces were being discussed the praetors balloted for their provinces. Cneius Domitius received the urban jurisdiction and T. Juventius that over aliens. To P. Cornelius was allotted Further Spain, and Hither Spain to Sextus Digitius. Of the two Cornelii, Blasio was appointed to Sicily and Merenda to Sardinia. It was decided not to send a fresh army to Macedonia, the one which was there was to be brought back by Quinctius and disbanded, as was also the army with M. Porcius Cato in Spain. Italy was decreed as the province of both consuls, and they were empowered to raise two legions in the City in order that after the disbandment of the two armies which the senate had decreed there might be in all eight Roman legions.

In the previous year a Sacred Spring had been observed, and the Pontifex Maximus P. Licinius reported to the pontifical college that its observance had not been properly carried out. The college authorised him to bring the matter to the notice of the senate, and they decided that there should be an entirely fresh observance under the direction of the pontiffs. The Great Games, which had been vowed at the same time, were also ordered to be celebrated, and the usual outlay incurred upon them. The victims to be offered included all the cattle born between 1st March and 1st May during the consulship of P. Cornelius and Tiberius Sempronius. Then came the election of the censors. The new censors, Sextus Aelius Paetus and C. Cornelius Cethegus, selected, as their predecessors had done, P. Scipio as leader of the senate. Only three senators in all were removed from the roll, none of whom had enjoyed curule honours. Another thing which added immensely to their popularity with the patricians was the order they issued to the curule aediles, requiring them to reserve special places for the senators at the Roman Games; previously they sat amongst the crowd. Very few of the equestrian order were deprived of their horses, nor did the censors treat any order in the State harshly. The Hall of Liberty and the Villa Publica were also restored and enlarged by these censors. The Sacred Spring and the Games, vowed by Servius Sulpicius Galba, were duly carried out. Q. Pleminius, who for his many crimes against gods and men at Locri had been thrown into prison, seized the opportunity whilst all were preoccupied with the spectacle of the Games to get together a number of men who were to set the City on fire at various points during the night so that he might break out of gaol during the confusion created. The plot was disclosed by some of his accomplices and the information laid before the senate. Pleminius was thrown into the lowest dungeon and put to death.

During the year a number of Roman citizens were settled as colonists in Puteoli, Volturnum and Liternum; three hundred were assigned to each place. Similar settlements were made in Salernum and Buxentum. The commissioners who supervised the emigration were Tiberius Sempronius Longus who was consul at the time, M. Servilius and Q. Minucius Thermus. The land distributed amongst them had formed part of the domain of Capua. A colony of Roman citizens was also established at Sipontum on land which had belonged to Arpi. The

commissioners in this case were D. Junius Brutus, M Baebius Tamphilus and M. Helvius. Roman citizens were also sent as colonists to Tempsa and Croto; the territory of the former had been taken from the Brutii, who had expelled the Greeks from it; Croto was still held by the Greeks. The commissioners for the colonisation at Croto were Cneius Octavius, L. Aemilius Paulus and C. Laetorius; those for Tempsa were L. Cornelius Merula and C. Salonius. Some portents appeared in Rome this year and others were announced from various places. In the Forum, the Comitium and the Capitol drops of blood were seen; there were several showers of mud, and the head of the statue of Vulcan appeared to be on fire. It was reported that the river Nar had flowed with milk, that boys of respectable parents at Ariminum had been born without eyes or nose, and one in the district of Picenum without hands or feet. These portents were expiated as directed by the pontiffs. Sacrifices were also offered for nine days in consequence of a report from the people of Hadria that a shower of stones had fallen on their soil.

L. Valerius, who was still in command in Gaul, fought a hotly contested action with the Insubrians and the Boii; the latter had crossed the Po in order to rouse the Insubrians to arms. His colleague M. Porcius Cato celebrated his triumph over the Spaniards during this period. In the procession there were carried 25,000 pounds of unwrought silver, 12,300 silver denarii, 540 of Oscan coinage, and 1200 pounds' weighs of gold. To each of the infantry soldiers he distributed 270 ases and treble the amount to the cavalry. On arriving in his province Tiberius Sempronius marched his troops first of all into the country of the Boii. Boiorix was their chief at the time, and after he and his two brothers had induced the whole nation to resume hostilities he fixed his camp in an exposed position in the open country to show that they were prepared to fight if they were invaded. When the consul became aware of the numbers and confidence of the enemy he sent to his colleague asking him, if he thought he could do so, to hasten to his assistance, and he would by one means or another delay an action till he came. The same reason which led the consul to delay made the Gauls seek an early decision, for their confidence was increased by their enemy's hesitation and they determined to engage him before the two consuls united their forces. For two days, however, they merely stood ready for battle in case there was any advance from the Roman camp; on the third day they went up to the rampart and attacked the camp simultaneously on all sides.

The consul ordered his men instantly to seize their weapons, and for a few minutes kept them standing under arms, partly to encourage the unthinking confidence of the enemy and also to allow of his distributing the troops at the different gates from which each body was to make the sortie. The two legions were ordered to advance through the principal gates, but the Gauls blocked the exits in such dense masses that they could not emerge. The struggle went on for a long time in the confined space; it was not so much fighting with their right hands and swords as pushing with their shields and bodies, the Romans trying to force a way for their standards, the Gauls endeavouring to get into the camp, or at all events to keep the Romans from getting out. Neither the one side nor the other could make any advance until Q. Victorius, a centurion of the first rank, and C. Atilius, a military tribune, the former belonging to the second legion, the latter to the fourth, did what had often been tried in desperate struggles, and snatching the standards from the bearers flung them amongst the enemy. In their effort to recover the standards the men of the second legion were the first to force their way out of the camp.

They were now fighting outside the rampart while the fourth legion were still held up in their gate. Suddenly a new alarm arose on the opposite side of the camp. The Gauls had broken through the quaestorian gate, and after meeting with the most obstinate resistance had killed the quaestor, L. Postumius Tympanus, M. Atinius and P. Sempronius, praefects of allies, and nearly 200 men. This side of the camp was in the enemy's hands until one of the "special cohorts" which had been sent by the consul to defend the quaestorian gate drove them out of the camp after killing many of them, and stopped those who were breaking in. Almost at the same moment the fourth legion, with two of the special cohorts, forced their way out of another gate. So there were three separate actions going on simultaneously on different sides of the camp, and the confused shouts which arose called off the attention of the combatants from their own struggle to the doubtful position of their comrades. Up to noonday the battle was fought with equal strength on both sides, and almost equal hopes of victory. But the heat and the exertion told upon the Gauls with their soft and perspiring bodies, utterly incapable as they were of enduring thirst, and compelled them to beat a retreat. The few who still stood their ground were charged by the Romans and driven in rout to their camp. Then the consul gave the signal to retire; most of the men obeyed it, but some in their

eagerness for battle and in the hope of securing the hostile camp pushed on to the rampart. The Gauls, deriding this weak force, rushed in a body out of their camp. Now it was the Romans who were routed, and those who refused to return to camp at the consul's order were driven thither by their fears. So first on one side and then on the other victory and flight alternated. The Gauls, however, lost as many as 11,000 men, the Romans 5000.

They retired into the most distant part of their country; the consul led his legions to Placentia. Some writers assert that Scipio formed a junction with his colleague and marched through the fields of the Boii and the Ligurians, plundering as he went, until the forests and marshes forbade further progress; others, on the contrary, state that he returned to Rome to conduct the elections without doing anything worth recording. T. Quinctius had returned to his former quarters at Elatia, and he spent the whole winter in administering justice and reforming the judicial procedure. He also made changes in the political arrangements which had been imposed on the cities by the lawless tyranny of Nabis and his lieutenants, and which by augmenting the power of his own party crushed the rights and liberties of the others. At the beginning of spring he went to Corinth, where he had summoned a general meeting of the allies. Representatives from all the States were present, so that it was practically a Pan−Hellenic council. He began his address by reminding them of the friendly relations which had from the first existed between the Romans and the Greeks as a nation and the work which had been done by himself and the commanders who had been in Macedonia before him. His speech was listened to with universal approbation except where he alluded to the treatment of Nabis. It was felt by those present to be quite inconsistent with the part of a Liberator of Greece to leave the tyrant as a scourge to his own country and a terror to all the surrounding States.

Quinctius was quite aware of their feelings on this question, and he frankly admitted that he would not have listened to any overtures of peace if this course would not have involved the destruction of Lacedaemon. As matters were, since Nabis could not be crushed without ruining a city of the first importance it seemed better to leave him weakened and almost entirely deprived of any power to injure others rather than allow this city to succumb from the effect of remedies too strong for it and perish in the very process of recovering its liberty. After this review of the past he went on to announce his intention of leaving for Italy, taking the whole of his army with him. He told them that in less than ten days they would hear that the troops in occupation of Demetrias and Chalcis had been withdrawn, and they would see with their own eyes Acrocorinthus evacuated and handed over to the Achaeans immediately. This would show the whole world whether it was the Romans who were in the habit of telling lies or the Aetolians, who in their public speeches had spread abroad the notion that it was a mistake to entrust their liberties to Rome and that they had only changed their Macedonian for Roman masters. But that people never cared in the least what they said or what they did. He advised the other States to measure their friends by their deeds and not by their words, and so learn whom to trust and whom to beware of. They must use their liberty in moderation; under proper restraints liberty was a blessing to individuals and communities alike; in excess it was a danger to others and led to recklessness and violence on the part of those who possessed it. The nobility, together with the various classes of society in the different cities, must study to preserve internal harmony, and the States as a whole must endeavour after mutual concord. As long as they were of one mind neither king nor tyrant would ever be strong enough to hurt them, but discord and sedition gave every advantage to those who were seeking to destroy their liberty, since the party which was worsted in a domestic struggle would rather join hands with a foreigner than submit to a fellow−citizen. It must be their care to defend and maintain the freedom which had been won for them by foreign arms and restored to them on the faith of a foreign power. Then the Roman people would know that the gift of liberty had been made to those who were worthy of it and that their boon had been well bestowed.

These sentiments, such as a father might have uttered called forth tears of joy from all who heard them, and for some time the voice of the speaker was drowned amidst the expressions of approval and the exhortations which the audience addressed to each other to let these words sink into their hearts and minds as though they were the words of an oracle. At last, when silence was restored, he asked them to find out any Roman citizens who were living as slaves amongst them and send them within two months' time to him in Thessaly. They would not, he felt sure, think it right or honourable for their liberators to be in the position of slaves in the land which they had

liberated. They all exclaimed that among the other things for which they were grateful they thanked him especially for reminding them of so sacred and imperative a duty. There was an immense number who had been made prisoners in the Punic War, and as they were not ransomed by their countrymen Hannibal sold them as slaves. That they were very numerous is evident from what Polybius says. He asserts that this undertaking cost the Achaeans 100 talents, as they fixed the price to be paid to the owners at 500 denarii a head. On this reckoning Achaia must have held 1200 of them; you can estimate proportionally what was the probable number throughout Greece. The assembly was still sitting when, on looking round, they saw the troops coming from Acrocorinthus; they marched straight through to the gate and left the city. The general followed them amidst universal applause and shouts of "Saviour and Liberator." Then taking his final leave of them he returned to Elatia by the same route by which he had come. From there he despatched Appius Claudius with the whole of his forces, they were to march through Thessaly and Epirus to Oricum and wait for him there, as he intended to sail from there with his army to Italy. His brother Lucius, who was in command of the fleet, received written instructions to collect ships from every part of the Greek coast.

He then proceeded to Chalcis and withdrew the forces in occupation not only from that city, but from Oreus and Eretria as well. Here he summoned a convention of all the cities in Euboea, and after reminding them of the condition in which he found them and the condition in which he was leaving them, sent them back to their homes. Going on to Demetrias, he withdrew his troops from that place amidst the same enthusiasm on the part of the citizens as at Corinth and Chalcis. He then resumed his progress into Thessaly, where the cities had not only to be liberated but also brought back from confusion and chaos into some tolerable form of government. This state of confusion arose from the disorders of the time and the violence and lawlessness introduced by Philip, but it was due quite as much to the quarrelsome character of the people, who never conducted public proceedings of any kind, whether elections or conventions or councils, without tumult and riot. Quinctius selected the senate and the judges mostly from the propertied classes and placed power in the hands of those whose interest it was to keep everything in peace and security.

After thus traversing Thessaly he went on through Epirus to Oricum, his starting place for Italy. From this point the whole of his army was carried across to Brundisium, and from Brundisium they marched through the whole length of Italy to the City in what was almost a triumphal procession, of which the captured spoils formed as large a part as the troops themselves. On his reaching Rome the senate met outside the City to receive his report and they gladly decreed the triumph he had so well earned. Its celebration lasted three days. On the first day he had carried through the City the arms and armour and the bronze and marble statues; those taken from Philip were more numerous than those which he had secured in the various cities. On the second day all the gold and silver, coined and uncoined, were borne in the procession. There were 18,000 pounds of uncoined and unwrought silver and 270 of silver plate, including vessels of every description, most of them embossed and some exquisitely artistic. There were also some made of bronze. In addition to these there were ten silver shields. Of the silver coinage 84,000 were Attic pieces, known as tetrachma, each nearly equal in weight to four denarii. The gold weighed 3714 pounds, including one shield made entirely of gold, and there were 14,514 coins from Philip's mint. In the third day's procession were carried 114 golden coronets, the gifts of various cities, and before the victor's chariot went the sacrificial victims and many noble prisoners and hostages, amongst the latter Philip's son Demetrius and Armenes the son of the Lacedaemonian tyrant. Then came Quinctius himself in his chariot followed by a long train of soldiers, as the whole of his army had been brought back from the province. Each infantryman received a largess of 250 ases, each centurion twice as much, and each cavalryman treble the amount. A striking feature in the procession was furnished by those who had been rescued from slavery, and who with shaven heads followed their deliverer.

At the close of the year Q. Aelius Tubero, a tribune of the plebs, acting on a resolution of the senate, brought a proposal before the plebs, which was adopted, for the settlement of two Latin colonies, one in Bruttium and the other in the territory of Thurium. The commissioners who were to supervise the settlement were appointed for three years. Those who were to make the arrangements in Bruttium were Q. Naevius, M. Minucius Rufus and M. Furius Crassipes; those put in charge of the Thurium settlement were A. Manlius, Q. Aelius and L. Apustius. The

elections in which they were chosen were held by the City praetor, Cn. Domitius, in the Capitol. A number of temples were dedicated this year. One was the temple of Juno Matuta in the Forum Olitorium. This had been vowed four years previously and its building contracted for by C. Cornelius during his consulship, and he dedicated it when he was censor. Another was the temple of Faunus; the aediles C. Scribonius and Cn. Domitius had contracted for its building two years before out of the money raised by fines, and Cn. Domitius dedicated it when he was City praetor. Q. Marcius Rulla dedicated a temple to Fortuna Primigenia on the Quirinal, having been made duumvir for the purpose. P. Sempronius Sophus had vowed it in the Punic War ten years previously, when he was consul, and he had made the contract for it during his censorship. C. Servilius also dedicated a temple to Jupiter on the Island, which had been vowed six years before in a war with the Gauls by the praetor L. Furius Purpurio, who when consul signed the contract for its construction.

P. Scipio returned from his province of Gaul to conduct the elections. The new consuls were L. Cornelius Merula and Q. Minucius Thermus. The praetors were elected on the following day; they were L. Cornelius Scipio, M. Fulvius Nobilior, C. Scribonius, M. Valerius Messala, L. Porcius Licinus and C. Flaminius. Atilius Serranus and L. Scribonius Libo were the first aediles who made the Megalesia scenic Games. It was when these same aediles exhibited the Roman Games that the senate for the first time sat apart from the people. This, like all innovations, excited much comment. Some regarded it as a tribute which had long been due to the highest order in the State; others considered that whatever enhanced the greatness of the patricians detracted from the dignity of the people, and that all such distinctions as mark off the different orders in the State impair the concord and liberty which all ought equally to enjoy. For 557 years the spectators had sat promiscuously, what, people asked, had happened all of a sudden that the patricians refused to have the plebeians amongst them? Why should a rich man object to a poor man sitting by his side? It was a piece of unheard−of arrogance neither adopted nor wished for by any other senate in the world. Even Africanus himself, who when consul was responsible for the change, was said to have regretted it. So distasteful is any departure from ancient usage; so much do men prefer to stand in the old ways except where they are clearly condemned by experience.

At the beginning of the year of office of the new consuls there were such frequent reports of the occurrence of earthquakes that men grew tired not only of the subject itself, but also of the suspension of business which was ordered on account of it. No meeting of the senate could be held nor any public proceedings conducted, as the consuls were entirely occupied with sacrifices and expiations. At last the decemvirs received instructions to consult the Sacred Books, and in accordance with their injunctions a three days' intercession was proclaimed. Prayers were offered at all the shrines, the suppliants wearing laurel wreaths, and a notice was issued requiring all the members of a family to offer up their prayers together. The senate authorised the consuls to publish an edict forbidding anyone to report an earthquake on any day on which business had been suspended on account of one already reported. After this the consuls balloted for their provinces. Gaul fell to Cornelius and Liguria to Minucius. The praetors' ballot resulted in C. Scribonius receiving the City jurisdiction, M. Valerius that over aliens, L. Cornelius Sicily, L. Porcius Sardinia, C. Flaminius Hither Spain and M. Fulvius Further Spain.

The consuls were not looking forward to any war during their year of office, when a despatch arrived from M. Cincius, the commandant of Pisae, announcing a rising in Liguria. Warlike resolutions had been passed in all the councils of the nation, and 20,000 Ligurians were now in arms. They had ravaged the country round Luna, and after crossing the frontiers of Pisae had traversed the whole length of the coast. Minucius, to whom the province of Liguria had been allotted, acting on the instructions of the senate, mounted the Rostra and issued an edict for the two City legions which had been enrolled the year before to muster in ten days' time at Arretium, their place would be taken by two legions which he was going to raise. He also notified the magistrates and officers of those Latin and allied communities which were bound to furnish troops that they should attend upon him in the Capitol. Here he arranged with them what contingent each city should supply in proportion to the number of men they had of military age, the total being fixed at 15,000 infantry and 500 cavalry. They were then instructed to start for home at once and raise their troops without a moment's delay. Fulvius and Flaminius were each reinforced with Roman troops to the number of 3000 infantry and 100 cavalry and also 5000 infantry and 200 cavalry furnished by the Latins and allies, and the praetors were ordered to disband the old soldiers as soon as they arrived in their

provinces. Large numbers of the soldiers in the City legions urged the tribunes of the plebs to investigate the cases of the men who pleaded either length of service or ill−health as reasons why they should not be called up. This matter was quite thrown aside by a despatch from Tiberius Sempronius, in which he stated that a body of 10,000 Ligurians had appeared in the neighbourhood of Placentia and had wasted the country with fire and sword up to the very walls of the colony and the banks of the Po, and the Boii also were contemplating a revival of hostilities.

In view of this announcement the senate decreed that a state of emergency had arisen, and that they disapproved of the tribunes investigating the soldiers' grievance and so preventing them from assembling in obedience to the edict. They further ordered that the men of the allied contingents who had served under P. Cornelius and Tiberius Sempronius and had been disbanded by them should reassemble on the day which L. Cornelius named and in whatever place in Etruria he notified to them. Whilst on his way to his province the consul was to enlist and arm and take with him whatever men he thought fit in the towns and country districts through which he passed, and he was empowered to disband any of them whenever he wanted to do so.

After the consuls had raised the necessary troops and left for their provinces, T. Quinctius requested the senate to listen to his report of the arrangements which he had made in concert with the ten commissioners, and if they thought good to ratify and confirm them. They would, he said, be in a better position to do this if they heard the statements of the envoys who had come from every State in Greece as well as those who had come from the three kings. These deputations were introduced to the senate by the City praetor, Caius Scribonius, and they all met with a favourable reception. As the negotiations with Antiochus were somewhat protracted they were entrusted to the ten commissioners, some of whom had been with the king either in Asia or in Lysimachia. T. Quinctius was authorised to hear the envoys in the presence of the commissioners and make such a reply as was consistent with the interests and the honour of the Roman people. Menippus and Hegesianax were the leaders of the embassy, and the former was the spokesman. He professed himself at a loss to understand what difficulty or complications his mission could create as he had simply come to ask that friendly relations might be established and an alliance formed. There were three kinds of treaties by means of which States and monarchs came to terms with one another. In one case the conditions were dictated to those who had been vanquished in war, for when everything had been surrendered to the one who was the stronger in arms he had the absolute right to say what they might retain and of what they were to be deprived. In the second case powers who have been equally matched in war form a league of peace and amity on equal terms, for then they arrive at a mutual understanding in respect of claims for indemnity, and where proprietorship has been disturbed by the war, matters are adjusted either in accordance with the former legal status or as is most convenient to the contracting parties. The third class of treaties comprises those made by States which have never been enemies and who unite in forming a league of friendship; no conditions are either imposed or accepted, for these only exist between victors and vanquished. It was this latter kind of league that Antiochus was seeking, and he (the speaker) was surprised that the Romans should think it just and fair to impose conditions upon the king as to which of the cities in Asia they decided should be free and autonomous and which should pay tribute, and in the case of some forbidding the king to garrison them. These were terms on which to make peace with Philip their enemy, not a treaty of alliance with Antiochus, who was their friend.

The following was Quinctius' reply: "Since it pleases you to draw these distinctions and to enumerate the various ways in which friendly relations can be established, I too will lay down the two conditions apart from which, you may tell your king, no friendship with Rome can be established. One is this−if he does not wish us to concern ourselves with the cities of Asia, he must himself keep his hands off every part of Europe. The other is this−if instead of confining himself within the frontiers of Asia he crosses over into Europe, the Romans will be perfectly justified in protecting their friendship with those cities where it exists and in winning new ones." Hegesianax replied: "Surely it is an unworthy suggestion to say that Antiochus is excluded from the cities of Thrace and the Chersonese which his great−grandfather Seleucus won most gloriously after defeating Lysimachus, who fell in the battle, and some of which Antiochus himself recovered by force of arms from the Thracians who had taken possession of them, whilst others which had been deserted, like Lysimachia, he repeopled with tillers of the soil, and where they had been burnt or laid in ruin he rebuilt them at a vast expense. What resemblance could there be

between the renunciation by Antiochus of his right to cities which had been acquired or recovered in this way and the non−interference of the Romans in Asia, which had never belonged to them? Antiochus was asking for the friendship of Rome, but it was such a friendship as would bring him honour, not shame." On this Quinctius observed: "As it is a question of honour−a question which ought to be the sole, or at all events the primary, one for the foremost nation in the world and for a monarch so great as yours, which course appears to you the more honourable, to desire the freedom of all the Greek cities wherever they are or to keep them tributary and in bondage? If Antiochus thinks that he is acting honourably in claiming the lordship of cities which his great−grandfather held by the right of war, a right which his father and grandfather never asserted, the Roman people also consider that their sense of honour and consistency forbid them to abandon their championship of the liberties of Greece. As they liberated Greece from Philip, so it is their intention to liberate the Greek cities in Asia from Antiochus. Colonies were not founded in Aeolis and Ionia to be in bondage to monarchs, but that their stock might multiply and a nation of ancient lineage be propagated throughout the world."

As Hegesianax hesitated and could not deny that the cause of liberty carried a more honourable title than that of slavery, P. Sulpicius, the senior of the ten commissioners, said: "Let us have no more beating about the bush; choose one of the two conditions which Quinctius has just put forward so clearly; choose or drop this idle plea of friendship." "It is not our wish," said Menippus, "nor is it in our power to enter into any compact by which the sovereign rule of Antiochus will be impaired." The next day Quinctius introduced to the senate all the deputations from Greece and Asia, in order that they might learn the attitude of the Romans and that of Antiochus towards the cities of Greece. He laid his own demands before them and then those of the king, and told them to report to their governments that the Romans would show the same courage and fidelity in vindicating their liberties against Antiochus, if he did not quit Europe, which they had shown in liberating them from Philip. On this Menippus earnestly begged Quinctius and the senate not to precipitate a decision which might, when once taken, throw the world into confusion. He asked them to take time for reflection and allow the king to do the same. When the conditions were reported to him, he would take them into consideration and would obtain some modification of them or make some concessions for the sake of peace. So the whole matter was postponed and it was decided that the same commissioners should be sent to the king who had been with him at Lysimachia, namely P. Sulpicius, P. Villius and P. Aelius.

Scarcely had they started on their mission when envoys came from Carthage with the intelligence that Antiochus was undoubtedly preparing for war with the advice and assistance of Hannibal, and apprehensions were felt as to the outbreak of a war with Carthage at the same time. As was stated above, Hannibal, a fugitive from his native country, had reached the court of Antiochus, where he was treated with great distinction, the only motive for this being that the king had long been meditating a war with Rome, and no one could be more qualified to discuss the subject with him than the Carthaginian commander. He had never wavered in his opinion that the war should be conducted on Italian soil; Italy would furnish both supplies and men to a foreign foe. But, he argued, if that country remained undisturbed and Rome were free to employ the strength and resources of Italy beyond its frontiers, no monarch, no nation could meet her on equal terms. He wanted 100 decked ships and a force of 10,000 infantry and 1000 cavalry; he would take the fleet to Africa first as he felt confident of being able to persuade the Carthaginians to enter upon another war, and if they hung back he would raise up war against Rome in some part of Italy. The king should cross over into Europe with the rest of his army and keep his troops somewhere in Greece, not actually sailing for Italy, but prepared to do so; this would give a sufficient impression of the magnitude of the war.

When he had brought the king over to his view, he thought he ought to prepare his countrymen, but he would not run the risk of sending a written communication lest it should be intercepted and his plans discovered. During his visit to Ephesus he had picked up a Tyrian servant named Aristo and, as he had experience of the intelligent way in which he executed less important commissions, Hannibal decided to make use of him. By means of bribes and lavish promises, which the king himself endorsed, he was induced to go to Carthage with instructions. Hannibal supplied him with a list of those whom it was necessary to interview, and he also provided him with secret signs by which they might know that he had really been commissioned by Hannibal. As the man was constantly going

about Carthage, Hannibal's enemies found out the reason for his visit quite as soon as his friends, and the matter became the subject of conversation at social gatherings and in the clubs. At last it gave rise to discussion in the senate, where various speakers asserted that nothing was gained by Hannibal's banishment if he was able to form treasonable designs, and by carrying on an agitation amongst the citizens threaten the peace and security of the State. They declared that one Aristo, a Tyrian stranger, had come furnished with instructions from Hannibal and Antiochus, that men who were well known were holding furtive colloquies with him every day, and that a mischief was being secretly hatched which would soon break out and bring about universal ruin. There was a general outcry and all present demanded that Aristo should be summoned and questioned as to the object of his visit, and unless he explained it, sent with a deputation to Rome. "We have suffered enough," they said, "for one man's recklessness; if private citizens offend it will be at their own risk, the State must be preserved from the taint and even from the suspicion of guilt."

When Aristo appeared he endeavoured to clear himself by relying mainly on the fact that he had brought nothing in the shape of a letter to anyone. Still he did not give a satisfactory explanation of the object of his visit, and what caused him most embarrassment was the allegation that his interviews were confined to the members of the Barcine party. On this a heated discussion arose, one side demanding his arrest and detention as a spy, the other asserting that there was no ground for such irregular action, and it would form a bad precedent if visitors from abroad were to be apprehended for no reason whatever. The same thing would happen to the Carthaginians at Tyre and the other commercial cities which they so largely frequented. The debate was adjourned. Aristo, having to do with Carthaginians, adopted a Carthaginian stratagem. Early in the evening he hung up a placard in the busiest part of the city over the tribunal where the magistrates sat day by day. In the third watch of the night he boarded a vessel and fled away. When the suffetes took their seats the next morning to administer justice they saw the placard, took it down and read it. It stated that Aristo's instructions were not intended for private citizens; they were public and addressed to the "elders"−for so they designated their senate. As this involved the whole government there was less eagerness to investigate the few cases where suspicion fell. It was, however, decided that a deputation should be sent to Rome to report the affair to the consuls and the senate and at the same time lay a complaint against Masinissa.

When Masinissa saw that the Carthaginians were falling into bad odour with Rome and at variance amongst themselves−the leaders of the Barcine party suspected by the senate owing to their interviews with Aristo, and the senate suspected by the people in consequence of the notice which Aristo had put up−he thought it a good opportunity for attacking them. The coastal district which skirts the Lower Syrtis is called Emporia. It is a very fertile country and there is one city in it−Leptis−which alone paid Carthage tribute to the extent of a talent a day. This district Masinissa overran and ravaged from end to end and occupied parts of it, so that it appeared doubtful whether it belonged to him or to the Carthaginians. On learning that they had sent envoys to Rome to meet the charges which had been made against them, and also to complain of his conduct, he too sent a deputation to strengthen the suspicions against Carthage and also to question the right of that government to exact tribute from the district which he had invaded. The Carthaginians were received in audience first, and their account of the Tyrian stranger made the senate feel anxious lest they should be involved in war with both Antiochus and Carthage at the same time. What strengthened their suspicions most of all was the fact that after deciding to arrest Aristo and send him to Rome they had neglected to keep either him or his ship under guard. Then came the argument with Masinissa's representatives as to the territory in dispute. The Carthaginians rested their case on the adjudication of Scipio, as the district lay within the frontiers of what, after his victory, he declared to be Carthaginian territory, and they also relied on Masinissa's own admission. When Aphthires was a fugitive from his kingdom and was roaming with a body of Numidians in the neighbourhood of Cyrenae, Masinissa who was pursuing him asked permission to traverse that district, showing thereby that he had no doubt as to its belonging to Carthage.

The Numidians contended that false statements had been made as to Scipio's delimitation. If the origin of any rights they claimed was inquired into, what ground in all Africa really belonged to the Carthaginians? When they landed on its shores and sought a settlement they were granted as much land on which to build their city as they

could enclose within an ox−hide cut into strips. Whatever ground they had gained outside Bursa they had gained by violence and robbery. As to the territory in question, it was impossible for them to prove that it had been in their possession from the beginning or even for any considerable length of time. The Carthaginians and the kings of Numidia laid alternate claims to it as opportunity offered; it always became the possession of those who for the time being were the strongest in arms. They begged the senate to let matters remain in the same state in which they were before Carthage became the enemy or Masinissa the friend and ally of Rome, and not to prevent him who was able to hold it from doing so. The reply given to both parties was to the effect that the senate would send a commission to Africa to settle the dispute on the spot. The commissioners were P. Scipio Africanus, C. Cornelius Cethegus and M. Minucius Rufus. After surveying the locality and hearing both sides they decided for neither of them and left the whole question in abeyance. Whether they did this of their own motion or whether they had received instructions to do so is uncertain. What is certain is that under the circumstances it was a matter of expediency that the question should remain unsettled. Had it not been so Scipio, either through his knowledge of the facts or his personal influence with both the contending parties, could have settled it by a nod.

Book 35. Antiochus in Greece

In the opening months of the year in which the above events occurred several unimportant engagements took place in Spain between Sextus Digitius, the praetor, and the numerous cantons which after the departure of M. Cato had recommenced hostilities. These were on the whole so costly to the Romans that the force which the praetor handed over to his successor was hardly half what he had received. There would undoubtedly have been a general rising throughout Spain had not the other praetor, P. Cornelius Scipio, fought several successful actions beyond the Ebro and so cowed the natives that no less than fifty towns went over to him. This was whilst he was praetor. As pro−praetor he inflicted a severe defeat on the Lusitanians. They had devastated Further Spain and were on their way home with an immense quantity of plunder when he attacked them on the march and fought from the third hour of the day to the eighth without arriving at any decision. He was inferior in numbers, but in everything else he had the advantage, for he was with close and serried ranks attacking a long column hampered by many herds of cattle, and his soldiers were fresh while the enemy were wearied with their long march. They had started in the third hour of the night on a march which was prolonged through three hours of daylight and they were forced to accept battle without taking any rest. So it was only in the first stage of the battle that they showed any spirit or energy. At first they threw the Romans into some disorder, but soon the fighting became even. In the crisis of the struggle the praetor vowed that he would celebrate Games to Jupiter if he should rout and destroy the enemy. At length the Roman attack became more insistent and the Lusitanians began to give ground. Finally they broke and fled, and in the hot pursuit which followed as many as 12,000 of the enemy were killed, 540 prisoners taken, nearly all mounted troops, and 134 standards captured. The losses in the Roman army amounted to 73. The scene of the action was not far from the city of Ilipa, and P. Cornelius led his victorious army, enriched with spoil, to that place. The whole of the booty was laid out in front of the city and the owners were allowed to claim their property. The rest was made over to the quaestor to be sold and the proceeds distributed to the soldiers.

C. Flaminius had not left Rome when these things happened in Spain. Naturally he and his friends talked much more about the defeats than about the successes, and as a widespread war had broken out in his province and he was going to take over from Sex. Digitius a miserable remnant of an army, and that utterly demoralised, he had tried to induce the senate to assign to him one of the City legions. From this and from the force which the senate had empowered him to raise he could select 6200 infantry and 300 cavalry, and with that legion−for there was not much to be expected from Digitius' army−he said he could manage very well. The senior members of the House said that their decisions must not depend upon rumours started by private individuals in the interest of particular magistrates, and that no importance should be attached to anything but the despatches of the praetors from their provinces or the reports which their officers brought home. If there was a sudden rising in Spain they considered that emergency troops ought to be promptly raised by the praetor outside Italy. What they had in their minds was that these troops should be raised in Spain. Valerius Antias asserts that C. Flaminius went to Sicily to enlist men, and that whilst on his way from there to Spain he was carried by a storm to Africa, where he administered the

military oath to soldiers who had belonged to the army of P. Africanus.

In Italy, too, the Ligurian war was growing more serious. Pisae was now surrounded by 40,000 men, and their numbers were being swelled daily by crowds who were attracted by the love of fighting and the hope of plunder. Minucius arrived in Arretium on the day which he had appointed for the assembling of his soldiers. From there he marched in close order to Pisae, and though the enemy had moved their camp across the river to a position not more than a mile distant from the place, he succeeded in entering the city, which his arrival undoubtedly saved. The day following he, too, crossed the river and fixed his camp about half a mile distant from that of the enemy. From this position he sent out skirmishers, and so protected the land of the friendly tribes from depredation. As his troops were new levies, drawn from various classes and not yet sufficiently acquainted with each other to feel mutual confidence, he did not venture to challenge a regular engagement. The Ligurians, relying on their numbers, marched out and offered battle, prepared for a decisive conflict, and even detached bodies to go in all directions beyond their frontiers to secure plunder. When they had collected a vast quantity of cattle and other booty an armed escort was ready to take it to their forts and villages.

As the Ligurian operations were confined to Pisae the other consul led his army through the furthest limits of Liguria into the country of the Boii. Here totally different tactics were pursued; it was the consul who offered battle and the enemy who declined it. As they met with no opposition the Romans dispersed on plundering forays, the Boii preferring to let their property be carried off with impunity rather than risk a battle in its defence. After the whole country had been laid waste with fire and sword the consul left the enemy's territory and marched in the direction of Mutina, taking as little precaution against attack as though he were in a friendly country. When the Boii found that their enemy had withdrawn from their frontiers, they followed noiselessly, looking out for a suitable place for a surprise attack. Passing by the Roman camp in the night, they seized a pass through which the Romans would have to go. This movement did not escape observation, and the consul, who had been in the habit of marching in the dead of the night, decided to wait for daylight so that the dangers incident to a tumultuary battle might not be augmented by darkness. Though it was quite light when he started, he sent on a squadron of cavalry to reconnoitre. On receiving their report as to the strength and position of the enemy he ordered the whole of the baggage to be collected together, and the triarii were told off to surround it with a breastwork. With the rest of his army in battle formation he advanced against the enemy. The Gauls did the same when they found that their stratagem was exposed and that they would have to fight an open and regular battle.

The action began about eight o'clock. The left wing of the allied cavalry and the "special" corps were fighting in the front line, and two generals of consular rank−M. Marcellus and Tiberius Sempronius; the latter had been consul the previous year−were in command of them. The consul Merula was at one moment at the front and at another holding back the legions who were in reserve, lest in their eagerness they should go forward before the signal was given. Two military tribunes, Q. Minucius and P. Minucius, received orders to take the cavalry of these two legions outside the line and when the signal was given to deliver an attack from the open. Whilst the consul was making these dispositions a message came from Ti. Sempronius Longus informing him that the special corps were not able to withstand the onslaught of the Gauls, a great many had been killed, and the survivors, wearied out and dispirited, had lost all heart for fighting. He asked the consul, therefore, if he approved, to send up one of the legions before they were humiliated by defeat. The second legion was sent up and the special corps was withdrawn. The battle was now restored, as the legion came up with its men fresh and its maniples complete. As the left division was withdrawn from the fighting the right came up into the front line. The hot sun was blazing down on the Gauls, who were incapable of standing the heat; nevertheless they sustained the attacks of the Roman army in mass formation, leaning against each other or on their shields. On perceiving this the consul ordered C. Livius Salinator, the allied cavalry leader, to send his men at a hard gallop against them, and the cavalry of the legions to act as supports. This hurricane of cavalry confused, disordered, and finally broke up the Gaulish lines, but they did not turn to flee. Their officers began to stop any attempt at flight by striking the waverers with their spears and forcing them back into their ranks, but the cavalry, riding in amongst them, did not allow them to do this. The consul urged his men on; only a little more effort was needed, he said; victory was within their grasp, they saw how disordered and demoralised the enemy were, and they must press the attack. If they allowed them to

re−form their ranks, the battle would begin all over again with doubtful result. He ordered the standard−bearers to advance, and with one united effort they at last forced the enemy to give way. When once the Gauls were scattered in flight the cavalry of the legions was sent in pursuit. Fourteen thousand of the Boii were killed in that day's fighting, 1902 taken prisoners, as well as 721 of their cavalry, including three officers; 212 standards were also captured and 63 military wagons. Nor was the victory a bloodless one for the Romans; they and the allied contingents together lost over 5000 men, including 23 centurions, four praefects of allies and three military tribunes in the second legion−M. Genucius, Q. Marcius and M. Marcius.

Despatches from the two consuls arrived in Rome almost on the same day. The one from L. Cornelius contained his report of the battle at Mutina; that from Q. Minucius, at Pisae, stated that the conduct of the elections had fallen to his lot, but the whole position in Liguria was so uncertain that it was impossible for him to leave without bringing ruin on the friendly tribes and injury to the interests of the republic. He suggested that if the senate thought proper they should send word to his colleague, who had practically brought the war in Gaul to a close, requesting him to return to Rome for the elections. If Cornelius objected on the ground that it was not part of his allotted duties, he was ready to do whatever the senate decided upon. But he begged them to give long and careful consideration to the question whether it would be more in the interest of the State that an interrex should be appointed than that he should leave his province in such a condition. The senate instructed C. Scribonius to send two commissioners of senatorial rank to L. Cornelius to show him the despatch which his colleague had sent to the senate, and to inform him that unless he came to Rome for the election of the new magistrates the senate would consent to the appointment of an interrex rather than call away Q. Minucius from a war which had hardly begun. The commissioners brought back word that L. Cornelius would come to Rome for the election of the new magistrates. The despatch which he had sent after his engagement with the Boii gave rise to a debate in the senate. M. Claudius had written unofficially to the majority of the senators stating that it was the good fortune of Rome and the valour of the soldiers that they had to thank for any success that had been gained. All the consul had done was to lose a large number of his men and let the enemy slip out of his hands when he had the chance of annihilating them. His losses were mainly due to the delay in bringing up the reserves to relieve the first line, who were being overpowered. The enemy were able to escape because he was too late in giving the order to the legionary cavalry, and so prevented them from following up the fugitives.

The senate agreed that no hasty decision should be come to on this matter and the debate was adjourned for a fuller meeting of the House. There was another pressing question to be dealt with. The citizens were suffering from money−lenders, and though numerous laws had been made in restraint of avarice they were evaded through the fraudulent transferring of the bills to subjects of the allied States who were not bound by these laws. In this way debtors were being overwhelmed by unlimited interest. After a discussion as to the best method of checking this practice it was decided to fix a date, and all members of the allied States who had after that date lent money to Roman citizens were required to make a return of the amounts so lent, and the debtor was to be at liberty to choose under which laws the creditor might exercise his rights. The appointed day was that of the Feralia, which had just been celebrated. From the returns sent in it was found that the debts contracted under this fraudulent system amounted to a considerable sum, and M. Sempronius, one of the tribunes of the plebs, was authorised by the senate to propose a measure, which the plebs adopted, providing that debts contracted with members of the Latin and allied communities should come under the same laws as those contracted with Roman citizens. These were the main military and political events in Italy. In Spain the war was by no means so serious as rumour represented. C. Flaminius in Hither Spain took the fortified town of Inlucia in the country of the Oretani. He then with drew his troops into winter quarters, and during the winter several unimportant actions were fought to repel raiding parties, who resembled banditti rather than hostile troops. He was not always successful, however, and sustained losses. More important operations were carried on by M. Fulvius. He fought a pitched battle near Toletum with a combined force of Vaccaci, Vettones and Celtiberians, defeated and routed them and took Hilernus their king prisoner.

Meanwhile the date of the elections was approaching, and L. Cornelius, after handing over his command to M. Claudius, went to Rome. After expatiating in the senate upon his services and the state in which he had left the

province, he took the senators to task for not having paid due honour to the immortal gods, now that such a serious war had been terminated by a single victorious battle. He then asked the House to decree a public thanksgiving, and at the same time a triumph for him. Before the question was put, however, Q. Metellus, who had filled the offices of consul and dictator, said that the despatch which L. Cornelius had sent to the senate and the letter which M. Marcellus had sent to most of the senators were in conflict with one another, and the discussion of this question had been adjourned in order that it might take place when the writers of these letters were present. He had been expecting, therefore, that the consul, who knew that his lieutenant had made statements reflecting on him, would bring him with him when he had to come to Rome, especially as the army ought really to have been handed over to Tiberius Sempronius, who had the imperium, and not to a staff officer. It seemed now as if the man had been purposely kept out of the way who could have repeated his written statements face to face with his opponent and established them if possible, while any groundless charge he made could have been disproved until at last the truth had been clearly ascertained. He gave it as his opinion, therefore, that none of the decrees which the consul asked for should, for the present at all events, be made. As the consul still persisted in asking the senate to decree a public thanksgiving and authorise him to ride in triumph through the City, two of the tribunes of the plebs, M. Titinius and C. Titinius, said that they would exercise their right of veto if a resolution of the senate were passed to that effect.

The censors who had been elected during the previous year were Sextus Aelius Paetus and C. Cornelius Cethegus. Cornelius closed the lustrum. The assessment returns gave the number of citizens as 243,704. There was an enormous rainfall that year and the low−lying parts of the City were inundated by the Tiber. Near the Porta Flumentana some buildings collapsed and fell in ruins. The Porta Coelimontana was struck by lightning and the wall adjacent was struck in several places. At Aricia and Lanuvium and on the Aventine there were showers of stones. It was reported from Capua that a huge swarm of wasps flew into the forum and settled in the temple of Mars, and that they were carefully collected and burnt. In consequence of these portents the Keepers of the Sacred Books were ordered to consult them. Sacrifices were offered for nine days, public intercessions were appointed and the City underwent lustration. During this time M. Porcius Cato dedicated the chapel of Victoria Virgo near the temple of Victory, which he had vowed two years previously. During the year a Latin colony was settled at the Castrum Frentinum in the territory of Thurium. The commissioners who superintended the colonisation were A. Manlius Volso, L. Apustius Fullo and Q. Aelius Tubero, the latter of whom had brought in the bill for its settlement. The colonists comprised 3000 infantry and 300 cavalry, a small number in proportion to the amount of land available. Thirty jugera might have been allotted to each infantryman and 60 to each of the cavalry, but on the advice of Apustius a third of the land was reserved, which could, were it desired, be assigned to fresh colonists. The infantry received 20 jugera and the cavalry 40 each.

The year was now drawing to a close and the canvassing for the consular elections was keener than had ever been known before. There were many strong candidates, both patrician and plebeian, in the field. The patrician candidates were P. Cornelius, the son of Cneius Scipio, who had lately returned from his province in Spain with a brilliant record; L. Quinctius Flamininus, who had commanded the fleet off Greece, and Cn. Manlius Volso. The plebeian candidates were C. Laelius, Cn. Domitius, C. Livius Salinator and Manius Acilius. But all men's eyes were turned to Quinctius and Cornelius, for as they were both patricians they were competing for the same place and they each possessed strong recommendations, for each had covered himself with military glory. But it was the brothers of the two candidates who most of all made the contest such an exciting one, for they were the two most brilliant commanders of their day. Scipio had the more splendid reputation, but its very splendour exposed him all the more to jealousy; Quinctius' reputation was of more recent growth, as his triumph had been celebrated during the year. Moreover, the former had been continually before the public eye for nearly ten years, a circumstance which tends to diminish the reverence felt for great men as people become surfeited with their praises. He had been made consul for the second time after his final defeat of Hannibal, and also censor. In the case of Quinctius, all his claims to popular favour were founded upon his recent successes; since his triumph he had not sought for nor received anything from the people. He said that he was canvassing for his own brother, not for a step−brother; for one who had as lieutenant shared with him the management of the war; whilst he commanded on land his brother commanded at sea. By these arguments he succeeded in beating his competitor, though his competitor was

supported by his brother Africanus, by the house of the Cornelii−it was a Cornelius who was conducting the election−and by the splendid testimonial which the senate gave when they pronounced Africanus to be the best man among all the citizens and most worthy to receive the Mater Idaea on her arrival from Pessinus. L. Quinctius and Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus were the two elected, so that even in the case of the plebeian candidate C. Laelius, Scipio, who had been working for him, was unable to secure his return. The next day the praetors were elected. The successful candidates were L. Scribonius Libo, M. Fulvius Centumalus, A. Atilius Serranus, M. Baebius Tamphilus, L. Valerius Tappo and Q. Salonius Sarra. M. Aemilius Lepidus and L. Aemilius Paulus distinguished themselves as aediles this year. They inflicted fines on a large number of graziers, and out of the proceeds they had gold−plated shields made, which they placed on the pediment of the temple of Jupiter. They also built an arcade outside the Porta Trigemina, and in connection with it a wharf on the Tiber, and a second arcade leading from the Porta Fontinalis to the altar of Mars in the Campus Martius.

For a considerable time nothing worth recording had happened in Liguria, but at the close of the year affairs assumed a very serious aspect. The consul's camp was attacked and the attack was repulsed with great difficulty, and when, not long after, the Roman army was marching through a pass a Ligurian army seized the mouth of the pass. As the exit was blocked the consul decided to go back and countermarched his men. But the entrance behind them had been also occupied by a portion of the enemy forces, and the disaster of Candium not only occurred to the minds of the soldiers but almost presented itself before their eyes. Amongst his auxiliary troops the consul had about 800 Numidian horse. Their commander assured the consul that he would break through on whichever side he chose if only he could tell him in which direction lay the most numerous villages, as he would attack them and instantly fire the houses so that the alarm thus created might compel the Ligurians to leave their position in the pass and help their countrymen. The consul highly approved of his plan and promised to reward him richly. The Numidians mounted their horses and began to ride towards the enemy's outposts without showing any aggressiveness. Nothing could at first sight look more contemptible than the appearance they presented; horses and men were alike thin and diminutive; the riders were without body armour and, except for the javelins they carried, unarmed; the horses had no bridles and their pacing was most ungainly, trotting as they did with head and neck stuck straight out. The contempt which they aroused they did their best to increase; they fell from their horses and presented a ridiculous spectacle. Consequently the men at the outposts who had at first been on the alert, prepared to meet an attack, now laid their arms aside and sat down to watch the show. The Numidians rode forward and then galloped back, but always got a little nearer to the mouth of the pass, as though they were carried forward by their horses which they were incapable of managing. At last, digging in their spurs, they made a dash through the enemy's outposts, and emerging into open country set fire to all the dwellings near the road and then to the first village they came to, laying it all waste with fire and sword. The sight of the smoke, the cries of the terrified villagers and the hasty flight of the old men and the children produced great excitement in the Ligurian camp, and without waiting for orders or concerted action every man ran off to protect his property and in a moment the camp was deserted. The consul, extricated from the blockade, reached his destination.

Neither the Boii nor the Spaniards, however, with whom Rome had been warring that year, were such bitter enemies as the Aetolians. After the Roman armies had evacuated Greece they expected that Antiochus would take possession of that part of Europe vacated, and that neither Philip nor Nabis would remain inactive. When they saw no movement anywhere they decided that to prevent their designs from being thwarted by delay they must do something to produce agitation and confusion, and accordingly a council was convened at Naupactus. Here Thoas, their chief magistrate, complained of their unjust treatment by the Romans and the position in which the Aetolians were placed, for after a victory which was won through them, they, of all the States and cities in Greece, had been shown the least consideration. He advised that envoys should be sent to each of the three kings to find out their intentions and to urge such arguments on each as would goad them into a war with Rome. Democritus was sent to Nabis, Nicander to Philip, and Dicaearchus, the brother of Thoas, to Antiochus. Democritus pointed out to the tyrant that by the loss of his maritime cities the very sinews of his power were cut; it was from them that he drew his soldiers, his ships and his crews. Little more than a prisoner within his own walls, he saw the Achaeans fording it over the Peloponnese; he would never have another opportunity of winning back his dominion if he let this one go by; there was no Roman army in Greece, and they would never think it

worth their while to send their legions back again for the sake of Gytheum and the other Laconian cities on the coast. Such were the arguments used to influence the tyrant, so that when Antiochus landed in Greece the consciousness of having broken his amity with Rome through his ill−treatment of her allies might force him to join arms with the Syrian monarch.

Nicander took much the same line in his interview with Philip. He spoke with all the greater force because the king had been brought down from a loftier position than the tyrant and had lost more of his power. He reminded the king of the former prestige of Macedonia and the world−wide victories of his nation. Nicander assured him that the policy recommended was a safe one both in its initiation and its execution. On the one hand he was not asking Philip to take any action before Antiochus was in Greece with his army, on the other there was every prospect of final success. With what possible force could the Romans hold their own against him when leagued with Antiochus and the Aetolians after he had, without the help of Antiochus, maintained such a protracted struggle against the Romans and against the Aetolians, who were at the time a more formidable enemy than the Romans? He also spoke about Hannibal as a foe to Rome from his birth, who had slain more of her generals and soldiers than still survived. Such were the arguments employed with Philip. Those advanced by Dicaearchus in his interview with Antiochus were different. The spoils of war, he said, won from Philip belonged to the Romans, but the victory over him to the Aetolians; they and they alone had granted the Romans an entrance into Greece and provided them with the strength which secured victory. He went on to enumerate the amount of infantry and cavalry which they were prepared to furnish to Antiochus, the localities which would be available for his land army and the harbours which could receive his fleet. Then, as Philip and Nabis were not present to check him, he falsely represented them as prepared for immediate hostilities and ready to seize the very first opportunity of recovering what they had lost in war. In this way the Aetolians tried to stir up war against Rome throughout the world.

The kings, however, took no action, or at all events their action was too late. Nabis promptly sent emissaries to all the coast towns to foment a rising; some of their leading citizens he won over by bribes, others who remained steadfast to the cause of Rome he put to death. T. Quinctius had entrusted the Achaeans with the defence of the coast towns and they lost no time in sending envoys to the tyrant to remind him of his treaty with Rome and to warn him against disturbing the peace which he had so ardently sought for. They also sent succours to Gytheum, which the tyrant was already attacking, and sent a report to Rome of what was happening. During the winter Antiochus went to Raphia in Phenicia to be present at the marriage of his daughter to Ptolemy, the king of Egypt, and at the close of the winter returned through Cilicia to Ephesus. After sending his son Antiochus into Syria to watch the more distant frontiers of his kingdom in case any disturbance should take place in his rear, he left Ephesus and marched with the whole of his land army against the Pisidians in the neighbourhood of Sida. Whilst he was thus engaged the Roman commissioners, P. Sulpicius and P. Villius, who, as I have already stated, had been sent to interview him, received instructions to visit Eumenes first, and after landing at Elea they went up to Pergamum, where the king's palace was situated. Eumenes welcomed the prospect of a war with Antiochus, for he felt certain that if a monarch so much more powerful than himself were left in peace he would prove a troublesome neighbour, and if there was war Antiochus would be no more a match for the Romans than Philip had been, and would either be altogether got rid of or so completely defeated as to submit to terms of peace. In this case much taken from Antiochus would be added to his dominions, and then he would easily be able to defend himself without any assistance from Rome. Even at the worst, Eumenes thought it better to meet any misfortune with the Romans as his allies than, standing alone, have to accept the supremacy of Antiochus, or if he refused, be compelled to do so by force. For these reasons he did his utmost by personal influence and by argument to urge the Romans to war.

Owing to illness Sulpicius stopped at Pergamum, whilst Villius went on to Ephesus, as he heard that the king had commenced hostilities in Pisidia. He made a short stay there, and as Hannibal happened to be there at the time he made a point of paying frequent visits to him in order to ascertain his future plans and if possible remove any apprehension from his mind as to danger threatening him from Rome. Nothing else was discussed in these interviews, but they had one result, which though really undesigned might have been deliberately aimed at, for

they lowered Hannibal's authority with the king and cast suspicion upon all that he said or did. Claudius, following Acilius who wrote in Greek, says that Publius Scipio Africanus was one of the commissioners, and that he had conversations with Hannibal. One of these he reports. Africanus asked Hannibal whom he considered to be the greatest commander, and the reply was, "Alexander of Macedon, for with a small force he routed innumerable armies and traversed the most distant shores of the world which no man ever hoped to visit." Africanus then asked him whom he would put second, and Hannibal replied, "Pyrrhus; he was the first who taught how to lay out a camp, and moreover no one ever showed more cleverness in the choice of positions and the disposition of troops. He possessed, too, the art of winning popularity to such an extent that the nations of Italy preferred the rule of a foreign king to that of the Roman people who had so long held the foremost place in that country." On Scipio's again asking him whom he regarded as the third, Hannibal, without any hesitation, replied, "Myself." Scipio smiled and asked, "What would you say if you had vanquished me?" "In that case," replied Hannibal, "I should say that I surpassed Alexander and Pyrrhus, and all other commanders in the world." Scipio was delighted with the turn which the speaker had with true Carthaginian adroitness given to his answer, and the unexpected flattery it conveyed, because Hannibal had set him apart from the ordinary run of military captains as an incomparable commander.

From Ephesus Villius went on to Apamea. On being informed of the Roman commissioner's arrival, Antiochus proceeded thither also. The conversations between them were almost on the same lines as those which Quinctius had held with the king's envoys in Rome The conference was broken off in consequence of intelligence received of the death of the king's son, who, as already stated, had been sent to Syria. There was great mourning in the court, and the young man's loss was deeply regretted. He had already given proof of such qualities that it was certain, if his life had been spared, he would have shown himself a great and just monarch. The more universally he had made himself beloved, the stronger the suspicions which were felt about his death. The king, it was said, looked upon the heir−apparent as a menace to his old age, and so had him taken off by poison through the agency of certain eunuchs, a class of men whose services kings are glad to employ in crimes of this kind. Another motive which was attributed to the king strengthened this suspicion, for as he had given Lysimachia to his son Seleucus he had no similar residence to which he could remove Antiochus under presence of conferring an honour upon him. The court, however, presented all the outward signs of mourning for several days, and the Roman commissioner, not wishing to be in the way at such an unseasonable time, withdrew to Pergamum. The king abandoned the war which he had begun and returned to Ephesus. There, with his palace closed on account of the mourning, he held secret counsels with his favourite courtier, a man called Minnio. Minnio, utterly ignorant of the outside world and measuring the king's power by his campaigns in Syria and Asia, was fully convinced that Antiochus would prove no less superior to the Romans in war than he was in the justice of his cause, as the demands of the Romans were unjustifiable. As the king avoided all further discussion with the commissioners, either because he found that nothing was to be gained from them or owing to the depression due to his recent bereavement, Minnio said that he would act as spokesman on the king's behalf, and induced Antiochus to invite the commissioners up from Pergamum. Sulpicius had now recovered, so they both proceeded to Ephesus.

.Minnio apologised for the non−appearance of the king and the negotiations proceeded in his absence. Minnio opened the discussion in a carefully prepared speech, in which he said: "I see that you Romans claim the fair−sounding epithet of 'Liberators of the cities of Greece.' But your acts do not correspond to your words; you lay down one law for Antiochus, and another for yourselves. For how are the inhabitants of Smyrna and Lampsacus more Greek than those of Neapolis and Regium and Tarentum, from whom you demand tribute and ships by virtue of your treaty with them? Why do you send year by year a quaestor with full powers of life and death to Syracuse and the other Greek cities of Sicily? The only reason that you could give would, of course, be that you imposed these terms upon them after subjugating them by force. Then accept the same reason from Antiochus in the case of Smyrna and Lampsacus and the cities of Ionia and Aeolis. They were conquered by his ancestors and made to pay tribute and taxes, and he claims the rights which have come down to him from ancient times. I should be glad, therefore, if you would answer him on these points, if, that is, you are prepared to discuss them fairly, and are not simply seeking a pretext for war."

Sulpicius replied: "If these are the only arguments that can be advanced in support of his case, Antiochus has shown a discreet modesty in letting them be brought forward by anybody rather than by himself. For what possible resemblance can there be between the circumstances of the two groups of cities which you have mentioned? From the day when Regium, Tarentum, and Neapolis passed into our hands we have demanded the fulfilment of their treaty obligations by an unbroken tenor of right which has always been asserted and never intermitted. Those communities have never, either of themselves or through anyone else, made any change in those obligations; would you venture to assert that the same holds good of the cities of Asia, and that after once becoming subject to the ancestors of Antiochus they have remained in the uninterrupted possession of your monarchy? Can you deny that some of them have been subject to Philip, others to Ptolemy, others again have for many years enjoyed an independence which no one has ever challenged? Granting that they at some time or other under the pressure of misfortune lost their freedom, does that give you the right after so many ages to claim them as your vassals? If so, we accomplished nothing when we delivered Greece from Philip; his successors can reassert their right to Corinth, Chalcis, and the whole of Thessaly. But why do I defend the cause of States which they themselves should more properly defend in the hearing of the king and themselves?"

He then ordered the representatives of the States to be called in. Eumenes, who quite expected that whatever strength Antiochus lost would prove an accession to his own dominions, had prepared the representatives beforehand and told them what to say. Several were brought in, and as they each stated their grievances and put forward their demands quite regardless as to whether these were fair or not, they changed the discussion into a heated altercation. Unable either to make or to obtain any concessions, the commissioners resumed to Rome leaving everything as unsettled as when they came. On their departure the king held a council of war. Here each speaker tried to outdo the rest in violence of language, for the more bitter he showed himself against the Romans the better his chance of winning the king's favour. One of them denounced the Roman demands as arrogant: "They tried to impose on Antiochus, the greatest monarch in Asia, as though he were the defeated Nabis, and yet even Nabis they allowed to remain as sovereign over his own country and to retain Lacedaemon, whilst they consider it an offence if Smyrna and Lampsacus are under the sway of Antiochus." Others argued that those cities were for so great a monarch slight and insignificant grounds of war, but unjust demands always began with small matters, unless indeed they were to suppose that when the Persians demanded earth and water from the Lacedaemonians they were actually in need of a clod of earth and a draught of water. A similar attempt was now being made by the Romans in respect of these two cities, and as soon as others saw that these had shaken off the yoke they too would go over to the people who posed as liberators. Even if liberty were not in itself preferable to servitude, everyone, whatever his present condition may be, finds the prospect of change more attractive.

There was amongst those present an Acarnanian named Alexander. He had formerly been one of Philip's friends, but had latterly attached himself to the wealthier and more magnificent court of Antiochus. As he was thoroughly familiar with the state of affairs in Greece and possessed some knowledge of the Roman character he had come to be on such intimate terms with Antiochus that he even took part in his private councils. As though the question under discussion was not whether war should be declared or not, but simply where and how it should be conducted, he said that he looked forward to certain victory if the king would cross over into Europe and fix the seat of war in some part of Greece. He would first of all find the Aetolians, who live in the centre of Greece, in arms, ready to take their places in the front and face all the dangers and hardships of war. Then, in what might be called the right and left wing of Greece, Nabis was ready in the Peloponnesus to do his utmost to recover Argos and the maritime cities from which the Romans had expelled him and shut him up within his own walls. In Macedonia Philip would take up arms the moment he heard the war−trumpet sound; he knew his spirit, he knew his temper, he knew that he had been revolving in his mind vast schemes of revenge, chafing like wild beasts that are fastened up by bars or chains. He remembered, too, how often during the war Philip had besought all the gods to give him the help of Antiochus; if this prayer were now granted he would not lose an hour in recommencing war. Only there must be no delay, no holding back, for victory depended upon their being the first to secure allies and to seize the most advantageous positions. Hannibal, too, ought to be sent to Africa at once to create a diversion and divide the Roman forces.

Hannibal had not been invited to the council. He had aroused the king's suspicions by his interviews with Villius, and no respect or regard was now shown to him. For some time he bore this affront in silence; then, thinking it better to inquire the reason for this sudden estrangement and at the same time to clear himself from any suspicion, he chose a fitting moment and put a direct question to the king as to the reason for his disfavour. When he heard what the reason was, he said, "When I was a small boy, Antiochus, my father Hamilcar took me up to the altar whilst he was offering sacrifice and made me solemnly swear that I would never be a friend to Rome. Under this oath I have fought for six−and−thirty years; when peace was settled this oath drove me from my native country and brought me a homeless wanderer to your court. If you cheat my hopes, this oath will lead me wherever I can find support, wherever I learn that there are arms, and I shall find some enemies of Rome, though I have to seek them through the wide world. If, therefore, it pleases your courtiers to advance in your favour by aspersing me, let them seek some other ground for advancing themselves at my expense. I hate the Romans and the Romans hate me. My father Hamilcar and all the gods are witness that I am speaking the truth. When, then, you are making plans for a war against Rome, count Hannibal amongst the first of your friends; if circumstances constrain you to remain at peace, seek someone else to share your counsels." This speech had a great effect upon the king and it brought about a reconciliation with Hannibal. The king left the council, resolved on war.

In Rome people spoke of Antiochus as the enemy, but beyond this attitude of mind they were making no preparations for war. Both the consuls had Italy assigned to them as their province on the understanding that they were either to come to a mutual agreement or leave it to the ballot as to which of them should preside at the elections. The one to whom this duty did not fall was to be prepared to take the legions wherever they were needed beyond the shores of Italy. He was empowered to raise two fresh legions as well as 20,000 infantry and 800 cavalry from the Latins and allied States. The two legions which L. Cornelius had as consul the year before were assigned to the other consul, together with 15,000 allied infantry and 500 cavalry drawn from the same army. Q. Minucius retained his command and the army which he had in Liguria. and was ordered to bring it up to full strength by raising 4000 Roman infantry and 150 cavalry, whilst the allies were to furnish him with 5000 infantry and 250 cavalry. The duty of taking the legions wherever the senate thought fit outside Italy fell to Cn. Domitius; L. Quinctius obtained Gaul as his province and also the conduct of the elections. The result of the balloting amongst the praetors was as follows: M. Fulvius Centumanus received the civic and L. Scribonius Libo the alien jurisdiction; L. Valerius Tappo drew Sicily; Q. Salonius Sarra, Sardinia; M. Baebius Tamphilus, Hither Spain; A. Atilius Serranus, Further Spain. The two latter, however, had their commands transferred first by a resolution of the senate and then by a confirmatory resolution of the plebs; A. Atilius had the fleet and Macedonia assigned to him, and Baebius was appointed to the command in Bruttium. Flaminius and Fulvius were left in command in the two Spains. Baebius received for his operations in Bruttium the two legions which had previously been quartered in the City and also 15,000 infantry and 500 cavalry to be supplied by the allies. Atilius was ordered to construct 30 quinqueremes, to take from the dockyards any old ships that might be serviceable and to impress crews. The consuls were required to supply him with 1000 Roman and 2000 allied infantry. It was stated that these two praetors with their land and sea armies were to act against Nabis who was now openly attacking the allies of Rome. The arrival of the commissioners who had been sent to Antiochus was, however, expected, and the senate forbade Cn. Domitius to leave the City till they returned.

The praetors Fulvius and Scribonius, whose department was the administration of justice, were charged with the task of fitting out 100 quinqueremes in addition to the fleet which Atilius was to command. Before the consul and the praetors left to take up their appointments solemn intercessions were made on account of various portents. A report came from Picenum that a she−goat had produced six kids at one birth; at Arretium a boy had been born with only one hand; at Amiternum there was a shower of earth; at Formiae the wall and one of the gates were struck with lightning. But the most appalling report was that an ox belonging to Cn. Domitius had uttered the words "Roma, cave tibi" ("Rome, be on thy guard!"). With respect to the other portents public supplications were offered up, but in the case of the ox the haruspices ordered it to be carefully kept and fed. The flooded Tiber made a more serious attack upon the City than in the previous year and destroyed two bridges and numerous buildings, most of them in the neighbourhood of the Porta Flumentana. A huge mass of rock, undermined either by the heavy rains or by an earthquake not felt at the time, fell from the Capitol into the Vicus Jugarius and crushed a

number of people. In the country districts cattle and sheep were carried off by the floods in all directions and many farmhouses were laid in ruins. Before the consul L. Quinctius reached his province Q. Minucius fought a pitched battle with the Ligurians near Pisae. He killed 9000 of the enemy and drove the rest in flight to their camp, which was attacked and defended with furious fighting until nightfall. During the night the Ligurians stole away in silence, and at daybreak the Romans entered the deserted camp. They found less plunder than might have been expected, as the Ligurians made a practice of sending what they seized in the fields to their homes. After this Minucius gave them no respite; advancing from Pisae he laid waste their fortified villages and homesteads, and the Roman soldiers loaded themselves with the plunder which the Ligurians had carried off from Etruria and sent to their homes.

Just about this time the commissioners returned from their visit to the kings. The intelligence they brought back disclosed no grounds for immediate hostilities except in the case of the tyrant of Lacedaemon, who, as the Achaean delegates also stated, was attacking the coastal district of Lacedaemon in defiance of the treaty. Atilius was sent with the fleet to Greece to protect the allies. As there was no pressing danger from Antiochus, it was decided that both the consuls should start for their provinces. Domitius marched against the Boii from Ariminium, the nearest point, Quinctius made his advance through Liguria. The two armies on their respective routes devastated the country far and wide. A few of the Boian cavalry with their officers went over to the Romans, they were followed by all the older men, and at last every man of rank or wealth, up to the number of 500, deserted to the consul. The Romans were successful in both the Spanish provinces this year. C. Flaminius laid siege to and captured Licabrum, a wealthy and strongly fortified place, and took as prisoner Conribilo, a chieftain of high rank. The proconsul, M. Fulvius, fought two successful actions and stormed many fortified places, together with two towns, Vescelia and Helo; others surrendered voluntarily. Then he marched against the Oretani, and after becoming master of two towns, Noliba and Cusibis, he advanced as far as the Tagus. Here there was a small but strongly fortified city, Toletum, and whilst he was attacking it the Vettones sent a large army to relieve it. Fulvius defeated them in a pitched battle, and after putting them to rout invested and captured the place.

These actual wars, however, preoccupied the thoughts of the senate far less than the threatening prospect of war with Antiochus. Although they received from time to time full information through their commissioners, there were vague and unauthorised rumours afloat in which truth was largely blended with falsehood. Amongst other things it was reported that as soon as Antiochus reached Aetolia he would send his fleet on to Sicily. Atilius had already been sent with his fleet to Greece, but as the senate, if it was to retain its hold upon the friendly States, was bound to assert its authority as well as send troops, T. Quinctius, Cn. Octavius, Cn. Servilius and P. Villius were despatched on a special mission to Greece, and a decree was made ordering M. Baebius to transfer his legions from Bruttium to Tarentum and Brundisium, and if circumstances made it necessary transport them to Macedonia. M. Fulvius was ordered to send a fleet of twenty ships to protect Sicily, its commander to possess full powers. The command was vested in L. Oppius Salinator; he had been plebeian aedile the previous year. Fulvius was also to send to his colleague L. Valerius and inform him that fears were entertained of Antiochus sending his fleet to Sicily, and the senate had therefore decided that he should strengthen his army by raising an emergency force of 12,000 foot and 400 horse for the defence of that part of the Sicilian coast which faced Greece. The praetor took the men for the force from the adjacent islands as well as from Sicily itself, and placed garrisons in all the towns on the eastern coast. These rumours were strengthened by the arrival of Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, who brought word that Antiochus had crossed the Hellespont with his army, and that the Aetolians, who were thoroughly prepared, were in arms immediately on his arrival. Thanks were formally accorded to Eumenes as well as to Attalus. The latter was treated as the guest of the State and suitably lodged; he was also presented with two horses, two sets of equestrian armour, silver vases up to a hundred and gold vases up to twenty pounds' weight.

As messenger after messenger brought word that war was imminent, it was felt to be a matter of importance that the consular elections should take place at as early a date as possible. The senate therefore resolved that M. Fulvius should at once write to the consul informing him that the senate wished him to hand over his command to his staff and return to Rome. On his way he was to send on his edict giving notice of the consular elections. The

consul carried out these instructions and returned to Rome. There was a keen contest this year, as three patricians were competing for the one vacancy, namely P. Cornelius Scipio, the son of Cn. Scipio, who had been defeated the previous year; L. Cornelius Scipio, and Cn. Manlius Volso. As a proof that the honour had only been deferred and not refused to a man of his eminence, the consulship was bestowed on P. Scipio and the plebeian who was assigned to him as colleague was Manius Acilius Glabrio. Those who were elected as praetors the next day were L. Aemilius Paullus, M. Aemilius Lepidus, M. Junius Brutus, A. Cornelius Mammula, C. Livius and L. Oppius, the two latter both having the cognomen Salinator. Oppius was in command of the fleet of twenty sail which had gone to Sicily. Whilst the new magistrates were balloting for their respective provinces Baebius received instructions to sail with the whole of his force from Brundisium to Epirus and to remain near Apollonia; M. Fulvius was commissioned to construct fifty new quinqueremes.

Whilst the Roman Government were thus preparing to check any attempt on the part of Antiochus, Nabis was already pushing on hostilities and devoting his whole strength to the investment of Gytheum. The Achaeans had sent succour to the besieged city, and in revenge he devastated their territory. They did not venture upon open hostilities till their delegates had returned from Rome and they had learnt the decision of the senate. On their return they summoned a council to meet at Sicyon and sent to ask T. Quinctius to advise them as to what they ought to do. The members of the council were unanimously in favour of immediate action, but when a letter was read from T. Quinctius in which he advised them to wait for the Roman praetor and the fleet there was some hesitation felt. Some of the leaders adhered to their opinion, others thought that after consulting T. Quinctius they ought to act on his advice. The great majority, however, waited to hear what line Philopoemen would take. He was at the time their chief magistrate, and surpassed all his contemporaries in sound common sense and force of character. He began by commending the wisdom of the regulation which the Achaeans had adopted forbidding their chief magistrate to express his own view when the discussion turned on war. He then urged them to come to a speedy decision as to what they wanted; their chief magistrate would carry out their decision faithfully and carefully, and as far as human wisdom could avail would do his utmost to prevent their regretting it whether it were in favour of peace or war. This speech did more to incite them to war than if he had betrayed his desire for it by open advocacy. The council passed a unanimous vote in favour of hostilities, but left the date and conduct of operations absolutely to the chief magistrate. Philopoemen himself was of the opinion which Quinctius had already expressed, that they ought to wait for the Roman fleet which could protect Gytheum by sea, but he was afraid that the position did not admit of delay and that not only Gytheum but also the force sent to defend it might be lost. Accordingly, he ordered the Achaean vessels to put to sea.

The tyrant had, as one of the conditions of peace, surrendered his old fleet to the Romans, but he had collected a small naval force, consisting of three decked ships with some barques and despatch−boats, to prevent any assistance reaching the besieged city by sea. In order to test the hardiness of these new vessels and make everything fit for battle, he made them put out to sea every day, and the sailors and soldiers were exercised in sham fights, for he regarded the prospect of a successful siege as dependent upon his intercepting all relief attempted by sea. Though the chief magistrate of the Achaeans could vie with the most famous commanders in military skill and experience he was totally inexperienced in naval matters. He was a native of Arcadia, an inland country, and knew nothing of the outside world with the exception of Crete where he had commanded a force of auxiliary troops. There was an old quadrireme which had been captured eighty years ago when it was conveying Nicaea, the wife of Craterus, from Naupactus to Corinth. Attracted by what he had heard of this ship−for it had been in its day a famous unit of the royal fleet−he ordered it to be brought from Aegium, though it was now very rotten and its timbers were parting through age. Whilst this vessel, with Tisus of Patrae, the fleet commander, on board, was leading the armament it was met by the Lacedaemonian ships which were coming from Gytheum. At the very first shock against a new and firm ship the old vessel, which was leaking at every joint, completely broke up and all on board were made prisoners. The rest of the fleet, after seeing the commander's vessel lost, fled away as fast as their oars could carry them. Philopoemen himself escaped in a light scouting boat and did not end his flight till he had reached Patrae. This incident did not in the least depress the spirits of a man who was a thorough soldier and had had a very chequered experience; on the contrary, he declared that if he had made an unfortunate mistake in naval matters of which he knew nothing he had all the more reason to hope for success in things with

which experience had made him thoroughly familiar, and he promised that he would make the tyrant's rejoicing over his victory a short−lived one.

Greatly elated by his victory, Nabis felt no further apprehension of danger from the sea, and he now decided to close all access on the land side by an effective disposition of his troops. He withdrew a third of the army which was investing Gytheum and encamped at Pleiae in a position which commanded both Leucae and Acriae, as the enemy would probably advance in that direction. Only a few of the troops in this camp had tents, the mass of the soldiers constructed wattled huts with reeds and leafy branches to shelter them from the sun. Before he came within sight of the enemy Philopoemen decided to make a novel kind of attack and take him unawares. Collecting some small craft in a secluded creek on the Argive coast he manned them with light infantry, mostly caetrati, who were armed with slings and darts and other light equipment. Sailing close inshore he reached a headland near the enemy's camp, where he disembarked his men and made a night march to Patrae along paths with which he was familiar. The enemy's sentinels, fearing no immediate danger, were asleep and Philopoemen's men flung burning brands on the huts from every side of the camp. Many perished in the fire before they were aware of the enemy's presence, and those who had become aware of it were unable to render any assistance. Between fire and sword the destruction was complete, very few escaped death from the one or the other, and those who did escape fled to the camp before Gytheum. Immediately after dealing this blow to the enemy Philopoemen led his force to Tripolis in Laconia, close to the Megalopolitan territory, and before the tyrant could send troops from Gytheum to protect the fields, he succeeded in carrying off a vast quantity of booty both in men and cattle.

He then assembled the army of the league at Tegea and also convened a special meeting of the Achaeans and their allies at which the leading men from Epirus and Acarnania were present. As his troops were now sufficiently recovered from the humiliation of their naval defeat and the enemy were correspondingly depressed he decided to march on Lacedaemon, as that seemed the only means of drawing off the enemy from the siege of Gytheum. His first halt on enemy territory was at Caryae, and on the very day he encamped here Gytheum was taken. Unaware of what had happened he continued his advance as far as Barnosthenes, a mountain ten miles distant from Lacedaemon. After taking Gytheum Nabis returned with his army equipped for rapid marching, and hurrying past Lacedaemon he seized a position known as Pyrrhus' Camp, which he felt quite certain that the Achaeans were making for. From there he advanced to meet them. Owing to the narrowness of the road they extended in a column nearly five miles long. The cavalry and the greater part of the auxiliary troops were in the hinder part of the column, as Philopoemen thought that the tyrant would probably attack his rear with the mercenaries, on whom he mainly depended. Two unexpected circumstances occurred which gave Philopoemen cause for anxiety; the position he had hoped to secure was already occupied and he saw that the enemy were intending to attack the head of the column. He did not see how it was possible for his hoplites to advance in battle order over such broken ground without the support of the light troops.

Philopoemen possessed exceptional skill in the conduct of a march and the selection of positions; he had made these the objects of special attention in peace as well as in war. It was his habit, when he was travelling and had come to a mountain pass difficult to traverse, to study the ground in all directions. If he was alone he would think the matter over, if he were accompanied he would ask those with him what they would do if an enemy showed himself there, what tactics they would employ according as the attack was made upon their front, or on either flank or on their rear; the enemy in battle order might possibly come upon them whilst they were deployed for action or possibly whilst they were in column of march, unprepared for attack. He used to think out for himself and question others as to some position which he intended to secure, what numbers and what weapons−for these differed considerably−he ought to employ; where he ought to deposit the baggage and the soldiers' kits; where the non−combatants ought to be placed; what ought to be the strength and nature of the baggage guard; and whether it would be better to go forward or for the army to retrace its steps. He used also to consider very carefully the sites he ought to select for his camp, the amount of ground to be enclosed, the supply of water, fodder and wood, the safest route to take on the morrow and the best formation in which to march. He had exercised his mind on these problems from earliest manhood to such an extent that there was no device for meeting them with which he was not familiar. On the present occasion he first of all halted the column, and then sent up to the front the Cretan

auxiliaries and the so−called Tarentine horse, and the rest of the cavalry were ordered to follow them. He then took possession of a rock which overhung a mountain torrent, so that he might have a water supply. Here he collected the camp−followers and the whole of the baggage and surrounded them with a guard. His entrenchments were such as the nature of the position allowed, and the setting up of the tents on such rough and uneven ground presented considerable difficulty. The enemy were half a mile distant, both sides watered at the same stream under the protection of the light infantry, and as usually happens when the camps are near one another, night intervened before the forces engaged. It was quite certain, however, that there would be a battle between the detachments who were guarding the water−carriers, and in view of this Philopoemen during the night posted in a valley out of the enemy's view as large a force of his caetrati as the ground would conceal.

At daybreak the Cretan light infantry and the Tarentines commenced an action on the river bank; Telemnastus of Crete commanding his countrymen, and Lycortas of Megalopolis the cavalry. The enemy, too, had Cretan auxiliaries and Tarentine horse covering their watering−parties, and as the same class of troops were fighting with the same weapons on either side the issue was for some time doubtful. As the action proceeded the tyrant's troops proved superior owing to their numbers, and moreover Philopoemen had instructed his officers to offer only a slight resistance and then pretend to flee and so draw the enemy on to the spot where his ambush was set. As the enemy became disordered in the pursuit, a great many were killed and wounded before they caught sight of their hidden foe. The caetrati were crouching in the best formation that the narrow space admitted of, and the intervals between their companies allowed their own fugitives to pass through. Then they sprang up fresh and vigorous, in perfect order, to attack an enemy who, scattered in disorderly pursuit, were also exhausted by the strain of fighting and the wounds which many of them had received. The result was decisive, the soldiers of the tyrant turned and fled at a much greater speed than when they were the pursuers, and were driven into their camp. Many were killed or made prisoners in the flight, and the camp itself would have been in great danger had not Philopoemen sounded the "retire." He feared the broken ground, so dangerous to any who advanced without caution, more than he feared the enemy. From his knowledge of the tyrant's character Philopoemen guessed what a state of alarm he would be in after this battle and sent one of his men to him in the guise of a deserter. This man told him that he had found out that the Achaeans intended to advance the following day to the Eurotas−this river almost washes the walls of Lacedaemon−in order to intercept him and prevent him from withdrawing into the city and also stop supplies from being conveyed from the city to the camp. They also, he told him, were going to try and create a rising against him amongst the citizens. Though the deserter's story was not fully accepted it afforded the tyrant, now thoroughly frightened, a plausible excuse for quitting his present position. He gave Pythagoras instructions to remain the next day on guard before the camp with the cavalry and auxiliaries whilst he himself, with the main strength of his army, marched out as though for action and gave the standard−bearers orders to quicken their pace and make for the city.

When Philopoemen saw them moving hurriedly along a steep and narrow road he sent his Cretan auxiliaries and the whole of his cavalry against the force which was guarding the camp. Seeing the enemy approaching, and finding that the main army had left them to themselves, they tried to retire into their camp, but as the entire Achaean army was advancing in battle order they dreaded lest they should be captured with their camp, and accordingly started after their main body which was some distance ahead. The Achaean caetrati at once attacked and plundered the camp, whilst the rest of the army went off in pursuit of the enemy. The route they had taken was such that even if there had been no enemy to be feared, their column could only have got through with great difficulty, but now, when the rearmost ranks were being assailed and cries of terror penetrated to the head of the column, it was every man for himself; they flung away their arms and fled into the forest which skirted the road on both sides. In an instant the road was blocked with heaps of weapons, mostly spears, which, falling with their heads towards the enemy, formed a kind of stockade across the road. Philopoemen ordered the auxiliaries to press the pursuit as much as possible, since flight would be a difficult matter, for cavalry at all events. The heavy infantry he led in person by a more open road to the Eurotas. Here he encamped just before sunset and waited for the light troops whom he had left in pursuit of the enemy. They came in at the first watch with the news that the tyrant had entered the city with a small body of troops; the rest of his army were without arms, scattered in the forest. He told them to take food and rest. The rest of the army, having come earlier into camp, had already done

so and were now refreshed after a short sleep. Selecting some of their number and telling them to take nothing but their swords, he posted them on two of the roads which led from the city, one to Pharae and the other to Barnosthenes, as he expected that the fugitives would return by these roads. His expectation was justified, for the Lacedaemonians as long as daylight remained went along the sequestered tracks in the heart of the forest, but when it grew dusk and they caught sight of the lights in the enemy's camp they kept out of sight on hidden paths. After they had got past it, and thought all was safe, they came out into the open road. Here they were caught by the enemy who were waiting for them, and so numerous were the prisoners and the slain in all directions that hardly a quarter of their whole army escaped. Now that Philopoemen had shut the tyrant up in his city he spent nearly a month in devastating the Lacedaemonian fields, and after thus weakening and almost shattering the tyrant's power he returned home. The Achaeans in view of his brilliant success put him on a par with the Roman general, and considered him as his superior so far as the Laconian war was concerned.

.While this war between the Achaeans and the tyrant was going on the Roman envoys were visiting the cities of their allies, for they felt some apprehension lest the Aetolians might have induced some of them to go over to Antiochus. They did not trouble themselves much about the Achaeans; as they were in declared hostility to Nabis it was thought that they might be depended upon throughout. Athens was the first place they visited, from there they proceeded to Chalcis, and thence to Thessaly, where they addressed a largely attended council of the Thessalians. They then went on to Demetrias, where a council of the Magnetes was assembled. Here they had to be careful as to what they said, for some of the leading men were in opposition to Rome and gave wholehearted support to Antiochus and the Aetolians. Their attitude was due to the fact that when it was learnt that Philip's son, who had been detained as a hostage, was released and the tribute imposed upon him remitted, it was stated, amongst other false rumours, that the Romans intended to restore Demetrias to him also. Rather than let that happen Eurylochus, the president of the Magnetes, and some of his party were anxious that the arrival of Antiochus and the Aetolians should bring about a complete change of policy. In meeting this hostile spirit the Roman envoys had to be on their guard lest while removing this groundless suspicion they should so far destroy Philip's hopes as to make an enemy of a man who was for every reason of more importance to them than the Magnetes were. The envoys confined themselves to pointing out that the whole of Greece was under obligations to Rome for the boon of liberty, Magnesia so especially. Not only had a Macedonian garrison been stationed there, but Philip had built a palace there so that they were forced to have their lord and master always before their eyes. But all that Rome had done for them would be useless if the Aetolians brought Antiochus into that palace and they had to have a new unknown king in place of one whom they had known and had experience of.

Their supreme magistrate was called "Magnetarch," and Eurylochus was holding that office at the time. Feeling secure in the power which his office gave him, he said that he and the Magnetes could not be silent about the report which was widely current that Demetrias was to be given back to Philip. To prevent this the Magnetes were prepared to make every effort and face every danger. Carried away by excitement he threw out the ill−advised remark that even then Demetrias was only free in appearance, in reality everything was at the nod and beck of Rome. These words were received with murmurs and protests; some in the assembly approved, but others were filled with indignation at his having dared to speak in that way. As for Quinctius, he was so angry that he lifted up his hands towards heaven and called upon the gods to witness the ingratitude and perfidy of the Magnetes. This exclamation created universal alarm and Zeno, one of their leading men, who had gained great influence amongst them, partly by the refinement which characterised his private life and partly because he had always been a staunch friend to Rome, implored Quinctius and other envoys not to make the whole city responsible for one man's madness; it was at his own risk that anyone behaved like a madman. The Magnetes were indebted to Titus Quinctius and the Roman people for more than their liberty−for everything, in fact, which men hold dear and sacred; there was nothing which a man could ask the gods to give him that they had not received from them. They would sooner lay frenzied hands upon themselves than violate their friendship with Rome.

.His speech was followed by urgent entreaties from the whole assembly. Eurylochus left hurriedly, and making his way secretly to the city gate fled to Aetolia, for the Aetolians were now throwing off the mask more and more every day from their hostile intentions. Thoas, the foremost man amongst them, happened to return from his

mission to Antiochus just at this time, bringing with him an envoy from the king in the person of Menippus. Before the meeting of the national council these two men had filled all ears with descriptions of the land and sea forces which Antiochus had collected. They declared that a great host of infantry and cavalry were on their way, elephants had been brought from India and−what they thought would most of all impress the popular mind−he was bringing gold enough to buy up the Romans themselves. It was obvious what effect this sort of talk would have on the council, for their arrival and all their proceedings were duly reported to the Roman envoy. Although events had almost taken a decisive turn, Quinctius thought it might not be altogether useless if some representatives of the friendly cities attended the council who would have the courage to speak frankly in reply to the king's envoy and remind the Aetolians of their treaty engagements with Rome. The Athenians seemed best fitted for the task on account of the prestige which their city enjoyed and also because of their old alliance with the Aetolians. Quinctius therefore requested them to send delegates to the Pan−Aetolian Council.

Thoas opened the proceedings by giving a report of his negotiations. He was followed by Menippus, who asserted that the best thing for all the peoples of Greece and Asia would have been for Antiochus to have intervened whilst Philip's power was still unimpaired, everyone would then have kept what belonged to him, and everything would not have been completely at the mercy of Rome. "Even now," he continued, "if only you resolutely carry out the designs you have formed, he will be able with the help of the gods and the assistance of the Aetolians to restore the fortunes of Greece, drooping though they are, to their old place in the world. That, however, must rest on liberty, and a liberty which stands in its own strength and is not dependent on the will of another." The Athenians, who had received permission to speak their minds after the king's delegate, made no allusion to the king, but simply reminded the Aetolians of their alliance with Rome and the services which T. Quinctius had rendered to the whole of Greece. They warned them against wrecking that friendship by hasty and precipitate action; bold and hot−headed counsels were attractive at first sight, difficult to put into practice, disastrous in their results. The Roman envoys and Quinctius himself were not far away, it would be better to discuss the question at issue in friendly debate than to throw Europe and Asia into a deadly struggle of arms.

The great mass of the assembly, eager for a change of policy, were wholly on the side of Antiochus and were even opposed to admitting the Romans into the council. Mainly, however, through the influence of the elders amongst their leading men, it was decided that a meeting of the council should be summoned to hear them. When the Athenians returned and reported this decision Quinctius felt that he ought to go to Aetolia, as he might do something to change their purpose, if not the whole world would see that the responsibility for the war rested solely on the Aetolians and that Rome was taking up arms in a just and necessary cause. Quinctius began his address to the council by tracing the history of the league between the Aetolians and Rome and pointing out how frequently they had infringed its provisions. He then dealt briefly with the rights of the cities which were the subject of controversy and showed how much better it would be, if they thought they had a fair case, to send a deputation to Rome to argue their cause or bring it before the senate, whichever they preferred, instead of a war between Rome and Antiochus at the instigation of the Aetolians, a war which would create a world−wide disturbance and utterly ruin Greece. None would feel the fatal result of such a war sooner than those who set it in motion. The Roman was a true prophet, but he spoke in vain. Without allowing time for deliberation by adjourning the council or even waiting for the Romans to retire, Thoas and the rest of his supporters got a decree passed amidst the cheers of the assembly for inviting Antiochus to give liberty to Greece and arbitrate between the Romans and the Aetolians. The insolence of this decree was aggravated by the personal effrontery of Damocritus their chief magistrate. When Quinctius asked him for a copy of the decree, Damocritus, without the slightest regard for his official position, told him that a more pressing matter demanded his immediate attention, he would shortly give him his reply and the decree from his camps in Italy on the banks of the Tiber. Such was the madness which at that time possessed the Aetolians and their magistrates.

Quinctius and the other legates returned to Corinth. The Aetolians, who were continually receiving intelligence about Antiochus' movements, wished to make it appear that they were doing nothing themselves and simply waiting for his arrival; consequently they did not hold a council of the whole league after the Romans had left. Through their "Apokleti," however−the designation they give to their inner council−they were discussing the best

means of effecting a revolution in Greece. It was everywhere understood that the leading men and the aristocracy in the various States were partisans of Rome and perfectly contented with things as they were, whilst the mass of the populations and all whose circumstances were not what they wished them to be were eager for change. On the day of their meeting the Aetolians decided upon a project alike audacious and impudent, namely the occupation of Demetrias, Chalcis and Lacedaemon. One of their leaders was sent to each of these cities: Thoas went to Chalcis, Alexamenus to Lacedaemon, Diocles to Demetrias. Eurylochus, whose flight and the reason for it have been already described, came to the assistance of Diocles, as in no other way did he see any prospect of returning home. He wrote to his friends and relatives and the members of his party, and they brought his wife and children dressed in mourning and carrying suppliant emblems into the assembly, which was crowded. They appealed to those present individually and implored the assembly as a whole not to allow a man innocent and uncondemned to waste his life in exile. The simple and unsuspecting were moved by pity, the evil−minded and seditious by the prospect of profiting by the confusion which the Aetolian agitation would cause. Everyone voted for his recall. This preparatory step having been taken, Diocles, who was at that time in command of the cavalry, started with the whole of his force, ostensibly to escort the exile home. He covered an immense distance, marching through the day and the night, and when he was six miles from the city he went on in advance at daybreak with three picked troops, the rest being under orders to follow. As they approached the gate he bade his men dismount and lead their horses as though they were accompanying their commander on his journey instead of acting as a military force. Leaving one troop at the gate to prevent the cavalry who were coming up from being shut out, he took Eurylochus, holding him by the hand, through the heart of the city and the forum to his house amidst the congratulations of many who came to meet them. In a short time the city was filled with cavalry−and the commanding positions were seized. Then parties were told off to go to the houses of the leaders of the opposition and put them to death. In this way Demetrias was gained by the Aetolians.

Against the city of Lacedaemon no force was to be employed. The tyrant was to be caught by treachery. After being despoiled of his maritime towns by the Romans and now actually shut up within his walls by the Achaeans, it was taken for granted that whoever was the first to kill him would win the gratitude of the Lacedaemonians. The Aetolians had a good excuse for sending to him, for he had been insistently demanding that help should be sent to him by those at whose instigation he had recommenced war. Alexamenus was supplied with 1000 infantry and 30 men selected from the cavalry. These latter had been solemnly warned by Damocritus in the Inner Council, which is described above, not to suppose that they were sent to fight against the Achaeans or for any purpose which they might fix upon in their own minds. Whatever plan circumstances might compel Alexamenus suddenly to adopt, that plan, however unexpected, hazardous or daring it might be, they must be prepared to execute with unquestioning obedience, and they must so regard it as though it were the only object which they had been sent from home to accomplish. With these men thus primed Alexamenus went to the tyrant, and his visit at once filled him with hope. He told him that Antiochus had already landed in Europe and would soon be in Greece, he would cover sea and land with arms and men; the Romans would find out that it was not with Philip that they had to deal; the numbers of his infantry and cavalry and ships could not be counted; the mere sight of the line of elephants would bring the war to a close. He assured him that the Aetolians were prepared to go to Lacedaemon with the whole of their army when circumstances demanded, but they wanted Antiochus to see a considerable body of their troops on his arrival. He also advised Nabis to be careful not to let the troops which he still had become enervated through idleness and an indoor life; he should take them out and by exercising them under arms make them keener and hardier; the toil and exertion would become lighter by practice, and their commander could make it far from distasteful by his geniality and kindness.

From that time they were frequently marched out to the plain stretching from the city to the Eurotas. The tyrant's bodyguard were usually in the centre of the line; he himself with three horsemen at the most, of whom Alexamenus was generally one, rode along the front of the standards to inspect the wings. On the right were the Aetolians, including the auxiliaries and the thousand who had come with Alexamenus. Alexamenus had made a practice of accompanying the tyrant during his inspection through a few of the ranks, making such suggestions as seemed called for, and then riding up to the Aetolians on the right and giving them the necessary instructions, after which he returned to the side of the tyrant. But on the day which he had fixed for carrying out his deadly

project he only accompanied the tyrant for a short time, and then withdrawing to his own men addressed the thirty picked troopers in these terms: "Young men, you have to dare and do the deed which you are under orders to carry out at my bidding. Be ready with heart and hand, and let no one falter at what he sees me doing; whoever hesitates and crosses my purpose with his own may be sure that there is no return home for him." Horror seized them all; they remembered the instructions with which they had come. The tyrant was riding up from his left wing, Alexamenus ordered them to level their lances and watch him; even he himself had to collect his thoughts, bewildered as he was at the contemplation of such a desperate deed. When the tyrant came near he made an attack upon him and speared his horse. The tyrant was flung off, and whilst he lay on the ground the troopers thrust at him with their lances. Many of their thrusts were warded off by his cuirass, but at last they reached his body, and he expired before he could be rescued by his bodyguard.

Alexamenus went off with all the Aetolians at the double to take possession of the palace. Whilst the assassination was going on before their eyes they were too frightened to move; when they saw the Aetolian contingent hurrying away they ran to the abandoned body of the tyrant, but instead of bodyguards and avengers of his death, they were merely a crowd of spectators. In fact, not a single man would have offered any resistance had Alexamenus, laying aside his arms, called the whole army to attention and made an address such as the situation required, keeping a considerable body of Aetolians under arms and injuring no one. But what ought to happen in every act begun by treachery happened here; the affair was so managed as to hasten the destruction of all the actors in it. The general, shutting himself up in the palace, spent a whole day and night in examining the royal treasures, the Aetolians took to looting as though they had captured the city of which they wished to appear as the liberators. The indignation this aroused and a feeling of contempt for the scanty number of Aetolians gave the Lacedaemonians courage to unite together. Some advised that the Aetolians should be driven out and the liberty snatched from them just when it seemed to be restored, asserted and made secure. Others thought that one of the royal blood should be chosen as the ostensible head of the movement. There was a scion of the old royal house called Laconicus who had been brought up with the tyrant's children; they put him on horseback, and seizing their arms slew the Aetolians who were strolling about the city. Then they forced their way into the palace and killed Alexamenus, who with a few of his men offered an ineffectual resistance. Some of the Aetolians had collected together at the Chalcioecon−a bronze temple of Minerva−and were all killed. A few flung away their arms and fled to Tegea and Megalopolis. Here they were arrested by the magistrates and sold as slaves.

On hearing of the tyrant's death Philopoemen went to Lacedaemon, where he found universal panic and confusion. He invited the principal men to meet him, and after addressing them as Alexamenus ought to have done, incorporated the city in the Achaean league. This was rendered all the easier by the fact that just at that time A. Atilius arrived at Gytheum with four−and−twenty quinqueremes. Thoas was far from meeting with the same success at Chalcis as was achieved at Demetrias through the agency of Eurylochus. He had enlisted the services of two men−Euthymidas, one of the leading men in Chalcis who had been expelled through the influence of the Roman party, strengthened by the visit of T. Quinctius and the fleet, and Herodorus, a trader from Chios whose wealth gave him considerable weight in the city. Through their instrumentality Thoas had arranged with the adherents of Euthymidas to betray the city into his hands. Euthymidas had taken up his residence at Athens, from there he went to Thebes, and then on to Salganeus. Herodorus went to Thronium. Not far from this place Thoas had a force of 2000 infantry and 200 cavalry, as well as thirty light transports in the Maliac Gulf. Herodorus was to take these vessels with a complement of 600 infantry to the island of Atalanta with the object of sailing across to Chalcis as soon as he learnt that the land force was nearing Aulis and the Euripus. Thoas himself marched with this force as rapidly as possible, mostly by night, to Chalcis.

After the expulsion of Euthymidas the chief command was vested in Micythio and Xenoclides. Either suspecting what was going on or having received information about it, they were at first in a state of panic and thought that their only safety lay in flight, but when their fears subsided and they saw that they would be deserting not only their city but their alliance with Rome, they thought out the following plan of operations. It so happened that the annual festival of Diana of Amarynthis was being held at the time in Eretria, and this festival was attended not only by the natives but also by the people of Carystus. A deputation was sent from Chalcis to beg the Eretrians

and the Carystians to take compassion on those who were born in the same island as themselves, to remember their alliance with Rome, and not to allow Chalcis to pass into the hands of the Aetolians. If they held Chalcis they would hold Euboea; the Macedonians had been harsh masters, the Aetolians would be much more insupportable. The two cities were influenced mainly by their respect for the Romans, whose courage in the late war as well as their justice and considerateness they had had practical experience of. Each city accordingly armed and despatched all their fighting men. The Chalcidians left the defence of their walls to them, and crossing the Euripus with their entire force fixed their camp at Salganeus. From there they sent first a herald and then delegates to the Aetolians to inquire what they had done or said that their allies and friends should come to attack them. Thoas, who was in command, replied that they were come not to attack them but to deliver them from the Romans. "You are fettered," he said, "with more glittering but also with heavier chains than when you had a Macedonian garrison in your citadel." The Chalcidians declared that they were not in bondage to any man, nor did they need any man's protection. They then left the conference and returned to their camp. Thoas and the Aetolians had placed all their hopes on taking the enemy by surprise, and as they were unequal to a sustained conflict and the siege of a city powerfully protected both by land and sea they returned home. When Euthymidas heard that his countrymen were encamped at Salganeus and that the Aetolians had gone away he returned to Athens. Herodorus after anxiously awaiting the signal from Atalanta sent a despatch−boat to find out the cause of the delay, and when he learnt that his associates had abandoned their enterprise he went back to Thronium.

On hearing what had happened Quinctius on his way from Corinth met Eumenes on the Euripus off Chalcis, and it was arranged that Eumenes should leave 500 troops to protect Chalcis and go on to Athens. Quinctius went on as he had started in the direction of Demetrias, and judging that the liberation of Chalcis would do much towards inducing the Magnetes to resume friendly relations with Rome, he wrote to Eunomus, the chief magistrate of the Thessalians, asking him to put his fighting men on a war footing as a support to the party of his adherents. At the same time he sent Villius to sound the feeling of the populace, but not to attempt anything more unless there were a large number who were inclined to restore the old friendly relations. He went in a quinquereme, and had reached the harbour mouth when he found that the whole population had poured out to see him. Villius asked them whether they preferred that he should come to them as friends or as enemies. Eurylochus, their chief magistrate, told him that he had come to friends, but he must keep away from the harbour and allow the Magnetes to live in harmony and liberty and not seduce the populace under cover of a political discussion. This started a hot dispute, not a conference, as the Roman envoy bitterly reproached the Magnetes for their ingratitude and predicted the disasters which would quickly overtake them, whilst the townsmen shouted out in reply angry aspersions on the conduct of the senate and Quinctius. Foiled in his attempt Villius returned to Quinctius, who sent off a message to the praetor to disband his forces and then returned to Corinth.

The affairs of Greece, involved as they were with those of Rome, have carried me, so to speak, out of my course, not because they were worth narrating in themselves, but because they brought about the war with Antiochus. After the consular elections−for that was the point at which I digressed−the new consuls, L. Quinctius and Cn. Domitius, left for their provinces, Quinctius for Liguria and Domitius for the country of the Boii. The Boii remained quiet, and even their senate with their children and the cavalry commanders with their men, 1500 in all, made a formal surrender to the consul. The other consul devastated the Ligurian country far and wide, captured several of their fortified posts and took from them not only prisoners and booty, but also many of his fellow−citizens and members of the friendly States who had been in the hands of the enemy. During the year the senate and people authorised the formation of a military colony at Vibo; 3700 infantry and 300 cavalry were sent there. The supervisors of the settlement were Q. Naevius, M. Minucius and M. Furius Crassipes. Fifteen jugera were allotted to each infantryman and double the number to the cavalry. The land had previously belonged to the Bruttii, who had taken it from the Greeks. During this time two alarming incidents occurred in Rome, one lasted longer than the other, but was less destructive. There were earth tremors which went on for thirty−eight days, and during the whole of the time business was suspended amidst general anxiety and alarm. Intercessions were offered up for three successive days to avert the peril. The other was no groundless alarm, it was a widespread disaster. A fire broke out in the Forum Boarium; for a day and a night the buildings fronting the Tiber were blazing and all the shops with their valuable stocks were burnt out.

The year was now almost at an end and the rumours of hostile preparations on the part of Antiochus and the anxiety these caused to the senate became graver day by day. The discussion as to the assignment of provinces to the new magistrates resulted in the senate decreeing that one of the consular provinces should be Italy and the other wherever the senate should decide, for it was already generally understood that there would be war with Antiochus. The one to whom this latter field of operations would be allotted was to be furnished with 4000 Roman and 6000 allied infantry, together with 300 Roman and 400 allied cavalry. L. Quinctius was instructed to raise this force so that there might be no delay in the new consul proceeding at once wherever the senate should think it necessary. A similar decree was made in the case of the praetors−elect. The first balloting was for the two departments of civic and alien jurisdiction; the second for Bruttium; the third for the command of the fleet, which was to be sent wherever the senate should determine; the fourth for Sicily; the fifth for Sardinia, and the sixth for Further Spain. L. Quinctius was also commanded to raise two new Roman legions and an allied contingent of 20,000 infantry and 800 cavalry. That army was decreed to the praetor who should draw Bruttium as his province. Two temples were dedicated this year to Jupiter. One had been vowed by L. Furius Purpureo, when praetor, in the war against the Gauls; the other by the consul. The dedication was performed by one of the decemviri, Q. Marcius Ralla. Many severe sentences were passed this year on moneylenders, the curule aediles M. Tuccius and P. Junius Brutus acting as prosecutors. From the proceeds of the fines inflicted on them gilded four−horse chariots were placed in the temple on the Capitol and twelve gilded shields on the pediment of the chapel of Jupiter. The same aediles constructed a colonnade outside the Porta Trigemina in the Carpenters' Quarter.

Whilst the Romans were devoting attention to preparations for a fresh war, Antiochus for his part was by no means idle. He was, however, detained in Asia by three cities, Smyrna, Alexandria Troas and Lampsacus, none of which he had been able to become master of either by force or by persuasion, and he did not wish to leave them in his rear during his invasion of Europe. A further cause of delay was his uncertainty about Hannibal. The undecked ships with which he had intended to send Hannibal to Africa were not ready, and then the question was raised, mainly by Thoas, whether he ought to be sent at all. Thoas asserted that the whole of Greece was in a state of unrest and that Demetrias had passed into his hands. The lies about the king and the wild exaggerations as to the forces which Antiochus possessed with which he had excited many minds in Greece he now employed to feed the king's hopes. He told him that all were praying for him to come; there would be a universal rush to the shore from which they had caught the first glimpse of the royal fleet. He actually ventured to disturb the judgment which the king had now without a shadow of doubt formed of Hannibal and gave it as his opinion that no ships ought to be detached from the king's fleet, or if any were sent Hannibal was the very last person who ought to be in command of them. He was a banished man and a Carthaginian to whom his fortunes or his imagination suggested a thousand fresh prospects every day. Then, again, the military reputation which led to Hannibal's being sought after like a woman with a rich dowry was too great for any who was only officer in the king's service; the king ought to be the central figure, the sole leader the sole commander. If Hannibal were to lose a fleet or an army the loss would be just as great as if they were lost under any other leader, but if any success were gained the glory of it would go to Hannibal and not to Antiochus. Supposing that they were fortunate enough to inflict a decisive defeat on the Romans and win the war, how could they hope that Hannibal would live quietly under a monarch, under one man's rule, after he had been unable to bear the restraints imposed by the laws of his own country? His youthful aspirations and his hopes of winning world−wide dominion had not fitted him to endure a master in his old age. There was no necessity for the king to give Hannibal a command, he might find him employment as a member of his suite and an adviser on matters concerning the war. A moderate demand upon such abilities as his would be neither dangerous nor useless; but if the highest services he could render were called for, they would prove too burdensome both for him who rendered them and him who accepted them. Such were the arguments which Thoas used.

No characters are so prone to jealousy as those whose birth and fortune are not on a level with their intelligence, for they hate virtue and goodness in others. The plan of sending Hannibal to Africa, the one useful plan which had been thought out at the beginning of the war, was promptly set aside. Encouraged by the defection of Demetrias, Antiochus determined to postpone no longer his advance into Greece. Before setting sail he went up to Ilium to offer sacrifices to Minerva. He then rejoined his fleet and started on his expedition with 40 decked ships and 60

undecked ones, and these were followed by 200 transports laden with supplies and military stores of every description. He first touched at the island of Imbros and from there crossed the Aegean to Sciathus. After the ships which had lost their course during the voyage had rejoined him, he sailed on to Pteleum, the first point on the mainland. Here he was met by Eurylochus and the Magnetan leaders from Demetrias, and the sight of so many supporters put him in excellent spirits. The following day he entered the harbour of Demetrias and disembarked his force at a spot not far from the city. His total strength consisted of 10,000 infantry, 500 cavalry and six elephants, a force hardly sufficient for the occupation of Greece, even if there were no troops there, to say nothing of maintaining a war against Rome. When the Aetolians received intelligence that Antiochus was at Demetrias they at once convened a council and passed a resolution inviting him to attend. As the king knew that this resolution would be passed he had already left Demetrias and advanced to Phalara on the Maliac Gulf. After being supplied with a copy of the resolution he went on to Lamia, where he received an enthusiastic welcome from the populace, who showed their delight by loud cheers and other manifestations by which the common crowd express their extravagant joy.

When he entered the council it was with difficulty that the president, Phaeneas, and the other leaders obtained silence in order that the king might speak. He began by apologising for having come with forces so much smaller than everyone had hoped and expected. This ought to be taken, he said, as the greatest proof of his friendship and devotion towards them, for though he was quite unprepared and the season was unsuitable for a sea−passage he had unhesitatingly complied with the request of their delegates, convinced as he was that when the Aetolians saw him amongst them they would realise that, even had he come alone, it was in him that their safety and protection lay. At the same time, he was going to fulfil to the utmost the hopes of those whose expectations seemed for the moment to be disappointed. As soon as ever the season of the year made navigation safe he should fill the whole of Greece with arms and men and horses and encircle its coasts with his fleets; he would shrink from no toil or danger till he had delivered Greece from the yoke of Roman dominion and made Aetolia her foremost State. Supplies of every description would accompany his armies from Asia; for the time being it must be the care of the Aetolians to furnish his troops with an abundant supply of corn and other provisions at a reasonable price.

After this speech, which met with unanimous approval, the king left the council. An animated discussion then arose between the two Aetolian leaders, Phaeneas and Thoas. Phaeneas argued that as their leader in war Antiochus would not be so useful to them as he would be were he to act as peace−maker and as an umpire to whom their differences with Rome might be referred for decision. His presence amongst them and his regal dignity would do more to win the respect of the Romans than his arms. Many men, to avoid the necessity of war, will make concessions which could not be extorted from them by war and armed force. Thoas, on the other hand, asserted that Phaeneas was not really anxious for peace; he only wanted to hinder their preparations for war so that the king, tired of delays, might relax his efforts and the Romans gain time for completing their own preparations. Notwithstanding all the deputations which had been despatched to Rome and all the personal discussions with Quinctius, they had learnt by experience that no equitable terms could be procured from Rome, nor would they have sought help from Antiochus had not all their hopes been dashed to the ground. Now that he had presented himself sooner than anyone expected they must not slacken their purpose, rather must they beg the king, as he had come as the champion of Greece, which was the main thing, to summon all his military and naval forces. A king in arms would gain something, a king without arms would not have the slightest weight with Romans, either as acting on behalf of the Aetolians or even defending his own interests. These arguments carried the day and they decided to appoint the king as their commander−in−chief with absolute powers, and thirty of their leading men were selected to act as an advisory council on any matter on which he might wish to consult them.

On the break−up of the council the members dispersed to their respective cities. The next day the king consulted the council as to where operations should commence. It was thought best to begin with Chalcis, where the Aetolians had recently made their futile attempt, and where they considered success would depend on quick action more than on serious preparations or sustained effort. The king accordingly, with a force of 1000 infantry which had come up from Demetrias, marched through Phocis, and the Aetolian leaders, who had called out a few

of their fighting men, taking a different route, assembled at Chaeronea and followed him in ten ships of war. Fixing his camp at Salganeus he crossed the Euripus with the Aetolians, and when he was within a short distance from the harbour the magistrates and leading men of Chalcis came forward in front of their gate. A small party from each side met to confer. The Aetolians did their utmost to persuade the Chalcidians to receive the king as an ally and friend without disturbing their friendly relations with Rome. They said that he had sailed across to Europe not to levy war but to liberate Greece, not with empty professions as the Romans had done, but to make her really free. Nothing could be more advantageous for the States of Greece than to enter into friendly relations with both parties, for then they would be secure against ill−treatment from either side through the protection which the other would be pledged to afford. If they refused to receive the king, let them consider what they would at once have to go through, with the Romans too far away to help and Antiochus, whom they were powerless to resist, before their gates as an enemy. Micythio, one of the Achaean leaders, said in reply that he was wondering who the people were that Antiochus had left his kingdom and come across to Europe to liberate. He knew of no city in Greece which held a Roman garrison or paid tribute to Rome or had to submit against its will to conditions imposed by a one−sided treaty. The Chalcidians needed no one to vindicate their liberty, for they were a free State; nor did they require protection, for it was owing to this same Roman people that they were in the enjoyment of peace and liberty. They did not reject the proffered friendship of the king nor even of the Aetolians, but the first proof of friendship would be their departure from the island, for as far as they themselves were concerned it was quite certain that they would not admit them within their walls or even enter into any alliance with them without the authority of the Roman Government.

The king had remained on board, and when this was reported to him he decided for the present to return to Demetrias as he had not brought sufficient troops to effect anything by force. As his first attempt had proved a complete failure he consulted the Aetolians as to what the next step should be. They decided to try what could be done with the Boeotians, the Achaeans and the Athamanian king, Amynander. They were under the impression that the Boeotians had been estranged from Rome ever since the death of Brachylles and the results which flowed from it, and they also believed that Philopoemen, the chief magistrate of the Achaeans, was an object of dislike and jealousy on the part of Quinctius owing to the reputation he had gained in the Laconian war. Amynander had married Apama, the daughter of a certain Alexander of Megalopolis, who represented himself as being descended from Alexander the Great and had given his three children the names of Philip, Alexander and Apama. Her marriage with the king had made Apama much talked about and her elder brother Philip had followed her to Athamania. He was a weak and conceited young man, and Antiochus and the Aetolians had persuaded him that if he brought Amynander and the Athamanians over to the side of Antiochus he might hope to succeed to the throne of Macedon, as he really belonged to the royal stock. These empty promises carried weight not only with Philip but even with Amynander.

The Aetolian agents who had been sent to Achaia were received in audience at a council held at Aegium. Antiochus' envoy spoke first. Like most men who are fed by royal bounty, he talked in a grandiloquent strain and filled sea and land with the empty sound of his words. According to him, an innumerable mass of cavalry was crossing the Hellespont into Europe; some were clad in coats of mail, they were called "cataphracti"; others were bowmen, and against them nothing was safe, their aim was surest when they were galloping away from the enemy. Although this cavalry force alone could overwhelm the massed armies of Europe, he went on to talk about bodies of infantry many times as numerous and startled his hearers with names they had hardly ever heard of−Dahae, Medes, Elymaeans and Cadusii. The naval forces were such as no harbours in Greece could hold; the right division was formed by the Sidonians and Tyrians; the left by the Aradii and Sidetae from Pamphylia, nations which were unequalled in the whole world as skilful and intrepid seamen. It was unnecessary, he continued, to refer to the money and other provision for war, his hearers themselves knew how the realms of Asia had always overflowed with gold. So the Romans would not have to do with a Philip or a Hannibal, the one only the foremost man in a single city, the other confined to the limits of his Macedonian kingdom, but with the Great King who ruled over the whole of Asia and a part of Europe. And yet, coming as he did from the remotest borders of the East to liberate Greece, he asked for nothing from the Achaeans which could impair their loyalty to Rome, their old friend and ally. He did not ask them to take up arms with him against them, all he wanted was that they

should stand aloof from both sides. "Let your one wish and desire," he concluded, "as becomes common friends, be that each may enjoy peace; if there is to be war do not become involved in it." Archidamus, who represented the Aetolians, spoke to the same effect and urged them to maintain a passive attitude as the easiest and safest course, and, whilst watching the war as mere onlookers, wait for its final result upon the fortunes of others without in any way hazarding their own. Then his tongue ran away with him and he broke out into unrestrained abuse of the Romans in general and in particular of Quinctius, reproaching them with ingratitude and asserting that it was through the valour of the Aetolians that they secured not only the victory over Pyrrhus, but even their own safety, for it was the Aetolians who saved Quinctius and his army from destruction. "What duty," he exclaimed, "incumbent on a commander has that man ever discharged? I saw him, while the battle was going on, busy with auspices, offerings and vows like some miserable priest, while I was exposing myself to the enemy's weapons in his defence."

Quinctius replied: "Archidamus had in his mind those in whose presence rather than those to whose ears he was addressing his remarks, for you Achaeans know perfectly well that all the warlike spirit of the Aetolians lies in words not in deeds, and shows itself in haranguing councils more than on the battlefield. So they are indifferent to the opinion which the Achaeans have of them, because they are aware that they are thoroughly known to them. It is for the king's representatives, and through them for the king himself, that he has uttered this bombast. If anyone did not know before what it was that led Antiochus to make common cause with the Aetolians, it came out clearly in their delegate's speech. By lying to one another and boasting of forces which neither of them possess they have filled each other with vain hopes. These say that it was through them that Philip was defeated and by their courage that the Romans were protected, and as you heard just now, they talk as though you and all other cities and nations were going to follow their lead. The king, on the other hand, vaunts of his clouds of infantry and cavalry and covers all the seas with his fleets. It is very like something that happened when we were at supper with my host in Chalcis, a worthy man and one who knows how to feed his guests. It was at the height of summer; we were being sumptuously entertained, and were wondering how he managed to get such an abundance and variety of game at that season of the year. The man, not a boaster like these people, smiled and said, 'That variety of what looks like wild game is due to the condiments and dressing, it has all been made out of a home−bred pig.' This might be fitly said of the king's forces which were just now so extolled. All that variety of equipment and the crowd of names no one ever heard of−Dahae, Medes, Cadusians and Elymaeans−are nothing but Syrians, whose servile, cringing temper makes them much more like a breed of slaves than a nation of soldiers. I wish I could bring before your eyes, Achaeans, the flying visits which the 'Great King' paid to the national council of the Aetolians at Lamia and afterwards to Chalcis. You would see what looked like two badly depleted legions in the king's camp; you would see the king almost on his knees begging corn from the Aetolians and trying to raise a loan from which to pay his men, and then standing at the gates of Chalcis, and on finding himself shut out from there returning to Aetolia having gained nothing but a glimpse of Aulis and the Euripus. The king's confidence in the Aetolians is misplaced, so is theirs in his empty professions. You must not, therefore, let yourselves be deceived; trust rather in the good faith of Rome, of which you have had actual experience. As to their saying that the best course for you is to have nothing to do with the war, nothing on the contrary could be further from your interests, for then, winning neither gratitude nor respect, you would fall as a prize to the victor."

It was felt that his reply to both parties was to the point, and his speech easily won the approbation of the council. There was no debate and no hesitation in coming to a unanimous decision that the Achaeans would count as their friends or foes those whom the Romans considered such, and would also declare war on Antiochus and the Aetolians. On the instruction of Quirinus they at once despatched a contingent of 500 men to Chalcis and an equal number to the Piraeus. At Athens matters were fast approaching a state of civil war through the action of certain individuals who by holding out the prospect of bribes were drawing the mob, who can always be bought by gold, over to Antiochus. The supporters of Rome sent to Quirinus asking him to go to Athens, and Apollodorus, the ringleader of the movement, was tried at the instance of a man called Leontes, found guilty and sent into banishment. The delegates returned to the king with an unfavourable reply from the Achaeans; the Boeotians gave no definite answer. They simply promised that when Antiochus appeared in Boeotia they would deliberate as to what action they should take. When Antiochus heard that the Aetolians and Eumenes had each sent

reinforcements to Chalcis he saw that he must act promptly and be the first to enter the place and if possible intercept the enemy on their advance. He sent Menippus with about 3000 men and Polyxenidas with the whole of the fleet, and a few days later marched thither in person with 6000 of his own men and a smaller body of Aetolians, taken from such force as could be hastily concentrated at Lamia. The 500 Achaeans and the small contingent supplied by Eumenes under Xenoclides of Chalcis crossed the Euripus, as the route was still open, and reached Chalcis. The Roman troops, who were about 500 strong, came after Menippus had encamped before Sanganeus at the Hermaeum, the point of departure from Boeotia to the island of Euboea. They were accompanied by Micythio, who had been sent from Chalcis to Quirinus to ask for this very contingent. When, however, he found that the passes were blocked, he abandoned the one leading to Aulis and took the one to Delium, intending to sail across from there.

Delium is a temple of Apollo overlooking the sea, five miles distant from Tanagra and four miles from the nearest point of Euboea by sea. Here in the fane and in the grove, sacred and therefore inviolable, with its rights of sanctuary which it possessed in common with those temples which the Greeks call "asyla," the soldiers were walking about perfectly at their ease, not having yet heard that a state of war existed or that swords had been drawn and blood shed. Some were exploring the temple and the grove, others strolling along the beach without any weapons, while a large number had gone off to procure wood and fodder. Whilst thus dispersed they were suddenly attacked by Menippus. Many were killed, as many as fifty were made prisoners; very few made their escape. Amongst these was Micythio, who was taken on board a small transport. The losses incurred greatly disquieted Quinctius and the Romans, but at the same time it was regarded as an additional justification for the war. Antiochus had moved his army up to Aulis and from there he despatched a second mission to Chalcis, consisting of some of his own people and some Aetolians. They employed the same arguments as before, but in much more threatening tone, and in spite of the efforts of Micythio and Xenoclides he had little difficulty in inducing the townsmen to open the gates to him. The adherents of Rome left the city just before the king's entry. The Achaean troops and those of Eumenes were holding Salganeus, and a small body of Romans were fortifying a post on the Euripus to defend the position. Menippus commenced the attack on Salganeus and Antiochus prepared to capture the fortified post. The Achaeans and the soldiers of Eumenes were the first to abandon the defence on condition of being allowed to depart in safety. The Romans offered a much stouter resistance, but when they found that they were blockaded by land and sea and that siege artillery was being brought up they were unable to hold out any longer. As the king was now in possession of the capital of Euboea, the other cities on the island did not dispute his dominion. He flattered himself that he had made a most successful commencement of the war, considering how large an island and how many serviceable cities had fallen into his hands.

Book 36. War Against Antiochus−First Stage

On entering upon their office the new consuls, P. Cornelius Scipio and Manius Acilius Glabrio, were instructed by the senate to make it their first business before balloting for their provinces to sacrifice adult victims in all the temples in which for the greater part of the year there was a lectisternium and to offer up special prayers that the intention of the senate to undertake a fresh war might bring prosperity and happiness to the senate and people of Rome. All these sacrifices were performed without anything untoward occurring, and in the victims which were first offered the omens were entirely favourable. The haruspices accordingly assured the consuls that the boundaries of Rome would be extended by this war and that everything pointed to victory and triumph. When this report was laid before the senate their minds were at rest so far as the sanctions of religion were concerned and they ordered the question to be submitted to the people, "Whether it was their will and intention that war should be undertaken against Antiochus and those who were of his party?" If this proposal were carried, the consuls, if they thought fit, were to bring the matter afresh before the senate. P. Cornelius put the question to the people, and it was carried; the senate then decreed that the consuls should ballot for the provinces of Greece and Italy. The one to whom Greece was allotted was to take over the army which by order of the senate L. Quinctius had raised from Roman citizens and allies for service in that province, and in addition the army which M. Baebius had with the authority of the senate taken to Macedonia. He was also commissioned to take up reinforcements of not more

than 5000 men from the allies outside Italy. It was further decided that L. Quinctius should be appointed second in command for this war. The other consul to whom Italy was allotted was instructed to conduct operations against the Boii with whichever army he preferred of the two which the late consuls had, and to send the other to Rome to form the City legions and be ready to go wherever the senate thought fit.

Such were the decrees made by the senate up to the actual allocation of the provinces. Then at last the consuls balloted, and Greece fell to Acilius, Italy to Cornelius. When this was settled a senatus consultum was passed in the following terms: "Whereas the Roman people have at this time ordered that there be war with Antiochus and with all who are under his rule, the consuls shall on this behalf issue orders for a public intercession and M. Acilius shall vow Great Games to Jupiter and gifts and offerings to all the shrines." This vow was made by the consul in the following formula, as dictated by P. Licinius the Pontifex Maximus: "If the war which the people has ordered to be taken in hand against King Antiochus be brought to such a close as the senate and people of Rome desire, then all the Roman people shall celebrate in thy honour, Jupiter, Great Games for the space of ten days, and oblations of money shall be made to all thy shrines in such wise as the senate shall decree. Whatsoever magistrate shall hold these Games, whensoever and wheresoever he shall celebrate them, may they be deemed to be duly and rightly celebrated and the oblations duly and rightly offered!" Then the consul proclaimed special intercessions to be offered for two days. After the balloting for the consular provinces the praetors drew for theirs. M. Junius Brutus obtained the two civil jurisdictions; Bruttium fell to A. Cornelius Mammula; Sicily to M. Aemilius Lepidus; Sardinia to L. Oppius Salinator; the command of the fleet to C. Livius Salinator; and Further Spain to L. Aemilius Paullus.

The distribution of the armies amongst them was as follows: The new levies which had been raised by L. Quinctius the preceding year were assigned to A. Cornelius, and his duty was to protect the whole of the coast round Tarentum and Brundisium. It was decreed that L. Aemilius Paullus should take over the army which M. Fulvius had commanded as proconsul the year before and also raise 3000 fresh infantry and 300 cavalry for service in Further Spain, two−thirds to consist of allied troops, the remainder being Romans. A reinforcement of the same strength was sent to C. Flaminius, who was continued in his command in Hither Spain. M. Aemilius Lepidus was ordered to take over the province and army of Sicily from L. Valerius, whom he was to succeed, and if it seemed advisable he was to retain him as propraetor and divide the province with him; one section was to extend from Agrigentum to Pachynum, the other from Pachynum to Tyndareum. L. Valerius was also to guard the latter coast with twenty ships of war. Lepidus was further commissioned to requisition two−tenths of all the corn in the island and have it conveyed to Greece. L. Oppius was ordered to make the same requisition in Sardinia, the corn, however, was not to be sent to Greece but to Rome. C. Livius, the praetor who was to command the fleet, received instructions to sail to Greece with twenty vessels which had completed their armament and take over the ships which Atilius had commanded. The repairing and fitting out of the ships in the dockyards was placed in the hands of M. Junius, and he was to select the crews of these vessels from freedmen.

Six commissioners were sent to Africa to procure corn for Greece, the cost to be borne by Rome; three went to Carthage and three to Numidia. So determined were the citizens to be in perfect readiness for the war that the consul published an edict forbidding anyone who was a senator or had the right of speaking in the senate, or held office as an inferior magistrate, from leaving Rome for any place from which he could not return in a day. It was also forbidden for five senators to be absent from the City at any one time. Whilst C. Livius was doing his utmost to make the fleet ready for sea he was for some time delayed by a dispute with the citizens of the maritime colonies. When they were impressed for the fleet they appealed to the tribunes of the plebs, who referred them to the senate. The senate unanimously decreed that there was no exemption from service for the colonists. The colonies concerned were Ostia, Fregenae, Castrum Novum, Pyrgi, Antium, Tarracina, Minturnae and Sinuessa. The consul Acilius, in compliance with a resolution of the senate, submitted two questions to the College of Fetials. One was whether the declaration of war had to be made to Antiochus personally, or whether it would be sufficient to announce it at one of his frontier garrisons. The other was whether a separate declaration of war must be made to the Aetolians and whether in that case the league of amity and alliance must first be denounced. The Fetials replied that they had already on a previous occasion, when they were consulted in the case of Philip,

decided that it was a matter of indifference whether the declaration were made personally or in one of his garrison towns. As to the league of amity, they held that it was obviously denounced, seeing that after the frequent demands put forward by our ambassadors the king had neither surrendered the towns nor given any satisfaction. In the case of the Aetolians, they had actually declared war on Rome by taking forcible possession of Demetrias, a city belonging to the allies of Rome, by going to attack Chalcis by land and sea, and by bringing Antiochus into Europe to levy war on Rome. When all the preparations were at last completed, Acilius issued an edict for a general muster at Brundisium by the 15th of May of the Roman soldiers whom L. Quinctius had called up and those who had been supplied to him by the Latins and allies, who were under orders to go with him to his province as well as the military tribunes of the first and third legions. He himself left the City wearing his paludamentum on the 3rd of that month. The praetors left at the same time for their respective provinces.

Just before this a mission from the two sovereigns, Philip and Ptolemy, arrived in Rome. Philip offered to furnish troops, money and corn for the war; Ptolemy sent 1000 pounds of gold and 20,000 pounds of silver. The senate declined to accept any of it and passed a vote of thanks to both the kings. On their each offering to enter Aetolia with all their forces and take their part in the war, Ptolemy was excused, but Philip's envoys were informed that the senate and people of Rome would be grateful to him if he gave his support to Acilius. Similar missions were despatched by the Carthaginians and by Masinissa. The Carthaginians offered 100,000 modii of wheat and 50,000 of barley for the use of the army; half the amount they would transport to Rome, and they pressed the Romans to accept it as a free gift. They were further prepared to fit out a fleet at their own expense and pay in one lump sum the tribute of which many annual instalments had still to run. Masinissa's envoys stated that he was prepared to supply 50,000 modii of wheat and 300,000 of barley for the army in Greece, and 300,000 modii of wheat and 250,000 of barley for consumption in Rome. He would also furnish Acilius with 500 cavalry and 20 elephants. In the matter of corn both parties were informed that the Roman people would make use of it on condition that they paid for it; the Carthaginian offer of a fleet was declined, beyond the vessels which they were bound to supply under the terms of the treaty, and in reply to the offer of money the Romans refused to accept any before the dates at which the instalments became due.

During these proceedings in Rome Antiochus, who was at Chalcis, was not idle during the winter. Some of the Greek communities he endeavoured to win over by despatching embassies to them, others sent embassies spontaneously to him, as for instance the Epirots, in accordance with the general determination of their people, and also the Eleans from the Peloponnese. The Eleans sought his assistance against the Achaeans, who having declared war on Antiochus against their wish would, they expected, attack them first of all. A detachment of infantry 1000 strong was sent to them under the command of Euphanes, a Cretan. The deputation from Epirus showed a by no means honest and straightforward spirit to either side; they wanted to ingratiate themselves with Antiochus, but at the same time to give no offence to the Romans. They asked the king not to involve them in the war hastily, for from their position on the front of Greece facing Italy they would have to meet the first onslaught of the Romans. But if he could protect Epirus with his fleet and army all the Epirots would eagerly welcome him in their cities and harbours; if he was unable to do so, they begged him not to expose them unprotected and defenceless to the hostility of Rome. Their object was perfectly clear. If, as they were inclined to believe, he kept clear of Epirus, all would be safe so far as the Roman armies were concerned, whilst they would have secured the king's good graces by expressing their readiness to receive him, had he gone to them. If on the other hand he entered Epirus, they hoped that the Romans would pardon them for yielding to the superior strength of one who was on the spot, without waiting for succour from a distance. As Antiochus was at a loss what reply to make to this ambiguous plea, he said he would send envoys to them to discuss the matters which concerned him and them alike.

He next proceeded to Boeotia. The reasons which the Boeotians gave for their animosity towards Rome I have already stated−the assassination of Brachyllus and Quinctius' attack on Coronea in consequence of the massacre of Roman soldiers. But as a matter of fact, that nation once so famous for its discipline had been for many generations deteriorating both in its public and private life, and many were in a condition which could not possibly long continue without a revolutionary change. The leading Boeotians from all parts of the country

assembled at Thebes, and thither Antiochus went to meet them. In spite of the fact that by his attack on the Roman detachments at Delium and Chalcis he had committed hostile acts which were neither trifling nor such as could be explained away, he took the same line in addressing the Boeotian council that he had taken at his first conference at Chalcis and had instructed his envoys to take in the council of the Achaeans. He simply asked that friendly relations might be established with him, not that war should be declared against Rome. No one was deceived as to what he really meant; however, a resolution veiled in inoffensive terms was passed in support of the king and in opposition to Rome. Having thus secured the nation he returned to Chalcis. Letters had been previously sent to the Aetolian leaders requesting them to meet him at Demetrias that he might discuss with them the general conduct of the war, and he arrived there by sea on the day fixed for the meeting. Amynander, who had been invited from Athamania to take part in the discussion, and Hannibal, who had not been consulted for some time, were both present. A discussion arose regarding the people of Thessaly; all present thought they ought to be won over, the only divergence of opinion was as to when and how this ought to be done. Some were of opinion that they ought to set about it at once; others were for postponing action till the spring, it being now midwinter; some again thought that it would be enough to send a deputation, others were in favour of going there with the whole of their forces and frightening them into compliance if they hesitated.

Whilst the debate was revolving entirely round these details Hannibal was asked for his opinion, and in what he said he turned the thoughts of the king and of all present to the consideration of the war as a whole. He spoke as follows: "If I had been taken into your counsels after we landed in Greece and you were deliberating about Euboea and the Achaeans and Boeotia, I should have expressed the same view which I am expressing now with regard to the Thessalians. I consider that it is of the first importance that we should use every possible means to bring Philip and the Macedonians into an armed alliance with us. As to Euboea and the Boeotians and the Thessalians, who can doubt that these people who have no strength of their own and always cringe before a power which is present to their eyes will display the same craven spirit which marks the proceedings of their councils in suing for pardon, and as soon as they see a Roman army in Greece will turn to their accustomed obedience? Nor will they be blamed for refusing to try conclusions with your strength when you and your army are amongst them and the Romans are far away. How much sooner ought we−how much better would it be−to secure the adhesion of Philip than of these people! For if he once takes up the cause he will have everything at stake, and he will contribute an amount of strength which will not only be an accession to us in a war with Rome, but was not long ago sufficient of itself to withstand the Romans. I trust I shall not give offence in saying that with him as our ally I cannot feel doubtful as to the issue, for I see that those through whose assistance the Romans prevailed against Philip will now be the men by whom the Romans themselves are opposed. The Aetolians, who as is universally admitted defeated Philip, will now be fighting in company with him against the Romans. Amynander and the Athamanians, who next to the Aetolians rendered the greatest service in the war, will be on our side. While you, Antiochus, had not yet moved, Philip sustained the whole weight of the war; now you and he, the mightiest monarchs in Asia and Europe, will direct your united strength against a single people who−to say nothing of my own fortunes, good or bad−were at all events in the days of our fathers no match for even one king of Epirus, and how can he possibly be compared with you?

"What considerations then give me ground for believing that Philip can be made our ally? One is the identity of interests, which is the surest bond of alliance. The other is your own assurance, Aetolians. For amongst the reasons which your envoy Thoas gave for inducing Antiochus to come to Greece, the strongest was his constant asseveration that Philip was complaining and chafing under the servile conditions imposed upon him in the guise of peace. He used to compare the king's rage to that of some animal chained or shut up and longing to burst his prison bars. If that is his state of mind, let us loose his chains and burst the bars that hold him in so that he can vent his long−restrained rage on our common foe. But if our delegates are unable to influence him, let us at all events see to it that if we cannot get him on our side the enemy does not get him on his side. Your son Seleucus is at Lysimachia; if with the army he has with him he traverses Thrace and begins to lay waste the adjacent parts of Macedonia, he will easily turn Philip aside from actively assisting the Romans to the defence of his own dominions.

"You are in possession of my opinions about Philip. As regards the general strategy of the war, you have known from the outset what my views are. Had I been listened to then, it would not have been the capture of Chalcis or the storming of a fort on the Euripus that the Romans would have heard about; they would have learnt that Etruria and Liguria and the coastal districts of Cisalpine Gaul were wrapped in the flames of war and, what would have alarmed them most of all, that Hannibal was in Italy. I am of opinion that even now you ought to bring up the whole of your military and naval forces and let a fleet of transports accompany them laden with supplies. We here are too few for the requirements of war and too many for our scanty commissariat. When you have concentrated your entire strength, Antiochus, you might divide your fleet and keep one division cruising off Corcyra, that there may be no safe and easy passage for the Romans, the other you would send across to the coast of Italy opposite Sardinia and Africa. You yourself would advance with all your land forces into the country round Byllis; from there you would protect Greece and give the Romans the impression that you are going to sail to Italy, and should circumstances render it necessary you will be in readiness to do so. This is what I advise you to do, and though I may not be profoundly versed in every phase of war, how to war with the Romans at all events I have learnt through success and failure alike. In the measures which I have advised you to take I promise to co−operate most loyally and energetically. I trust that whatever course, Antiochus, seems best to you may receive the approval of the gods."

Such was the substance of Hannibal's speech, which was applauded at the time but led to no practical results. Not one of the measures he advocated was carried out beyond the despatch of Polyxenidas to bring up the fleet and the troops from Asia. Delegates were sent to the council of the Thessalians which was sitting at Larisa, and the Aetolians and Amynander fixed a day for the muster of their armies at Pherae, whither the king proceeded with his troops at once. Whilst waiting there for Amynander and the Aetolians he sent Philip the Megalopolitan with 2000 men to collect the bones of the Macedonians who had fallen in the final battle with Philip at Cynoscephalae. Either Philip himself suggested this to Antiochus as a means of making himself popular with the Macedonians and stirring up ill−will against their king for having left his soldiers unburied, or else Antiochus, with the vanity natural to kings, formed this in his own mind, a project apparently of importance but really trivial. The bones which were scattered in all directions were collected into a heap and buried under a tumulus, but the proceeding awoke no gratitude in the Macedonians and aroused strong resentment in Philip. He had so far been waiting on events, but now in consequence of this he at once sent to the propraetor M. Baebius to tell him that Antiochus had invaded Thessaly, and asking him, if he thought proper, to move out of his winter quarters; he himself would go to meet him so that they might consult as to what steps ought to be taken.

Antiochus was now encamped at Pherae, where the Aetolians and Amynander had joined him, when a deputation came from Larisa to ask him what the Thessalians had said or done to justify his making war on them. They begged him to withdraw his army so that any question which he thought necessary might be discussed with them through his envoys. At the same time they sent a detachment of 500 men under Hippolochus to protect Pherae. Finding all the routes closed by the king's troops they fell back on Scotusa. The king gave the deputation a gracious answer and explained that he had not entered Thessaly for the purpose of aggression, but solely to establish and protect the freedom of the Thessalians. A commissioner was despatched to Pherae to make a similar statement, but without giving him any reply the Pheraeans sent their chief magistrate to Antiochus. He spoke in pretty much the same strain as the Chalcidians at the conference under similar circumstances on the Euripus, though some things he said showed greater courage and resolution. The king advised them to consider their position most carefully lest they should adopt a policy which, whilst they were cautiously providing against future contingencies, might give them immediate cause for regret, and with this advice he dismissed their envoy. When the result of this mission was reported at Pherae, the people did not hesitate for a moment; they were determined to suffer everything which the chances of war might bring in defence of their loyalty to Rome, and made every possible preparation for the defence of their city. The king commenced a simultaneous attack on all sides; he quite saw, what indeed was indisputable, that it depended upon the fate of the first city which he attacked whether he would be held in contempt or in dread throughout the whole of Thessaly, so he did his utmost to spread terror everywhere. At first the beleaguered garrison offered a stout resistance to his furious assaults, but when they saw many of the defenders killed or wounded their courage began to sink and it was only by the reproaches of their

officers that they were recalled to the necessity of holding to their purpose. Their numbers became so diminished that they abandoned the outer circuit of their walls and retreated to the interior of the city, which was surrounded by a shorter line of fortifications. At last their position became hopeless and fearing, if the place were taken by storm, that they would meet with no mercy, they surrendered. The king lost no time in taking advantage of the alarm which this capture created and sent 4000 men to Scotusa. Here the townsmen promptly surrendered in view of the recent example of the Pheraeans, seeing that they had been compelled by stress of circumstances to do what at first they were determined not to do. Hippolochus and his garrison from Larisa were included in the capitulation. These were all sent away unhurt as the king thought that this act would go far to gain the sympathies of the Lariseans.

These successes he accomplished within ten days of his appearance before Pherae. Continuing his march with the whole of his army he reached Crannon, which he took immediately on his arrival. He next secured Cierium and Metropolis and the various forts in their neighbourhood, and by this time every part of that district with the exception of Atrax and Gyrto was in his power. His next objective was Larisa, where he expected that either the dread of meeting the fate of the other towns taken by storm or gratitude for his free dismissal of their garrison or the example of so many cities voluntarily surrendering would dissuade them from an obstinate resistance. In order to intimidate the defenders he had his elephants driven in front of the line, the army following in order of battle up to the city. The sight made a great many of the Lariseans waver between fear of the enemy at their gates and fear of being false to their distant allies. During this time Amynander and his Athamanians seized Pellinaeum, and Menippus advancing into Perrhaebia with an Aetolian force of 3000 infantry and 200 cavalry took Malloea and Cyretiae by storm and ravaged the territory of Tripolis. After these rapid successes they returned to the king at Larisa and found him holding a council of war to decide what should be done about the city. There was considerable diversity of opinion. Some were in favour of an immediate assault as the city was situated in a plain open on all sides to an approach over level ground, and they urged that there should be no delay in constructing siege works and bringing up artillery to attack the walls on all sides simultaneously. Others reminded the council that there was no comparison between the strength of this city and that of Pherae; besides, it was now winter, a season quite unsuitable for warlike operations, most of all so for investing and assaulting a city. While the king was uncertain as to whether there was most to be hoped or feared from the attempt, delegates from Pharsalus arrived to tender the submission of their city and this raised his spirits. M. Baebius had in the meanwhile met Philip at Dassaretiae and they both agreed that Ap. Claudius should be sent to protect Larisa. Claudius traversed Macedonia by forced marches and gained the summit of the ridge which looks down on Gonni, a place twenty miles distant from Larisa at the head of the Vale of Tempe. Here he marked out a camp of greater extent than the force with him required, and kindled more numerous fires than were needed in order to give the enemy the impression that the entire Roman army was there together with Philip. Antiochus withdrew from Larisa the very next day and returned to Demetrias, alleging the approach of winter as the reason for his retreat. The Aetolians and the Athamanians also retired within their own frontiers. Although Appius saw that the purpose of his march, the raising of the siege, was effected he nevertheless went on to Larisa to reassure his allies as to the future. They were doubly delighted, first at the withdrawal of the enemy from their soil and then at the sight of Roman troops within their walls.

The king left Demetrias for Chalcis. Here he fell in love with a daughter of Cleoptolemus, a Chalcidian magnate, and after numerous communications to her father followed by personal interviews (for he was reluctant to be entangled in an alliance so far above his own rank) Antiochus married the girl. The wedding was celebrated as though it were a time of peace, and forgetting the two vast enterprises in which he had embarked−war with Rome and the liberation of Greece−he dismissed all his cares and spent the rest of the winter in banquets and the pleasures attendant on wine, sleeping off his debauches, wearied rather than satisfied. All the king's officers who were in command of the different winter stations, especially those in Boeotia, fell into the same dissolute mode of life; even the common soldiers were completely sunk in it, not a man amongst them ever put on his armour or went on duty as guard or sentry, or discharged any military duty whatever. When, therefore, at the commencement of spring Antiochus passed through Phocis on his way to Chaeronea, where he had given orders for the whole of his army to muster, it was easy for him to see that the men had passed the winter under no stricter

discipline than their leader. From Chaeronea he ordered Alexander the Acarnanian and the Macedonian Menippus to take the troops to Stratus in Aetolia. He himself, after sacrificing to Apollo at Delphi, went to Naupactus. Here he had an interview with the Aetolian leaders, and then taking the road which runs past Calydon and Lysimachia he arrived at Stratum, where he met his army who were coming by the Maliac Gulf. Mnasilochus, one of the leading men in Acarnania, who had received many presents from Antiochus, was trying to persuade his people to take the king's side. He had succeeded in bringing Clytus, in whom the supreme power was vested at the time, over to his views, but he saw that there would be difficulty in inducing Leucas, the capital, to revolt from Rome, owing to their fear of the Roman fleet under Atilius, a portion of which was cruising off Cephalania. He therefore decided to adopt a ruse. At a meeting of the council he told them that the ports of Acarnania ought to be protected and that all who could bear arms ought to go to Medione and Tyrrheum to prevent their being seized by Antiochus and the Aetolians. Some of those present protested against this indiscriminate calling out of their fighting strength as quite unnecessary and said that a force of 500 men would be adequate for this purpose. When he had got this force he placed 300 men in Medione and 200 in Tyrrheum, his intention being that they should fall into the king's hands and be practically hostages.

Meanwhile the king's agents arrived in Medione. They were received in audience by the council and in the subsequent discussion on the reply that they were to receive some speakers thought they ought to stand by the alliance with Rome, others urged that they ought not to reject the proffered friendship of the king; Clytus urged a middle course which the council decided to adopt, viz., to send to the king and ask him to allow them to consult the National Council of Acarnania on such an important matter. Mnasilochus and his supporters managed to get themselves put on this commission, and they despatched a secret message to Antiochus urging him to bring up his army while they wasted time by delay. The consequence was that the commission had hardly started when Antiochus appeared within their frontiers and in a short time at their gates. Whilst those who were not privy to the plot were hurrying in confusion through the streets and calling their fighting men to arms, Antiochus was introduced into the city by Mnasilochus and Clytus. Many came round him of their own accord and even his opponents were constrained by their fears to meet him. He quieted their apprehensions by a gracious speech, and when his clemency became generally known several of the communities in Acarnania went over to him. From Medione he marched to Tyrrheum, having sent Mnasilochus and his agents on in advance. The Tyrrheans, however' saw through the treachery at Medione, and instead of intimidating them it only put them more on their guard. They returned a perfectly unambiguous answer to his summons and told him that they would not enter into any fresh alliance unless the Roman commanders authorised them to do so, at the same time they closed their gates and manned their walls. Cn. Octavius had been supplied with a body of troops and a few ships by A. Postumius, whom Atilius had placed in command at Cephalania, and his timely arrival in Leucas gave the Acarnanians fresh heart, as he reported that the consul Manius Acilius had crossed the sea with his legions and the Romans were encamped in Thessaly. His report was the more readily believed because the season of the year was favourable for navigation, and the king, after placing garrisons in Medione and in one or two other towns in Acarnania, withdrew from Tyrrheum and passing through the cities of Aetolia and Phocis returned to Chalcis.

M. Baebius and Philip, after their meeting at Dassaretiae, when they sent Ap. Claudius to relieve Larisa had returned to their respective winter quarters as it was too early in the year for active operations. At the beginning of spring they went down with their united forces into Thessaly; Antiochus was in Acarnania at the time. Philip laid siege to Malloea in Perrhaebia and Baebius attacked Phacium. He took the place at the first assault and captured Phaestum with equal rapidity. Marching back to Atrax he advanced from there against Cyretiae and Eritium both of which places he gained possession of, and after placing garrisons in the captured towns he rejoined Philip, who was still besieging Malloea. On the arrival of the Roman army the garrison, either cowed by the strength of the besieging force or hoping to obtain more favourable terms, made their surrender. The two commanders then went on with their combined forces to recover those towns which the Athamanians were holding, namely Aeginium, Ericinium, Gomphi, Silana, Tricca, Meliboea and Phaloria. They next invested Pellinaeum, where Philip of Megalopolis was stationed with 500 infantry and 40 cavalry, and before they delivered the assault they sent to Philip to warn him against forcing them to take extreme measures. He sent back a defiant answer and said that he would have trusted himself in the hands of Romans or Thessalians, but he would not place himself at the mercy of

Philip. As it was evident that force must be employed, and that while the siege was going on Limnaea could be attacked, it was decided that the king should go there whilst Baebius remained to conduct the siege of Pellinaeum.

Meantime the consul Manius Atilius had landed with 10,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry and 15 elephants. He ordered the military tribunes to take the infantry to Larisa, whilst he went with the cavalry to join Philip at Limnaea. On the consul's arrival the place at once surrendered and the garrison of Antiochus, together with the Athamanians, were delivered up. From Limnaea the consul went on to Pellinaeum. Here the Athamanians were the first to surrender, they were followed by the Megalopolitan Philip. As he was leaving the fort, Philip of Macedon happened to meet him, and ordered his men to salute him in mockery as king, and, in a spirit of scorn quite unworthy of his own rank, addressed him as "brother." When he was brought before the consul, he was ordered to be kept a close prisoner, and not long afterwards was sent in chains to Rome. All the Athamanian garrisons, as well as those of Antiochus, which had been surrendered were handed over to Philip. They amounted to 4000 men. The consul went on to Larisa to hold a council of war to decide as to future operations, and on his route he was met by delegates from Cierium and Metropolis, who offered the surrender of their cities. Philip was in hopes of gaining possession of Athamania, and he treated his Athamanian prisoners with special indulgence, with the design of winning their countrymen through them. After sending them home he led his army into the country. The account which the returned prisoners brought of the king's clemency and generosity towards them produced a great effect upon their countrymen. Had Amynander remained in his kingdom he might have kept some of his subjects loyal by his personal authority, but the fear of being betrayed to his old enemy Philip made him flee, together with his wife and children, to Ambracia. The whole of Athamania in consequence submitted to Philip.

The consul remained a few days at Larisa, mainly in order to recruit the horses and draught cattle, which owing to the voyage and the subsequent marching had got out of condition. When his army was, so to speak, renewed by the short rest, he marched to Crannon, and on his way he received the surrender of Pharsalus, Scotusa and Pherae, together with the garrisons which Antiochus had placed in them. These troops were asked whether they would be willing to remain with him. A thousand volunteered, and these he handed over to Philip; the rest he disarmed and sent back to Demetrias. He next captured Proerna and the fortified posts in the neighbourhood, and continued his march towards the Maliac Gulf. As he approached the pass above which Thaumaci is situated, all the men who could bear arms armed themselves, left the city and occupied the woods and roads, and from their higher ground made attacks upon the Roman column of march. The consul sent parties to approach them within speaking distance and warn them against such madness, but when he saw that they persisted he ordered a military tribune to work round them with two maniples and cut off their retreat to the city, which in the absence of its defenders the consul occupied. When they heard the shouts from the captured city behind them, they fled back from all sides and were cut to pieces. The next day the consul reached the Spercheus, and from there ravaged the fields of the Hypataeans.

Antiochus was all this time at Chalcis, having at last discovered that he had gained nothing from Greece beyond a pleasant winter at Chalcis and a disreputable marriage. He now accused the Aetolians of having made empty promises and admired Hannibal, not only as a man of prudence and foresight, but also as little short of a prophet, seeing how he had foretold everything which was happening. In order that his reckless adventure might not be ruined through his own inactivity, he sent a message to the Aetolians requesting them to concentrate all their fighting strength at Lamia, where he himself joined them with about 10,000 infantry, made up largely of troops which had come from Asia, and 500 cavalry. The Aetolians mustered in considerably smaller numbers than on any previous occasion, only the leading men with a few of their dependents were present. They said that they had done their utmost to call up as many as possible from their respective cities, but their personal influence, their appeals, their official authority, were alike powerless against those who declined to serve. Finding himself deserted on all sides by his own troops, who were hanging back in Asia, and by his allies, who were not doing what they undertook to do when they invited him, he withdrew into the pass of Thermopylae. This mountain range cuts Greece in two, just as Italy is intersected by the Apennines. To the north of the pass are situated Epirus, Perrhaebia, Magnesia, Thessaly, the Achaeans of Phthiotis, and the Maliac Gulf. South of it lie the greater part of Aetolia, Acarnania, Locris, Phocis, Boeotia, the adjoining island of Euboea, and Attica, which projects into the

sea like a promontory; beyond these is the Peloponnese. This range extends from Leucas on the western sea through Aetolia to the eastern sea, and is so rugged and precipitous that even light infantry−let alone an army−would have great difficulty in finding any paths by which to cross it. The eastern end of the range is called Oeta, and its highest peak bears the name of Callidromus. The road running through the lower ground between its base and the Maliac Gulf is not more than sixty paces broad and is the only military road which can be traversed by an army, and then only if it meets with no opposition. For this reason the place is called Pylae, and also Thermopylae, from the hot springs there, and is famous for the battle against the Persians, but still more so for the glorious death of the Lacedaemonians who fought there.

In a state of mind very unlike theirs Antiochus pitched his camp inside the narrowest part of the pass and barricaded it with defensive works, protecting every part of it with a double line of fosse and rampart and where it seemed necessary with a wall built up from the stones which were lying about everywhere. He felt pretty confident that the Roman army would never force a passage there, and so he sent two detachments out of the 4000 Aetolians who had joined him, one to hold Heraclea, a place just in front of the pass, the other to Hypata. He quite expected that the consul would attack Heraclea; and from Hypata numerous messages had come stating that the whole of the surrounding country was being laid waste. The consul ravaged the territory of Hypata first and then that of Heraclea; in neither place did the Aetolians prove of the slightest use, and finally encamped opposite the king in the mouth of the pass at the hot springs. Both the Aetolian detachments shut themselves up in Heraclea. Before the actual appearance of his enemy Antiochus thought that the whole of the pass was fortified and blocked by his troops, but now he felt anxious lest the Romans might find some paths on the surrounding heights by which they could turn his defences, for the Lacedaemonians were stated to have been similarly taken in the rear by the Persians, and Philip quite recently by the Romans. Accordingly he sent a message to the Aetolians at Heraclea asking them to do him this service at least in the war, namely, to seize and hold the crests of the surrounding mountains and prevent the Romans from crossing them anywhere. On the receipt of this message there was a sharp difference of opinion among the Aetolians. Some thought that they ought to comply with the king's request and go; others were in favour of remaining in their quarters at Heraclea, prepared for either eventuality. If the king were defeated they would then have their forces intact and be able to assist in the defence of the cities round them, if on the other hand he were victorious they would then be in a position to take up the pursuit of the fugitive Romans. Each party held to its opinion, and not only held to it but acted upon it; 2000 remained in Heraclea, and the others, formed into three divisions, occupied the three heights of Callidromus, Rhoduntia and Tichius.

When the consul saw that the heights were occupied by the Aetolians he sent M. Porcius Cato and L. Valerius Flaccus, men of consular rank commanding under him, to attack their fortified positions, Flaccus against Rhoduntia and Tichius, and Cato against Callidromus. They each took a picked force of 2000 infantry. Before making his general advance against the enemy, the consul called his men on parade and addressed a few words to them. "Soldiers," he said, "I see that there are very many amongst you, men of all ranks, who have campaigned in this very province under the leadership and auspices of T. Quinctius. In the Macedonian war the pass at the Aous was more difficult to force than this one, for here we have gates and this passage as though provided by nature is the only one available, every other route between the two seas being closed to us. On that occasion, too, the enemy defences were stronger and constructed on more advantageous ground; the hostile army was more numerous and made up of far better soldiery; there were in that army Macedonians, Thracians and Illyrians, all very warlike tribes; here there are Syrians and Asiatic Greeks, the meanest of mankind, and born only for slavery. The monarch who was opposed to us then was a true soldier, trained from his youth in wars with the Thracians and the Illyrians and all the nations round him; this man−to say nothing of his previous life−has done nothing during the whole of the winter months more memorable than marrying a girl for love out of a private family and, even when compared with their fellow−townsmen, of obscure origin, and now the newly−wedded bridegroom, fattened up as it were with marriage feasts, has come out to fight. His main hope was in the Aetolians, they were his chief strength, and you have already learnt by experience as Antiochus is learning now what an untrustworthy and ungrateful race they are. They have not come in any considerable number, it was impossible to keep them in camp, they are at loggerheads among themselves, and after insisting that Hypata and Heraclea must be defended they refused to defend either place and took refuge on the mountain heights, some shutting themselves up in

Heraclea. The king himself has shown clearly that he durst not venture to meet us on fair ground, he is not even fixing his camp in open country; he has abandoned the whole of the district in front of him which he boasts of having taken from us and from Philip, and has hidden himself amongst the rocks. His camp is not even placed at the entrance to the path, as we are told the Lacedaemonians placed theirs, but is withdrawn far within it. What difference is there, as a visible proof of fear, between his shutting himself up here or behind the walls of a besieged city? The pass, however, will not protect Antiochus, nor will the heights which the Aetolians have seized protect them. Sufficient caution and foresight have been exercised to prevent your having anything to fight against but the actual enemy. You must bear in mind that you are not fighting only for the freedom of Greece, though it will be a splendid record to deliver out of the hands of the Aetolians and Antiochus the country which you formerly rescued from Philip. Nor will it be only the spoil in the enemy's camp that will fall to you as a prize; all the stores and material which he is daily looking for from Ephesus will be your booty; you will open up Asia and Syria and all the wealthiest realms to the furthest East to the supremacy of Rome. What will then prevent us from extending our dominion from Gades to the Red Sea with no limit but the Ocean which enfolds the world, and making the whole human race look up to Rome with a reverence only second to that which they pay to the gods? Show yourselves worthy in heart and mind of such vast rewards so that we may take the field tomorrow assured that the gods will help us."

After this address the soldiers were dismissed and got their armour and weapons ready before they took food and rest. As soon as it began to grow light the consul hung out the signal for battle and formed his line on a narrow front to suit the confined limits of the ground. When the king saw the standards of the enemy he also led out his men. Part of his light infantry he stationed in front of their rampart to form the first line. Behind them in support he posted the Macedonians, the main strength of his arm, known as the "sarisophori"; they extended across the whole length of the rampart. To the left of them were posted a body of javelin men, bowmen and slingers immediately under the foot of the mountains, so that they might from their higher ground harass the unprotected flank of the enemy. On the right of the Macedonians, towards the end of his lines, where the ground beyond down to the sea is impassable owing to bogs and quicksands, he posted the elephants with their usual guard, and behind them the cavalry, and a short distance behind them again the rest of his troops. The Macedonians in front of the rampart had no difficulty at first in resisting the Romans, who were trying at all points to break through, and they received considerable assistance from those on the higher ground, who discharged bullets from their slings, arrows and javelins all at once, a perfect cloud of missiles. But as the enemy's pressure increased and the attack was made in greater force they gradually fell back to their rampart, and standing upon it made practically a second rampart with their levelled spears. The rampart, owing to its moderate height, not only offered a higher position from which to fight, but also enabled them to reach the enemy below with their long spears. Many in their reckless attempts to mount the rampart were run through, and they would have had either to retire baffled or sustain serious losses had not M. Porcius appeared on a hill which commanded the camp. He had dislodged the Aetolians from the crest of Callidromus and killed the greater part of them, attacking them when they were off their guard and most of them asleep.

Flaccus was not so fortunate, his attempt to reach the fortified posts on Tichius and Rhoduntia was a failure. The Macedonians and the other troops in the king's camp could at first only make out a moving mass of men in the distance, and were under the impression that the Aetolians had seen the fighting from afar and were coming to their assistance. When, however, they recognised the approaching standards and arms and discovered their mistake, they were so panic−struck that they flung away their weapons and fled. The pursuit was impeded by the entrenchments of the camp and the confined space through which the pursuers had to pass, but the elephants were the greatest hindrance, for it was difficult for the infantry to get past them, and impossible for the cavalry; the frightened horses created more confusion than in the actual battle. The plunder of the camp still further delayed the pursuit. However, they followed up the enemy as far as Scarphea, after which they returned to camp. Large numbers of men and horses had been either killed or captured on the way, and even the elephants, which they were unable to secure, had been killed. While the battle was going on the Aetolians who had been holding Heraclea made an attempt on the Roman camp, but they gained nothing from their enterprise, which was certainly not lacking in audacity. At the third watch of the following night the consul sent the cavalry to continue the

pursuit, and at daybreak he put the legions in motion. The king had gained a considerable start, as he did not stop in his headlong ride till he reached Elatia. Here he collected what was left of his army out of the battle and the flight and retreated with a very small body of half−armed soldiers to Chalcis. The Roman cavalry did not succeed in overtaking the king himself at Elatia, but they cut off a large part of his army, who were unable to go any further through sheer fatigue, or else had lost their way in an unknown country, with none to guide them. Out of the whole army not a single man escaped beyond the 500 who formed the king's bodyguard, an insignificant number even if we accept Polybius' statement which I have mentioned above that the force the king brought with him out of Asia did not exceed 10,000 men. What proportion would it be if we are to believe Valerius Antias, that there were 60,000 men in the king's army, of whom 40,000 fell and over 5000 made prisoners, and 230 standards captured? In the battle itself the Roman losses amounted to 150, and in the defence of the camp against the Aetolians not more than 50 were killed.

Whilst the consul was taking his army through Phocis and Boeotia the citizens of the revolted towns, conscious of their guilt and fearing lest they should be treated as enemies, stood outside their gates in suppliant garb. The army, however, marched past all their cities one after the other, without doing any damage, just as though they were in friendly territory, till they came to Coronea. Here great indignation was aroused by the sight of a statue of Antiochus set up in the temple of Minerva Itonia, and the soldiers were allowed to plunder the temple domain. It occurred, however, to the consul that as the statue had been placed there by a decree of the national council of Boeotia it was unfair to take vengeance on the territory of Coronea alone. He at once recalled the soldiers and stopped the pillaging, and contented himself with sternly rebuking the Boeotians for their ingratitude to Rome after the many benefits she had so lately conferred upon them. At the time of the battle ten of the king's ships, with Isidorus in command, were standing off Thronium in the Maliac Gulf. Alexander the Acarnanian, who had been severely wounded, fled thither with tidings of the defeat, and the ships sailed hurriedly away to Cenaeus in Euboea. Here Alexander died and was buried. Three vessels, which had come from Asia and were making for the same port, on hearing of the disaster which had overtaken the army, returned to Ephesus. Isidorus left Cenaeus for Demetrias, in case the king's flight should have carried him there. During this time A. Atilius, who was in command of the Roman fleet, intercepted a large convoy of supplies for the king which had passed through the strait between Andros and Euboea. Some of the vessels he sank, others he captured; those in the rearmost line turned their course towards Asia. Atilius sailed back with his train of captured ships and distributed the large stock of corn on board to the Athenians and the other friendly cities in that quarter.

Just before the consul's arrival Antiochus left Chalcis and directed his course first to Tenos and from there to Ephesus. As the consul drew near to Chalcis the king's commandant, Aristoteles, left the city and the gates were thrown open to the consul. All the other cities in Euboea were delivered up without any fighting, and in a few days peace was established everywhere in the island and the army returned to Thermopylae without injuring a single city. This moderation displayed after the victory was much more deserving of praise than even the victory itself. In order that the senate and people might receive an authoritative report of the operations the consul sent M. Cato to Rome. He set sail from Creusa, the emporium of Thespia, situated in the innermost part of the Gulf of Corinth, and made for Patrae in Achaia; from Patrae he went on to Corcyra, skirting the shores of Aetolia and Acarnania, and so made his passage to Hydruntum in Italy. From there he journeyed by land, and by rapid travelling reached Rome in five days. Entering the City before it was light he went straight to the praetor, M. Junius, who summoned a meeting of the senate at daybreak. L. Cornelius Scipio had been sent on by the consul some days previously, and on his arrival found that Cato had outstripped him. He went into the senate house while Cato was making his report and the two generals were conducted by order of the senate to the Assembly, where they gave the same details of the Aetolian campaign as had been given to the senate. A decree was made that there should be thanksgivings for three days, and the praetor was to sacrifice forty full−grown victims to such of the gods as he thought fit. M. Fulvius Nobilior, who had gone to Spain as praetor two years previously, entered the City about this time in ovation. He had carried before him 130,000 silver denarii and 12,000 pounds of other silver, as well as 127 pounds of gold.

While Acilius was at Thermopylae he sent a message to the Aetolians, advising them, now that they had found out how empty the king's promises were, to return to a right mind and think about delivering up Heraclea and begging pardon of the senate for their madness and delusion. Other cities in Greece, he reminded them, had been faithless to their best friends, the Romans, in that war, but after the flight of the king, whose assurances had seduced them from their duty, they did not aggravate their fault by willful obstinacy, and had once more been received as allies. Even in the case of the Aetolians, though they had not followed the king, but had actually invited him, and were not his associates but his leaders in the war−even for them there was still the possibility, if they showed true repentance, of remaining unharmed. To this message they returned a defiant answer; the question would evidently have to be decided by arms, and though the king was overcome, the war with the Aetolians was clearly only just beginning. The consul accordingly moved his army from Thermopylae to Heraclea, and on the very same day he rode round the entire circuit of the walls to ascertain the situation of the city. Heraclea lies at the foot of Mount Oeta; the city itself is situated in a plain, and it has a citadel which commands it from a position of considerable elevation and precipitous on all sides. After carefully considering all there was to be learnt he decided to deliver a simultaneous attack from four different points. In the direction of the Asopus, where the Gymnasium stood, he placed L. Valerius in charge of the operations. Towards the citadel outside the walls, where the houses were almost closer together than in the city itself, he gave the direction of the assault to Tiberius Sempronius Longus. On the side facing the Maliac Gulf, where the approach presented considerable difficulty, M. Baebius was in command. Towards the stream which they call the Melana, opposite the temple of Diana, he posted Appius Claudius. Through the strenuous exertions of these commanders, each trying to outdo the other, the towers and battering rams and all the other preparations for an assault were completed in a few days. The land round Heraclea is marshy and covered with tall trees, which furnished a liberal supply of timber for siege works of every kind, and as the Aetolians living in the suburb had taken refuge in the city the deserted houses afforded useful materials for various purposes, including not only beams and planks, but also bricks and building stones of all shapes and sizes.

The Romans made more use of machines than of arms in their attack on the city, the Aetolians on the other hand trusted more to their arms for their defence. When the walls were battered by the rams they did not, as is usual, turn aside the blows by using looped ropes, but they made sorties in considerable strength and some carried firebrands to throw on the siege works. There were also arched sally−ports in the walls, and when they built up the wall where it had been destroyed they left more of these openings to allow of more numerous sorties. In the early days of the siege while their strength was unimpaired these sallies were frequent and powerful, but as time went on they became fewer and feebler. Amidst the many difficulties they had to contend with nothing wore them down so much as want of sleep. The Romans owing to their numbers were able to arrange regular reliefs for their men, but the Aetolians were comparatively few, and the same men having to be on duty night and day they were completely exhausted by the incessant strain. For four−and−twenty days, without a moment's respite day or night, they had to sustain the attack of the enemy, who were delivering their assaults from four different quarters at once. Considering the time during which the attack had been going on, and in view of the information brought by deserters, the consul felt pretty sure that the Aetolians were at last worn out, and he formed the following plan. When it was midnight he gave the signal to retire and called off all the soldiers from the assault. He kept them quiet in the camp till the third hour of the following day, when he recommenced the attack and carried it on until midnight, when it was again suspended till the third hour of the following day. The Aetolians supposed that the cause of the assault not being kept up was the same as that which was acting upon them, namely excessive fatigue, and when the signal for retiring was given to the Romans, they too, as though it recalled them also, quitted their posts and did not resume duty on the walls till the third hour of the following day.

After suspending the operations at midnight the consul recommenced the assault at the fourth watch with extreme violence on three sides. On the fourth side he ordered Tiberius Sempronius to keep his soldiers on the alert and ready for the signal, as he felt no doubt that the Aetolians would in the nocturnal confusion rush to the places from which the battle−shout arose. Some of the Aetolians were asleep, worn out by toil and want of rest, and only roused themselves with great difficulty; those who were still awake, hearing the noise of battle, ran towards it through the darkness. The assailants were trying to climb over the fallen parts of the wall into the city, others were

endeavouring to mount the walls by scaling ladders, and the Aetolians were hurrying up from all parts to meet the attack. The one quarter where the suburban buildings stood was so far neither attacked nor guarded, but those who were to attack it were eagerly awaiting the signal and none were there to defend it. It was already dawn when the consul gave the signal and they penetrated into the city without any opposition, some over the ruined walls, others, where the walls were intact, by means of scaling ladders. As soon as the shouting was heard which announced that the city was captured the Aetolians left their posts and fled to the citadel.

The consul gave his victorious troops leave to sack the city, not as an act of vengeance, but in order that the soldiery who had been forbidden this in so many captured cities might in one place at least taste the fruits of victory. About midday he recalled his men and formed them into two divisions. One he ordered to march round the foot of the mountain to a peak which was the same height as that on which the citadel stood and separated from it by a ravine as though torn away from it. The twin peaks were so near one another that missiles could be thrown from the rock on to the citadel. With the other division the consul intended to mount up to the citadel, and he waited in the city for the signal from those who were to surmount the peak. Their cheers on occupying the height and the attack of the other division from the city were too much for the Aetolians, utterly broken as their courage was and with no preparation for standing a siege in the citadel, which could hardly contain, much less protect, the women and children and the other non−combatants who had crowded there. So at the first assault they laid down their arms and surrendered. Amongst them was Damocritus, the first magistrate of Aetolia. At the beginning of the war he had told T. Quinctius, on his request for a copy of the decree inviting Antiochus, that be would give it him in Italy when the Aetolians were encamped there. This piece of arrogance made his surrender all the more pleasing to the victors.

Whilst the Romans were laying siege to Heraclea, Philip, as arranged with the consul, was attacking Lamia. He had gone to Thermopylae to offer the consul and the people of Rome his congratulations on the victory and at the same time to excuse himself on the ground of illness for not having taken part in the operations against Antiochus. Then the two commanders separated to carry on the siege of the two places simultaneously. These are about seven miles distant from each other, and as Lamia stands on rising ground and looks towards Mount Oeta the distance between them seems very short and all that goes on in the one place can be seen from the other. The Romans and the Macedonians were strenuously engaged as though in mutual rivalry in siege operations or in actual fighting night and day. But the Macedonians had the more difficult task owing to the fact that the Roman galleries and vineae and all their siege engines were above ground while the Macedonians conducted the attack by means of subterranean mines, and in difficult places they often came to rock upon which iron tools could make no impression. Finding that he was making little progress, the king held conferences with the leading men of the place in the hope that the townsmen might be induced to surrender. He felt quite certain that if Heraclea were taken first they would surrender to the Romans sooner than to him and that the consul would win their gratitude for having raised the siege. His surmise proved correct, for no sooner was Heraclea taken than a message reached him requesting him to abandon the siege, for as it was the Romans who had fought the engagement with the Aetolians it was but fair that they should have the prize of victory. So Lamia was relieved and through the fall of a neighbouring city escaped a similar fate.

Shortly before the fall of Heraclea the Aetolians, assembled in council at Hypata, sent a deputation to Antiochus including Thoas, who had been sent before. They were instructed to ask the king to call up his land and sea forces once more and cross over into Greece; if anything prevented him from doing this, then they were to ask him to send money and troops and to point out to him that it concerned his regal dignity and his personal honour not to betray his allies, and if he allowed the Romans after destroying the Aetolians to have a perfectly free hand and land in Asia with all their forces the very safety of his kingdom would be imperilled. What they said was true and therefore made all the deeper impression on the king. He gave them money for their immediate requirements and pledged himself to send military and naval assistance. Thoas he kept with him, and the man was very glad to remain behind, as being on the spot he might make the king fulfil his promises.

The fall of Heraclea, however, broke the spirit of the Aetolians. Within a few days of their asking Antiochus to resume hostilities and return to Greece they laid aside all thoughts of war and sent envoys to the consul to sue for peace. When they began to speak, the consul cut them short by saying that there were other matters which had to be attended to first. He then granted them a ten days' armistice and directed them to return to Hypata accompanied by L. Valerius Flaccus, to whom they were to refer the questions they had intended to discuss with him, and any other matters which they wished to discuss. On his arrival at Hypata, Flaccus found the Aetolian leaders assembled in council and deliberating as to what line they should take in negotiating with the consul. They were preparing to begin by alleging the old−standing treaty−rights and their service to Rome, when Flaccus bade them desist from appealing to treaties which they had themselves violated and broken. They would gain much more, he told them, by confessing their misdoings and simply asking for mercy. Their only hope of safety lay not in the strength of their case but in the clemency of the Roman people, and if they adopted a suppliant attitude he would stand by them before the consul and in the senate at Rome, for they would have to send their delegates there also. All those present saw that only one path led to safety, namely their formal submission to Rome. They believed that their appearance as suppliants would give them an inviolable character in Roman eyes, and they would still preserve their independence should Fortune hold out any better prospect.

When they appeared before the consul, Phaeneas, the head of the deputation, made a long speech, adapted in various ways to mitigate the victor's wrath, and concluded by saying that the Aetolians committed themselves and all that they had to the honour and good faith of the people of Rome. When the consul heard that he said, "Be quite sure that these are the terms on which you surrender." Phaeneas showed him the decree in which they were expressly stated. "Since then," he replied, "you do make this complete surrender, I require you to give up at once Dicaearchus, your fellow−citizen, and Menestus the Epirote"−he was the man who introduced a body of troops into Naupactus and drove the citizens into revolt−"and Amynander and the Athamanian leaders who persuaded you to revolt from us." Phaeneas hardly allowed the Roman to finish his sentence before he replied: "We have not surrendered ourselves into slavery, but to your protection and good faith, and I am quite sure that it is because you do not know us that you lay upon us commands which are opposed to the usage of the Greeks." To this the consul retorted: "No, I do not trouble myself much as to what the Aetolians consider the usage of the Greeks as long as I follow the usage of the Romans and impose my commands on those who, after being vanquished by force of arms, have just surrendered by their own formal decree. If, then, my command is not promptly obeyed, I shall at once order you to be thrown into irons." He then ordered fetters to be brought and the lictors to close round Phaeneas. Phaeneas and the other Aetolians were now thoroughly cowed, they at last realised their position, and he said that he and the Aetolians with him quite saw that they must carry out the consul's commands, but it was necessary that a decree to that effect should be made at a meeting of the national council. In order that this might be done he asked for a ten days' armistice. Flaccus supported the request, which was granted, and they returned to Hypata. Here Phaeneas reported to the inner council−known as the Apokleti−the commands laid upon them and the fate which had all but overtaken him and his colleagues. The magnates deplored the situation to which they were reduced, but they decided that their conqueror must be obeyed and that the Aetolians from every town should be summoned to a general council.

The whole population of Aetolia was thus assembled, and when they heard the report they were so exasperated by what they considered as the harshness and insulting tone of the order that even had they been at peace the angry outburst would have driven them into war. Besides the anger thus aroused, there were difficulties in the way of carrying out the command. How, they asked, could they possibly surrender Amynander? Their hopes, too, had been raised by the presence of Nicander, who had just returned from his mission to Antiochus and had filled the minds of the populace with the illusory prospect of huge forces being massed both by land and sea. After a voyage of twelve days from Ephesus he landed at Phalara on the Maliac Gulf, on his way to Aetolia. From there he went to Lamia, where he left the money which the king had given them, and then started early in the evening for Hypata, with an escort of light troops, through by−paths with which he was familiar. Whilst traversing the country between the Roman and Macedonian camps, he came upon a Macedonian outpost and was taken to the king. Philip had not finished dinner, and when he was informed of the arrest he treated him, not as an enemy but as a guest, and bade him sit down and partake of the banquet. Then after the other guests had left he detained him,

telling him at the same time that he had nothing to fear. He proceeded to blame the Aetolians severely for their crooked policy, which had always recoiled on their own heads, for it was they who first brought the Romans and afterwards Antiochus into Greece. He went on to say that he should forget the past, which it was easier to censure than to amend, and he would not do anything to insult the Aetolians amidst their misfortunes; they in return ought to put an end to their ill−will towards him, and Nicander in particular ought never to forget that day in which he had saved his life. He then assigned him an escort to conduct him to a place of safety, and Nicander arrived at Hypata whilst the Aetolians were debating the question of making peace with Rome.

The booty secured round Heraclea was either sold by Manius Acilius or given to the soldiers. On learning that the decision come to at Heraclea did not make for peace and that the Aetolians had concentrated at Naupactus, where they intended to meet the whole brunt of the war, the consul sent Appius Claudius with 4000 men to occupy the heights which commanded the difficult mountain passes while he himself ascended Mount Oeta. Here he offered sacrifice to Hercules at a place called Pyra, because it was there that the mortal body of the god was cremated. From there he continued his march with the whole of his army and made fairly satisfactory progress till he came to Corax. This is the highest peak between Callipolis and Naupactus, and whilst crossing it many of the draught animals fell with their packs down the precipices, and there were casualties among the troops. It was easy to see with what an inactive enemy he had to deal, for no attempt had been made to post troops so as to close the pass, which was so difficult and dangerous. As it was, the army had sustained casualties before the consul got down to Naupactus. Opposite the citadel he established a fortified post, the other quarters of the city he invested, the troops being distributed according to the situation of the walls. This siege involved quite as much labour and effort as that of Heraclea.

Messene, in the Peloponnese, had refused to join the Achaean league, and the Achaeans now laid siege to it. Neither of the two cities, Messene and Elis, were members of the league; their sympathies were with the Aetolians. The Eleans, however, after Antiochus' flight from Greece, returned a more conciliatory reply to the Achaean envoy and said that when the king's garrison was withdrawn they would consider what they ought to do. The Messenians, on the other hand, dismissed the envoys without vouchsafing any reply whatever and commenced hostilities. But the devastation of their land in all directions by fire and sword and the sight of the Achaean camp near their city made them tremble for their safety, and they sent a message to T. Quinctius at Chalcis to the effect that as he was the author of their liberty the men of Messene were prepared to open their gates to the Romans and surrender their city to them, but not to the Achaeans. On receipt of this message Quinctius at once left Chalcis and sent word to Diophanes, the captain−general of the Achaeans, to withdraw his army at once from Messene and go to him. Diophanes obeyed and raised the siege, and then hurrying on in advance of his army met Quinctius near Andania, a town lying between Megalopolis and Messene. When he began to explain his reasons for attacking the place Quinctius gently rebuked him for taking such an important step without his sanction and ordered him to disband his army and not to disturb the peace which had been established for the good of all. He commanded the Messenians to recall their banished citizens and join the Achaean league; if there were any conditions they objected to, or any safeguards for the future which they wanted, they were to go to him at Corinth. At the same time he ordered Diophanes to convene a meeting of the Achaean league forthwith, at which he would be present. In his address to the council he pointed out how the island of Zacynthus had been treacherously seized, and he now demanded its restoration to the Romans. The island, he explained, had at one time formed part of Philip's dominions and he had given it to Amynander as the price of being allowed to march through Athamania into the north of Aetolia, the result of his expedition being that the Aetolians abandoned all further resistance and sued for peace. Amynander made Philip of Megalopolis governor of the island. Subsequently when Amynander joined Antiochus in war against Rome he recalled Philip to take up active service and sent Hierocles of Agrigentum to succeed him.

After Antiochus' flight from Thermopylae and the expulsion of Amynander from Athamania at the hands of Philip, Hierocles entered into negotiations with Diophanes and sold the island to the Achaeans. The Romans considered it their lawful prize of war; it was not for the benefit of Diophanes and the Achaeans that the legions of Rome fought at Thermopylae. In his reply Diophanes sought to exculpate himself and his nation and brought

forward arguments to justify their action. Some of those present protested that they had from the beginning discountenanced that action, and they now remonstrated against the pertinacious attitude of their chief magistrate. They succeeded in getting a decree made referring the whole question to Quinctius for him to deal with. To those who opposed him Quinctius was stern and uncompromising, but if you gave way he was just as placable. Laying aside every trace of anger in look and voice, he said: "If I thought that the possession of that island would be an advantage to the Achaeans I should advise the senate and people of Rome to allow you to keep it. When, however, I look at a tortoise which has completely shrunk into its shell I see that it is safe against every blow, but when it puts forth any portion of its body, the part put forth is exposed and defenceless. Just so with you, Achaeans. As long as you are shut in on all sides by the sea, you have no difficulty in incorporating in your league and protecting all the States within the frontiers of the Peloponnese, but if through a passion for aggrandisement you go beyond those frontiers all that you possess outside is defenceless and lies at the mercy of every assailant." With the unanimous assent of the council−not even Diophanes venturing to raise any opposition−Zacynthus was ceded to the Romans.

As the consul was starting for Naupactus, Philip asked him if he wished him to recover the cities which had renounced their alliance with Rome. On receiving the consul's consent he marched his army to Demetrias, as he was fully aware of the confusion which prevailed there. The citizens were in despair, they saw themselves deserted by Antiochus, with no prospect of help from the Aetolians, and were daily expecting the arrival of their enemy Philip, or of a more relentless enemy still, the Romans, who had more reason to be angry with them. There was in the city a disorganised body of Antiochus' soldiers, the small force which had been left to hold the city, joined afterwards by the fugitives from the battle, who came in, most of them, without arms. They had neither the strength nor the resolution to stand a siege, and when emissaries from Philip held out to them hopes of obtaining pardon they sent to him to say that the gates were open to the king. Some of the principal men left the city as he entered it; Eurylochus committed suicide. In accordance with the stipulation, the soldiers of Antiochus were sent through Macedonia and Thrace to Lysimachia under the protection of a Macedonian escort. There were also at Demetrias a few ships under the command of Isodorus, they too were allowed to depart with their commander. Philip then went on to reduce Dolopia, Aperantia, and some cities in Perrhaebia.

While Philip was thus engaged T. Quinctius, after taking over Zacynthus from the Achaean council, sailed to Naupactus, which had been standing a siege for two months, but was now nearing its fall. Its forcible capture would probably have brought ruin on the Aetolians as a nation. Quinctius had every reason for being embittered against them; he had not forgotten that they were the only people that had spoken slightingly of him when he was winning the glory of liberating Greece and had refused to be guided by him when he sought to dissuade them from their mad project by forewarning them as to what would happen to them, a forewarning which events had just now proved to be true. As, however, he looked upon himself as especially bound to see that no State in the Greece which he had freed was utterly destroyed, he decided to walk up to the walls so that the Aetolians could easily see who he was. He was at once recognised by the advanced posts, and the news rapidly spread throughout the city and troops that Quinctius was there. There was a general rush to the walls; the people all held out their hands in supplication, and with one voice appealed to him by name and implored him to come to their succour and save them. He was deeply moved by this appeal, but at the same time he made signs to them that it was not in his power to help them. When he saw the consul he said to him, "M. Acilius, do you fail to see what is going on, or if you are quite aware of it do you consider that it in no way touches the supreme interest of the Republic?" The consul's attention was aroused and he replied, "Why are you not explicit? What do you mean?" Quinctius continued, "Do you not see, now that Antiochus is crushed, how you are wasting time in laying siege to a couple of cities when your year of office has almost expired, while Philip, who has never seen the standards or the battle−line of the enemy, has been annexing not cities only, but all those States, Athamania, Perrhaebia, Aperantia, Dolopia? And yet it is not so important to us that the strength and resources of the Aetolians should be weakened as it is that Philip should not be allowed to extend his dominions indefinitely and hold all those States as the prize of victory while you and your soldiers cannot pride yourselves on the conquest of two cities."

The consul quite agreed, but he felt it somewhat humiliating to abandon the siege without accomplishing anything. Finally the matter was left for Quinctius to settle. He went back to that section of the walls from which the Aetolians had been calling out to him. They were still there and began to implore him still more earnestly to take pity on the nation of the Aetolians. On this he told some of them to come out to him; Phaeneas and others of their leaders at once went out. As they prostrated themselves at his feet, he said, "Your unhappy plight makes me check the expression of my angry feelings. What I told you beforehand would come to pass has actually happened, and you have not even the comfort left you of believing that you do not deserve your fate. Since, however, I have been somehow destined to be the nursing father of Greece, I shall not desist from showing kindness even to those who have shown themselves ungrateful. Send a deputation to the consul and ask him for an armistice to allow you time to send envoys to Rome with instructions to place yourselves entirely at the mercy of the senate. I will support you before the consul as your advocate and intercessor." They followed his advice and the consul was not deaf to their appeal; an armistice was granted until the result of the mission to Rome was known; the siege was raised and the army sent into Phocis. The consul accompanied by T. Quinctius went to Aegium to attend a meeting of the Achaean council. The subjects of discussion were the entrance of the Eleans into the league and the restoration of the Lacedaemonian exiles. Neither question was settled; the Achaeans preferred that the latter should be left to them to carry out as an act of grace, and the Eleans wished their incorporation into the league to be spontaneous on their part rather than that it should be effected through the Romans.

A deputation from the Epirots visited the consul. It was pretty generally understood that their professions of friendship were insincere, for though they had not furnished Antiochus with troops it was alleged that they had given him pecuniary assistance and they made no attempt to deny that they had opened negotiations with him. Their request to be allowed to continue on the old friendly footing was met by the consul with the remark that he did not know whether he was to regard them as friends or as foes. The senate would decide that; he referred their whole cause to Rome, and for that purpose he granted them an armistice for ninety days. When they appeared before the senate they were more concerned to mention acts of hostility which they had not committed than to clear themselves from the actual charges made against them. The reply they received was such as to make them understand that they had obtained pardon rather than proved their innocence. Just before this a deputation from Philip was introduced into the senate to present his congratulations upon the recent victory and to request to be allowed to offer sacrifices in the Capitol and place an offering of gold in the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. On receiving the senate's permission they deposited a golden crown weighing 100 pounds. Not only was this gracious reception accorded to them, but Philip's son Demetrius, who was living in Rome as a hostage, was placed in their hands to be taken back to his father. Such was the close of the campaign which Manius Acilius the consul conducted against Antiochus in Greece.

The other consul, Publius Cornelius Scipio, had in the ballot drawn Gaul as his province. Before leaving for the coming war with the Boii he asked the senate to vote a sum of money for the Games which he had vowed in the crisis of battle during his praetorship in Spain. They looked upon his request as unprecedented and unjustifiable and passed a resolution to the effect that as he had vowed Games on his own initiative without consulting the senate he should meet the cost of them from the proceeds of the spoils taken from the enemy, if he had any money reserved for the purpose, otherwise he must bear the expense himself. He celebrated the Games for ten days. The temple of Mater Magna Idaea was dedicated about this time. It was during the consulship of P. C. Scipio−afterwards called Africanus−and P. Licinius that the goddess was brought from Asia; the above−named P. Cornelius conducted her from the harbour to the Palatine. The censors, M. Livius and C. Claudius, had signed the contract for the building in accordance with instructions from the senate during the consulship of M. Cornelius and P. Sempronius. After the lapse of thirteen years M. Junius Brutus dedicated it, and the Games which were exhibited on the occasion of its dedication were, according to Valerius Antias, the first scenic Games ever given and were called the Megalesia. Another dedication was that of the temple of Juventas in the Circus Maximus, which was carried out by C. Licinius Lucullus. M. Livius had vowed it on the day when he destroyed Hasdrubal and his army, and when he was censor he signed the contract for its construction in the consulship of M. Cornelius and P. Sempronius. Games were celebrated in connection with this dedication also and everything was

done with greater solemnity in view of the fresh war which was impending with Antiochus.

At the beginning of the year in which the above events took place, before M. Acilius had left for the war and whilst P. Cornelius was still in Rome, various portents were announced. There is a tradition that two tame oxen in the Carinae climbed up the stairs on to the flat roof of a building. The haruspices ordered them to be burnt alive and the ashes thrown into the Tiber. At Terracina and Amiternum several showers of stones were said to have fallen. At Menturnae the temple of Jupiter and the booths round the forum were reported to have been struck by lightning, and at Volturnus two ships in the mouth of the river which had been similarly struck were burnt out. In consequence of these portents the senate gave directions for the decemviri to consult the Sibylline Books, and they ordained that a fast day must be instituted in honour of Ceres to be observed every five years; that the sacrifices should be offered for nine days and solemn intercessions for one day, the suppliants to wear wreaths of laurel leaves, and that the consul should offer sacrifice to such deities and with such victims as the decemvirs should name. After the gods had been appeased and the portents duly expiated the consul left for his province. On his arrival he ordered the proconsul Cneius Domitius to disband his army and depart for Rome; he himself led his army into the country of the Boii.

Shortly before this the Ligurians had assembled an army under the "Lex Sacrata" and made a sudden attack upon the camp where the proconsul Q. Minucius was in command. He kept his men drawn up within the rampart until daybreak to prevent the enemy from getting over his lines at any point. As soon as it was light he made a sortie from two of the camp gates simultaneously. But the Ligurians were not, as he had expected, repulsed at the first attempt; for more than two hours they maintained the struggle without either side gaining any advantage. At length, as detachment after detachment issued from the camp, and fresh troops relieved those who were exhausted with fighting, the Ligurians, worn out and suffering especially from want of sleep, turned and fled. Over 4000 of the enemy were killed, the Romans and allied troops lost less than 300. About two months later, P. Cornelius fought a most successful action with the army of the Boii. Valerius Antias states that 28,000 of the enemy were slain and 3400 made prisoners, and that the spoils included 124 standards, 1230 horses and 247 wagons, whilst in the victorious army 1484 men fell. Though we can place little confidence in this writer so far as numbers are concerned, for no one is more reckless in exaggerating them, it was evidently a great victory, for the camp of the Boii was captured and they made their surrender immediately after the battle. Moreover, special thanksgivings were ordered by the senate for the victory and full−grown victims sacrificed.

It was about this time that M. Fulvius Nobilior entered the City in ovation after his return from Further Spain. He brought over 10,000 pounds of silver, 13,000 silver denarii and 127 pounds of gold. After receiving the hostages from the Boii, P. C. Scipio by way of punishment mulcted them of nearly half their territory in order that the Roman people might if they chose settle colonists on it. When on the point of departure to celebrate, as he confidently expected, his triumph, he disbanded his army with orders to be in Rome by the day of triumph. The day following his arrival the senate met in the temple of Bellona and after he had given a full account of his campaign he requested to be allowed to make a triumphal entry into the City. One of the tribunes of the plebs, P. Sempronius Blaesus, was of opinion that though the honour of a triumph ought not to be refused altogether it ought to be delayed. The wars with the Ligurians, he said, were always closely connected with those against the Gauls, for these nations being neighbours rendered each other mutual help. If after his decisive defeat of the Boii Scipio had either crossed the Ligurian frontiers with his army or sent a part of his force to the assistance of Q. Minucius, who had now been detained there three years by an indecisive war, the Ligurian resistance might have been completely broken. In order to swell his triumph he had now brought back soldiers who could have rendered invaluable service to the commonwealth and could do so still if the senate would agree to make good what he in his haste to enjoy a triumph had left undone by delaying that triumph. He should be ordered to return with his legions to his province and see that the Ligurians were thoroughly subdued; unless they were brought under the dominion of Rome the Boii would be in a constant state of unrest; whether it be peace or war it must be with both of them together. When he has reduced the Boii to submission P. Cornelius will enjoy his triumph a few months hence like many before him who did not celebrate their triumph during their year of office.

The consul in his reply reminded the tribune that he did not receive Liguria as his province nor was it with the Ligurians that he had been at war, nor was it over the Ligurians that he asked for a triumph. Q. Minucius would, he felt quite sure, soon subjugate them, and then he would ask for a triumph and it would be granted him because it would be well deserved. He (the speaker) was asking for a triumph over the Boii after defeating them in battle, depriving them of their camp, receiving the submission of the entire nation two days after the battle, and bringing away a number of hostages as a guarantee of peace for the future. But a much stronger reason for his request being granted was the fact that the number of Gauls killed amounted to more than all the thousands of Boii, to say the least, with which any Roman general before his time had ever fought. Out of 50,000 men more than half had fallen, many thousands had been made prisoners, only old men and boys were left among the Boii. Could then anyone wonder why the victorious army after leaving not a single active enemy in the province had come to Rome to grace the consul's triumph? "If," he continued, "the senate wishes to employ these soldiers in another field, in what way do you think they will be made more ready to face fresh toils and dangers? By recompensing them in full for the perils and labours they have already undergone, or by sending them off with expectations instead of rewards after they have been cheated of the hopes already formed? As for myself, I had glory enough to last my lifetime on the day when the senate judged me to be the best and worthiest in the commonwealth and sent me to receive Mater Idaea. The bust of P. Scipio Nasica will be sufficiently honoured by bearing that record inscribed upon it though neither consulship nor triumph were added."

Not only were the senate unanimous in decreeing a triumph, but the tribune bowed to their authority and withdrew his opposition. So the consul P. Cornelius triumphed over the Boii. In the triumphal procession armour, weapons, standards and booty of all descriptions, including bronze vases, were carried in Gaulish wagons. There were also borne in the procession 1471 golden torques, 247 pounds of gold, 2340 pounds of silver, partly in bars, partly wrought, not inartistically, into native vessels, and 23,400 silver denarii. To each of the soldiers who marched behind his chariot he gave as largesse 125 ases, twice as much to each centurion, and three times as much to each of the horsemen. The next day the Assembly met, and in his speech he gave an account of his campaign and dwelt on the injustice of their tribune in trying to involve him in a war which was outside his province, and so rob him of the fruits of the victory which he had won. At the close of his speech he released his men from their military oath and discharged them.

All this time Antiochus was stopping in Ephesus quite unconcerned about the war with Rome as though the Romans had no intention of landing in Asia. This apathy was due either to the blindness or the flattery of most of his councillors. Hannibal, who at that time had great influence with the king, was the only one who told him the truth. He said that so far from feeling any doubt about the Romans going, his only wonder was that they were not there already. The voyage, he pointed out, from Greece to Asia was shorter than from Italy to Greece, and Antiochus was a more dangerous foe than the Aetolians, nor were the arms of Rome less potent on sea than on land. Their fleet had been for some time cruising off Malea, and he understood that fresh ships and a fresh commander had come from Italy to take part in the war. He begged Antiochus therefore to give up all hopes of being left in peace. Asia would be the scene of conflict, for Asia itself he would have to fight by sea and by land, and either he must wrest the supreme power from those who were aiming at world−wide dominion or else he must lose his own throne. The king realised that Hannibal was the only one who saw what was coming and told him the honest truth. Following his advice, he took all the ships that were ready for war to the Chersonese in order to strengthen the places there with garrisons in case the Romans came by land. Polyxenidas received instructions to fit out the rest of the fleet and put to sea, and a number of scouting vessels were sent to patrol the waters round the islands.

C. Livius was in command of the Roman fleet. He proceeded with fifty decked ships to Neapolis, where the open vessels which the cities on that coast were bound by treaty to furnish had received orders to assemble. From there he steered for Sicily and sailed through the strait past Messana. When he had picked up the six vessels which had been sent by Carthage and the ships which Regium and Locris and the other cities under the same treaty obligation had contributed he performed the lustration of the fleet and put out to sea. On reaching Corcyra, which was the first Greek city he came to, he made inquiries as to the state of the war−for peace did not prevail

throughout Greece−and the whereabouts of the Roman fleet. When he learnt that the consul and the king were encamped near the Pass of Thermopylae, and that the Roman fleet was lying in the Piraeus, he felt that for every reason he ought to lose no time and at once set sail for the Peloponnese. As Same and Zacynthus had taken the side of the Aetolians he devastated those islands and then shaped his course to Malea, and as the weather was favourable he reached the Piraeus in a few days and here he found the fleet. Whilst off Scyllaeum he was joined by Eumenes with three ships. Eumenes had remained for some time at Aegina, unable to make up his mind what to do, whether to return home and defend his kingdom, as he was constantly being told that Antiochus was concentrating naval and military forces at Ephesus. or whether to remain in close touch with the Romans, on whom he knew that his fate depended. A. Atilius handed over to his successor the twenty−four decked ships in the Piraeus, and then left for Rome. Livius sailed to Delos with eighty−one decked vessels and many smaller, some undecked and beaked, others without beaks, to be used as scouts.

The consul was laying siege to Naupactus at the time. Livius was detained at Delos by contrary winds for several days; the seas round the Cyclades are liable to violent storms, owing to the numerous channels, some narrower, some wider, which separate the islands. Polyxenidas received intelligence through the scouting vessels which were patrolling those waters that the Roman fleet was lying at Delos, and he sent on the information to the king. Antiochus abandoned his designs in the Hellespont and returned to Ephesus with all possible speed, taking his warships with him. He at once called a council of war to decide whether he ought to risk an engagement. Polyxenidas was opposed to any delay, and said that they certainly ought to engage before Eumenes and the Rhodians joined the Roman fleet. In that case they would not be so very unequally matched in point of numbers and in everything else they would have the advantage, in the speed of their vessels and in various other respects, for the Roman ships were awkwardly built and slow, and as they were going to a hostile country they would be heavily laden with stores, whilst the king's ships, having none but friends all round them, would carry nothing but soldiers and their equipment. They would be greatly assisted, too, by their familiarity with the sea and the coasts and their knowledge of the winds; the enemy on the other hand, who was ignorant of all this, would be thrown into confusion by them. The council unanimously approved of his proposal, since the man who made it was also the one who was to carry it out.

Two days were spent in preparations, on the third day they set sail for Phocaea with a fleet of a hundred ships, seventy decked, the rest open ships, but all smaller than the corresponding vessels of the enemy fleet. On hearing that the Roman fleet was approaching, the king, who had no intention of taking part in a naval battle, withdrew to Magnesia ad Sipylum to assemble his land forces, the fleet sailing on to Cissus, the port of Erythrae, as that appeared a more suitable place in which to await the enemy. The Romans had been detained at Delos for some days by northerly winds; when these subsided they put out from Delos and steered for the harbour of Phanae, at the southern end of Chios, facing the Aegean. They then brought their ships up to the city, and after taking in supplies sailed to Phocaea. Eumenes, who had gone to his fleet at Elea, returned in a few days with twenty−four decked ships and a larger number of open ones, and sailed on to Phocaea, where he found the Romans getting their ships ready and making every preparation for the coming naval contest. From Phocaea they put to sea with one hundred and five decked ships and about fifty open ones. At first they were driven towards the land by the northerly winds which blew across their course and were forced to sail in almost a single line; when the wind became less violent they endeavoured to make the harbour of Corycus, which lies beyond Cissus.

When news was brought to Polyxenidas of the approach of the Roman fleet he was delighted at the prospect of a fight. Extending his left towards the open sea he ordered the captains of the right division to align their ships towards the land, and in this way he advanced to battle with a straight front. On seeing this the Roman commander took in sail, lowered his masts, and stowing away the tackle waited for the ships in the rear to come up. His front line now consisted of thirty ships, and in order to make it extend as far as the enemy's left he directed these vessels to set up their foresails and steer for the open sea; those behind, as they came up, were ordered to direct their course landward against the enemy's right. Eumenes was bringing up the rear, but as soon as he saw the hurried removal of the masts and rigging he urged his ships on with all possible speed. Full in view of both fleets were two Carthaginian vessels which outstripped the Roman fleet and three of the king's ships went to meet

them. The inequality of numbers enabled two of these to close on one of the Carthaginian vessels, and after shearing off both banks of oars they boarded it and flinging overboard or killing the defenders captured the ship. The other Carthaginian ship which had only one opponent, seeing its sister−ship captured, fled back to the Roman fleet before the three could make a simultaneous attack upon it. Livius was furious and made straight in his flagship for the enemy, and as the two vessels which had overpowered the single Carthaginian ship bore down upon him, expecting the same success, he ordered the rowers to back water on both sides so that the way of the ship might be stopped. Then he ordered them to hook their grappling irons on to the enemy ships and when they had made a soldiers' battle of it to remember that they were Romans and not to look upon the slaves of Antiochus as men. This one ship now defeated and captured the two much more easily than the two had captured the single one previously. By this time the fleets were engaged along the whole line and as the fighting went on the ships became everywhere intermixed. Eumenes, who had come up after the battle had commenced seeing that Livius had thrown the enemy's left into confusion, attacked the right division where the struggle was still an equal one.

It was not long before the enemy's left division took to flight, for when Polyxenidas saw that he was clearly worsted as far as the courage of his soldiers was concerned he lowered his foresails and fled away in disorder, and those who had been engaged with Eumenes near the land very soon did the same. As long as the rowers could hold out and there was any chance of harassing the hindmost ships Eumenes and the Romans kept up a vigorous pursuit. But when they found that owing to the speed of the enemy's ships, which were light as compared with theirs, loaded as they were with supplies, their attempt to overtake them was baffled, they desisted from the pursuit, after capturing thirteen vessels with their troops and crews and sinking ten. The only vessel lost in the Roman fleet was the Carthaginian vessel, overpowered by the two assailants at the beginning of the battle. Polyxenidas did not stop his flight till he was in the harbour of Ephesus. The Romans remained for that day at Cissus, from which place the king's fleet had gone out to battle; the next day they continued to follow up the enemy. Midway on their course they were met by twenty−five decked ships from Rhodes under the command of Pausistratus. With their united fleets they still followed up the enemy and appeared in line of battle before the entrance of the harbour. After they had thus forced the enemy to admit his defeat, the Rhodians and Eumenes were sent home and the Romans started for Chios. They sailed past Phocaea, one of the Erythraean ports, and then anchored for the night. The next day they sailed up to the city itself. Here they stayed for a few days mainly to recruit the crews and then they proceeded to Phocaea. Here four quinqueremes were left to guard the city and the fleet went on to Canae, where as the winter was approaching the ships were drawn up on land and protected by a ring of entrenchments. At the close of the year the elections were held. The new consuls were L. Cornelius Scipio and C. Laelius, and all were looking upon Africanus to end the war with Antiochus. The praetors elected on the following day were M. Tuccius, L. Aurunculeius, Cn. Fulvius, L. Aemilius, P. Junius and C. Atinius Labeo.

Book 37. Final Defeat of Antiochus

After the new consuls had taken office and the obligations of religion had been discharged the position of the Aetolians took precedence of all other subjects of discussion in the senate. Their envoys pressed for an audience as the period of the armistice was drawing to a close, and they were backed up by T. Quinctius, who had by that time returned to Rome. Knowing that they had more to hope from the clemency of the senate than from the strength of their case, they adopted a suppliant attitude and brought up their former good services as a counterpoise to their recent misdoings. However, while in the House, they were subjected to a fire of questions from all sides, the senators endeavouring to force from them a confession of guilt rather than definite replies, and after they were ordered to withdraw they gave rise to a very lively debate. The feeling of resentment against them was stronger than that of compassion, for the senate were embittered against them not only as enemies, but as a wild race whose hand was against every man. The debate went on for several days, and it was finally decided that peace should neither be granted to them nor refused. They were offered two alternatives: either to place themselves unreservedly in the hands of the senate or to pay a fine of 1000 talents and have the same friends and enemies as Rome. When they endeavoured to get some idea of the matters in regard to which they were to be at the senate's disposal they got no definite reply. The same day they were sent away from the City without having

obtained peace and were ordered to leave Italy within the fortnight.

Then the question of the consular provinces came up. Both the consuls wanted Greece. Laelius possessed great influence in the senate, and when it was decided that the consul should either ballot or come to a mutual agreement about their provinces he observed that he and his colleague would act more gracefully if they left the matter to the judgment of the senate rather than to the chances of the ballot. Scipio said in reply that he should consider what he ought to do, and after a private conversation with his brother, who insisted upon his leaving the matter in the hands of the senate, he told his colleague that he would do what he advised. This method of procedure as being either unprecedented or resting on precedents of which no record survived was expected to lead to a debate, but P. Scipio Africanus declared that if the senate decreed Greece to his brother Lucius he would serve under him. This declaration met with universal approval and put an end to any further discussion. The senate were glad of the opportunity of finding out which would receive most help−Antiochus from the vanquished Hannibal or the consul and legions of Rome from his vanquisher Scipio, and they almost unanimously decreed Greece to Scipio and Italy to Laelius.

The praetors then balloted for their provinces. L. Aurunculeius received the urban and Cneius Fulvius the alien jurisdiction; L. Aemilius Regillus the command of the fleet; P. Junius Brutus the administration of Etruria; M. Tuccius, Apulia and Bruttium; and C. Atinius, Sicily. The consul to whom Greece had been decreed, in addition to the army of two legions which he was to take over from Manius Acilius, was further reinforced by 3000 Roman infantry and 100 cavalry and allied troops to the number of 5000 infantry and 200 cavalry. It was further decided that after he had arrived in his province he should, if he thought it expedient, take his army into Asia. The other consul was supplied with an entirely fresh army, two Roman legions and 15,000 infantry and 600 cavalry from the allies. Q. Minucius had written to say that his province was pacified and the whole of the Ligurians had made their surrender; he was now ordered to take his army into the country of the Boii and hand it over to P. Cornelius, who was acting as proconsul. The city legions which had been raised the previous year were to be withdrawn from the territory of which the Boii had been mulcted after their defeat and given to the praetor M. Tuccius. These, reinforced by 15,000 allied infantry and 600 cavalry, were to occupy Apulia and Bruttium. A. Cornelius, who had commanded in Bruttium as praetor during the past year, received instructions to transfer his legions to Aetolia if the consul approved and hand them over to Manius Acilius in case he wished to remain there, but if Acilius preferred to return to Rome, Cornelius was to keep that army in Aetolia. It was further arranged that C. Atinius Labeo should take over the province of Sicily and the army of occupation from M. Aemilius and raise reinforcements if he wished to do so in the island itself to the number of 2000 infantry and 100 cavalry. P. Junius Brutus was to raise a new army for service in Etruria consisting of one Roman legion and 10,000 infantry and 400 cavalry of allied troops. L. Aemilius, to whom the naval command had fallen, was to receive from his predecessor, M. Junius, twenty ships of war with their crews and to enlist in addition 1000 seamen and 2000 infantry soldiers to serve as marines. With his fleet thus manned he was to proceed to Asia and take over the fleet which C. Livius had commanded. The praetors commanding in the two Spains were continued in office and retained their armies. Sicily and Sardinia were each required to supply two−tenths of their corn harvest for the year; the whole of the corn from Sicily was to be transported to Aetolia for the use of the army, that from Sardinia was to go partly to Rome and partly to Aetolia, like the corn from Sicily.

Before the consuls left for their provinces it was resolved that various portents should be expiated according to the directions of the pontiffs. The temple of Juno−Lucina in Rome was struck so seriously by lightning that the pediment and great doors were much damaged. At Puteoli, one of the gates and numerous portions of the wall were similarly struck and two men killed. At Nursea it was definitely reported that a thunderstorm suddenly burst out of a cloudless sky; there also two men were killed, both freemen. The people of Tusculum announced that a shower of earth had fallen in their district, and at Reate a mule was said to have had a foal. These portents were duly expiated and the Latin Festival was celebrated a second time owing to the Laurentians not having received their due portion of the sacrifice. To allay the religious fears which these various incidents aroused, a solemn intercession was offered, as directed by the Keepers of the Sacred Books, to those deities which, after consulting the rolls, they named. Ten free−born boys and ten maidens, all of whose fathers and mothers were alive, were

employed about that sacrifice, and the Keepers of the Sacred Books offered up sacrifices of sucklings in the night. Before his departure, P. Cornelius Scipio erected an arch on the Capitol facing the road up to the temple, with seven gilded human statues and two equestrian ones. He also set up in front of the arch two marble basins. During this time forty−three of the Aetolian leading men, including Damocritus and his brother, were brought to Rome by two cohorts sent by Manius Acilius. On their arrival they were thrown into the Lautumiae, and the cohorts were ordered to the army. A deputation came from Ptolemy and Cleopatra to offer their congratulations on the expulsion of Antiochus from Greece by the consul Acilius, and to urge the senate to send an army into Asia, as not only in Asia but even throughout Syria there was a universal feeling of alarm. The two sovereigns declared their readiness to carry out the behests of the senate, and a vote of thanks to them was passed. Each member of the deputation received a present of 4000 ases.

When the business which he had to transact in Rome was finished, L. Cornelius gave notice in the Assembly that the men whom he had enlisted and those who were with A. Cornelius in Bruttium were all to assemble at Brundisium by 15th July. He also appointed three officers, Sextus Digitius, L. Apustius and C. Fabricius Luscinus, to collect the ships from all parts of the coast at the same place, and all his preparations being now completed, he set out from the city, wearing his paludamentum. As many as 5000 volunteers, Roman and allied troops who had served their time under P. Africanus, were waiting for the consul on his departure and gave in their names for active service. At the time of the consul's departure, whilst the Games of Apollo were being celebrated, the daylight was obscured, though the sky was clear, by the moon passing under the orb of the sun. L. Aemilius Regillus set out at the same time to take command of the fleet. L. Aurunculeius was commissioned by the senate to undertake the construction of thirty quinqueremes and twenty triremes. This step was due to a report that since the naval battle Antiochus was fitting out a considerably larger fleet than he had on that occasion. When the Aetolian envoys brought back word that there was no hope of peace, their government realised that the danger threatening them from Rome was more serious than the losses inflicted on them by the Achaeans who were harrying the whole of their sea−board which faced the Peloponnese. They had made up their minds that the Romans would return in the spring and lay siege to Naupactus, and in order to block their route they occupied Mount Corax. Acilius knew that this was what they were expecting, and he thought the better course would be to undertake something which they were not expecting; so he commenced an attack on Lamia. This place had almost been destroyed by Philip, and as the inhabitants were not apprehending any similar attempt, Acilius thought he might successfully surprise it. After leaving Elatia his first encampment on the enemy soil was by the Spercheus; from there he made a night march, and by dawn had completely invested the place.

As was natural in a surprise attack, there was considerable confusion and alarm, but a stouter resistance was offered than any one would have believed possible in such sudden danger. The men fought from the walls, the women carried up to them stones and missiles of every description, and though the scaling−ladders were placed at very many points against the walls, the defence was maintained for that day. Towards noon Acilius gave the signal for retiring, and took his troops back into camp, where they took food and rest. Before he dismissed his staff, he warned his men to be armed and ready before daybreak, and told them that till they had carried the city he should not take them back to camp. As on the previous day, he delivered several simultaneous assaults, and as the strength, the weapons, above all the courage, of the defenders began to fail, he took the city in a few hours. The booty found there was partly sold and partly divided amongst the soldiers. After the capture a council of war was held to decide what was to be done next. No one was in favour of going on to Naupactus as long as the Aetolians held Mount Corax. However, to avoid wasting the summer in inaction, and to prevent the Aetolians, after they had failed to obtain peace from the senate, from enjoying it through his own lack of enterprise, Acilius determined to attack Amphissa. He marched the army over Mount Oeta. and when he reached the city he did not, as at Lamia, attempt a combined assault upon the entire circuit of the walls, but he commenced a regular siege. The rams were brought up at several points, and though the walls were being battered, the townsmen made no attempt to prepare or invent anything to meet this kind of engine. All their hopes lay in their arms and their courage; they made frequent sorties and harassed the detached posts and even the men who were working the rams.

The walls had, however, been shaken down in many places when news reached Acilius that his successor had landed in Apollonia, and was advancing through Epirus and Thessaly. The consul was coming with 13,000 infantry and 500 cavalry; he had already reached the Maliac Gulf, and had sent a detachment to Hypata to demand the surrender of that city. The reply was that the inhabitants refused to do so without the sanction of the national council of Aetolia. Not wishing to lose time in the siege of Hypata while Amphissa was still holding out, he sent his brother Africanus on in advance and marched on Amphissa. Just before their arrival the citizens had abandoned their city, which was now to a large extent denuded of its walls, and had retreated, combatants and non−combatants alike, into the citadel which they held to be impregnable. The consul encamped about six miles distant from the place. A deputation from Athens arrived there to intercede for the Aetolians, and went first to Publius Scipio, who had, as stated above, gone on in advance, and then to the consul. They received a conciliatory reply from Africanus, who was keeping Asia and Antiochus in view and trying to find some honourable pretext for abandoning the Aetolian war. He told them that they must endeavour to persuade the Aetolians as well as the Romans to prefer peace to war. In consequence of the representations of the Athenians, a large deputation of Aetolians very soon came from Hypata and had an interview with Africanus. Their hopes of peace were considerably raised by what he said to them, as he pointed out how many tribes and nations in Spain and subsequently in Africa had thrown themselves on his protection, and how he had left everywhere nobler memorials of his clemency and kindness than of his military successes. They had to all appearance gained their end, when the consul, on being approached, gave them the very same answer as that with which they had been turned out of the senate. This unexpected treatment was a great blow to the Aetolians, for they saw that they had gained nothing either through the intervention of the Athenians or the considerate reply of Africanus.

They returned to Hypata without seeing any way out of their difficulties. They had no fund from which they could pay 1000 talents, and if they made an unconditional surrender they were afraid they might have to suffer in person. So they instructed the same deputation to go back to the consul and Africanus, and implore them, if they were willing really to grant them peace and not simply dangle it before their eyes and cheat the hopes of their unhappy nation, either to reduce the sum fixed for them to pay, or make the conditions of surrender such that they would not affect the personal safety of the citizens. They could not induce the consul to make any change in the conditions, and the deputation was again sent away with nothing gained. The Athenian deputation followed them to Hypata. The Aetolians had completely lost heart after so many rebuffs and were deploring in unavailing lamentation the hard fortune of their nation, when Echedemus, the leader of the Athenian deputation, recalled them to a more hopeful frame of mind by suggesting that they should ask for a six months' truce so that they might send envoys to Rome. The delay, he pointed out, would in no way aggravate their present distress which had reached the extreme point, and many things might happen in the interval to lighten it. Acting on his advice the same delegates were sent again. They first obtained an interview with P. Scipio and through his instrumentality they obtained from the consul a truce for the time they asked for.

Manius Acilius raised the siege of Amphissa and after handing over his army to the consul left Greece. The consul returned from Amphissa into Thessaly with the intention of marching through Macedonia and Thrace into Asia. On this Africanus observed to his brother: "The route which you are selecting I too quite approve of, but everything depends upon Philip's attitude. If he is faithful to us he will give us free passage, and furnish us with supplies and everything necessary for an army during a long march. If he proves untrustworthy you will find no part of Thrace safe. I think, therefore, that the king's intentions ought to be ascertained. That will be best done if your emissary pays him a surprise visit before he has taken any preparatory steps." Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, by far the ablest and most energetic young man of his time, was selected for the task, and by using relays of horses he travelled with incredible speed and reached Pella three days after leaving Amphissa. He found the king at a banquet; he had drunk deeply, and the mere fact of his giving way to this self−indulgence removed any suspicion that he was contemplating any change in his policy. His guest received a courteous welcome and on the following day he saw provisions in lavish abundance ready for the army, bridges thrown over the rivers, and roads made where there were difficulties of transport. Returning as quickly as he had come, he met the consul at Thaumaci and reported what he had seen. The army felt more confident and hopeful and marched away in high spirits, to find everything prepared for them in Macedonia. On their arrival the king received them in royal state

and accompanied them on their march. He displayed great tact and refinement, qualities which recommended him to Africanus, who, singularly distinguished as he was in other respects, did not object to politeness and courtesy if they were not accompanied by effeminacy. Philip accompanied them through Macedonia and through Thrace as well; he had everything that they required ready for them, and in this way they reached the Hellespont.

After the sea−fight off Corycus Antiochus had the whole winter free for fresh preparations both on sea and land, but he devoted himself mainly to fitting out his fleet in order that he might not be deprived of all command of the sea. He reflected that his defeat occurred during the absence of the Rhodian fleet, and if they took part in the next battle−and he was sure they would not commit the fault of being too late again−he would need a large number of ships so as to be equal to the enemy in ships and men. He accordingly sent Hannibal to Syria to bring the Phoenician vessels, and he gave Polyxenidas orders to refit what ships there were and to construct fresh ones. The less his success in the past, the greater must be his energy in preparing for the future. Antiochus spent the winter in Phrygia and, summoning assistance from all sides, had even sent to Gallograecia. The population there were more warlike at that time than in later years; they still retained the Gaulish temperament as the original stock had not yet died out. Antiochus had left his son with an army in Aeolis to hold the cities on the coast which Eumenes on the one side from Pergamum and the Romans on the other from Phocaea and Erythrae were trying to win over. The Roman fleet, as already stated, was wintering at Canae, and Eumenes went there about mid−winter with 2000 infantry and 500 cavalry. He represented to Livius what an amount of plunder might be carried off from the enemy's country and he persuaded him to send him on an expedition with 5000 men, and in a few days they brought away an enormous amount.

Meantime a revolutionary movement was started in Phocaea by certain individuals who tried to enlist the sympathies of the populace on the side of Antiochus. They had various grievances; the presence of the ships in their winter quarters was a grievance; the tribute of 500 togas and 50 tunics was a grievance; the scarcity of corn was an additional and a serious grievance. Owing to this scarcity the Roman force in occupation left the place, and now the party which were haranguing the plebs in favour of Antiochus were freed from all apprehensions. The senate and aristocracy were for maintaining the alliance with Rome, but the revolutionaries had more influence with the masses. The Rhodians made up for their slackness the previous summer by sending Pausistratus at the vernal equinox with six−and−thirty ships. Livius left Canae with thirty vessels and in addition the seven quinqueremes which Eumenes had brought with him, and set sail for the Hellespont in order to make preparations for the transport of the army which he was expecting to come overland. He first put into the harbour called "The Haven of the Achaeans." Here he went up to Ilium and offered sacrifice to Minerva, after which he gave a gracious audience to deputations from the neighbouring towns of Elaeus, Dardanus and Rhoeteum, who came to place their respective localities under the protection of Rome. From there he sailed to the mouth of the Hellespont, and stationing ten ships opposite Abydos he sailed with the rest to the European shore to attack Sestus. His men were already approaching the walls when they were met by a body of hierophants known as "Galli" in their priestly robes who announced that they were the ministers of Mater Dea, the mother of the gods, and it was at her command that they had come to pray the Romans to spare the city and its walls. No violence was offered to any of them, and presently their senate and magistrates came forward to make a formal surrender of the city. From there the fleet sailed to Abydos. Here interviews took place with the citizens with the object of winning them over, but as no friendly response was given, the Romans made preparations for a siege.

During these operations in the Hellespont, Polyxenidas, the king's lieutenant and a Rhodian refugee, received tidings of the departure from home of his country's fleet and also of the insolent and contemptuous way in which the commandant, Pausistratus, had spoken of him in public. This made the contest between them a personal one, and Polyxenidas thought of nothing else night or day but how to give the lie to the man's bombast by his deeds. He sent a man who was well known to Pausistratus to tell him that if Polyxenidas were allowed to do so he might be of great service to Pausistratus and to his country. Pausistratus was much surprised and inquired in what way this could be brought about. When he had given his word at the other's request that he would either co−operate in the scheme or conceal it in silence, the intermediary informed him that Polyxenidas would betray to him the whole of the king's fleet or at all events the greater part of it, and that the only reward he claimed for so great a

service was the restoration to his native land. The offer was too important a one for Pausistratus either to place full confidence in or absolutely to decline. He sailed to Panhormus, a harbour in Samos, and stayed there to examine the proposal more closely. Messages passed to and fro between them, but Pausistratus was not quite reassured until Polyxenidas had, in the presence of the messenger, written down with his own hand the terms of the promise he made, and affixed his seal to the document. Pausistratus thought that by a definite pledge like that the traitor would be at his mercy, for as Polyxenidas was living under an autocrat he would never dare to give what he had signed with his own hand as evidence against him. Then the plan of the pretended treachery was arranged. Polyxenidas said that he would not make any further preparations whatever, he would not keep any large number of rowers with the fleet, some of the vessels he should haul up on land, ostensibly for repairs, others he should disperse in neighbouring ports, a few he should keep at sea outside the port of Ephesus, so that if circumstances compelled him to go out he could expose them to battle. When Pausistratus heard that Polyxenidas was going to disperse his fleet in this way, he followed suit. One division of his fleet he sent to Halicarnassus for supplies, another he despatched to Samos . . . so that he might be ready to attack on receiving the signal from the traitor. Polyxenidas still further misled him by hauling up a certain number of ships and repairing the dockyards as though intending to haul up others. When the rowers were called up from their winter quarters, they were not sent to Ephesus but assembled secretly at Magnesia.

A soldier out of Antiochus' army happened to come to Samos on private business. He was arrested as a spy and brought before the commandant at Panhormus. When questioned as to what was going on at Ephesus, either through fear or acting as traitor to his countrymen he disclosed everything, and asserted that the fleet was lying in the harbour completely equipped and ready for action, that all the rowers had been sent to Magnesia, that very few ships had been hauled up, that the dockyards were closed and that the naval service had never been more carefully looked after. Pausistratus was so completely obsessed by the deception practiced upon him and the vain hopes it had aroused that he would not believe what he heard. When all his preparations were made, Polyxenidas brought up the rowers from Magnesia by night and hastily launched the ships which had been beached. He remained there through the day not to complete his dispositions so much as to prevent the fleet from being seen when it left the harbour. Starting after sunset with seventy decked ships, he put into the port of Pygela before daybreak as the wind was against him. Remaining there for the day for the same reason−to escape observation−he set sail at night for the nearest point on Samian territory. From there he ordered a man named Nicander, a pirate chieftain, to sail with five ships to Palinurus and take the troops from there by the shortest route across country to Panhormus in the rear of the enemy, whilst he himself proceeded thither with his fleet divided into two squadrons, so that he could hold the entrance to the harbour on either side.

Pausistratus was at first somewhat perturbed by this unexpected turn of events, but the old soldier soon pulled himself together and thinking that the enemy could be more easily checked on land than on the sea he sent two divisions of his troops to occupy the headlands which curving inward from the sea like two horns, form the harbour. He expected to repulse the enemy easily by attacking him from both sides, but the sight of Nicander on the land above upset his plan, and suddenly changing his tactics he ordered all to go on board. There was terrible confusion amongst the soldiers and seamen, and something like a flight to the ships took place when they found themselves surrounded landwards and seawards at the same time. Pausistratus saw that his only chance of safety lay in his being able to force a passage through the harbour into the open sea, and as soon as he saw all his men on board he ordered the fleet to follow him while he led the way with his vessel rowed at full speed towards the mouth of the harbour. Just as he was clearing it Polyxenidas closed round him with three ships, and his vessel, struck by their beaks, was sunk, the defenders were overwhelmed by a hail of missiles and Pausistratus, who fought most gallantly, was killed. Of the remaining ships some were taken outside the harbour, others within, and some were captured by Nicander while they were trying to put off from the shore. Only five Rhodian vessels and two from Cos escaped. They had kindled fires in braziers which they hung from poles projecting over the bows, and the terrifying sight of these flames enabled them to clear a way through the crowded ships. The Erythraean triremes which were coming to reinforce the Rhodian fleet met the fugitive vessels not far from Samos, and thereupon changed their course to the Hellespont to join the Romans. Just before this Seleucus captured through an act of treachery the city of Phocaea; one of its gates was opened to him by a soldier on guard. The alarm this

created led Cyme and other cities on that coast to go over to him.

Whilst these events were occurring in Aeolis, Abydos had for several days been standing a siege, and the king's garrison had been defending the walls. At last, when all were weary of the struggle, the commandant, Philotas, entrusted the magistrates with the task of opening negotiations with Livius with a view to surrender. Matters were delayed by their being unable to agree as to whether the garrison should be allowed to depart with their arms or without them. Whilst they were discussing this point news arrived of the Rhodian defeat. This took the question out of their hands, for Livius, fearing lest Polyxenidas after such an important success should surprise the fleet at Canae, instantly abandoned the siege of Abydos and the protection of the Hellespont and put to sea the vessels which had been drawn up on the land there. Eumenes went to Elea and Livius sailed for Phocaea with the whole of his fleet and two ships which had joined him from Mitylene. On being informed that the place was held by a strong garrison for the king and that Seleucus was encamped not very far away, he raided the coast and hastily conveyed the spoil, mostly prisoners, on board his ships. He only waited till Eumenes came up with his fleet and then started for Samos. At Rhodes the tidings of the disaster caused widespread grief and alarm, for in addition to the loss in ships and men they had lost the flower and strength of their youth, for many of their nobles had amongst other motives been attracted by the character of Pausistratus which stood deservedly very high amongst his compatriots. But their grief gave place to anger at the thought of their having been the victims of treachery and, worst of all, at the hands of their own fellow−countrymen. They at once despatched ten ships and a few days later ten more, all under the command of Eudamus, a man by no means the equal of Pausistratus in other military qualities, but one who, they believed, would prove a more cautious leader, as possessing a less adventurous spirit. The Romans and Eumenes brought up the fleet first at Erythrae, where they stayed one night. The day following they kept their course to the headland of Corycus. From there they intended to cross over to the nearest point of Samos, but as they did not wait for the sunrise, from which the pilots could note the state of the sky, they sailed into uncertain weather. When they were half−way the north−east wind backed into the north and they began to toss on the waves of an angry sea.

Polyxenidas suspected that the enemy would make for Samos in order to form a junction with the Rhodian fleet. Putting out from Ephesus he first stood off Myonnesus, and from there sailed on to an island called Macris for the purpose of catching any stragglers from the fleet as it sailed past, or attacking, at advantage the hindmost ships. When he saw that the fleet was scattered by the storm he thought that his chance of attacking them had come, but in a short time the gale increased in violence and raised a heavy sea, making it impossible for him to approach them. He now steered for the island of Aethalia, intending to attack them the next day while they were putting into Samos. Towards evening a few Roman ships gained a deserted harbourage in the island, and the rest of the fleet, after tossing on the deep the whole night through, reached the same haven. Here they learnt from the peasants that the enemy's fleet was lying at Aethalia, and a council of war was held to decide whether they should seek a decision at once or wait for the Rhodian contingent. It was decided to put off the encounter and they returned to their base at Corycus. Polyxenidas also, after waiting in vain, returned to Ephesus. Now that the sea was clear of the hostile ships the Romans sailed to Samos. The Rhodian fleet arrived a few days later, and to show that the Romans had only been waiting for them, they left at once for Ephesus to bring about a decisive battle, or if the enemy declined battle, to force an admission that he was afraid to fight, which would very materially influence the attitude of the various cities. They lay off the entrance to the harbour with the ships all abreast in a long line. As no enemy appeared, one division of the fleet anchored at the harbour mouth, the other disembarked its marines who proceeded to devastate the country far and wide. While they were bringing back an enormous amount of plunder and passing near the walls, Andronicus, a Macedonian, who commanded the garrison of Ephesus, made a sortie, took a large part of the plunder from them and drove them back to the ships. The next day the Romans planted an ambuscade about half−way between the city and the coast and advanced in line of march towards the city in order to draw the Macedonian outside the walls. Suspecting what had happened no one came out, and they marched back to their ships. As the enemy shunned an encounter either on land or sea, the fleet returned to Samos. From this port the praetor despatched two vessels belonging to the Italian allies and two Rhodian ships under the command of Epicrates to the Strait of Cephallania. This sea was infested by pirates under the leadership of Hybristas a Lacedaemonian, and supplies from Italy were cut off.

Lucius Aemilius Regillus, who succeeded to the command of the fleet, was met at the Piraeus by Epicrates. On hearing of the defeat of the Rhodians, as he himself had only two quinqueremes, he took Epicrates and his four ships with him to Asia, and some ships from Athens accompanied him. He crossed the Aegean to Chios. Timasicrates the Rhodian arrived there in the dead of night with two quinqueremes from Samos, and on being conducted to Aemilius, explained that he had been sent as an escort because the king's ships made those waters dangerous for transports by their constant excursions from the Hellespont and from Abydos. Whilst Aemilius was crossing from Chios to Samos he was met by two Rhodian quadriremes sent to him by Livius, and Eumenes also met him with two quinqueremes. On his arrival at Samos, Aemilius took over the fleet from Livius, and after the customary sacrifices had been duly offered he called a council of war. Livius was first asked for his opinion. He said that no one could give more sincere advice than the man who advised another to do what he would himself do, were he in his place. He had had it in his mind to sail to Ephesus with the whole of his fleet, including a number of transports loaded with ballast, and sinking these at the entrance of the harbour. This barrage would not involve much trouble because the mouth of the harbour was like that of a river, long, narrow and full of shoals. In this way he would have prevented the enemy from operating by sea and made his fleet useless.

This suggestion found no supporters. Eumenes asked: "What do you mean? When you have barred access to the sea with the sunken ships whilst your own fleet is free, are you going to sail away to assist your friends and spread alarm amongst your enemies, or are you going to continue your blockade of the harbour just the same? If you leave the place, who can have the slightest doubt that the enemy will raise the sunken obstacles and open the harbour with less trouble than it will take us to close it? And if you have to remain here, what good will the closing of the harbour do? Nay, on the other hand, they will spend the summer in the peaceful enjoyment of a harbour perfectly safe and a city filled with wealth, with all the resources of Asia at their command, whilst the Romans, exposed to waves and storms on the open sea and deprived of all supplies, will have to maintain a constant watch and will be themselves more tied up and debarred from doing what ought to be done than the enemy, in spite of their barriers." Eudamus, the commandant of the Rhodian fleet, expressed his disapproval of the plan without saying what he thought ought to be done. Epicrates gave it as his opinion that for the time being they ought to leave Ephesus out of account and send a portion of the fleet to Lycia to gain Patara, the capital of the country, as an ally. That course would possess two great advantages: the Rhodians with a friendly country opposite their island would be able to devote their undivided strength to the war with Antiochus, and his fleet which was being assembled in Cilicia would be prevented from joining Polyxenidas. This proposal weighed most with the council; it was, however, decided that Regillus should take the whole fleet to the port of Ephesus to overawe the enemy.

C. Livius was sent to Lycia with two Roman quinqueremes, four Rhodian quadriremes and two undecked ships from Smyrna. His instructions were to visit Rhodes on his way and communicate his plans to the government. The cities which he passed on his voyage−Miletus, Myndus, Halicarnassus, Cnidus and Cos−fully met all his requirements. When he arrived in Rhodes he explained the object of his expedition, and asked their opinion on it. It was universally approved and three additional quadriremes were supplied for his fleet. He then set sail for Patara. A favourable wind carried them right up to the city, and they hoped that the suddenness of their appearance might frighten the citizens into deserting Antiochus. Afterwards the wind veered round and a heavy cross−sea arose. They succeeded by dint of hard rowing in holding the land, but there was no safe anchorage near the city and they could not lie off the harbour mouth in such a rough sea and with night coming on. Sailing past the city walls they made for the port of Phoenicus rather less than two miles away. This harbour afforded a safe shelter from the violence of the waves, but it was surrounded by high cliffs which the townsmen together with the king's troops who formed the garrison promptly occupied. Though the shore was rocky and landing difficult, Livius sent the contingent from Issa and the Smyrnean light infantry to dislodge them. As long as these light troops had only few to deal with they kept up the contest with missiles and desultory skirmishing more than with hand−to−hand fighting, but as more and more came out of the city in a constant stream and at last the whole of the able−bodied population were pouring out, Livius began to feel apprehensive lest his light troops should be cut off and the ships assailed from the shore. So he sent into the fight the whole of his troops, the seamen and even the rowers, armed with whatever weapons they could get hold of. Even then the battle hung in suspense and not only

were a good many soldiers killed, but L. Apustius was amongst those who fell in this promiscuous fighting. The Lycians, however, were routed and driven back to their city and the Romans returned, victorious, but with considerable losses, to their ships. All idea of making any further attempt on Patara was abandoned; the Rhodians were sent home and Livius, sailing along the coast of Asia, crossed over to Greece to meet the Scipios who were in Thessaly at the time. Then he returned to Italy.

Stress of weather had compelled Aemilius to abandon his station at Ephesus and he returned, without having effected anything, to Samos. Here he learnt that Livius had abandoned the Lycian campaign and left for Italy. He looked upon the failure at Patara as a humiliation and decided to sail thither with his whole fleet and attack the city with his full strength. Sailing past Miletus and the other friendly cities on the coast, he landed at Jasus in the bay of Bargyliae. The city was held by the king's troops; the Romans treated the country round as hostile and ravaged it. Then they tried to open negotiations with the magistrates and leading citizens with the view of inducing them to surrender, but after they assured him that they had no power whatever he prepared to storm the place. There were with the Romans some refugees from Jasus. These men went in a body to the Rhodians and implored them not to allow a city which was a neighbour and of the same nationality as they were to perish through no fault of its own. They pleaded that they had been expelled from their native town solely because of their fidelity to Rome, and those who still remained there were forcibly held down by the king's troops lust as they had been forcibly expelled. The one desire in the breast of everyone in Jasus was to escape from their slavery to Antiochus. Moved by their entreaties and supported by Eumenes, the Rhodians urged upon the consul their ties of common nationality with the besieged and the wretched plight of the city, beleaguered by the king's garrison. They succeeded in persuading him to desist from attacking it. Sailing away from there, as all the other cities were friendly, the fleet skirted the Asiatic shore and reached Loryma, a harbour opposite Rhodes. Here remarks were made by the military tribunes, in their private conversations, which at last reached the ears of Aemilius, to the effect that the fleet was withdrawn from Ephesus, its proper theatre of war, so that the enemy, left with full liberty of action, was able to make attempts on all the cities in his neighbourhood which were allied with Rome. Aemilius was so far influenced by what he heard that he summoned the Rhodians and inquired of them whether the whole of the fleet could find room in the harbour of Patara. On their assuring him that it could not, he made this a ground for abandoning his project, and took his ships back to Samos.

During this time Seleucus, who had kept his army in Aeolis all the winter, engaged partly in rendering assistance to his allies and partly in ravaging the territories of those cities which he failed to win over, decided now to cross the frontiers of Eumenes whilst he was at a distance from home, engaged in attacking the maritime cities of Lycia in conjunction with the Romans and Rhodians. He began by threatening an attack on Elea, then abandoning the siege he ravaged the surrounding district, and then went on to attack Pergamum, the capital and stronghold of the kingdom. Attalus posted troops in front of the city and sent forward skirmishers of cavalry and light infantry to harass the enemy without meeting him in a regular engagement. When he found in these encounters that he was in no way a match for his foe, he retired within his walls and the investment of the city commenced. Antiochus left Apamea just about this time and encamped first at Sardis and then at the head of the Caicus, not far from Seleucus' camp, with a vast army drawn from various nations, the most formidable of whom were the Gaulish mercenaries, about 4000 strong. These, with a small admixture of other troops, were sent to devastate every part of the territory of Pergamum. As soon as news of this reached Samos, Eumenes, summoned home by this war within his borders, sailed direct to Elea, where a body of cavalry and light infantry were in readiness. Feeling himself safe with these, he hurried on to Pergamum before the enemy were aware or had made any movement to oppose him. Here again the fighting was confined to skirmishes, as Eumenes firmly declined to risk a decisive action. A few days later the Roman and Rhodian fleets moved from Samos to Elea to support the king. When Antiochus received intelligence that troops were landed at Elea and that such a large naval force was concentrated in a single harbour, and at the same time learnt that the consul and his army were already in Macedonia, and that all preparations were being made for crossing the Hellespont, he thought that the time had come for discussing terms of peace, before he was beset both by land and sea. There was some rising ground over against Elea, and he selected this for the site of his camp. Leaving all his infantry there, and his cavalry, of which he had 6000, he went down into the plain which extended to the walls of Elea, and sent a herald to Aemilius to inform him that he

wished to open up negotiations for peace with him.

Aemilius invited Eumenes over from Pergamum and held a council, at which both Eumenes and the Rhodians were present. The Rhodians were not disinclined for peace, but Eumenes said that no peace proposals could be honourably entertained at that moment, nor could any final settlements be made. "How," he asked, "shall we, beleaguered and shut within our walls, listen with honour to any terms of peace? Or who will regard any peace settlement as valid if made without the consent of the consul, the authority of the senate and the order of the people of Rome? I put this question to you−If peace be made through you, are you going to return at once to Italy and carry away your army and your fleet, or will you wait to learn what the consul thinks, what decision the senate comes to, what order the people make? It remains, then, that you must stay in Asia and, all active operations suspended, your troops must be sent into winter quarters to drain the resources of your allies by the requisitions of your commissariat. And then, if the supreme powers so decide, we must begin the war all over again, whereas, if our strong offensive were in no way slackened or hampered by delay, we could have brought it to a close, if the gods so willed it, before winter sets in." This argument prevailed, and Antiochus was told that, till the consul arrived, there could be no discussion of the terms of peace. Finding his efforts to procure peace fruitless, Antiochus proceeded to devastate the lands of the people of Elea and then those belonging to Pergamum. Here he left Seleucus and continued his march with the intention of attacking Adramytteum, till he reached the rich district known as the "Plain of Thebe," celebrated in the poem of Homer. In no other locality in Asia was a greater amount of plunder secured by the king's troops. Aemilius and Eumenes, sailing round with their fleet, also appeared before Adramytteum as a protection to the city.

At this juncture a force despatched from Achaia, numbering 1000 infantry and 100 cavalry, approached Elea. On their landing they were met by a party sent by Attalus to conduct them to Pergamum. They were all veteran troops with war experience, and under the command of Diophanes, a pupil of Philopoemen, the foremost Greek general of his day. Two days were devoted to resting the men and horses, and also to keeping the enemy's advanced posts under observation and ascertaining at what points and at what hours they came on and went off duty. The king's troops made it a practice to advance up to the foot of the hill on which the city stands. In this way they acted as a screen, and the plundering parties behind them were not interfered with, as none came out of the city, not even to attack the advanced posts with missiles at long range. After the citizens had been once cowed by defeat they shut themselves within their wall, and the king's troops looked upon them with contempt and became careless. A great many did not keep their horses either saddled or bridled; a few were left standing to arms, while the rest were dispersed all over the plain, some betaking themselves to games and sports, others feeding under the shade of the trees, some even stretched in slumber.

Diophanes observed all this from Pergamum on the hill, and ordered his men to arm themselves and be in readiness at the gate. He then went to Attalus and told him that he had made up his mind to attack the enemy. With very great reluctance Attalus gave his consent, for he saw that he would have to fight with 100 cavalry against 600 and 1000 infantry against 4000. Diophanes went out from the gate and took up a position not far from the enemy's advanced posts and waited his opportunity. The people of Pergamum looked upon it as madness rather than courage, and the enemy, after keeping them under observation for some time, and seeing no movement of any kind, became careless as usual, and even ridiculed the smallness of their opponents' force. Diophanes made his men keep quiet for a while, then, when he saw that the enemy had broken up their ranks, he gave the infantry orders to follow as rapidly as possible, and putting himself at the head of his troop of cavalry, charged the enemy's detachment at full speed, infantry and cavalry alike shouting their battle−cry. The enemy were thrown into a state of panic, even the horses were terrified and broke their halters, creating confusion and alarm amongst their own men. A few were not scared, and stayed where they were tethered, but even these the riders did not find it an easy task to saddle and bridle and mount, for the Achaean troopers were creating an alarm and terror out of all proportion to their numbers. The infantry, coming up in their ordered ranks, prepared for battle, attacked a foe carelessly scattered and almost half asleep. The whole plain was covered with the bodies of the slain, and men were everywhere fleeing for their lives. Diophanes kept up the pursuit as long as it was safe, and then retired to the shelter of the city walls, after winning great glory for the Achaeans, for the women as well as the men had

watched the action from the walls of Pergamum.

The next day the king's advanced posts, in better order and more careful formation, entrenched themselves half a mile further from the city, and the Achaeans went out about the same time and to the same place as on the previous day. For several hours the two sides were on the alert, as though in expectation of an immediate attack. When the hour for returning to camp came, just before sunset, the king's troops massed their standards and withdrew in order of march rather than of battle. As long as they could see him Diophanes kept quiet, then he charged the rear of the column as furiously as he did the day before, and again created such confusion and panic that, though they were being cut down from behind, no attempt was made to halt and face the enemy. They were driven to their camp in great disorder, with their ranks almost completely broken up. This dashing exploit of the Achaeans compelled Seleucus to remove his camp from Pergamene soil. On learning that the Romans had gone to protect Adramytteum, Antiochus left that city alone, and after ravaging the lands of Peraea, a colony from Mitylene, he carried the city itself by assault. Cotton, Corylenus, Aphrodisias and Prinne were taken at the first attempt. He then returned by way of Thyatira to Sardis. Seleucus remained on the coast, a terror to some and a protection to others. The Roman fleet in company with Eumenes and the Rhodians sailed to Mitylene, and from there to their base at Elea. They left that place for Phocaea and brought up at an island called Bacchium, opposite the city, which was rich in works of art. On a former occasion they had spared the numerous temples and statues, but now they treated them as enemy property and plundered them. Then they sailed across to the city and after distributing the troops at different points of attack they commenced the assault. It seemed possible that it might be taken by escalade without the usual siege machinery, but after a contingent of 3000 men which Antiochus had sent for its defence had entered the city, the attack was at once abandoned and the fleet withdrawn to the island without accomplishing anything beyond the devastation of the country round the city.

It was now decided that Eumenes should go home and make the necessary preparations for the passage of the consul and his army across the Hellespont, whilst the Roman and Rhodian fleets returned to Samos, and remained stationed there to prevent Polyxenidas from moving out of Ephesus. Here M. Aemilius the praetor's brother died. After the funeral honours had been paid, the Rhodians set sail for Rhodes with thirteen ships of their own, one quinquereme from Cos and one from Cnidus. They were to take up their station there in order to be ready for the fleet which was reported to be coming from Syria. Two days before Eudamus arrived with the fleet from Samos, a squadron of thirteen ships, together with four which had been guarding the coast of Caria, had been despatched from Rhodes under the command of Pamphilidas to meet this same Syrian fleet, and had raised the siege of Daedala and other fortified places belonging to Peraea which the king's troops were investing. Eudamus received instructions to sail again at once. The fleet which he had brought with him was augmented by six undecked ships, and with this force, by making all possible speed, he overtook the other at a harbour called Megiste. From there the combined fleets sailed on to Phaselis, which appeared to be the best position in which to await the enemy.

Phaselis is situated on the confines of Lycia and Pamphylia and stands on a headland jutting out into the sea. It is the first land visible to ships sailing from Cilicia to Rhodes, and affords an extensive view seawards. This position was selected mainly because it lay on the route of the enemy fleet. One thing, however, had not been foreseen. Owing to the unhealthiness of the locality and the season of the year−it was midsummer−and also in consequence of a strange and mysterious smell, there was a great deal of sickness, especially among the men at the oars. Alarmed at the spread of this epidemic they sailed away and passing the Pamphylian Gulf anchored off the mouth of the Eurymedon. Here they were informed by messengers from Aspendus that the enemy were at Sida. The progress of the king's fleet had been retarded by the Etesian winds, which blow from the N.W. at a fixed season. The Rhodian force consisted of thirty−two quadriremes and four triremes; the king's fleet numbered thirty−seven vessels of larger build; amongst them were three hepteres and four hexeres. There were in addition to these ten triremes. They, too, discovered from an observation post that the enemy were not far off. On the morrow, as soon as it was light, the two fleets left their anchorage, prepared to fight on that day. As soon as the Rhodians had rounded the point which projects into the sea from Sida, both fleets came at once in sight of each other. The left division of the king's fleet which stood out to sea was under Hannibal's command, the right under that of Apollonius, one of the court nobles, and they already had their ships in line. The Rhodians came on in a long

column, Eudamus' ship leading, Chariclitus closing the rear and Pamphilidas commanding the centre. When Eudamus saw that the enemy were in line and prepared to engage, he too put out to the open sea and signalled to the ships which followed to move into line as they came up, keeping their order. This at first led to some confusion as he had gone sufficiently far out to sea to allow of all the ships coming into line towards the land, and in his extreme haste he had only five ships with him when he met Hannibal, the rest were not following, but were, as ordered, getting into line. On the extreme left there was no further room towards the land, and they were still in confusion when the fighting began on the right with Hannibal.

But the excellence of their vessels and their own practiced seamanship took away all fear from the Rhodians in a moment. Each ship in turn steered towards the open sea and so allowed room on the land side for the one which followed it, and whenever any of them closed with an enemy vessel with its beak foremost, it either tore a hole in its prow or sheared off its oars, or else, where it found a clear way through the line, it passed it and attacked its stern. What caused the greatest alarm was the sinking of one of the hepteres at a single stroke by a much smaller Rhodian vessel; and on this, the right division were showing unmistakable signs of preparing for flight. Hannibal, on the other hand, in the open sea, was closing with a large number of ships on Eudamus, and in spite of the Rhodian's superiority in all other respects, would have hemmed him in had not the signal which is customarily used to call a scattered fleet together been given from the commander's ship. All the ships which had won the day on the right immediately rushed to their comrades' help. Now it was Hannibal and the ships round him which took to flight; the Rhodians, however, were unable to pursue them as most of the rowers were out of health, and therefore more quickly tired. Whilst they were recruiting their strength with food as they lay on the water, Eudamus from the turret of his ship was watching the enemy as they employed their open ships to tow away the damaged and crippled ones, not much more than twenty getting away uninjured. He called for silence and then said, "Come and feast your eyes on a wonderful sight." They all got up, and after watching the hurried flight of the enemy exclaimed, with almost one voice, that they ought to follow them up. Eudamus' own ship had been repeatedly struck, so he ordered Pamphilidas and Chariclitus to go in pursuit as far as they could do so with safety. They kept up the chase for a considerable time, but when Hannibal drew near the land they were afraid of being wind−bound off the enemy shores, and so they returned to Eudamus with the captured heptere which had been struck in the beginning of the battle, and with some difficulty they succeeded in towing it to Phaselis. From there they sailed back to Rhodes, not so much delighted at their victory as angry with one another because they had not sunk or captured the whole of the hostile fleet, when it was in their power to do so. So deeply did Hannibal feel this one defeat that though he was very anxious to join the king's fleet as soon as he could, he did not venture to sail beyond the coast of Lycia, and to prevent him from being at liberty to do this the Rhodians sent Chariclitus with twenty ships of war to Patara and the harbour of Megiste. Eudamus received instructions to return to the Romans at Samos with seven of the largest vessels out of his fleet and use all the influence he possessed and every argument he could employ to induce the Romans to take Patara.

The news of the victory followed by the appearance of the Rhodians caused much rejoicing amongst the Romans; it was quite evident that if the Rhodians were relieved from that cause of anxiety they would make all the seas in that part of the world safe. But the departure of Antiochus from Sardis and the danger of his seizing the cities on the coast forbade their abandoning the defence of the shores of Ionia and Aeolis. Consequently, they sent Pamphilidas with four ships to reinforce the fleet off Patara. Antiochus had been busy collecting contingents from all the cities round him, and had also sent a letter to Prusias the king of Bithynia. In this despatch he bitterly complained of the Roman expedition to Asia; they had come, he wrote, to deprive them all of their crowns so that there might be no sovereignty but that of the Romans anywhere in the world; Philip and Nabis had been reduced to submission; he, Antiochus, was to be the third victim; like a spreading conflagration they would envelop all, as each lay nearest to the one already overthrown. Now that Eumenes had voluntarily accepted the yoke of servitude, it would be but a step from Antiochus to Bithynia. Prusias was much perturbed by this letter, but any doubts or suspicions which it might have created were set at rest by a letter from the consul and still more so by one from the consul's brother, Africanus. In this letter he showed how it was the uniform practice of the Roman people to enhance the dignity of their royal allies by bestowing every honour upon them, and quoted instances of his own policy in order to persuade Prusias to show himself worthy of his friendship. The chieftains whom he had taken

under his protection in Spain he had left with the title of kings; Masinissa he had established on his throne and on that of Syphax, who had expelled him, as well, and now he was not only by far the most prosperous monarch in Africa, but the peer in greatness and power of any monarch in the world. Philip and Nabis, who had been enemies and whom T. Quinctius had conquered, had still their thrones left them; in the case of Philip even the payment of tribute had been remitted during the past year, his son who had been a hostage was restored to him, and he had been allowed to recapture some cities outside Macedonia without any interference from the Roman generals. Nabis, too, would have retained his honour and dignity had not his own madness and the treachery of the Aetolians proved fatal to him. Such was the tenor of Africanus' communication. What did most to determine the king's attitude was a visit from C. Livius, the late commandant of the fleet. He came on a special mission from Rome and made the king understand how much more certain the prospect of victory was for the Romans than for Antiochus, and how much more inviolable and secure his friendship would be in their eyes than in those of the king.

Now that he had lost all hope of securing Prusias as an ally, Antiochus left Sardis for Ephesus in order to inspect the fleet which had been fitted out and in readiness for several months. It was the impossibility of offering an effective resistance to the Roman army with the two Scipios in command rather than any naval successes in the past or any well−grounded confidence he felt at the time which made him interest himself in his fleet. For the moment, however, there were some things to encourage him. He had learned that a large part of the Rhodian fleet was at Patara and that Eumenes had gone with all his ships to the Hellespont to meet the consul. The destruction of the Rhodian fleet at Samos, as the result of treachery, also did something to raise his spirits. These considerations led him to send Polyxenidas with his fleet to try the chances of battle at all hazards, whilst he himself led his forces to Notium. This place belongs to Colophon and is about two miles distant from it and overlooks the sea. He wanted to get Colophon itself into his power, for it was so near Ephesus that he could take no action by sea or land which was not visible to the people of Colophon who at once informed the Romans. When once the Romans heard that Notium was besieged he felt sure that they would bring up their fleet from Samos to help their ally, and this would give Polyxenidas his opportunity.

Accordingly he commenced the siege of the city in regular form; his lines were extended equally in two directions down to the sea; on both sides he carried the agger and the vineae up to the walls and the battering−rams with their shelters were placed in position. Appalled at these dangers the people of Colophon sent to L. Aemilius at Samos to implore him for his own honour and the honour of Rome to come to their assistance. Aemilius was chafing under his protracted inactivity at Samos, the last thing he was expecting was that Polyxenidas, after being twice challenged by him in vain, would give him an opportunity of fighting. He also felt it a humiliation to be tied and bound to the assistance of besieged Colophon whilst the fleet of Eumenes was helping the consul to transport his legions to Asia. Eudamus, who had kept him at Samos, now with all the other officers urged him to go to Colophon. They pointed out how much more satisfactory it would be to relieve their friends or inflict a second defeat upon a fleet which had been worsted once, and so wrest the command of the sea from the enemy, than it would be if he were to abandon his allies, desert his proper sphere of action by sailing to the Hellespont and so leave Asia at the mercy of Antiochus both by sea and land.

As their stores were all consumed, the Roman fleet left Samos with the intention of sailing to Chios to get supplies. This island was a Roman granary and all the transports from Italy directed their course thither. Coasting round from the city to the opposite side of the island which looks north towards Chios and Erythrae, they were on the point of sailing across when the praetor received a despatch informing him that a large quantity of corn from Italy had reached Chios, but that the vessels laden with wine had been detained by storms. At the same time a report was brought to the effect that the Teians had furnished the king's fleet with liberal supplies and had promised to give them 5000 jars of wine. Aemilius was now half−way across, but he at once diverted his course to Teos with the intention of making use of the provisions prepared for the enemy, with the consent of the townsmen, or if not, prepared to treat them as enemies. As they were steering for the land some fifteen ships came into view off Myonnesus. The praetor thought at first that they were part of the king's fleet and began to pursue them, then it became evident that they were piratical barques and cutters. They had been plundering along the

coast of Chios and were returning with booty of every description. When they saw the fleet they took to flight and owing to their vessels being lighter and built especially for the purpose and also because they were nearer the land, they outsailed their pursuers. Before the Roman fleet got near them they made their escape into the harbour of Myonnesus and the praetor, hoping to force their ships out of the harbour, followed them though he was unacquainted with the locality. Myonnesus stands on a headland between Teos and Samos, the point itself is a conical−shaped hill running up from a fairly broad base into a sharp peak. It is approached from the land side by a narrow path, and shut in from the sea by cliffs, which have been so worn away at their base by the waves that in some places the overhanging rocks project beyond the ships lying at anchor beneath them. The Roman ships did not venture close in lest they should be exposed to attacks from the pirates on the overhanging cliffs, but lay near the enemy through the day. Just before nightfall they abandoned their fruitless task and the next day arrived at Teos. After the ships had been drawn up in the Geraesticum−a harbour behind the city−the praetor sent out his men to plunder the surrounding country.

When the Teians saw this devastation going on before their eyes they sent a deputation, wearing suppliant emblems, to the Roman commander. In reply to their protestations of innocence as to any hostility in either word or deed against the Romans, he charged them with having assisted the enemy with whatever supplies they needed, and told them how much wine they had promised to Polyxenidas, and that if they would furnish the Roman fleet with the same quantity he would recall his soldiers from their raid. On the return of the deputation with this stern reply the townsmen were summoned by the magistrates to an assembly that they might consult as to what they should do. Polyxenidas meantime had heard that the Romans had moved from Samos and, after chasing the pirates to Myonnesus, had anchored their ships in the harbour and were plundering the Teian district. He proceeded with the king's fleet from Colophon and, without betraying his movements, cast anchor at an island opposite Myonnesus−the seafaring men call it Macris−on the very day, as it happened, that the Romans reached Teos.

From his position near the enemy he found out what they were doing, and was at first in great hopes of defeating the Romans by the same maneuver as that by which he had worsted the Rhodian fleet at Samos, namely by blocking the mouth of the harbour. The situation was much the same, the harbour is so shut in by the converging headlands that it is difficult for two ships to come out abreast. Polyxenidas intended to seize these headlands during the night and, after stationing ten ships off each to make a flank attack on the enemy vessels as they came out, he was going to land the troops from the rest of his fleet, as he had done at Panhormus, and overpower the Romans on sea and land alike. His plan would have succeeded but for the movements of the Roman fleet. As the Teians had undertaken to comply with the praetor's requirements it was thought more convenient, for the purpose of taking the supplies on board, to move into the other harbour in front of the city. Eudamus also, it is stated, drew attention to the disadvantages of the first harbour after two ships had smashed their oars by fouling one another in the narrow entrance. A further consideration which weighed with the praetor and induced him to change his moorings, was the danger which threatened him from the land, as Antiochus had his standing camp at no great distance.

When the fleet had been brought round to the city, the sailors and soldiers went ashore to obtain for each ship its share of the provisions, and especially of the wine. Not a single man was aware of the proximity of Polyxenidas. Towards midday a countryman was brought before the praetor, and reported that a fleet had been lying in front of the island of Macris for two days, and that a few hours ago some of the vessels looked as if they were preparing to sail. The praetor was considerably alarmed at this unexpected intelligence, and ordered the trumpeters to sound the assembly, so that those who were dispersed over the fields might come back, whilst the military tribunes were sent into the city to hurry the soldiers and sailors on board. The disorder was just like that caused by an outbreak of fire or the capture of a city: some were running into the city to recall their comrades, others were running out of the city to rejoin their ships, and amidst confused orders, wild shouting, and the braying of the trumpets, there was a general rush to the ships. Hardly anyone could make out his own ship or get near it for the tumult, and the confusion might have been attended with serious danger both on sea and land had it not been for the prompt action of the praetor. Leaving Eudamus to conduct his own operations, Aemilius led the way out of the harbour

into the open sea, and meeting each ship as it came up, assigned its place in the line. Eudamus with his Rhodians remained along shore, in order that they might embark without confusion and each ship sail out as soon as it was ready. Thus the first line was formed under the praetor's eye, the Rhodians brought up the rear, and the combined fleet sailed out to sea in battle formation, as though the enemy were actually in sight. They were between Myonnesus and the point of Corycus when they got their first view of the enemy. The king's fleet, which was advancing in a long column, two ships abreast, also deployed into line and extended its left far enough to be able to envelop the Roman right. When Eudamus saw this, and realised that the Romans could not make their line equal in length to that of the enemy, and that their right would be enveloped, he speeded up his ships, which were by far the swiftest in the whole fleet, and after extending his line as far as the enemy's, placed his own vessel opposite to that of Polyxenidas.

And now both fleets were everywhere in action. On the side of the Romans eighty ships were engaged, twenty−two of which were Rhodian vessels. The enemy fleet numbered eighty−nine, and of the largest classes of ships they had three with six tiers of oars and two with seven. The Romans were far superior in the stoutness of their ships and the bravery of their men; the Rhodians equally had the advantage in the handiness of their vessels, the skill of their helmsmen, and the training and discipline of the oarsmen. But they created the greatest alarm among the enemy by their fire−ships; the one thing which saved them at Panhormus proved here also the most effective means of victory. When the king's ships swerved aside through fear of the flames, they were unable to ram the hostile ships with their beaks, and at the same time laid themselves open to be struck on the side; any ship that did close with another was covered with the fire poured upon it, and they were thrown into greater confusion by the fire than by the actual fighting. Still, as usual, the fighting power of the soldiers was the main factor in the contest. The Romans broke through the enemy's centre, and then working round they attacked from the rear the ships which were engaged with the Rhodians, and in a very short space of time Antiochus' centre and the ships of the left division were being surrounded and sunk. Those on the right, as yet intact, were more alarmed at the defeat of their comrades than at any danger which threatened them. But when they saw their other vessels in the midst of the enemy ships and Polyxenidas deserting his fleet and fleeing with all sails set, they promptly hoisted their topsails, as the wind was favourable for those making for Ephesus, and took to flight, after losing forty−two ships in the battle, thirteen of which fell into the enemy's hands, the rest being either burnt or sunk. Two Roman ships were complete wrecks, several were damaged. One Rhodian vessel was captured through a remarkable accident. On ramming a Sidonian vessel the blow shook the anchor out of the ship on to the prow of the other, which it held with its fluke as though with a grapple. In the confusion which followed the Rhodians backed water to get clear of the enemy, but the anchor chain dragged, and becoming entangled with the oars, swept off all those on one side of the ship. Thus weakened it was captured by the very ship which had been rammed and made fast to it. Such, in its main features, was the sea fight at Myonnesus.

Antiochus was now thoroughly alarmed. Driven from the mastery of the sea, he despaired of being able to defend his distant possessions and, adopting a policy which events subsequently proved to be a mistaken one, he withdrew his garrison from Lysimachia to prevent its being cut off by the Romans. It would not only have been easy to defend Lysimachia against the first attack of the Romans, but the place could have stood a siege through the whole winter and this check would have reduced the besiegers to sore straits for provisions. Meantime there might have been some opportunity for coming to terms and securing peace. Nor was Lysimachia the only place which he gave up to the enemy after his naval defeat; he also raised the siege of Colophon and retired to Sardis. From here he sent to Cappadocia to ask help from Ariarathes, and to every place where he could possibly collect troops. His one fixed object now was to decide matters on the battlefield. After his victory Regillus Aemilius sailed to Ephesus and formed his ships in line before the harbour. When he had thus forced from the enemy a final admission of their renunciation of sea power he sailed to Chios, whither he was directing his course before the naval battle. Here the damaged ships were repaired, and as soon as this work was finished he sent L. Aemilius Scaurus to the Hellespont with thirty ships to convey the army across. By way of an honourable distinction he gave the Rhodians a share of the plunder and also the spoils of the naval battle, and then told them they might go home. Before doing so they took an active part in transporting the consul's troops, and not till this task was completed did they return home. The Roman fleet sailed from Chios to Phocaea. This city lies in the innermost

part of a bay; it is oblong in shape and the walls enclose a space of about two and a half miles, then it narrows on either hand like the sides of a wedge. The apex of the wedge is called Lamptera. Here the town has a breadth of twelve hundred paces and from it a tongue of land stretches seaward like a straight stroke almost through the centre of the bay. Where it approaches the narrow mouth of the bay it forms two excellent and perfectly safe harbours, facing in opposite directions. The one which looks north is called Naustathmon from its affording anchorage for a large number of ships; the other is close to Lamptera.

When the Roman fleet had occupied these perfectly sheltered harbours the praetor thought it advisable, before he laid regular siege to the place, to make overtures to the magistrates and leading men of the city. When he found that they were bent upon resistance he commenced his attack from two different points. One quarter contained but few private buildings, a considerable space being occupied by temples, and he brought up the rams at this part first and began to batter the walls and towers. When the citizens had collected here for its defence the rams were brought up against another section, and now the walls were being laid in ruins in both directions. After they had fallen the Roman soldiers began to fight their way over the ruins, but the townsmen offered such a determined resistance that it was clear they found more help from their arms and courage than from their walls. At length the risk to which his men were exposed compelled the praetor to sound the retire, as he was unwilling to expose them heedlessly to an enemy maddened by despair. Though the actual fighting was put a stop to, the defenders did not even then allow themselves any rest, they assembled from all quarters to repair and strengthen what had been laid in ruins. Q. Antonius, who had been sent by the praetor, appeared amongst them while they were thus engaged, and after censuring their obstinacy pointed out that the Romans were more anxious than they were that the struggle should not end in the destruction of their city; if they were willing to desist from their madness they would have it in their power to surrender on the same terms as they had formerly obtained from C. Livius. On hearing this they asked for a five days' armistice in which to deliberate, and meantime they tried to find out what prospect of help there was from Antiochus. The envoys they had sent to the king brought back word that they must not look for any support from him, and on this they at last opened their gates after stipulating that they should not be treated as enemies. After the praetor had announced his wish that those who had surrendered should be spared, and whilst the standards were being borne into the city, shouts of protest were raised everywhere amongst the troops, who were furious at the Phocaeans, who had never been loyal allies but always bitter enemies, getting off with impunity. At this cry, as though the praetor had given the signal, the men ran off in all directions to sack the city. At first Aemilius tried to stop them and call them back by telling them that it was captured and not surrendered cities that were sacked, and even in the case of these the decision rested with the general, not with the soldiers. When he saw that passion and greed were too strong for his authority, he sent heralds through the city with orders to summon all free men into the forum where they would be safe from injury, and so far as his authority extended he kept his word. He restored to them their city, their lands and their laws, and as winter was now approaching he selected the harbours of Phocaea for the winter quarters of his fleet.

Meantime the consul who had marched through the districts of Aenus and Maronea received intelligence of the defeat of the king's fleet at Myonnesus and the evacuation of Lysimachia. The latter piece of intelligence gave him greater gratification than the former, at all events when they arrived there, for they found the city packed with supplies of every description as though these had been prepared against the arrival of the army, for they had been looking forward to having to endure the extremes of toil and hunger during the siege of their city. The consul remained encamped here for some days to allow time for the baggage to come in and also the sick who, worn out by illness and the length of the march, had been left in all the fortified towns of Thrace. When all had been taken in they resumed their march through the Chersonese and arrived at the Hellespont. Here, thanks to King Eumenes, every preparation had been made for the passage, and they went on board the ships which had been drawn up at the different points and crossed over without hindrance or opposition as though to friendly shores. The Romans had expected this to be the occasion of a severe contest, and they were in high spirits when they found the way to Asia open to them. They remained in camp at the Hellespont for some time, as the holy days during which the Ancilia were borne in procession happened to fall during their march. These days enjoined special religious duties on Publius Scipio as one of the Salii, and kept him apart from the army, consequently their advance was delayed till he rejoined them.

During this interval Heraclides of Byzantium had arrived at the camp with instructions from Antiochus to negotiate a peace. He had been under the impression that when once the Romans had set foot in Asia they would, without a moment's delay, advance against the royal camp, and their remaining by the Hellespont made him very sanguine of obtaining favourable terms. Heraclides, however, decided that he would not approach the consul till he had interviewed P. Scipio, and indeed such were the king's instructions. His hopes rested mainly on him, for Scipio's greatness of soul and the consciousness that he had enough of glory made him most gentle and considerate. All the world, too, knew what he had been when victorious in Spain and in Africa, and there was also the fact that his son had been made a prisoner and was in the king's hands. As to where or when or by what mischance he had been taken prisoner the authorities differ as they do in most other matters. Some assert that it was at the beginning of the war when he was intercepted by the king's ships on his voyage from Chalcis to Oreum; others say that after the landing in Asia he was sent with a troop of Fregellan cavalry to reconnoitre towards the king's camp, and that when a large body of cavalry galloped out to meet him, he retreated and in the confusion fell from his horse and with two other troopers was overpowered, and under these circumstances was brought to the king. It is generally admitted that the youth could not have been treated and courted with greater kindness and generosity even if peace with Rome still prevailed and the personal ties of hospitality between the king and the Scipios had remained unbroken. For these reasons the envoy waited for Scipio to come, and on his arrival he approached the consul and asked him to grant him an audience that he might deliver his instructions.

A full council assembled to hear what he had to say. The purport of his speech was as follows: "Many embassies have passed to and fro on the question of peace, and have been fruitless; I entertain strong hopes of gaining it from the very fact that those negotiators gained nothing. For the difficulty in former discussions was the position of Smyrna, Lampsacus, Alexandra Troas and the European city of Lysimachia. Of these Lysimachia has already been evacuated by the king, so that you cannot say that he holds anything in Europe. He is prepared to give up those which are in Asia, and any others in his dominions which the Romans wish to claim on the ground that they are on the side of Rome. He is also prepared to pay half the cost of the war." These were the proposed conditions of peace. In the rest of his speech he advised the council to remember the uncertainty of human affairs, to make a moderate use of their own good fortune, and not treat the misfortunes of others oppressively. Let them limit their dominion to Europe, even that was an immense empire; it was easier to extend it by single acquisitions than to hold it together in its entirety. If, however, they wanted to annex some part of Asia, provided it was defined by clearly ascertained boundaries, the king would, for the sake of peace and concord, allow his own sense of moderation and equity to give way before the Roman greed for territory. These arguments in favour of peace, which the speaker thought so convincing, the Romans regarded as so much trifling. They considered it only just that the king, who was responsible for starting the war, should bear the whole cost of it, and that his garrisons should be withdrawn, not only from Ionia and Aeolis, but from all the cities in Asia, which should be as free as all the liberated cities in Greece, and this could only be effected if Antiochus surrendered all his Asiatic possessions west of the Taurus range.

The envoy came to the conclusion that, as far as the council was concerned, he was not obtaining any reasonable terms, and in accordance with his instructions he tried what he could do with Scipio in a private interview. He began by telling him that the king would restore his son without ransom, and then, ignorant alike of Scipio's character and Roman usage, he held out to him the offer of an enormous bribe if he obtained peace through his instrumentality, and also a full share in the sovereign power, with the sole exception of the royal title. Scipio replied: "Your ignorance of the Romans as a whole, and of me in particular to whom you have been sent, is the less surprising when I see that you are ignorant of the situation of the man from whom you have come. You ought to have held Lysimachia to prevent our entering the Chersonese, or else you ought to have opposed us at the Hellespont to prevent our passing into Asia, if you intended to ask for peace from us as from those who were anxious about the issue of the war. But now that you have left the passage into Asia open and have accepted not only the bit but the yoke as well, what room is there for any discussion on equal terms, since you will have to submit to our sovereignty? I shall look upon my son as the greatest gift which the king's generosity could bestow; as to his other offers, I pray heaven my circumstances may never be in need of them, my mind at all events never will. In my public capacity as representing the State I will neither take anything from him nor give him anything.

What I can give now is sincere advice. Go and tell him in my name to abandon hostilities and accept any terms of peace that may be offered." These words did not influence the king in the least, he regarded his chances in war as quite safe, and this too at the very time when terms were proposed to him as though he were already vanquished. For the present, therefore, he dropped all mention of peace, and devoted all his care to preparing for war.

The preparations for carrying out his plans being now completed, the consul broke up his camp and advanced to Dardanus and then on to Rhoeteum, the inhabitants of both cities coming out to meet him. He then marched to Ilium, and after fixing his camp in the plain below the walls, he went up to the citadel, where he offered sacrifices to Minerva, the tutelary deity of the place. The Ilians did their utmost to show by their words and deeds the pride they felt in the Romans as their descendants, and the Romans were delighted at visiting their original home. A six days' march from there brought them to the source of the Caicus. Here Eumenes joined them. He had intended to take his fleet back from the Hellespont into winter quarters at Elea, but the wind was against him, and for several days he was unable to round the Cape of Lectos. Anxious not to miss the opening of the campaign he landed at the nearest point, and with a small body of troops hurried on to the Roman camp. Here he was sent back to Pergamum to expedite the delivery of supplies and, after seeing the corn handed over to those appointed by the consul to receive it, returned to the camp. The king's camp was near Thyatira. When he heard that Scipio was detained at Elea by illness he sent some of his officers to escort his son back to him. The boon was not only grateful to the father's feelings, but it helped also towards his recovery. After embracing his son to his heart's content, he said to the escort: "Take back word that I thank the king; I cannot now show my gratitude in any other way than by advising him not to go down to battle before he learns that I have returned to camp." Although his 60,000 infantry and 12,000 or more cavalry made the king hope at times for success in the battle, Antiochus was swayed by the authority of the man on whom, in view of the doubtful issue of the war, he had rested all his hopes of support, whatever might betide him. Withdrawing beyond the river Phrygius he encamped in the neighbourhood of Magnesia ad Sipylum, and in case the Romans should attempt to force his lines while he was waiting, he surrounded his camp with a fosse six cubits deep and twelve wide, and outside the fosse he threw up a double rampart, on the inner edge he constructed a wall flanked at short intervals with turrets, from which the enemy could be easily prevented from crossing the fosse.

The consul was under the impression that the king was at Thyatira, and he marched for five successive days till he came down into the Hyrcanian plain. When he heard that Antiochus had moved from there he followed in his track, and encamped on the western bank of the Phrygius at a distance of four miles from the enemy. Here a force of about 1000 cavalry mostly Gallograeci, together with some Dahae and mounted archers from other tribes, made a tumultuous rush across the river and charged the Roman advanced posts. At first, as they were unprepared, there was some confusion, but as the battle went on and the numbers of the Romans grew with the reinforcements from the camp close by, the king's troops, wearied and outnumbered, endeavoured to effect their retreat across the river. Before they entered the stream, however, a considerable number were killed by their adversaries, who were in close pursuit. For the next two days all was quiet, neither side making any attempt to cross the river. On the third day the whole of the Roman army crossed in a body, and formed camp about two and a half miles from the enemy. Whilst they were measuring out the area of the camp and busy entrenching it, considerable alarm and confusion were created by the approach of a picked force of 3000 infantry and cavalry. Those forming the advanced guard were much fewer in number, but they maintained a steady resistance by themselves, not a single soldier being called away from the working−parties in the camp, and as the fighting progressed they repulsed the enemy, after killing 100 of them and taking 100 prisoners. For the next four days both armies stood in front of their ramparts drawn up for battle; on the fifth day the Romans advanced into the middle of the plain, but Antiochus made no forward movement, his front lines remained in position less than a mile from their rampart.

When the consul saw that he declined to give battle, he summoned a council of war for the next day to decide what he was to do if Antiochus did not give them the opportunity of fighting. Winter, he said, was coming on; either he would have to keep the soldiers in their tents or else, if he wished to go into winter quarters, operations would have to be suspended till the summer. For none of their enemies did the Romans ever feel greater

contempt. From all sides they called upon him to lead them out to battle and to take full advantage of the ardour of the soldiers. If the enemy would not come out, they were ready to charge over the fosses and rampart and rush the camp, for it was not as though they had to fight with so many thousands of men, but rather to slaughter so many thousands of cattle. Cn. Domitius was sent to reconnoitre the ground and find out at what point the enemy's rampart could be best approached, and after he had brought definite and complete information it was decided to move the camp on the morrow nearer the enemy. On the third day the standards were advanced into the middle of the plain and the line formed. Antiochus, on his side, felt that he ought not to hesitate any longer lest he should depress the spirits of his own men and raise the hopes of the enemy by declining battle. He led his forces out just far enough from his camp to make it appear that he intended to fight.

The Roman army was practically uniform as regards both the men and their equipment; there were two Roman legions and two of Latins and allies, each containing 5000 men. The Romans occupied the centre, the Latins the wings. The standards of the hastati were in front, then came those of the principes, and last of all the triarii. Beyond these, whom we may call the regulars, the consul drew up on his right, level with them, the auxiliary troops of Eumenes who were incorporated with the Achaean caetrati, amounting to about 3000 men; beyond them again were stationed nearly 3000 cavalry, 800 of which were furnished by Eumenes, the rest being Romans. Outside these were posted the Trallian and Cretan horse, each body numbering 500 troopers. The left wing was not considered to need so much support as it rested on the river and was protected by the precipitous banks; four squadrons of cavalry, however, were lined up at that end. This was the total strength which the Romans brought into the field. In addition to these, however, there was a mixed force of Macedonians and Thracians, 2000 in all, who had followed as volunteers; they were left to guard the camp. The sixteen elephants were placed in reserve behind the triarii; they could not possibly stand against the king's elephants, of which there were fifty−four, and the African elephants are no match for the Indian elephants even when the numbers are equal, for the latter are much larger and fight with more determination.

The king's army was a motley force drawn from many nations and presented the greatest dissimilarity both in the men and their equipment. There were 16,000 infantry in the Macedonian fashion. known as the "phalanx." These formed the centre, and their front consisted of ten divisions; between each division stood two elephants. They were thirty−two ranks deep. This was the main strength of the king's army and it presented a most formidable appearance, especially with the elephants towering high above the men. The effect was heightened by the frontlets and crests on the animals, and the towers on their backs on which stood the drivers, each accompanied by four soldiers. On the right of the phalanx Antiochus stationed 1500 Gallograeci infantry, and with them were linked up 3000 cavalry, clad in mail armour and known as "cataphracti." These were supported by the "agema," another body of cavalry numbering about 1000; they were a select force, consisting of Medes and men drawn from many tribes in that part of the world. Behind these in support were sixteen elephants. The line was continued by the royal cohort called "argyraspides" from the kind of shield they carried. Then came the Dahae, mounted archers, 1200 strong; then 3ooo light infantry, half of them Cretans and half Tralles. Beyond these again were 2500 Mysian bowmen, and at the end of the line a mixed force of Cyrtian slingers and Elymaean archers.

On the left of the phalanx were 1500 Gallograeci infantry and 2000 Cappadocian, similarly armed and sent by Ariarathes, next to whom were posted a miscellaneous force numbering 2700. Then came 3000 cataphracti and the king's personal cavalry, 1000 strong, with somewhat slighter protection for themselves and their horses, but otherwise closely resembling the cataphracti, made up mostly of Syrians with an admixture of Phrygians and Lydians. In front of this mass of cavalry were scythe chariots and the camels which they call dromedaries. Seated on these were Arabian archers provided with narrow swords four cubits long so that they could reach the enemy from the height on which they were perched. Beyond them again a mass of troops corresponding to those on the right wing, first Tarentines, then 2500 Gallograeci cavalry, 1000 newly enlisted Cretans, 1500 Carians and Cilicians similarly armed, and the same number of Tralles. Then came 4000 caetrati, Pisidians, Pamphylians and Lydians, next to these Cyrtian and Elymaean troops equal in number to those on the right wing, and finally sixteen elephants a short distance away.

The king commanded the right in person, the left he placed in charge of his son Seleucus and his nephew Antipater. The centre was entrusted to three commanders, Minnio, Zeuxis and Philip; the latter was the master of the elephants. The morning haze, which as the day advanced lifted into clouds, obscured the atmosphere, and then a drizzling rain coming with the south wind wetted everything. This did not inconvenience the Romans much, but it was a serious disadvantage to the king's troops. As the Roman line was of only moderate length, the indistinctness of the light did not obstruct the view over the whole of it, and as it consisted almost entirely of heavy−armed troops, the fine rain had no effect on their weapons which were swords and javelins. The king's line, on the other hand, was of such an enormous length that it was impossible to see the wings from the centre, let alone the fact that the extremes of the line were out of sight of each other, and the wetting mist relaxed their bows and slings and the thongs of their missile spears. Antiochus trusted to his scythe chariots to throw the enemy ranks into utter confusion, but they only turned the danger against their own side. These chariots were armed in the following manner: On either side of the pole where the yoke−bar was fastened spikes were fixed which projected forward like horns, ten cubits long, so as to pierce anything that came in their way, and at each end of the yoke−bar two scythes projected, one on a level with the bar so as to cut off sideways anything it came against, the other turned towards the ground to catch those lying down or trying to get under it. Similarly two scythes pointing in opposite directions to each end of the axis of the wheels.

The chariots thus armed were stationed, as I have already said, in front of the line for had they been in the rear or the centre they must have been driven through their own men. When he saw this, Eumenes, who was quite familiar with their mode of fighting, and knew how much their assistance would be worth when once the horses were terrified, ordered the Cretan archers, the slingers and javelin men, in conjunction with some troops of cavalry, to run forward, not in close order but as loosely as possible, and discharge their missiles simultaneously from every side. What with the wounds inflicted by the missiles and the wild shouts of the assailants, this tempestuous onslaught so scared the horses that they started to gallop wildly about the field as though without bit or bridle. The light infantry and slingers and the active Cretans easily avoided them when they dashed towards them, and the cavalry increased the confusion and panic by affrighting the horses and even the camels, and to this was added the shouts of those who had not gone into action. The chariots were driven off the field, and now that this silly show was got rid of the signal was given, and both sides closed in a regular battle.

These useless shams, however, were soon to prove the cause of a real disaster. The auxiliary troops who were posted in reserve next to them were so demoralised by the panic and confusion of the chariots that they took to flight and exposed the whole line as far as the cataphracti. Now that the reserves were broken the Roman horse made a charge against these, and many of them did not await even the first shock, some were routed, others owing to the weight of their mail armour were caught and killed. Then the remainder of the left wing entirely gave way, and when the auxiliaries who were stationed between the cavalry and the phalanx were thrown into disorder the demoralisation reached the centre. Here the ranks were broken and they were prevented from using their extraordinarily long spears−the Macedonians call them "sarisae"−by their own comrades who ran back for shelter amongst them. Whilst they were in this disorder the Romans advanced against them and discharged their javelins. Even the elephants posted between the divisions of the phalanx did not deter them, accustomed as they were in the African wars to evade the charge of the beast and attack its sides with their javelins or, if they could get nearer to it, hamstring it with their swords. The centre front was now almost entirely beaten down and the reserves, having been outflanked, were being cut down from the rear. At this juncture the Romans heard in another part of the field the cries of their own men in flight, almost at the very gates of their camp. Antiochus from his position on his right wing had noticed that the Romans, trusting to the protection of the river, had only four squadrons of cavalry in position there, and these, keeping in touch with their infantry. had left the bank of the river exposed. He attacked this part of the line with his auxiliaries and cataphracti, and not only forced back their front, but wheeling round along the river, pressed on their flank until the cavalry were put to flight and the infantry, who were next to them, were driven with them in headlong flight to their camp.

The camp was in charge of a military tribune, M. Aemilius, son of the M. Lepidus who a few years later was made Pontifex Maximus. When he saw the fugitives coming towards the camp he met them with the whole of the

camp guard and ordered them to stop, then, reproving them sharply for their cowardly and disgraceful flight, he insisted on their returning to the battle and warned them that if they did not obey him they would rush blindly on to their ruin. Finally he gave his own men the order to cut down those who first came up and drive the crowd which followed them back against the enemy with their swords. The greater fear overcame the less. The danger which threatened them on either hand brought them to a halt, then they went back to the fighting. Aemilius with his camp guard−there were 2000 of them, brave soldiers−offered a firm resistance to the king who was in eager pursuit, and Attalus, who was on the Roman right where the enemy had been put to flight at the first onset, seeing the plight of his men and the tumult round the camp, came up at the moment with 200 cavalry. When Antiochus found that the men whose backs he had seen just before were now resuming the struggle, and that another mass of soldiery was collecting from the camp and from the field, he turned his horse's head and fled. Thus the Romans were victorious on both wings. Making their way through the heaps of dead which were lying most thickly in the centre, where the courage of the enemy's finest troops and the weight of their armour alike prevented flight, they went on to plunder the camp. The cavalry of Eumenes led the way, followed by the rest of the mounted troops, in pursuing the enemy over the whole plain and killing the hindmost as they came up to them. Still more havoc was wrought among the fugitives by the chariots and elephants and camels which were mixed up with them; they were not only trampled to death by the animals, but having lost all formation they stumbled like blind men over one another. There was a frightful carnage in the camp, almost more than in the battle. The first fugitives fled mostly in this direction and the camp guard, trusting to their support, fought all the more determinedly in front of their lines. The Romans, who expected to take the gates and the rampart, were held up here for some time, and when at last they did break through the defence they inflicted in their rage all the heavier slaughter.

It is stated that 50,000 infantry were killed on that day and 3000 of the cavalry; 1500 were made prisoners and 15 elephants captured with their drivers. Many of the Romans were wounded, but there actually fell not more than 300 infantry, 24 cavalry and 25 of the army of Eumenes. After plundering the enemy's camp the Romans returned to their own with a large amount of booty; the next day they despoiled the bodies of those killed and collected the prisoners. Delegates came from Thyatira and Magnesia ad Sipylum to make the surrender of their cities. Antiochus, accompanied in his flight from the field by a small number of his men, and joined by more on the road, arrived at Sardis about midnight with a fairly numerous body of troops. On learning that his son Seleucus with some of his friends had gone as far as Apamea, he too, with his wife and daughter, started for the same city, after handing over the defence of Sardis to Xenon and appointing Timon governor of Lydia. The townsmen and the soldiers in the citadel ignored their authority and mutually agreed to send delegates to the consul.

Almost simultaneously with these delegates others came in from Tralles, Magnesia on the Maeander and Ephesus to offer the surrender of their cities. Polyxenidas, on getting news of the battle, had left Ephesus and taken his fleet as far as Patara in Lycia, but apprehending an attack from the Rhodian squadron which was lying off Megiste, he went ashore and made his way overland with a small contingent into Syria. The cities of Asia Minor placed themselves under the protection of the consul and the dominion of Rome. The consul was now at Ephesus and Publius Scipio went there from Elea as soon as he was able to bear the fatigue of travelling. Shortly before this a herald from Antiochus arrived who, through the good offices of Publius Scipio, obtained the consent of the consul to negotiations for peace being opened on the part of the king. A few days later Zeuxis, who had been governor of Lydia, and Antipater, the king's nephew, also arrived. They first had an interview with Eumenes, who they supposed would be the strongest opponent of peace owing to his long−standing quarrels with the king, but found him in a more conciliatory mood than either they or Antiochus had hoped for. They next approached Scipio and through him the consul. At their request a full meeting of the council of war was held for them to publish their instructions. Zeuxis spoke first. "We have not so much," he said, "to speak on our own behalf as to ask you, Romans, in what way we can atone for our king's error and obtain peace and forgiveness from you, his conquerors. You have ever shown the greatest magnanimity in pardoning the kings you have conquered. With how much greater magnanimity ought you to act in this hour of victory which has made you masters of the world! It behoves you now to lay aside contention with all men and be like the gods, the protectors and fosterers of the whole human race."

It had been decided before the envoys came what reply should be given them. Scipio Africanus was the spokesman, and is reported to have expressed himself to the following effect: "Out of all those things which are in the power of the immortal gods we have these which they have vouchsafed to give us. Our self−control and moderation, which depend upon strength of mind, we have kept unchanged in every turn of fortune, and we keep them so today; prosperity has not elated them, adversity has not depressed them. To mention no other instance, I would offer you Hannibal as a proof of this if I could not adduce you yourselves as an example. After we had crossed the Hellespont, before we saw the king's camp, before we saw his army, whilst the contest was still undecided and the issue of the war uncertain, we laid before you when you came to treat of peace, conditions as between equal powers. Now that we are victors we offer the same conditions to you whom we have vanquished. Keep clear of Europe; evacuate the whole of that part of Asia which lies on this side the Taurus. For the expenses incurred in the war you will give us 15,000 Euboean talents, 500 down and 2500 as soon as the senate and people of Rome have confirmed the peace, and then 1000 annually for twelve years. It is also our will that 400 talents be paid to Eumenes and the rest of the corn which was due to his father. When we have agreed on these conditions, it will be some guarantee to us that you will carry them out if you give us twenty hostages to be selected by us. But we shall never feel certain that there will be peace with Rome wherever Hannibal is, and before all else we demand his surrender. You will also give up Thoas the Aetolian, the prime mover in the Aetolian war, who instigated you to take up arms against us in reliance on them, and made them do the same in reliance on you. With him you will hand over Mnasilochus the Acarnanian, and the Chalcidians, Philo and Eubulidas. The king will make peace when his fortunes are at a lower ebb, because he is making it later than he should have done. If he hesitates now, let him know that it is not so easy for the pride of monarchs to be brought down from the summit of greatness to a moderate position as it is for it to be hurled from that stage to the lowest depths." The envoys had been instructed by the king to accept any terms. Arrangements were accordingly made for the despatch of delegates to Rome. The consul distributed his army in winter quarters at Magnesia on the Maeander, at Tralles and at Ephesus. A few days later the hostages from the king were brought to the consul at Ephesus, and the envoys arrived who were to go to Rome. Eumenes left for Rome at the same time as the envoys, and they were followed by delegations from all the communities in Asia.

While these events were occurring in Asia two of the proconsuls returned to Rome−Q. Minucius from Liguria and Manius Acilius from Aetolia. They both expected to enjoy a triumph, but when the senate had heard their account of what they had done, they refused the request of Minucius and unanimously granted a triumph to Acilius, and he rode into the City in celebration of his victory over Antiochus and the Aetolians. There were carried in the procession 230 of the enemy's standards, 3000 pounds of uncoined silver, 113,000 Attic tetrachmi, 249,000 cistophori, and numerous heavy vases of embossed silver, as well as the silver household furniture and magnificent apparel which had belonged to the king. There were also 45 golden crowns presented by various allied cities, and a mass of spoils of every description; 36 prisoners of high rank, the generals of Antiochus and the Aetolians, were also led in the conqueror's train. Damocritus, the Aetolian leader, had escaped from prison a few nights previously, and the guards chased him to the bank of the Tiber, where he stabbed himself before they could catch him. One thing was lacking−soldiers to follow the commander's chariot. In every other respect it was magnificent, both as a spectacle and as the celebration of a splendid victory.

These triumphal rejoicings were marred by gloomy news from Spain. Six thousand men of the Roman army, under the command of the proconsul L. Aemilius, had fallen in an unsuccessful battle against the Lusitanians near the town of Lyco; the survivors fled to their camp, which they had difficulty in defending, and finally retreated by forced marches, as though fleeing from the enemy, into friendly territory. Such was the report received from Spain. A deputation arrived from Placentia and Cremona in Gaul, and were introduced to the senate by L. Aurunculeius. They complained of the scarcity of men; some had been carried off by the casualties of war, others by illness, and some had left owing to the annoyance from the Gauls in their neighbourhood. The senate decreed that the consul C. Laelius should, if he approved, draw up a list of 6000 families to be distributed between the two colonies, and L. Aurunculeius was to nominate the commissioners for settling the new colonists. Those nominated were M. Atilius Serranus, L. Valerius, P. F. Flaccus, L. Valerius and C. F. Tappo.

Not long afterwards, as the date of the consular elections was approaching, the consul C. Laelius returned from Gaul. In pursuance of the decree which the senate had made before his arrival, he enrolled colonists to reinforce the population of Cremona and Placentia, and he also brought forward a proposal which the senate adopted for founding two new colonies on land which had belonged to the Boii. A despatch was received at this time from L. Aemilius giving an account of the naval battle at Myonnesus, and stating that L. Scipio had transported his army into Asia. A day of thanksgiving was ordered for the naval victory, and on the following day thanksgivings and prayers that the encampment of the Roman army for the first time on the soil of Asia might bring success and happiness to the Republic. The consul received instructions to sacrifice each day twenty full−grown victims. A keen struggle arose over the consular elections. M. Aemilius Lepidus was a candidate, but he was everywhere unpopular, owing to his having left his province of Sicily in order to pursue his candidature without consulting the senate as to whether he might do so. The other competitors were M. Fulvius Nobilior, Cn. Manlius Volso and M. Valerius Messala. Fulvius was the only one elected, none of the others secured the requisite majority of votes. Fulvius, on the following day, co−opted Cn. Manlius; he had succeeded in getting Lepidus defeated, and Messala was at the bottom of the poll. The new praetors were two Fabii−Labeo and Pictor, the latter had been consecrated a Flamen Quirinalis that year−M. Sempronius Tuditanus, Sp. Postumius Albinus, L. Plautius Hypsaeus and L. Baebius Dives.

After the new consuls had assumed office a rumour−so Valerius Antias tells us−gained wide currency in Rome to the effect that the two Scipios−Lucius and Africanus−had been invited to meet Antiochus for the purpose of receiving back the young Scipio, and that they were arrested, the king's army at once led against the Roman camp, which was captured, and the entire Roman force wiped out. It was further stated that the Aetolians gained fresh courage from this, and refused to carry out the commands laid upon them; their leaders went to Macedonia, Dardania and Thrace to raise a force of mercenaries. Valerius goes on to say that it was reported that A. Terentius Varro and M. Claudius Lepidus were sent by the propraetor A. Cornelius from Achaia to carry this news to Rome. He supplements this tale by informing us that on their appearance before the senate the Aetolians were questioned on this among other matters, and asked from whom they had heard that the Roman commanders were made prisoners by Antiochus and their army destroyed, and that they stated in reply that they had been so informed by their envoys, who were with the consul. I have no other authority for this story, and whilst in my opinion it lacks confirmation, I have not passed it over as entirely groundless.

Upon the appearance of the Aetolians before the senate, their own interest and the situation in which they were placed demanded that they should make a full admission of guilt and a humble request for pardon, whether for their error or their crime. Instead of this they began by recounting the services they had rendered to the Roman people and contrasting the courage they had themselves shown in fighting against Philip with that of the Romans. This insolence offended the ears of their audience, and their raking up old and forgotten incidents reminded the senators how much more they had done to injure Rome than to benefit her. Thus the men who needed compassion only evoked irritation and anger. They were asked by one senator whether they would place themselves at the disposal of the Roman people, by another whether they would have the same friends and enemies as Rome, and on their making no reply they were ordered to leave the House. The senate were unanimous in insisting that as the Aetolians were still entirely on the side of Antiochus and their aggressive temper depended solely on their hopes of him, they were unmistakably enemies to Rome, and, as such, war must be waged against them and their defiant spirit crushed. What made them still more angry was the duplicity of the Aetolians in suing for peace whilst they were actually carrying war into Dolopia and Athamania. Manius Acilius, the conqueror of Antiochus and the Aetolians, proposed a resolution which the senate adopted, namely that the envoys should be ordered to quit the City that day and to leave Italy within a fortnight. A. Terentius Varro was sent to escort them on the road, and they were warned that if any Aetolian delegates went to Rome except with the permission of the Roman commander and accompanied by a Roman officer, they would be treated as enemies. With this warning they were dismissed.

The consuls now brought before the senate the allocation of provinces. It was decided that they should ballot for Aetolia and Asia. The one to whom Asia fell was to take over L. Scipio's army together with reinforcements

amounting to 4000 Roman infantry and 200 cavalry and 8000 infantry with 400 cavalry furnished by the Latins and allies. With this force he was to conduct the war with Antiochus. The other consul was to take over the army in Aetolia, and he was commissioned to raise reinforcements in the same number and proportion as his colleague. He was also required to fit out and take with him the ships which had been got ready the year before, and not to confine his operations to Aetolia, but to sail across to the island of Cephalania. He was further requested to go to Rome for the elections, if he could do so consistently with the interests of the State, for in addition to the appointment of the annual magistrates it was resolved that censors also should be chosen. If circumstances prevented his leaving his post, he was to inform the senate that he could not be present at that time. Aetolia fell to M. Fulvius and Asia to Cn. Manlius. The praetors' ballot followed. Sp. Postumius Albinus received the civic and alien jurisdiction; M. Sempronius Tuditanus, Sicily; Q. Fabius Pictor−the Flamen Quirinalis−obtained Sardinia; Q. Fabius Labeo was assigned the naval command; Hither Spain fell to L. Plautius Hypsaeus, and Further Spain to L. Baebius Dives. It was decreed that one legion and the fleet which was in the province at the time should be allotted to Sicily, and also that the new praetor should order the Sicilians to supply two−tenths of their corn, one−tenth to be sent into Asia, the other into Aetolia. The same requisition was made on Sardinia, and that corn was to be sent to the same armies as the Sicilian supply. L. Baebius in Spain received reinforcements to the extent of 1000 infantry and 500 cavalry, as well as 6000 infantry and 200 cavalry from the Latins and allies, so that each of the Spanish provinces might have one legion in full strength. Amongst the magistrates of the previous year, C. Laelius retained his province and his army for another year, as did also P. Junius in Etruria and M. Tuccius in Bruttium and Apulia.

Before the praetors left for their provinces a dispute arose between P. Licinius, the Pontifex Maximus, and the Flamen Quirinalis, Q. Fabius Pictor. There had been a similar dispute many years previously between L. Metellus and Postumius Albinus. Metellus was Pontifex Maximus at the time, and had prevented Albinus, the newly elected consul, from accompanying his colleague to the fleet at Sicily. On the present occasion, P. Licinius had detained the praetor from going to Sardinia and kept him at his sacred duties. The question was hotly debated both in the senate and in the Assembly, orders were made on both sides, sureties accepted, fines imposed, the authority of the tribunes invoked and appeals laid before the Assembly. At last the claims of religion prevailed and the Flamen was ordered to obey the Pontiff's direction; the fine imposed upon him was remitted by order of the people. The praetor was very angry at losing his province and wanted to resign his office, but the senate exerted their authority to prevent this and decreed that he should exercise the jurisdiction over aliens. The levies were now completed in a few days, for there were not many men to be called up, and the praetors left for their provinces. Unauthorised rumours began to spread through Rome about the events in Asia, and a few days later definite information and a despatch from the commander−in−chief reached the City. The rejoicing at their arrival was not due to the relief from present anxieties−for they had nothing to fear as to what the vanquished king could do in Aetolia−so much as to his having lost his former prestige; for when they began the war they looked upon their enemy as formidable both through his own power and through his having Hannibal to direct the campaign. They adhered, however, to their decision to send the consul into Asia, and thought it wise to maintain the present strength of their forces, in view of the probability of a war with the Gauls.

Shortly after this L. Scipio's lieutenant, M. Aurelius Cotta, accompanied by the deputation from Antiochus, arrived in Rome. as did also Eumenes and the Rhodians. Cotta made his report of the proceedings in Asia to the senate, and they ordered him to lay it before the Assembly. A three days' thanksgiving was proclaimed and orders were given for forty full−grown victims to be sacrificed. Then Eumenes was received in audience. He began with a few words of thanks to the senate for having delivered him and his brother from a state of siege and rescuing his realm from the attacks of Antiochus. He went on to congratulate them upon their successes by sea and land and their expulsion of Antiochus, after he had been routed and driven out of his camp, first from Europe and then from the whole of Asia on this side the Taurus. What services he himself had rendered he preferred that they should learn from their own commanders rather than from him. His words were listened to with universal approval, and the senators urged him to lay aside all modest reserve and tell them frankly what he considered would be a fitting return from the senate and people of Rome; the senate, he was assured, would be more ready to do what his services merited than he could either ask or expect. To this the king replied that if the choice of

rewards were left to him he would, now that he had the privilege of consulting the Roman senate, gladly avail himself of the advice of the highest order in the State, so that his desires might not be thought extravagant or his requests lacking in modesty. As, however, it was they who were to be the givers, he thought it much more fitting that they should themselves determine the extent of their munificence towards his brothers and himself. Notwithstanding this protest the senators continued to press him to state his wishes. This friendly contest lasted some time, the senate ready to grant whatever the king asked for, and the king maintaining a modest reserve, each leaving the decision to the other and animated by a courtesy in which neither party would be outdone. As no definite conclusion was reached the king at last left the House, but the senators adhered to their opinion that it was absurd to suppose that the king should not know what expectations he entertained or what requests he had come to make. He knew best what would be most advantageous to his dominions, he was much more familiar with Asia than the senate were; he must therefore be recalled and forced to express his real sentiments and wishes.

The king was brought back into the senate house by the praetor and requested to speak his mind. "I should," he began, "have persisted in my silence, senators, had it not been that you will presently call in the delegates from Rhodes, and after they had been heard it would have been necessary for me to speak. It will be all the more difficult for me to say what I have to say, because their demands will apparently not be in any way opposed to my interests or in any way affect you. They will plead the cause of the city−states of Greece and will say that they ought to be declared free. If they gain their point, who can doubt that they will sever from us not only those cities which will be declared free, but also those which from ancient times have been tributary to us, and after placing them all under obligation for so great a kindness will hold them nominally as allies but really as subjects, wholly under their dominion? And while they grasp at this immense power they will pretend that it does not in any way concern their interests, and that you are only doing what is right and proper and consistent with your policy in the past. Do not let these professions deceive you, you will have to be on your guard, lest you not only lower the status of some of your allies and raise unduly that of others, but also place those who have borne arms against you in a better position than those who have been your allies and friends. As regards myself, I would rather be thought by anyone to have yielded within the limits of my rights, so far as other things are concerned, than to have shown excessive obstinacy in maintaining them; but when it is a question of being worthy of your friendship, of giving you every proof of affection and goodwill, of upholding the honour which comes from you−in such a contest I cannot resign myself to defeat. This is the most precious inheritance I have received from my father. He was the first of all who dwell in Greece or Asia to be admitted to your friendship, and he preserved it with unbroken and unchanging loyalty to the end of his life. Nor was it only in heart that he was a good and faithful friend. He took his part in all the wars that you have waged in Greece, he assisted you by sea and land and provided you with supplies of all kinds to an extent beyond anything which your other allies have done. And at last, whilst he was seeking to persuade the Boeotians to accept your alliance, he became unconscious in the middle of his speech, and shortly afterwards expired. Treading as I have done in his footsteps, I could not have shown in any way greater goodwill or a stronger desire to cherish your favour than he did, for those indeed were unsurpassable. That I have been able to go further than he did in actual achievement, in services rendered, in the sacrifices which duty imposes, is due to the opportunities afforded by the circumstances of the time, by Antiochus and your war in Asia. Antiochus, when monarch of Asia and a part of Europe, offered to give me his daughter in marriage and to restore at once the cities which had revolted from us, and he also held out great hopes of enlarging my dominions in the future if I would join him in fighting against you.

"I will not pride myself on never having been false to you; I would rather dwell upon those things in which I showed myself worthy of the friendship which has existed from very ancient times between you and my dynasty. I assisted your commanders with my military and naval forces in a way in which none of your allies can be compared with me; I supplied your commissariat both by land and sea; I took part in every one of the sea fights which occurred in so many different places; I never spared myself in toil or danger; I experienced what brings the worst suffering in war−a siege, and was shut up in Pergamum with my life and realm in imminent danger. After I had been relieved, in spite of the fact that Antiochus on the one side and Seleucus on the other were threatening the citadel and heart of my kingdom, I left my own interests to protect themselves and went with the whole of my fleet to the Hellespont to meet your consul, L. Scipio, and assist in transporting his army. When once your army

had landed in Asia I never left the consul's side. No Roman soldier was more regularly in his place in the camp than I and my brothers were; there was no expedition, no cavalry action, in which I was not present; I took my place in the battle line and held the post which the consul assigned to me.

"I shall not ask, senators, who, in respect of services rendered in this war, can be compared with me; there is none out of all the peoples or monarchs whom you hold in high honour with whom I would not dare to compare myself. Masinissa was your enemy before he was your ally, nor was he friendly to you while his crown was safe and he could have given you military help, but when he was a homeless fugitive and all his forces were lost he sought refuge in your camp with a solitary troop of cavalry. And yet, because he stood by you loyally and effectively against Syphax and the Carthaginians, you have not only restored to him his kingdom, but by adding the richest part of the dominions of Syphax to it you have made him the most powerful of African kings. What reward or honour then do we seem in your eyes to deserve, we who have never been your enemies, but always your friends? Not only in Asia have my father, my brothers and myself taken up arms on your behalf, but far from home in the Peloponnesus, in Boeotia, in Aetolia, in the wars with Philip and Antiochus and the Aetolians, on sea as well as on land. Someone will say, 'What, then, do you ask for?' As you insist, senators, upon my speaking freely, I must comply. If, then, your intention in removing Antiochus beyond the Taurus range is that you may hold those lands yourselves, I would rather have you than any others as my neighbours, nor do I see how my kingdom could be more secure or less liable to disturbance under any other arrangement. But if you purpose to retire and withdraw your armies from those parts, I would venture to suggest that there is none of your allies more worthy to occupy the territories you have conquered than myself. But I may be told it is a splendid thing to liberate cities from servitude. I think so too, if they have done nothing hostile to you. But if they have taken part with Antiochus, how much more worthy of your wisdom and justice is it to study the interest of allies who have done you good, rather than the interest of your foes."

The king's speech gave great pleasure to the senators, and it was easy to see that they were prepared to do everything in a generous and ungrudging spirit. As one of the Rhodian envoys was absent, the delegation from Smyrna was introduced, and they were highly commended for having chosen to endure every extremity rather than give themselves up to Antiochus. Then the Rhodians were received in audience. Their spokesman commenced by stating how their friendship with the Roman people began and what services they had rendered, first in the war with Philip and then in that with Antiochus. He continued: "Nothing in the whole conduct of our case, senators, is more difficult or painful than our having to enter into controversy with King Eumenes. We are bound to him more than to any other monarch by personal and (what we feel most) political ties of hospitality. It is not, however, our own feelings but nature itself which sets us at variance; we, free ourselves, are pleading for the liberty of others, but kings will have all subservient and submissive to their rule. But however this may be, we find ourselves more embarrassed by respect and regard for the king than by any difficulty in stating our case, or any likelihood of involving you in a perplexed discussion. For if you could not honour and reward a monarch who is your friend and ally, and has done you good service in this very war, otherwise than by giving up free cities to a state of servitude under him, you would have to choose one of two alternatives. Either you would have to send away a friendly monarch unhonoured and unrewarded, or you would have to depart from your settled policy and sully the glory you have acquired in the war with Philip by enslaving so many cities. But your good fortune entirely releases you from the necessity of either stinting your gratitude to a friend or tarnishing your glory. Through the favour of the gods your triumphal success is not more glorious than it is rich in results, sufficient to clear you from what I might call your debt to him. Lycaonia, Pisidia, the Chersonese, and all the adjacent portions of Europe are at your disposal, and the addition of any one of these countries would enlarge the king's dominions to many times their present size; if all were given him they would put him on a level with the greatest of monarchs. It is then open to you to enrich your allies with the prizes of war, and at the same time to avoid any departure from your settled policy, and to bear in mind the reason you alleged for your war with Philip and your present war with Antiochus, and the course you pursued after Philip's defeat, the course which we desire and expect you to take now, not more because you took it then, than because it is the right and proper course to take. There are various good and sound pretexts for taking up arms. Some fight to obtain territory, others villages, others fortified towns, others ports and a strip of sea−coast. You did not covet these things before you possessed

them, nor can you possibly covet them now when the whole world is beneath your sway. You fought for the honour of your commonwealth and the renown which you enjoy throughout the whole race of man, who have long looked upon your sovereignty and your name as only second to the immortal gods. To gain and acquire these things has been an arduous task, I am inclined to think it is a harder task to defend them. You have undertaken to protect from the tyranny of monarchs the liberties of an ancient people famous for their military reputation, and for all that is commendable in refinement and learning. Now that the nation has placed itself as a whole under your protection as clients, it is incumbent on you to show yourselves its patrons for all time. Those Greek cities which stand on their ancient soil are in no way more Greek than those colonies which have gone forth from them into Asia; they have changed their land but not their character or their blood. We have ventured−each city amongst us−to vie in dutiful rivalry with our parents and our founders in all honourable and praiseworthy arts and excellences. You have, most of you, visited the cities of Greece and Asia: we are at no disadvantage compared with them, except that we are at a greater distance from you. If the native temperament of the Massilians could have yielded to the influence of their soil they would have been long ago barbarised by the wild untamed tribes all round them, but we are given to understand that they are held in as much honour as though they were living in the heart of Greece. They have preserved their language, their dress, their personal habits, but above all, they have maintained their laws and customs and their open, straightforward character, untainted by any contact with their neighbours. The Taurus range now forms a frontier of your empire, and all within that line ought not to appear distant to you. Wherever your arms have penetrated there should the laws of Rome also penetrate. Let barbarians, who have always the commands of their masters for laws, keep their kings to their joy; the Greeks submit to their fate, but they have the same love of freedom that you have. At one time they too grasped at empire in their own strength, now they pray that where the seat of empire, is there it may remain; they count it enough to protect their freedom with your arms.

"'But,' it may be replied, 'some cities took sides with Antiochus.' Yes, and others before that with Philip; the Terentines sided with Pyrrhus. Not to mention others, Carthage remains free, under her own laws. See, senators, how you are bound by this precedent which you yourselves have established. You will surely bring yourselves to refuse to the grasping ambition of Eumenes what you refused to the dictates of a just resentment. We leave you to judge with what effective and loyal service we Rhodians assisted you in this late war, and indeed in all the wars which you have ever waged on those shores. Now that peace is settled we suggest a course such that, if you approve of it, the whole world will regard the use you make of your victory as a more striking proof of your greatness than even the winning it." This speech was felt to be quite befitting to the greatness and majesty of Rome.

After the Rhodians the envoys from Antiochus were called in. They took the usual line of those who ask for pardon, and, after acknowledging that the king was in the wrong, implored the senators to let their decision be guided more by their own clemency than by the fault of the king, for he had suffered punishment enough, and more than enough. They concluded by begging the senate to confirm by their authority the peace granted by L. Scipio on the terms which he had imposed. The senate decided that this peace should stand, and a few days later it was ratified by order of the Assembly. The formal treaty was concluded in the Capitol with Antipater, the son of the king's brother, who was the head of the delegation. After this, audience was given to other deputations from Asia. They all received the same reply, namely that the senate, in accordance with ancient usage, would send ten commissioners to investigate and settle affairs in Asia. The main provisions of the settlement, however, would be these: All the territory on this side the Taurus, which had been included within the limits of Antiochus' kingdom, would be assigned to Eumenes, with the exception of Lycia and Caria, as far as the Maeander; these were to be annexed to the republic of Rhodes. Of the other cities in Asia, those which had been tributary to Attalus were to pay their taxes to Eumenes, those which had paid tax to Antiochus were to be free from all taxation to a foreign power. The ten commissioners were: Q. Minucius Rufus, L. Furius Purpurio, Q. Minucius Thermus, Ap. Claudius Nero, Cneius Cornelius Merula, M. Junius Brutus, L. Aurunculeius, L. Aemilius Paulus, P. Cornelius Lentulus and P. Aelius Tubero.

They received full powers to make what arrangements were necessary on the spot; the settlement as a whole was determined by the senate. The whole of Lycaonia, both Phrygias, Mysia, the royal forests, the countries of Lydia and Ionia with the exception of those towns which were free on the day of the battle with Antiochus, Magnesia ad Sipylum which was specially named, that part of Caria called Hydrela which touches the confines of Phrygia, together with its forts and villages as far as the Maeander and all the towns which were not free before the war, Telmessus and its camp except what had belonged to Ptolemy of Telmessus−all these above−mentioned places were ordered to be given to Eumenes. To the Rhodians were assigned all Lycia with the exception of Telmessus and the camp and the district which had belonged to Ptolemy−these were not given to either Eumenes or the Rhodians. The Rhodians had also that part of Caria which lies south of the Maeander and faces Rhodes, together with the towns, villages, forts and lands bordering on Phrygia, exclusive of the towns which had been free before the battle with Antiochus. The Rhodians expressed their gratitude for these concessions, and then they introduced the question of the city of Soli in Cilicia. They explained that this people, in common with themselves, were originally a colony from Argos, and from this kinship there had always existed a feeling of brotherhood between them, and they now asked as a special favour that this city might be exempted from servitude under the king. The envoys of Antiochus were recalled and the matter was discussed with them, but they refused to agree to the proposal. Antipater appealed to the provisions of the treaty and maintained that it was a violation of those provisions; the Rhodians were trying to secure, not Soli alone, but the whole of Cilicia, and wanted to transcend the limits of the Taurus. On the Rhodians being recalled the senate explained how strongly the king's envoy had opposed the concession, and further assured them that if the Rhodians thought that the matter touched their honour and dignity the senate would find an easy way of overcoming the legate's obstinacy. This evoked still more profuse thanks, but at the same time they said that they were prepared to give way to the arrogant claims of Antipater rather than afford a pretext for upsetting the peace. So the status of Soli remained unchanged.

During this time, deputies from Massilia brought word that the praetor L. Baebius whilst on his way to Spain to take up his command had been intercepted by the Ligurians, a large part of his escort killed and he himself wounded. He succeeded in escaping with a few followers but without his lictors to Massilia, where after three days he expired. On receipt of this intelligence the senate decreed that P. Junius Brutus, who was administering Etruria as propraetor, should hand over his government and army to whichever of his lieutenants he decided upon and start at once for Further Spain, which was to be his province. This decision of the senate and the despatch announcing it were sent to Etruria by the praetor Sp. Postumius, and Publius Junius set out for Spain L. Aemilius Paulus, who in after years won a great reputation by his defeat of Perseus, had been in charge of this province and the previous year had met with a reverse, but notwithstanding this he raised a force of irregulars and fought a pitched battle with the Lusitanians. The enemy were routed, 18,000 were killed, 2300 made prisoners and their camp stormed. The report of this victory made matters quieter in Spain. On December 13th of this year the colony of Bononia was founded in pursuance of a senatorial decree, the three commissioners being L. Valerius Flaccus, M. Atilius Serranus and L. Valerius Tappo. The colonists numbered 3000; the equites received each seventy jugera, the other settlers fifty. The land had been taken from the Boii who had themselves formerly expelled the Etruscans from it.

The censorship this year was an object of ambition with many men of distinction, and as though it were not important enough in itself to excite keen competition, it provoked a still more exciting contest of a different character. The rival candidates were T. Quinctius Flamininus, P. Cornelius Scipio, L. Valerius Flaccus, M. Porcius Cato, M. Claudius Marcellus and Manius Acilius Glabrio, the conqueror of Antiochus and the Aetolians at Thermopylae. The last−named was the popular candidate owing to the fact that he had had numerous opportunities of distributing largesse and so had placed a considerable number of men under obligations to him. Many of the nobility were extremely angry at such preference being shown for a "new man" and two of the tribunes of the plebs, P. Sempronius Gracchus and C. Sempronius Rutilus, fixed a day for his impeachment on the charge of neglecting to carry in his triumphal procession or deposit in the treasury a large part of the royal treasure and the plunder gathered in the camp of Antiochus. The evidence given by the staff officers and military tribunes was conflicting. A conspicuous witness who came forward was M. Cato; the authority which he had acquired by the uniform tenor of his life was somewhat impaired by his being a rival candidate for the censorship

He gave evidence to the effect that the gold and silver plate which he had noticed amongst the royal booty when the camp was taken, he had not seen in the triumphal procession. At last Glabrio, mainly with the object of creating odium against him, gave out that he was abandoning his candidature since a competitor who was as much a "new man" as himself, and therefore the object of silent indignation amongst the nobility, was defaming him by perjured evidence.

The prosecutors demanded a fine of 100,000 ases. The discussion which ensued extended over two sittings of the Assembly; at the third, the defendant had already withdrawn from his candidature, and as the people refused to vote on the fine the tribunes abandoned all further proceedings. T. Quinctius Flamininus and M. Claudius Marcellus were elected censors. L. Aemilius Regillus, who had inflicted the decisive defeat on Antiochus' naval commander, was received about this time by the senate in the temple of Apollo outside the City. After hearing his statement of what he had done, with what large hostile fleets he had engaged and how many of their ships he had either sunk or captured, the senate unanimously accorded him a naval triumph. He celebrated his triumph on February 1st, and in the procession were carried 49 golden crowns, 34,200 Attic tetrachmas and 132,300 "cistophori "−a far less amount of specie than might have been expected in a triumph over the king. This was followed by public thanksgivings ordered by the senate for the successful conduct of affairs in Spain by L. Aemilius. Not long afterwards L. Scipio arrived in the City. Not to be outdone by his brother Africanus in the matter of surnames, he wanted to be called "Asiaticus." He enlarged upon his services in the senate and also before the Assembly. Some people alleged that the war had loomed larger in the popular view than its real difficulty warranted; it had been brought to a close in one memorable battle and the glory of that victory had been shorn of its splendour at Thermopylae. But rightly judged the battle at Thermopylae was won over the Aetolians much more than over the king, for with what proportion of his total strength did he fight there? In the battle in Asia the whole power of Asia was in the field, the massed forces were drawn from every nation to the furthest limits of the East.

Deservedly, therefore, was the utmost possible honour paid to the immortal gods for having made a crushing victory an easy one also, and a triumph was decreed to the commander. He celebrated this on the last day of the intercalary month, the day before March 1st. As a spectacle his triumph was a grander one than that of his brother Africanus, but to anyone who recalls the circumstances and forms an estimate of the risk incurred in each of the two battles, it can bear no comparison with it any more than you can compare the two Roman generals with each other or Antiochus as a strategist with Hannibal. In the procession were borne 224 military standards, 134 models of towns, 1231 tusks of ivory, 234 golden crowns, 137,420 pounds of silver, 224,000 Attic tetrachmas, 331,070 "cistophori," 140,000 gold pieces of Macedonian coinage, 1424 pounds' weight of chased and embossed silver plate and 1024 pounds of similar articles in gold. Among the prisoners were generals, prefects, and nobles attached to Antiochus' court, as many as thirty−two of these were led before the victor's chariot. Each legionary soldier received 25 denarii, each centurion twice and each trooper three times this amount, and after the triumph they all received double pay and a double ration of corn. The consul had given them the same allowance after the battle in Asia. His triumph was celebrated about a year after he had gone out of office.

The consul Cn. Manlius landed in Asia and the praetor Q. Fabius Labeo joined the fleet almost at the same time; the consul, however, did not lack material for a war, in this case with the Gauls. Through the defeat of Antiochus the sea had been cleared of the enemy, and Q. Fabius was considering what he ought to devote himself to so that he might not appear to have received a province where there was nothing to do. He thought the best thing to do would be to sail across to Crete. Cydonia was at war with Gortynia and Gnossus, and it was reported that a large number of Roman and Italian prisoners were kept in slavery all over the island. Fabius set sail from Ephesus and as soon as he touched the coast of Crete he sent messengers to the various cities requiring them to lay down their arms, search out all the prisoners in their towns and villages and bring them in. They were also to send representatives to him with whom he could settle matters which concerned the common interests of Crete and Rome. The Cretans took no notice of these orders and, with the exception of Gortynia, no city restored the prisoners. Valerius Antias tells us that as many as 4000 prisoners were restored out of the whole island, as hostilities were threatened in case of non−compliance, and he adds that was the sole reason why Fabius, who had

done nothing else whatever, induced the senate to grant him a triumph. Fabius sailed back to Ephesus and from there despatched three ships to the coast of Thrace with orders for the withdrawal of Antiochus' garrisons from Aenos and Maronea in order that these might be free cities.

Book 38. Arraignment of Scipio Africanus

Whilst the war was going on in Asia, even Aetolia did not remain free from disturbance. The Athamanians were the cause of the trouble. After the expulsion of Amynander, the country was held down by the governors whom Philip had established and provided with troops, and their arbitrary and lawless rule made the people feel keenly the disappearance of their king. He was spending his time of exile in Aetolia, and the letters of his friends and their description of the condition of Athamania led him to hope that he might recover his crown. He sent messengers to Argithea, their capital, to inform their leaders that if he were fully assured of the sympathies of his compatriots, he would obtain assistance from the Aetolians and enter the country with the members of the Aetolian council and their captain−general, Nicander. When he saw that they were prepared for all eventualities, he told them at very short notice the day on which he intended to enter Athamania with an army. The movement against the Macedonians was begun by four men; they each selected six comrades, then feeling no confidence in so small a number, which was more adapted to conceal than to execute their project, they doubled the number of their fellow−conspirators. Having thus grown to fifty−two, they formed themselves into four parties; one was to make for Heraclea, a second for Tetraphylia where the royal treasure used to be kept, the third was to go to Theudoria, and the fourth to Argithea. They had all agreed to show themselves in the forums without making any disturbance, as though they had come on private business, and on a fixed day they were to raise the populations in the different cities and expel the Macedonian garrisons from their citadels. When the day came and Amynander was on the frontier with 1000 Aetolians, the Macedonian garrisons were simultaneously driven out of the four cities, and letters were sent to all the other cities urging them to shake themselves free from the tyranny of Philip and win back their ancestral and legitimate monarchy. The Macedonians were expelled from all parts of the country. Xeno, the commandant of the garrison in Theium, intercepted the message sent to that city, and by seizing the citadel was able to stand a siege for a few days. At last that place, too, surrendered to Amynander, and the whole of Athamania, with the exception of the fort of Athenaeum, which lay close to the frontier of Macedonia, was now in his power.

On hearing of the revolution in Athamania, Philip started off with a force of 6000 men, and after an extraordinarily rapid march arrived at Gomphi. Here he left the greater part of his army, who were unable to keep up such long marches, and went on with 2000 men to Athenaeum, the one place that had been retained by his troops. From here he tried to secure some of the places nearest to him, but he soon found that they were all hostile, and accordingly he returned to Gomphi. Re−entering Athamania with the whole of his force, he sent Xeno forward with 1000 infantry to seize Ethopia, a good position for commanding Argithea. When Philip saw that his men were in occupation of the place, he encamped near the temple of Jupiter Acraeus. Here he was detained a whole day by a terrible storm; the next day he decided to advance against Argithea. Whilst his men were on the march they suddenly caught sight of the Athamanians running up to some high ground which commanded their line of march. At this sight the leading ranks halted and there was confusion throughout the column, as the men all asked themselves what would happen if the column went down into the valley where it was commanded by those heights. Philip wanted to push rapidly through the pass, but the confusion that had been caused compelled him to recall the head of the column and order them to counter−march along the way they had come. At first the Athamanians followed them quietly at some distance, but when the Aetolians had joined them, they left it to them to harass the enemy's rear while they themselves closed in on their flank, and some making a short cut through country they were familiar with, seized the head of the pass. The confusion amongst the Macedonians was such that their recrossing of the river resembled a precipitate flight rather than an orderly march, and they left many men and arms behind. Here the pursuit stopped and the Macedonians got back safely to Gomphi and from there withdrew into Macedonia. The Athamanians and Aetolians mustered from all sides round Ethopia with the object of expelling Xeno and his 1000 Macedonians. Feeling their position to be insecure they left Ethopia and took up a

position on higher and more precipitous ground. The Athamanians, however, found out the approaches, attacked them from several different points and drove them from the heights. Scattered in flight and unable to find their way through pathless thickets and over rocky ground with which they were unfamiliar, they were killed or made prisoners, many in their panic fell down the cliffs, and only a very few succeeded in making their escape with Xeno to the king. Subsequently a truce was arranged for the burial of those who had fallen.

His crown recovered, Amynander sent a delegation to the senate and another to the Scipios, who were staying at Ephesus after the battle with Antiochus. He asked to be allowed to remain on a peaceful footing with Rome, and in excusing himself for having sought the aid of the Aetolians in winning back his ancestral throne, threw the whole responsibility for the war on Philip. From Athamania the Aetolians marched into Amphilochia, and the voluntary surrender of the majority of the population made them masters of the whole country. After recovering Amphilochia which had formerly belonged to them, they invaded Aperantia, hoping for equal success, and this State also to a large extent surrendered without offering any resistance. The Dolopians had never been under Aetolia; they had formed part of Philip's dominions. At first they flew to arms, but when they learnt that the Amphilochians had joined the Aetolians, that Philip had fled from Athamania and his force had been cut up, they too revolted from him and joined the Aetolians. With these States all round them, the Aetolians considered themselves secure on every side from the Macedonians. But in the midst of their security they received intelligence of the defeat of Antiochus at the hands of the Romans in Asia, and not long after, their envoys returned from Rome bringing no hope of peace and announcing that the consul Fulvius had already landed in Greece with an army. Appalled at these tidings they begged Rhodes and Athens to send delegates to Rome so that with the support of these friendly nations their own petitions which had been lately rejected might find readier access to the ear of the senate. They then sent their leaders to Rome as their last hope, having taken no precautions to avoid war until the enemy was almost in sight. M. Fulvius had now brought his army up to Apollonia and was consulting the Epirot leaders as to where he should open the campaign. They thought the best course would be to begin with an attack on Ambracia, which had by that time joined the Aetolian League. They pointed out that if the Aetolians came to its relief, the open and level country afforded a favourable field of battle; if they avoided an engagement, the siege would be by no means a difficult one as there was abundance of timber in the neighbourhood for constructing the raised galleries and all the other siege works; the Aretho, a navigable river and well adapted for transporting all necessary materials, flowed past the very walls; and in the last place, summer, the season for active operations, was approaching.

Induced by these considerations the consul advanced through Epirus, but when he came to Ambracia he saw that its siege would be a serious undertaking. Ambracia lies at the foot of a rugged eminence which the natives call Perranthes. The city on the side where the wall skirts the river and the plain looks to the west; the citadel built on the hill lies to the east. The Aretho, which rises in Athamania, falls into the gulf named after the city−the Ambracian Gulf. In addition to the protection afforded by the river on the one side and the hill on the other, the city was enclosed by a strong wall more than four miles in circumference. Fulvius constructed two entrenched camps at a short distance from each other in the direction of the plain and one fort on a height over against the citadel, and made preparations for connecting the whole by a rampart and fosse, so that those shut up in the city would not be able to leave it, nor would it be possible to introduce succours from outside. When the news of the siege of Ambracia reached them, the Aetolian national council assembled at Stratus, on the summons of Nicander, their captain−general. Their first intention was to march thither with all their forces and raise the siege, but when they found that a great part of the city was already invested and that the Epirot camp was fixed on the level ground the other side the river, they divided their forces. Eupolemus with 1000 light infantry succeeded in entering the city at a point where the lines were not yet closed. Nicander intended to make a night attack with the rest of the troops upon the Epirot camp, as the Romans would find it difficult to come to their assistance with the river between them. On second thoughts, however, the risk seemed too great in case the Romans took the alarm and endangered his retreat, so he marched away and ravaged Acarnania.

The lines of investment were at length closed and the siege works which the consul was preparing to bring up against the walls completed. He now commenced an assault from five different points. On the side of the city

overlooking the plain where the approach was easiest he brought up three siege−engines, at equal distances from each other, at a place called the Pyrrheum, another near the Aesculapium, and the fifth against the citadel. As he shook the walls with the battering−rams and sheared off the parapet by scythe blades fixed on long poles the defenders were dismayed at the sight and at the terrific noise of the blows delivered by the rams, but when they saw that the walls were still standing, their courage revived and they hammered the rams by means of swing beams with heavy masses of lead, large stones and stout beams of wood; they dragged with iron grapples the poles with the scythe blades inside the walls and broke off the blades. Their night attacks on the parties guarding the engines, and sorties by day against the outposts, spread alarm on the other side. While this was the state of things in Ambracia the Aetolians had returned from their plundering raid to Stratus. Here Nicander hit upon a bold stroke by which he hoped to raise the siege. His intention was to introduce a certain Nicodamus into the city with 500 Aetolians, and he fixed the night and the hour at which an attack was to be made from the city on the hostile works directed against the Pyrrheum whilst he himself threatened the Roman camp. By this double attack, all the more alarming because made in the night, he hoped to secure a brilliant success. Nicander moved forward in the dead of the night and after passing some of the advanced posts unobserved and forcing his way through others by a determined onslaught, climbed over the lines connecting the different works and penetrated into the city. His arrival raised the hopes of the besieged and emboldened them to attempt any adventure however hazardous. When the appointed night arrived he made a sudden attack on the works. His attempt did not meet with a corresponding success, for no attack was made from outside, either because the Aetolian commander was afraid to move or because he deemed it more important to carry assistance to the Amphilochians, who had been lately won over and whom Philip's son Perseus, who had been sent to recover Dolopia and Amphilochia, was attacking with his utmost strength.

As stated above, the Roman engines were directed against the Pyrrheum at three separate points, and against each of these the Aetolians were making simultaneous attacks, though not with the same weapons or the same force. Some went up with lighted torches, others carried tow and pitch and fire−darts; the whole of their line was lit up by the flames. At the first onset they overwhelmed many of the guards; then when the noise of the tumult and clamour reached the camp, the consul gave the signal and the Romans, seizing their weapons, poured out of all the gates to help their comrades. Only at one point was there a real fight between sword and fire; at the two others the Aetolians after attempting, rather than sustaining, a conflict retreated without effecting anything. A desperate struggle raged in one quarter; here the two generals, Eupolemus and Nicodamus, at the head of their respective divisions urged on the combatants and encouraged them with the almost certain hope of Nicander's coming up as he had promised and taking the enemy in the rear. This hope for some time kept up their spirits, but when they failed to receive the agreed signal from their comrades and found that the numbers of the enemy were increasing, their courage waned and at last they gave up the attempt, and finding their retreat almost cut off, fled in disorder back to the city. They succeeded, however, in setting some of the siege−works on fire after losing considerably more than they had themselves killed of the enemy. If the preconcerted plan of operations had been successful, there is no doubt that at least one section of the siege−works would have been carried with a great slaughter of the Romans. The Ambracians and Aetolians in the city not only abandoned all further attempts that night, but during the remainder of the siege showed themselves much less enterprising, as they felt they had been betrayed. No more sorties were made against the enemy's posts; they confined themselves to fighting in comparative safety from the walls and towers.

When Perseus heard that the Aetolians were approaching, he raised the siege of the city which he was attacking and, after devastating their fields, left Amphilochia and returned to Macedonia. The Aetolians, too, were called away by the ravages which were being committed on their sea−board. Pleuratus, king of the Illyrians, had sailed into the Gulf of Corinth with sixty ships, reinforced by the Aetolian vessels from Patrae, and was devastating the maritime districts of Aetolia. A force of 1000 Aetolians was despatched against him and by taking direct roads they were able to meet him at whatever point his fleet had, in its cruising in and out of the indented coast, tried to effect a landing. At Ambracia the Romans had battered down the walls in several places and partially laid bare the city, but they could not force their way into it. As fast as the wall was destroyed a new one was raised in its place and the citizens stood in arms on the fallen masonry to bar all approach. Finding that he was making very little

progress by direct assault, the consul decided to construct a secret passage underground after first covering the place whence it started with vineae. Working day and night they succeeded for a considerable time in escaping the observation of the enemy, not only whilst they were digging but also whilst carrying away the earth. Suddenly the sight of a conspicuous mound of soil gave the townsmen an indication of what was going on. To avert the danger of the wall being undermined and a way into the city being thrown open, they began to run a trench inside the wall in the direction of the place covered with vineae. When they had excavated as low as the bottom of the secret passage would probably be, they remained perfectly silent, and by placing their ears against different places in the side of the trench they caught the sound of the enemy diggers. As soon as they heard this they broke through straight into the tunnel. There was no difficulty in doing this, for they quickly found themselves in an open space where the wall had been underpinned with timber props by the enemy.1 As the trench and tunnel now opened into one another the two parties of diggers commenced a fight with their digging tools. Very soon armed bodies came up on both sides and an underground battle began in the dark. The besieged closed up the tunnel in one place by stretching a screen of goats' hair across and improvising barricades, and they adopted a novel device against the enemy which was small but effective. A hole was bored through the bottom of a cask in which an iron pipe was inserted. and an iron cover perforated with several holes was prepared to fit the other end. The cask was then filled with light feathers, the cover fastened on, and through the holes some long spears−the so−called "sarissae"−were inserted to keep off the enemy. The cask was now placed with its head towards the tunnel and a light was placed amongst the feathers which were blown into a blaze by a pair of smith's bellows inserted in the pipe. The tunnel was soon filled with a dense smoke, rendered all the more pungent from the horrid smell of the burning feathers, and hardly a man could endure it.

Whilst this was the state of things in Ambracia, the Aetolians decided to open negotiations with the consul. In view of the fact that on one side Ambracia was undergoing a siege, on another the coast was being threatened by a hostile fleet, whilst on the third side Amphilochia and Dolopia were being harried by the Macedonians, and that the Aetolians were not strong enough to confront their various enemies collectively, the captain−general convened a meeting of the Aetolian League and consulted the national leaders as to what was to be done. They were unanimously of opinion that they must sue for peace, on equal terms, if possible; failing that, on any terms, if they were not intolerable. It was in reliance upon Antiochus, they said, that they had undertaken the war; now that Antiochus had been worsted both on land and sea and driven beyond the Taurus almost to the ends of the world, what hope was there of sustaining the war? Phaeneas and Damoteles must take such steps as they thought best in the interests of Aetolia, and consistent with their own honour, for what counsel, what choice had their fortunes left them? Furnished with these instructions, the envoys implored the consul to spare the city and to take pity on a nation which had once been an ally and had been driven to madness−they would not say by their wrongs, but at all events, by the wretched conditions under which they lived. The punishment they deserved for their share in the war with Antiochus ought not to outweigh the services they had rendered in the war against Philip. At that time no great gratitude had been shown them; they ought not now to pay an excessive penalty. The consul told them in reply that the Aetolians had frequently asked for peace, but seldom with the honest intention of keeping it. They must follow the example of Antiochus whom they had dragged into the war. He had ceded not only those few cities whose liberty had been the cause of quarrel, but the whole of Asia on this side the Taurus−a rich and fertile realm. He, the consul, would not listen to any proposals unless the Aetolians laid down their arms. They must first give up their arms and all their horses; then they must pay 1000 talents; half the sum to be paid down at once, if they wished to have peace. And in addition to these terms it must be stipulated in the treaty that they would have the same friends and the same enemies as Rome.

The envoys felt these to be onerous terms, and as they knew the fierce and fickle temper of their countrymen they left without giving any decided answer. They wished to discuss the whole position thoroughly with the captain−general and the national leaders and come to some decision as to what ought to be done. They were received with clamorous protests and reproaches. "How long," they were asked, "were they going to let matters drag on after receiving definite orders to bring back peace at any price?" Their return journey to Ambracia was a disastrous one. The Acarnanians with whom they were at war had posted an ambush close to the road on which they were travelling; they were made prisoners and conducted to Tyrrhenum for safe keeping. This interrupted the

peace negotiations. The delegates who had been sent from Athens and Rhodes to support the Aetolians were already with the consul, when Amynander, who had obtained a safe−conduct, arrived in the Roman camp. He was more concerned for the city of Ambracia, where he had passed most of his years of exile, than for the Aetolians. When the consul learnt from them what had happened to the Aetolian envoys, he sent orders for them to be brought from Tyrrhenum, and on their arrival the negotiations commenced. Amynander, whose main interest was in Ambracia, did his utmost to induce the place to surrender. He approached the walls and held conversations with the leaders, but finding that he was making no progress, he at last obtained the consul's permission to enter the city and succeeded by argument and entreaty in persuading them to place themselves in the hands of the Romans. The Aetolians found a strong advocate also in C. Valerius, the son of the Valerius Laevinus who was the first to establish friendly relations with them. He was also half−brother of the consul.

After stipulating for the safe departure of their auxiliary troops, the Ambracians opened their gates. Then the Aetolians accepted the following conditions: They were to pay 500 Euboean talents; 200 at once, the remaining 300 to be spread over six years; the prisoners and refugees were to be restored to the Romans; they were not to retain within their League any city which from the day when T. Quinctius landed in Greece had either been taken by or entered into friendly relations with the Romans. Although these conditions were much less onerous than they had expected, they asked to be allowed to lay them before their council. Here there was a brief debate on the question of the cities which had been confederated with them. They felt their loss keenly; it was as though they were being torn from their living body; nevertheless they were unanimous in deciding that the terms must be accepted. The Ambracians gave the consul a gold crown 150 lbs. in weight. The statues in bronze and marble and the paintings with which Ambracia, as the royal residence of Pyrrhus, had been more richly adorned than any other city in that part of the world were all carried away, but beyond these nothing was injured or interfered with.

The consul left Ambracia for the interior of Aetolia and fixed his camp at Amphilochian Argos, twenty−two miles distant from Ambracia. Here the Aetolian delegates at last arrived, the consul meantime wondering what had delayed them. On their informing him that the Aetolian Council accepted the conditions of peace, he told them to go to Rome to appear before the senate; the Rhodians and Athenians were also allowed to go to plead for them; and the consul also allowed his brother, C. Valerius, to accompany them. After their departure be crossed over to Cephallania. In Rome the delegates found the ears and minds of the leading men preoccupied by the accusations which Philip had brought against them. Through his representatives, in his despatches he had asserted that Dolopia, Amphilochia and Athamania had been wrested from him, and his garrisons and even his son Perseus had been expelled from Amphilochia. The senate consequently refused to listen to them. The Rhodians and Athenians, however, obtained a hearing. The Athenian spokesman, Leon the son of Hicesias, is said to have moved them by his eloquence. Making use of a common simile he compared the people of Aetolia to a calm sea which has become agitated by the winds. "As long as they were faithful to Rome," he said, "their peace−loving temperament kept them quiet, but when Thoas and Dicaearchus sent a blast from Asia and Menestas and Damocritas from Europe, then that storm arose which dashed them against Antiochus as against a rock."

After a good deal of rough−handling the Aetolians at last succeeded in getting the terms of peace settled. They were as follows: "The nation of the Aetolians shall uphold sincerely and honestly the majesty and dominion of the Roman people; they shall not suffer to pass through their territories or in any way assist any army which may be led against the friends and allies of Rome; they shall count the enemies of Rome as their enemies and bear arms against them and wage war against them equally with Rome; they shall restore to the Romans and their allies the deserters, the refugees and the prisoners, save and except any who have escaped from captivity and returned to their homes and then been taken captive a second time, and any prisoners from amongst those who were fighting against Rome at the time when the Aetolians formed a part of the Roman forces. Of the others, all who are known shall be handed over without reserve or subterfuge to the magistrates at Corcyra within 100 days; those who have not then been discovered shall be delivered up as soon as they are found. The Aetolians shall surrender forty hostages, such as the consul in his discretion shall choose, not less than twelve or more than forty years of age. No magistrate or commander of cavalry or public secretary shall be taken as a hostage, nor any one who has been previously held as a hostage by the Romans. Cephallania shall be excluded from the terms of peace." As to the

indemnity which they were to pay and the method of payment, the understanding with the consul held good. If they preferred to pay it in silver rather than in gold, they might do so provided that ten silver pieces were taken as the equivalent of one gold piece. "Concerning the cities, the territories, the populations, which have at any time been incorporated in the Aetolian League−those of them which have either been subjugated or voluntarily surrendered to Rome during the consulships of T. Quinctius, Cneius Domitius, or the consuls which followed them, none of these must the Aetolians seek to recover. The Oeniadae with the city and the soil shall belong to the Acarnanians." Such were the terms upon which peace was concluded with the Aetolians.

Almost at the very time when M. Fulvius was thus engaged in Aetolia, the other consul, Cneius Manlius, was warring in Gallograecia. I will now proceed to narrate the events of this war. The consul went to Ephesus at the beginning of spring and took over the troops from L. Scipio. After holding a review of the army he addressed the soldiers. He began by eulogising their valour in bringing the war with Antiochus to a close in a single battle, and went on to encourage them to begin a fresh war against the Gauls. This nation, he reminded them, had gone to the assistance of Antiochus, and so intractable was their temper that the removal of Antiochus beyond the Taurus would be useless unless the power of the Gauls was broken. He concluded his address with a few sincere and unaffected words about himself. The soldiers were delighted and frequently applauded him; they looked upon the Gauls as simply a division of Antiochus' army, and now that the king was overcome they did not think that there would be much aggressive energy in the Gauls when left to themselves. Eumenes was in Rome at the time and the consul regarded his absence as ill−timed, since he was familiar with the country and the population and was personally interested in the destruction of the power of the Gauls. The consul sent, therefore, for his brother Attalus, who was at Pergamum, and pressed him to take his part in the war. Attalus promised on his own behalf and on that of his subjects to assist him, and was sent back to muster troops. A few days later the consul advanced from Ephesus and was met at Magnesia by Attalus with 1000 infantry and 500 cavalry. His brother Athenaeus was under orders to follow with the rest of the forces, and the defence of Pergamum was entrusted to men whom he believed to be loyal subjects of their king. The consul warmly approved of the young man's action and advanced with the whole of his forces to the Maeander. Here he entrenched himself, and as the river was unfordable, vessels had to be collected to carry the army over.

After crossing the Maeander they marched to Hiera Come. Here there was a noble temple to Apollo and an oracular shrine; it is said that the priests delivered the responses in smooth and graceful verses. From this place, after a two days' march, they reached the river Harpasus. Here they were met by a deputation from Alabandi, who came with a request to the consul to compel, either by his personal authority or his arms, a revolted stronghold to return to its former allegiance. Here, too, came Eumenes' brother Athenaeus with the Cretan Leusus and Corragus of Macedonia. They brought with them 1000 infantry drawn from various nationalities and 300 cavalry. The consul despatched a military tribune with a small force to reduce the stronghold and it was restored to the people of Alabandi; he himself continuing his march encamped at Antiochia on the Maeander. This river rises at Celaenae; the city was once the capital of Phrygia. The population migrated a short distance from the old city and built a new one, which received the name of Apamea after Apama, the sister of King Seleucus. The river Marsyas which rises not far from the sources of the Maeander flows into that river, and the story goes that it was at Celaenae that Marsyas contested the palm of song with Apollo. The Maeander rises at the highest part of Celaenae and runs through the middle of the city. Its course then lies through Caria and Ionia and it finally empties itself into the bay between Priene and Miletus.

Whilst the consul was in camp at Antiochia, Seleucus the son of Antiochus came to furnish corn for the army, in pursuance of the treaty obligation with Scipio. There was a slight difficulty raised in the case of the auxiliaries under Attalus because Seleucus maintained that Antiochus had only agreed to supply corn to the Roman soldiers. The dispute was settled by the firmness of the consul, who sent a tribune from the headquarters tent to give notice that the Roman soldiers were not to take the corn before the troops of Attalus had received their share. From Antiochia they marched to a place called Gordiutichi, and a further three days' march brought them to Tabae. This place lies within the frontiers of Pisidia, in that part which looks towards the Pamphylian sea. As this country was unwasted by war, its population were in a bellicose mood. On this occasion they made a vigorous attack on the

Roman column and at first created some confusion, but when it became evident that they were outmatched in numbers and in courage and were driven back to their city, they craved for mercy and offered to surrender the city. A fine of 25 talents of silver and 10,000 medimni of wheat was imposed upon them. On these terms they were allowed to surrender.

Three days after this they reached the river Casus and advanced to attack the city of Eriza, which they captured at the first assault. Continuing their march they came to Thabusion, a fortified place commanding the Indus. This river got its name from a mahout who was thrown from his elephant. They were now not far from the city of Cibyra, but no deputation came from Moagetes, the faithless and cruel tyrant of that city. In order to ascertain his attitude the consul sent an advance−party of 4000 infantry and 500 cavalry under C. Helvius. This force was already entering his territory when envoys met them with the announcement that the tyrant was ready to comply with the consul's orders. They begged Helvius to enter their territory peaceably and to restrain his soldiery from plundering their fields; they also brought 15 lbs. of gold made into a crown. Helvius promised to protect their fields from pillage and told them to go to the consul. When they had spoken in a similar strain to him, he replied: "We Romans have received no proofs of goodwill on the part of the tyrant towards us, and it is a matter of common knowledge that he is the sort of man whom we ought to think of punishing rather than treating as a friend." The envoys were greatly perturbed at these words and simply requested him to accept the golden crown and to allow the tyrant to visit him in person with liberty to speak and clear himself of suspicions. The consul gave permission and the next day the tyrant arrived. His dress and his retinue were hardly equal to those of a private citizen of moderate means; his language was abject and broken, and he sought to excuse himself by pleading the poverty of his cities and his dominions. Besides Cibyra he had the city of Sylleum and a place called Alimne, and out of these cities he promised, though somewhat doubtfully, to raise 25 talents, but only by robbing himself and his subjects. "Really," replied the consul, "this trifling is intolerable! After trying, unblushingly, to fool us through your envoys, you actually keep up the same effrontery now you are here. You say 25 talents will exhaust your government. Very well, then, unless you pay down 500 talents in three days, look out for the plunder of your fields and the investment of your city." Though appalled by the threat, the tyrant still persisted in his presence of poverty. Shuffling, whimpering and shedding crocodile tears, he was at last brought to a fine of 100 talents, and in addition 10,000 medimni of corn. All this was carried through in six days.

From Cibyra the army was led through the district of Sinda, and after crossing the Caularis formed camp. The following day they marched past the Caralite marshes and made a halt at Madamprum. On their further advance towards Lacos the inhabitants fled from the city, and finding it devoid of men but filled with abundance of every kind, the Romans sacked it. Then they went on to the sources of the Lysis and the following day reached the Cobulatus. The Termessians had captured the city of Isionde and were now attacking the citadel. Shut up within their walls the only hope left to them was help from the Romans. They sent to the consul to implore his assistance; shut up in their citadel with their wives and children, they were daily looking forward to death either by sword or famine. The consul gladly seized the pretext for a march into Pamphylia, and raised the siege, granting peace to Termessus on the payment of 50 talents of silver. Aspendus and the other cities in Pamphylia were treated in the same way. Leaving Pamphylia and resuming his march he encamped at the river Taurus, and the next day at a place called Xyline Come. From there he marched continuously till he reached the city of Cormasa. The next city to this was Dursa, which they found deserted by the panic−stricken inhabitants, but abundantly supplied with all manner of stores. On his advance past the marshes a deputation came to him from Lysinoe to surrender their city. From this point he entered the territory of Sagalassus, a fertile district rich in all kinds of fruits. Its Pisidian inhabitants are by far the best soldiers in that part of the world. Their military superiority, the fruitfulness of their soil, their large population, and the situation of their exceptionally strong city make them a brave people. As no envoys appeared when the consul reached their frontiers, he sent out plundering parties into their fields. At last, as they saw their crops carried off and their cattle driven away, their stubbornness yielded. The envoys whom they sent agreed to pay a fine of 50 talents, 20,000 medimni of wheat and an equal amount of barley, and on these terms they obtained peace. Making a further advance to the source of the Rhotris he encamped at a village called Acoridos Come. The next day Seleucus arrived from Apamea. The consul sent the sick and all the baggage which was not needed to Apamea, and after being supplied with guides by Seleucus, he

marched into the plain of Metropolis, and the next day to Dyniae in Phrygia. A further advance brought him to Synnada. All the cities round had been deserted by their inhabitants, and the army was so heavily laden with the booty from these places that they took a whole day to traverse the five miles to Old Beudi, as it is called. His next halt was at Anabura; the day following he encamped at the source of the Alander, and on the third day at Abassium. As he had now reached the frontiers of the Tolostobogii he remained encamped for several days.

A large body of Gauls, induced either by want of room or desire for plunder and convinced that none of the nations through whom they intended to pass was a match for them in arms, marched under the leadership of Brennus into the country of the Dardani. Here a quarrel arose, and as many as 20,000 of them left Brennus and went off under two of their chiefs, Lonorius and Lutarius, into Thrace. Fighting with those who opposed their progress and exacting tribute from those who asked for peace, they reached Byzantium. Here they remained for some time in occupation of the coast of the Propontis, all the cities in that region being tributary to them. When reports from those acquainted with Asia of the fertility of its soil reached their ears, they were seized with the desire of crossing over to it, and after capturing Lysimachia by treachery and making themselves masters of the whole of the Chersonese, they moved down to the Hellespont. They were all the more eager to make the passage when they saw that there was only a narrow strait which separated them, and they sent to Antipater, the governor of the coastal district, asking him to arrange for their transport. The matter took longer than they expected, and a fresh quarrel broke out between the chiefs. Lonorius, with the greater part of the host, returned to Byzantium; Lutarius took two decked ships and three light barques from some Macedonians who had been sent by Antipater, ostensibly as negotiators, but really as spies, and in these vessels he transported one detachment after another, night and day, until he had carried his whole force across. Not long afterwards, Lonorius, with the assistance of Nicomedes king of Bithynia, sailed across from Byzantium. The re−united Gauls assisted Nicomedes in his war against Ziboetas, who was holding a part of Bithynia, and it was mainly owing to them that Ziboetas was defeated and the whole of Bithynia brought under the rule of Nicomedes.

From Bithynia they went further into Asia. Out of the 20,000 men not more than 10,000 were carrying arms, yet so great was the terror they inspired in all the nations west of the Taurus, that those who had no experience of them, as well as those who had come into contact with them, the most remote as well as their next neighbours, all alike submitted to them. They were made up of three tribes, the Tolostobogii, the Trocmi and the Tectosagi, and in the end they divided the conquered territory of Asia into three parts, each tribe retaining its own tributary cities. The coast of the Hellespont was given to the Trocmi, the Tolostobogii took Aeolis and Ionia, and the Tectosagi received the inland districts. They levied tribute on the whole of Asia west of the Taurus, but fixed their own settlement on both sides of the Halys. Such was the terror of their name and the growth of their numbers that at last even the kings of Syria did not dare to refuse the payment of tribute. The first man in Asia to refuse was Attalus the father of Eumenes, and contrary to universal expectation, fortune favoured his courageous action; he proved himself superior in a pitched battle. The Gauls, however, were not so far disheartened as to renounce their supremacy in Asia; their power remained unimpaired down to the war between Antiochus and Rome. Even then, after the defeat of Antiochus, they quite expected that owing to their distance from the sea the Romans would not advance so far.

As it was this enemy, so much dreaded by all the people in that part of the world, that was to be met in war, the consul paraded his soldiers and delivered the following speech to them: "I am quite aware, soldiers, that of all the nations of Asia the Gauls have the highest military reputation. This fierce people, after wandering and warring over almost the entire world, have taken up their abode amongst the gentlest and most peaceable race of men. Their tall stature, their long red hair, their huge shields, their extraordinarily long swords; still more, their songs as they enter into battle, their war−whoops and dances, and the horrible clash of arms as they shake their shields in the way their fathers did before them−all these things are intended to terrify and appal. But let those fear them to whom they are strange and startling, such as the Greeks and Phrygians and Carians. We Romans are familiar with Gaulish tumults and know how they come to nothing. Once in the old days when our ancestors met them for the first time, they fled from them at the Alia; from that time for the last 200 years they have routed and slain them like so many herds of cattle, and almost more triumphs have been won over the Gauls than over the rest of the

world put together. Our experience has taught us this−if you withstand their first rush with its wild excitement and blind fury, their limbs become powerless with sweat and fatigue, their weapons hang idly; their flabby bodies and, when their fury has spent itself, their flabby spirits, too, are prostrated by sun and dust and thirst, even though you did not lift a sword against them. We have made trial of them, not only legions against legions, but man against man. T. Manlius and M. Valerius have shown how steady Roman courage can get the better of Gaulish frenzy. M. Manlius flung down single−handed the Gauls who were climbing the Capitol. And, besides, those ancestors of ours had to deal with genuine Gauls bred in their own land; these are degenerates, a mongrel race, truly what they are called−Gallograeci. Just as in the case of fruits and cattle, the seed is not so effective in keeping up the strain as the nature of the soil and climate in which they are reared are in changing it.

"The Macedonians who occupy Alexandria, Seleucia, Babylonia and their other colonies throughout the world, have degenerated into Syrians and Parthians and Egyptians. Massilia, situated amongst Gauls, has contracted something of the temperament of its neighbours. How much of the rough and stern discipline of Sparta has survived amongst the Tarentines? Everything grows most vigorously in its own home; when planted in an alien soil its nature changes and it deteriorates into that from which it gets its subsistence. As in the battle with Antiochus you slew the Phrygians in spite of their heavy Gaulish arms, so you will slay them now, you the victors, they the vanquished. I am more afraid of our gaining too little glory in this war than of gaining too much. Antiochus has often routed and scattered them. Do not imagine that it is only wild beasts which preserve their ferocity when newly−captured but after being fed for some time at the hands of men grow tame. Nature works in the same way in softening the savagery of men. Do you suppose that these men are the same as their fathers and grandfathers were? Driven from their home by want of room they wandered across the rugged coast of Illyria, and after traversing the whole length of Paeonia and Thrace and fighting their way through warlike nations took possession of these countries. After becoming hardened and savage by all they had to go through, they have found a home in a land which makes them fat with bountiful supplies of every kind. All the ferocity which they brought with them has been tamed by a most fertile soil, a most genial climate and the gentle character of the people amongst whom they have settled. You, sons of Mars, believe me, will have to be on your guard against the attractions of Asia and shun them from the very first; such power have the pleasures of other lands to weaken and destroy your energies, so easily can the habits and practices of the people round you affect you. It is, however, fortunate for us that though they cannot oppose you with anything like the strength they once could, they still enjoy their former reputation amongst the Greeks. You will therefore gain as much credit with our allies in conquering as if the Gauls you defeat had retained all the courage of old days."

After dismissing his men he sent messengers to Eposognatus, who was the only Gaulish chief who had remained friendly to Eumenes and refused assistance to Antiochus against the Romans. The consul then resumed his advance; on the first day he reached the Alander and the day after, a village called Tyscon. Here a deputation arrived from Oroanda begging for peace. They were ordered to pay 200 talents, and the consul allowed them to return home and report his demand to their government. From there he marched to Plitendum, his next halting−place being Alyatti. Here the messengers sent to Eposognatus returned in company with envoys from the chief, who begged the consul not to commence hostilities against the Tectosagi, as he would go to them himself and persuade them to submit. His request was granted. Then the army entered a tract of country called Axylon. It derives its name from the character of the soil; not only does it bear nothing in the shape of timber, but not even brambles or thorn bushes grow here, or anything which can serve for fuel. The inhabitants use cow−dung instead of wood. Whilst the Romans were encamped at Cuballum, a fortified place in Gallograecia, a body of enemy cavalry appeared making a great tumult. Their sudden attack not only threw the Roman outposts into confusion but caused some losses amongst them. As the tumult reached the camp, the Roman cavalry hurrying out from all the gates routed the Gauls and put them to flight, and a considerable number of the fugitives were slain.

The consul, aware that he was now in the enemy's country, advanced with caution, keeping his force well together and throwing out scouting parties. Marching continuously, he came to the river Sangarius, and as there was no possibility of fording it, he decided to construct a bridge. The Sangarius rises in the Adoreos range and flowing through Phrygia mingles its waters with the Tymbris on the frontier of Bithynia, and with its volume thus

increased flows through Bithynia and empties itself into the Propontis. It is not, however, so remarkable for its size as for the vast quantity of fish with which it supplies the inhabitants. When the bridge was completed the army crossed the river and as they were marching along the bank they were met by the "Galli" or priests of the Mater Magna from Pessinus with their insignia, who prophesied in mystic and oracular verses that the goddess was granting the Romans safety and victory in the war and the sovereignty of the country in which they were. The consul welcomed the omen and fixed his camp for the night on that very spot. The next day he arrived at Gordium. This is not a large place but it possesses a widely−known and much−frequented market; a larger one, in fact, than most inland towns. It is almost equally distant from three seas, the Hellespont, the Euxine at Sinope, and the sea which washes the shores of Cilicia, and also adjoins the territories of several large populations, who for the sake of mutual commercial advantages have made this their business centre. The Romans found it deserted, the inhabitants having fled, and stored with goods of every description. Whilst they were encamped here, envoys from Eposognatus arrived with the intelligence that he had interviewed the Gaulish chiefs but could not make them listen to reason. They were abandoning their villages and farms in the open country, and together with their wives and children were carrying their portable property and driving their flocks and herds before them towards Olympus. Here they intended to defend themselves by arms and their strong position.

Subsequently, more definite information was received from Oroanda to the effect that the Tolostobogii had actually occupied Olympus; that the Tectosagi going in a different direction had established themselves on another mountain called Magaba, and that the Trocmi had left their wives and children in the care of the Tectosagi and gone to the assistance of the Tolostobogii. The chiefs of these three tribes were Ortiagon, Comboiomarus and Gaulotus. Their main reason for adopting this mode of warfare was that by holding the principal heights in the country, provided with everything they might require for an indefinite period, they hoped to wear out the enemy. They never imagined he would venture to approach them over such steep and difficult ground; if he did make the attempt they believed that even a small force would be sufficient to dislodge him or throw him back in confusion; whilst if he remained inactive at the foot of the mountain he would be unable to endure the cold and hunger. Though the height of their position was itself a protection, they drew a trench and constructed other defences round the peaks on which they were established. Missile weapons they troubled themselves very little about as they thought the rocky ground would supply them with plenty of stones.

As the consul had anticipated that the fighting would not be at close quarters but would involve an attack upon positions from a distance, he accumulated a large quantity of javelins, light infantry spears, arrows and leaden balls and small stones suitable for hurling from slings. Provided with these missile weapons, he marched towards Olympus and encamped about four miles' distance from the mountain. On the morrow he sent Attalus with 500 cavalry to reconnoitre the ground and the situation of the Gaulish camp. While thus engaged a body of hostile cavalry, twice as large as his own force, sallied from their camp and put him to flight; some of his men were killed and several wounded. The next day the consul went out with the whole of his cavalry to explore, and as none of the enemy appeared outside their lines he made the circuit of the mountain in safety. He noticed that towards the south the ground rose in gentle slopes and was covered with soil; on the north the cliffs were precipitous and almost vertical. There were only three possible roads−everywhere else it was inaccessible−the one up the middle of the mountain free from rocks, and two which were difficult, one on the south−east and the other on the north−west. After making these observations he encamped for the day close to the foot of the mountain. The following day, after he had offered the sacrifices and the first victims had given favourable omens, he advanced against the enemy. The army was formed into three divisions; the largest he commanded in person and began the ascent where it afforded the easiest approach; his brother, L. Manlius, was ordered to advance from the southeastern side as far as the ground allowed of his doing so safely, but if he came to a dangerous or precipitous part he was not to struggle against the difficulties of the path nor try to force his way over insuperable obstacles. In that case he was to turn and march across the face of the mountain and unite his division with the one which the consul was leading. C. Helvius was to work gradually round the lower slopes of the mountain and then take his division up the north−eastern side. Attalus' auxiliaries were also formed into three divisions, Attalus himself accompanying the consul. The cavalry and elephants were left on the level ground at the bottom, and their commanders were under orders to watch carefully the progress of the action and render prompt assistance

wherever it was required.

The Gauls feeling confident that on two sides they were unassailable directed their attention to the southern slope. To close all access on this side they sent 4000 men to seize a height which commanded the road, distant rather less than a mile from their camp, where, as in a fort, they might prevent the enemy's advance. When they saw this, the Romans made ready for battle. Somewhat in front of the legions went the velites, the Cretan archers and slingers and the Tralli and Thracians under Attalus. The heavy infantry advanced slowly as the ground was steep and they held their shields in front of them, not because they expected a hand−to−hand contest, but simply to avoid the missiles. With the discharge of missiles the battle began, and at first it was fought on even terms as the Gauls had the advantage of their position, the Romans that of the variety and abundance of their missile weapons. As the struggle went on, however, it became anything but equal; the shields of the Gauls though long were not broad enough to cover their bodies, and being flat also afforded poor protection. Moreover, they had no weapons but their swords, and as they could not come to close quarters these were useless. They tried to make use of stones, but as they had not got any ready, they had to use what each man in his hurry and confusion could lay hands on, and unaccustomed as they were to these weapons, they could not make them more effective by either skill or strength. On all sides they were being hit by the arrows and leaden bullets and javelins which they were powerless to ward off; blinded by rage and fear they did not see what they were to do, and they found themselves engaged in the kind of fighting for which they were least fitted. In close fighting where they can receive and inflict wounds in turn, their fury stimulates their courage; so when they are being wounded by missiles flung from a distance by an unseen foe and there is no one against whom they can make a blind rush, they dash recklessly against their own comrades like wild beasts that have been speared. Their practice of always fighting naked makes their wounds more visible, and their bodies are white and fleshy as they never strip except in battle. Consequently more blood flowed from them, the open gashes appeared more horrible, and the whiteness of their bodies showed up the stain of the dark blood. Open wounds, however, do not trouble them much. Sometimes, where it is a surface bruise rather than a deep wound, they cut the skin, and even think that in this way they win greater glory in battle. But when the head of an arrow has gone in or a leaden bullet buried itself and it tortures them with what looks like a slight wound and defies all their efforts to get rid of it, they fling themselves on the ground in shame and fury at so small an injury threatening to prove fatal. So they were lying about everywhere, and some who rushed down on their enemy were being pierced with missiles from all sides; those who got to close quarters the velites slew with their swords. These soldiers carry a shield three feet long, javelins in their right hand for use at a distance and a Spanish sword in their belts. When they have to fight at close quarters they transfer the javelins to their left hands and draw their swords. Few of the Gauls now survived, and when they found themselves worsted by the light infantry and the legions coming on, they fled in disorder back to their camp, which was full of tumult and panic, as the women and children and other noncombatants were all crowded there together. The Romans took possession of the heights from which the enemy had fled.

L. Manlius and C. Helvius in the meanwhile had marched up as far as the mountain−side afforded a path, and when they came to a place where it was impossible to advance they each turned towards the only part which was accessible, and as though by mutual understanding, they followed the consul at some distance from each other. Necessity compelled them to adopt now what would have been the best course at the outset, for over such difficult ground supports have often proved of the greatest use; when the first line has been thrown into disorder the second line can shelter them and go into action fresh and unshaken. When the foremost ranks of the legions had gained the heights which the light infantry had captured, the consul ordered his men to rest and recover their breath. He pointed to the bodies of the Gauls scattered over the ground and said: "If the light infantry could fight as they have done, what may I not expect from the legions, from those who are fully armed, from the valour of my bravest soldiers? Surely after the light infantry have driven the enemy in confusion into their camp, you legionaries must storm and capture it." During this halt the light infantry had been busy collecting the missiles which were lying everywhere, in order that they might have a sufficient supply, and the consul now ordered them to advance. As they approached the camp, the Gauls, fearing lest their entrenchments should afford them insufficient protection, were standing in arms in front of the rampart. They were at once overwhelmed by a general discharge of missiles, for the greater their numbers and the closer their formation so much more surely did

every weapon find its mark. In a few minutes they were driven inside their lines, leaving only strong bodies to guard the camp gates. A heavy shower of missiles was now directed upon the masses in the camp, and the mingled shrieks of women and children showed that many of them were hit. Against those who were holding the gates the legionaries hurled their javelins. They were not wounded by them, but their shields were pierced, and thus hopelessly entangled together they were not able long to resist the Roman attack.

As the gates were now open, the Gauls fled in every direction from the camp before the victors burst in. Blindly they dashed along the paths and over places where there was no path; no precipices, no cliffs stopped them; they feared nothing but the enemy. Most of them fell headlong from the heights; they died, maimed and crushed. The consul kept his men from plundering the captured camp and ordered them to do their best to pursue and harass the enemy and increase his panic. When the second division under L. Manlius came up, he forbade them also to enter the camp, and sent them off at once in pursuit. After placing the prisoners in charge of the military tribunes he joined in the pursuit, for he believed that the war would be at an end if as many as possible were killed or made prisoners whilst they were in such a state of panic. After the consul had gone, C. Helvius came up with his division, and was unable to restrain his men from plundering the camp, and so by a most unfair chance the booty went to those who had no share of the fighting. The cavalry stood for a long time knowing nothing of the battle or the victory which their comrades had won. Then they rode, wherever their horses could travel, after the Gauls dispersed round the mountain, and either killed or took them prisoners.

It was not easy to get at the number of those killed, for the flight and the carnage extended over all the spurs and ravines of the mountain, and a great many losing their way had fallen into the deep recesses below; many, too, were killed in the woods and thickets. Claudius, who states that there were two battles on Olympus, puts the number of killed at 40,000; Valerius Antias, who is usually more given to exaggeration, says that there were not more than 10,000. The prisoners, no doubt, amounted to 40,000, because they had carried with them a multitude of both sexes and all ages, more like emigrants than men going to war. The enemy's weapons were gathered into a heap and burnt, and the consul ordered the troops to collect the rest of the booty. That portion which was to go to the State he sold; the rest he distributed with most scrupulous fairness amongst the soldiers. He then paraded them, and after warmly commending the services which the whole army had rendered, he conferred rewards on each according to their merit, especially on Attalus, who was unanimously applauded, for the exemplary courage and untiring energy which the young prince had shown in facing toils and dangers was only equalled by his modesty.

Now came the campaign against the Tectosagi, and the consul commenced his advance against them. In a three days' march he reached Ancyra, a city of importance in that district, and the enemy were only ten miles distant from it. Whilst he was here in camp a remarkable incident occurred in connection with a female prisoner. The wife of a chief named Orgiagon, a woman of exceptional beauty, was with other captives in the custody of a centurion who was notorious even amongst soldiers for his licentiousness and greed. At first he made improper proposals to her, but finding that she treated them with abhorrence, he took advantage of her servile condition and violated her. Then, to assuage her anger and shame at the outrage, he held out hopes to her of returning to her friends, but not as a lover would have done without ransom. He stipulated for a certain weight of gold, and to prevent his men from knowing anything about it, he allowed her to choose one of the prisoners and send a message by him to her friends. A spot by the river was fixed upon where not more than two of her friends were to come with the gold on the following night and receive her. There happened to be amongst the prisoners one of her own slaves, and this man was conducted by the centurion beyond the ramparts as soon as it was dark. The following night two of her friends and the centurion with his captive met at the place. Whilst they were showing him the gold, which amounted to an Attic talent−the sum agreed upon−the woman speaking in her own language ordered them to draw their swords and cut off the centurion's head while he was counting out the gold. Wrapping up the murdered man's head in her robe, she took it to her husband, who had fled home from Olympus. Before embracing him she flung down the head at his feet, and whilst he was wondering whose head it could possibly be, or what such an unwomanly act could mean, she told him about the outrage she had endured and the revenge she had taken for her violated chastity. It is recorded that by the purity and strictness of her life she maintained to the

very last the honour of a deed so worthy of a matron.

Whilst the consul was in camp at Ancyra he was visited by envoys from the Tectosagi, who begged him not to advance any further until he had had a conference with their kings, and assured him that there were no terms of peace which they would not prefer to war. The next day was fixed for the interview; the spot selected was one that seemed to be halfway between Ancyra and the Gaulish camp. The consul went there at the appointed time with an escort of 500 cavalry, but as not a single Gaul was in sight he returned to camp. The envoys reappeared and excused the absence of the chiefs on religious grounds; they promised that some of their principal men would come, as matters could be equally well transacted with them. The consul said that he would send Attalus to represent him. Both parties came; Attalus with an escort of 300 cavalry. The terms of peace were discussed, but no final result could be reached in the absence of the leaders; so it was arranged that the consul should meet the chiefs on the following day. The Gauls had a double object in delaying negotiations; first, to gain time, so that they might transport their property, which might, they feared, expose them to danger, across the Halys, together with their wives and children; secondly, because they were hatching a plot against the consul, who was not taking any precautions against treachery at the conference. For this purpose they had selected out of their entire force 1000 men of proved daring, and the design would have succeeded if fortune had not defended the law of nations which they intended to violate. The Roman troops were sent to collect forage and wood near the place of the conference, as this appeared to the military tribunes to be the safest course, since they would have the consul and his escort between them and the enemy. Another detachment of 600 mounted men was stationed nearer their camp.

On receiving Attalus' assurance that the kings would come and that the negotiations could be completed, the consul started from the camp with the same escort as before. He had ridden nearly five miles and was not far from the appointed place when he suddenly saw the Gauls coming on at full gallop with hostile intent. Halting his force and bidding them prepare themselves and their arms for battle, he met the first charge firmly without giving ground. Then when the weight of numbers began to tell he slowly retired, keeping his ranks unbroken, but at last when there was more danger in remaining on the field than safety in keeping their ranks, they all broke and fled. Thus scattered they were hard pressed by the Gauls, as they cut them down, and a large proportion of them would have been destroyed had not the 600 who were posted to protect the foragers met them in their flight. They had heard the shouts of alarm amongst their comrades, and hurriedly getting their weapons and horses ready they came fresh into the fight when it was almost over. This turned the fortunes of the day. and the panic recoiled from the defeated on to the conquerors. The Gauls were routed in the first charge, and as the foragers came running up from the fields, the enemy found themselves met on every side, with hardly any way of escape open. The Romans on fresh horses were pursuing those which were tired and exhausted, and few escaped. No prisoners were taken. By far the greater number paid the death penalty for their breach of good faith. Furious at this treachery the Romans advanced in full strength against the enemy the following day.

The consul spent two days in making a close inspection of the natural features of the mountain that he might be familiar with every detail. The next day, after taking the auspices and offering the sacrifices, he led out his army. It was formed into four divisions; two of these he intended to take up the middle of the mountain, the two others were to ascend the sides and take the Gauls in both flanks. The dispositions of the enemy were as follows: the Tectosagi and the Trocmi, who formed his main strength, numbering 50,000 men, held the centre; the cavalry, 10,000 strong, were dismounted as horses were useless on that broken ground, and formed the right wing; the Cappadocians under Ariarathes and the Morzian auxiliaries, in all about 4000, were posted on the left. The consul placed his light infantry in the first line as he had done in the battle on Olympus, and took care that they should have an equally ample supply of weapons at hand. When they approached the enemy all the features of the former battle were reproduced except that the courage of the one side was raised by their recent victory and that of the other side depressed, for the enemy though not yet themselves defeated, looked upon the defeat of their fellow−countrymen as tantamount to their own. As the battle began, so it ended in the same way. A perfect cloud of missiles overwhelmed the Gauls. None durst run forward from his entrenchments lest he should expose his naked body to the certainty of being hit from all sides, and whilst they remained standing within their lines in

close formation, they received more wounds the more densely they were packed, as though each man was specially aimed at. The consul thought that the sight of the standards of the legions would put the already demoralised Gauls to instant flight, and accordingly he retired the light infantry and other skirmishers within the ranks of the legions and ordered an advance.

The Gauls, unnerved by the memory of the defeat of the Tolostobogii, exhausted by their long standing and their wounds, with the javelins sticking in their bodies, did not wait for the first charge and battle−shout of the Romans. They fled towards their camp, but few gained the shelter of their entrenchments; the greater number rushed past them right or left, where−ever their eagerness to escape carried them. The victors pursued them up to their camp, slaying them from behind, but once at the camp they stopped in their eagerness for plunder; no one continued the pursuit. The Gauls held their ground somewhat longer on the wings, as it took longer to reach them; they did not, however, wait for the first discharge of missiles. As the consul could not keep his men from looting the camp, he sent the other two divisions in instant pursuit. They followed them up for a considerable distance and killed in all some 8000 men in the flight; there was no attempt at fighting. The survivors crossed the Halys. A large part of the Roman army passed the night in the enemy's camp; the rest the consul led back to their own camp. The day following, the consul counted up the prisoners and the booty; the amount of the latter was as great as even a nation that was always bent on rapine, and had for many years held by force of arms all the country west of the Taurus, could possibly have amassed. After the Gauls had collected from their scattered flight, most of them wounded, without arms, and stripped of all their belongings, they sent to the consul to sue for peace. Manlius ordered them to go to Ephesus. He himself, anxious to get out of the cold district near the Taurus−it was now the middle of autumn−led his victorious army back to the coast for their winter quarters.

During these operations in Asia things were quiet in the other provinces. In Rome the censors T. Quinctius Flamininus and M. Claudius Marcellus revised the roll of senators. P. Scipio Africanus was for the third time selected to lead the Senate, and only four members were struck off the roll, none of whom had held any curule office. The censors showed great forbearance also in revising the list of equites. They contracted for the building of the substructure on the Capitol over the Aequimelium and also the laying down of a paved road from the Porta Capena to the temple of Mars. The Campanians asked the Senate to decide where their census should be taken, and it was decreed that it should be taken in Rome. There were very heavy floods this year; on twelve several occasions the Tiber inundated the Campus Martius and the low−lying parts of the City. After Cn. Manlius had brought the war against the Gauls in Asia to a close, the other consul, M. Fulvius, now that the Aetolians were subjugated, sailed across to Cephallania, and sent round to the various cities in the island to ask them which they preferred−surrender to the Romans or the chances of war. Fear prevented them all from refusing to surrender, and they gave the hostages, which the consul demanded in proportion to their scanty resources. Peace beyond their hopes had now dawned upon the Cephallanians, when suddenly, for some unknown reason, one city that of Same, revolted. They said that, as their city occupied an advantageous position, they were afraid that the Romans might compel them to live elsewhere. Whether this was an invention on their part, and their breach of the peace was due to imaginary fears, or whether the matter had been talked about amongst the Romans and so come to their ears, is quite uncertain. What is certain is that after giving hostages they closed their gates, and though the consul sent these hostages to the walls to appeal to the sympathies of their fellow−citizens and kinsmen, they refused to abandon their opposition. As no peaceable reply was given, the siege of the city was begun. The consul had all the siege−engines brought from Ambracia, and the soldiers rapidly completed what works had to be made. The rams began to batter the walls in two directions.

Nothing was left undone by the Samaeans in the way of defence against siege−works or assaults. Their method of resistance was mainly two−fold. On the one hand, where the wall was destroyed they always built a strong one inside close to it, and on the other they made sudden sorties, at one time against the siege−works, at another against the outposts. In these actions they generally proved superior. One method was discovered of keeping them back; a simple one, but worth mentioning. A hundred slingers were sent for from Aegium, Patrae and Dymae. These men had been in the habit, as their fathers had before them, of practicing with their slings, with which they used to hurl into the sea the round stones lying on the beach. In this way they gained a more accurate and longer

range than the Baliaric slingers. Their slings, too, were not made of a single strap, like those of the Baliarics and other nations, but they consisted of three thongs, stiffened by beings sewn together. This prevented the bullet from flying off at random when the thong was let go; when fixed in the sling it could be so whirled round as to fly out as though from the string of a bow. They used to send their stones through rings at a great distance, as targets, and were thus able to hit not only the head but whatever part of the face they aimed at. These slings kept the Samaeans from making such frequent or such daring sorties; so much so in fact that they called to the Achaeans from their walls and begged them to retire for a time and remain quiet spectators while they fought with the Roman outposts. Same sustained a siege of four months. Day by day some of their scanty numbers fell or were wounded, and the survivors became exhausted in mind and body. At last the Romans surmounted the wall and forced their way through the citadel which they call the Cyatis−the city extends on the west down to the sea−and appeared in the forum. When the Samaeans found that the city was partly captured by the enemy they took refuge in the larger citadel with their wives and children. The next day they surrendered; the city was sacked, and the whole of its population sold into slavery.

After settling matters in Cephallania and placing at garrison in Same, the consul sailed to the Peloponnesus, whither the people of Aegium and the Lacedaemonians had for some time urged him to go. Either as a concession to its importance or owing to its convenient situation, Aegium had been the meeting−place of the Council of the League ever since it had been formed. This year for the first time Philopoemen tried to do away with this custom, and was preparing to bring in a law enacting that the Assembly should be held in each city of the League in turn. Just before the consul's visit the Damiourgi (the supreme magistrates) of the various States had convened a meeting of the League at Aegium, whilst Philopoemen the captain−general had summoned them to Argos. As they would evidently almost all meet there, the consul, though he was in favour of Aegium, went to Argos. Here the question was debated, and when he saw that the Assembly were inclined towards Argos, he gave way. The Lacedaemonians then drew his attention to their grievances. The main cause of anxiety to their city was the threatening attitude of the exiles, many of whom were living in forts and villages which they had seized on the Laconian coast. The Lacedaemonians chafed under this state of things; they wanted to have access to the sea somewhere or other in case they wanted to send a mission to Rome or elsewhere, and also that they might have a free port in which to receive merchandise and necessaries from abroad. They made an attack by night upon a maritime village called Las. The villagers and exiles were at first terror−struck by the unlooked−for attack, but before it was day they collected in a body and without much difficulty drove the Lacedaemonians out. Then the whole of the coast took alarm and all the forts and villages and the exiles who had made their homes there sent a joint appeal to the Achaeans for help.

From the first, Philopoemen had championed the cause of the exiles and had always tried to persuade the Achaeans to abridge the power and influence of the Lacedaemonians. He now summoned a council to hear the envoys, and on his initiative a decree was passed in the following terms: "Whereas T. Quinctius and the Romans have committed to the good faith and protection of the Achaeans the villages and forts on the coast of Laconia, and whereas the village of Las has been attacked by the Lacedaemonians who were bound by treaty not to interfere with them, and blood has been shed there, we decree that unless the authors and abettors of this outrage are surrendered to the Achaeans, the treaty shall be held to be broken." A mission was at once despatched to Lacedaemon to insist on this demand. So arbitrary and arrogant did it appear in the eyes of the Lacedaemonians that if that city had been in the position it once held they would undoubtedly have taken up arms. What they feared most of all was that if they submitted to the yoke so far as to comply with this initial demand, Philopoemen would carry out the policy he had long contemplated of handing Lacedaemon to the exiles. In a frenzy of anger they put to death thirty men who belonged to the party who were in league with Philopoemen and the exiles, and then passed a decree denouncing the alliance with the Achaeans and ordering the immediate despatch of a mission to Cephallania to make a formal surrender of Lacedaemon to the consul and to Rome, begging him to come to the Peloponnesus and receive their city into the protection and suzerainty of the people of Rome.

When these proceedings were reported to the Achaeans, all the States of the League with one consent proclaimed war against the Lacedaemonians. Winter prevented any immediate operations on a large scale, but their territories

were devastated by bodies of raiders both by land and sea, more in the fashion of brigandage than of regular warfare. It was this disturbance that brought the consul to the Peloponnesus, and by his orders a council was summoned to Elis and the Lacedaemonians were invited to state their case. The discussion soon became a heated quarrel, which the consul put an end to. He was anxious to befriend both sides and after giving a reply which committed him to nothing, warned them both to abstain from hostilities until their representatives had appeared before the Senate. Both sides sent delegates to Rome; the Lacedaemonian exiles entrusted their cause to the Achaeans. The leaders of the Achaean embassy were Diophanes and Lycortas, both natives of Megalopolis. They were opposed to one another in their political views and the speeches they delivered showed a similar divergence. Diophanes was for leaving the decision on every point to the Senate as they would settle the matters in dispute between the Achaeans and the Lacedaemonians in the best possible way. Lycortas, acting on instructions from Philopoemen, claimed the right of the Achaeans to execute their decree in accordance with the treaty and their laws, and pleaded that as the Senate had been the instrument of their freedom, so they should preserve that freedom for them undiminished and unimpaired. At that time the Achaeans stood high in Roman esteem; it was, however, decided that the position of the Lacedaemonians should be in no way changed. The reply of the senate was so ambiguous that while the Achaeans assumed that they had a free hand with regard to Lacedaemon, the Lacedaemonians interpreted it to mean that the Achaeans had not gained all they asked for.

The Achaeans made a most unscrupulous use of the permission which they considered to have been granted them. Philopoemen was still in office and in the first days of spring he called out the army and fixed his camp on Lacedaemonian territory. Then he sent to demand the authors of the revolt, and promised that if the city would surrender them it should remain at peace, and the men themselves should suffer no injury until their case had been heard. Fear kept the rest silent; those who had been named declared their willingness to go, as they had received from Philopoemen's emissaries a guarantee that they would be safe from violence until they had pleaded their cause. Others, men of high position, went with them to support their friends and also because they considered their cause to be the cause of the State. Never before had the Achaeans brought the exiles with them on to Lacedaemonian soil, because they thought that nothing would do more to estrange their fellow−countrymen from them, but now they were almost in the forefront of the whole army. When the Lacedaemonians came to the gate of the camp the exiles met them in a body. At first they assailed them with insults; then passions became heated on both sides, and the more ferocious of the exiles made an attack upon the Lacedaemonians. Whilst these were appealing to the gods and the pledged word of Philopoemen's emissaries, and he and his emissaries were keeping back the crowd and protecting the Lacedaemonians and preventing some from actually manacling them, a large crowd collected and the disturbance increased. The Achaeans ran up to see what was going on, and the exiles, protesting loudly about the sufferings they had endured, implored their help and told them if they let this opportunity slip they would never again have such a favourable one. "The treaty which had been solemnly published in the Capitol at Olympia and in the citadel at Athens had been set at nought by these men, and before we are bound by another treaty the guilty must be punished." This language excited the crowd, and one man shouted out "Kill them." On this they flung stones at them, and seventeen men who had been thrown into chains during the tumult were killed. On the following day sixty−three were arrested whom Philopoemen had protected from violence, not that he was concerned for their safety, but because he did not want them to perish before the day of trial. Victims to the fury of the mob, they spoke but little and that to deaf ears. All were found guilty and handed over for punishment.

Having thus terrorised the Lacedaemonians, they sent them peremptory orders: first, that they must destroy their walls; secondly, that all the foreign mercenaries who had served under the tyrants must depart from the land of Laconia; thirdly, that all the slaves whom the tyrants had set free, and of whom there was a large number, must leave by a certain day; any who remained the Achaeans would have the right to carry off and sell; lastly, they must abrogate the laws and customs of Lycurgus and accustom themselves to the laws and institutions of the Achaeans, as in this way they would form one body and unite more easily in a common policy. With none of these demands did they comply more readily than with that demanding the destruction of their walls, and none roused such bitter feeling as that demanding the restoration of the exiles. A decree for their restoration was passed in the Council of the Achaeans at Tegea, and it was stated that the foreign mercenaries had been disbanded, and

that the "naturalised Lacedaemonians," for so they designated the slaves set free by the tyrants, had left the city and dispersed into the surrounding country. On receiving this intelligence it was decided that before the army was demobilised the captain−general should go with a light force and arrest those people and sell them as lawfully acquired booty. Many were thus caught and sold. With the money thus raised the colonnade at Megalopolis, which the Lacedaemonians had destroyed, was at the suggestion of the Achaeans restored. This city also won back the territory of Belbina, which the tyrants of Lacedaemon had wrongfully taken possession of; this was in pursuance of an old decree made by the Achaeans during the reign of Philip the son of Amyntas. Through these measures the city of Lacedaemon lost the sinews of her strength, and was for a long time at the mercy of the Achaeans. No loss, however, affected her more deeply than the loss of the discipline of Lycurgus, which they had maintained for 800 years.

After the meeting of the Council in which the dispute between the Achaeans and the Lacedaemonians took place before the consul, M. Fulvius returned to Rome for the purpose of conducting the elections, as the year was now drawing to a close. M. Aemilius Lepidus, one of the candidates, was a personal enemy of his, and he refused to allow any votes to be cast for him. The consuls elected were M. Valerius Messala and C. Livius Salinator. The praetors elected were Q. Marcius Philippus, M. Claudius Marcellus, C. Stertinius, C. Atinius, P. Claudius Pulcher and L. Manlius Acidinus. When the elections were over it was decided that M. Fulvius should return to his army and command, and an extension of office was granted to him and to his colleague Cn. Manlius. This year P. Cornelius, as directed by the Keepers of the Sacred Books, placed a statue of Hercules and a chariot with six horses, all gilded, in the Capitol. The inscription stated that it had been given by a consul. Twelve gilt shields were also hung there by the curule aediles P. Claudius Pulcher and Servius Sulpicius Gallus out of the fines levied on corn factors who had been holding back their grain. Another had been convicted at the instance of the plebeian aedile, on two separate charges, and with this fine he provided two gilt statues. His colleague A. Caecilius had not prosecuted any one. The Roman Games were exhibited three times, the Plebeian Games five times. Immediately on entering into office on the Ides of March the new consuls consulted the senate on the policy to be pursued in the provinces and the armies. No change was made with regard to Aetolia or Asia. Pisa and Liguria were assigned to one consul, Gaul to the other. They were instructed to come to a mutual arrangement, or failing that to ballot, as to which province each should take, and each was to raise afresh army of two Roman legions and 15,000 foot and 1200 cavalry from the Italian allies. Liguria fell to Messala; Gaul to Salinator. Then the praetors balloted for their commands. The City jurisdiction fell to M. Claudius; the alien to P. Claudius; Sicily to Q. Marcius; Sardinia to C. Stertinius; Hither Spain to L. Manlius; and Further Spain to C. Atinius.

In the case of the armies abroad it was settled that the legions in Gaul which had been under C. Laelius should be transferred to the propraetor M. Tuccius for service in Bruttium. The army in Sicily was to be disbanded, and the fleet lying there M. Sempronius the propraetor was to bring back to Rome. It was decreed that the legion stationed in each of the two Spanish provinces should remain there, and the praetors were each to take with them 3000 infantry and 200 cavalry drawn from the allies as reinforcements. Before the new magistrates left for their provinces, special intercessions for three days were ordered on the authority of the Keepers of the Sacred Books to be offered at all the cross−roads owing to a darkness which came over in broad daylight between the third and fourth hours. Sacrifices were also enjoined for nine days in consequence of a shower of stones on the Aventine. The Campanians had been obliged by a decree of the senate passed the year before to have their census taken in Rome as it had previously been uncertain where they ought to be enrolled. They now requested that they might be allowed to marry women who were Roman citizenesses, and that any who had already done so might hold themselves to be lawfully married, and that children already born might be regarded as legitimate and capable of inheriting property. Both requests were granted. One of the tribunes of the plebs, C. Valerius Tappo, brought forward a proposal granting the full franchise to the citizens of the municipal boroughs of Formiae, Fundi and Arpinum. They had hitherto enjoyed the citizenship without the power of voting. This motion was opposed by four of the tribunes on the ground that it had not received the sanction of the senate, but on being informed that it rested with the people and not the senate to confer the franchise on whom they chose, they abandoned their opposition. The citizens of Formiae and Fundi were authorised to vote in the Aemilian tribe, and those of Arpinum in the Cornelian. In these tribes, therefore, they were for the first time enrolled by virtue of the

plebiscite, passed on the motion of Valerius. The censor M. Claudius Marcellus, to whom the ballot gave precedence over T. Quinctius, closed the lustrum. The census gave the number of citizens as 258,318. After these matters were settled the consuls left for their provinces.

During this winter Cn. Manlius, who was passing the season in Asia first as consul and then as proconsul, was visited by deputations from all the cities and nationalities west of the Taurus. Whilst the Romans regarded their victory over Antiochus as a more notable one than their subsequent victory over the Gauls, their Asiatic allies rejoiced more over the latter than the former. Subjection to the king was a much easier thing to bear than the ferocity of the ruthless barbarians and the terror which haunted them from one day to another, for they never knew in what direction that ferocity might sweep them like a storm upon plundering and devastating raids. They had regained their liberty through the repulse of Antiochus and their peace through the subjugation of the Gauls, and now they brought to the consul not only their congratulations and thanks but also golden crowns, each according to their ability. Delegates came, too, from Antiochus and even from the Gauls themselves to learn the conditions of peace. Ariarathes also sent envoys from Cappadocia to sue for forgiveness and offer a pecuniary atonement for his offence in assisting Antiochus. He was ordered to pay 600 talents of silver and the Gauls were told that when Eumenes arrived they would have the conditions of peace given to them. The delegations from the various cities were dismissed with gracious replies and went away even happier than they had come. Those from Antiochus received instructions to convey money and corn into Pamphylia, as agreed with L. Scipio, as the consul was going there with his army.

At the beginning of spring, therefore, after performing the lustrations on behalf of his army, he commenced his march, and after eight days reached Apamea. Here he remained encamped for three days, and then advanced into Pamphylia where he had ordered the king's envoys to deposit the money and the corn. He received 1500 talents of silver which were taken to Apamea; the corn was distributed amongst the soldiers. From there he advanced to Perga, the only city in that country which was held by a garrison of the king's troops. On his approach he was met by the commandant who asked for a respite of thirty days that he might consult Antiochus about surrendering the city. He was allowed the interval and on the thirtieth day the garrison evacuated the place. Whilst the consul was at Perga he sent his brother L. Manlius with a force of 4000 men to Oroanda to exact the rest of the money which, according to the stipulation, was to be paid. On learning that Eumenes and the ten commissioners from Rome had arrived at Ephesus, he led his army back to Apamea and ordered the envoys from Antiochus to follow him.

Here the treaty as settled by the ten commissioners was drawn up. The substance of it was as follows: "There shall be peace and amity between King Antiochus and the Roman people on these terms and conditions: The king shall not suffer any army purposing to levy war on the Roman people or their allies to pass through the borders of his kingdom or of any subject to him, nor shall he assist it with provisions or in any other way whatever. The Romans and their allies shall act in like manner towards Antiochus and those under his sway. Antiochus shall have no right to levy war upon those who dwell in the islands, or to sail across to Europe. He shall withdraw from all the cities, lands, villages and forts west of the Taurus as far as the Halys and extending from the lowlands of the Taurus up to the range which stretches towards Lycaonia. He shall not carry any arms from the aforesaid towns and lands and forts from which he withdraws; if he has carried any away he shall duly restore them to whatever place they belong. He shall not reclaim any soldier or any other person whatever from the kingdom of Eumenes. If any citizens belonging to the cities which are passing from under his rule are with Antiochus or within the boundaries of his realm, they shall all return to Apamea by a certain day; if any of Antiochus' subjects are with the Romans and their allies they shall be at liberty to depart or to remain. He shall restore to the Romans and their allies the slaves, whether fugitives or prisoners of war, or any free man who has been taken captive or is a deserter. He shall give up his elephants and not procure any more. He shall likewise make over his ships of war and all their tackle, nor shall he possess more than ten light decked ships, none of which may be propelled by more than thirty oars, and no smaller ones for use in any war which he may undertake. He shall not take his ships west of the headlands of the Calycadnus or the Sorpedon, save only such ships as shall carry money or tribute or envoys or hostages. Antiochus shall not have the right to hire mercenary troops from those nations which shall be under the suzerainty of Rome nor to accept them even as volunteers. Such houses and buildings as belonged to the

Rhodians and their allies within the dominions of Antiochus shall be held by them on the same right as before the war. If any moneys are due to them they shall have the same right to exact them, if aught has been taken from them, they shall have the right of search and recovery. Whatever cities amongst those that are to be surrendered they hold as a gift from Antiochus; he shall withdraw the garrisons from them and provide for their due surrender. He shall pay 12,000 Attic talents of sterling silver in equal instalments over twelve years−the talent shall weigh not less than 80 Roman pounds−and 540,000 modii of wheat. To King Eumenes he shall pay 350 talents within five years, and in place of corn its value in money, 127 talents. He shall give twenty hostages to the Romans and exchange them for others in three years, that none may be less than eighteen or more than forty−five years of age. If any of the allies of Rome shall wantonly and without provocation make war on Antiochus, he shall have the right to repel them by force of arms, always providing that he shall not hold any city by right of war or receive it into friendship and amity. Disputes shall be determined before a judicial tribunal, or if both parties shall so will it, by war." There was an additional clause dealing with the surrender of Hannibal, Thoas and Mnasilochus, as well as Eubulidas and Philo of Chalcidaea, and also a proviso that if it should afterwards be decided to add to, or repeal, or alter any of the articles, that should be done without impairing the validity of the treaty.

The consul took the oath to observe the treaty, and Q. Minucius Thermus and L. Manlius who happened to have just returned from Oroanda went to demand the oath from the king. The consul also sent written instructions to Q. Fabius Labeo, who was in command of the fleet, to proceed forthwith to Patara and break up or burn all the king's ships which were stationed there. Fifty decked ships were thus either broken up or burnt. During this voyage he retook Telmessus, where the inhabitants had been greatly alarmed at the sudden appearance of the fleet. Leaving Lycia he continued his voyage, and sailing through the Archipelago he landed in Greece, and stayed a few days at Athens, waiting for the ships which he had ordered to follow him from Ephesus. As soon as they entered the Peiraeus he returned with the entire fleet to Italy. Amongst the things which were to be taken from Antiochus were his elephants, and these Cn. Manlius presented to Eumenes. He then commenced an investigation into the circumstances of the different cities, many of which were in a state of confusion owing to the political changes. Ariarathes had about this time betrothed his daughter to Eumenes, and owing to the latter's good offices half the indemnity demanded from him was remitted.

When the investigation into the circumstances and position of the different cities was completed, the ten commissioners decided each case upon its merits. Those which had been tributary to Antiochus but whose sympathies had been with Rome were granted immunity from all tribute. Those who had sided with Antiochus or paid tribute to Attalus were all ordered to pay tribute to Eumenes. The natives of Colophon who were living at Notium, together with the inhabitants of Cymae and Mylasa, were also specially named as receiving immunity. To Clazomenae was given the island of Drymussa, as well as immunity. They restored to the Milesians the so−called "sacred ground," and the inhabitants of Ilium received Rhoeteum and Gergithus as additions to their territory not so much on account of services recently rendered as in recognition of its being the original home, and for the same reason Dardanus was granted its liberty. Chios, Zmyrna and Erythrae in return for their conspicuous loyalty in the war received a grant of territory and were treated with especial honour. The territory which the Phoceans had held before the war was restored to them, and they were allowed to enjoy their old constitution. The grants made to Rhodes under a former decree were confirmed; these included Lycia and Caria as far as the Maeander, with the exception of Telmessus. The dominions of Eumenes were enlarged by the addition of the European Chersonesus and Lysimachia, the forts, villages and territory within the limits of Antiochus' rule; in Asia the two Phrygias, the one on the Hellespont, the other called "Greater Phrygia"; Mysia which Prusias had taken from him was restored as well as Lycaonia, Milyas and Lydia, and the cities of Tralles, Ephesus and Telmessus, which were specially named. With regard to Pamphylia a difficulty arose between Eumenes and the envoys of Antiochus, as part of it lies on one side the Taurus and part on the other, and the matter was referred to the senate.

After these articles of peace had been finally settled and accepted, Manlius proceeded to the Hellespont with the ten commissioners and the whole of his army. Here he summoned the Gaulish chiefs to meet him and informed them of the terms upon which they were to keep the peace with Eumenes, and warned them that they must put a

stop to their custom of making armed forays and confine themselves to the limits of their own territories. He then collected his ships from the whole extent of the coast, and with the addition of Eumenes' fleet, which was brought up by his brother Athenaeus, the consul was able to transport the whole of his force to Europe. The army was heavily weighted with spoils of every description and its advance consequently through the Chersonese was at a moderate pace till they reached Lysimachia. Here they rested for some time in order that their draught cattle might be as strong and fresh as possible before they entered Thrace, as they generally dreaded the march through that country. The same day on which he left Lysimachia the consul reached Melas, and the next day he arrived at Cypsela. From Cypsela a ten miles' march over broken ground shut in by forests awaited them. In view of the difficulties of the route the army was formed into two divisions. One was ordered to march in advance, the other, at a considerable distance, to bring up the rear. The baggage was placed between them. This included the wagons carrying the State money and other valuable booty. Whilst marching through a pass in this order a body of Thracians drawn from the four tribes of Astii, Caeni, Maduateni and Coreli, not more than 10,000 in number, occupied each side of the road at its narrowest part. It was generally thought that this was due to treachery on Philip's part, that he knew the Romans would return through Thrace and was also aware of the amount of money they were carrying.

The general was with the first division and the broken and difficult ground made him anxious. As long as the armed troops were passing through, the Thracians did not stir, but when they saw that the vanguard had cleared the narrowest part of the pass and those behind were nowhere near, they attacked the baggage and the pack animals, and killing the escort began to loot the wagons, while others led off the horses with their packs. The cries and shouts were first heard by those behind who had already entered the pass; then they reached the leading division. From both directions a rush was made to the centre, and irregular fighting began at several points. The booty itself exposed the Thracians to slaughter, hampered as they were by the loads they were carrying, and most of them without arms that they might have their hands free for pillage. The unfavourable ground on the other hand exposed the Romans to the barbarians, who ran up through paths they were familiar with or concealed themselves in the recesses of the rocks. Even the packs and wagons obstructed the combatants and interfered with the movements of one side or the other just as it chanced. Here a plunderer fell; there, one trying to recover the plunder. The fortunes of the battle changed as first one side and then the other was on favourable or unfavourable ground; as the courage of each rose or fell; as the numbers preponderated on either side, some engaged with larger, others with smaller bodies than their own. Many fell on both sides and night was already coming on when the Thracians drew off from the fight, not to escape wounds and death, but because they had as much plunder as they wanted.

When they had got clear of the pass, the first division of the Roman army encamped on open ground near the temple of Bendis. The second remained in the pass to protect the baggage train which they enclosed with a double rampart. The next day after reconnoitring the pass, they joined the front division. The fighting had practically extended the whole length of the pass, a portion of the pack animals and camp servants had fallen and a considerable number of soldiers. But the most serious loss was that of the gallant and energetic Q. Minucius Thermus. In the course of the day they reached the Hebrus, and from there they marched past a temple to the Zerynthian Apollo, as the natives call him, into the country of the Aenians. Another defile near Tempyra had to be crossed, not less precipitous than the one already surmounted, but as there was no wooded country around it, it afforded no concealment for an ambush. Another Thracian tribe, the Thrausi, had assembled here, quite as greedy of plunder, but their movements, as they tried to block the pass, were visible from afar owing to the bareness of the landscape. The Romans were very little perturbed as though the ground was ill−adapted for maneuvering, they saw that they could fight on a proper front in a regular action. Charging in close order and raising their battle−cry they drove the enemy from his ground and then put him to flight. The narrowness of the pass crowded the fugitives together, and there was much slaughter.

The victorious Romans encamped at a village belonging to Maronia called Sale. The following day, marching through open country, they entered the plain of Priantae. Here they remained, taking in corn partly from the country people, who brought it in from their fields, and partly from the ships of the fleet which were loaded with

all sorts of stores and were following their movements. A day's march brought them to Apollonia and from here, through the district of Abdera, they arrived at Neapolis. The whole of this march through the Greek colonies was unmolested, but the other part through the heart of Thrace, though not actually opposed, demanded caution both by day and night. When this army traversed the same route under Scipio they found the Thracians less aggressive; the only reason for this being that there was less chance of plunder, plunder being their one object. We are, however, told by Claudius that a body of Thracians, amounting to some 15,000, sought to oppose Muttines the Numidian, who was reconnoitring in advance of the main army. There were 400 Numidian cavalry and a few elephants; the son of Muttines, with 150 picked troopers, rode through the middle of the enemy, and after Muttines with his elephants in the centre and his cavalry on the flanks had engaged the enemy, his son attacked their rear and created such disorder amongst them that they never got near the main body of infantry. Passing through Macedonia, Cn. Manlius led his army into Thessaly and finally reached Apollonia. Here he remained for the winter, as the dangers of a winter voyage were not yet so contemptible that he could venture to cross.

It was almost at the close of the year that the consul M. Valerius came from Liguria to elect new magistrates. He had done nothing worth mentioning in his province, and this might have been the reason why he had come at a later date than usual to conduct the elections. The consular elections were held on February 18; the new consuls were M. Aemilius Lepidus and C. Flaminius. The praetors elected on the following day were Ap. Claudius Pulcher, Ser. Sulpicius Galba, Q. Terentius Culleo, L. Terentius Massiliota, Q. Fulvius Flaccus, and M. Furius Crassipes. When the elections were over the consuls asked the senate to settle what provinces were to be assigned to the praetors. They decreed that there should be two in Rome for the administration of justice; two outside Italy, namely Sicily and Sardinia; two in Italy itself, namely Tarentum and Gaul; and the praetors were ordered to ballot at once for these before they took office. The civic jurisdiction fell to Ser. Sulpicius, the alien to Q. Terentius, Sicily went to L. Terentius, Sardinia to Q. Fulvius, Tarentum to Ap. Claudius, and Gaul to M. Furius. During the year L. Minucius Myrtilus and L. Manlius were charged with having beaten the Carthaginian ambassadors. They were handed over to them by the fetials and carried off to Carthage.

There were rumours of a warlike movement on a large scale in Liguria, which was every day growing more serious. In consequence of this the senate decreed that both the consuls should have Liguria as their province. The consul Lepidus opposed this resolution and protested against both consuls being confined to the valleys of Liguria. M. Fulvius, he said, and Cn. Manlius had now for two years been acting like kings, the one in Europe, the other in Asia, as though they had replaced Philip and Antiochus on their thrones. If it was the pleasure of the senate that there should be armies in those countries it was more fitting that consuls should command them than unofficial citizens. They were visiting with all the horrors of war nations against whom no war had been proclaimed, and selling peace to them at a price. If it was necessary that armies should occupy those provinces, then C. Livius and M. Valerius as consuls ought to succeed Fulvius and Manlius, just as L. Scipio, when consul, succeeded Manius Acilias, and M. Fulvius and Cn. Manlius, when they became consuls, succeeded L. Scipio. Now, at all events, seeing that the war in Aetolia was at an end, Asia taken from Antiochus, and the Gauls subjugated, either consuls ought to be sent to command consular armies, or the legions brought home and restored to the republic. After listening to this speech the senate adhered to their decision that Liguria should be the province of both consuls, and Manlius and Fulvius were to resign their provinces, bring their armies away and return to Rome.

M. Fulvius and M. Aemilius were on bad terms with one another, the main cause being Aemilius' suspicion that it was owing to Fulvius that he had been made consul two years later than he ought to have been. In order to stir up odium against him, he introduced into the senate some delegates from Ambracia who had been suborned to bring charges against him. They asserted that while they were at peace and had done all that the former consuls had required of them and were prepared to show the same obedience to M. Fulvius, war was declared against them, their fields were ravaged, the terror created by the bloodshed and pillage reached their city and compelled them to close their gates. Then they were besieged, their city carried by storm, and all the horrors of war, fire and slaughter, wreaked upon them, their homes demolished, their city completely sacked, their wives and children dragged off into slavery, their goods carried away, and what they felt most bitterly of all, the temples in the city

stripped of their adornments, the statues of their gods, or rather the gods themselves, torn from their shrines and carried away. All that was left to the Ambracians were the naked walls and the columns to receive their worship or hear their supplications and prayers. Whilst they were stating these grievances the consul, as previously arranged, questioned them as to other charges, and elicited answers made with apparent reluctance.

The House was impressed by these statements and the other consul took up the cause of Fulvius. He pointed out that the Ambracians had taken an old and outworn course; just in the same way had M. Marcellus been accused by the Syracusans, and Q. Fulvius by the Campanians. Why might not the senate allow charges to be brought on similar grounds against T. Quinctius by Philip, against Manius Acilius and L. Scipio by Antiochus, against Cn. Manlius by the Gauls, against M. Fulvius himself by the Aetolians and Cephallanians? "Ambracia," he went on to say, "has been taken by storm, the statues and temple ornaments have been carried away, and everything has happened which usually does happen at the capture of cities. Do you think, senators, that either I, speaking for Fulvius, or M. Fulvius himself, will deny this? He is going to demand a triumph just because he has done all this, and will carry in front of his chariot and fasten on the pillars of his house the captured Ambracia and the statues which he is alleged to have criminally removed. There is nothing to separate the case of the Ambracians from that of the Aetolians, the cause of the one is the cause of the other. My colleague must display his enmity in some other case or if he prefers the present one, he must keep his Ambracians till Fulvius returns. I will not allow any decree to be passed in respect of either the Ambracians or the Aetolians in M. Fulvius' absence."

Aemilius continued to attack his enemy and declared that his cunning and malice were notorious, and that Fulvius would manage to delay matters so as not to come to Rome while his adversary was consul. Two days were thus wasted in the quarrel between the consuls. It was clear that while Faminius was present no decision could be arrived at. Owing to Flaminius' absence through illness, Aemilius seized the opportunity to move a resolution which the senate adopted. Its purport was that the Ambracians should have all their property restored to them; they should be free to live under their own laws; they should impose such harbour dues and other imposts by land and sea as they desired, provided that the Romans and their Italian allies were exempt. With regard to the statues and ornaments which they said had been taken from their temples, it was decided that after Fulvius' return their ultimate disposal should be referred to the pontifical college, and what they deemed right would be done. The consul was not content with this; subsequently in a thinly attended House he got a clause added to the effect that there was no evidence that Ambracia had been taken by storm. In consequence of a serious epidemic which ravaged City and country alike, the Keepers of the Sacred Books decreed that special sacrifices and intercessions should be offered for three days. Then came the Latin Festival. When the consuls were free from these religious duties and had raised what men they required−they both preferred to employ fresh troops−they left for their province and disbanded all the old troops. After their departure Cneius Manlius arrived at Rome, and the praetor S. Servilius convened a meeting of the senate to grant an audience. After giving a report of what he had done, he asked that in recognition of these services, honours should be paid to the immortal gods and permission given to him to enter the City in triumph. The majority of the ten commissioners who had been with him opposed this demand, especially L. Furius Purpurio and L. Aemilius Paulus.

They had been appointed, they said, to act as commissioners with Cn. Manlius for the purpose of concluding peace with Antiochus and finally settling the terms of the treaty which had been outlined by L. Scipio. Cn. Manlius did his utmost to upset the negotiations and, if he got the chance, to inveigle the king into his power. When the king became aware of the consul's designs, though he was frequently invited to a personal interview, he avoided not only meeting him but even the very sight of him. When the consul was bent upon crossing the Taurus range, it was with the utmost difficulty that he was prevented from doing so by the commissioners, who warned him against tempting the doom foretold in the Sibylline Books for every one who overpassed the limits fixed by Fate. Nevertheless, he marched his army up and encamped almost on the summit where the mountain streams flow opposite ways. When he found that the king's subjects remained perfectly quiet and that there was nothing to justify hostilities, he led his troops round against the Gallograeci, a nation against whom no declaration of war had been made either by the authority of the senate or the order of the people. Who else would have ever dared to do such a thing? The wars with Antiochus, Philip, Hannibal and Carthage were fresh in all men's memories; in

every one of these the senate issued its decree and the people their mandate; envoys had been sent beforehand frequently to demand satisfaction, and as a final step to declare war. "Which of these preliminaries," the speaker continued, "has been so observed by you, Cn. Manlius, as to make us regard that war as waged by the people of Rome and not simply as a marauding expedition of your own? But were you ever content with that? Did you march your army straight against those whom you had elected to regard as your enemies? Did you not on the contrary make a roundabout march through winding roads, halting at all the cross−roads in order that in whatever direction Eumenes' brother Attalus should direct his march, you might follow him like a mercenary captain, you, a consul with a Roman army? Did you not visit every hole and corner of Pisidia, Lycaonia, and Phrygia, collecting money from the tyrants and their officers scattered through the land? What business had you, pray, to interfere with Oroanda or with other equally unoffending communities? But about this war, on the strength of which you are seeking a triumph, in what way did you conduct it? Did you fight on favourable ground, at a time of your own choosing? You are certainly right in claiming that honours should be paid to the immortal gods. For in the first place they would not let the army pay the penalty of its commander's recklessness in making an aggressive war in defiance of the law of nations, and in the second place they brought against us wild animals not men.

"Do not suppose, senators, that it is only in their name that the Gallograeci are a mixed race; it is much more their bodies and minds that have become mixed and corrupted. If they had been real Gauls like those with whom we have fought numberless doubtful battles in Italy, would a single man, so far as our general is concerned, have returned to tell the story? He fought with them twice. On both occasions he advanced against them at a disadvantage, and from his lower ground almost placed his line under the enemy's feet, so that, without discharging their weapons from above, by simply hurling their naked bodies upon us, they could have overwhelmed us. What, then, occurred to prevent this? Great is the Fortune of the Roman people, great and terrible its name! The recent downfall of Hannibal, of Philip, of Antiochus, had almost stunned the Gauls. With all their huge bulk they were put to flight by slings and arrows, not a sword in the army was stained by the blood of a Gaul, they fled away like flocks of birds at the first whirr of our missiles. Yes, but Fortune also warned us what would have happened to us then, if we had had a real enemy. On our return march we fell amongst Thracian brigands, and were killed, put to flight, and stripped of our baggage. Q. Minucius Thermus fell, together with many brave men, and his loss was much more serious than that of Cn. Manlius would have been, through whose foolhardiness the disaster occurred. The army which was bringing home the spoil taken from Antiochus was dispersed in three sections, the van in one place, the rear in another, and the baggage in another, and they lay down one night amongst thickets and lairs of wild beasts. Is it for these exploits that a triumph is asked for? Supposing no ignominious defeat had been sustained in Thrace, over what enemy would you seek triumph? Over those, I presume, whom the senate or the people of Rome had assigned to you as your enemy. On these terms a triumph was granted to L. Scipio, to Manius Acilius over Antiochus, to T. Quinctius, a little earlier, over Philip, to P. Africanus over Hannibal and Carthage and Syphax. And even when the senate has voted for war, certain minor questions have had to be answered−as to whom the declaration of war ought to be made, whether in any case to the kings themselves, or whether it would be sufficient to proclaim it at one of his frontier garrisons. Do you then, senators, want all these formalities to be treated with scorn, the solemn procedure of the fetials to be abolished, and the fetials themselves to be done away with? Suppose all religious scruples−the gods forgive me for saying it!−were cast to the winds and forgetfulness of the gods took possession of your hearts, should you still think it right that the senate should not be consulted as to war, or the question referred to the people whether it was their will and order that war should be waged with the Gauls? Recently, at all events, when the consuls wanted to have Greece and Asia as their provinces, you held to your resolution to decree Liguria as their province, and they submitted to your authority. Deservedly, therefore, will they ask for a triumph, after their successes, from you under whose authority they will have achieved them."

This was the substance of what Furius and Aemilius said. I understand that Manlius spoke to the following effect: "Formerly, senators, it was the tribunes of the plebs who usually opposed those who claimed a triumph. I am grateful to them for having conceded this much to me, either personally or in acknowledgment of the greatness of my services, that they not only showed by their silence their approval of my being thus honoured, but were even ready, if necessary, to recommend it to the senate. It is amongst the ten commissioners that I find my opponents,

those whom our ancestors assigned to their commanders for the purpose of gathering the fruits of their victories and enhancing their glory. L. Furius and L. Aemilius forbid me to enter the triumphal chariot; they snatch the victor's wreath from my brow; these very men whom I was going to call as witnesses to what I have done, had the tribunes opposed my triumph. I envy no man his honours, senators. Only the other day when the tribunes of the plebs were trying to prevent the triumph of Q. Fabius Labeo, strong and determined as they were, you overawed them by your authority. His enemies laid it to his charge, not that he had fought an unjust war, but that he had never even seen an enemy. Still he enjoyed his triumph. I, who have fought so many pitched battles with 100,000 of our fiercest enemies, who have killed or taken prisoners 40,000, who have stormed two of their camps, who have left all the country this side the Taurus more peaceable than the land of Italy−I am not only being defrauded of my triumph, but actually have to defend myself before you against the accusations of my commissioners.

"You have noticed, senators, that they bring a double charge against me; that I ought not to have made war on the Gauls, and that I conducted it in a rash and imprudent way. 'The Gauls,' they say, 'were not hostile to us, but you wantonly attacked them while they were quietly carrying out your orders.' I am not going to ask you, senators, to judge the Gauls who inhabit those countries from what you know of the savagery common to the race, and their deadly hatred to the name of Rome. Keep out of sight the infamous and hateful character of the race as a whole and judge those men by themselves. I wish Eumenes, I wish all the cities of Asia were here, and that you were hearing their complaints rather than the charges I am bringing. Send commissioners to visit all the cities of Asia and find out which has delivered them from the heavier thraldom, the removal of Antiochus beyond the Taurus or the subjugation of the Gauls. Let them bring back word how often the fields of those people have been devastated, how often they and all their property have been carried off, with hardly a chance of ransoming the captives, and knowing that human victims were being sacrificed and their children immolated. Let me tell you that your allies paid tribute to the Gauls, and would have been paying it now, though freed from the rule of Antiochus, if it had not been put a stop to by me.

"The greater the distance to which Antiochus was removed, the more tyrannically did the Gauls lord it over Asia; by his removal you added whatever lands lie on this side the Taurus to their dominion, not your own. But you say, 'Assuming this to be true, the Gauls once despoiled Delphi, but though it was the one oracle common to all mankind, and the central spot in the whole world, the Romans did not on that account declare or commence war against them.' I should certainly have thought that there was a considerable difference between the conditions existing when Greece and Asia had not yet passed under your suzerainty, as far as regards your interest and concern in their affairs, and the conditions prevailing now; when you have fixed the Taurus as the frontier of your dominion; when you are giving to the cities liberty and immunity from tribute; when you are enlarging the territories of some and depriving others of their land by way of punishment or imposing tribute: when you are extending, diminishing, giving, taking away kingdoms, and making it your one care that they shall keep the peace both on land and sea. Would you consider that the liberty of Asia would not have been secure had not Antiochus withdrawn his garrisons, which were remaining quietly in their quarters, and do you suppose that your gifts to Eumenes would be safe or the cities retain their freedom as long as the armies of the Gauls were roaming far and wide?

"But why do I use these arguments, as though I had made the Gauls into enemies and had not found them such already? I appeal to you, L. Scipio, whose valour and good fortune alike I prayed to the immortal gods−and not in vain−to grant me, when I succeeded to your command; I appeal to you, P. Scipio, who though subordinate to your brother the consul, still possessed both with him and the army all the authority of a colleague; and I ask you whether you know that there were legions of Gauls in the army of Antiochus; whether you saw that they were posted at either end of his line, for there his main strength seemed to be; whether you fought with them as regular enemies, and killed them and brought their spoils home. And yet the war which the senate had decreed and the people ordered was a war against Antiochus, not against the Gauls. Yes, but I hold that the decree and order included those who had formed part of his army, and amongst these−with the exception of Antiochus with whom Scipio had concluded peace and with whom you ordered a special treaty to be made−all who bore arms on his behalf were our enemies. The Gauls above all supported his cause, as did also some petty kings and tyrants. With

the others, however, I made peace and compelled them to make an expiation for their misdoings proportionate to the dignity of your empire, and I tried to influence the Gauls, if haply their innate ferocity could be mitigated. When I saw that they remained untameable and implacable, I thought they ought to be coerced by force of arms.

"Now that I have cleared myself of the charge of wanton aggression, I have to account for my conduct of the war. On this topic I should feel perfect confidence in my case, even if I were pleading not before the Romans but before the Carthaginian senate, where it is said that their generals are crucified, even when successful, if their strategy has been faulty. But this State has recourse to the gods at the commencement and during the conduct of all its business, because it will not have those matters which the gods have approved of open to any man's censure, and when it decrees special thanksgivings or a triumph, employs the solemn formula: 'Whereas he has managed the affairs of the Republic with success and good fortune.' If, then, renouncing all assertion of my own merits as arrogant and presumptuous, I were to demand on behalf of my own good fortune and that of my army, in having crushed so powerful a nation without any loss, that honours should be paid to the immortal gods, and that I, myself, should go up in triumph to the Capitol, from whence I started after my vows and prayers had been duly offered, would you refuse this to me and to the immortal gods as well?

"But, they say, I fought on unfavourable ground. Then tell me where I could have fought at less disadvantage. The enemy had occupied the mountain, they kept themselves within their lines; surely if I was to win the battle it was necessary for me to advance against them. How would it have been if they had been holding a city there and keeping within its walls? Of course, they must have been attacked. Why, did not Manius Acilius engage Antiochus on unfavourable ground at Thermopylae? Did not T. Quinctius under similar conditions dislodge Philip when he was holding the heights above the Aous? So far I am unable to make out what sort of an enemy they are picturing to themselves, or in what light they wish you to regard him. If they say that he has degenerated and become enervated by the attractions and luxuries of Asia, what risk did we run in attacking him even when we were in a bad position? If they regard him as formidable, owing to ferocity and physical strength, do you refuse a triumph for so great a victory? Envy, senators, is blind and knows no other method than that of disparaging merit and soiling its honours and rewards. I crave your indulgence, senators, if the necessity of defending myself against accusations, and not a desire to sound my praises, has made my speech somewhat long. Was it in my power when marching through Thrace to make the narrow passes into open country, the broken road into level ground, the forests into open fields? Could I have made such dispositions as to prevent the Thracian banditti from concealing themselves in lurking−places with which they were perfectly familiar, or any of our baggage from being stolen, or any pack animal from being carried off from so long a column, or a single man from being wounded, or that gallant soldier, Q. Minucius, from dying of his wounds? They make a great point of that sad misfortune, involving as it did the loss of so good a citizen. But the fact of our two divisions at the front and rear of the column having hemmed in the barbarians when busy in looting our baggage, after attacking in a difficult pass on ground wholly against us; the fact that those two divisions killed or took prisoners many thousands of the enemy on that day and many more a few days later−if they have been silent as to these facts, are they not aware that you will know them when the whole army can testify to what I say? If I had never drawn the sword in Asia, or seen an enemy there, I should still have deserved a triumph for those two battles in Thrace. But I have said enough and would only ask for and, I hope, receive your indulgence for having wearied you by speaking at greater length than I wished."

The attack would that day have prevailed over the defence had they not protracted the debate to a late hour. When the House rose, the general opinion was that it would in all likelihood refuse the triumph. The next day the friends and relatives of Cn. Manlius exerted their utmost efforts, and the authority of the older senators prevailed. They said that there was no instance on record of a commander who had brought back his army, after subjugating a dangerous enemy and reducing his province to order, entering the city in an unofficial and private capacity without the chariot and laurels of triumph. The sense of the indignity of such a proceeding was too strong for the aspersions of his enemies, and a full senate decreed to him a triumph. All discussion and even recollection of this dispute were lost in the outbreak of a more serious controversy with a greater and more distinguished man. We are told on the authority of Valerius Antias that the two Petillii instituted proceedings against P. Scipio Africanus.

Men put different interpretations on this according to their various dispositions. Some blamed, not the tribunes only, but the whole body of citizens, for letting such a thing be possible; the two greatest cities in the world, they said, had proved themselves, almost at the same time, ungrateful to their foremost men. Rome was the more ungrateful of the two, for whilst Carthage after her defeat drove the defeated Hannibal into exile, Rome would banish the victorious Scipio in the hour of her victory. Others again took the ground that no single citizen should stand on such an eminence that he could not be required to answer according to law. Nothing contributed more towards maintaining liberty for all than the power of putting the most powerful citizen on his trial. What business, it was asked−not to mention the supreme interests of the State−could be entrusted to any man, if he had not to render an account for it? If a man cannot submit to laws which are the same for all, no force which may be employed against him is unlawful. So the matter was discussed until the day of trial came. Never before had anyone, even Scipio himself when he was consul or censor, been surrounded by a greater concourse of people of all sorts and conditions than on the day when he was conducted into the Forum to make his defence. When he was called upon to plead, he made no allusion whatever to the charges brought against him, but spoke of the services he had rendered in such a lofty tone that it was universally felt that no man had ever deserved higher or truer praise. He described his actions in the spirit and temper in which he had performed them, and he was listened to without any impatience because they were recounted not in self−glorification but in self−defence.

In order to support the charges they were bringing against him, the tribunes brought up the old story of his luxurious living in his winter quarters in Syracuse and the disturbance created by Pleminius at Locri. They then went on to accuse him of having received bribes, more on grounds of suspicion than by direct proof; they alleged that his son who was taken prisoner was restored to him without ransom; that Antiochus had in every way tried to ingratiate himself with Scipio as though peace and war with Rome were solely in his hands; that Scipio had behaved towards the consul in his province as dictator rather than subordinate; that he had gone out with no other object than to make clear to Greece and Asia and all the kings and nationalities in the East what had long been the settled conviction of Spain and Gaul and Sicily and Africa, that he alone was the head and mainstay of Roman sovereignty; that under Scipio's shadow the mistress city of the world lay sheltered and that his nod took the place of the decrees of the senate and the orders of the people. No stigma of disgrace could be fastened upon him, so they did their utmost to excite popular odium against him. As the speeches went on till night, the proceedings were adjourned. When the next day for the hearing came, the tribunes took their seats on the Rostra at daybreak. The defendant was summoned, and passing through the middle of the Assembly accompanied by a large body of friends and clients, stood before the Rostra. Silence having been called he spoke as follows:

"Tribunes of the plebs, and you, Quirites, this is the anniversary of the day on which I fought with success and good fortune a pitched battle against Hannibal and the Carthaginians. It is therefore only right and fitting that on this day all pleas and actions should be suspended. I am going at once to the Capitol and the Citadel to make my devotions to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and Juno and Minerva and all the other tutelar deities of the Capitol and the Citadel, and to offer up thanksgivings to them for having given me as on this day the wisdom and the strength to do the Republic exceptional service. Those of you, Quirites, who are at liberty to do so, come with me. You have always from my seventeenth year down to this period of my old age advanced me to honours before I was of the age for them, and I have always forestalled your honours by my services; then pray now to the gods that you may always have leaders like me." From the Rostra he went straight up to the Capitol, and the whole Assembly turning their backs on the tribunes followed him; even the secretaries and apparitors left the tribunes; there was no one with them except their attendant slaves and the usher who used to stand at the Rostra and call the defendants. Scipio not only went up to the Capitol; he visited all the temples throughout the City, accompanied by the Roman people. The enthusiasm of the citizens and their recognition of his real greatness made that day almost a more glorious one for him than when he entered the City in triumph after his victories over Syphax and the Carthaginians.

This splendid day was the last day of brightness for Scipio. He saw before him envious attacks and contests with the tribunes, and so after a somewhat lengthy adjournment had been agreed upon, he retired to Liternum, firmly resolved not to appear in his defence. His spirit was too high, his mind too great; he had all through held a

position too lofty to allow him to accept the position of a defendant or submit to the humiliation of having to plead his cause. When the day arrived and his name was called, L. Scipio apologised for his absence on the ground of ill−health. The prosecuting tribunes did not accept the excuse and gave out that his refusal to appear was dictated by the same spirit of pride and arrogance in which he had left the seat of judgment and the tribunes and the Assembly. Surrounded by the very men whom he had deprived of the right and liberty of passing sentence upon him, and dragging them after him like prisoners of war, he had celebrated a triumph over the people of Rome and had made a secession on that day from the tribunes to the Capitol. "So now," they continued, "you have the due reward of your folly; the man at whose instigation and under whose leadership you deserted us, has now deserted you. So low is our courage falling day by day, that the man whom seventeen years ago we dared to send tribunes to Sicily to apprehend, whilst he had an army and a fleet at his command, that man we dare not now, though he is only a private citizen, fetch from his country−house to stand his trial." L. Scipio appealed to the tribunes of the plebs as a body, and they passed the following resolution: "If illness be pleaded as an excuse, it is our pleasure that this excuse be accepted, and our colleagues must again adjourn the day of trial." Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus was one of the tribunes. He was a political opponent of Scipio, and had forbidden his colleagues to add his name to their resolution. It was generally expected that he would give a more severe sentence, but he drew up a resolution in the following terms: "Since L. Scipio has pleaded illness as the reason for his brother's absence, I hold that to be sufficient excuse, and will not allow P. Scipio to be put on his trial before his return to Rome; even then, if he appeals to me, I will support him in any effort to avoid a trial. Scipio has by the common consent of gods and men attained such a lofty position through his own acts and the honours which the Roman people have conferred upon him, that for him to stand beneath the Rostra as a defendant, and have to listen to the insults of young men, would be a greater ignominy for the people of Rome than for him."

He followed this up by an indignant speech: Is Scipio, the conqueror of Africa, to stand at your feet, tribunes? Was it for this that he broke and routed four armies in Spain under the most famous generals that Carthage possessed? Was it for this that he captured Syphax and crushed Hannibal, made Carthage tributary to us, removed Antiochus beyond the Taurus−for his brother Lucius allowed him to share his glory−was it simply that he might succumb to the two Petillii, and that you might claim the palm of victory over Publius Africanus. Will you allow the claim, citizens? Will illustrious men never either through their own merits or the honours you confer, reach a safe, and if I may say so, a sacred asylum where their old age may rest, if not venerated, at least inviolate?" His resolution and the speech which followed it had their effect upon the other tribunes, even upon the prosecutors, who said that they would deliberate as to what their right and duty demanded. After the Assembly broke up, a meeting of the senate was held. Here a most hearty vote of thanks to Tiberius Gracchus was passed by the whole order, especially the men of consular rank and the elder senators, for having placed the interests of the State before his own private feelings, and the Petillii were taunted with wanting to shine by darkening another's reputation and enrich themselves by a triumph over Africanus. After this nothing more was said about proceedings against Scipio. He passed his life at Liternum without any wish to return to the City, and it is said that on his death−bed he gave orders that he should be buried and his monument set up there, so that there might be no funeral rites performed for him by his ungrateful country. He was an extraordinary man, more distinguished, however in the arts of war than in those of peace. The earlier part of his life was more brilliant than the later; as a young man he was constantly engaged in war; with advancing years the glory of his achievements faded, and there was nothing to call forth his genius. What additional lustre did his second consulship confer as compared with his first, or even his censorship? What further distinction did he gain during his subordinate command in Asia, rendered useless through bad health and saddened by the misfortune which overtook his son? Then, again, after his return he was under the necessity of either standing his trial or of absenting himself from his native city. Still, he alone won the unique glory of bringing the war with Carthage to a close, the greatest and most serious war that the Romans have ever waged.

With the death of Africanus the courage of his enemies rose. The foremost of these was M. Porcius Cato, who even during Scipio's lifetime was constantly belittling his greatness, and it was at his instigation, it was thought, that the Petillii attacked him whilst he was alive. After his death they introduced into the Assembly the following motion: "Touching the money which was seized, confiscated and exacted from Antiochus and his subjects, is it

your will and pleasure, Quirites, that in respect of such money as has not been accounted for to the State, the City praetor Servius Sulpicius shall consult the senate as to which of the acting praetors it shall appoint to investigate the matter?" The two Mummii, Quintus and Lucius, interposed their veto to this proposal; they considered that where money had not been accounted for to the State, it was only right and proper that the senate should conduct such investigation as it always had done previously. The Petillii accused the nobility and the despotic power which the Scipios possessed over the senate. L. Furius Purpurio, a man of consular rank, one of the ten commissioners, thought that the inquiry ought to go further. By way of damaging his enemy Cn. Manlius, he suggested that it ought to include not only the amount taken from Antiochus, but all that had been taken from other kings and nations. L. Scipio, who it was evident would speak more in his own defence than against the proposal, came forward to oppose it. He protested strongly against this question being raised after the death of his brother P. Africanus, of all men the bravest and most illustrious. No public eulogium had been made over him when he died, but that was not enough, now accusations must be levelled at him. Even the Carthaginians were content with banishing Hannibal; the Roman people were not satisfied with the death of Africanus, but his reputation must be torn to pieces over his tomb, and as an aggravation of malice, his brother also must be sacrificed. M. Cato supported the motion; his speech, "Concerning the money of King Antiochus," is still extant. The weight of his authority deterred the Mummii from opposing it, and as these withdrew their veto, the proposal was earned by the unanimous vote of the Tribes.

Ser. Sulpicius next consulted the senate as to who was to conduct the inquiry, and they fixed upon Q. Terentius Culleo. There are some writers who assert that this praetor was so attached to the family of the Cornelii that at the funeral−they say he died and was buried in Rome−he preceded the bier wearing a cap of liberty just as though he were marching in a triumphal procession, and at the Porta Capena he distributed wine sweetened with honey to those who followed the body, because amongst the other captives in Africa he had been delivered by Scipio. Another account is that he was hostile to the family; that, knowing this, the party opposed to the Scipios selected him as the one man to conduct the inquiry. However this may be, it was before this praetor, whether biassed in favour of or against the defendant, that L. Scipio was at once put on his trial. The names of his divisional commanders, Aulus and Lucius Hostilius Cato, were also given in to the praetor, and entered by him, as well as that of the quaestor C. Furius Aculeo; and that his whole staff might appear to be associated in the embezzlement, his two secretaries and his marshal were also included. Lucius Hostilius, the secretaries and the marshal were all acquitted before Scipio's case was heard. He, together with A. Hostilius and C. Furius, were found guilty−Scipio, of having received 6000 pounds of gold and 480 of silver over and above what he had brought into the treasury; and Hostilius was convicted of having similarly embezzled 80 pounds of gold and 403 of silver; the quaestor was found guilty of having received 130 pounds of gold and 200 of silver. These are the amounts I find as stated by Antias. In the case of L. Scipio, I should prefer to regard these figures as a mistake on the part of the copyist, rather than a false assertion of the author, for the weight of the silver was in all probability greater than that of the gold, and the fine was more likely to be fixed at 400,000 than at 2,400,000 sesterces, especially as it is stated that this was the sum for which Publius Scipio was asked to account in the senate. It is also recorded that when he had told his brother Lucius to fetch his account−book, he tore it up with his own hands while the senate was looking on, and indignantly protested against an account for 400,000 sesterces being demanded of him after he had brought into the treasury 2,000,000. He is further stated to have shown the same self−confidence in demanding the keys of the treasury, when the quaestors did not venture to bring the money out as against the law, and declaring that as it was through him it was shut, so he would open it.

There are many other details in which writers differ, especially as regards his closing years, his impeachment, his death, his funeral, and his tomb, so that I cannot decide what traditions or documents to follow. There is no agreement as to the prosecutors. . Some say that M. Naevius, others that the Petillii, initiated the proceedings; nor as to the date when they began, nor the year in which he died, nor where he was buried. Some say that he died and was buried in Rome; others say in Liternum. In both places his monument and statues are shown. At Liternum there was a monument surmounted by a statue which we have seen lately, and which was overthrown by a storm. At Rome there are three statues above the monument of the Scipios; two are said to be those of Publius and Lucius; the third that of the poet Q. Ennius. Nor is it only the chroniclers who differ; even the speeches, if they are

really those of the men whose they are said to be, viz., P. Scipio and Tiberius Gracchus, cannot be brought into agreement. The title of Scipio's speech gives the prosecutor's name as M. Naevius; in the speech itself the name does not appear; sometimes he describes him as a knave, sometimes as a trifler. Even the speech of Gracchus makes no mention of the Petillii as the prosecutors of Africanus, nor of the actual proceedings. Quite another story will have to be put together to fit this speech of Gracchus, and we shall have to follow those authorities who aver that at the time when Lucius Scipio was tried and convicted of having taken bribes from the king, Africanus was serving in a subordinate command in Etruria and, on hearing of the misfortune which had befallen his brother, hurried back to Rome. On learning that his brother was being taken to prison, he went straight to the Forum, drove off the officer who had charge of him and, his affection for his brother getting the better of his citizenship, even used violence towards the tribunes who tried to hold him back.

Gracchus himself complains that in this instance the authority of the tribunes was successfully defied by a private citizen, and at the end of his speech where he promises to support Scipio, he adds that it would form a better precedent were it to appear that the tribunitian and State authority had been overborne by a tribune of the plebs rather than by a private citizen. But while he reproaches him bitterly for losing his self−control in this one outbreak of lawlessness, and censures him for having fallen so far below himself, he makes up for his censures in recalling the high esteem in which Scipio was held in the old days for his equable and self−disciplined character. He reminded his hearers how severely Scipio rebuked the people for wishing to make him perpetual consul and dictator; how he had prevented them from raising statues to him in the Comitium, the Rostra, the senate house, and in the shrine of Jupiter on the Capitol, and how he had prevented a decree from being passed authorising his image decked in triumphal garb to be borne in procession from the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. These things, even if inserted in a public eulogium, would still be a proof of his greatness of soul in keeping his honours within the limits of ordinary civic life; how much more so when they are the admissions of an enemy.

It is generally understood that the younger of his two daughters was married to this same Gracchus, and the elder one was certainly disposed of by her father to P. Cornelius Nasica, but whether it was after her father's death is uncertain. It is equally uncertain whether the current belief in the following story is well founded. The story goes that when Gracchus saw that L. Scipio was on the point of being carried off to prison and that none of his fellow−tribunes interfered on his behalf, he swore that though his enmity towards the Scipios was as strong as ever, and he would do nothing to win his favour, yet he would not look on whilst the brother of Africanus was being taken to a dungeon into which he had seen Africanus himself taking kings and commanders. The senate happened to be dining that day in the Capitol, and rising in a body they begged Scipio to betroth his daughter to Gracchus there and then. The betrothal having been formally completed in the presence of the whole gathering, Scipio went home. On meeting his wife, he told her that he had betrothed their youngest daughter. She was naturally hurt and indignant at not having been consulted in the disposal of their child, and observed that even if he were giving her to Tiberius Gracchus, her mother ought to have had a voice in the matter. Scipio was delighted to find that they were of one accord, and told her that it was to that man that she was betrothed. It is right that in the case of so great a man the various opinions and the different historical statements as to these details should be noted.

When the praetor Q. Terentius had brought the proceedings to a close, Hostilius and Furius, who had been convicted, gave the required sureties to the City quaestors. Scipio, who stoutly maintained that the whole of the money he had received was in the treasury, and that he had none which belonged to the State, was ordered off to prison. P. Scipio Nasica formally appealed to the tribunes in a speech full of just and true encomiums on the house of the Cornelii and particularly on his own family. He pointed out that the two distinguished men, Cn. and P. Scipio, were the fathers respectively of himself, and of P. and L. Scipio, who was now being led to prison. These two men had for many years fought in Spain against numerous armies of Carthaginians and Spaniards, and had not only added to the glory of Rome, but after presenting to those two nations an example of Roman moderation and good faith, had at last given their lives for the commonwealth. It would have been enough had their glory been kept untarnished for posterity, but P. Africanus had so far surpassed his father's renown that men believed him to be sprung from no human parents, but to be of divine origin. As to Lucius Scipio, whose case was

before them, he would pass over all that he had done as his brother's lieutenant in Spain and Africa, and would remind them that when he was consul the senate thought him worthy of being entrusted with Asia and the war with Antiochus as his province, without having recourse to the ballot. His brother, too, though he had been censor and twice consul, and graced with a triumph, went to him to serve as his lieutenant in Asia. Whilst he was there, as though to prevent the greatness and splendour of the lieutenant from eclipsing the fame of the consul, it so happened that on the day when Lucius Scipio completely defeated Antiochus in the great battle of Magnesia, Publius Scipio was several days' journey away, lying ill at Elaea. The army that Lucius engaged was not less than that which Hannibal commanded at the battle in Africa. Hannibal who had commanded all through the Punic war was also among the generals with Antiochus. The conduct of the war was such that no one could charge even Fortune with caprice. It is in respect of the peace that the charges are made; the peace is said to have been sold. If so, the ten commissioners are also involved in the charge; it was on their advice that the peace was granted. And though out of those ten men some came forward to accuse Cn. Manlius, not only did they fail to prove their charge, they were not even able to delay his triumph.

But in Scipio's case the very terms of the peace formed the grounds of suspicion as being too favourable to Antiochus. "His kingdom," they say, "has been left to him in its entirety; after his defeat he remained in possession of all that had belonged to him before the war. Though he had a large amount of gold and silver, none of it has been brought into the treasury; it has all passed into private hands." Was not the amount of gold and silver borne before all men's eyes in Lucius Scipio's triumph greater than in any other ten triumphs if it were all collected together? What am I to say about the limits of the king's dominions? Antiochus held all Asia and the adjacent parts of Europe; how great a part of the world that is, stretching from the Taurus to the Aegean, you all know. This tract of country, more than thirty days' march in length and, measured from sea to sea, ten days' march in breadth, extending right up to the Taurus, has been taken from Antiochus. He has been banished to the most remote corner of the world. What more, pray, could have been taken from him, even if peace had been granted without any conditions? After Philip's defeat, Macedonia was left to him as Lacedaemon was to Nabis, and yet no criminal inquiry was instituted against Quinctius. He had not Africanus for his brother, whose great reputation ought to have helped Lucius instead of injuring him by the jealousy it aroused. It was stated in the trial that the amount of gold and silver brought into Lucius Scipio's house was greater than could have been realised by the sale of the whole of his property. Where, then, is that gold and silver and all the benefactions he has received? Surely this access of fortune must have been in evidence in a house which is not wasted with extravagance. Yes, but what cannot be got out of his property, his enemies will get out of his person by insult and torture, in order that a man so illustrious may be shut up with burglars and highwaymen in the inmost dungeon and breathe out his life in darkness, and his naked body flung out of the prison doors. That would not bring a deeper disgrace upon the house of the Cornelii than upon the whole City of Rome.

Terentius, in reply, read the resolution carried by the Petillii, the decision of the senate and the sentence passed upon L. Scipio. He declared that unless the sum stated in the judgment were restored to the treasury, there was no other course open to him but to order him to be arrested and taken to prison. The tribunes retired for consultation and shortly afterwards C. Fannius, in the name of all his colleagues except Gracchus, declared that they would not intervene to prevent the praetor from exercising his authority. T. Gracchus gave his decision thus: He would not oppose the action of the praetor in recovering the sum in question from the sale of Lucius Scipio's property, but that as to L. Scipio himself, a man who had conquered the most prosperous and wealthy monarch in the world; who had carried the dominion of Rome to the utmost limits of the world; who had bound King Eumenes, the Rhodians, and so many other cities in Asia under obligations to Rome; who had led first in triumph, and then to prison, so many enemy commanders−this man he would not allow to lie in prison and in chains amongst the enemies of Rome. He then ordered him to be released. His decision was greeted with such enthusiasm by those who heard it, and there was such general delight at the news of Scipio's release, that it seemed hardly possible that these were the same people before whom the sentence against him had lately been pronounced. The praetor then sent the quaestors to seize L. Scipio's property in the name of the government. Not only was there not a vestige of the king's gold to be seen, but the amount realised was nowhere near the sum named in the judgment. The relatives and friends and clients of L. Scipio's contributed a sum sufficient, if he accepted it, to make him even

richer than before. He refused to accept any of it. Everything necessary for him was supplied by his nearest relations. The ill−will and popular odium against the Scipios had now turned against the praetor and his assessors and the prosecution.

Book 39. The Bacchanalia in Rome and Italy

While these incidents were occurring in Rome−if indeed they did occur in this year−both consuls were engaged in war with the Ligurians. That enemy seemed born to keep up the military discipline of the Romans in the intervals between the more important wars; no other field of operations did more to whet the soldiers' courage. In Asia the pleasures of city life, the ample supply of luxuries furnished by land and sea, the effeminacy of the enemy, and the princely wealth had enriched the armies instead of making them more efficient. Especially under the command of Manlius they became careless and undisciplined, and so the somewhat rougher march through Thrace and a more warlike enemy gave them a much−needed lesson through severe defeat. In Liguria there was everything to try a soldier's mettle; a rough and difficult country, mountainous heights which it cost the men as much labour to secure for themselves as it did to dislodge the enemy from them; steep narrow roads where there was always the danger of an ambush; an enemy lightly armed, rapid in his movements, sudden in his onset, who never allowed any place or hour to remain quiet and undisturbed. Any attack on a fortified position involved much toil and danger; there was but little to be got out of the country, and the soldiers were reduced to scanty food, as they could secure very little plunder. Consequently, there were no camp−followers, no extended line of baggage animals; there was nothing beyond the arms and the men who depended solely upon them. Occasions of fighting were never lacking, for the natives driven by their poverty were in the habit of raiding their neighbours' fields; they never, however, engaged in a pitched battle.

The consul C. Flaminius, after several successful actions with the Ligurian Freniates, accepted their surrender and disarmed them. As they evaded this demand, he took severe measures with them, on which they abandoned their villages and took refuge on Mt. Auginus, the consul following in close pursuit. In scattered parties, mostly without arms, they fled precipitately over trackless and rocky ground, where their enemy could not follow them, and in this way escaped across the Apennines. Those who had held to their camp were surrounded and driven out. The legions were then led across the Apennines. The Gauls were protected for a short time by the mountain height which they had occupied, but they soon made their surrender. This time there was a closer search made for arms and they were all secured. From them the war was transferred to the Apuani, whose continual incursions into the territories of Pisa and Bononia made any cultivation of the soil impossible. The consul thoroughly vanquished these also and so brought peace to their neighbours. Now that the province was brought from a state of war into one of peace and quiet, he determined that his soldiers should not be kept in idleness, so he employed them in constructing a road from Bononia to Arretium. The other consul, M. Aemilius, destroyed and burnt the farms and villages of the Ligurians who dwelt in the lowland country the inhabitants having previously fled and taken possession of the heights of Ballista and Suismontium. He then attacked them on the mountains, harassing them with skirmishes, and at last forcing them into a regular engagement, in which he completely defeated them. During the battle he vowed a temple to Diana. As all the tribes south of the Apennines were now subjugated, Aemilius advanced against those on the other side of the range, including those of the Freniates with whom C. Flaminius had not been in touch. He reduced them all to submission, deprived them of their arms and brought down the whole population from the mountains into the plains. After establishing peace in Liguria he led his army into Gaul and made a road from Placentia to Ariminum to join the Via Flaminia. In the last pitched battle he fought in Liguria he vowed a temple to Queen Juno. These were the events of the year in Liguria.

In Gaul all was peaceful, but the praetor M. Furius, anxious to make it appear as though he were engaged in war, deprived the unoffending Cenomani of their arms. They sent to Rome to complain and were referred by the senate to Aemilius, who was empowered to investigate the case. There was a long and heated debate with the praetor, but they maintained their ground throughout, and Furius was ordered to restore their arms and leave his province. The senate then gave audience to the deputations who had come from all the cities and colonies of the Latin allies.

Their grievance was that a large number of their citizens had migrated to Rome and were placed on the census there. Q. Terentius Culleo, one of the praetors, was charged with the task of finding them out, and whoever was proved to have been registered at home during the censorship of C. Claudius and M. Livius or their successors, he was to order his return to the city in which he had been registered; 12,000 Latins returned in consequence to their homes. Even then the City was overcrowded by the multitude of immigrants.

Before the consuls returned to Rome M. Fulvius came back from Aetolia. He had an audience of the senate in the temple of Apollo and gave a detailed report of his operations in Aetolia and Cephallenia. He then asked the senate to pass a resolution that it was right and proper, in consideration of the success and good fortune with which he had served the State, that honours should be paid to the immortal gods and that a triumph should be decreed to him. M. Albutius, one of the tribunes of the plebs, declared his intention of vetoing any decree which should be passed before the arrival of M. Aemilius. The consul had wished to speak against it, and on his departure for his province had charged him, the tribune, to reserve all discussion of the question till his return. Fulvius, he argued, would lose nothing by the delay; even when the consul was present, the senate would decree what it wished. To this Fulvius replied: "Even if Aemilius' hostility to him and the arbitrary and dictatorial temper he showed towards his opponents were not a matter of common knowledge, still it would be intolerable that an absent consul should stand in the way of honour being paid to the immortal gods and should delay a triumph which was well earned and justly due, or that a general who had achieved brilliant success should be standing before the gate of the City with his victorious army and the spoils of war and the prisoners until the consul, who was for this very purpose delaying his movements, should please to return to Rome. But as a matter of fact his differences with the consul were notorious. What fair dealing could any one look for from the man who in a thinly attended and secret meeting of the senate got a resolution carried and deposited in the treasury in the temple of Saturn stating that there was no evidence that Ambracia had been carried by assault. Why, that city was besieged by agger and vineae, and when the siege−works were burnt, new ones were constructed; for fifteen days fighting went on there round the walls above ground and below, and even when the soldiers had surmounted the walls, there was a long and doubtful struggle from early dawn till nightfall; more than 3000 of the enemy were slain. What was that malicious story which he told the pontiffs about the spoliation of the temples of the gods in the captured city? Unless, indeed, we are to suppose that whilst the adornments of Syracuse and other captured cities may decorate the City, this right of war does not hold in the solitary case of Ambracia." He implored the senators and begged the tribune not to make him an object of derision to his insolent enemy. The senators were with him to a man; some tried to persuade the tribune to forgo his veto, others assailed him with bitter reproaches.

But it was the speech of his colleague, Tiberius Gracchus, that produced the greatest effect. He said that for a man to use his official position as the instrument of his own personal animosities was in any case setting a bad precedent, but for a tribune of the plebs to become the agent of another man's vindictiveness was a disgraceful proceeding quite unworthy of the power and inviolability of the college of tribunes. Each man ought to judge for himself whom to love and whom to hate, what actions to approve of and what to disapprove of; he must not wait upon another man's look or nod, nor must he be driven hither and thither by the motives which sway another man's mind. A tribune who becomes the tool of an angry consul and is careful to remember what M. Aemilius entrusted to him privately, forgets that the tribuneship was entrusted to him publicly by the people of Rome, and entrusted to him for the protection and liberty of private citizens, not for the defence of an autocratic consul. Albutius does not see that it will go down to posterity that of two members of the same college of tribunes one subordinated his private quarrels to the interests of the State, the other took up a quarrel which was not even a private one, but was entrusted to him by some one else. Smarting under this castigation the tribune left the senate−house, and on the proposal of Ser. Sulpicius a triumph was decreed to M. Fulvius. He thanked the senators and went on to tell them that on the day he took Ambracia he had vowed to exhibit the Great Games in honour of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and that a hundred pounds of gold had been contributed by the cities for this purpose. Out of the money which he was going to place in the treasury after it had been borne in the triumph, he requested the senate to order that this hundred pounds of gold should be set apart. The senate ordered the question to be referred to the college of pontiffs whether it was necessary that all that gold should be spent on the Games. They replied that no question of religion arose as to what amount should be spent on the Games, and the senate

consequently allowed Fulvius to spend what he liked on the Games as long as it did not exceed 80,000 sesterces.

Fulvius had fixed the date of his triumph in January but, on learning that M. Aemilius had received a letter from Albutius stating that he had withdrawn his opposition and had himself at once started for Rome to stop the triumph, but was detained on his journey by sickness, he fixed an earlier date, for he was afraid there might be more serious conflicts over the triumph than during the war. It was on December 23 that he celebrated his triumph over the Aetolians and the Cephallenians. Before his chariot were carried golden crowns weighing in all 112 pounds, 1083 pounds of silver, 243 pounds of gold, 118,000 Attic tetrachmas and 12,422 "philippei"; 780 brazen statues and 230 marble statues. There was a large quantity of armour, weapons and all other spoil taken from the enemy, as well as catapults, ballistae, and every kind of artillery. The generals led in the procession−Aetolian, Caphallenian and those of Antiochus left behind in Aetolia−numbered seven and twenty. Before he actually entered the City, Fulvius bestowed rewards on many of the military tribunes, prefects, cavalrymen and centurions, both those in the Roman army and in the allied contingents. Out of the booty he gave to each private soldier 25 denarii, double the amount to each centurion, and three times as much to each cavalryman.

The time for the consular elections was now at hand, and as M. Aemilius, to whom the task of conducting them had been assigned, was unable to undertake it, C. Flaminius went to Rome for the purpose. The consuls elected were Spurius Postumius Albinus and Q. Marcius Philippus. The new praetors were T. Maenius, P. Cornelius Sulla, C. Calpurnius Piso, M. Licinius Lucullus, C. Aurelius Scaurus and L. Quinctius Crispinus. At the close of the year, after the new magistrates had been appointed, Cneius Manlius Vulso celebrated his triumph over the Asiatic Gauls. The reason why he deferred his triumph to so late a date was his anxiety to avoid a prosecution under the Petillian Law whilst Q. Terentius Culleo was praetor, and the possibility of being caught by the flames of the verdict which condemned Scipio. He thought the judges would be even more hostile to him than they had been to Scipio owing to reports which had reached Rome of his allowing the soldiers every kind of licence and completely destroying the discipline which his predecessor Scipio had maintained. Nor were the stories of what had gone on in his province far away from men's eyes the only things that discredited him. Still worse things were witnessed amongst his soldiers every day' for it was through the army serving in Asia that the beginnings of foreign luxury were introduced into the City. These men brought into Rome for the first time, bronze couches, costly coverlets, tapestry, and other fabrics, and−what was at that time considered gorgeous furniture−pedestal tables and silver salvers. Banquets were made more attractive by the presence of girls who played on the harp and sang and danced, and by other forms of amusement, and the banquets themselves began to be prepared with greater care and expense. The cook whom the ancients regarded and treated as the lowest menial was rising in value, and what had been a servile office came to be looked upon as a fine art. Still what met the eye in those days was hardly the germ of the luxury that was coming.

In his triumph Cn. Manlius had borne before him 200 golden crowns, each weighing 12 pounds, 220,000 pounds weight of silver, 2103 pounds of gold, 127,000 Attic tetrachmas, 250 cistophori, 16,320 golden coins of Philip's mintage, and a large quantity of arms and spoils taken from the Gauls, which were carried in wagons. Fifty−two of the enemy leaders were marched before his chariot. He distributed amongst the soldiers 42 denarii for each legionary, twice as much for the centurions, and three times as much for the cavalry, and double pay for all. Many of those who followed his chariot had received military rewards, and it was clear from the songs which the soldiers sang that they addressed him as an indulgent general who sought their goodwill, and that it was his popularity with the soldiers rather than with the people that lent lustre to his triumph. But the friends of Manlius succeeded in winning the favour of the people also; by their efforts a resolution was passed in the senate ordering that so much of the soldiers' stipends contributed by the people as had not yet been paid should be paid out of the money borne in the triumphal procession. The quaestors, making a true and just valuation, paid back 25 1/2 for every 1000 ases. Just at this time two military tribunes arrived with despatches from C. Atinius and L. Manlius, who were commanding in Hither and Further Spain. It appeared that the Celtiberi and Lusitanians were in arms and were ravaging the lands of the friendly tribes. The senate left the new magistrates to deal with the situation. Whilst the Roman Games were being celebrated this year by P. Cornelius Cethegus and A. Postumius Albinus, a pole insecurely fixed on the race−course fell on the statue of Pollentia and threw it down. This was regarded as an

omen, and the senate decided that the Games should be celebrated for one day longer, and that two statues should be erected in place of the one that had fallen, one of them to be gilded. The Plebeian Games were exhibited for one day by the aediles C. Sempronius Blaesus and M. Furius Luscus.

During the following year the consuls Sp. Postumius Albinus and Q. Marcius Philippus had their attention diverted from the army and the wars, and the administration of provinces, by the necessity of putting down a domestic conspiracy. The provinces were allotted to the praetors as follows: the civic jurisdiction to T. Maenius, the alien to M. Licinius Lucullus, Sardinia to C. Aurelius Scaurus, Sicily to P. Cornelius Sulla, Hither Spain to L. Q. Crispinus, and Further Spain to C. Calpurnius Piso. Both the consuls were charged with the investigation into the secret conspiracies. A low−born Greek went into Etruria first of all, but did not bring with him any of the numerous arts which that most accomplished of all nations has introduced amongst us for the cultivation of mind and body. He was a hedge−priest and wizard, not one of those who imbue men's minds with error by professing to teach their superstitions openly for money, but a hierophant of secret nocturnal mysteries. At first these were divulged to only a few; then they began to spread amongst both men and women, and the attractions of wine and feasting increased the number of his followers. When they were heated with wine and the nightly commingling of men and women, those of tender age with their seniors, had extinguished all sense of modesty, debaucheries of every kind commenced; each had pleasures at hand to satisfy the lust he was most prone to. Nor was the mischief confined to the promiscuous intercourse of men and women; false witness, the forging of seals and testaments, and false informations, all proceeded from the same source, as also poisonings and murders of families where the bodies could not even be found for burial. Many crimes were committed by treachery; most by violence, which was kept secret, because the cries of those who were being violated or murdered could not be heard owing to the noise of drums and cymbals.

This pestilential evil penetrated from Etruria to Rome like a contagious disease. At first, the size and extent of the City allowing more scope and impunity for such mischiefs, served to conceal them, but information at length reached the consul, mainly through the following channel. P. Aebutius, whose father had served in the cavalry and was dead, had been left under guardians. On their death he had been brought up under the care of his mother Duronia and his stepfather T. Sempronius Rutilus. The mother was completely in her husband's hands; and as the stepfather had so exercised his guardianship that he was not in a position to give a proper account for it, he was anxious that his ward should either be put out of the way or placed at his mercy through his getting some hold upon him. One way of corrupting the youth's morals was through the Bacchanalia. The mother told the youth that she had made a vow on his behalf during an illness, namely, that as soon as he recovered she would initiate him into the Bacchic mysteries, and in that way would through the kindness of the gods discharge the vow by which she was bound. He must preserve his chastity for ten days, then after supper on the tenth day she would take him to a place set apart for the rite of initiation.

There was a freedwoman named Hispala Fecenia who, though she was a courtesan, was worthy of better things than the gains to which she had been accustomed from her girlhood, and by which she supported herself even after she had been manumitted. As their houses were near one another, an intimacy had sprung up between her and Aebutius, which was in no way injurious to either his reputation or his purse. She sought his company and his love unsolicited, and as his parents kept him close in every way, he was maintained by the girl's generosity. Her passion for him had gone so far that after her guardian had died, and she was no longer a ward, she begged the tribunes and the praetor to appoint a guardian for her. Then she could make a will and she constituted Aebutius her sole heir.

With these proofs of her love they had no secrets from each other, and the youth told her in a jocular tone not to be surprised if he absented himself from her for some nights; he had a religious duty to perform, the discharge of a vow made while he was ill, and he intended therefore to be initiated into the Bacchic mysteries. On hearing this she was terribly upset and exclaimed, "Heaven forbid. Better for us both to die than that you should do this," and then invoked deadly curses on the heads of those who had advised him to take this course. The youth, astonished at her outburst and excitement, bade her spare her curses; it was his mother who had given him this command

with the consent of his stepfather. "Your stepfather, then," she replied, "for, perhaps, it is not right to charge your mother with it, is by this act hurrying on the ruin of your modesty, your reputation, your hopes and your life." Still more astonished, he asked her what she meant. With a prayer to the gods and goddesses to forgive her if, constrained by her affection, she disclosed what she ought to be silent about, she explained that when she was in service she had accompanied her mistress into that place of initiation, but had never gone near it when once she was free. She knew it to be a sink of every form of corruption, and it was a matter of common knowledge that no one had been initiated for the last two years above the age of twenty. As each person was brought in, he was handed over to the priests like a victim and taken into a place which resounded with yells and songs, and the jangling of cymbals and drums, so that no cry from those who were suffering violation could be heard. She then begged and implored him to get out of the affair in whatever way he could, and not to rush blindly into a place where he would first have to endure, and then to commit, every conceivable outrage. Until he had given his word to keep clear of these rites she would not let him go.

After he reached home his mother brought up the subject of the initiation and told him what he had to do in connection with it on that day, and what on the following days. He informed her that he would do nothing of the kind; he had no intention of being initiated. His stepfather was present. The mother at once exclaimed, "He cannot pass ten nights away from Hispala's embraces; he is so intoxicated with the fascinations of that venomous serpent, that he has no respect for either his parent or his stepfather or the gods." Amid the objurgations of his mother on the one side and his stepfather on the other, he was finally, with the assistance of four slaves, driven out of the house. The youth betook himself to his aunt Aebutia, and explained why he had been expelled from his home, and at her suggestion laid the matter privately before the consul the following day. Postumius told him to come again in three days' time, and in the meantime inquired of Sulpicia, his mother−in−law, a grave and judicious woman, whether she knew an old woman called Aebutia living in the Aventine quarter. She replied that she knew her to be a woman of respectable and strictly moral character; on which the consul said that it was important that he should have an interview with her, and Sulpicia must send for her to see her. Aebutia came to Sulpicia, and the consul coming in as though by accident turned the conversation on to her brother's son. The woman burst into tears and began to lament the youth's misfortunes, robbed as he had been of his fortune by those who ought to have been the very last to do so. He was, she said, at her house at the time, "he had been driven away by his mother because the honest and respectable youth refused−may the gods forgive me−to be initiated into what were commonly believed to be impure and obscene mysteries."

As the consul considered that he had ascertained all that was necessary about Aebutius, and that the evidence was trustworthy, he dismissed Aebutia and asked his mother−in−law to send for Hispala, a freedwoman, who was well known round the Aventine, as there were some questions he wished to put to her. Hispala was alarmed at the message, and at being summoned into the presence of a woman of such high rank and character, without knowing the reason, and when she saw the lictors and the consul's attendants in the vestibule, she nearly fainted. She was conducted into an inner apartment where the consul and his mother−in−law were present, and the consul told her that there was nothing to be afraid of if she could make up her mind to speak the truth; she might trust the pledged word of such a woman as Sulpicia and his own promise of safety, but she must give him a description of what usually went on at the nocturnal Bacchic rites in the grove of Simila. On hearing this, the woman was seized with such a fright and a trembling in all her limbs that she could not open her lips. At last she recovered her nerves, and said that when quite a girl she had been initiated, together with her mistress, but since she had been manumitted, now some years ago, she knew nothing of what went on there. The consul commended her for having confessed that she had been initiated and begged her to be equally truthful in the rest of her story. She avowed that she knew nothing further, on which the consul warned her that she would not receive the same consideration and forbearance if she were confuted by some one else, as she would if she made a free confession, for the person who had heard these things from her had disclosed everything to him.

The woman being convinced, and quite rightly, that Aebutius was the informer, flung herself at Sulpicia's feet and implored her not to let a conversation between a freedwoman and her lover be treated so seriously as to amount to treason. What she had told him was for the purpose of frightening, not because she really knew anything.

Postumius was very angry, and told her that she must be imagining that she was joking with her lover, and not speaking in the house of a grave and august lady and in the presence of the consul. Sulpicia raised the terrified woman from the floor, spoke soothingly to her and tried to quiet her. At length she became calm, and after bitterly reproaching Aebutius for the return he had made after all she had done for him, and declared that while she stood in great fear of the gods, whose occult mysteries she was revealing, she stood in much greater fear of men who would tear her to pieces if she turned informer. So she begged Sulpicia and the consul to remove her to some place outside the borders of Italy where she could pass the rest of her days in safety. The consul bade her be under no apprehension; he would see to it that she found a safe home in Rome. Then Hispala gave an account of the origin of these rites.

At first they were confined to women; no male was admitted, and they had three stated days in the year on which persons were initiated during the daytime, and matrons were chosen to act as priestesses. Paculla Annia, a Campanian, when she was priestess, made a complete change, as though by divine monition, for she was the first to admit men, and she initiated her own sons, Minius Cerinnius and Herennius Cerinnius. At the same time she made the rite a nocturnal one, and instead of three days in the year celebrated it five times a month. When once the mysteries had assumed this promiscuous character, and men were mingled with women with all the licence of nocturnal orgies, there was no crime, no deed of shame, wanting. More uncleanness was wrought by men with men than with women. Whoever would not submit to defilement, or shrank from violating others, was sacrificed as a victim. To regard nothing as impious or criminal was the very sum of their religion. The men, as though seized with madness and with frenzied distortions of their bodies, shrieked out prophecies; the matrons, dressed as Bacchae, their hair dishevelled, rushed down to the Tiber with burning torches, plunged them into the water, and drew them out again, the flame undiminished, as they were made of sulphur mixed with lime. Men were fastened to a machine and hurried off to hidden caves, and they were said to have been rapt away by the gods; these were the men who refused to join their conspiracy or take a part in their crimes or submit to pollution. They formed an immense multitude, almost equal to the population of Rome; amongst them were members of noble families both men and women. It had been made a rule for the last two years that no one more than twenty years old should be initiated; they captured those to be deceived and polluted.

When she had finished giving her evidence, she fell on her knees and again begged the consul to send her abroad. He asked his mother−in−law to set apart some portion of her house where she could take up her abode. An upper room was assigned to her which was approached by a flight of steps from the street; these were blocked up and an entrance made from inside the house. All Fecenia's effects were at once transferred, and her household slaves brought in, and Aebutius was ordered to take up his quarters with a client of the consul's. As both his informants were now in his hands, Postumius reported the affair to the senate. Everything was explained as it occurred, the information which he had first received, and then that which he had obtained in answer to his questions. The senate were greatly alarmed for the public safety; these secret conspiracies and nocturnal gatherings were a danger to the State; and they were alarmed for themselves, lest their own relations and friends might be involved. They passed a vote of thanks to the consul for having conducted his investigations so carefully and without creating any public disturbance. Then, arming the consuls with extraordinary powers, they placed in their hands the inquiry into the proceedings at the Bacchanalia and the nocturnal rites. They were to take care that Aebutius and Fecenia suffered no injury for the information they had given, and they were to offer rewards to induce other informers to come forward. Those who presided over these mysteries were to be sought out not only in Rome, but everywhere where people were in the habit of assembling, so that they might be delivered up to the consuls. Edicts were published in Rome and throughout Italy forbidding any who had been initiated from meeting together to celebrate their mysteries or performing any rites of a similar character, and above all, strict inquiry was to be made in the case of those who attended gatherings in which crime and debauchery had occurred. These were the measures which the senate decreed. The consuls sent orders to the curule aediles to search out all the priests of those rites and, when they were arrested, to keep them in such custody as they thought best until their trial. The plebeian aediles were to see that no rites were performed in open day; the police commissioners were instructed to post watches throughout the City and take care that no nocturnal gatherings took place; and as a precaution against fires, five men were appointed to assist the commissioners and take charge of the buildings assigned to

them on this side the Tiber.

When the various officials had been told off to their duties, the consuls convened the Assembly and mounted the Rostra. After the usual prayers with which proceedings are opened before the magistrates address the people, the consul began thus: "In no meeting of the Assembly has this solemn appeal to the gods been so appropriate and, I would add, so necessary. For it reminds you that it is these gods whom your ancestors ordained that we should worship, reverence, and pray to; not those who have driven the minds of people enslaved by foul and foreign superstitions, as though by goading furies, into every form of crime and every kind of lust. I am at a loss to know how far I ought to keep silence, and how far I ought to go, in what I have to say. I fear, if you remain in ignorance of anything, that I may leave an opening for neglect, whilst, if I disclose everything, I may create too much alarm. Whatever I say, you may be certain that it does not come up to the enormity and horror of the thing. We shall make it our business to say enough to put you on your guard. That the Bacchanalia have for some time been going on throughout Italy and are now practiced in many parts of the City you have, I am sure, learnt not only by report, but also by the nightly noises and yells which resound all over the City; but I do not think you know what it all means. Some of you fancy that it is a particular form of worship; others think that it is some permissible kind of sport and dalliance; its real nature is understood by few. As to their numbers, you would inevitably be very much alarmed if I were to say that there are many thousands of them, unless I went on to explain who and what sort of people they are.

"In the first place, then, women form the great majority, and this was the source of all the mischief. Then there are the males, the very counterparts of the women, committing and submitting to the foulest uncleanness, frantic and frenzied, driven out of their senses by sleepless nights, by wine, by nocturnal shouting and uproar. The conspiracy does not so far possess any strength, but its numbers are rapidly increasing day by day, and its strength is growing. Your ancestors would not have even your Assembly meet in an irregular and haphazard way, but only when the standard was hoisted on the citadel and the centuries in their array marched out, or when the tribunes had given notice of a meeting of the plebs, or the Assembly had been duly convened by one of the magistrates. Whenever the people met together there was bound to be a lawful authority to preside over it. Have you any idea what these nocturnal gatherings, these promiscuous associations of men and women are? If you knew at what age those of the male sex are initiated, you would feel not only compassion for them, but shame as well. Do you consider, Quirites, that young men who have taken this unhallowed oath are to be made into soldiers? That after the training they have received in that shrine of obscenity they are to be entrusted with arms? Shall these men, reeking with their impurity and that of those round them, wield their swords in defence of the chastity of your wives and children?

"The mischief would not be serious, if they had only lost their manhood through their debauchery−the disgrace would fall mainly upon themselves−and had kept from open outrage and secret treason. Never has there been such a gigantic evil in the commonwealth, or one which has affected greater numbers or caused more numerous crimes. Whatever instances of lust, treachery, or crime have occurred during these last years, have originated, you may be perfectly certain, in that shrine of unhallowed rites. They have not yet disclosed all the criminal objects of their conspiracy. So far, their impious association confines itself to individual crimes; it has not yet strength enough to destroy the commonwealth. But the evil is creeping stealthily on, and growing day by day; it is already too great to limit its action to individual citizens; it looks to be supreme in the State. Unless, Quirites, you take precautions, this Assembly legally convened by a consul in the daylight will be confronted by another assembly gathered together in the darkness of the night. Now they, disunited, fear you, a united Assembly, but when you are dispersed to your homes and your farms they will hold their assembly and plot their own safety and your ruin. It will then be your turn, scattered as you will be, to fear them in their united strength.

"You ought, therefore, every one of you, to pray that your friends may have preserved their good sense. If unbridled and maddening lust has swept any one away into that whirlpool, you must judge him as belonging not to you but to those whom he has joined as fellow−conspirators in every kind of wickedness. I do not feel sure that even some of you may not have been misled. For there is nothing which wears a more deceptive appearance than

a depraved superstition. Where crimes are sheltered under the name of religion, there is fear lest in punishing the hypocrisy of men we are doing violence to something holy which is mixed up with it. From these scruples you are delivered by numberless decisions of the pontiffs, resolutions of the senate and responses of the augurs. How often in the times of your fathers and grandfathers has the task been assigned to the magistrates of forbidding all foreign rites and ceremonies, prohibiting hedge−priests and diviners from entering either the Forum, the Circus, or the City, seeking out and burning all books of pretended prophecies, and abolishing every sacrificial ritual except what was accordant with Roman usage! Those men were masters of all human and divine love, and they believed that nothing tended so much to destroy religion as the performance of sacrificial rites, not after the manner of our fathers, but in fashions imported from abroad. I thought I ought to tell you this beforehand, so that none of you may be distressed by fears on the score of religion when you see us demolishing the seats of the Bacchanalia and dispersing their impious gatherings. All that we shall do will be done with the sanction of the gods and in obedience to their will. To show their displeasure at the insult offered to their majesty by these lusts and crimes they have dragged them out of their dark hiding−places into the light of day, and they have willed that they shall be exposed not to enjoy impunity, but to be punished and put an end to. "The senate has entrusted my colleague and myself with extraordinary powers for conducting an inquiry into this matter. We shall make an energetic use of them, and we have charged the subordinate magistrates with the care of the night−watches throughout the City. It is only right that you should show equal energy in doing your duty in whatever position you may be placed and whatever orders you receive, and also in making it your business to see that no danger or disturbance arise through the secret plots of the criminals."

They then ordered the resolutions of the senate to be read, and offered a reward for any one who should bring a guilty person before the consuls, or give in his name if he were not forthcoming. In the case of any one who had been denounced and then taken to flight, they would fix a day for him to answer the charge, and if he failed to appear, he would be condemned in his absence; for any one who was abroad at the time they would extend the date should he wish to make his defence. They then published an edict forbidding any one to sell or buy anything for the purpose of flight, or to receive, harbour, or in any way assist those who fled. After the Assembly had broken up, the whole of the City was thoroughly alarmed. Nor was the alarm confined within the walls of the City or the frontiers of Rome; there was uneasiness and consternation throughout the whole of Italy when letters began to arrive announcing the resolutions of the senate, the proceedings in the Assembly and the edict of the consuls. During the night following the disclosure of the affair in the Assembly, guards were posted at all the gates, and many who tried to escape were arrested by the police commissioners and brought back. Many names were handed in, and some of these, both men and women, committed suicide. It was asserted that more than 7000 of both sexes were implicated in the conspiracy. The ringleaders were, it appears, the two Atinii, Marcus and Caius, both members of the Roman plebs; L. Opiternius of Falerium, and Minius Cerrinius, a Campanian. They were the authors of all the crime and outrage, the high priests and founders of the cult. Care was taken that they should be arrested as soon as possible, and when brought before the consuls they at once made a complete confession.

So great, however, was the number of those who fled from the City that law−suits and rights of property were in numerous cases lost by default, and the praetors were compelled through the intervention of the senate to adjourn their courts for a month, to allow the consuls to complete their investigations. Owing to the fact that those whose names were on the list did not answer to the summons, and were not to be found in Rome, the consuls had to visit the country towns and conduct their inquiries and try the cases there. Those who had simply been initiated, who, that is, had repeated after the priest the prescribed form of imprecation which pledged them to every form of wickedness and impurity, but had not been either active or passive participants in any of the proceedings to which their oath bound them, were detained in prison. Those who had polluted themselves by outrage and murder, those who had stained themselves by giving false evidence, forging seals and wills and by other fraudulent practices, were sentenced to death. The number of those executed exceeded the number of those sentenced to imprisonment; there was an enormous number of men as well as women in both classes. The women who had been found guilty were handed over to their relatives or guardians to be dealt with privately; if there was no one capable of inflicting punishment, they were executed publicly. The next task awaiting the consuls was the destruction of all the Bacchanalian shrines, beginning with Rome, and then throughout the length and breadth of Italy; those only

excepted where there was an ancient altar or a sacred image. The senate decreed that for the future there should be no Bacchanalian rites in Rome or in Italy. If any one considered that this form of worship was a necessary obligation and that he could not dispense with it without incurring the guilt of irreligion, he was to make a declaration before the City praetor and the praetor was to consult the senate. If the senate gave permission, not less than one hundred senators being present, he might observe those rites on condition that not more than five persons took part in the service, that they had no common fund, and that there was no priest or conductor of the ceremonies.

Another matter connected with this was brought forward by the consul Q. Marcius and made the subject of a decree, namely, the cases of those whom the consuls had employed as informers. The question was left for the senate to deal with as soon as Sp. Postumius had closed his inquiry and returned to Rome. The senate decided that Minius Cerrinius, the Campanian, should be sent in chains to Ardea, and that the magistrates there should be warned to keep him in custody under close observation to prevent not only his escape but any chance of his committing suicide. After some time Sp. Postumius returned to Rome. He brought up the question of the rewards to be given to P. Aebutius and Hispala Fecenia, as it was owing to them that the Bacchanalia had been detected. The senate decided that the City praetor should give each of them 100,000 ases out of the treasury, and that the consul should arrange with the tribunes to propose to the plebs on the first opportunity that P. Aebutius should be exempted from military conscription, and not compelled, unless he wished, to serve in either the infantry or the cavalry. To Fecenia was granted the right of disposing of her property in any way she chose, of marrying out of her gens, and selecting her own guardian, just as though a husband had left her this power in his will. She was also at liberty to marry a free−born citizen, and whoever married her should not suffer in reputation or position. Moreover, the consuls and praetors then in office, and those who should succeed them, were to make it their care that no harm should happen to the woman but that she should live a safe life. These proposals the senate considered equitable and thought it right that they should be adopted. They were submitted to the plebs and the resolution of the senate was confirmed, and the consuls were to secure the impunity of the other informers and decide upon their rewards.

By this time Q. Marcius had completed his inquiry throughout the district assigned to him, and was preparing to start for his province in Liguria. He was reinforced by 3000 Roman infantry and 150 cavalry, together with a contingent from the Latin allies of 5000 infantry and 200 cavalry. This province had been decreed to his colleague in conjunction with him, and he, too, received reinforcements of equal strength. They took over the armies which the previous consuls had commanded, and on the authority of the senate enrolled two fresh legions in addition. They required the Latin allies to furnish 20,000 infantry and 800 cavalry, and called up 3000 Roman infantry and 200 cavalry as well. The whole of this force, with the exception of the legions, was destined to reinforce the armies in Spain. While the consuls were preoccupied with their judicial investigations they appointed T. Maenius to superintend the levying of the troops. Q. Marcius was the first to complete his inquiry, and he at once advanced against the Apuani. Whilst he was following them into the depths of secluded passes, where they were in the habit of sheltering and concealing themselves, the enemy seized a narrow defile and hemmed him in. Four thousand men were lost, three standards belonging to the second legion and eleven ensigns from the Latin allies fell into the enemy's hands, together with a large quantity of arms which the fugitives, finding that they hampered their flight through the forest tracks, had everywhere thrown away. The enemy stopped their pursuit before the Romans stopped their flight. As soon as the consul got clear of the enemy's country, he dispersed his army in friendly territory to prevent the extent of his losses from being known. He was not, however, able to efface the memory of his ill−success. The pass out of which the Ligurians had chased him was afterwards known as the "Marcian Pass."

No sooner had the news from Liguria become generally known, than despatches were received from Spain which aroused mingled feelings of joy and grief. C. Atinius, who two years before had gone to that province as propraetor, fought a pitched battle with the Lusitanians in the neighbourhood of Hasta. As many as 6000 of the enemy were killed; the rest were routed and driven out of their camp. Then he led the legions to an attack on the fortified town of Hasta which he captured with as little difficulty as he had met with in the capture of the camp. But while he was approaching the walls somewhat incautiously, he was struck by a missile and in a few days died

of his wound. When the despatch announcing his death was read, the senate were of opinion that a courier ought to be sent to overtake the praetor C. Calpurnius at the port of Luna and inform him that the senate advised him to hasten his departure, so that the province might not be left without an administrator. The courier reached Luna in four days; Calpurnius had started a few days previously. In Hither Spain there was also fighting; L. Manlius Acidinus had a battle with the Celtiberi just at the time when C. Atinius reached the province. The battle was undecided, except so far as the Celtiberi shifted their camp in the following night and the Romans were allowed by the enemy to bury their dead and collect the spoils. A few days later the Celtiberi, having collected a larger force, took the aggressive and attacked the Romans near the town of Calagurris. There is no explanation as to why, though their numbers were increased, they proved to be the weaker side. They were worsted in the battle; 12,000 were killed, 2000 made prisoners, and the Romans gained possession of their camp. If his successor had not stopped Calpurnius' victorious advance, the Celtiberi would have been subjugated. The new praetors took both their armies into winter quarters.

At the time when this intelligence was received from Spain, the "Taurii" Games were celebrated as a special religious observance. These were followed by the Games which M. Fulvius had vowed in the Aetolian war and were exhibited for ten days. Many actors from Greece came to do him honour, and athletic contests were witnessed for the first time in Rome. The hunting of lions and panthers formed a novel feature, and the whole spectacle presented almost as much splendour and variety as those of the present day. A shower of stones, lasting three days, fell at Picenum, and fire from the sky was said to have appeared in various places and singed many persons' garments. In consequence of these portents, special religious services were held for nine days. An additional day's service was ordered by the pontiffs owing to the temple of Ops on the Capitol being struck by lightning. The consuls sacrificed full−grown victims and purified the City. Almost at the same time a report came from Umbria of the discovery of a child there, nine years old, who was a hermaphrodite. Horrified at such a portent the auruspices gave orders for it to be removed from Roman soil as speedily as possible and put to death.

During the year some transalpine Gauls moved into Venetia without doing any damage or attempting hostilities. They took possession of some land not far from where Aquileia now stands on which to build a town. Roman envoys were sent across the Alps to inquire about this proceeding, and they were informed that the migration had taken place without the authority of their tribe, nor did they know what they were doing in Italy. L. Scipio now exhibited for ten days the Games which he said that he had vowed in the war with Antiochus; the cost was met by money contributed by the kings and cities of Asia. According to Valerius Antias, he was sent, after his condemnation and the sale of his property, as special commissioner to settle the differences between Antiochus and Eumenes, and whilst he was on this mission contributions in money were made for him, and actors gathered together from all parts of Asia. He had made no mention of these Games after the war in which he said that he had vowed them; it was only after his mission that they came before the senate.

As the year was now closing, Q. Marcius was preparing to lay down his office while still abroad; S. Postumius, who had completed the investigations which he had conducted with the most scrupulous impartiality, held the election. The new consuls were Ap. Claudius Pulcher and M. Sempronius Tuditanus. The next day the following were elected praetors: P. Cornelius Cethegus, A. Postumius Albinus, C. Afranius Stellio, C. Atilius Serranus, L. Postumius Tempsanus and M. Claudius Marcellus. S. Postumius had reported that whilst engaged on his enquiries he had traversed both coasts of Italy, and had found two deserted colonies, Sipontum on the Adriatic and Buxentum on the Mediterranean. Three commissioners were appointed by the City praetor to enrol colonists for these places, namely, L. Scribonius Libo, M. Tuccius and Cn. Baebius Tamphilus. The war which was threatening with Perseus and the Macedonians did not owe its origin to what most people imagined, nor was it due to the action of Perseus himself. Its beginnings were prepared by Philip, and had he lived longer, he would himself have undertaken it. When the terms of peace were imposed upon him after his defeat, the thing which exasperated him most was the interference of the senate with his claim to punish those of his subjects who had revolted from him during the war. In drawing up the conditions of peace Quinctius had left this point for further consideration, and he was not without hopes of making his claim good. A second grievance which he felt bitterly was that when Antiochus was worsted at Thermopylae and the two armies separated, the consul advancing against Heraclea and

Philip against Lamia, he was ordered to retire from the walls of Lamia, after the capture of Heraclea, and the town was surrendered to the Romans. The Aetolians were rallying from their flight at Naupactus, and the consul, hastening there, mollified Philip's anger by permitting him to make war on Athamania and Amynander and annex the cities, which the Aetolians had taken from the Thracians, to his own dominions. He expelled Amynander from Athamania without much trouble and took some of his cities. He also reduced Demetrias, a strong city and useful in every respect, and brought the tribe of the Magnetes beneath his sway. In Thrace, too, there were some cities in a state of turmoil owing to the quarrels of their leaders and the misuse of a liberty to which they were unaccustomed, and these he secured by supporting the weaker side in these domestic conflicts.

These successes for the time being allayed the king's anger against the Romans. Never, however, was his attention diverted from amassing a force during the years of peace which he could, whenever a favourable opportunity presented itself make use of in war. He raised the taxes which were levied on agricultural produce and increased the amount of the import and export duties; he also re−opened old and disused gold and silver mines and started new ones. In order to make good the loss of population caused by his wars, he made provision for fresh growths from the stock by compelling all his subjects to marry and bring up children. He further transported a large body of Thracians into Macedonia, and in these ways, during all the time he was undisturbed by alarms of war, he devoted all his thoughts and care to increasing the power and resources of his realm. Then fresh incidents occurred to rekindle his indignation against the Romans. The Thessalians and Perrhaebians protested against his retaining possession of their cities; envoys from Eumenes complained of the forcible occupation of towns in Thrace and the removal of the population into Macedonia. The reception given to these remonstrances made it clear that they would not be ignored. What created the deepest impression on the senate was the information they had received that he was contemplating the seizure of Aenus and Maronea; they were less interested in the Thessalians. Delegates also appeared from Athamania, the burden of whose complaint was not the loss of a part of their country but the subjection of the whole of Athamania to the power and rule of the king. Some Maronite refugees were present who had been expelled because they had tried to defend their liberty against the king's garrison. They declared that not only Maronea but Aenus also was in Philip's power. Envoys came from Philip to defend him against these charges. They affirmed that nothing had been done without the sanction of the Roman generals; that the cities of the Thessalians and Perrhaebians and Magnetes, as well as the people of Athamania with their king Amynander, were in the same case as the Aetolians. For when after the expulsion of Antiochus the consul was engaged in the reduction of the cities of Aetolia, he sent Philip to take the cities in question; they were his by the rights of war. The senate would not come to any decision in the king's absence, and accordingly they sent Q. Caecilius, M Baebius Tamphilus and Ti. Sempronius, as special commissioners, to settle the dispute. Previous to their arrival, notice was sent to all the cities concerned that a council would be convened at Tempe in Thessaly.

When all had taken their seats−the Roman commissioners appearing as arbitrators, the Thessalians, Perrhaebians and Athamanians as open accusers, and Philip, who had to listen to the charges against him, as defendant−the leaders of the different delegations revealed their characters in the attitude they assumed towards Philip, whether of sympathy or of more or less violent antagonism. The dispute turned upon the status of the cities of Philippopolis, Tricca, Phaloria, Eurymenae, and the other towns in their neighbourhood. Did they belong of right to the Thessalians, though they had been forcibly seized and taken possession of by the Aetolians−for it was admitted that it was from the Aetolians that Philip had wrested them−or had they always been Aetolian towns? It was argued that Acilius had granted them to the king on the understanding that they belonged to the Aetolians, and had joined their League voluntarily, not under the compulsion of arms. A similar question arose with regard to the towns in Perrhaebia and Magnesia, for the Aetolians, by seizing all these towns as they had opportunity, had made their rightful position uncertain. To these matters in dispute were added the complaints of the Thessalians, who pointed out that if those towns were restored to them as they were, he would restore them plundered and deserted. Besides those lost through the accidents of war, he had carried off 500 of their young men to Macedonia, where they were wasting their energies in servile tasks, and whatever he was compelled to restore to the Thessalians, he took care to render of no further use. In former times the one mercantile port which the Thessalians had access to was Phthian Thebes, from which they derived profit and revenue. The king fitted out a

number of merchant ships there which made their voyages past Thebes to Demetrias, and so diverted all sea−borne traffic from that port. Now things had come to such a pass that he did not shrink from doing violence to their envoys, who were protected by the law of nations; he had waylaid and captured them on their way to T. Quinctius. The whole of Thessaly was in consequence so intimidated that no one dared to open his mouth, either in their cities or in their national council. The Romans, the authors of their liberties, were far away; an oppressive tyrant was close at their side, making it impossible for them to enjoy the benefits which the people of Rome had conferred upon them. What liberty was there, where there was no liberty of speech? Even now, whilst relying on the protection of the commissioners, they were uttering groans rather than coherent words. Unless the Romans devised some means of checking Philip's audacity and relieving the fears of the Greek neighbours of Macedonia, his defeat and their liberation would be in vain. If he does not obey, he must, like a stubborn horse, be coerced with a severer bit. These bitter invectives were from those who spoke last; the former speakers had softened his resentment by asking him to pardon their speaking in defence of their liberties. They expressed a hope that he would lay aside the harshness of a master and reconcile himself to becoming their friend and ally, and so follow the example of the Romans who prefer to extend their alliances through affection and not through fear. After the Thessalians, the Perrhaebians stated their case. They claimed Gonnocondylum, which Philip had re−named Olympias, as belonging to Perrhaebia, and pleaded for its restoration. The same request was made with regard to Malloea and Ericinium. The Athamanians sought to recover their independence and the fortified posts of Athenaeum and Poetneum.

Philip's role was to appear as accuser rather than defendant. He began by charging the Thessalians with seizing Menelais in Dolopia by force of arms, a place which belonged to his dominions, and in conjunction with the Perrhaebians capturing also Petra in Pieria. Even Xynias, beyond all doubt an Aetolian town, had been forced to join their confederacy, and without a shadow of right they had made themselves masters of Parachelois, which was under Athamania. As to the charges brought against him of waylaying envoys, of causing the fulness or emptiness of seaports, the latter was absurd; he was not responsible for the preference which traders or skippers showed for certain ports; and as to the former, it was quite alien from his character. Through all these years, charges had been continually made against him either to the Roman generals or to the Roman senate. Who had ever been injured even by a word? 'They said that a plot was once formed against those who were going to Quinctius, but they did not go on to say what happened to them. These are the accusations of men who are hunting for false charges, since they have nothing true to go upon. The Thessalians in their insolence were shamelessly abusing the indulgence of the people of Rome; like men who after a long thirst drank wine too eagerly, they were intoxicated with liberty. Like slaves suddenly and unexpectedly manumitted, they show their freedom by putting no constraint on their speech and language and showering abuse on their late masters. Then in a towering rage he exclaimed: "The evening of all days has not yet come!" The Thessalians and even the Romans took this as a threat against themselves. When the murmurs of disapprobation at these words had died away, he replied to the Perrhaebian and Athamanian envoys, and maintained that the cities which they represented were in the same position as the others; Acilius and the Romans had given them to him at a time when they belonged to the enemy. If the donors wished to take away what they had given, he knew he must give them up, but in that case they would be ingratiating themselves with fickle and useless allies by doing an injustice to a more deserving and faithful friend. Nothing evoked a more short−lived gratitude than the gift of liberty, especially among those who were ready to abuse and corrupt it. After hearing all sides the commissioners announced their decision. The king's garrisons must be withdrawn from the cities in dispute, and his kingdom limited to the ancient frontiers of Macedonia. As for the complaints which each side made against the other, a court of arbitration must be formed to settle the differences between these peoples and the Macedonians.

Leaving the king intensely annoyed, the commissioners proceeded to Thessalonica to consider the question of the cities of Thrace. Here they met the envoys of Eumenes, who asserted that if the Romans wished Aenus and Maronea to be free, their sense of honour forbade them to say more, unless it was to warn them to leave those people in the enjoyment of a real and not merely nominal liberty, and not to allow their boon to be intercepted by some one else. But if they thought the question of the Thracian cities comparatively unimportant, it would be much more reasonable that those which had been under Antiochus should be held as prizes of war by Eumenes

rather than by Philip. This would be a return to Eumenes for the services of his father Attalus during the war which the Romans waged against this same Philip, and also for what he had himself done in sharing all their toils and dangers on land and sea. Moreover, Eumenes had the decision of the ten commissioners in his favour, for in giving him the Chersonese and Lysimachia they certainly gave him Aenus and Maronea as well, for these two places owing to their proximity formed appendages as it were of the larger gift. "What service rendered to the Roman people, or what sovereign right could justify Philip in forcing his garrison on these cities, lying as they do so far from the frontiers of Macedonia? Let the Maronites be called in, then the commissioners will learn everything about the status of those cities." The Maronites were then called in. They told the commissioners that the king's troops were not confined to one part of the city, as in other places, but were dispersed everywhere; the city was full of Macedonians. The king's adherents were complete masters; they alone were allowed to speak in the senate and the public assembly; they secured all the posts of honour for themselves and their friends. Every respectable citizen who had any regard for liberty and law was either expelled from his native place or, unhonoured, and at the mercy of the mob, was compelled to remain silent. Briefly explaining what were their legal boundaries, they stated that when Q. Fabius Labeo was in that district he fixed the old "king's road," which goes up to Parorea in Thrace and nowhere descends to the sea, as Philip's boundary line; Philip subsequently constructed a new road by which he took in the cities and lands of the Maronites.

Philip took a very different course in his reply from that which he adopted towards the Thessalians and Perrhaebians. "My contention," he began, "is not with the Maronites or with Eumenes, but with you, Romans. I have for some time perceived that I shall get no fair treatment from you. I thought it just and right that the cities of the Macedonians which revolted from me during the suspension of hostilities should be restored to me; not that these would have been a great addition to my kingdom, for they are small places situated on the extreme frontiers, but because such an example would have gone far to restrain the rest of the Macedonians. This has been refused me. During the Aetolian war I was instructed by Manius Acilius to attack Lamia, and when after long and weary siege operations and fighting I was at last surmounting the walls, and the city was all but taken, the consul recalled me, and compelled me to draw off my troops. As some consolation for this injustice, I was allowed to seize some places in Thessaly, Perrhaebia and Athamania−forts rather than cities. Those very places you, Q. Caecilius, took from me a few days ago.

"The envoys of Eumenes actually assumed just now, as a matter beyond doubt, that it would be more equitable for Eumenes to hold the places which belonged to Antiochus, than that I should do so. I take a very different view. Unless the Romans had−I will not say conquered, but even−undertaken that war, Eumenes could not have remained on his throne. So it is he who is indebted to you, not you to him. So far was any part of my kingdom from being in danger, that when Antiochus sought to purchase my support by the promise of 3000 talents, 50 decked ships, and all the cities of Greece which he had previously held, I rejected his offer and declared myself his enemy even before Manius Acilius landed his army in Greece. In concert with him I took whatever part in the war he assigned to me, and when his successor, Lucius Scipio, decided to take his army to the Hellespont overland, I not only allowed him a free passage through my dominions, but I constructed roads, built bridges and furnished supplies, and this not through Macedonia only, but through Thrace as well, where amongst other things peace had to be secured from the barbarians. In return for this proof of my goodwill towards you−I will not call it meritorious service−what is the right thing to do, Romans: to augment and amplify my kingdom by your generosity, or to rob me as you are now doing of what I hold, whether by my own right or by your liberality? The Macedonian cities which, you admit, formed part of my dominions are not restored. Eumenes has come here to despoil me as though I were Antiochus, and actually has the impudence to put forward the decision of the ten commissioners as a cloak for his dishonest intrigues; the very decision by which he can be most effectually confuted. It is quite clearly stated there that the Chersonese and Lysimachia are given to Eumenes. Where, pray, are Aenus and Maronea and the cities of Thrace mentioned ? Is he going to get from you what he did not dare to ask from them, as though they had granted it? It is a matter of some importance to me in what light you regard me. If you have made up your minds to persecute me as an enemy, go on as you have begun; but if you have any feeling of regard for me as a royal friend and ally, do not judge me deserving of so great an injustice."

The king's address made a considerable impression on the commissioners. Their reply was a compromise; nothing was decided. If those cities were given to Eumenes by the decision of the ten commissioners, they said, they would make no change; if Philip had taken them in war, he should hold them as the prize of war; if neither of these proved to be the case, the question must be left to the senate. In order that matters might remain as they were, the garrisons must be withdrawn from those cities. These were the main reasons why Philip turned against the Romans. The war was not started by his son Perseus on any fresh ground; it might be regarded as a legacy from his father. At Rome there was no suspicion of a war with Macedonia. The proconsul L. Manlius had returned from Spain. The senate met in the temple of Bellona, and he asked to be allowed to celebrate his triumph. The magnitude of his operations justified his request, but precedent was against it; the immemorial practice had been that no commander should enjoy a triumph unless he had brought back his army, or unless he left to his successor a province thoroughly subjugated and pacified. However, the intermediate honour was allowed to Manlius; he was to enter the City in ovation. In his procession were borne 52 golden crowns, 132 pounds of gold, and 16,300 pounds of silver, and he announced in the senate that his quaestor, Q. Fabius, was bringing 10,000 pounds of silver and 80 pounds of gold, and this also he would place in the treasury. There was a wide−spread movement amongst the slaves in Apulia this year. The herdsmen had entered into a conspiracy and were making the highroads and public pastures insecure through acts of brigandage. The praetor L. Postumius, who was administering the district from Tarentum, made a strict and close investigation, and sentenced as many as 7000 men. Many took to flight and many were executed. The consuls who had been for a long time detained in the City by the enrolment of troops departed at last for their provinces.

As soon as their troops left their winter quarters, the two praetors, C. Calpurnius and L. Quinctius, joined their forces in Baeturia, and as the enemy were encamped in Carpetania they advanced thither, prepared to carry out their operations in mutual concert. A fight began at a spot not far from the cities of Dipo and Toletum between foraging parties, who were reinforced from both camps, and gradually the whole of the two armies were drawn out to battle. In this tumultuary conflict the enemy were helped by their knowledge of the country and the nature of the fighting. The two Roman armies were routed and driven back to their camp. The enemy did not press their demoralised adversaries. The Roman commanders, fearing lest the camp might be stormed on the morrow, withdrew their armies in silence during the night. The Spaniards formed in battle−array at dawn and marched up to the rampart; surprised at finding the camp empty, they entered it and appropriated what had been left behind in the confusion of the night. After this they returned to their own camp and remained inactive for some days. The losses of the Romans and the allies in the battle amounted to 5000, and the enemy armed themselves with the spoils taken from their bodies. Then they moved on to the Tagus.

The Roman generals in the meantime had spent their whole time in drawing Spanish troops from the friendly cities and restoring the courage of their men which had been so shaken in the battle. When they considered that they were strong enough and the soldiers were asking that they might meet the enemy and wipe out their disgrace, they moved forward and fixed their camp at a distance of twelve miles from the Tagus. Then, taking up the standards and forming into a closed square, they reached the Tagus at daybreak. The enemy camp was on a hill on the other side of the river. There were two places where the river was fordable, and the armies were promptly led across−Calpurnius on the right and Quinctius on the left. The enemy remained quiet−taken aback at the sudden advance of the Romans and making up their minds what to do−when they might have attacked the Romans and thrown them into confusion during the passage of the river. The Romans meanwhile had transported their baggage across and placed it all together. There was not space enough for an entrenched camp, so seeing the enemy in motion, they deployed into line of battle. Two legions, the fifth from Calpurnius' army and the eighth under Quinctius, formed the centre−the main strength of the army. The ground was level and open up to the hostile camp; there was no fear of surprise or ambush.

When the Spaniards saw the two Roman divisions on their side of the river, they decided to engage them before they could form a united front, and swarming out of their camp they rushed down to battle. The fighting began very fiercely, as the Spaniards were full of spirit after their recent victory, and the Romans were smarting under their unwonted humiliation. The Roman centre, formed by two of the bravest legions, fought most gallantly, and

the enemy finding themselves unable to dislodge them in any other way, formed themselves into a wedge and thus massed, the ranks behind always more numerous than those in front, they forced the centre back. When he saw that the line was in trouble, Calpurnius sent two of his staff, T. Quinctilius Varus and L. Juventius Thalna, one to each legion, to stimulate their courage, and warn them that all hopes of victory or of keeping their hold on Spain rested with them; if they gave way, not a man would ever see the other side of the Tagus, let alone any return to Italy. He, himself, with the cavalry, made a short detour and charged the flank of the enemy's wedge as it was pressing back the centre, and Quinctilius delivered a similar charge on the other side. But the cavalry under Calpurnius fought with much the greater determination, and he, himself, most of all. He was the first to strike down an enemy, and he rode so far into the hostile ranks that it was difficult to recognise to which side he belonged. The praetor's conspicuous courage fired the cavalry, and the cavalry fired the infantry. The leading centurions who saw the praetors in the midst of the enemy's weapons felt that their honour was at stake; they each urged on their standard−bearers, shouting to them to carry their standards forward, and then called upon the soldiers to follow them up. The battle−shout rose again from the whole army, and they dashed forward as if they were charging from higher ground. Just like a mountain torrent they bore down and swept away their unnerved foe, and as rank after rank pressed on, they carried all before them. The cavalry pursued the fugitives up to their camp, and mingling with the crowded enemy forced their way into it. Here a fresh battle began with those left to guard the camp, and the Roman troops were obliged to dismount and fight on foot. The fifth legion now joined the combatants, and the rest came up as fast as they could. The Spaniards were cut down everywhere throughout the camp; not more than 4000 men escaped. Of these about 3000, who had retained their arms, occupied a mountain in the neighbourhood, and the rest, only half−armed, straggled about the country. The enemy had numbered more than 35,000, out of whom this small number alone survived the battle. One hundred and thirty−two standards were captured. Of the Romans and allies little more than 600 fell, and of the native auxiliaries about 150. It was mainly the loss of five military tribunes and a few of the Roman cavalry that gave the victory the appearance of a bloody one. As they had not ground sufficient for their own camp, they remained in the enemy's camp. The next day Calpurnius addressed words of thanks and praise to the cavalry, and presented them with ornamental trappings for their horses. He told them that it was mainly due to them that the enemy had been routed, and his camp captured. Quinctius presented his cavalry with chains and brooches. The centurions also in both armies received rewards, especially those who had been posted in the centre.

When the enrolment of troops and the other business which kept the consuls in Rome was finished, they led the army into Liguria. Sempronius advanced from Pisae against the Apuani, and after devastating their fields and burning their villages, opened up the pass leading to the river Macra and the port of Luna. The enemy took up their position on a mountain range, where their ancestors had long been settled, and though the approach was extremely difficult they were driven off. In his good fortune and courage Appius Claudius was not behind his colleague. He won several victories over the Ingauni, took six of their towns and many thousands of the inhabitants. Forty−three of the chief instigators of the war were beheaded. The time for the elections was now approaching. It fell to Sempronius to conduct them, but Claudius reached Rome before him, as his brother Publius was standing for the consulship. The other patrician candidates were L. Aemilius, Q. Fabius and Ser. Sulpicius Galba. They had been unsuccessful in previous contests, and they considered that they had all the stronger claim to the honour because it had been denied them before. Only one consul could be a patrician, and this lent additional keenness to the contest. The plebeian candidates were all popular men: L. Porcius, Q. Terentius Culleo and Cnaeus Baebius Tamphilus, and they, too, had had their hopes of attaining the distinction deferred by previous defeats. Out of all the candidates, Claudius was the only new one. It was generally looked upon as a certainty that Q. Fabius Labeo and L. Porcius Licinius would be the successful candidates. But Claudius, unattended by his lictors, was bustling about with his brother in every corner of the Forum, notwithstanding the loud remonstrances of his opponents and of most of the senators, who told him to bear in mind that he was the consul of the people of Rome rather than that he was Publius' brother. "Why," they asked, "did he not take his seat on the tribunal and show himself as a witness or silent spectator of the proceedings?" In spite of all, he could not be restrained from his zealous exertions. The elections were from time to time disturbed by heated quarrels between the tribunes of the plebs; some were fighting against the consul, and some in his support. At last Appius succeeded in defeating Fabius and carrying his brother in. Contrary to his own expectation and everybody else's,

P. Claudius Pulcher was elected consul. L. Porcius Licinius gained his position because he had conducted his canvass amongst the plebeians in a temper of moderation, not with the violence of a Claudius. Those who were elected praetors on the following day were C. Decimius Flavus, P. Sempronius Longus, P. Cornelius Cethegus, Q. Naevius Matho, C. Sempronius Blaesus and A. Terentius Varro. These were the main incidents at home and abroad during the consulship of Appius Claudius and M. Sempronius.

The commissioners who had been sent to adjust the differences between Philip and Eumenes and the cities in Thrace had given in their report, and at the commencement of the year, the consuls introduced the envoys from the two monarchs and the cities to the senate. The same arguments as had been used before the commissioners in Greece were repeated on both sides. The senate decreed that a fresh commission should go to Greece and Macedonia to find out whether the cities had been given back to the Thessalians and Perrhaebians. Instructions were also given that the garrisons should be withdrawn from Aenus and Maronea, and that the whole of the Thracian sea−board should be cleared of Philip and his Macedonians. The commissioners were further ordered to visit the Peloponnese which the former commission had left in a more unsatisfactory situation than if they had not gone there, for they had come away without receiving any assurances, and the council of the Achaean League had refused their request for an interview. Q. Caecilius complained in very strong terms of their conduct, and the Lacedaemonians at the same time deplored the razing of their walls, the removal of the population as slaves into Achaia, and the abolition of the laws of Lycurgus, on which up to that day the stability of their State had rested. The Achaeans met the charge of refusing to convene their council by quoting the law which forbade the summoning of a council except where the question was one of peace or war, or when delegates came from the senate with despatches or written instructions. That they might not have that excuse for the future, the senate pointed out to them that it was their duty to see that Roman envoys had at all times an opportunity of approaching their council, just as an audience of the senate was granted to them whenever they wished for one.

The delegations left for their homes, and Philip was informed by his delegates that he must withdraw his garrisons from the cities. Furious as he was with everybody, he wreaked his vengeance on the Maronites. He sent instructions to Onomastus, the governor of the coastal district, to put to death the leaders of the party opposed to him. There was a certain Casander, one of the king's courtiers, who had been living a considerable time in Maronea. Through his agency a body of Thracians were admitted by night and a general massacre followed as though the place had been taken by assault. The Roman commissioners censured him for behaving so cruelly to the unoffending Maronites and so defiantly towards the people of Rome; those to whom the senate had guaranteed their liberty had been butchered as though they were enemies. Philip said that neither he nor any of his people were concerned in the matter; a domestic quarrel had broken out amongst them, some wanting to bring the city over to him, others to Eumenes; the commissioners could easily get at the facts by questioning the Maronites themselves. He made this suggestion fully convinced that the Maronites had been too much terrified by the recent bloodshed to open their mouths against him. Appius replied that he should make no enquiry, as though there was any doubt in his mind, the facts were quite clear. If Philip wished to remove all suspicion, he must send those who were reported to have been his agents−Onomastus and Casander−to Rome, that the senate might examine them. The king was so startled at this that the colour fled from his face. At last, recovering his presence of mind, he promised that he would send Casander, if they really wished it, as he had been at Maronea; but how, he asked, could Onomastus be connected with the affair, seeing that he was not in Maronea nor anywhere near it? He was anxious to keep Onomastus out of danger because he valued him as a friend, and he was afraid of any evidence he might give, for he had had frequent conversations with him and made him his agent and confidant in many similar designs. As for Casander, it is believed that to prevent him from giving any information, he was poisoned by emissaries, who were sent direct through Epirus down to the sea

The commissioners came away from the conference making no secret of their failure to get anything satisfactory, and Philip on his side entertained no doubt that he would have to renew hostilities. His resources were not yet sufficient, and in order to gain time, he decided to send his younger son Demetrius to Rome with the object of exculpating him from the charges brought against him, and at the same time deprecating the anger of the senate. He quite hoped that in spite of his youth, the prince, who had given proof of his princely character whilst a

hostage in Rome, would have considerable influence there. Meanwhile, under cover of carrying succour to the Byzantines but really to intimidate the Thracian chiefs, he advanced against the latter and completely defeated them in a single battle, taking Amodocus, their leader, prisoner. He had previously sent messages to the barbarians dwelling round the Hister urging them to make an incursion into Italy. The Roman commissioners were under orders to proceed from Macedonia to Achaia, and their arrival was being awaited in the Peloponnese. The captain−general Lycortas summoned a special meeting of the national council to decide upon the policy to be adopted. The subject of discussion was the Lacedaemonians. From being enemies they had become accusers, and there was fear lest they should be more dangerous now that they were defeated than when engaged in war. In that war the Achaeans had found the Romans useful allies; now these very Romans were more partial to the Lacedaemonians than to the Achaeans. Areus and Alcibiades, both of them exiles and repatriated through the good offices of the Achaeans, had actually undertaken a mission to Rome against the interests of the nation to whom they owed so much, and had spoken in such a hostile tone that it might be thought that they were expelled from, not restored to, their country. Demands arose from all sides that the council should deal with them individually. As the whole proceedings were governed by passion, not by reason, they were condemned to death.

A few days later the Roman commissioners arrived. The council was convened to meet them at Clitoris in Arcadia. Before the business began, the Achaeans saw Areus and Alcibiades, who had been condemned to death at the last meeting, sitting with the commissioners. They were thoroughly alarmed and did not consider that the coming discussion would be very favourable to them; no one, however, dared to open his mouth. Appius pointed out how the various things that the Lacedaemonians complained of were viewed with displeasure by the senate−the assassination at Campasium of the delegates who on the invitation of Philopoemen had gone to make their defence, and then after this cruelty towards men, their filling up the measure of savagery by razing the walls of a great and famous city and annulling the immemorial laws and world−famed discipline of Lycurgus. After this speech, Lycortas in his capacity of captain−general, and also as a supporter of Philopoemen, the prime mover in all that had happened in Lacedaemon, rose to reply. "It is more difficult," he began, "for us to speak before you, Appius Claudius, than it was the other day before the Roman senate. Then we had to answer the accusations of the Lacedaemonians; now it is you who are our accusers, you before whom the issue is to be tried. Whilst labouring under this disadvantage, we still hope that you will lay aside the heated temper in which you spoke just now, and listen to us in a judicial frame of mind. At all events, as regards the complaints which the Lacedaemonians laid before Q. Caecilius and afterwards at Rome, and which you yourself have now repeated, it is to them, and not to you, that I shall suppose myself to be replying.

"You bring up against us the assassination of the delegates who had gone on the invitation of Philopoemen to make their defence. I hold this charge ought never to have been made by you, Romans, or even by others in your presence. Why so? Because it was laid down in your treaty with the Lacedaemonians that they should not interfere with the cities on the coast. Had T. Quinctius been in the Peloponnese; had there been a Roman there at the time when the Lacedaemonians made an armed attack upon the cities which they were pledged to leave alone, the inhabitants would, of course, have taken refuge with the Romans. As you were far away, with whom else could they have found shelter but with us, your allies? They had previously seen us carrying succour to Gytheum and attacking Lacedaemon on similar grounds in conjunction with you. On your behalf, then, we undertook the war as a just one, prompted by our sense of duty. Since others commend our conduct, and not even the Lacedaemonians can find fault with it, since the gods themselves, who have given us the victory, showed their approval of it, how can what we did by right of war admit of question? And yet the thing they lay most stress upon in no way concerns us. We are responsible for having called to trial the men who had excited the population to take up arms, who had stormed and plundered the maritime towns and massacred their leading men; but the putting them to death as they were coming into the camp was your doing, Areus and Alcibiades; and now, good heavens! you are actually accusing us of it! The Lacedaemonian refugees, these two men amongst them, were with us at the time, and because they had selected the maritime towns for their residence, they believed that their lives were in danger, and in retaliation made an attack upon those who had been the instruments of their banishment and would not suffer them to pass their lives in security, even though it were in exile. It was not, therefore, the Achaeans but the Lacedaemonians who slew Lacedaemonians, whether justly or unjustly, we are

not concerned to discuss.

"'Well but,' you say, 'these things are your doing, Achaeans−the abolition of the laws and discipline of Lycurgus which have come down from a remote antiquity, and the destruction of the walls.' Now, how can both these charges be made by the same people, seeing that the walls were built, not by Lycurgus but only a few years ago, and built, too, for the purpose of undermining the discipline of Lycurgus? It is quite recently that the tyrants raised them as a stronghold and defence for themselves, not for the city; and if Lycurgus could today rise from the dead, he would be glad to see them in ruins, and would say that he now recognised his old Sparta. For like disfiguring brands they marked you as slaves, and you ought to have torn down and demolished with your own hands, Lacedaemonians, every vestige of the tyrant's rule, and not have waited for Philopoemen and the Achaeans to do it. Whilst for 800 years you were without walls, you were free and for some time the foremost power in Greece, but when shut in by walls, bound as it were by fetters, you have for the last century been slaves. As for the deprivation of their laws and constitution, I consider that the tyrants deprived the Lacedaemonians of their ancient laws; we did not deprive them of their laws and constitution, for they had none; but we gave them our own laws, nor did we in any way do the city a wrong when we made it a member of our council and incorporated it in our League, so that there might be one political body and one common council for the whole of the Peloponnese. If we ourselves had been living at the time under different laws from those which we imposed on them, they could, in my opinion, have complained and felt justly indignant at not enjoying equal rights with us.

"I am quite aware, Appius Claudius, that the language I have so far used is not the language that allies should hold towards allies, nor does it befit a nation of freemen; it is really appropriate to the bickerings of slaves before their masters. If there is any meaning in the words of the herald in which you ordered that the Achaeans should be the first of all the Greeks to be free; if our treaty is still in force; if the terms of amity and alliance are kept equally for both sides, why should I not ask what you Romans did when you took Capua, as you demand from us an account for what we Achaeans did to the Lacedaemonians, after we had conquered them in war? 'Some of them were killed.' Suppose they were killed by us, what then? Did not you, senators, behead the Campanians? We destroyed the walls; you deprived the Campanians not only of their walls but of their city and their fields. The treaty, you say, is on the face of it just to both sides. As a matter of fact, the Achaeans enjoy a precarious freedom; the supreme power rests with the Romans. I am sensible of this, and I do not, unless compelled, protest against it; but I do implore you, however great the difference between the Romans and the Achaeans, not to let our common enemies stand in as favourable position with you as we, who are your allies, still less in a more favourable one. For we put them on an equality with ourselves when we gave them our laws. What satisfies the victors is too little for the vanquished; enemies demand more than allies receive. The agreement which has been sworn to and inscribed in stone for a perpetual memorial as being sacred and inviolable, that agreement they are preparing to do away with, and make us forsworn. We have a profound respect for you, Romans, and if you wish it, we hold you in fear, but we have a more profound respect for and a greater fear of the immortal gods."

His speech was received with general approbation; all recognised that he had spoken as befitted the high position he held, so that it was quite clear that the Romans could not maintain their authority, if they did not take a strong line. Appius said that he would strongly advise the Achaeans to court the favour of the Romans whilst they could do so of their own free−will, lest they should soon be compelled to do so against their will. These words called forth a general murmur, but they were afraid of what might happen if they refused to comply with the Roman demands. They only requested the Romans to make such changes with regard to the Lacedaemonians as seemed desirable, and not involve the Achaeans in the guilt of perjury by making them undo what they had sworn to. The only decision arrived at was the cancelling of the sentence against Areus and Alcibiades.

In the assignment of provinces at the commencement of the year to the consuls and praetors, Liguria, the only country where war was going on, was assigned to the consuls. The allocation of provinces to the praetors was as follows: the civic jurisdiction fell to C. Decimius Flavus; the alien, P. Cornelius Cethegus; C. Sempronius Blaesus took Sicily; Q. Naevius Matho, Sardinia, and also the investigation into the alleged cases of poisoning; A. Terentius Varro, Hither Spain, and P. Sempronius Longus, Further Spain. From these two last−mentioned

provinces, two representatives of the praetors−L. Juventius Thalna and T. Quinctius Varus−went to Rome and after explaining to the senate the magnitude of the war in Spain which had now been terminated, they made a request that for such a great success, honours should be paid to the immortal gods and the praetors allowed to bring home their army. A two days' thanksgiving was appointed; as to the return of the legions, the senate ordered the matter to be adjourned till the question of the armies for the consuls and praetors was considered. A few days later a decree was made transferring to each of the consuls two of the legions which Appius Claudius and M. Sempronius had had. The question of the armies in Spain gave rise to a serious dispute between the new praetors and the friends of the praetors in Spain. Each side was supported by tribunes of the plebs and by one of the consuls. The one party threatened to veto any senatorial decree which ordered the return of the armies; the other side declared that if such a veto took place, they would stop all further business. The interests of the praetors abroad proved the stronger, and a resolution was passed by the senate that the new praetors should enrol 4000 Roman infantry and 300 cavalry, and from the Latin allies 5000 infantry and 500 cavalry, as the force which they were to take with them. When they had incorporated them with the four legions in Spain, so that each legion should not contain more than 5000 infantry and 300 cavalry, they were to discharge the remainder; first, those who had served their time, and then those who had shown exceptional bravery in battle under Calpurnius and Quinctius.

No sooner was this dispute settled than a fresh one started on the death of the praetor C. Decimius. The candidates for the vacant post were Cnaeus Sicinius and L. Pupius, who had been aediles during the previous year; C. Valerius, one of the Flamens of Jupiter, and Q. Fulvius Flaccus, who was curule aedile designate, and therefore did not appear in a candidate's dress, though he was most active of all in his canvassing. The contest lay between him and the Flamen. At first they were level, but when he appeared to be winning, some of the tribunes of the plebs said that votes must not be accepted for him, because no one could accept or hold two magistracies, especially curule magistracies, at the same time. Other tribunes thought it only right that he should be exempted from the legal disability in order that the people might be at liberty to elect whom they would as praetor. L. Porcius, the consul, was at first disposed not to allow votes for him; then in order to have the authority of the senate for doing this, he summoned the senators and said that he referred the question to them because the canvassing for a praetorship on the part of a curule aedile elect was not in accordance with justice, nor would the precedent be one which a free commonwealth could allow. As far as he was concerned, unless they thought some other course desirable, he intended to conduct the election according to law. The senate decided that the consul should come to an understanding with Q. Fulvius not to prevent the election of a praetor in place of C. Decimius from being conducted according to law. Acting on this resolution the consul approached Flaccus. He replied that he would do nothing unworthy of himself. Those who interpreted this evasive reply in accordance with their wishes were led to hope that he would yield to the authority of the senate. On the day of the election he displayed more determined activity than ever, and accused the consul and the senate of trying to deprive him of the goodwill and sympathy of the people of Rome, and creating odium against him for aspiring to double honours, as if it were not perfectly obvious that as soon as he was elected praetor he would resign the aedileship. When the consul saw that he was becoming more obstinate, and the popular feeling was more and more in his favour, he suspended the election and convened a meeting of the senate. There was a full attendance, and they resolved that since the authority of the senate had no weight with Flaccus, the case must be brought before the people. The Assembly met and the consul laid the matter before them. Not even then was Flaccus moved from his determination. He expressed his gratitude to the Roman People for their zealous support and their desire to make him praetor as often as they had the opportunity of expressing their desire. He had no intention of forgoing the zealous support which his fellow−citizens accorded him. The fixed determination thus expressed kindled the popular enthusiasm to such an extent that he would undoubtedly have become praetor, had the consul been willing to accept votes for him. There was a heated dispute amongst the tribunes themselves and between them and the consul, until at a meeting of the senate convened by the consul it was decreed that whereas the obstinacy of Q. Fulvius and the mischief of party strife prevented the election from being conducted according to law, the senate considered that the number of praetors was sufficient. P. Cornelius was to exercise both jurisdictions m the City and also to celebrate the Games of Apollo.

This election had been stopped through the good sense and courage of the senate, but another followed where more important interests were at stake and more numerous and more influential competitors appeared. This was the election to the censorship. Those who were standing were L. Valerius Flaccus, the two Scipios, Publius and Lucius, Cnaeus Manlius Vulso, L. Furius Purpurio as patricians, and the following plebeians: M. Porcius Cato, M. Fulvius Nobilior, the two Sempronii, Tiberius and Sempronius Longus, and M. Sempronius Tuditanus. The contest was a very animated one, but patricians and plebeians alike, even those belonging to the noblest families, were far outstripped by M. Porcius. This man possessed such ability and force of character that in whatever station he had been born he must have been a fortunate and successful man. In no department of business, whether public or private, was the requisite knowledge lacking to him, he was equally versed in the affairs of town and country life. Some men have reached the highest posts through their knowledge of law, others through eloquence, others again through their military reputation. This man's versatile genius made him at home in all alike, so much so indeed that whatever he took up you would say that he was born for that one thing alone. In war he was a most doughty fighter and distinguished himself in many famous battles, and when he reached the highest posts he proved himself a consummate general. In peace, if you consulted him you found him a most able lawyer, and if he had to plead in a case, a most eloquent one. Nor was he one of those whose power of speech lasts only during their lifetime, and of whose eloquence no memorial survives; his eloquence is still alive and vigorous, enshrined in writings on all sorts of subjects. There are a great number of speeches made in his own defence and in defence of others, and also against others, for he harassed his opponents equally whether he was prosecuting or defending. Personal quarrels−far too many of them−kept him busy, and he himself took care to keep them alive, so that it would be difficult to say who displayed the greater energy, the nobility in trying to suppress him, or he in worrying the nobility. He was undoubtedly a man of a rough temper and a bitter and unbridled tongue, absolute master of his passions, of inflexible integrity, and indifferent alike to wealth and popularity. He lived a life of frugality capable of enduring toil and danger, with a mind and body tempered almost like steel, which not even old age that weakens everything could break. In his eighty−sixth year he defended himself in a lawsuit and published his speech, in his ninetieth year he brought Ser. Galba to trial before the people.

This was the man who was a candidate for the censorship, and the nobility tried now, as they had done all through his life, to crush him. With the exception of L. Flaccus, who had been his colleague in the consulship, all the candidates combined to keep him out, not so much because they wanted the post for themselves, or because they were indignant at the prospect of a "novus homo" as censor, as because they expected that his censorship would be strict and severe and damaging to many reputations; most of them had done him a bad turn and he would be eager to retaliate. Even in his candidature he assumed a menacing tone and accused his opponents of trying to prevent his election, because they were afraid of a censor who would act with impartiality and courage. At the same time he supported the candidature of L. Valerius, for he considered him the only man with whom as colleague he could repress the vices of the time and restore the old standard of morality. His speeches awoke general enthusiasm and the people, in the teeth of the nobility, not only made him censor but gave him L. Valerius as his colleague. Close upon the election of censors followed the departure of the consuls and praetors for their provinces. Q. Naevius, however, did not leave for Sicily till four months had elapsed, as he was detained by the task of investigating charges of poisoning. These were gone into mostly in the boroughs and market towns, a more convenient arrangement than transferring them to Rome. If we are to believe Valerius Antias, he sentenced more than 2000 persons. L. Postumius, to whom Tarentum had been assigned as his province, crushed the wide−spread conspiracy of the herdsmen, and made a close and careful examination into the remaining cases connected with the Bacchanalia. Many who had been summoned to Rome had not put in an appearance or had deserted their securities and were in hiding in that part of Italy. Some he arrested and sent to Rome for the senate to deal with, others he convicted and sentenced. They were all thrown into prison by P. Cornelius.

In Further Spain matters were quiet as the strength of the Lusitanians was broken in the last war. In Hither Spain A. Terentius besieged and took the town of Corbio belonging to the Suessetani and sold the prisoners. After this Hither Spain was also quiet through the winter. The late praetors returned to Rome, and the senate unanimously decreed a triumph to each of them. C. Calpurnius celebrated his triumph over the Lusitanians and the Celtiberi; 83 golden crowns and 12,000 pounds of silver were carried in the procession. A few days later L. Quinctius

Crispinus triumphed over the same nations and a similar amount of gold and silver was carried in his procession. The censors M. Porcius and L. Valerius, amidst many forebodings, revised the roll of the senate. They removed seven names, including that of a man of consular rank, L. Quinctius Flamininus, distinguished for his high birth and the offices he had held. There is said to have been an old regulation that the censors should commit to writing their reasons for excluding any from the senate. There are extant some incriminating speeches which Cato delivered against those whom he removed from the roll of the senate or the register of the equites, but by far the most damaging is the one he made against L. Quinctius. If Cato had delivered this speech as accuser before the name was erased and not as censor after he had erased it, not even his brother T. Quinctius, had he been censor at the time, could have kept him on the roll.

Amongst other charges he brought up against him was the following. He had persuaded by huge bribes a Carthaginian boy named Philip, an attractive and notorious catamite, to accompany him into Gaul. This boy in petulant wantonness used very often to reproach the consul for having carried him away from Rome just before the exhibition of gladiators, in order that he might put a high price upon his compliance with the consul's passions. It happened that while they were banqueting and heated with wine a message was brought in that a Boian noble had come as a refugee with his children and wanted to see the consul in order to obtain from him personally a promise of protection. He was brought into the tent and began to address the consul through an interpreter. In the middle of his speech the consul turned to his paramour and said: "As you have given up the show of gladiators, would you like to see this Gaul die?" Hardly meaning what he said, the boy assented. The consul seized a naked sword hanging above him and struck the Gaul, who was still speaking, on the head. He turned to flee, imploring the protection of the Roman People and of those who were present, when the consul ran his sword through him.

Valerius Antias, as though he had never read Cato's speech and had only given credence to an unauthenticated; story, relates a different incident, but resembling the above in its lust and cruelty. According to him, a woman of Placentia, a bad character, with whom the consul was madly in love, was invited by him to a banquet. Here, boasting of his exploits, he told the harlot, amongst other things, what a stern inquisitor he had been, how many who had been condemned to death he was keeping in chains till he executed them. She was reclining on the same couch with him, and remarked that she had never seen an execution and would dearly love to see one. Thereupon, to indulge her, he ordered one of those unhappy wretches to be brought in and then struck off his head. Whether the incident took the form described in the censor's speech, or whether it was as Valerius narrates it, in any case a cruel and brutal crime was perpetrated. During a festive meal, when it is customary to pour libations to the gods and wish all happiness to the guests, a human victim was sacrificed and the table sprinkled with blood to delight the eyes of a wanton harlot lying on a consul's breast! Cato closed his speech by saying that if Quinctius denied the charges he gave him the option of providing security and letting the case go to trial, but if he admitted them, did he suppose that any one would grieve over his disgrace after he had amused himself, when maddened by wine and lust, by shedding a man's blood at a banquet?

In the revision of the register of the equites L. Scipio Asiagenes was struck out. In fixing the assessments the censorship was severe and harsh on all classes. Orders were issued that an account should be taken on oath of all female dress, ornaments and carriages which were valued at more than 15,000 ases, and that they should be assessed at ten times their value. Similarly, slaves less than twenty years old who had been sold since the last lustrum for 10,000 ases or more were to be assessed at ten times that amount, and on all these assessments a tax was imposed of one−third per cent. The censors cut off from the public aqueducts all supplies of water for private houses or land, and wherever private owners had built up against public buildings or on public ground, they demolished these structures within thirty days. They next made contracts for lining the reservoirs with stone and, where it was necessary, cleaning out the sewers, money having been set apart for the purpose, and also for the construction of sewers in the Aventine quarter and in other places where as yet there were none. Flaccus constructed a raised causeway at the Fountain of Neptune to serve as a public road and also a road along the Formian Hill. Cato purchased for the State two auction halls in the Lautumiae, the Maenium and the Titium, as well as four shops, and on the site he built a basilica, known afterwards as the Porcian. They farmed the taxes to the highest bidders, and let out the contracts to the lowest tenders. The senate, yielding to the prayers and

lamentations of the tax−farmers, annulled these arrangements and ordered fresh terms to be made. The censors gave public notice that those who had treated the former contracts with contempt should not be allowed to make fresh bids. They signed fresh contracts for everything on slightly easier terms. This censorship was noteworthy for the feuds and quarrels it gave rise to, and for which Cato through his severity was held responsible; feuds which made his life a stormy one to the end. Two colonies were founded this year, one at Potentia in the Picene district, the other at Pisaurum in the land of the Gauls. Six jugera were allotted to each colonist; the commissioners who supervised the settlement were Q. Fabius Labeo, M. Fulvius Flaccus and Q. Fulvius Nobilior. The consuls for this year did nothing worth recording.

The consuls elected for the next year were M. Claudius Marcellus and Q. Fabius Labienus. On the day they entered upon office−March 15−they brought before the senate the question of their provinces. Liguria was assigned to both consuls with the armies which their predecessors had had. When the new praetors balloted for their provinces, the two Spains were reserved for the praetors of the year before who retained their armies. C. Valerius, the Flamen, who had been an unsuccessful candidate the year before, was in any case to have one of the two jurisdictions in Rome; he drew the alien jurisdiction. The other provinces went as follows: the civic jurisdiction to Sisenna Cornelius, Sicily to Sp. Postumius, Apulia to L. Pupius, Gaul to L. Julius, Sardinia to Cnaeus Sicinius. L. Julius was required to hasten his departure. The transalpine Gauls, who, as stated above, had descended into Italy by a hitherto unknown mountain road, were building a town in the territory which now belongs to Aquileia. The praetor received instructions to prevent their doing this, without war if he could; if they had to be restrained by force of arms he was to inform the consuls, and one of them was to lead the legions against the Gauls. At the end of the preceding year there was an election of an augur to fill the place of Cnaeus Cornelius Lentulus who had died. Sp. Postumius Albinus was elected.

At the commencement of this year P. Licinius Crassus, the Pontifex Maximus, died. M. Sempronius Tuditanus was co−opted as pontiff to fill the vacancy in the college, and C. Servilius Geminus was elected Pontifex Maximus. On the day of the funeral of P. Licinius a public distribution of meat was made, and a hundred and twenty gladiators fought in the funeral games which lasted for three days and after the games a public feast. The couches had been spread all over the Forum when a violent storm of wind and rain burst and compelled most people to put up shelter tents there. On the sky clearing, everywhere soon after they were removed, and it was commonly said that the people had fulfilled a prediction which the prophets of fate had made that it was necessary for tents to be set up in the Forum. No sooner were they relieved from their religious fears than another portent followed. There was a rain of blood for two days and the Keepers of the Sacred Books ordered special intercessions to be made to expiate the portent. Before the consuls left for their provinces they introduced various overseas deputations to the senate. Never before had there been so many men from that part of the world assembled in Rome. As soon as it became generally known amongst the tribes inhabiting Macedonia that the complaints about Philip were not falling on deaf ears and that many people had found it quite worth their while to bring forward complaints, they flocked to Rome, cities, tribes, even individual complainants, each with their own grievance−for the hand of their neighbour, Philip, was heavy on them all−in the hope of obtaining redress for their wrongs or comfort under their sufferings. Eumenes, too, sent his brother Athenaeus with a deputation to complain that the garrisons had not been withdrawn from Thrace, and that Philip had assisted Prusias in his war with Eumenes.

Demetrius, who was at the time quite a young man, had to answer all the charges. It was by no means an easy matter for him to retain in his memory either the details of the allegations or the proper reply to be made to them. They were not only very numerous, but most of them were very trivial, such as disputes about boundaries, the carrying off of cattle and men, the capricious administration of justice, judges corrupted by bribes or intimidated by threats of violence. When the senate found that Demetrius could not explain things clearly and that they could get no definite information from him and saw that the youth was embarrassed and at a loss what to say, they ordered the question to be put to him whether he had received from his father any memorandum dealing with these matters. On his stating that he had received one, they thought by far the wisest course would be to have the king's own replies to each point raised. They at once called for the book and allowed him to quote from it. It

contained concise explanations under each head. Some of the things he had done were, he said, in compliance with the dictates of the commissioners; with regard to other of his acts, it was not his fault but that of his accusers that he had failed to comply. Interspersed throughout the memorandum were protests against the partiality shown in the rulings of the commissioners and the unfair way in which the discussion had been carried on before Caecilius, and also the undeserved and unworthy insults heaped upon him from all sides. The senate took these as marks of irritation on his part; however, as the young prince apologised for some things, and gave an undertaking that for the future all would be done as the senate wished, it was decided that the following reply should be given: "Nothing which his father had done was more correct or more in accordance with the senate's wishes than his willingness, whatever his conduct had been, to send his son Demetrius to give satisfaction to Rome. Much of the past the senate could close their eyes to and forget and put up with, and they believed that they could trust Demetrius, for though they returned him to his father in bodily presence, they had his mind and feelings with them still as a hostage, and they knew that so far as was consistent with his affection for his father he was a friend to the People of Rome. Out of regard for him they would send a commission to Macedonia, so that whatever had not been done which ought to have been done it might even yet be carried out without any penalty for past omissions." They also wished Philip to understand that he was indebted to his son Demetrius for the complete restoration of his good relations with Rome.

This, which was done to enhance the dignity of the young prince, immediately aroused jealousy against him and finally proved to be his ruin. The Lacedaemonians were introduced next. Many questions, quite insignificant, were raised; there were some, however, of great importance, for instance, whether those whom the Achaeans had condemned should be restored, whether those whom they had put to death were justly or unjustly slain, and also whether the Lacedaemonians should remain in the Achaean League, or whether, as had previously been the case, that city alone out of the whole of the Peloponnese should keep its own separate laws. It was decided that the exiles should be restored and the sentences passed on them annulled, and that Lacedaemon should remain in the Achaean League. This decree was to be committed to writing and signed by the Lacedaemonians and Achaeans. Q. Marcius was sent as special commissioner to Macedonia, he was also instructed to examine the state of affairs in the Peloponnese. The unrest left by the old dissensions still prevailed there and Messene had seceded from the Achaean League. If I were to go into the origin and progress of this war I should be forgetting my resolution not to touch on foreign affairs except so far as they are connected with those of Rome.

There was one incident worth recording. Though the Achaeans proved superior in the war, their captain−general Philopoemen was taken prisoner. He was on his way to occupy Corone, against which place the enemy were advancing, and whilst he was traversing a valley over difficult and broken ground with a small cavalry escort, he was surprised by the enemy. It is said that with the help of the Thracians and Cretans he could have effected his escape, but honour forbade him to desert his cavalry, men of good family whom he had himself selected. Whilst he was closing up his rear to meet the enemy's onset, and so give his cavalry a chance of escaping through the narrow pass, his horse fell, and what with his own fall and the weight of the horse rolling over him, he was very nearly killed on the spot. He was now seventy years old and his strength was greatly impaired by a long illness from which he was just recovering. The enemy, closing round him as he lay, made him their prisoner. As soon as he was recognised, the enemy, out of personal regard for him and recalling his great services, treated him just as if he had been their own general, lifted him up carefully, gave him restoratives, and carried him out of the entangled ravine into the high road, hardly believing the good fortune which had befallen them. Some of them at once dispatched messengers to Messene to announce that the war was over, and Philopoemen was being brought in as a prisoner. The affair seemed at first so incredible that the messenger was regarded as not only false but out of his senses. As one after another arrived, all bringing the same story, it was at last believed, and before they really knew that he was anywhere near the city, the whole population, citizens and slaves, even boys and women, poured out to see him. The crowd had blocked the gate, it looked as though each must have the evidence of his own eyes before he could believe that such a great event had really happened. Those who were bringing Philopoemen in had the greatest difficulty in forcing an entrance into the city through the crowd. An equally dense crowd blocked the rest of the route and, as the great majority were prevented from seeing, they rushed to the theatre which was near the road and all with one voice demanded that he should be brought where the people

could see him. The magistrates and principal citizens were afraid that the compassion evoked by the sight of so great a man might lead to a disturbance, for whilst some would contrast his former greatness with his present position, others would be moved by the memory of all he had done for them. They placed him where he could be seen at a distance, and then hurriedly removed him from men's eyes. Dinocrates, the governor, gave out that there were certain questions connected with the conduct of the war which the magistrates wished to put to him. He was then led away to the senate house and on the assembling of the senate they commenced their deliberations.

Evening was now coming on, and they were not only unable to get through their other business but they could not even agree as to where he could be safely kept during the night. They were dazed by the greatness of the man and the splendour of his career, and they did not dare to take him to their own homes or trust his custody to any single individual. Somebody reminded them of the public treasury which was an underground chamber, walled with hewn stone. Here he was let down in chains and the huge stone with which it was covered was lowered with pulleys. Having thus made up their minds that his safe−keeping ought to be entrusted to a place rather than to any man, they waited for the day. On the morrow the whole population, bearing in mind his former services to their city, considered that he ought to be spared and that through his means they must look for the remedy for their present troubles. The authors of the secession, who were in control of the government, held a secret meeting and unanimously decided that he must be put to death, but they were not agreed whether they should act at once or not. The party who were eager for his death carried the day, and a man was sent to him with the poison. It is said that he took the bowl and merely asked whether Lycortas was safe and whether the cavalry had escaped. When he was assured that they were safe he said, "It is well," and without the slightest sign of fear drained the bowl and shortly afterwards expired. The authors of this cruelty did not congratulate themselves on his death for long. Messene was captured in the war, and on the demand of the Achaeans the criminals were surrendered. The remains of Philopoemen were restored to them and the whole of the Achaean council were present at his funeral. After heaping upon him every human honour they did not shrink from according to him divine honours. Greek and Latin historians pay this man so high a tribute that some of them have placed on record as a notable feature of this year that three illustrious generals died during its course−Philopoemen, Hannibal and Lucius Scipio. To such an equality with the greatest generals of the most powerful nations in the world have they raised him.

Prusias had for some time fallen under suspicion in Rome, partly owing to his having sheltered Hannibal after the flight of Antiochus and partly because he had started a war with Eumenes. T. Quinctius Flamininus was accordingly sent on a special mission to him. He charged Prusias, amongst other things, with admitting to his court the man who of all men living was the most deadly foe to the People of Rome, who had instigated first his own countrymen and then, when their power was broken, King Antiochus to levy war on Rome. Either owing to the menacing language of Flamininus or because he wished to ingratiate himself with Flamininus and the Romans, he formed the design of either putting Hannibal to death or delivering him up to them. In any case, immediately after his first interview with Flamininus he sent soldiers to guard the house in which Hannibal was living. Hannibal had always looked forward to such a fate as this; he fully realised the implacable hatred which the Romans felt towards him, and he put no trust whatever in the good faith of monarchs. He had already had experience of Prusias' fickleness of temper and he had dreaded the arrival of Flamininus as certain to prove fatal to himself. In face of the dangers confronting him on all sides he tried to keep open some one avenue of escape. With this view he had constructed seven exits from his house, some of them concealed, so that they might not be blocked by the guard. But the tyranny of kings leaves nothing hidden which they want to explore. The guards surrounded the house so closely that no one could slip out of it. When Hannibal was informed that the king's soldiers were in the vestibule, he tried to escape through a postern gate which afforded the most secret means of exit. He found that this too was closely watched and that guards were posted all round the place. Finally he called for the poison which he had long kept in readiness for such an emergency. "Let us," he said, "relieve the Romans from the anxiety they have so long experienced, since they think it tries their patience too much to wait for an old man's death. The victory which Flamininus will win over a defenceless fugitive will be neither great nor memorable; this day will show how vastly the moral of the Roman People has changed. Their fathers warned Pyrrhus, when he had an army in Italy, to beware of poison, and now they have sent a man of consular rank to persuade Prusias to murder his guest." Then, invoking curses on Prusias and his realm and appealing to the gods

who guard the rights of hospitality to punish his broken faith, he drained the cup. Such was the close of Hannibal's life.

According to Polybius and Rutilius this was the year in which Scipio died. I do not agree with either of these writers, nor with Valerius; I find that during the censorship of M. Porcius and L. Valerius, Valerius was himself chosen as leader of the senate, though Africanus had held that position through the two previous censorships, and unless we are to assume that he was removed from the senatorial roll−and there is no record of any such stigma being affixed to his name−no other leader of the senate would have been chosen. Valerius Antias is proved to be wrong by the following considerations. There was a tribune of the plebs, M. Naevius, against whom Scipio delivered a speech which is still extant. From the lists of the magistrates it appears that this Naevius was tribune of the plebs during the consulship of P. Claudius and L. Porcius, but actually entered upon office on December 10, when Appius Claudius and M. Sempronius were the consuls. Three months elapsed from that date to March I5, when P. Claudius and L. Porcius assumed office. Thus it appears that Scipio was alive when Naevius was tribune and might have been impeached by him, but dead before L. Valerius and M. Porcius were censors. We may trace a correspondence in the death of these three men, who were each the most illustrious of his nation, for not only did they die about the same time, but not one of the three ended his life in a way worthy of his splendid career. None of them died on his native soil or was buried there. Hannibal and Philopoemen were carried off by poison; Hannibal was an exile, and betrayed by his host, Philopoemen was a captive and died in prison and in chains. Though Scipio had not been banished or condemned to death, still, as he did not appear on the day fixed for his trial, though duly cited, he passed upon himself a sentence of banishment, not only for life but even after he was dead.

During the incidents in the Peloponnese from which I have made a digression, Demetrius and his legation returned to Macedonia. There was much divergence of view as to the results of their embassy. The bulk of the Macedonian people, appalled at the imminent prospect of a war with Rome, were enthusiastic supporters of Demetrius. They looked upon him as the author of peace and regarded his succession to the throne after his father's death as a certainty. Although younger than Perseus, he was a legitimate son, the other was the son of a concubine. People said that Perseus, the offspring of a prostitute, had no note or mark of any particular father, whereas Demetrius showed a remarkable likeness to his father; moreover, Perseus was no favourite with the Romans and they would place Demetrius on his father's throne. Such was the common talk. Perseus felt himself superior to his brother in everything else, but he was haunted by the thought that his age alone would count but little in his favour. Philip himself, too, whilst feeling doubtful whether it would be in his power to decide whom he should leave as heir to the throne, considered that his younger son was assuming more authority than he wished him to possess. He was annoyed at the way in which the Macedonians resorted to Demetrius and he looked upon the existence of a second royal court as an indignity to himself. The young prince had certainly come home with a much higher sense of his own importance, presuming as he did upon the compliments paid him by the senate and the concessions they had made to him after refusing them to his father. Every allusion he made to the Romans raised his prestige amongst the Macedonians and evoked a corresponding amount of jealousy and ill−will in his father and brother. This was particularly the case when the fresh commissioners arrived from Rome and Philip was compelled to evacuate Thrace and withdraw his garrisons and carry out the other measures demanded by the previous commissioners and the fresh orders of the senate. All these things were a source of grief and bitterness to him, all the more so because he saw him associating with the Romans much more frequently than with himself. Still he acted in obedience to the orders of Rome that there might be no pretext for commencing hostilities. Thinking to divert any suspicions the Romans might entertain as to his designs, he led his army into the interior of Thrace, against the Odrysae, the Dentheleti and the Bessi. He took the city of Philippopolis which had been deserted by the inhabitants, who with their families had taken refuge in the nearest mountains. After ravaging the fields of the barbarians who lived in the lowlands, he accepted their surrender. Leaving a garrison in Philippopolis which was shortly afterwards expelled by the Odrysae, he began to build a town in Deuriopus, a district in Paeonia, near the river Erigonus which, rising in Illyria, flows through Paeonia into the Axius, not far from the ancient city of Stobae. He ordered the new city to be called Perseis in honour of his eldest son.

During these events in Macedonia the consuls left for their provinces. Marcellus sent a message to L. Porcius, the proconsul, asking him to take his legions to the town which the Gauls had lately built. On the consul's arrival the Gauls surrendered. There were 12,000 under arms, most of them had arms which they had taken by force from the peasants. These were taken from them as well as what they had carried off from the fields or brought with them. They resented this strongly and sent envoys to Rome to complain. C. Valerius the praetor introduced them to the senate. They explained how, owing to over−population, want of land and general destitution, they had been compelled to seek a home across the Alps. Where they saw the country uninhabited and uncultivated there they had settled, without doing injury to any one. They had even begun to build a town, a clear proof that they were not going to attack either town or village. M. Claudius had recently sent a message to them that if they did not surrender he would make war upon them. As they preferred a secure if not a very honourable peace to the uncertainties of war, they had placed themselves under the protection, before they had to submit to the power, of Rome. A few days afterwards they were ordered to evacuate their city and territory, and they intended to depart quietly and settle in what part of the world they could. Next, their arms were taken from them, and at last all that they possessed, their goods and their cattle. They implored the senate and the People of Rome not to treat those who had surrendered without striking a blow with greater severity than they treated active enemies.

To these pleas the senate ordered the following reply to be given: They had acted wrongfully in coming into Italy and attempting to build a town on ground that was not their own without the permission of any Roman magistrate who was over that province. On the other hand, it was not the pleasure of the senate that after they had surrendered they should be despoiled of their goods and possessions. The senate would send back with them commissioners to the consul, who on their returning whence they had come would order all that belonged to them to be restored. The commissioners would also cross the Alps and warn the Gaulish communities to keep their population at home. The Alps lay between as an almost impassable frontier line; those who were the first to make them easy of transit would certainly not be the better for it. The commissioners who were sent were L. Furius Purpurio, Q. Minucius and L. Manlius Acidinus. After everything which they had any right to was restored to them, the Gauls departed from Italy.

The transalpine tribes gave a satisfactory reply to the commissioners. The older men amongst them blamed the excessive leniency of the Romans for having sent away, unpunished, men who without any authority from their tribe had set out to occupy territory belonging to the Roman government, and had attempted to build a town on land that did not belong to them. They ought to have paid heavily for their audacity. The indulgence shown them in the restoration of their property might, they feared, invite others to similar ventures. The hospitality which they showed towards the commissioners was so generous that they loaded them with presents. After the Gauls had been cleared out of his province, M. Claudius began to lay his plans for a Histrian war. He wrote to the senate for permission to lead his legions into Histria and the senate sanctioned his doing so. They were at the time discussing the question of sending colonists to Aquileia, and the question was whether they should make it a Latin colony or send Roman citizens. It was finally decided that the colony should consist of Latin settlers. The commissioners for superintending the settlement were P. Scipio Nasica, C. Flaminius and L. Manlius Acidinus. Mutina and Parma were also colonised this year by Roman citizens. Two thousand men were settled in each colony on land which had recently belonged to the Boii, formerly to the Tuscans. Those at Parma received eight jugera each, those at Mutina, five. The allocation of the land was carried out by M. Aemilius Lepidus, T. Aebutius Carus and L. Quinctius Crispinus. Saturnia, also, a colony of Roman citizens, was founded under the supervision of Q. Fabius Labeo, C. Afranius Stellio and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus. Ten jugera were assigned to each colonist.

During the year the proconsul A. Terentius fought some successful actions with the Celtiberi not far from the Ebro in the Ausetanian country, and stormed several places which they had fortified there. Further Spain was quiet during the year owing to the long illness of P. Sempronius, and the Lusitanians, receiving no provocation, remained, fortunately, quiet. Nor did Q. Fabius do anything worth mentioning in Liguria. M. Marcellus was recalled from Histria and his army disbanded. He returned to Rome to conduct the elections. The new consuls were Cnaeus Baebius Tamphilus and L. Aemilius Paulus. The latter had been curule aedile with M. Aemilius

Lepidus who five years before had won his consulship after two previous defeats. The new praetors were Q. Fulvius Flaccus, M. Valerius Laevinus, P. Manlius for the second time, M. Ogulnius Gallus, L. Caecilius Denter, and C. Terentius Istra. At the end of the year there were intercessions owing to portents. It was firmly believed that a rain of blood had fallen for two days in the temple precinct of Concord, and it was reported that not far from Sicily a new island had been thrown up by the sea. Valerius Antias is our authority for stating that Hannibal died this year, and that in addition to T. Quinctius Flamininus, whose name is well known in connection with that incident, L. Scipio Asiaticus and P. Scipio Nasica were sent to Prusias on that occasion.